

**Defend the Clinics with Mass Mobilizations!
No Reliance on Cops and Troops!**

Anti-Abortion Bloodbath in Boston

It was 10 a.m. Friday, December 30, the last working day before the New Year's holiday. The waiting room of the Planned Parenthood clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts was crowded with women waiting for appointments, men who had accompanied them, medical aides and staff. Anti-abortion terrorist John Salvi walked in the door and at pointblank range fired five shots from his .22 calibre rifle into the neck and chest of clinic receptionist Shannon Lowney. Then he turned on the others, leaving three wounded lying near Lowney's body on the reception room floor.

Nine minutes later, the methodical executioner Salvi arrived at Preterm Health Services two miles up Beacon Street and continued his rampage. "Is this Preterm?" he asked receptionist Lee Ann Nichols. "Yes," she replied, and Salvi opened fire, killing her and wounding two others. The cops didn't catch up with Salvi until the next day, after he had shot out the windows of the Hillcrest Clinic in Norfolk, Virginia, terrifying the 40 people inside.

The slaughter in Brookline is only the latest and worst episode in an escalating campaign of terror and assassination by ultrarightist anti-abortion fanatics who operate under the cover of Operation Rescue and other organizations of the grotesquely misnamed "Right to Life" movement. This campaign has already claimed the lives of two abortion doctors, Dr. David Gunn, assassinated in Pensacola, Florida in March 1993, and Dr. John Bayard Britton, who along with his bodyguard James Barrett was gunned down in Pensacola in July 1994. In Vancouver, Canada, gynecologist Garson Romalis barely survived a sniper attack at his home last November 8.

Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols were committed providers of wom-



Shooting victim is rushed to hospital after anti-abortion terrorist's rampage at Preterm Health Services clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts, December 30.

en's health services who refused to back down in the face of threats and intimidation from the anti-abortion fanatics. Shannon Lowney, 25, was a passionate social activist whose convictions had taken her to Ecuador to aid poor villagers and to Maine to counsel battered children and pregnant teenagers. Outside the Planned Parenthood clinic, bigots would daily taunt her as "Public Enemy No. 1"; inside, she used her language skills to counsel Spanish-speaking clinic visitors. Lee Ann Nichols, 38, had only been at Preterm for a short time, and previously worked as a telephone counselor

at a nearby clinic, where she was known for her dedicated work with patients who called in frightened and upset.

In Boston and across the country, the bourgeois feminists of NOW (National Organization for Women), and Planned Parenthood respond by calling for the FBI and federal marshals to "protect" the clinics. This is a dangerous dead-end strategy aimed at fostering illusions in the capitalist state and demobilizing abortion rights supporters who are outraged at the murders of these clinic workers and want to drive the anti-abortion terror mobs off the streets.

When the liberal civil rights movement appealed for federal intervention, U.S. troops and marshals were brought into Little Rock (1956) and Birmingham (1963) to clamp a lid on organized black self-defense, while FBI agents rode along with the KKK. The whole apparatus of the capitalist state exists to enforce the oppression and exploitation of minorities and workers. They are no defenders of women's rights. We honor Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols by waging a socialist fight for the liberation of women, here and around the world. For mass mobilizations to defend the clinics—no reliance on cops and troops!

"Right to Life" Killers

The media portrays the murderer, John Salvi, as a lone "social misfit." The *New York Times* (2 January) inanelly headlined "Authorities Trying to Find the Reason for Clinic Attacks." But Salvi was linked to a number of fascistic anti-abortion outfits. He met with leaders of "Massachusetts Citizens for Life." He distributed photographs of supposedly aborted fetuses, obtained from the anti-Semitic "Human Life International" outfit. He demonstrated with Operation Rescue, and last May 14 the scripture-quoting assassin attended a "prayer vigil" outside the same Planned Parenthood clinic where he would carry out his bloody carnage.

Salvi's rampage shows evidence of meticulous planning and methodical execution. How did he travel so quickly between the two Brookline clinics? What led Salvi to the Hillcrest Clinic in Norfolk, Virginia the day after his Brookline massacre? This otherwise unobtrusive facility has been subjected to repeated arson attacks. It is a major target of anti-abortion fanatics such as Donald Spitz,

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Martyrs in the Fight for Women's Rights

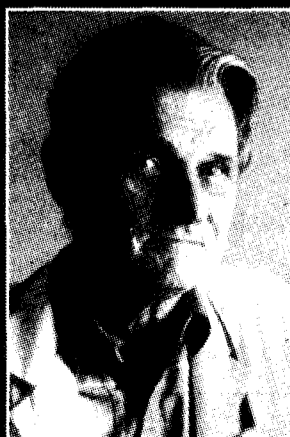
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Lee Ann Nichols



Shannon Lowney



Dr. John Bayard Britton



James Barrett



Dr. David Gunn



SWP Bans Communist Travel to Cuba

Young people fighting for revolutionary change naturally identify with the targets of rapacious U.S. imperialism. Thus, many involved in protests against California's anti-immigrant Prop. 187 and in opposing the colonial occupation of Haiti have taken up the fight for Cuba.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs defend the Cuban Revolution against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution from within. SYC members have signed up to travel to Cuba on international brigades. Ironically, it is purported leftists in the Socialist Workers Party—not the impe-

rialist warmongers—who have banned communists in the SYC from travel to Cuba.

On the eve of their departure, two young women were kicked off a brigade organized by the SWP and its youth affiliate, the Young Socialists. In Toronto, Spartacus Youth Club member Fiona received a phone call from a woman at the SWP's Communist League affiliate about a "very serious matter"—membership in the SYC. Fiona reported:

"She said that I was in an opponent political group that was 'hostile to the Cuban Revolution'—at this point I stopped her and pointed out that we defended the Cuban Revolution unconditionally. She went on to say that we were 'hostile to the revolutionary government' and wanted to 'basically overthrow' it, that the brigade is being hosted by the Young Communist League of Cuba who are pro-government. She said that since we were basically being invited by the government, my membership was incompatible with the purpose of the brigade."

The SWPer explained that it was "nothing personal," but "New York" had decided. She added that if Fiona "ever decided to quit" the SYC, she would be "welcome" to go on another brigade!

Almost simultaneously in San Francisco, SYC'er Carrie was banned from the brigade. After working overtime to raise the money to make the trip, Carrie was told that only \$500 of the \$600 in checks she had given to pay for the trip would be returned. She was left with barely \$20 to her name. In addition, there are the hundreds of dollars the banned brigadistas paid for non-refundable airline tickets.

The SWP's claim that the Spartacists

are "hostile to the Cuban Revolution" is a lying provocation. (See letter from the International Communist League to the Cuban government below.) But who are Jack Barnes & Co. to decide who defends Cuba? Counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe has greatly intensified the imperialist economic squeeze on Cuba. Yet the SWP hailed Boris Yeltsin's ascension to power, claiming it as a "giant victory" for Soviet workers and ignoring the peril this posed for Cuba. When German imperialism rammed through the capitalist annexation of the East German deformed workers state, the SWP declared: "German Reunification: A Step Forward for Communism." With "defenders" like these, who needs enemies?

In contrast, we Spartacists steadfastly stood for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against capitalist restoration. We warned at the time of Yeltsin's August 1991 counterrevolutionary counter-coup that the end of Soviet aid to Cuba would be a set-up for U.S. attack. Just as a number of our older cadres participated in brigades and trips to Cuba in the 1960s, in the 1980s Spartacus Youth League members went on work brigades to Nicaragua and raised "Nicabucks" to defend the revolution against the CIA's contras. We called to "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" The Barnesites politically subordinated themselves to the Sandinistas, even acting as stool pigeons against their own "comrades." Members of the Argentinian Simón Bolívar Brigade (part of the SWP's "International") were deported from Nicaragua, then beaten in Panama, after they voiced criticisms of the Sandinistas.

The SYCs' participation in solidarity brigades is part of the fight to extend socialist revolution internationally, which is central to defense of the Cuban Revolution.

Lessons of the "Spartakist Uprising"

January marks the anniversary of the murder of revolutionary Marxists Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht by the troops of the German Social Democratic government following the defeat of the 1919 "Spartakist uprising." Revolutionary Russian workers closely followed the mass strikes and demonstrations that swept Germany after the overthrow of the Kaiser at the end of World War I. The Bolsheviks understood that their



TROTSKY



LENIN

revolution could survive only through its extension to the advanced capitalist countries. Red Army leader Leon Trotsky, writing from the front lines of the Civil War that was racking the young Soviet workers state, emphasized that key to leading the German proletariat to power was forging the newly formed Communist Party into a revolutionary fighting organization based on experienced cadres.

In order to understand the German workers' revolution, one must judge it not simply by analogy with Russia's October revolution but by taking the internal conditions of Germany's own evolution as one's starting-point.

History has so turned out that in the epoch of imperialist war the German Social-Democratic Party has proved—and this can now be stated with complete objectivity—to be the most counter-revolutionary factor in world history.... When the war came, that is, when the moment of maximum historical testing arrived, it turned out that the official organisation of the working class felt and acted not as the proletariat's organisation for combat against the class state, but as an auxiliary organ of that class state, serving to discipline the proletariat. The working class was paralysed, since bearing down upon it was not only the full weight of capitalist militarism but also the apparatus of its own party. The ordeals of the war, its victories and defeats, tore the German working class out of its paralysis, freed it from the discipline of the official party. The latter split asunder. But the German proletariat had no revolutionary fighting organisation....

The Russian working class which accomplished its October revolution had inherited from the preceding epoch a priceless legacy in the shape of a centralised revolutionary party. The pilgrimage of the Narodnik intelligentsia to the peasantry, the terrorist struggle of the Narodovoltsi, the underground agitation of the pioneer Marxists, the revolutionary demonstrations of the first years of the century, the October general strike and barricades of 1905, the revolutionary 'parliamentarism' of the Stolypin period, very closely bound up with the underground movement—all this prepared a numerous body of revolutionary leaders, tempered in struggle and bound together by the unity of the programme for social revolution.

History bequeathed nothing like that to the German working class. It is compelled not only to fight for power but also to create its organisation and train its future leaders in the very course of this struggle. True, in the conditions of the revolutionary epoch this work of education is being carried through at feverish speed, but time is nevertheless needed for it to be accomplished. In the absence of a centralised revolutionary party with a fighting leadership whose authority is universally recognised by the worker masses, in the absence of leading combat nuclei and leaders, tested in action and proved through experience, in the separate centres and areas of the proletarian movement, when this movement broke out into the streets it became, of necessity, intermittent, chaotic, creeping in character. These strikes, insurrections and battles which flare up are at present the only form available for the task of openly mobilising the forces of the German proletariat, freed from the old party's yoke, and, at the same time they are the sole means of training new leaders and building the new party. It is quite obvious that such a road calls for enormous exertions and demands countless sacrifices. But there is no choice. This is the only road along which the class revolt of the German proletariat can develop until final victory.

—Leon Trotsky, "A Creeping Revolution" (April 1919)

Letter to the Cuban Government

8 January 1995

Government of the Republic of Cuba
Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas
Instituto Cubano de Amistad
con los Pueblos

Dear Comrades,

We received word at 22:30 Thursday night, 5 January, that two young women supporters of the International Communist League—one in Toronto, Canada, and another in San Francisco, U.S.A.—who were scheduled to go on a solidarity youth brigade to Cuba, departing Friday, were informed at the last minute by the organizers of this brigade, the Socialist Workers Party, that they were excluded from the trip. The SWP told them that they were not allowed because they were members of the Spartacus Youth Clubs, youth groups of the ICL in North America, making the lying assertion that we are "against the Cuban Revolution."

These young revolutionaries wanted to visit Cuba as a statement of their solidarity and defense of the gains of the Cuban Revolution against the blood-thirsty U.S. imperialist rulers. That the SWP would ban them from making this trip, particularly at this time of great peril in the face of U.S. imperialism's attempt to starve Cuba into submission, is criminal. It clearly shows that for the SWP defense of Cuba is subordinate to its own petty sectarian advantage in North America.

The claim that we do not support or are even "against" the Cuban Revolution is nothing other than a cynical provocation. The SWP knows only too well that we have, since our inception as the Revolutionary Tendency within their organization in 1961-63, stood for the unconditional defense of the Cuban Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution. And, unlike the SWP, which pan-

ders to Democratic Party liberals, we have never flinched from our revolutionary duty to defend Cuba against Yankee imperialism. At the time of the October crisis of 1962, while the SWP claimed that "the Soviet retreat on the missile issue under Kennedy's threats warned off the immediate danger of war," the RT warned that the Stalinist policy of "peaceful co-existence" is "opposed to the spread of the Cuban Revolution and to independent workers' action, which are the only guarantees of Cuba's defense."

The International Communist League is not only well-known for our defense of the Cuban Revolution, we consistently and uniquely stood out as the defenders of the gains of the Russian Revolution which were embodied, albeit in a deformed way, in the former Soviet Union and countries of Eastern Europe. The SWP hailed Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 counterrevolutionary counter-coup, claiming this was a "giant victory" for Soviet workers. In contrast, the ICL called on Soviet workers to "defeat Yeltsin/Bush counterrevolution" and warned that Yeltsin's victory placed Cuba more than ever in peril.

Following Moscow's September 1991 announcement that Soviet aid to Cuba was being terminated and Soviet military forces would be withdrawn from your country, the Spartacist League/U.S. held an emergency solidarity demonstration at the Cuban Mission to the UN, proclaiming "DEFEND CUBA!" and warning "Soviet Pullout—Setup for U.S. Attack!" And in the wake of the *gusano* riot in Havana last August 5, we declared that Trotskyists must "stand shoulder to shoulder with the working masses defending Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution."

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Prosecutors Acknowledge Man's Innocence...And Execute Him!

Shortly after midnight, January 4, the state of Texas executed Jesse Dewayne Jacobs with full knowledge of his innocence in a 1986 murder case.

Jacobs had initially confessed to the murder, then recanted. In order to convict him, the prosecutor called his recantation "hogwash," but later used Jacobs' revised testimony in convicting his sister of the same crime. Despite this, the hanging judges of the U.S. Supreme Court twice voted 6-3 to deny a stay of execution.

In his final words, Jacobs bitterly proclaimed: "I have news for all of you—there is not going to be an execution. This is premeditated murder by the State of Texas. I hope by my death, I'm that little bitty snowball that starts to bury the death penalty" (*New York Newsday*, 8 January). His fate gives the clearest possible proof that capital punishment is nothing but a legal license for the state to kill.

The execution provoked worldwide outrage. The Rome daily *La Repubblica* (5 January) headlined, "USA,

State Murder in Texas

State Homicide." Even the Vatican mouthpiece, *L'Osservatore Romano*, denounced the execution as "monstrous and absurd." The U.S. ruling class is intent on further speeding up the machinery of legal lynching, and the reactionary sweep in the November elections gave them a green light to do so.

Texas is indeed the capital of capital punishment, U.S.A. Among the over 370 people languishing on Texas' death row is black frame-up victim Gary Graham, whose long fight for freedom has won support ranging from famous actors and singers to Texas' Catholic bishops. Graham is seeking to overturn a murder conviction on the basis of overwhelming proof of his innocence, but under American capitalist "justice" this is no defense if you're poor, black or Hispanic.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee demand that the rac-

ist death penalty be abolished. Below we print a letter from the PDC on the eve of Jacobs' execution to Democratic Texas governor Ann Richards, who rushed to kill him before her term expired.

* * *

3 January 1995

Governor Ann Richards
Austin, Texas

Governor Richards:

We are outraged at the scheduled execution of Jesse Jacobs. The U.S. Supreme Court has affirmed the racist application of the death penalty in the *McCleskey* case. In the *Herrera* case, the Court held that someone could be executed before his appeals are exhausted. And yesterday the Court affirmed the execution of an innocent man. What more needs to be said to demonstrate the death penalty is barbaric and an outrage

against justice and decency?

Texas has a sordid history of innocent men on death row who only through years of legal battles and publicity were able to escape excruciating and horrifying death. We have only to mention Randall Dale Adams and Clarence Brandley. Such cases express the class and race bias which underlie the death penalty in capitalist America.

The case of Jesse Jacobs is particularly heinous. The state has admitted that he is not guilty of the murder for which he is about to be put to death. Two years ago, in the case of Leonel Herrera, Texas' assistant Attorney General told the Supreme Court that it would not be unconstitutional to execute someone the state knew to be innocent of the crime charged. Now the state of Texas is about to again do just that, take the life of a man known to be innocent.

We demand that you stop the execution of Jesse Jacobs.

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein

Cops Execute Homeless Man A White House Christmas

The death of Marcelino Corniel, from gunshot wounds received in front of the White House, is an indictment of U.S. capitalist brutality and racist injustice. On December 20, a 33-year-old homeless man, suffering from old burn wounds over 75 percent of his body, is asleep on a park bench. An arrogant cop wakes him with a nudge from a nightstick. It's daybreak and the tourists are coming. The cops hustle the homeless away from the White House like so much trash.

Tired, angry and in pain, Marcelino Corniel stumps across the street to the White House, cursing the cops and the yuppie Clinton. He has a knife taped to his hand, probably for night protection in the park and because three of his fingers were fused together as a result of his burns. He is quickly surrounded by Park Police and Secret Service agents, their trigger fingers itchy after a string of "security glitches" at the White House. Marcelino is given no chance to surrender, and is shot through the chest and leg—an intentional kill.

Corniel was part of what the ruling class calls the "underclass." They put him there. He was one of thousands arrested in the 1992 Los Angeles upheaval, charged with violating the National Guard-enforced curfew although he had a steady job as a graphics pressman. After

losing his job and suffering the accident which disfigured him, he ended up on the street.

In the colonial backyard of U.S. imperialism, Central and South America, police murder of "undesirables" is called "social cleansing." From Brazilian homeless children to Mexican transvestites, the death squads have shifted their gun sights to target these "eyesores." This year saw demonstrations of Brazilian slum dwellers chanting, "We are not disposable people!" This chant is an echo of the Memphis sanitation strikers of 1968, who proclaimed on their placards, "I Am a Man!"

In the days following this shocking execution, there is not one word of protest from the reformist black leaders. The killer cop is quietly reassigned. The FBI says prosecutors were getting ready to charge *Corniel*, with violent assault on a federal officer. The servile bourgeois media loudly drags out the "violent" criminal record of the dead victim. The authorities, from Clinton (speaking through his press secretary) on down, loudly proclaim they stand behind their killer cop. The black misleaders, from the Congressional Black Caucus to the Farrakhanites, remain silent from political cowardice toward the White House and class contempt



In cold blood: D.C. Park Police shoot down Marcelino Corniel outside the White House, 20 December 1994.

toward the ghetto masses—exemplified by Marcelino Corniel.

It is too late to bring justice to Marcelino Corniel, but his death cries out for protest. Marcelino was summarily executed in the street. Meanwhile, thousands are on death row, the majority black and Hispanic, awaiting legal lynching by the machinery of state murder. Foremost among them is Mumia Abu-Jamal, the crusading black journalist and former Black Panther who faces death on frame-up charges of killing a Philadelphia cop. Jamal is known as "the voice of the voiceless"—Corniel was the "voiceless" in the street. Fighting to avenge the murder of Marcelino and countless other victims of racist cop atrocities, we must mobilize to save Jamal

and abolish the death penalty.

Following the lead of Clinton, who during the presidential campaign orchestrated the execution of a brain-damaged black man to show he was "tough on crime," the states and federal government are revving up the assembly lines of death, expanding massive armies of cops, building new prisons to be filled with poor, mostly black and Hispanic men. From the White House to Capitol Hill, bipartisan racist reaction reigns in Washington. Their program for the homeless, welfare mothers, immigrants is death, through slow starvation or a cop's bullets. The working class and minority poor need their own party to lead the revolutionary fight against this genocidal assault. ■

Jamal Legal Defense Needs \$\$\$

The fight to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is taking a critical turn. On January 17, Tom Ridge takes office as the new governor of Pennsylvania. A former prosecutor, Ridge campaigned on a "tough on crime" and pro-death-penalty platform. His election means that time is running out for Jamal and all of the more than 170 men and women on the state's death row.

For 13 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been fighting the racist legal lynchings who are determined to push him into the death chamber. Jamal's attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass and including the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, are racing against time to file an application for a new trial in Pennsylvania state court in the next couple of months.

This is only the start of a long and costly process to save Jamal from the executioner. The legal defense needs

lots of financial help. Jamal is up against the vast financial resources of the state. In recent years, cases which have successfully overturned death sentences and freed the innocent defendant have cost at least \$1 million in legal fees and expenses.

To help raise funds, Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell are co-chairmen of the Committee. Advisors include Whoopi Goldberg, Harry Belafonte, Ed Asner, E.L. Doctorow and Sonia Sanchez.

Your support is urgently needed. Tax-deductible contributions for the defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

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Boston...

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a signer of the infamous "Defensive Action" statement justifying the murder of abortion providers (see "The Anti-Abortion Terror Network," page 5).

Liberal bourgeois feminists thought that with Clinton in the White House, they had won on abortion. Yet deadly violence against clinics has escalated. The "1994 Clinic Violence Survey Report" by the Feminist Majority Foundation states that while there was a slight decrease in vandalism and clinic blockades, "anti-abortion extremists are increasingly turning to death threats as their primary strategy." Nationwide, *one-quarter of abortion clinic staff members have received death threats.* And they're not crank calls: 22 percent of clinics report that their workers are picketed at home, and 18 percent reported stalking. In the month before the slaughter in Brookline, death threats at the Planned Parenthood clinic increased when it became known they were testing the RU 486 "abortion pill."

Dr. Warren Hern, at the Boulder Abortion Clinic in Colorado, has been a frequent target of the mobs—the clinic added four layers of bulletproof windows after somebody-fired five shots at it in 1988. The harassers are no longer "the little old ladies in hair curlers," he told WV. "We have recently had some seriously crazy people out here, who want me seriously dead." In Reno, Nevada, Dr. Damon Stutes' clinic was firebombed four times. He opened the West End Women's Medical Group clinic in November, which *Time* magazine (9 January) described as "a high tech fortress with solid steel doors and magnetic locks, bullet-resistant windows, infrared motion detectors, panic buttons to summon police and a 70-ft. setback planted with thorn trees." Dr. Stutes is the only abortion provider in a 200,000-square-mile area and knows he is a major target. *Time* reported:

"After a busy day at the clinic, Dr. Damon Stutes, 43, changes out of his surgical scrubs and climbs into his four-wheel-drive truck, custom built for high-speed chases. He slides open his Berretta pistol to make sure it is loaded. Pointing a remote control toward a video screen on the garage wall, he flips through eight channels, each offering a different camera view of the outside grounds. As the garage's metal door slides open, he tucks a bulletproof vest between his body and the truck window and steps on the gas."

This is what it takes to provide abortion services in America today!

Dr. Stutes is a member of the NRA and firmly believes in the right to armed self-defense. At a January 2 abortion rights protest in San Francisco, one woman carried a sign boldly proclaiming "I'm Pro-Choice and I Shoot Back." They understand reality, that the liberals' program of reliance on the state means disarming abortion providers and



WV Photo

Boston, December 31: Demonstration at Massachusetts state house in wake of bloodbath at two Boston-area abortion clinics. Spartacist contingent calls for militant mass mobilizations to defend the clinics.

clinic defenders in the face of anti-abortion terrorists.

"Operation Rescue" Targets Boston

There should be no surprise that the anti-abortion terror spawned in the Klan-infested backwaters around Pensacola should reappear in Boston. The racist mobs which attacked black children being bused to school in the 1970s have re-emerged to attack housing integration. The police use the racist "anti-crime" crusade as an excuse to terrorize black people in the housing projects. Last May, the KKK staged a fascist provocation for "Neighborhood, Home, Family and Country" in South Boston. And in October, some 10,000 joined an anti-abortion march sponsored by Massachusetts Citizens for Life, presided over by Bernard Cardinal Law.

In November, zealots from Operation Rescue met on the Harvard University campus on the topic "Shutting Down America's Abortion Mills." O.R. is behind the notorious "No Place to Hide" campaign which tracks abortion providers to their homes and distributes "wanted" posters to facilitate their assassinations! To counter this sinister provocation, the Boston Spartacus Youth Club called a united-front demonstration outside the building where the terrorists were holed up. The SYC leaflet noted, "Don't be fooled by the cloak of academic respectability that Harvard provides—what Operation Rescue stands for is seen in rivers of blood!" The Harvard meeting was a front for the terror campaign that led to the murders of Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols weeks later.

Across the country, the Spartacist

League and SYCs joined in demonstrations protesting the Brookline clinic massacre. Some 2,000 outraged protesters turned out in Boston the day after the killings. SL signs called for "Free Abortion on Demand!" "Right-to-Life Bigots = Pro-Death Penalty Racists, Anti-Abortion Murderers!" and "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Backed by a raft of local Democrats and the state attorney general, NOW implored the anti-abortion forces to "cease their inflammatory rhetoric that has fostered this climate of fear and violence" (*Boston Globe*, 1 January)—as if moral suasion ever stopped a rabid dog! Spartacist slogans calling for "No Illusions in Cops or Troops" and "No to Gun Control" cut across this bourgeois program for passive defeat.

NOW's strategy is to pressure Attorney General Janet Reno's Justice Department to send in the FBI and federal marshals to "protect" abortion clinics. This same "General" Reno ordered the April 1993 assault resulting in the incineration of more than 86 members of a small, integrated religious commune near Waco, Texas. The feminists who helped install Bill and Hillary Clinton in the White House are now paralyzed as their "New Democrat" darlings conciliate right-wing forces down the line. The *New York Times* (31 December 1994) noted: "Since Mr. Clinton was elected, abortion-rights groups have walked a tightrope, lobbying the Administration for tougher enforcement measures while avoiding direct criticism of White House or Justice Department officials...."

Now that the liberal feminists' illusions of legislative "clout" have been dissipated with the incoming anti-abortion Gingrich-Dole Republican Congress, you may see some popular-front parades. With anger building after the New Year's massacre, Boston NOW felt compelled to call for a mass rally in Boston on January 22, anniversary of the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision, which formally legalized abortion nationally. Acting as "best builders" of this ladies auxiliary of the Democratic Party, the Socialist Workers Party issued a call, "All Out for January 22 Demonstration in Boston" (*Militant*, 16 January). But even a mass liberal diversion was too hot for NOW, whose program comes down to "Hillary on horseback." So the January 22 "rally" will be a hot-air indoor meeting, due to the danger of "inclement weather."

The SWP wants "federal troops to Boston." At a NOW "community strategy meeting" January 4 at Brookline High, SWP leader Maceo Dixon demanded, "If Clinton could send troops to Haiti," then "he could send troops to Boston" to defend the clinics! So the SWP buys the lie of a "humanitarian" colonial occupation and wants the same in Boston! The SWP makes a mantra of its calls for "federal troops" to the rescue. During the

Vietnam War, they called on the U.S. Army, which was napalming Vietnam, to supposedly defend black people in Mississippi! Their call for troops to "enforce" busing in Boston in the '70s was no less a betrayal.

Meanwhile, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) has danced around the issue of troops, calling vaguely to "Fight Attacks on Abortion Rights" (how?). These social democrats always tail what's popular in bourgeois opinion. But that doesn't defend women's rights. In North Africa and the Near East their program is to tail after Islamic fundamentalists who would keep women imprisoned in the veil! To defend abortion rights and stop the fascist terrorists requires first of all a *break with the Democrats*, and with all those who would tie the fate of women to the capitalist rulers. Urgently needed is a *fighting workers party* that mobilizes the power of labor to champion the cause of all the oppressed in a struggle for socialist revolution.

A December 31 statement by the Boston Spartacist League called to avenge Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols by stopping anti-abortion terror with mass mobilizations to defend the clinics:

"It is necessary to drive off and disperse the rightist mobs and the Operation Rescue scum who lay siege to the clinics!" Clearly this is the question of the hour and a life-and-death question at that. What is necessary is a massive outpouring of outrage, mobilizing working women and their allies backed up by the social power of the labor movement, to defend the clinics, safeguard and expand a woman's right to all med-



WV Photo

San Francisco, January 2: Demonstrators honor Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols.

ical facilities and stop the murderous thugs cold.

"But some NOW-type liberals are counseling more pressure be put on the capitalist state to 'protect' us. This is not just foolish, it is dangerous. Massachusetts already has a statewide injunction supposedly limiting anti-abortionists and then there's the federal 'Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances' law. The families of Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols can take no consolation from these pieces of paper, but such laws will be used as an excuse to harass clinic defenders and pro-abortion demonstrators. And the predictable liberal cries for more 'gun control' can only disarm the very people trying to defend abortion rights...."

"We must fight for free abortion on demand to mobilize working and minority women in the fight for abortion rights. We must see this recent atrocity in the light of the current right-wing assault on women's rights as both Newt Gingrich and Bill Clinton prepare to starve poor women and children in their efforts to 'end welfare as we know it.' What is needed is nothing less than an all-sided fight for women's rights."

Defend the clinics! Take a stand! Free abortion on demand! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

NPR Airs Anti-Abortion Terrorist, Gags Mumia Abu-Jamal

Anti-abortion terrorist Paul Hill, the killer of Dr. John Britton and James Barrett, was given a platform on *Donahue* and other national TV shows to spew his filth that killing abortion doctors was "justifiable homicide," over a year before his Pensacola rampage. Now John Salvi wants to go on the Barbara Walters show to brag about his slaughter in Brookline. After Hill received a death sentence in November, Daniel Ware, an anti-abortion fanatic from Houston, went on National Public Radio to threaten that, if Hill is executed, "blood will run in the streets like nobody has ever seen" (*New York Times*, 1 January). So the liberal NPR has no qualms

about broadcasting these screaming reactionaries as they recruit for murder on "public radio." Yet the voice of black radio journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal cannot be heard. Former Black Panther Jamal sits on Pennsylvania's death row after being framed up by the Philadelphia police. Known for his passionate advocacy of the cause of black people and the poor, Mumia's columns appear in *Workers Vanguard* and many other newspapers. Yet NPR abruptly canceled a planned series of commentaries by Jamal last year, after complaints from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police.

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal—Abolish the racist death penalty!

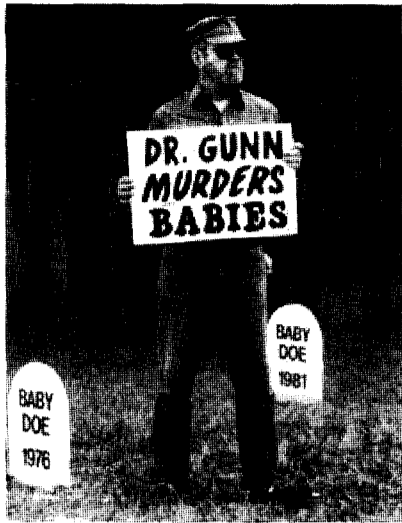
Clinic Killers Aren't "Loners"

The Anti-Abortion Terror Network

As abortion clinic killer John Salvi was arraigned in Norfolk, Virginia on January 1, a group of bloodthirsty anti-abortion protesters led by Donald Spitz and David Crane demonstrated outside the courthouse proclaiming Salvi a hero for murdering two women and wounding five others during his terror spree against clinics in Boston and Virginia. Spitz and Crane are the directors of Rescue Virginia, which has targeted the Hillcrest Clinic in Norfolk that has been the object of repeated arson attacks. They are also signatories of the statement circulated by Paul Hill, the cold-blooded assassin who shotgunned an abortion doctor and his bodyguard in Pensacola, Florida, justifying the murder of abortion providers. While most of the media is quick to label Salvi yet another "loner," Salvi was working with groups that are part of a wide-ranging anti-abortion terrorist movement.

In fact, it takes a detailed wall chart to display all the interconnections between the plethora of groups spun off by these terrorists to carry out their "holy war" against abortion. In an article unusual for the bourgeois press, *U.S. News & World Report* (14 November 1994) recently published an inquiry into the anti-abortion terrorist world which "documented an extensive pattern of meetings and organizational links, which suggests that some acts of violence perpetrated against abortion clinics may not be the acts of loners.... Records show that some prominent abortion opponents who denounce violence have a pattern of contacts and meetings with the very criminals they claim to reject." There is also plenty of evidence tying the clinic killers and anti-abortion mob leaders to nativist fascists like the Ku Klux Klan.

Take the infamous declaration, signed by many prominent anti-abortion leaders, declaring that "use of lethal force" against abortion doctors and "their accomplices" is "justifiable." The Pensacola "Defensive Action" group which issued this obscene incitement to murder was begun by Paul Hill after Dr. David Gunn was assassinated in 1993 by Michael Griffin. Griffin was "counseled" by John Burt of Rescue America, a "former" Klansman who declares that the KKK and fundamentalist Christians are "pretty close...fighting for God and country. Some day we may all be in the trenches together in the fight against the slaughter of unborn children." Burt was



Pensacola News Journal

Left: "Ex"-KKKer John Burt, shown here in 1991, "counseled" Michael Griffin, who murdered Dr. Gunn in 1993. Right: Randall Terry, founder of Operation Rescue, which targets abortion doctors for violent attack.



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

the "spiritual adviser" for two men convicted of a 1984 Pensacola clinic fire-bombing. He also aided Hill in tracking down Dr. John Britton, who after the murder of Dr. Gunn was the sole abortion doctor in Pensacola.

One technique they used was to issue a "wanted" poster with Britton's picture, just as Randall Terry's Operation Rescue had done with Dr. Gunn. In an article titled "Anti-Abortionists and White Supremacists Make Common Cause" (*Progressive*, October 1994), Loretta Ross noted that the KKK originated this practice against abortion doctors in 1985. The Confederate Knights of the KKK rails: "More than ten million white babies have been murdered through Jewish-engineered legalized abortion since 1973.... This is just one of many tools used to destroy the white race and we know who it is." After Hill shot down Dr. Britton and his escort James Barrett last July, the Florida Templar Knights of the Ku Klux Klan sponsored a rally supporting Hill. And Tom Metzger, leader of "White Aryan Resistance," declared that "WAR condones the killing."

As *U.S. News & World Report* notes, "two men, Joe Scheidler and Randall Terry, were the driving force" in the mid-80s in organizing and stepping up murderous attacks against clinics. "One of those meetings took place in a Pensacola steakhouse with about 40 other anti-abortion activists. It was at this meeting, participants say, that Terry first laid out his plan for the organization that would become known as Operation Rescue." Scheidler's outfit was called Pro-Life Action League, and among its members was Donald Spitz in Norfolk and John Burt in Pensacola.

In 1990, Operation Rescue "went underground" to make itself harder to hit with lawsuits. But recently Terry took up another organizational affiliation, with the U.S. Taxpayers Party (USTP). Terry is planning to run for office in New York state in 1996 on the Taxpayers Party line. This group, headquartered in Vienna, Virginia, has overlapping leadership with the fascist Liberty Lobby and the Populist Party (which ran KKKer David Duke for president) as well as the John Birch Society. The USTP spews out anti-Semitism straight out of the notorious tsarist police forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and argues that all federal tax and welfare programs should be eliminated. USTP state assembly candidates in Wisconsin declared last year that abortionists should be "put to death" (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, 19 August 1994).

As Planned Parenthood Federation (PPF) researchers revealed this summer at a New York City press conference, the U.S. Taxpayers Party has also become a focus for armed "militias" being organ-

ized by white supremacists, Christian fundamentalists and anti-abortionists. In a videotape of a USTP convention in Wisconsin last May, Milwaukee pastor Matthew Trehwella is captured calling for militias to attack abortion clinics and doctors. On sale for \$1 at the Taxpayers Party convention was a 100-page manual, *Principles Justifying the Arming and Organizing of a Militia*, which advises: "Eight men make an effective house assault team. While four men give suppressive fire, the other four can advance on and enter a house or small building." Another manual used by "militia churches," issued by the "Army of God," suggests: "If terminally ill, use your final months to torch clinics; by the time the authorities identify you...you will have gone to your reward."

Boston clinic killer John Salvi has his own direct ties with this crowd, distributing literature of Human Life International (HLI), one of the largest organizations of the anti-abortion terror network. Salvi's statement after his

arrest, claiming that "free masons persecute the catholic people," has been portrayed by the mainstream press as psychotic ramblings. Wrong. This is the ideology of fascistic Roman Catholics like HLI. Human Life International was founded in 1981 by Father Paul Marx with encouragement from the Vatican. HLI leader Marx writes that "the enemies of life and family are always the same," which he identifies as "feminists, Freemasons, Communists, secular humanists, and the ubiquitous International Planned Parenthood Federation" (*Front Lines Research*, June 1994).

HLI is linked to Dr. Siegfried Ernst, a German neo-Nazi anti-abortion leader, and Wolfgang Borowsky, who was a leader of the Freedom for Rudolf Hess Committee. HLI's annual conference in California last April was addressed by O.R. head Randall Terry. When speaking to the national media, Terry tries to distance himself from the anti-abortion bombers and gunmen. But in a radio interview after Dr. Gunn was killed, Terry said of courageous Colorado abortion doctor Warren Hern, "I hope he is executed. I make no bones about it."

While groups like Planned Parenthood have dug up much evidence of a fascistic abortion terrorist network, the liberals' "answer" is to look to the government. Last summer, after the Pensacola killings, Reno's Justice Department formed a "Clinic Violence Task Force," but then drastically cut it back, claiming "the threat had abated," according to *Time* (9 January)! As experience from the civil rights movement to the 1979 Greensboro massacre to Illinois state police protecting a KKK provocation on Martin Luther King weekend last January shows, the bourgeois state protects its dogs of war, held in reserve to be unleashed against the left, labor and minorities. It will take a workers revolution to sweep away these fascist killers once and for all. ■

Cuba...

(continued from page 2)

In the past 30 years, many members and supporters of our organization have traveled to Cuba to show our defense of the revolution. Most recently, in November 1994 a Mexican supporter of the ICL attending the World Solidarity with Cuba Conference in Havana distributed to delegates the latest issue of our Mexican publication *Espartaco*, with the headlines "Yankee Imperialism: Out of Haiti! Hands Off Cuba!" and "Clinton's Provocations Threaten Cuba." At the same time, where we have criticized the government of Fidel Castro, even sharply, it has been at those junctures where its policies have, in our view, undermined the defense of the Cuban Revolution. Notably, in recent years we have condemned the execution of General Arnaldo Ochoa, a Hero of the Revolution, and warned against the dangerous destabilizing effects of legalizing commerce in dollars, which gives Yankee imperialism greater leverage for economic blackmail.

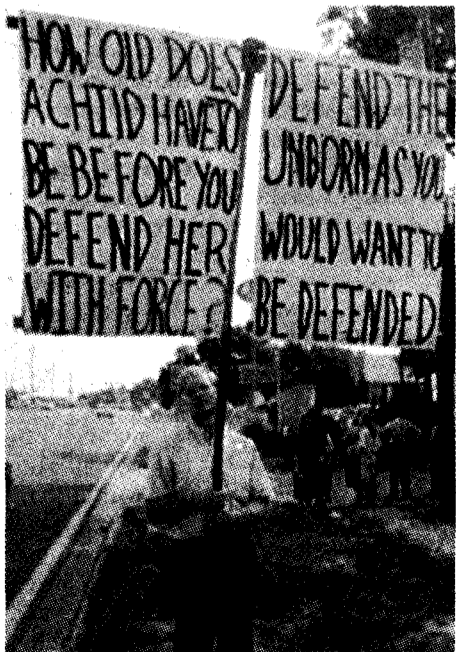
The stakes in Cuba today are tremendous. We stand in solidarity with all those, in Cuba and throughout the world, who are determined to fight to defend the revolutionary gains. We alert them to the fact that some who now talk of easing the vicious U.S. embargo do so with the aim of increasing counterrevolutionary pressures on Cuba. Just as occurred throughout East Europe and the Soviet Union, restoration of the old society in Cuba would destroy the social

gains made possible by a collectivized economy. And the return of the *gusano* scum from Miami would also unleash rivers of blood. At the same time, we note that U.S. imperialism is not monolithically strong. The Zapatista Indian peasant uprising and recent peso crash in Mexico have deeply shaken Washington's NAFTA euphoria, while militant workers struggles from Brazil to Italy show that the class struggle continues unabated.

Especially in this hour of maximum danger, we declare that Cuban workers and collective farmers desperately need their own organs of class rule—councils of workers power, of revolutionary workers democracy to break through the barrier of bureaucracy and mobilize the Cuban masses in defense of their hard-won gains against the threat of counter-revolution from within or without. And to break out of the present impasse, we insist that Cuba must not and cannot stand alone. The best defense of the Cuban Revolution is to fight for workers revolutions in the U.S. and throughout Latin America. This is our commitment.

The SWP's petty anti-communist ban, refusing to allow our young supporters to be part of a solidarity brigade to Cuba, is a blow against the Cuban working masses and against the struggle for international working-class revolution. It is a despicable act which we vigorously protest.

Fraternally,
Jan Norden
for the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)



Pensacola News

Anti-abortion assassin Paul Hill demonstrates outside Pensacola Ladies Center, where he later shot down Dr. John Britton and James Barrett. Hill circulated statement supporting murder of abortion providers.

East Europe: Five Years of Counterrevolution



Platforma Spartakusowców

Warsaw, May Day 1992: 15,000 demonstrate against capitalist "shock treatment" dictated by IMF.

The victory of Bulgaria's Socialist Party in parliamentary elections in December is the latest in a series of sensational electoral comebacks by the political heirs of former Stalinist ruling parties in East Europe over the past couple of years. Western imperialist observers greeted these dramatic popular repudiations of the results of "democratic" capitalist counterrevolution in the former deformed workers states with consternation, typified in such headlines as "Red Tide Sweeps Across Eastern Europe," "Back to the Future," "Welcome Back, Lenin." The *Warsaw Voice* (24 July 1994) pointed to the seeming paradox of the electoral triumphs of the ex-Stalinists turned social democrats in Poland, Hungary and Lithuania: "Postcommunists are returning to power across Central and Eastern Europe, and especially in those countries which seemed to be carrying the banner of democratic and free-market reforms longest and holding it up the highest."

At first glance Poland, Hungary and Lithuania would seem to be the last places in East Europe where the old Stalinist parties could make a political comeback. For these were the very countries where the forces of anti-Communism and anti-Soviet nationalism were strongest. During the 1980s, Lech Walesa's clerical-nationalist Solidarność movement in Poland, actively promoted by Western imperialism, was the vanguard for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc. The Hungarian Stalinist bureaucracy—softened and corrupted by decades of "market socialism"—totally abdicated in 1989-90, leaving the political field open to reactionary nationalists. And the Sajudis regime in Lithuania

Part 1: The Fall of Polish Solidarność

was the first to declare its independence from the USSR in 1990.

However, the very strength of the anti-Communist nationalists in these countries produced a powerful backlash against them when *in power* the capitalist counterrevolution brought not the expected prosperity but pauperization. Between 1989 and 1993, industrial employment fell 22 percent in Poland, 28 percent in the Czech Republic and 41 percent in Hungary. Two out of five Polish families now live below the official poverty level. Sixty percent of Hungarians say "it was better under Communism," a sentiment widely echoed from the Baltic to the Balkans. In Belarus, not only do a majority of people favor a return to the days of the Soviet Union, but the capital of

Minsk recently restored a statue honoring Feliks Dzerzhinsky, the Polish Lithuanian revolutionary who was the first head of the Bolshevik Cheka state police!

First in Lithuania in 1992, then in Poland a year later, in Hungary last spring and now in Bulgaria, former Stalinist ruling parties have ousted and displaced the right-wing nationalists who spearheaded the counterrevolution. Of course, these parties were never really communist, but rather the political apparatus for the rule of conservative bureaucracies which parasitically rested atop the collectivized economy. Deprived of their sinecures, they have renounced even the label of "Marxism-Leninism" and present themselves as born-again social democrats. Yet their growing popular sup-

port stems in good measure from their association with the economic security working people enjoyed in the Soviet bloc deformed workers states, and their promises to provide a social "safety net" to counteract the immiseration of the "free market."

Unlike Russia, where Stalinist has-beens join with fascists in a chauvinist "red-brown" opposition coalition, the ex-Stalinists in East Europe had to define and defend themselves against victorious right-wing nationalism. Thus they continued to be identified in popular consciousness with socialism and the interests of the workers. The East European ex-Stalinist social democrats wear two faces. To the workers, the unemployed, the aged, they offer "capitalism with a human face," as it's called in Poland: tempering the transition to a market economy with "social justice." But to the new capitalist entrepreneurs and Western imperialist agencies, they present themselves as efficient technocrats. Aleksander Kwasniewski, the yuppie head of the Polish Social Democrats, says, "I believe in protecting growth at any price."

The ex-Stalinists' newfound commitment to a "market economy" is more than just political opportunism. As the Soviet-bloc bureaucracies were collapsing in 1989-90, factory managers, financial apparatchiks and their cronies ripped off the productive assets under their control. This is called *nomenklatura* privatization. A recent study of East Europe indicates that half the top managers in the private sector were former directors of state enterprises. Thus, while the ex-Stalinist parties appeal to the working class, they also represent in a direct way



AP
Protest in front of Polish parliament against anti-abortion bill, 1989.

the interests of a large section of the new capitalist exploiters.

There Is No Capitalism with a Human Face

In its election platform, the Polish Social Democracy (SdRP) promised to preserve the "historical socio-economic gains of People's Poland" while pursuing construction of a market economy and integration into the world capitalist market. Like Western bourgeois politicians, these former Stalinists evidently know that election promises are made to be broken! The job security and social benefits East European workers used to have were necessarily based on a centrally planned and collectivized economy. Enterprises could effectively guarantee lifetime employment because they were insulated by the state monopoly of foreign trade from the competitive pressure of the world capitalist market.

The economic devastation inherent in capitalist restoration has also been greatly intensified by the disappearance of the Soviet market along with the current depression and increased trade protectionism in West Europe. East European working people may have resented Moscow's political overlordship, but they benefited from the economic arrangements of the Soviet bloc. The USSR provided oil, natural gas and mineral ores at well below world market prices, while importing industrial goods whose poor quality and relatively high prices made them unmarketable in the West. And when the now-capitalist regimes of East Europe turned to the West, they found the door slammed in their faces. The European Common Market (now European Union) has imposed new import barriers on everything from steel tubing to baby calves. Imperialist states practice "free market" economics when it's in their interest to do so.

Mass unemployment, the closure of giant factories and the overall pauperization of East Europe are not simply the result of "free market" dogmatism, the strategy of "shock therapy" or any other *changeable* government policy. Any government—whether pro-Western neoliberal, Christian nationalist or ex-Stalinist—which accepts the framework of capitalist restoration will oversee the further impoverishment of these societies. Polish and Hungarian workers who believe that the new "left-wing" governments can and will change things for the better are bound to be frustrated. Polish Social Democrat Jerzy Wiatr admitted as much: "Now that we're in power, the tension is much greater. The grass roots wants us to be more and more socialist."

It is in large measure to dampen such expectations from their working-class base that the Polish and Hungarian social democrats eagerly sought to govern in popular-front coalitions with bourgeois parties, in the case of Hungary even despite the Socialists' absolute parliamentary majority. But as the social democrats preside over continuing pauperization, demoralizing the workers and



Szulecki/NY Times

Warsaw: Many poor and elderly get one meal a day, with Red Cross food coupons. Right: Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, well-fed architect of "shock treatment" capitalist austerity, from Bolivia to East Europe.



Pohl/NY Times

shattering pervasive hopes for some measure of security, they can easily pave the way for far more reactionary forces who scapegoat Jews and other minorities for the economic and social devastation produced by capitalist restoration. There is a real danger that just as disillusionment with the anti-Communist nationalists impelled the masses to the left, so disillusionment with the ex-Stalinist parties in power could bolster the fascistic right.

For a Socialist United States of Europe!

There is no way out of growing immiseration, imperialist domination and nationalist pogromism short of *socialist revolution* on the basis of Leninist *internationalism*. "Socialism in one country," propounded by Stalin in 1924 following the death of Lenin and subsequently propagated in East Europe in such colors as Gomulka's "Polish road to socialism," was an all-sided lie aimed at justifying the conservative bureaucracy's hostility to world socialist revolution. In their struggle to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution, the Trotskyists opposed the anti-revolutionary, nationalist Stalinist dogma and fought to uphold the Leninist program of international proletarian revolution. This is what the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), which opposed capitalist counterrevolution down the line from East Berlin to Warsaw to Moscow, fights for today.

When the Stalinists' professed "real existing socialism" manifestly failed in the 1980s, many East Europeans came to believe that the road to a society of plenty could be attained through integration with the wealthier capitalist West. But the line pushed by Reaganite "neoliberals" and social democrats

alike—that if only East Europeans accept a few more years of hardship during the "transition to a market economy," these countries will end up like West Germany or Scandinavia—is clearly proving to be a lie. Rather, capitalist restoration is transforming the former Soviet bloc countries into imperialist neocolonies, with the conditions of the workers substantially and permanently worse than in the 1970s-80s.

East Europe was fundamentally more backward—economically and socially—than West Europe during the entire capitalist epoch and, in fact, since the late Middle Ages. The planned, collectivized economies of the postwar era brought enormous economic development and social progress to East Europe but could not raise this region to the level of the advanced capitalist—i.e., imperialist—West. This is true even if one discounts the specifically Stalinist bureaucratic deformations: widespread managerial parasitism and corruption, a tendency toward national economic autarky, etc.

Full employment was achieved and maintained only by grossly overmanning enterprises so that production costs in East Europe were far above world market norms. In order to maintain consumption levels while countering NATO's military buildup, during the 1970s and '80s most Soviet bloc regimes cut back on productive investment and also borrowed heavily from Western banks. As a result, both industrial plants and infrastructure (transportation, communications, etc.) became increasingly obsolescent by Western standards. Seeking to avoid the costs of retooling and relocation and fearing social upheaval if factories were closed, the Stalinist regimes continued to subsidize large enterprises even when there was little need for their output. The landscape of East Europe and the former USSR is dotted with industrial dinosaurs which not only cannot survive in the present capitalist environment but would have no place in a genuinely socialist economy with a high level of technological dynamism.

The resources needed to modernize the economies of East Europe, Russia and the other former Soviet republics, as well as the so-called Third World, can only come from socialist revolution in the imperialist centers, so that the productive wealth of North America, West Europe and Japan can be used to create an internationally planned economy. Especially in the past few decades, workers in East Europe are inclined to dismiss the Marxist and Leninist program of international proletarian revolution as "red soap bubbles," what Americans call pie-in-the-sky. A wonderful idea, they say, but it can never happen in the real world. However, the real world is not at all static.

Even during the Cold War, East European workers and intellectuals were

responsive to shifting political developments in the capitalist West. The worker/student revolt which shook the French bourgeois order in May 1968 contributed to the budding proletarian political revolution in Czechoslovakia under the banner of "socialism with a human face" a few months later. Conversely, the ascendancy of the bourgeois right represented by Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl in the late 1970s and early '80s encouraged and conditioned the growth of counterrevolutionary forces in the Soviet sphere. Hardline capitalism in the West appeared to be a permanent and dominant feature of the modern world.

However, capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc has itself *destabilized the bourgeois order in West Europe*. To begin with, it has coincided with the worst economic downturn in the region since the Great Depression of the 1930s. With 20 million unemployed from Scandinavia to Iberia, West European youth share the prospect now faced by Poles and Hungarians of *never* getting a decent job. Driven by competitive pressures to lower labor costs, which have become far higher than in the U.S. and Japan, the West European bourgeoisies are moving to dismantle the "welfare state," which provided free or inexpensive medical care, relatively generous pensions, unemployment insurance, sick leave and other benefits. These social measures were granted to gain the support or at least neutrality of workers loyal to social-democratic and Stalinist parties in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. Today, the "welfare state" has lost its central political rationale.

In demanding cuts in wages and benefits, German and French industrialists hold over their workers the threat of shifting operations to low-wage countries, which now include East



Der Spiegel

Aleksander Kwasniewski, head of ex-Stalinist Polish Social Democrats.

Europe. German industrial spokesman Tyll Neckar exulted, "Right on our doorstep in Eastern Europe, for the first time we have a vast pool of cheap and highly trained labor" (*New York Times*, 8 August 1993). The Italian working class—the most combative in West Europe—has confronted a far-right government including fascists for the first time since Mussolini was strung up by Communist partisans in 1945. And throughout Europe, there has been a groundswell of racist attacks on immigrants and refugees, including the tens of thousands displaced by capitalist counterrevolution and nationalist fratricide.

Thus, in their own way the working masses of West Europe also face immiseration and impoverishment in the post-Soviet "New World Order." They've responded with militant defensive struggles best exemplified by the victorious 1993 Air France strike and repeated strike actions in Italy. Meanwhile, a layer of youth is being drawn into the streets, not only in response to cutbacks but notably in opposition to resurgent fascist terror and state racism against immigrants.

However, the rising line of class struggle in Europe, East and West, has been narrowly economic and nationally limited. What is lacking is the revolutionary and internationalist perspective embodied in the European workers movement

continued on page 8



Der Spiegel

In 1980, Solidarność leader Lech Walesa led workers into embrace of the reactionary Catholic church hierarchy.

East Europe...

(continued from page 7)

at the time of its foundation by Marxists and reaching its highest level in the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. The program of a Socialist United States of Europe, far from being utopian, is the only realistic alternative to the further degradation of the working class, from the coal mines of Silesia to the auto plants of northern Italy.

Poland: Counterrevolutionary Solidarność in Power

The victory of the Democratic Left Alliance in 1993 appeared all the more startling given that Poland was the birthplace of the first mass counterrevolutionary movement in East Europe. Born during a major strike wave in August 1980, Solidarność initially drew on legitimate worker grievances. Three times earlier—in 1956, 1970 and 1976—workers' upsurges had brought Poland to the brink of proletarian political revolution. But despite the whitewashing denials of Western fake leftists, Solidarność represented a departure from the earlier pro-socialist struggles of the Polish proletariat. From the outset, the movement was led by a coterie of clerical-nationalists around Lech Walesa and braintrustered by a circle of social-democratic intellectuals like Jacek Kuron. The Solidarność leadership collaborated closely with the church hierarchy directed by the new Polish Pope Karol Wojtyła and with Western, especially American, imperialism.

When in the fall of 1981 Solidarność consolidated around a program of open counterrevolution, we Spartacists denounced it as a "Polish company union for the CIA and Western bankers" and raised the call, "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" We indicted the Stalinist bureaucracy for having driven the bulk of the historically socialist Polish proletariat into the arms of clerical-nationalism and called for proletarian political revolution to install a regime based on the rule of authentic workers councils (soviets). To be sure, many of the workers who looked to Walesa & Co. were not won to capitalist restoration, although that's what Solidarność' program amounted to. The task of Trotskyists, however, is not to pander to false consciousness among the workers at any point in time but to uphold the historic interests of the international proletariat.

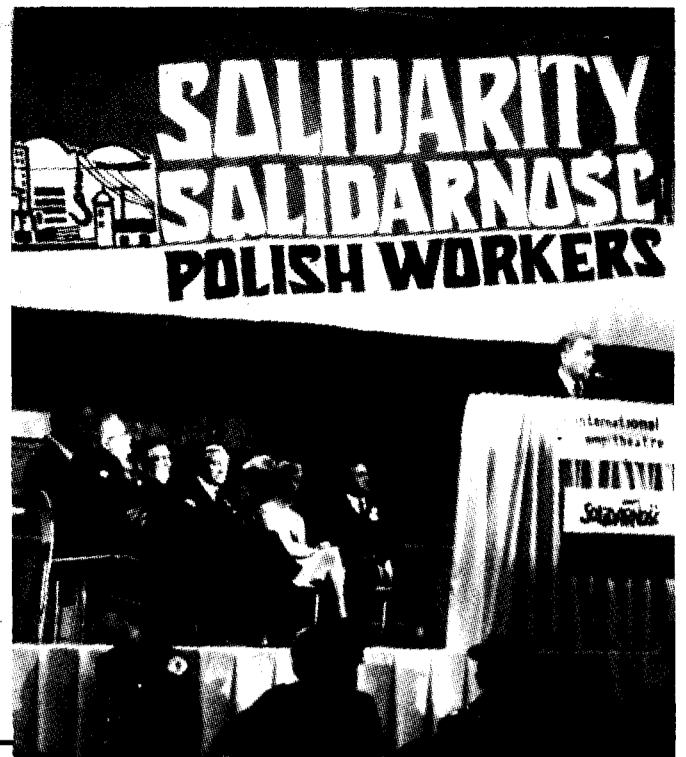
In contrast, numerous fake leftists marched to the tune of Cold War social democrats like France's Mitterrand, competing in efforts at "solidarity with Solidarity." Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) even abetted the CIA and its conduits in the AFL-CIO and German social-democratic labor bureaucracies in funneling funds and technical equipment to Walesa & Co. The USec shamelessly boasted how they were "thanked for [their] solidarity effort" by Solidarność even after triumphant counterrevolution had begun administering capitalist "shock therapy" to the Polish working masses (*International Viewpoint*, 26 March 1990).

Solidarność' initial bid for power was temporarily spiked by an effectively bloodless counter-coup in December 1981 by the regime of General Wojciech Jaruzelski, under pressure from and actively supported by Brezhnev's Kremlin. But by the late 1980s, the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy had begun implementing its own variant of capitalist "market reforms." When a new wave of strikes and protests erupted in 1988 and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev renounced any assistance to the Warsaw bureaucracy, the Jaruzelski regime agreed to negotiate a power-sharing deal with Solidarność in the so-called Round Table talks. After Solidarność won an overwhelming majority in June 1989 elections for the Sejm, the lower house of parliament, the Stalinists simply abdicated power.

The Solidarność government immedi-



Spartacists expose Solidarność as company union for the CIA and Wall Street, September 1981. Right: AFL-CIO tops and Democratic politicians join General Haig (at podium) in Reagan administration's 1982 "Day of Solidarity" with Solidarność.



ately introduced an economic "shock treatment" formerly associated with Latin American juntas. The program, devised by finance minister Leszek Balcerowicz and Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, eliminated both industrial and consumer subsidies, removed import barriers and allowed the zloty to depreciate to its "free market" level. Unemployment soared to over 400,000 within six months and 1.2 million by year's end; real wages fell by 40 percent. In his self-aggrandizing tract, *Poland's Jump to the Market Economy* (MIT Press, 1994), Sachs arrogantly complained of an "ethos of social equality" left over from "the communist period." But the sentiment of millions of Poles was voiced by a steelworker who exclaimed: "We've all been cheated. Cheated by Solidarity. Cheated by the people who run things, by the government, by the ones with the power" (*Los Angeles Times*, 28 July 1992).

The Polish working class soon turned on the Solidarność government the same weapons it had previously directed

SdRP and OPZZ (joined by a police "trade union" and a section of the pro-Solidarność Polish Socialist Party) set up the SLD left alliance as their electoral vehicle.

In the face of ongoing working-class resistance, the nascent bourgeois state teetered from one short-lived government to another. Newly elected president Walesa quickly became an object of popular ridicule as he feuded endlessly with the myriad factions into which Solidarność had disintegrated. When in the summer of 1992 Poland was convulsed by the biggest strike wave since capitalist counterrevolution, the Solidarność union predictably acted as a Trojan horse for the government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka. But it was the OPZZ which played the pivotal role in derailing a strong impulse at the base to transform the upsurge of labor militancy into a general strike which could have shattered the still fragile bourgeois order in Poland.

Given her initially effective hard line against the trade unions, Suchocka

downfall of the Solidarność regime and the end of the first period of capitalist counterrevolution.

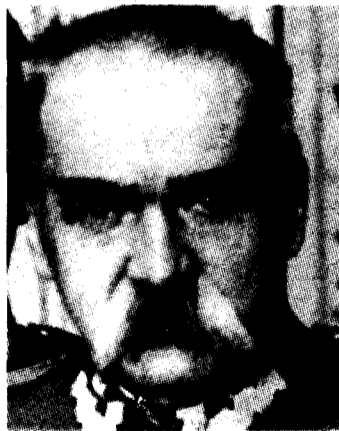
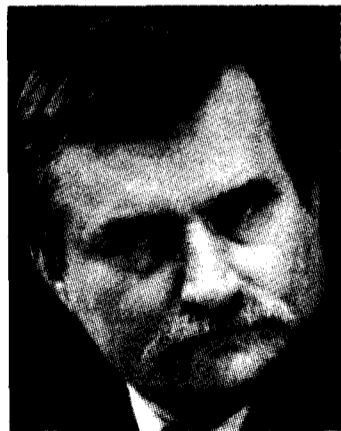
SLD Kneels Before Walesa, Clerical Reaction

Despite a shrill anti-Communist campaign emanating from the presidential palace, the press and the pulpits, the SLD came out way ahead of its opponents. With its ally, the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), the two parties garnered a solid two-thirds majority of the Sejm. Suchocka's party came in a distant third. Walesa's BBWR and Leszek Moczulski's fascistic Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) barely made it over the 5 percent hurdle for Sejm representation, while the various "Christian nationalist" parties lost all their seats.

Western bourgeois spokesmen were taken aback by the leftist mood of the Polish masses revealed in the elections. However, hardheaded observers understood that nothing much would change, since the ex-Stalinists were committed to operating within the narrow framework established by capitalist restoration. The SLD declared it would cede authority to Walesa to directly appoint the key ministers of defense, interior and foreign affairs. The Social Democrats gave the post of prime minister to Waldemar Pawlak of the Peasant Party. Originating as an agrarian front group for the Stalinist regime, after 1989 the PSL became a bourgeois party with strong clerical sympathies, reflecting the traditional backwardness of its base. On the other hand, the PSL, desirous of increasing subsidies for its rural constituency, was slightly less committed to strict monetarist austerity than its Social Democratic partners in this popular-front government.

For many Poles, a vote for the SLD was not only a vote against IMF-dictated immiseration but also against the oppressive role of the Catholic church. Shortly after coming to power, Solidarność introduced religious instruction by Catholic priests in the schools, followed by a law requiring the media "to respect the Christian value system." In early 1993, abortion was outlawed, with doctors subject to two years' imprisonment for performing the operation. And in one of its last acts, the Suchocka government secretly signed a concordat with the Vatican, granting the Catholic church authority over marriage and divorce, among other privileges.

Opinion polls continue to register an overwhelming majority in favor of legalized abortion and against church interference in civil society. Anti-church sentiment has become so intense that last year in a village near Lublin a church was set on fire, with graffiti on the entrance reading, "God does not exist." The ex-Stalinists claim to oppose Poland becoming a "fundamentalist religious state." But on this front, too, they have in no way undone the previous work of the Solidarność-led counterrevolution.



Lech Walesa (far left), admirer of fascist interwar Polish dictator Marshal Pilsudski (left).

Der Spiegel photos

against successive Stalinist regimes—strikes, plant occupations and protest marches. Since the spring of 1990, Poland has experienced the highest constant level of militant working-class struggle in Europe, East or West. The Solidarność trade union, which had by then shriveled to less than 2 million members, adopted a policy of "maintaining a protective umbrella" over the new capitalist government, further discrediting itself. At the same time, the institutions associated with the deposed Stalinist regime gained a new lease on life.

The former official All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) was now three times larger than the Solidarność union. Having dissociated itself from the Jaruzelski government during the Round Table talks, the OPZZ was able to pose as a champion of working-class interests against the capitalist "reforms" pushed by both the decomposing Stalinist regime and the new counterrevolutionary government. Meanwhile, the Stalinist Polish United Workers Party, buried under the rubble of the bureaucracy's collapse, was purged of its old guard by a layer of young technocrats exemplified by Aleksander Kwasniewski and transformed into the SdRP. In late 1990, the

was being called the Polish Margaret Thatcher. But Poland has neither an entrenched bourgeoisie nor a substantial, well-off petty bourgeoisie to provide the social basis for implementing Thatcherite policies by "democratic" means. The new Polish entrepreneurs are capitalists without capital, while the counterrevolution has ruined much of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry. Indeed, a key factor leading to the downfall of the Suchocka regime was the disaffection of the large class of agrarian smallholders. As agricultural subsidies were eliminated while exports dwindled, farm incomes in Poland fell by half between 1988 and 1993.

The Suchocka government finally fell in the wake of another major strike wave in the spring of 1993, after rejecting an SLD offer of support in exchange for a de facto coalition. Walesa, evidently believing the moment had come to satisfy his bonapartist ambitions, dissolved the Sejm and set up his own personal party, the Non-Party Bloc to Support Reform, whose initials (BBWR) were identical to Marshal Pilsudski's bonapartist party in the late 1920s-early '30s. But the September 1993 elections resulted in the humiliation of Walesa, the

When Walesa vetoed a bill liberalizing the abortion ban in July, the SLD did nothing.

The SLD ran on the slogan, "It doesn't have to be this way any more—reforms should work for people." But no less an authority than Leszek Balcerowicz, architect of the original "shock treatment," judged that this "government has not departed radically from the previous economic program" (*Warsaw Voice*, 1 May 1994). Confronted with strikes by coal miners and steel workers last spring, SLD deputy prime minister Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz denounced them as "a manifestation of disrespect for the law"! Meanwhile, the OPZZ acts as labor enforcers of IMF-dictated immiseration for their "comrade" government ministers.

The OPZZ's criminal treachery in the service of this popular front of capitalist austerity paves the way for a rightist backlash. The SLD can't even deliver on its minimal promises of alleviating the pauperization and theocratic tyranny which are engulfing the Polish working people, but instead only carries out the economic program of the hated Suchocka/Solidarność regime. Shortly after the elections, ex-labor minister Kuron told the *Moscow Times* (10 December 1993):

"The contradiction between people's expectations and the demands of the market economy... is so great that it can nullify any political activity. The governments of Solidarity fell apart when faced with this contradiction, and the same lot will overtake the new Cabinet which has 'driven' into this contradiction at full speed."

Kuron's prediction is obviously self-serving, but not without truth. The official Solidarność union now poses as a champion of working-class interests while revving up its anti-Communist demagoguery and making overtures to openly fascist forces. Since the SLD came to power, Solidarność has organized a series of protests and strikes which have sought to channel a genuine sense of anger and betrayal in a reactionary political direction. At an anti-government demonstration in Warsaw last May, Solidarność leader Marian Krzaklewski surrounded himself with "bodyguards" from the fascist National Movement, while anti-Communist marchers spewed anti-Semitic epithets and chanted, "SLD to Cuba!"

Competing with Krzaklewski's formation is Solidarność 80, led by Marian Jurczyk, who had been a spokesman for the virulently anti-Communist and anti-Semitic wing of the original Solidarność. Over the past few years, this right-wing union has managed to seize on the opening provided by the corporatist policies of Solidarność and the gross conciliationism of the OPZZ, leading a series of militant strikes in the Silesian coal fields and elsewhere. Recently, Solidarność 80 has itself split, with the new Serpien (August 80) partially displacing it. While claiming to be only for "pure economic struggle," Serpien 80 is no less prone to populist nationalism, railing, "It doesn't make sense to oppress a Pole in order to please Italians, Belgians and Spaniards."

Nationalist rhetoric is today common currency in Poland. This was manifested in a bitter month-long strike and occupation at the Huta Warszawa steel works (which has been bought up by the Italian Lucchini group) last June, which was led by Solidarność and supported by the OPZZ. Instead of appealing for solidarity action by the combative Italian workers, the union leaders sought to divert workers' anger into chauvinist outbursts against "alien" capital. Meanwhile, prime minister Pawlak denounced the strikers for playing into the hands of foreign competitors (*Trybuna*, 16 June 1994).

Polish nationalism is not only thoroughly reactionary but a sham. Despite its vaunted "independence" during the interwar period, Pilsudski's Poland was little more than a cat's paw for French imperialism, particularly against

the Soviet Union. Today, French leaders dream of reasserting influence in Warsaw, while Poland has become virtually a subsidiary of the Frankfurt banks. Both Suchocka and the SLD acquiesced to German demands to set up holding camps for immigrants and refugees expelled from the Fourth Reich, and deported Roma (Gypsy) refugees in Poland back to Romania.

For the Communism of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht!

To fight the economic devastation wrought by the restoration of capitalism, the working class must break through the political framework defined by the anti-Communist nationalists of Solidarność on the one side and the ex-Stalinist social democrats on the other. Moreover, the workers cannot defend even their standard of living without taking on the broader social reaction imposed by the nascent capitalist state and its Vatican sponsors: the ban on abortion, the attempt to regiment young people through religious indoctrination,



the resurgence of Polish chauvinism and anti-Semitic and anti-Roma racism.

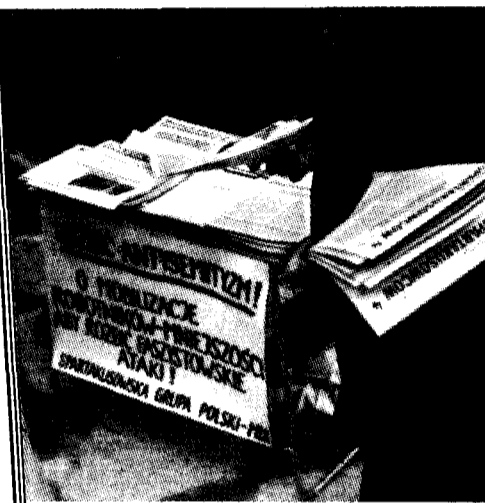
To fight mass unemployment, it's necessary to fight to take up the cause of women workers, who are being forced back to "hearth and home" by clerical reaction and the elimination of day-care centers and other social services. And ultimately, to reverse the effects of capitalist restoration it is necessary to sweep away the bourgeois state through a socialist revolution which would organize a collectivized economy. Not the bureaucratic mismanagement of the former Stalinist regime but democratic central planning by authentic organs of workers' rule (soviets). This requires the construction of a revolutionary workers party, a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, to mobilize the proletariat in struggle for its class interests and act as a tribune of all the oppressed.

Significantly, while many workers have supported the industrial actions led by Solidarność 80, they do not embrace the clerical-nationalism which is at the core of Solidarność' ideological outlook. But the danger remains that growing frustration and disgust with all the parliamentary parties, their sleazy maneuvers and broken promises will generate popular support for strong-man rule—a new Pilsudski—which would crush the workers movement. The vote on the concordat and the abortion reform bill provoked a reactionary frenzy by the right. Walesa has also moved to assert direct control over the military, an aide explained, "because of the return last year of former communists to government" (*London Guardian*, 28 November 1994). Meanwhile the fascist KPN, despite its modest electoral support, has nearly doubled in size over the past few years, claiming over 30,000 active members.

The reformists are utterly defenseless in the face of fascist and rightist mobilizations. SLD/OPZZ leaders refused to lift a finger when a gang of fascists bra-

zenly forced their way into last year's May Day march in Warsaw—directly in front of the SLD contingent—and attacked elderly marchers. Yet a number of SdRP youth joined with the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski in agitating for effective workers action to drive the fascists out.

Many of the workers and youth who support the Democratic Left Alliance would like to see a genuinely socialist Poland, restoring the economic security of the old "Communist" system but without its Stalinist bureaucratic deformations and oppressiveness. Some entertain the illusion that the SdRP can be pressured to take up the cause of socialism and look to the "left wing" around Leszek Miller (who has criticized Kwasniewski for capitulating to clerical reaction). But the SdRP is, and can only be, an obstacle to the struggle for proletarian revolution; it must be split along class lines, breaking pro-socialist elements from illusions in reformism and winning them to the fight for an internationalist revolutionary party.



Platforma Spartakusowców
Spartakusowska Grupa Polski calls for worker-minority mobilizations to smash anti-Semitic fascists. A genuinely anti-Communist party must be built in the internationalist tradition of Lenin and Trotsky's Comintern.

The social-democratic SdRP/SLD and its Stalinist predecessor share in common a nationalist, and hence reformist, perspective. The bureaucracy of the Polish deformed workers state was far from monolithic, encompassing both a layer of Jewish Communists as well as anti-Semites, both hard-line Stalinists and reformers. In fact, Poland more than any other country of East Europe saw every brand of Stalinist self-reform politics—and their demise. But all wings of the bureaucracy saw themselves as balancing between the working class on the one hand and imperialism and domestic reaction on the other. Immediately after returning to power following the workers upsurge of 1956, Wladislaw Gomulka made massive concessions to the church and the peasantry. In 1968, Mieczyslaw Moczar orchestrated a vicious anti-Semitic purge which drove out the few remaining thousands of Polish Jews who had survived Hitler's Holocaust, many of them veteran Communists like heroic World War II spy Leopold Trepper. The chauvinist frenzy also repelled a layer of idealistic young Communists who later became ideologues for Solidarność counterrevolution.

The transformation of a section of the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy into social democrats corresponded to the logic of the politics of "socialism in one country." Already in 1928, at the time of the Sixth Congress of the Stalinized Communist International, Trotsky warned that this nationalist dogma represented "the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism" (*The Third International After Lenin*). By the next Comintern congress in 1935, the Stalinists had explicitly embraced reformist class collaboration under the banner of the "People's Front." Writing on "The Comintern's Liquidation Congress" (August 1935), Trotsky noted, "Nothing now distinguishes the Communists from the Social

Democrats except the traditional phraseology, which is not difficult to unlearn." Indeed not. Today SdRP "left" Leszek Miller opines, "Experience has shown that the famous debate between the revolutionary Lenin and the evolutionary Kautsky has been settled in favour of the latter" (*London Financial Times*, 18 March 1994).

The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP), section of the International Communist League, calls for building an authentically communist vanguard party based on the revolutionary internationalism which animated the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. The SGP stands on the ICL's record of opposition both to clerical-nationalist Solidarność and to Stalinism and social democracy. The SGP opposed a vote to the cravenly pro-capitalist SLD in 1993, saying, "There's nothing for the working class to vote for in the upcoming elections" (*Platforma Spartakusowców*, Summer/Fall 1993). Our comrades have put forward a program of struggle directed not only against attacks on jobs and living standards but also against the abortion ban and racist reaction.

Other Polish groups claiming to stand to the left of the Social Democrats are marked by tailing whatever is momentarily popular as they wallow in Polish nationalism. Without exception, in 1981 these tendencies cheered Solidarność counterrevolution, and in the 1993 elections they all gave open or backhanded electoral support to the SLD social democrats. This is true of the GSR (Workers Self-Management Group), associated internationally with the Morenoite tendency, and the Mandelite USec supporters around the paper *Dalej!*, as well as the followers of Tony Cliff around the grotesquely named *Solidarność Socjalistyczna* and the Militant Tendency represented by *Ofensywa*. Catering to backward prejudices fostered by the right-wing Solidarność 80 and the economist Serpien 80, these outfits vehemently denounce the SGP's call on the working class to champion the cause of the oppressed, i.e., fighting anti-Semitism and the oppression of women, gays and Roma.

The Polish working class must rediscover its own internationalist traditions represented by the Party Proletariat of Ludwik Waryński, the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania led by Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches, Julian Marchlewsky and Feliks Dzierzhinsky, and the early Communist Party. These proletarian leaders fought for the revolutionary unity of the Polish, Russian and German workers, embodied in the heritage of the "Three Ls," Lenin, Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The early Polish communists understood that the liberation of Polish workers and peasants from exploitation by the capitalists and landlords, from the reactionary obscurantism of the Catholic church and from imperialist oppression by both the Russian tsarist autocracy and Western finance capital could be achieved only within the context of a European-wide revolution.

This fundamental truth remains no less valid today. As the founding declaration of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski stated four years ago:

"The drive to restore capitalism revives and intensifies all the 'old crap' of the prewar social order, from reactionary clericalism to Pilsudskite nationalism and anti-Semitism.... Polish communists must fight relentlessly against Pilsudskite nationalism, which subjects the workers to the dictates of the IMF while spewing out anti-Russian and anti-German chauvinism. Only proletarian internationalism offers a way forward."

—WV No. 513,
2 November 1990

Indeed, the bitter experience of capitalist restoration in Poland demonstrates that the dictatorship of the International Monetary Fund can be destroyed only by the dictatorship of the international proletariat. ■

On Slogans Regarding the Former Soviet Union

Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92, we raised the slogan of "Reforge the Soviet Union on Leninist Principles!" The consolidation of a capitalist state in Russia with its own imperial ambitions to dominate the territories of the former USSR has led to discussion within the International Communist League over what slogans are appropriate under these changed—and changing—circumstances. The article "The Caucasus Cauldron" in WV No. 613 (30 December 1994) raised the call "for a voluntary federation of socialist republics." A meeting of the International Secretariat of the ICL concluded that it was an error to use this as a slogan and passed a resolution stating:

To raise as an immediate slogan a call for a federation of socialist republics which do not now exist—i.e., without at the same time explaining that we do not know the course and pace

of the future necessary socialist revolutions in the different nascent capitalist countries in the territory of the former USSR—easily lends itself to an interpretation that we foresee a new revolutionary upsurge originating in the same areas as animated the 1917 October Revolution, that we envisage retaining the geographical borders of the ex-Soviet republics, etc. Given the past history of Great Russian domination, including in the Stalinized USSR, and the huge escalation of national chauvinism today as both a motor force and consequence of capitalist counter-revolution, with the associated appetites on the part of Russia's new rulers to play a role as a regional colonial and imperialist power, the question of a federation of unequal partners must be approached with great caution. Moreover, while the slogan's reference to "socialist republics" was intended to make explicit the need for socialist revolutions against capitalism—and to overcome the problem of our earlier

slogan whose reference to "reforging the Soviet Union" would be understood in today's ex-USSR as congruent with the nationalist drive for a Great Russian *derzhava*—our Marxist use of the term "socialist" is far from unambiguous to an ex-Soviet audience given the decades-long Stalinist claim that the bureaucratically deformed USSR was a "socialist country." In this context, "socialist republics"—like "Soviet republics"—can sound like a call to return to the good old days of Stalin's Russia, including on the national question.

At the same time, the breakup of the Soviet Union has revealed a situation of considerable interpenetration of peoples and of economic production units which were inherited from and geared to a (bureaucratically) centralized planned economy. Thus in a number of regions (particularly eastern Ukraine, Crimea, northern Kazakhstan) a democratic resolution of the national question cannot be achieved except

through a socialist federation or federations of workers states transcending national boundaries. It is necessary to emphasize the voluntary character of any such federations (as opposed, for example, to the Transcaucasian Federation that Stalin sought to bureaucratically impose), and to be particularly aware of the dangers inherent in any union of vastly unequal partners (e.g., Russia and the other republics of the former USSR). We cannot foresee today the contours of such federations, possibly embracing states that were not constituent parts of the former USSR. Increasingly as time progresses and now-capitalist Russia pursues its imperial appetites, socialist revolutions may well tend *not* to duplicate the structure of the workers state that grew out of the tsarist empire.

To be thrust back into a new period means that we have to put front and center the struggle for proletarian revolution in the regions of the former Soviet Union.

Caucasus...

(continued from page 12)

this in October 1993 during the mass murder of opponents of Yeltsin's bloody bonapartist coup in Moscow. They supported the establishment of police regimes in major Russian cities after the coup, including official pogroms against and deportations of peoples from the Caucasus and other national minorities. The bourgeois opposition to Yeltsin's Chechen adventure is concerned with neither the Chechen people nor "democratic principles." They are jockeying for position and worried that the Russian invasion will set the Caucasus aflame while the army is unreliable. The "democrats" are no less dedicated to capitalist Russia's imperial interests in the "near abroad," but fear that the current military adventure will delay or cancel the foreign loans and investment so desperately needed if these aspiring capitalists are to solidify their ability to exploit and suck profits from the workers throughout the lands of the former Soviet Union.

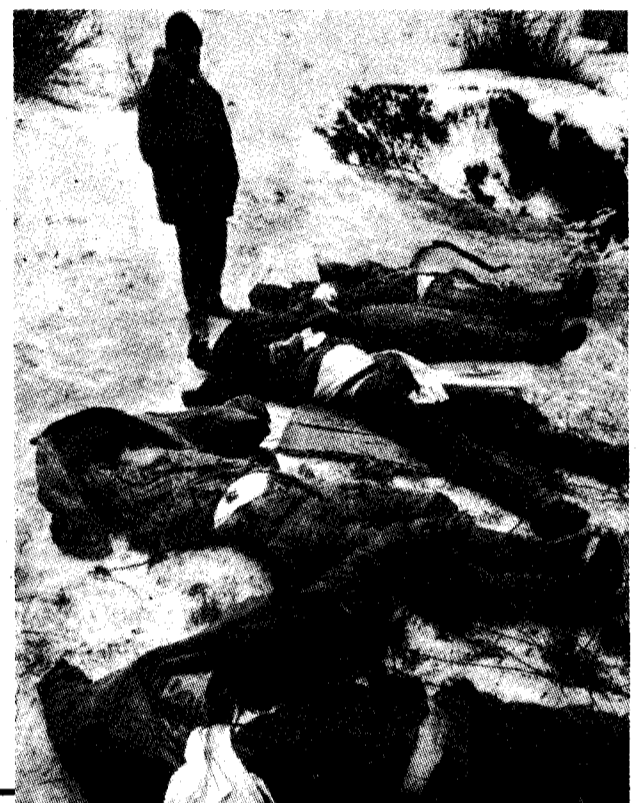
The "opposition" of the various petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Stalinist organizations likewise has nothing in common with the defense of Chechnya. They seek to use this crisis of power to prove their usefulness—as anything from an electoral machine to potential stormtroopers—to the anti-Yeltsin wing of the new bourgeoisie which holds in reserve the option of using a potent mix of xenophobic frenzy and nostalgia for the Soviet Union to line up the despairing masses behind the interests of the Russian bourgeoisie.

During the 12 December Moscow demonstration in Pushkin Square, members of the RKR (Russian Communist Workers Party) and other Stalinist parties, standing shoulder to shoulder with Black Hundreds and monarchists, shouted anti-Semitic slogans at the "democrats." The statement of Zyuganov's KP-RF (Communist Party-Russian Federation) is in the same vein as General Lebed's ravings, in essence denouncing Yeltsin for indecisiveness in "establishing order" in Chechnya. Not one of these parties can say anything about the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy in deporting whole peoples from their homelands. This includes the entire Chechen people, who by Stalin's 1944 order were punished with deportation to Central Asia. NKVD troops wiped out at least one whole village which refused to leave.

The Chechen adventure has exposed and deepened the sharp political divisions within the Russian officer corps, as leading military men like Lebed and



In December protest outside Kremlin, woman's sign reads: "Return our Sons from Chechnya." Right: Bodies of Russian soldiers line path on outskirts of Grozny.



Anatoly Maltsev

deputy defense minister Boris Gromov publicly denounce Yeltsin's actions. The protracted difficulty in taking Grozny indicates that the soldiers are unwilling to fight, as well as being poorly supplied, poorly trained and poorly led. With Yeltsin's support in public opinion polls falling to 15 percent, the Chechen war could well lead to his downfall, or alternatively to a desperate attempt at a presidential coup aimed at crushing his legion of opponents within the country's new capitalist ruling elite. The working people of Russia must oppose moves from any corner—whether Yeltsin or anti-Yeltsin elements—to place its neck in the yoke of bonapartist dictatorship.

Among "democrats" and pacifists, and many pseudo-socialists, it has become popular to compare the present invasion of Chechnya with the introduction of Soviet troops into Afghanistan in 1979. This comparison is entirely false. The Soviet Union was a workers state, albeit ruled by a parasitic bureaucracy, and the Soviet Army intervened in a *civil war* in support of a modernizing left-nationalist government under attack by Islamic feudalist reactionaries. Soviet troops in Afghanistan fought on the side of social progress against the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats. Soviet intervention made possible democratic reforms in Afghan society, such as literacy and granting women elementary civil rights. At the same time, it was a measure of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, which sought to make Afghanistan into a base of opera-

tions on the USSR's southern flank.

We Trotskyists of the International Communist League declared, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Extend the Social Gains of October to the Afghan Peoples!" We criticized the Stalinist bureaucracy under Brezhnev and his successors as it sought to use Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a bargaining chip with Western imperialism; further we condemned the Soviet-backed Afghan regime for not carrying through even basic democratic reforms in a futile attempt to conciliate Islam. When Gorbachev attempted to "appease" the imperialists by pulling Soviet troops out in 1989, this was a betrayal of the interests of the Afghan and Soviet peoples, paving the way for the later victory of the counter-revolution and the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Russia's present regime, centered around Boris Yeltsin, arose out of that counter-revolution. Those who cry, "No more Afghanistans" over Chechnya also cheered while the Soviet workers state was being strangled; today, their liberal pacifism seeks to dupe the oppressed and the workers into believing that the capitalist Russian *derzhava* (great power) can have a democratic face.

The Western imperialists, who massively supported the Afghan *mujahedin* against the Soviet Army, initially declared Moscow's Chechen adventure to be an "internal" Russian affair. This was in keeping with their general line of backing Yeltsin and opposing the national fragmentation of the now-

capitalist Russian state. However, the NATO powers have become concerned that the military debacle in Grozny and the prospect of a long guerrilla war in the Caucasus is further destabilizing the fragile counterrevolutionary order in Russia. At the same time, the leaders of the counterrevolution in East Europe, such as Polish president Lech Walesa, see Moscow's invasion of the northern Caucasus as signaling a more aggressive, imperial-minded Russia which may soon threaten them. Hence Western capitals are now calling for a "negotiated solution" to the Chechen conflict. Thus Yeltsin's Caucasian adventure shows signs of developing into an international crisis enmeshed with inter-imperialist rivalries as in the Balkans.

The full-scale assault on Chechnya is another in the series of wars unleashed by capitalist counter-revolution in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union. This includes the fratricidal slaughterhouse that is now Bosnia and the six-year Armenian-Azeri mutual slaughter over possession of the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave. Both Western and Russian bourgeois commentators often try to blame the explosion of nationalist hatreds in East Europe and the ex-USSR on the legacy of "Communism." On the contrary, it was the Bolshevik Revolution which liberated the oppressed nations of the tsarist "prison house of peoples" as Lenin called it. In 1914, Lenin wrote:

"The interests of the Great-Russian proletariat require that the masses be sys-

Bridgestone-Firestone Rubber Workers:

For Mass Pickets to Stop the Scabs!

DECATUR, January 8—Hundreds of striking Bridgestone-Firestone workers attending a meeting of United Rubber Workers (URW) Local 713 here today angrily defied the company's threat to replace them with permanent scabs. After six months on strike, the vote was unanimous to stay out.

The company had demanded that workers crawl back by January 6 and "apply" for their jobs or be terminated. "You think I'm going to stand out on the streets for six months and then go back in?" asked one striker. "No f—ing way! If we do, it'll be living hell." Wages would be slashed by 30 percent. Another worker told the Decatur *Herald & Review*, "I'll eat grass before I'll go back to what they're offering." Such militant determination must be fused with a winning strategy to *shut down Firestone*.

"Bridgestone Bets It Can Defeat Rubber Workers' Strike," the company brags to the *Wall Street Journal* (27 December 1994). Bridgestone-Firestone, the largest tire company in the world, with revenue of \$10.7 billion in 1993, is trying to carry out "Caterpillar II." It was here in central Illinois, in April 1992, that the United Auto Workers leadership surrendered to company threats and ordered CAT strikers back to work, where they underwent months of harassment and victimizations before walking out again last summer. The Caterpillar strike is continuing, as UAW misleaders allow CAT management to get away with massive scabberding.

Since August, the URW tops have allowed hundreds of scabs to waltz across the union's picket lines. Then in late December the company fired 36 workers—including two URW Local presidents—at its plants in Decatur, Des Moines, Oklahoma City and Noblesville, Indiana. One of those fired, Mike Miller of Des Moines Local 310, is being railroaded by the feds: we demand that

charges be dropped against Miller and all victimized rubber workers!

On January 4 came the announcement that the scabs would replace those on strike. Company ultimatums demanding that workers cross the picket lines or be fired were sent out to some particularly vulnerable strikers, like those close to retirement. Scabs were even sent to try to enter today's Des Moines Local meeting. Union members reportedly "took out the garbage" in short order.

At the Decatur meeting, strikers told WV that increasing numbers of URW members are ready to build mass pickets to stop the scabs. "People are finally getting your message. We need 500 guys at each gate," said one striker. "What are the cops going to do? What's the company going to do, fire us?" he said bitterly. Indeed, Decatur's industrial east side, where striking Caterpillar workers and locked-out Staley unionists are fighting for their jobs alongside the rubber workers, should be paralyzed by picket lines. Thousands of unionists throughout the Midwest have traveled to Decatur, only to be sent home after being marched from one plant gate to another, never putting a halt to the scab production.

If called out, workers would flock to Decatur and other cities in labor's "war zone" to take part in mass picket lines that stop the scabbing. This would be a tremendous energizing force for labor nationwide. But instead, the URW tops are running the strike into the ground while pushing poisonous anti-Japanese chauvinism.

Firestone's go-for-the-throat assault against the union has been several years in the making. The Japanese-owned Bridgestone Corporation bought out Firestone in 1988, amassing \$2.5 billion in debt. The union tops entered into a series of labor-management "cooperation" schemes that saddled several URW locals with giveback agreements. Last

spring Bridgestone-Firestone decided to trash the pattern contract negotiated by the URW with Goodyear, demanding drastic changes in work rules and scheduling as well as a two-tier pay scale. On July 12, the URW pulled out 4,200 workers at only half of Firestone's ten North American facilities. Now they have been out for over six months—the longest strike in the history of the rubber union.

When the company began hiring scabs at the end of the summer, URW president Kenneth Coss advised strikers to "remain calm and united" while urging reliance on the election of more Democratic Congressmen and passage of their "striker replacement bill." But this has only emboldened the company and the authorities, whose cops have beaten and gassed strikers in the "war zone." Now the URW tops are looking to federal mediators, but if the Clinton administration steps in, it won't be to help the strikers. Clinton just got finished breaking the strike of Soo Line rail workers.

As they left the Decatur meeting today, some workers repeated the union tops' line that "this is how the Japanese do business." Throughout the strike, the URW misleaders have peddled the worst anti-Japanese protectionism, portraying the strike as "World War II, Part II," a "patriotic" battle against "foreign" capitalists. Joining local Democratic Party politicians at a press conference, Local 713 president Roger Gates labeled Firestone's assault on the union "another sneak attack" like Pearl Harbor (Decatur *Herald & Review*, 8 January). This is racist crap, and a barrier to the international workers solidarity that is desperately needed—for Japanese rubber workers and longshoremen to stop the export of tires; for Mexican, Canadian and U.S. auto workers to refuse to mount those scab Firestones on the cars. Bridgestone workers facing wage cuts in Japan have a crucial stake in a URW victory, but

they aren't likely to respond to workers waving racist placards saying, "Nuke 'em" with another Hiroshima!

The capitalists know that the fastest way to kill labor solidarity is to push national chauvinism, the program of boss-worker "unity" against a foreign "enemy." But another striker had it right: "I don't care if they're American or British or Japanese. They all do business the same way." Indeed, it is the *American* corporations and their government that have taken the lead in smashing unions.

The labor bureaucracy's program of protectionism and reliance on the capitalist Democratic Party has put the rubber strike in grave danger. The response of the URW tops to the company's scab hiring? They're heading for Las Vegas to enact a dues increase! Control of the strike must be put in the hands of elected strike committees composed of the best militants in order to hammer out a program to *win* this labor battle. This must include spreading the strike to all Firestone facilities and mobilizing labor in mass picket lines to halt the scabbing. A fighting strike leadership would also appeal directly to auto workers to "hot cargo" Firestone tires and to truckers and rail workers to choke off supplies to the Firestone plants.

The way to shut down production is to occupy the plants, like Akron rubber workers did in 1934, the first big industrial sit-down strike in the country. A solid plant occupation here would make Decatur Strike City, a real *class war zone*, and turn around the strikes by besieged Caterpillar and Staley workers.

Workers must oust the present die-on-your-knees misleaders of labor who wave the flag for the Democrats. What's needed is a class-struggle leadership fighting to forge a multiracial, internationalist workers party to lead a victorious struggle against the capitalists of all countries. ■

tematically educated to champion—most resolutely, consistently, boldly and in a revolutionary manner—complete equality and the right to self-determination for all the nations oppressed by the Great Russians."

—"On the National Pride of the Great Russians" (December 1914)

These internationalist principles were embodied in the Soviet federated workers state that arose out of the 1917 October Revolution, which also provided for various forms of regional autonomy and cultural and language rights for peoples who were still in a pre-national stage who lacked the basis for a separate political economy.

However, the defeat of proletarian revolution in the rest of Europe, centrally Germany, and the resulting imperialist

encirclement of Soviet Russia led to the bureaucratic degeneration of the workers state under the bloody bonapartist rule of Joseph Stalin and his heirs. The resurgence of Great Russian chauvinism fostered by the Stalinist bureaucracy undermined the political foundations of the Soviet Union and triggered in response anti-Soviet nationalism among the non-Russian elites of the USSR. Thus the basis was laid for the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which in turn has further obstructed and fragmented the organization and consciousness of the working classes involved.

The principles of proletarian socialism are fundamentally antagonistic to bourgeois nationalism in all forms. Thus we oppose not only the imperial-minded Great Russian chauvinism of Yeltsin & Co. but the Chechen nationalism of strongman Dudayev and the Islamic fundamentalism that he seeks to promote, including employing troops trained by the Afghan *mujahedin*. We are for class opposition to Russian aggression in Chechnya, for organized working-class action against it. The defense of Chechnya's people is in the interest of the multinational working class of Russia! As proletarian internationalists we insist on the right of Chechnya to decide its own fate, including recognizing that independence will inevitably intensify the drive to purge Chechens (and other Caucasian people) from Moscow and other Russian cities.

Today the peoples of the Caucasus—

a patchwork of ethnic and linguistic groups—again face a Russia pursuing imperialist aspirations to control the region's wealth and borders, while the local national bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces attempt to get rich through deals with competing imperialist backers. An internationalist, revolutionary workers movement fighting for a democratically planned, egalitarian economy and true equality between the peoples of this region could rally the working masses of all the Caucasian peoples to overcome the raging fratricidal national conflicts. An authentically communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be forged in sharp

struggle against all variants of nationalism, and in particular against the chauvinism of the Great Russian oppressor.

Hands off Chechnya! Defeat the Russian invasion!

Defend national minorities against oppression and discrimination! For the right of Chechnya to decide its own fate!

For united working-class action against Yeltsin's regime of capitalist immiseration and Great Russian chauvinism!

Fight for socialist revolution throughout the lands of the former USSR!

—International Communist League

(Fourth Internationalist)
Moscow, 10 January 1995

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Statement of the International Communist League

Smash Yeltsin's Invasion of Chechnya!

The following statement was issued by the International Communist League in Moscow on 10 January.

On December 11, the government of Boris Yeltsin launched a full-scale military invasion of the republic of Chechnya, on the northern slopes of the Caucasian Mountains, which declared its independence from Russia when the Soviet Union broke apart in late 1991. The Chechen people are now being slaughtered as Russian warplanes bomb and strafe civilian targets. The capital city of Grozny—an industrial center of 400,000 inhabitants—is being reduced to rubble. Yet despite overwhelming Russian military superiority, the determined Chechen forces have repelled the assault on Grozny, inflicting heavy casualties on the Russian Army and taking a number of prisoners of war.

The International Communist League stands for defeating the invading Russian forces, whose attempt to subjugate the Chechens can only bring mass terror to this Caucasian people. Furthermore, Chechen resistance is severely weakening would-be Tsar Boris' dictatorial regime, thereby creating a potentially favorable opportunity for the working people of Russia, of all nationalities, to defend themselves against the economic devastation wrought by the capitalist counterrevolution. But the present conditions of political chaos will sooner or later lead to a bonapartist outcome.

The working class is the only force that could by revolutionary mobilization prevent the consolidation of a dictatorial capitalist regime presiding over mass immiseration. But the Soviet proletariat was politically atomized by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule, and under today's conditions of economic collapse and disorder the working people deeply despair of taking any effective action. In order for the workers in the former USSR to be able to take power, they must first become conscious of themselves as a class which under the leadership of a Marxist vanguard is capable of fighting for its own revolutionary class program.

The unstable capitalist regime that arose in Russia as a result of the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state remains isolated and crisis-ridden. Despite Yeltsin's bloody crackdown on the old parliament in October 1993, he has an extremely narrow—and nar-



Yeltsin's savage bombardment of Grozny is reducing the capital of Chechnya to rubble. La Repubblica

rowing—base of support among Russia's new ruling elite. The head of his bodyguard, Aleksandr Korzhakov, has reputedly now become the power behind the throne. A major aim of the Kremlin's Caucasian military adventure was to strengthen this weak bonapartist regime by appealing to Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Caucasian prejudices. In addition, the invasion of Chechnya aims to preserve control over the Caucasus, its oil and other resources, and to crush the determination of the Chechen and other Transcaucasian peoples to resist Russia's attempts to establish itself as overlord and gendarme in the region.

Since Chechnya, under strongman leader Dzhokhar Dudayev, a former Soviet air force general, declared its

independence when the Soviet Union came apart following Yeltsin's seizure of power in August 1991, Moscow has sought by all means at its disposal to rid itself of the troublesome Chechen leadership, and to replace it with one more subservient. Toward this aim, Moscow has financed bloody fratricidal slaughter, supplied arms to Chechen oppositionists, sent in mercenary units and sought to impose a puppet regime. When the plan to oust Dudayev "from within" collapsed, Moscow rulers went over to direct intervention.

This intervention represents a blow against all the peoples of the Caucasus. During their advance toward Chechnya, the Russian troops were met by groups of protesting residents of neighboring

Ingushetia. Among those killed was the Ingush minister of health. In Ingushetia, Ossetia, Dagestan and Abkhazia, solidarity has been voiced with the Chechen people. Ever since coming to power, the Yeltsin regime has sought to use for its own ends the national conflicts that have racked the Caucasus as a result of capitalist counterrevolution.

Last year, the Kremlin coldbloodedly monitored the bloody fratricidal slaughters in Ossetia and Ingushetia, and then declared a state of emergency in both republics (consolidating its military presence), after Ossetian nationalists had carried out mass slaughters of Ingushetians. At the same time, Dudayev's appeal to Islamic fundamentalism against the Russians can only fuel a resurgence of nationalist and communalist violence in the northern Caucasus, some of whose peoples (e.g., the Ossetians) are historically largely Christian.

The introduction of troops takes place against the backdrop of a state-orchestrated attempt to whip up racist anti-Caucasian hysteria, backed up by ominous police and army patrols in Moscow and other Russian cities. The mass of impoverishment and unemployment, voices no support to the intervention in Chechnya. A columnist for the influential daily *Sevodnya* writes that all the government's analyses predicting an easy victory and a groundswell of public support for the war "turned out to be 100 percent wrong" (*Moscow Times*, 20 December 1994).

The working people of Russia must understand that the invasion of Chechnya is being carried out by the same forces that repeatedly used the OMON paramilitary squads to disperse demonstrations protesting Yeltsin's capitalist impoverishment (Moscow, Army Day, February 1992), and used the army as strikebreakers (air controllers strike, August 1992). What is needed is for the workers to reacquire a consciousness of their internationalist class interests, in order to organize opposition to the war independent of those elements of Russia's new bourgeoisie who are appealing to widespread pacifistic opposition to Yeltsin's Caucasian adventure in order to boost their own political fortunes.

The invasion has evoked protest from many bourgeois politicians, particularly the "democrats," who up to now have consistently supported Yeltsin. Moreover, they have been joined by prominent anti-Western nationalists, exemplified by Lieutenant General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Army in Moldova. In voting in the Duma (lower house of parliament), only the fascistic party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and the faction of former finance minister Boris Fyodorov have supported the invasion. Yegor Gaidar, the darling of the IMF, and Grigori Yavlinsky, author of the infamous plan for the deindustrialization of the former Soviet economy, appeared on television, denouncing the introduction of troops and warning of police-state dictatorship. This is pure hypocrisy.

These people require a police state against the workers. They amply showed

continued on page 10



Chechen fighters use disabled Russian tank for cover. AFP