

Lessons of the Beijing Spring **For Workers Political Revolution in China!**

We publish below excerpts from a speech by Ray Bishop of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee at a June 29 forum in New York.

While looking out over the carnage in Tiananmen Square on June 4, one young Beijing worker said, "This government is done with." You had troops patrolling up and down Beijing's boulevards; you also had students and workers in China's key cities rising up as one in protest. In Shanghai, China's largest city and its commercial and industrial powerhouse, you had an effective general strike until the end of that week. In the northeast, in Shenyang, 30,000 aircraft workers commandeered trucks and marched in unison to protest the massacre. In the center of China, in Xian, the ancient capital, tens of thousands of workers blocked roads. And in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan province, 30 workers were killed in the course of protests over control of the vast underground private market, which was called by one Chinese newspaper "the main monument to capitalism" in that area.

It appeared also that the People's Liberation Army was splitting right down the middle over the massacre. The army unit that carried it out was the 27th Army, very close to Deng Xiaoping. But right after that happened, in Inner Mongolia, which is where the 27th Army is based, there was a troop rebellion, leading to 30 of the officers being shot.



Beijing, May 20: Workers flooded into the streets to defy state of siege. Regime's crackdown brought China to brink of civil war.

So China was on the verge of civil war, and at that very time the government itself seemingly disappeared. For up to a week foreign diplomats and newspapermen couldn't find anybody to get the line on what was going on. The *People's Daily*, which is the Communist Party's main newspaper, could not
(continued on page 19)

"Pre-Crisis" in the Canadian CP?

There is "a very real 'pre-crisis' situation in our own party," declares a letter in the Communist Party's *Canadian Tribune* (21 August). "The signs are all there: decline in membership, drops in subscriptions, etc." Last spring, CP public meetings on the USSR revealed deep differences within the party, notably over the economic consequences of Gorbachev's perestroika and over the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Now the massive upsurge of Chinese workers and students and the savage repression by the Beijing Stalinists have produced sharply conflicting responses.

On June 8 the CP leadership issued a diplomatic press release which expressed "grave concern...over the tragic events" in China and "deplor[ed] the fact that units of the PRC armed forces were used against demonstrators," but refused "to judge the legitimacy or otherwise" of the protesters' views. The statement ended with an absurd and obscene call "for the resumption of dialogue between the workers and students of China and their government." This mealy-mouthed non-position in the face of a potential civil war satisfied few, and the *Tribune* was deluged with letters. One, typical of many, demanded that the "Tiananmen butchery... be condemned in the strongest terms" (3 July). Another, also echoed by many, took the exact opposite line: "The Chinese government and people should be congratulated for their effective and decisive struggle against the enemies of socialism" (24 July).

Among the more interesting letters was one by *Tribune* Moscow correspondent Fred Weir, an unflagging champion of Gorbachev's perestroika and supporter of the pullout from Afghanistan. Weir writes (21 August) that he is "appalled by the extent to which some of the contributors, including some who agree with the Chinese government's version and others who denounce it, reflect a poverty of socialist analysis." The "contradictions in China were--and are--of a profound socio-economic nature. Over the past decade or so the Chinese government has pursued a campaign of 'modernization' based on integrating China into the capitalist world market." Weir adds that there have

been "popular protests against the social consequences of this drive [which] include runaway inflation, legions of homeless and unemployed people, a wave of 'corruption'...and mass starvation."

Weir is quite right--these are among the disastrous results of Deng's "building socialism with capitalist methods." But an obvious question arises: what is perestroika if not an attempt to apply the same "market socialism" to the Soviet Union? Didn't Gorbachev recently send a letter to the Western economic summit in Paris calling for the USSR's "full and entire participation in the world economy"? With his plans for making the ruble convertible, his appeals to the imperialists that they "can only gain from the opening up of a market as big as the Soviet Union," Gorbachev is offering an open door to capitalist exploitation.

Yet when it comes to "popular protests against the social consequences" of pro-market economic reforms in the USSR, Fred Weir has to turn reality upside down. The August 21 *Tribune* also features Weir's front-page report on workers strikes in the USSR, titled "Soviet miners strike for perestroika." Strike for perestroika? Just four weeks earlier the same Fred Weir reported, more accurately, that "The economic restructuring, perestroika, itself might be derailed if the actions spread beyond the mining industry...."

SOVIET MINERS SHAKE MOSCOW

We Trotskyists have insisted for several years now that the powerful Soviet proletariat is no fan of market-oriented reforms which would dismantle piecemeal the historic achievement of a planned economy. The prospect of inflation, speedup, layoffs and vast income differences is social dynamite in the USSR with its deep collectivist heritage. When the workers enter the scene, we noted, they will take aim at the parasitic bureaucracy which from

(continued on page 6)

SPARTACIST CANADA
Newspaper of the Trotskyist League, Canadian sympathizing section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)
EDITORIAL BOARD: John Masters (Editor), Jane Clancy, Maria Lianos, Miriam McDonald, Oliver Stephens, Janet Yeung
PRODUCTION and CIRCULATION MANAGER: Russell Stoker
BUSINESS MANAGER: M. McPherson
<i>Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.</i>
Published quarterly by the Spartacist Canada Publishing Association, Box 6867, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6. Printed in a union shop by union labor. Second Class Mail Registration 8161. Return postage guaranteed. ISSN: 0229-5415
Fall 1989 Date of issue: September 1989

<p>JUST OUT! Spartacist English Edition No. 43-44 Summer 1989 (56 pages) \$1.75</p>	
<p>(Spartacist is sent to all SC and WV subscribers.)</p>	
<p>Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Canada Publishing Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X6</p>	

Afghanistan: Crush CIA's Mujahedin!

Report from Heroic Jalalabad

JALALABAD, July 7--Thousands of people thronged through the streets of this revitalized city today to celebrate an important military victory over the CIA's *mujahedin* (holy warriors). Two days ago, the armed forces of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) government, spearheaded by an armored Special Guard unit and heavily backed by the Air Force, forced the counterrevolutionaries to pull back to positions they occupied before the March offensive against Jalalabad.

Not only has the months-long bitter siege been broken, but Jalalabad and the surrounding parts of Nangarhar Province of which it is the capital are

FROM OUR ICL CORRESPONDENT IN AFGHANISTAN

once again secure from the threat of rocket attacks. The rout of the *mujahedin* was so sweeping that the initial impulse of advance elements of the armored unit was to roll all the way up to Torkham, on the border with Pakistan. But the order came from the High Command to consolidate their positions before advancing further.

This reporter was with the first group of journalists to visit Jalalabad since May, and only the second visit since the *mujahedin* siege began in March. It was particularly moving to be here on behalf of the international campaign of humanitarian assistance conducted by the Partisan Defense Committee and fraternal legal and social defense organizations in other countries which raised over \$42,000 to aid the civilian victims of the siege. The English-language *Kabul Times* (3 July) and the Dari-language *Payam* (2 July) had both carried articles reporting on a message of acknowledgement from the Nangarhar Province Defence Council to the PDC. Part of the message quoted by the *Kabul Times* read:

"The Defence Council of Nangarhar Province representing all the PDPA members, social organizations and the peaceloving people of Nangarhar, cordially thank you and express gratitude for the assistance extended by you, assuring you honourable friends that it is a must that we would triumph, for we are struggling for a just right."

The front has now been pushed back to Samarkhel, some 12-15 kilometers further east, a key fortified outpost that was the scene of heavy fighting in March and again now. We were taken by bus to Samarkhel. A few kilometers away, we could see a tank firing shell after shell over a ridge, along which some Afghan soldiers were advancing. This ridge is the *mujahedin*'s only natural defense line for many miles, but there was no sign that they were

holding their own or fighting back.

The officers and soldiers of the Special Guard unit proudly showed us around, describing the weapons captured, while warning us to stick to the areas that have already been cleared of mines--i.e., where a tank tread has left its "signature." We could see the damaged buildings of the housing complex, the school and the shop, and visit the big diesel power station.

At the head of the line of march of today's victory celebration was an armored car atop which rode our



Guardian (London)

Afghan militiawoman ready to fight CIA's killers.

team of journalists. Following the military and civilian leaders of the city came dozens of multicolored banners and Afghan national flags and some five to ten thousand residents of Jalalabad. People were everywhere in the streets. There was not a sign of fear, but rather an evident determination which exploded in loud chants of "Afghanistan Zindabad!" (Long Live Afghanistan) and "Marg ya Watan!" (Death or Country) that punctuated the march throughout. Young and old, women and men--many carrying their weapons--Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus joined together in this march from Jamhuriat Garden to Pashtoonistan Square.

After listening to a speech by Lt. Gen. Manookay Mangal, governor and chairman of the Defence Council of Nangarhar Province, the participants adopted a resolution "expressing all-out solidarity with the victorious and heroic armed forces in the defence of homeland, independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the country."

(continued on page 4)

Jalalabad ...

(continued from page 3)

The roofs of the mainly two-story houses along the route of the march were guarded by young militiamen (some appeared to be no older than 13), their Kalashnikovs slung over their shoulders looking almost too big for them.

From the helicopter and from the road, it was clear that Jalalabad, once renowned as a tourist resort for its beauty and greenery, is a wounded city,



Reuters/Bettmann

Kabul home after attack by U.S.-supplied rocket.

whose scars will take a long time to heal. The ravages of the brutal war against the population can be seen in torn walls, damaged houses, smashed windowpanes and roads full of ditches and debris. Between March and July, 973 houses were damaged along with 150 government buildings, shops and markets, mosques and temples. Many of the houses are made of mud bricks—making them relatively easy to rebuild—and the people have been working hard at repairing them.

The airport, some five kilometers to the east of the city, shows all the signs of the fierce battle that went on around and for it in March and April: hangars blown apart, the airstrip damaged, remains of jeeps and helicopters lying around, the control tower heavily damaged. It's clear that there has been no time to care for the niceties of appearance: the airport is functional again and that's enough.

The civilian population has suffered terribly: 1,993 injured and 1,002 killed, half of them children. On the single day of March 8, the *mujahedin* cutthroats, bankrolled by the Pakistani ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence] and the CIA, bombarded Jalalabad with 5,000 rockets. But they did not succeed in overwhelming its heroic defenders.

At the Central Hotel we met some of the civilian victims of these rocket attacks. Among them was Hayatullah, aged 14, a bright kid who lost his right leg in February. He had been afraid of rockets, he said. When one hit his home in the eastern district

of Jalalabad, a brother was killed and another lost his leg. Hayatullah was a student at the time and wanted to become a teacher. With the stern look of a young man who had to grow up a lot faster than kids his age in luckier parts of the world, he asserted his resolve to complete his studies, because he very much wants "to teach small children." When asked how he felt about those who did this to him, he replied, "They should all be eliminated," adding that "America" is ultimately responsible as the country that supplies the rockets.

AN INTERNATIONALIST STRUGGLE

Toward the end of our eight-hour stay in Jalalabad we met the governor. After the deputy governor, who was accompanying the team of journalists, learned that this reporter was a representative of the PDC campaign, he made it known to the governor. When we entered the room for the press conference, Lt. Gen. Mangal shook hands with every reporter, but embraced me enthusiastically, saying "Ah, Partisan."

A doctor by profession, the 41-year-old former chief of political affairs of the interior ministry in Kabul has been governor of this crucial border province for six months. He said that "Pakistani militarists and the U.S. ambassador in Islamabad decided to declare war on Jalalabad on the 6th of March." The reactionaries—with a total of 40,000 troops, including two Pakistani tank battalions and 120 units of "reactive artillery"—were supposed to occupy Jalalabad in 72 hours; planes were ready in Peshawar to bring the *mujahedin* "provisional government" onto Afghan territory. "But they could not occupy the city," Lt. Gen. Mangal declared proudly. "Nangarhar men and women fought valiantly," including PDDPA members as well as the military, he added. The Air Force played a major role in the defeat of the attackers.

I asked the governor if the defenders and people of Jalalabad are aware that in many countries of the world, working people are following their struggle with extreme concern. "Certainly," he replied, adding that the struggle of the Afghan people is an "internationalist struggle." Mangal mentioned specifically Pakistan's plan to dismember Afghanistan and to impose a government that would join with Pakistan and Turkey in a "new CENTO" anti-Soviet and anti-Indian U.S.-dominated alliance. He again thanked the PDC for our efforts in support of the people of Jalalabad. The international aid campaign clearly boosted morale in Jalalabad. The message from the Defence Council said, "Your great and humane move is so noteworthy that no devilish eyes can dare see it."

In the course of these three months of fighting, the defenders of Jalalabad had lost some 800 killed. But using a combination of high-level bombing by converted propeller-driven Antonov AN-12 cargo planes—which can fly above the range of the U.S.-supplied Stinger missiles—and long-range SCUD missiles fired from the Kabul area, the Afghan armed forces have inflicted far heavier losses on the

(continued on page 17)

Nazi Skinheads Rally for Race Terror

"They should burn in hell," said 59-year-old Rachel Skrobacky. Her tattoo from the Nazis' Auschwitz death camp visible on her forearm, Skrobacky was one of about 70 Toronto protesters, many of them survivors of Hitler's Holocaust, who marched in the rural Ontario town of Minden against a race-hate rally of neo-Nazi skinheads, Klansmen and Aryan Nations vermin on the July 1 weekend.

The skinheads gathered on the rented property of William John Beattie, founder and self-styled *Führer* of the Canadian Nazi Party. An armed "security team" with shaved heads, battle fatigues and combat boots patrolled the entrance to "White Man's Mission North." One band of this twisted human garbage tried to bust up an anti-racist rally of Minden residents. The Nazi skinheads screamed death threats at reporters and scattered fascist leaflets over the town. Inside the grounds, they burned a ten-meter-high cross to chants of "Sieg Heil!" and "White Power!" and rocked to the skinhead bands "Cross" and "Cyclone" (named for the poison gas of Hitler's concentration camps).

This was an organizing meeting for race terror! William John Beattie, who hugged the crazed skinheads as they arrived, has been a fevered Nazi for 25 years. In 1965 and 1966, his hair and mustache cut to look like Hitler's, Beattie tried to stage goose-stepping, swastika-waving rallies in Toronto's Allan Gardens. The *Toronto Star* called him the most hated man in Canada. And joining him in Minden were two other notorious fascist organizers, Donald Andrews of the Nationalist Party and John Ross Taylor of the Aryan Nations and the (now defunct) Western Guard. Like Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance in the U.S., these Hitler-lovers see in the gangs of demented skinheads the shock troops for a campaign of urban terror. They have targeted immigrants, Jews, blacks, leftists, unionists, gays—



Alan Cairns/Toronto Sun

Nazi William John Beattie (center) and his skinhead thugs in Minden, Ontario, on Canada Day.

all of the decent people who don't fit their sick vision of "White Canada."

And they have had some success recruiting their "boot boys." Last year Beattie's "Save Our Canada Day" hate-fest drew only ten; this year nearly 100 psycho thugs turned up from as far away as Montreal and New Jersey. Thus the Nazis' Minden rally was an index of the rise of fascist violence, capping six months of terror Canada-wide. In January the Vancouver home of Sheban Ali, an East Indian, was fire-bombed a few hours after 20 skinheads met just nine blocks away. In March, Montreal gay rights activist Joseph Rose was stabbed to death by a skinhead on a city bus. And in June the Shaarei Shomayim synagogue in Toronto was systematically defaced with swastikas and anti-Semitic death threats.

These fascist killers must be stopped! Minden is typical of the backwater settings where the fascists prefer to hole up. When they try to penetrate major cities which have large working-class and minority populations they can be met and *defeated*. Over the past decade, mobilizations of thousands initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. have been successful in interdicting Klan/Nazi provocations in American industrial centers: Detroit, 1979; San Francisco, 1980; Chicago and Washington, D.C., 1982; Philadelphia, 1988. In each case the key to victory was integrated, labor-centered action under revolutionary leadership committed to mobilizing the social power of organized labor at the head of all the intended victims of the nightriders' violence, and acting independently of government forces and their backers.

In Washington, the KKK targeted "illegal aliens," and sought to march through the U.S. capital, but

(continued on page 16)



Workers Vanguard

Washington, 1982: Labor/black power stopped KKK.

founders of Canadian Trotskyism.

The Communist Parties internationally became transmission belts for appeasing and conciliating imperialism in the name of defending "socialism in one country." This has been embodied in the CP's endless appeals for the workers to unite with "enlightened" exploiters in a grand "people's coalition" and for the Canadian imperialists to act as "brave neutral mediators." The contradiction between serving two masters—the Kremlin bureaucrats and the so-called "progressive" bourgeoisie of their own country, which since 1917 has sought to destroy the Soviet Union—is one that has always been resolved on the side of reformism. It is these politics, which subordinate working-class struggle to the interests of class collaboration, which unite the self-styled Gorbachevite "new thinkers" with unreconstructed "old school" Stalinists.

Today Gorbachev hopes to appease imperialism by actions like the pullout from Afghanistan. The campaign by the Partisan Defense Committee and fraternal legal and social defense organizations internationally to raise funds for the civilian victims of the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats in the battle for Jalalabad in Afghanistan met with considerable support among Communist Party members bitter at the withdrawal of Soviet troops. But Gorbachev's betrayal is rooted historically in the Stalinist political counterrevolution in Russia and in a nationalist program which led to undermining and finally opposing social revolution in the West in the name of winning "friends" among the imperialists.

Simultaneously, those who "congratulate" the Chinese government for its "decisive struggle against

the enemies of socialism" see the Stalinist bureaucracy as the sole guardian of collectivized property forms and believe that any popular revolt, even one involving the proletariat, is inevitably counterrevolutionary. This logic is both profoundly pessimistic and pro-capitalist, positing that a working class which has experienced a Stalinist regime will inevitably prefer bourgeois democracy.

With the revolt in China, the installation of an open counterrevolutionary as the prime minister of Poland, a bloody counterrevolution threatening in the Baltics, the imperialists are proclaiming the "end of Communism." It is true that the Stalinist bureaucracies have reached the point of terminal crisis; but their crisis is because they are opposed to everything communism stands for.

All of this is obviously having its reverberations in the Communist Party of Canada. At the same time the phenomenon of glasnost has tended to take Trotskyism out of the realm of demonology. Now even Stalin's successors in the Kremlin have to acknowledge that Trotsky was a central leader of the Russian Revolution who waged a fight over policy and program against Stalin.

Against more than 60 years of defeats and betrayals for which Stalinism is responsible, Trotskyism represents the expression of a scientifically based historical optimism: the party, bearer of the revolutionary program expressing the historic interests of the proletariat, can win the working class away from its traditional leaders to undertake the socialist transformation of the world through workers social revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution from Moscow to Beijing. ■

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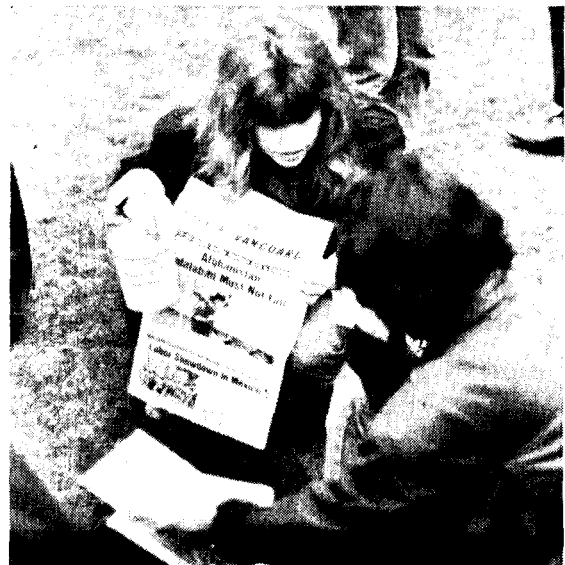
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The Fight for Communist Leadership International Communist League Launched

It is with pride tempered by a sober assessment of our responsibilities that the Trotskyist League of Canada announces our adherence to the newly founded International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), previously the international Spartacist tendency. The International Executive Committee took the step of founding the ICL on 13 May 1989.

Fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky, Lenin's companion in arms and founder of the Red Army, proclaimed the creation of a new International to carry forward the authentic Leninist program abandoned and besmirched by the Communist International under the sway of J.V. Stalin and his anti-revolutionary bureaucratic clique. The ICL today fights to reforge the Fourth International.

In the shadow of the approaching second imperialist world war, Trotsky observed with increasing urgency that the objective preconditions for world proletarian revolution were overripe, but what was lacking to uproot decadent capitalism on the world scale and establish a socialist world order was an authentic revolutionary leadership at the head of the proletariat. The spread of the barbarism of fascism and the oncoming world war were not the only deadly dangers confronting the workers of the world at that crucial moment; posed also was the question of the very survival of the Soviet Union and the remaining gains of October.

Today once again, those who struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation in what is unquestionably a period preparatory to war still confront that same excruciating crisis of leadership, but in a different situation. The contradictions of Soviet society and the problems of the Chinese revolutionary struggle, both brilliantly analyzed by Trotsky, have exploded with pent-up force. In the capitalist countries, the working class certainly lacks the level of socialist consciousness and organization it possessed in the 1920s and 1930s. The legacy of Stalin's reign of terror inside the Soviet Union, and of the repetitive betrayals of crucial revolutionary opportunities, has been the massacre of pro-Communist militants from China to Spain to Greece to Chile to Iran. Stalinism has created millions of anti-Communists and the general level of identification of human progress with the

idea of communism stands at a relative low point. Yet as the workings of capitalist imperialism create millions of new subjective communists across the globe, the absence of genuinely communist leadership is acutely felt by many and the program of



ICL banner unfurled at Lutte Ouvriere fete near Paris in May.

Leninist internationalism can be put forward with great impact.

THE HOMETLAND OF OCTOBER IS IN GRAVE DANGER—ALL POWER TO WORKERS SOVIETS!

Under Gorbachev we have witnessed an attempt to "restructure" the Soviet economy in the direction of encouraging powerful forces toward capitalist restoration, combined with a "diplomacy" of apparently limitless appeasement of imperialism which is being paid for in blood in Afghanistan (although the *mujahedin* siege of Jalalabad has evidently been thrown back, much to the dismay of American policymakers and the Pakistani annexationists), and which has devastating implications as well for the working people from Nicaragua to Southern Africa to Indochina. Now within the USSR, national antagonisms—spurred by the recent "reforms" termed "market socialism" which encourage the richer republics to seek greater autonomy from their poorer neighbors, but also nourished by decades of the bureaucracy's Great Russian chauvinism—threaten to dismember the homeland of the October Revolution. The slogan of "free elections" and the agitation for "national independence," particu-

larly in the Baltic states, in this context can be nothing but a transparent cover for the program of capitalist restoration. Should nationalist unrest spread to the Ukraine, this would be extremely ominous. The anti-Semites of the Russian nationalist "Pamyat" fascists have grown dangerously, protected by elements of the bureaucracy.

Today, the continued existence of the bureaucratic caste, the heirs of Stalin, constitutes a more immediate and direct threat to the conquests of October than ever before: what is posed is nothing less than civil war. Only through the return to the working people of their state, through the rule of soviets (councils of workers and soldiers), can the egalitarian consciousness (the idea that nobody should live off the exploitation of the labor of others) which remains deeply ingrained in sections of the Soviet working masses be mobilized in decisive struggle to uphold the gains of October.

The effects of what is termed "market socialism" are clearly shown in Eastern Europe. In Poland, the Stalinist bureaucracy's gross economic mismanagement and heavy-handed repressiveness opened the road for workers' grievances to be channeled into a reactionary-clericalist company union on behalf of the "free trade union" CIA along with the Western bankers and the Vatican. Every leader of Solidarność is and has been since 1981 a traitor to the working class on behalf of NATO imperialism. Today the Polish regime and Solidarność are selling the country to the IMF and are prepared to allow the historic centers of the proletariat--the Lenin Shipyard workers, the miners of Upper Silesia--to be dismembered. The Stalinist schema of "national autarky" has come home to roost--Down with the Stalinist nationalists in Moscow and East Berlin who allow the imperialist world market to regulate the terms of trade between "fraternal socialist" trading partners; reforge the historic link between the German and Polish proletariats through proletarian political revolution!

In China, the mass outpouring of defiance in early

June heralded the Chinese proletarian political revolution against the corrupt and despised Stalinist bureaucracy. What began as a student upheaval around vague demands for greater democracy was embraced by the working people of Beijing who came out into the streets seeking by their massive numbers to block the unleashing of troops against the demonstrators. Some units fraternized with the crowds, other units were brought in to shoot down the people. For the moment the Deng regime has arrested the momentum of the Beijing spring with a wave of repression which has struck first and hardest at the working class. But tremendous resentment has built up among the salaried people against the beneficiaries of "building socialism with capitalist methods"--a full-fledged NEP. The decrepit bureaucratic caste which has opened the doors of China to massive capitalist encroachment and shamelessly allied itself with U.S. imperialism can be shattered. The urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard, which can lead the struggle for the unity of China under workers leadership.

Stalin and Mao and all the pygmy Stalins and Maos have done everything they could to make "communism" a code word for murdering your own people and trying to get little concessions from imperialism by being its cat's paw, as the Chinese have been America's agent militarily against Vietnam. In part, illusions in "Western democracy" among the Chinese students stem from the misidentification of militant communism with Maoism--i.e., economic primitivism and "barracks socialism," the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. At the same time, the student protesters are singing the *Internationale*.

DECADENT IMPERIALISM HAS BEEN GIVEN A BREATHING SPACE

Today the capitalist world remains marked by the decomposition of the short-lived "American Cen-

(continued on page 10)


Специальный номер о Московском процессе
Вышел в свет: Октябрь 1984 г. Пространство всех стран, кроме США

БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ ОППОЗИЦИИ
(БОЛЬШЕВИКОВ-ЛЕНИНЦЕВ)
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The Monthly Organ of the Opposition Group in the Workers (Communist) Party of America
NEW YORK, N.Y. OCTOBER 1984 PRICE \$1.00

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For the Russian Opposition!
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Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International ... page 11

SPARTACIST
NUMBER 1 FEBRUARY-MARCH 1964 16 CENTS

WITCH HUNT IN THE SWP

Trotsky a Seriou
The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party expelled five members of the party last week...
These opposing and protecting the PC action were...
Control Committee
Two strong reactions fell in the party are responsible for the outpouring of support from the most

ICL Launched ...

(continued from page 9)

ture": having emerged as the dominant capitalist power after the devastation of Europe and Japan in World War II, Washington's "new world order" quickly unraveled, beginning with the Chinese Revolution and America's consequent embrace of its former enemy, Japan, as a bulwark against the



Le Bolchévik

French Trotskyists protest Reagan/Mitterrand under banner of unconditional military defense of USSR.

spread of revolution in Asia, continuing with the Cuban Revolution and underlined by the dirty, losing war against the peasants and workers of Vietnam. Now beset by sharp trade rivalry with Japan and the demands of resurgent German imperialism to assume its "rightful" place as the leader of capitalist Europe, American capitalism has become the world's biggest debtor nation; its essential industrial plant decays while its exports increasingly center on raw materials and agricultural products. At the same time this wounded capitalist colossus maintains its ambition to police the world from Latin America to the Persian Gulf, while possessing a nuclear arsenal which could destroy the world a hundred times over.

The U.S./Canada "free trade" pact is an attempt to shore up the declining American Empire on its northern flank to counter Japanese and European competition. The plan is to build "Fortress North America" centered on the world's two largest trading partners, drawing in Mexico (which would mean a wholesale American economic takeover), with something akin to Japan's "East Asian Co-Prospérité Sphere" of the 1930s for the U.S.'s Caribbean and Central American neo-colonies. It is a cynical maneuver by the capitalists in Canada and the U.S. to maximize their profits, and it is the working people who will pay. In opposition to the pact the labor bureaucrats have pushed for increased protectionism, organizing flag-waving demonstrations at the border. This poisonous Maple Leaf nationalism serves

only to encourage feelings of national hostility among the working people, while protecting profit-bloated Canadian bosses. What is needed is *common class struggle* against the capitalist ruling classes on both sides of the 49th parallel.

Economically and militarily incapable of playing an independent role, the Canadian imperialists have long served as the loyal junior partner of U.S. imperialism in anti-Communist military adventures from Korea to Vietnam to the Near East. Canada's "humanitarian" facade as "peacekeepers" provides a useful cover for Washington's counterrevolutionary war aims. Where the "Yankees" aren't welcome, Canadian troops are sent in as policemen for the American rulers.

The resurgent bourgeois anti-Sovietism of the 1980s, inaugurated by Jimmy Carter's hypocritical "human rights" crusade and escalated by the unshamed Cold Warriors of Reagan/Bush/Thatcher, received fulsome support from Canada's imperialist rulers. The wretchedly right-wing social democrats of the New Democratic Party worked to mobilize working people behind the drive to war, organizing "solidarity with Solidarność" demonstrations, leading the charge against the USSR over KAL 007 and serving as imperialist frontmen at the United Nations against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

Today the communists, whose aim is the proletarian conquest of state power and the reconstruction of society on a new basis, are at the same time the most consistent defenders of the ideals of the Enlightenment and the gains of bourgeois revolution: the right to bear arms; the separation of church and state—against the imposition of religious fundamentalism as a political program; against censorship, whether by "creationists" seeking to ban the teaching of evolution or "anti-pornography" feminists or the burning of Salman Rushdie's "blasphemous" novel; against the racist death penalty; for the liberation of women. In Britain, where the bourgeois revolution was early and uncompleted, we say: Down with the monarchy, the aristocracy, the established churches—For a voluntary association of workers republics in the British Isles! In Japan, where the bourgeois revolution came late and from the top down, we demand the abolition of the emperor system—For a Japanese workers republic!

WAR AND REVOLUTION

Lenin, in his work on imperialism as the epoch of capitalist decay, showed that the system of class relations had now become (as Marx had analyzed) a barrier to the development of the productive forces, leading to inter-imperialist rivalry and war to redivide the world's spoils. The first imperialist world war brought unprecedented suffering and mass slaughter of the working people and revealed most of the Socialists of the Second International to be cowardly chauvinist tails on the imperialist ambitions of their "own" ruling classes. But defeat in war can be the mother of revolution, and Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who had built up a hard revolutionary party and broken sharply from

the social-patriots, were able to transcend their own inadequate theoretical formulas (which had denied the possibility of proletarian revolution in backward Russia) and thereby to lead the small but militant Russian working class to the taking of state power, on the basis of an internationalist program. This historic conquest on behalf of the workers of the world led straight to the foundation of the Third (Communist) International, which was able to expose the "socialist" pretensions of the respectable reformist gentlemen of the Second International and win the allegiance of advanced workers and subjectively revolutionary militants on every continent.

But the international revolutionary wave which swept up the working masses from Germany to Bulgaria receded and was thrown back; the failure to extend the Russian Revolution, particularly the failure of revolution in Germany with its powerful working class, left the young Soviet workers state isolated. Trotsky summed up the causes and future implications of the playing out of that cycle of revolutionary struggle in his *Lessons of October*.

In the USSR, under conditions of extreme poverty and demoralization, with the working class decimated and exhausted by the Civil War, the way was open for a conservative bureaucracy to arise as a parasitic 'excrescence upon the working class. By 1924, this bureaucratic caste had acquired self-consciousness and a program: the self-contradictory dogma of "Socialism in One Country"—the antithesis of the Leninist outlook of internationalism which had animated the revolution. Predicated on the illusion that it was possible for an isolated Soviet workers state to survive and coexist with capitalist imperialism over an extended period, this program in Stalin's hands meant the destruction of the Communist International as an instrument of revolution and ultimately led straight to the murder of all the leaders of the Bolshevik Party. In place of soviet democracy was created a monstrous apparatus of bureaucratic control: first by the Stalinized party, then by the Stalin faction, and finally by Stalin backed up by a small handful of cronies, after the purge trials wiping out all the Bolshevik Old Guard.

Beginning with Khrushchev's 1956 "secret speech" and carried forward with new momentum under Gorbachev's glasnost, the heirs of Stalin in the Kremlin have been forced increasingly to acknowledge the crimes of Stalin: the brutality of forced collectivization, the deportations and executions of oppositionists, the purge of the Red Army on the eve of World War II. In part a reflection of the emergence of a new generation of Soviet leaders lacking personal responsibility for Stalin's dirty deeds, and of the growth of a new layer of Soviet academics and bureaucrats embarrassed by the transparent mendacity of official Soviet history, Gorbachev's glasnost is mainly a response to the intractable problems of the Soviet economy. The call for "openness" in political discussion is centrally intended as an adjunct to perestroika, or "restructuring" of the economy in line with market forces,

and much of the debate has as its not-so-secret agenda the refurbishing of the reputation of Nikolai Bukharin and the economic program of the Right Opposition.

Yet the Gorbachevites have been unable to prevent the raising in the discussion of the archetypical "blank space" of Soviet history: the figure of Leon Trotsky. Even as Stalin's heirs seek to replace their discredited lies with new and different distortions, the question of Trotsky is potentially explosive, for—unlike Bukharin, Stalin's bloc partner until 1929—Trotsky led a fight against Stalin and the epigones, aimed at restoring the domestic and international policies pursued by Soviet Russia to a Leninist course. The policies which Trotsky



Spartacist No. 8 (November-December 1966): From the beginning our tendency has fought for international communism, against the betrayals of Stalin and Mao and all the little Stalins and Maos.

fought for from 1923 until his murder by Stalin's assassin represented the Leninist alternative to Stalin, the "gravedigger of revolution." Today Trotsky's road is the only means for the survival of the Soviet Union.

Beginning in 1923, Trotsky and his supporters of the Left opposition sought to address the problems of the devastated Soviet economy through policies aimed at reconstituting an industrial proletariat and overcoming the divisions between city and countryside through a perspective of industrial growth. They predicted that Bukharin's program of "socialism at a snail's pace," implemented by Stalin, would enormously strengthen forces toward capitalist restoration, eventually compelling the ruling clique to adopt measures proposed by the Left. This is what happened, but instead of the Left's policy (voluntary collectivization with the incentive of mechanization of agriculture), Stalin's version was the now-infamous brutal forced collectivization.

It is unquestionable that, even under bureaucratic leadership, the Soviet planned economy made tremendous progress and a modern country was forged in formerly backward Russia. Nonetheless, even

(continued on page 12)

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after 50 years Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the Soviet economy and society in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936) remains the touchstone for understanding Russia today. Only the Trotskyist perspective of proletarian political revolution to reverse the political dispossession of the working class by the privileged bureaucratic caste can unleash the creativity and productivity of the Soviet working people and regulate the problems (e.g., heavy industrial investment vs. consumer goods, egalitarianism vs. "material incentives," centralized planning vs. local control, and the problem of quality) which have bedeviled the Soviet economy recurrently and have re-emerged in sharpened form today.

Rejecting the suicidal dogma of "Socialism in One Country," the Left oppositionists in the 1920s struggled to reassert the perspective of international extension of the revolution as the only effective answer to the isolation and capitalist encirclement of the first workers state. Events in China, where Stalin's opportunistic subordination of the Communists to the treacherous bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek led to the beheading of a powerful revolutionary struggle, confirmed Trotsky's warnings.

The International Left Opposition, constituted in 1930, after Trotsky had been exiled from the USSR, considered itself a forcibly externalized faction fighting to return the Third International to a revolutionary course. But when Hitler's Nazis were coming to power in Germany in 1933—based on the bourgeoisie's fear of revolution by the powerful, pro-socialist German working class—the Stalinists refused to fight. Nor did this disaster precipitate any fundamental struggle within the Communist Parties internationally. The Trotskyists declared that the Third International could not be reformed. Especially with the promulgation in 1935 of the "People's Front" policy—the systematic perspective of an alliance with the parties of so-called "democratic" imperialism—the conclusion was inescapable: there was no place for revolutionists in the Stalinist Communist Parties. In place of Lenin's revolutionary International had been consolidated a powerful anti-revolutionary apparatus as a new obstacle to revolution, more disciplined and effective than the old Social Democracy. The false identification of Stalinism with Bolshevism provided Stalin with dedicated political agents throughout the world; only Stalin and perhaps a half-dozen cronies (who these were changed over time) knew what it was all about. Millions who loyally carried out his dictates, up to and including the murder of Trotskyists, believed all the while that they were fighting for socialism.

In 1933, the Trotskyists constituted themselves as the International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninist) in recognition of the imperative need for an authentically communist new International, the Fourth International. Trotsky rightly foresaw

that the menace of German fascism would lead in a straight line to war against the Soviet Union. As the inter-imperialist rivalries and alignments of the upcoming war took shape, the Trotskyists struggled against time to break the Stalinists' hold over the advanced workers. The Fourth International was founded in 1938 on the basis of the document, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* (the *Transitional Program*), and the perspective put forward in "War and the Fourth International" (1934) of uncompromising revolutionary defeatism toward all imperialist combatants, including those aligned with the USSR, combined with revolutionary defensism of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The launching of the Fourth International was opposed by some, like Isaac Deutscher, who argued it was premature. Trotsky insisted that, on the contrary, the second imperialist world war would, like the first, provoke social convulsion throughout the capitalist world and a new wave of international revolutionary struggles. And he predicted that the brittle system of Stalinist rule in the USSR, which had arisen as an accommodation to the breathing space for the imperialist world order secured by the failure of the post-WWI revolutionary wave, would itself crack under the impact of the new world war or soon thereafter.

The validity of Trotsky's predictions was in fact confirmed by the Red Army's initial collapse in the face of Hitler's invasion, as well as by the turbulent social conditions in Western Europe at the war's end. In Italy and Greece, naked treachery by the Stalinists was needed to militarily and politically disarm the leftist Resistance forces and hand power back to the capitalist class (however, Tito's partisans in Yugoslavia refused to commit suicide—they led a peasant-based indigenous revolution to victory and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state). In France the Stalinists endorsed "national reconstruction" to re-establish a stable bourgeois regime. Trotsky's insistence on the need for revolutionary leadership was tragically confirmed by the results of its absence: the Stalinists, who emerged stronger than before in Italy and France based on their resistance to the Nazis, were successful in deflecting revolutionary struggle.

Central to that outcome was Stalin's success in putting over the lie that World War II in the Allied imperialist nations was a struggle of liberation—that it was a great battle against fascism and for a better world. In the context of the mass popular revulsion against fascism, Stalin's policy of the Popular Front—the alliance with "democratic" imperialism—prevented the growth of mass antiwar sentiment paralleling the massive radicalization of World War I. The lie was successful; a war fought so that U.S. imperialism could emerge as the predominant imperialist power, the capitalist "world policeman" which rained death down on Vietnam for two decades after Dien Bien Phu, was popularly accepted as a war of the people against fascism.

Nonetheless the victory of the Anglo-American

imperialist bloc was conditional. It was the Red Army which had smashed Hitler's Wehrmacht; moreover, Hitler's East European puppets had all made a mad dash for the nearest American headquarters, leaving behind a power vacuum which the occupying Soviet army quickly filled. The victorious imperialists had to divide Europe with Stalin.

The war devastated the small forces of the Fourth International--having geared up for battle against fascism and war, they were in effect militarily defeated. The physical obliteration of the Left Opposition in the USSR was completed by the assassination of Trotsky in Mexico by a Stalinist agent in 1940. Large numbers of Trotskyist cadre in Europe and Asia were wiped out by war and repression. The decimation of the most promising young Trotskyist leaders was a factor in the emergence of a revisionist current within the FI in the early 1950s. So was the passivity of the American Socialist Workers Party, a relatively strong party nourished by close collaboration with Trotsky, and located in a country insulated from the real carnage of the world war.

The revisionist current, led by the impressionist Michel Pablo, abandoned the perspective of workers revolutions in order to become for a time entrists into and political tails of the CPs. Worshipping the accomplished fact of Stalinism's continued existence, they had decided it would endure perhaps for "centuries" and they therefore decided that a "new world reality" would compel it to play a "roughly revolutionary" role, obviating the need for Trotskyist parties. Within a couple of years, Russian tanks were crushing the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. Today it is very clear that the CPs play no such revolutionary role in the world, while the bureaucratic caste of Stalin and his heirs has brought the Soviet Union itself to the threat of civil war, and an incipient political revolution was provoked in China. Trotsky's expectation of a terminal crisis of Stalinism is as alive as today's headlines.

Today the representatives of the revisionist current--having passed through a period of vicarious guerrillaist/pro-Stalinist enthusiasm which included hailing the massacre of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, then having gone for "Eurocommunism" and Soviet dissidents, and in a big way for the Solidarność devotees of Marshal Pilsudski (the bonapartist founder of modern capitalist Poland)--are in a position to do some harm as vociferous apologists of those demanding "national liberation" for the Baltic republics. In their mouth, "Trotskyism" is made out to be some kind of latter-day left social democracy.

The bourgeoisie is celebrating in anticipation of the "end of Communism." The Stalinist bureaucracies have indeed reached the point of terminal crisis. But their crisis is because they are opposed to everything communism stands for. The national antagonisms in the Soviet Union, the revolt in China, arise in response to "market socialist" policies that are counterposed to centralized socialist planning. The bureaucratic stranglehold over political and

cultural life, the appeasement that has emboldened imperialism--these are not communism, but its antithesis.

AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM MANDATES INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

From the time of our tendency's inception as a left opposition within the Socialist Workers Party of the United States in the early 1960s, we have



Novosti

1917: Bolshevik soldiers march for communism.

recognized that national isolation must in short order destroy any subjectively revolutionary formation, not least one subjected to the pressures of operating in the heartland of world imperialism, the United States. We stand proudly on our record of 25 years of struggle for authentic Trotskyism and are working on documenting it archivally and historically. In January 1974 an interim Conference centered on European work and perspectives, with participation of comrades from seven countries, was held in Germany. The document which formed the programmatic basis for the Conference accepted the "responsibility to struggle actively for the constitution as soon as possible of a democratic-centralist international Spartacist tendency."

In July 1974 the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" announced the constitution of a nucleus for the early crystallization of the international Spartacist tendency, to be governed under the principle of international democratic centralism. The document sharply attacked the federalist practices of our competitors claiming the mantle of Trotskyism, noting that Pablo's political heirs of the "United Secretariat" and the "International Committee" of Gerry Healy "have chronically mocked the principles of internationalism and of Bolshevik democratic centralism as their different national groups or nationally-based factions have gone their own way--ultimately in

(continued on page 14)

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response to the pressures of their own ruling classes."

The first delegated international conference of the international Spartacist tendency was held in Britain in 1979. Over the following decade, the development of the sections, particularly in Europe, and their cohering of leaderships has become an increasingly important component in shaping the international tendency. Now looking back at the pressures to which a decade of Reaganite bourgeois reaction has subjected our American organization, we must believe that if our tendency had not achieved significant international extension, the SL/U.S. would have become an eccentric and disintegrating American sect.

The Trotskyist League of Canada was founded in August 1975 through a fusion of the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency--young comrades in Toronto and Vancouver recruited in large measure through the work of SL/U.S. cadre--with the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, left oppositionists from the Revolutionary Marxist Group, then the English-Canadian followers of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. This fusion was part of the political struggle waged since the inception of our tendency as a left opposition in the American Socialist Workers Party. Against the Pabloite dissolution of the Trotskyist vanguard party, our founding cadre understood that to reforge the Fourth International required a fight to win, through a program of principled revolutionary regroupment, leftward-moving elements seeking genuine Trotskyism.

As we have noted, the relatively more militant and class-conscious proletariat in this country, particularly in British Columbia and Quebec, could play a leading role in the struggle for North American socialist revolution. But the realization of this potential depends on breaking the allegiance of the working class to the right-wing social democrats of the NDP. Although certainly not commanding the electoral support within the labor movement of, for example, the British Labour Party, in English Canada social democracy is the transmission belt for Cold War anti-Communism and a pernicious nationalism tying the working people to their exploiters and fostering the most chauvinist and backward social attitudes. Combating this also means reclaiming the name of "Trotskyism" from those who have made it synonymous with ritual support for the NDP as *the* party of the Canadian working class.

The militancy and combativity of the Québécois proletariat has simultaneously been fueled by national oppression and channeled by the labor bureaucrats into support for bourgeois nationalism which installed the strikebreaking Parti Québécois in power in 1976. The TLC has consistently championed Quebec's right to self-determination while counterposing the Leninist program of united class struggle to Québécois nationalism and the English-

Canadian chauvinism of the labor bureaucrats and the NDP.

Over the past decade there has been an influx into Canada of desperate refugees from Sri Lanka to Central America, alongside greatly increased immigration from throughout Asia and the Caribbean. Against the racist immigration crackdown by the Canadian state we have demanded "Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign-Born Workers!" As proletarian internationalists we greet the infusion of immigrant workers and their families as a living link to class struggle around the world. This was brought to bear in a modest and partial way in our demonstrations in defense of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka and our campaign to stop the executions of leftists in Khomeini's Iran. At the same time the TLC has assisted, through the work of our own comrades and mobilizing others, in some of the successful labor/black mobilizations against fascist terror initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Partisan Defense Committee.

From its inception, the young and relatively weak Canadian section has depended heavily on the political experience of the Spartacist League/U.S. At the same time, as part of a revolutionary internationalist organization, we have been able to provide cadre and resources to assist our tendency's work in other countries.

FOR REVOLUTIONARY REGROUPMENTS— FOR LENIN'S COMMUNISM!

Today, our small forces confront very high stakes. The achievements of the international Spartacist tendency, now the ICL, are modest: our militant labor/black mobilizations against fascist provocations in the United States--an expression of our consistent understanding that the fight against racial oppression is key to the American workers revolution--have been warmly greeted, as have other legal and social defense initiatives of the Partisan Defense Committee and cothinkers internationally; we have protested every move by U.S. imperialism against the Latin American masses, and raised funds for Nicaragua; among some layers of the Communist movement in West Europe we have become known as "the Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union"; our forthright championing of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, under the slogan, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan--Extend Social Gains of October to Afghan Peoples," was grudgingly admired by elements of the Western CPs which were seeking to resist the "Eurocommunist" drift toward greater social-democratic accommodation with one's "own" ruling class. Recently, our offer of an international brigade to fight the CIA's *mujahedin* "holy warriors" after Gorbachev's cowardly withdrawal and, when that offer was declined, our publicity and fund-raising campaign for the civilian victims of Jalalabad met with surprising support from women and from Muslim immigrants and other minorities in many countries, as well as among Stalinist milieus. Our defense of the program of "permanent revolution" for those vast areas of the world deformed by imperialist

domination—i.e., that the proletariat, independent of the weak and cowardly bourgeoisie and counterposing a vision of social emancipation to the ideologies of nationalism (particularly the nationalism of the majority), must take power to achieve even those democratic tasks formerly associated with bourgeois revolutions—has won us a hearing among oppressed nationalities.

Revolutionary regroupments on the program of Leninist internationalism are the means to resolve the disproportion between our small forces and our task. The heirs of Stalin manifestly lack the capacity to defend the Soviet power, of which they have been simultaneously the parasitic defender and the counterrevolutionary disorganizer for 65 years. Yet to the same measure that they have brought "communism" into disrepute thanks to the crimes they have committed in its name, they have also reduced their ability to manipulate the allegiance of dedicated pro-Communist workers throughout the world. No longer can a Stalin and his half-dozen conscious accomplices wield "monolithic" parties as instruments of class-collaborationist treason in the name of "building socialism."

We take our stand on the authentic communist tradition of the Bolsheviks who made the Russian Revolution. We choose the communism that had Lenin as its greatest teacher in the imperialist epoch. We choose the communism of Lenin's comrade Trotsky, who beginning as early as 1923 under-

stood the main lines of what needed to be done. We choose the communism that Stalin utterly betrayed as he deliberately destroyed the Third International. We choose the communism of a new Fourth International that will do away once and for all with the exploitation of man by man and establish a socialist society based on a new vision of the continual expansion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture and in every aspect of personal life.

We must believe that, failing sudden working-class upsurge against the conditions of capitalist decay, the reorganizing of a communist Fourth International, built of authentic communist parties on every continent, will be arduous and often dangerous. But this is the only road forward for all of humanity. Yet as we seek to bring this program to bear among the world's workers and oppressed, we must recognize that the possession of the technology of nuclear holocaust by an irrational imperialist ruling class foreshortens the possibilities: we probably do not have much time.


But experience, not least bitter negative experience, can also be a powerful and accelerating teacher. We had better follow the precepts and practices of such comrades as Lenin and Trotsky. Thus we could cut short by months or years the time required for the necessary rearmament of the communist movement.

-- Adapted from Spartacist No. 43-44,
Summer 1989

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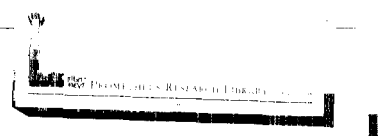
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Nazi Skinheads ...

(continued from page 5)

5,000—mainly black youth and unionists—militantly stopped them in their tracks. Earlier that year the Nazis wanted to attack the Gay Pride Day parade in Chicago, singling out a vulnerable sector of the oppressed in the hope that no one would stand up for homosexuals. But many people understood that the Nazis threaten all of us. In the most segregated city in North America, courageous black youth crossed into the "wrong side" of town to unite with Jews, unionists and others as 3,000 responded to our call, "The Nazis Want to Destroy Us and Ours! Stop Them in Chicago, June 27!"

The Ku Klux Klan and their skinhead allies hoped to terrorize the people of Philadelphia in 1988 with a "white pride" rally. The Partisan Defense Committee said "All Out to Stop the KKK!" and began to organize an orderly, disciplined, democratic demonstration for the same time and place as the fascists' rally. More than 350 individuals and organizations, representing tens of thousands, including over 100 labor officials and trade unions, endorsed the demonstration, and the KKK/skinheads canceled. On November 5 more than 1,000 turned out at Independence Mall to celebrate a satisfying victory.

In Atlanta in January the Partisan Defense Committee together with the Spartacist League initiated

a labor/black mobilization which brought out over 3,000 anti-Klan protesters. Seven KKKers and skinheads who showed up slithered through town within a solid phalanx of heavily armed riot cops and National Guardsmen, some of the 2,000 who turned Atlanta into an armed camp that day.

Recruited from the socially pathological, criminal dregs of bourgeois society, the fascists are held in reserve and protected as the last line of defense of a reactionary ruling class in crisis. When Jewish, Ukrainian and Italian workers and youth united to smash the Toronto Swastika Clubs at Toronto's Christie Pits in 1933, they were viciously attacked by the police. So were outraged Jewish protesters who tried to storm Nazi-lover Ernst Zundel's headquarters in 1981. Back in the mid-1960s, when thousands mobilized to drive Beattie out of Allan Gardens, the cops literally stood shoulder-to-shoulder with him and his goons. As the *Toronto Telegram* reported (6 June 1966): "Nazi saved by 60 police."

NO RELIANCE ON THE COPS AND COURTS! FORGE A CLASS-STRUGGLE WORKERS PARTY!

Looking to the capitalist state, its courts and cops to "Ban the Klan" or to stop fascist terror is a deadly illusion. One member of the Shaarei Shomayim synagogue captured a truth when he commented bitterly after the June attack, "If they grab [those who did it], they'll give them a pat on the back and 20 hours community work." As if to drive that point home, the skinhead killer of Joseph Rose copped a plea for manslaughter, while the prosecution proposed a "sentence" of a mere three years in a detention center.

The fascists take their cue from the "official" racism emanating from the highest organs of power: the federal government's wholesale deportation of helpless refugees, the brutal cop murders of black and Native people. It is perversely fitting that the Nazi Beattie should celebrate Canada Day—in the 1930s Canada's ruling class sealed the borders to keep out desperate Jews fleeing Hitler's Holocaust. July 1 "celebrates" a country founded on genocide against the Native peoples, national oppression of the Québécois and bloody exploitation of non-white immigrant workers.

At Minden, Rachel Skrobacky demanded that John Beattie and his racist skinheads be "wiped off this earth." That requires bringing down the whole rotten edifice of capitalism in whose dark cellars they breed.

The fight against fascism, as Leon Trotsky said, "begins in the factory." It is the integrated labor movement, with its living links to all those whom the fascists want to destroy, which has the power to crush the KKK/Nazis and their skinhead storm-troopers. Necessary defensive actions, such as the labor/minority mobilization in Philadelphia, point the way forward to forging a multiracial revolutionary workers party dedicated to smashing capitalist rule through North American socialist revolution which will once and for all sweep the fascists from the streets. ■

Trotskyist League Events

TORONTO

Video Showing:

"The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!"

Video of the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated November 5, 1988 mobilization "All Out to Stop the KKK!" plus eyewitness report of a participant.

Wednesday, September 20, 7:30 p.m.

Forum:

Lessons of the Beijing Spring For Workers Political Revolution in China!

Saturday, September 30, 7:30 p.m.

Class Series:

The Fight for World Socialist Revolution

Wed., Oct. 4: The Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union Today

Wed., Oct. 18: Iran, El Salvador, South Africa: For Permanent Revolution!

Wed., Nov. 1: Quebec: Nationalism and the Class Struggle

Wed., Nov. 15: International Communist League Launched

All classes at 7:30 p.m.

All events will be held at the International Student Centre, University of Toronto, 33 St. George St. (north of College). For more information or class series readings, contact the Trotskyist League, Box 7198, Station A, Toronto M5W 1X8, or call (416) 593-4138.

Jalalabad ...

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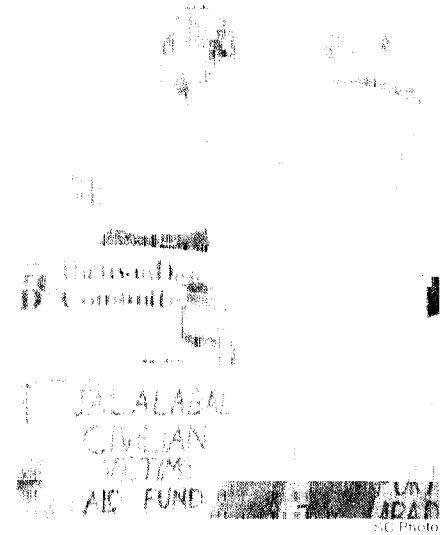
enemy. At a July 3 press conference in Kabul, Gen. Alumi, head of the military section of the PDPA and secretary of the Supreme Defence Council, explained that the counterrevolutionaries have taken more casualties between March and June than "in any previous two years of fighting taken together." He gave a figure of 35,000 *mujahedin* casualties (including 3,000 Pakistanis) since the signing of the Geneva agreement in 1988.

Bakhtar News Agency (5 July), reporting a meeting between bereaved Afghan mothers and a delegation of Pakistani journalists, quoted one mother saying: "We were pleased with the signing of the Geneva accords, we thought that in the light of these agreements war in the Republic of Afghanistan could be stopped.... But unfortunately after the signing of the accords, war in the Republic of Afghanistan has further intensified." In fact, Gorbachev's pullout has served only to embolden the imperialists and their cutthroats.

The Soviet intervention in 1979 was mandated by defense of the gains of the 1917 October Revolution and opened up the prospect of extending those gains to Afghanistan; that is why the international Spartacist tendency, now the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" After the Soviet withdrawal, Washington and Islamabad thought the instant the Soviet troops pulled out, the Afghan government would crumble. They have been proved wrong by the fighting valor of the Afghan people.

Meanwhile, the PDPA's policy of "national reconciliation" aims at luring the reactionaries into a coalition. Kabul papers regularly report agreements with regional *mujahedin* commanders, effectively leaving them in control of their fiefdoms. The day after *Payam* reported on the internationalist aid campaign by the PDC, it carried a speech by the foreign minister headlined, "Except a Political Settlement--No Other Way Exists for Putting an End

PDC table at
Toronto May
Day, 1989.
Jalalabad
campaign
raised over
\$3,800 in
Canada.



to War in Afghanistan."

But to put an end to the imperialist-backed war against social progress requires rooting out--not conciliating--entrenched feudal and capitalist reaction through workers revolution. In the extremely backward conditions of Afghanistan, the tiny industrial proletariat does not have the weight to effect a fundamental transformation of society. But next door in Bhutto's Pakistan, the home base for the CIA's *mujahedin*, conditions for social revolution are brewing, with national minorities in turmoil and the regime divided. In Iran, the Islamic theocracy is now headless and the population sick of a decade of bloody war and domestic terror.

Jalalabad besieged was the focal point of imperialism's *jihad* (holy war) against social progress and the Soviet Union. Jalalabad victorious can inspire revolutionary struggle throughout the region, from India to Turkey. That requires above all the program of Leninist internationalism, the banner of the International Communist League.

-- Reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 482,
21 July

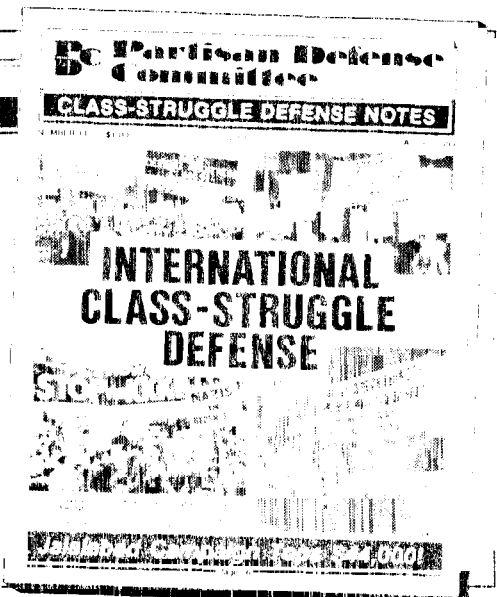
CLASS STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Latest issue of *CSDN* (No. 11, August 1989) contains:

- Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund (JCVAF), an international campaign of class solidarity and humanitarian assistance.
Over US\$44,000 raised in worldwide effort for besieged Jalalabad victims of CIA's *mujahedin*.
- Country-by-country accounting of contributions raised. Every penny collected sent to Afghanistan.
- Solidarity greetings from fraternal defense organizations initiated in France, Australia, Japan, Canada and three other countries in conjunction with the sections of the International Communist League.

With your contribution of \$5 or more receive a subscription to *CSDN*. For a single copy of issue Number 11, send \$1.00 to:

Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013



BT Cringes on Afghanistan Defense

Over the past decade Western imperialism waged a hysterical campaign against Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. For the anti-Soviet left, which quickly fell into line with the Carter/Reagan Cold War hysteria, our slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" was anathema. After assiduously trying to duck the issue, last year the renegades of the so-called Bolshevik Tendency (BT) finally fessed up that they hated our angular Soviet-defensist stand. But they tried to cover their tracks by claiming to give "military support to the Soviets and their allies" against the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats (see "BT Protests Too Much," *Workers Vanguard* No. 453, 20 May 1988).

After Gorbachev treacherously withdrew Soviet troops last winter in order to appease U.S. imperialism, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) offered "to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" on the side of social freedom in Afghanistan. The BT response (1917, Summer 1989) was to ridicule the PDC offer as "bizarre," a cynical "publicity stunt," deriding the "utter unreality of the proposal." Alleging the "extremely unfavorable military and political situation" after the Soviet pullout, these gutless wonders went further, rejecting fighting under the military discipline of Stalinists. So much for the BT's "military support!"

Although the Kabul government declined the offer of an international brigade as militarily unnecessary at this time, shortly thereafter it proposed that the PDC participate in an international campaign to raise money for victims of the siege of Jalalabad. In three months over US\$44,000 was raised. This rather surprising amount is testament to the increasing international solidarity, in particular among immigrant communities, for the embattled people of Afghanistan fighting imperialist-backed terrorists. But this is meaningless to the BT, who cannot comprehend a world view other than seen through the prism of imperialist anti-Sovietism. Indeed, the BT did not cough up one red cent for the PDC's Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund.

Behind the BT's cringing over Afghanistan is Stalinophobia. They make it utterly clear that if the Afghan government itself had appealed for an international military brigade, they would have said no:

"...it could have proved physically extremely hazardous for young militants (or guilt-ridden ex-members) identified with a 'Trotskyist' organization to place themselves under the 'control and direction' of the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan]—a Stalinist organization with a history of bloody purges within its own ranks."

—1917, Summer 1989

By extension, the BT is here saying it will never engage in military actions under Stalinist-led forces against counterrevolution and imperialism.

The BT's entire line on Afghanistan is an adapta-

tion to rad-lib anti-Sovietism. This becomes quite clear if you compare it to their line on Nicaragua. Politically, there is *no essential difference* between the Nicaraguan Sandinistas and the Afghan PDPA. Both are radical petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes allied to the Soviet Union. A few years ago we undertook a successful campaign to raise money to aid the Nicaraguan government against the CIA-organized contras. A number of our comrades and sympathizers have gone to Nicaragua on work brigades under the control and direction of the Sandinista authorities.

But the BT has not (yet) denounced these activities. Why not? Because there is general sympathy for the Sandinistas against the contras in the North American rad-lib milieu and pseudo-Trotskyist circles. But these same left liberals and fake-Trotskyists were violently hostile to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and have been generally supportive of the *mujahedin*. Hence the BT's anti-Soviet double standard on Afghanistan and Nicaragua.

The BT line on Afghanistan reeks of "Third Campism." In opposing our slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" they asked rhetorically if we thought that "Trotskyists should have been 'hailing' the Stalinist apparatus" in the struggle against the Nazis. In fact, during World War II the Trotskyists certainly did hail the victories of the Red Army against Nazi Germany. In a 1942 speech commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, James P. Cannon declared:

"I say the whole world has been taken by surprise, including Stalin, who had no more confidence in the Red Army than he had in the power of the Soviet economy, than he has in the revolutionary powers of the workers generally. The Trotskyists were not taken by surprise. Trotsky predicted that imperialist attack on the Soviet Union would unleash marvels of proletarian enthusiasm and fighting capacity in the Red Army. He could do that because he, better than others, understood that the great motive power of the victorious revolution had not all been expended. *The Red Army that the world hails is an army created by a proletarian revolution.*" (our emphasis)

—*Speeches for Socialism* (1971)

In the same issue of 1917 which ridicules the proposal for an international brigade for Afghanistan, there is a polemic against the slogan "The Klan Doesn't Ride in Moscow." We raised this slogan in mass labor/black mobilizations, initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S., which have in several cities stopped the Klan/Nazis over the past decade. The BT points to the ominous public emergence of the nativist fascists of Pamyat in Gorbachev's Russia. "Strictly speaking," says 1917, "the Klan doesn't ride

China ...

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be found on the streets of Beijing. But five days after the massacre, Deng re-emerged. And he re-emerged with a vengeance, unleashing a savage repression which to date, so far as we know, has meant 27 workers executed, thousands of arrests, including leaders of the autonomous trade unions that have sprung up. Thousands of others are in hiding all throughout the country.

It's very significant that the regime has struck out first and foremost at the workers. The first executions, in Shanghai on June 21, claimed three young workers. The next day, seven Beijing demonstrators were shot. They were all workers as well. And in Jilin, 17 were killed. Deng's bloody terror is a monstrous crime, and partisans of the working class everywhere must demand a stop to the executions.

But you have to ask, why is it that all the executions to date are of workers--and most arrests as well--when it was the students who touched off this whole series of demonstrations? Some of the papers have suggested that students traditionally have this very privileged status in China, and in fact the leaders of the demonstrations largely came from the families of the governing bureaucrats themselves. However, the fundamental reason is that while the students were the spark, it was the workers' social power that immediately threatened the bureaucrats' grip on Chinese society.

As revolutionary Marxists, as internationalists, we must pose the way forward for the next wave of battles which will inevitably grow out of the current situation. We have to ask: what kind of government must replace the hated, discredited regime of Deng Xiaoping?

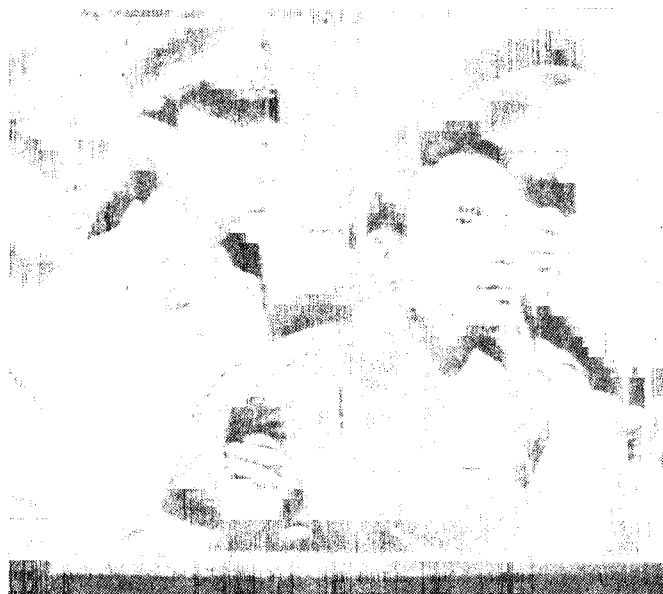
DENG'S BIG LIE

When Deng finally resurfaced on June 9, his first act was to speak to the Military Commission, where he congratulated them on their "victory" in Tiananmen Square. And what did he say? Well, first of all, there's this Big Lie: the army didn't kill anyone, it was the people who fired at the army. Sec-

in Moscow; but then, Pamyat doesn't ride in Washington."

What does the BT care? When we mobilized to stop the Klan from riding in Washington in November 1982 they were nowhere to be found. In fact, they demanded that instead we should have concentrated our efforts on the Canadian Chrysler strike. Now they condemn a slogan which was an expression of Soviet defensism, albeit a shallow and one-sided view of the *contradictions* in Soviet society reflecting the isolation and degeneration of the world's first workers state.

In typical Third Campist fashion, the BT equates the role of fascist groups in racist, capitalist America and in the Soviet Union. This negates the conquests of the Russian Revolution, which crushed



AFP

Worker condemned to death for protesting massacre.

ondly, Deng says, the student demonstrations were intended to "overthrow the communist party and the socialist system, subvert the People's Republic of China and establish a bourgeois republic." When you read the bourgeois press, they say the very same thing: the demonstrations were a unanimous cry for Western-style democracy, for the free market, for capitalism.

The Spartacist League said that it was a massive outpouring of defiance which signaled the beginning of a proletarian political revolution in China. We need to explain that, because that's a uniquely Trotskyist conception. The first thing to state, very clearly, is that this was not an attempt to restore capitalism. For Deng Xiaoping to call the students counterrevolutionary and pro-capitalist is at the very least the most incredible hypocrisy. This is a man whose favorite slogan is "To get rich is glorious," whose entire program revolves around a deal with the United States and with Japanese imperialism, opening up wide areas of China for their

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the anti-Semitic Black Hundreds. The Klan rides in the American South because there was a political counterrevolution which overturned Radical Reconstruction after the Civil War. The victory of this counterrevolution isn't just in the white sheets of the KKK but in the blue uniforms of the state's police who are the main source of racist terror and murder in the U.S.

Although Pamyat might be protected by some elements of the Kremlin bureaucracy, it would take a social counterrevolution to overthrow the gains of the October Revolution and resurrect capitalist exploitation for Pamyat to ride in Moscow. In its own pathetic little way, the BT undermines the defense of the Soviet Union.

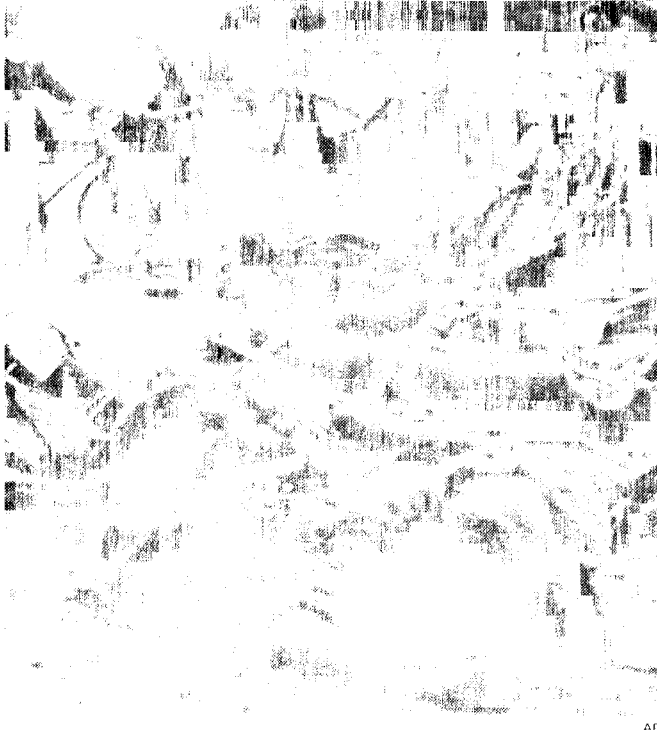
--Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 482, 21 July

China ...

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exploitation. And he's accusing the demonstrators of trying to bring back capitalism!

It's very true that the demonstrators had plenty of illusions. They had illusions in the United States, and in so-called Western democracy. Yes, they did listen to the Voice of America and to the BBC.



Beijing's Tiananmen Square, June 4: slaughter of student rebels by pro-government troops.

There were certainly pro-capitalist elements that were active in the demonstrations, but whenever those forces appeared to try to take over those protests, they were defeated. There's one anecdote that I think captures it very well, from the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (11 June): after the troops started firing on the demonstrators, there was shock, then, "Gradually, the chants of 'Tu Fei, Tu Fei'—the old nationalist cry of 'Communist bandit'—grew louder and louder. Then they stopped and men in tears began singing the *Internationale*." And every time you turned on the news, that's what you heard, the *Internationale*, the international socialist anthem. When Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng, the premier, were denounced by the students, they were not denounced as communists—they were denounced as fascists and as reactionaries.

This is very unlike a real counterrevolutionary organization like *Solidarność* in Poland, which glorifies the prewar fascist regime of Pilsudski and carries his portrait in their demonstrations. You did not see posters of Chiang Kai-shek, you did not see the Kuomintang flag in Beijing. The students were not aiming to overturn socialism. They were angered at the corruption, and they wanted more

democracy as they understood it, in political and social life. And that's why we say it was the start of a political revolution, a revolution whose only outcome, to be successful, would have to lead to ousting the Beijing bureaucracy and replacing it with the democratic rule of workers', soldiers' and poor peasants' councils defending the collectivized property.

Our program is based on our understanding of what the Chinese People's Republic is. It is a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Despite all the encroachments by capitalism, it's still a workers state in that its basic economic forms, the state-owned industry and state-owned land, are the basis of a planned economy, the necessary economic foundations for any workers' dictatorship. The creation of the People's Republic in 1949, which will celebrate its 40th anniversary on October 1, was a revolution against imperialist subjugation of China; it threw out the bloody Chiang Kai-shek regime, led to the expropriation of the capitalists, finally united the country, gave land to the peasantry—a revolution that took years of bloody civil war to accomplish. Certainly the working people of China know far too well what Chiang Kai-shek stands for, and they don't want his tyranny back.

But the revolution and the state it created was deformed from the beginning. The Communist Party in China, in fact, really is communist only in name. It rode to power not on the basis of a proletarian insurrection, but through guerrilla warfare based on the peasantry. It was the peasant-based Red Army that seized power in 1949. And when it finally marched into Shanghai and other cities, it made sure that the working class was kept down. The workers never played an independent political role in that revolution. So the regime that took over, led by Mao, was basically a bureaucratic military caste that knows only one way to rule society—through commandism. It was a state that was modeled on Stalin's Russia, where in 1923-24 a conservative bureaucracy seized control of the young workers state through a political counterrevolution.

Deng's violent repression of the workers at the very first sign of their resistance shows not the strength of that regime, but its *extreme fragility*. Its power stems from monopolizing political control of a workers state, a state based on collectivized property. In fact, the Stalinist bureaucracy rules in place of the proletariat, and *in contradiction* to the very working-class basis of that society. What they do is they conduct a very delicate balancing act between the proletariat and imperialism, which seeks nothing less than the overthrow of socialized property, which seeks nothing less than capitalist re-enslavement of the masses. That's why Deng Xiaoping cannot stand any independent mobilization of the workers. That will ruin his balancing act. And the bureaucrats know it could only spread too quickly and just shatter their rule.

Right now the Deng regime would have you think that it's back in the saddle. You know, it has just reshuffled the government; it has appointed a new party leader, the former Shanghai boss Jiang Zemin.

in fact it's faced with a situation of extreme instability. There is an underlying economic crisis behind the crisis of the political regime, a product of Deng's so-called "open door" policy. First of all, in the countryside right now land is still technically owned by the state, but they long ago broke up the people's communes, and they lease land to individual peasant families. That's created a very sharp class differentiation in the countryside, so that on the very same street, or the very same neighborhood, you'll have rich peasants who have benefited from these pro-capitalist measures, living side by side with poor peasants who have lost out. Huge resentment is building up.

Then there's inflation, a very sore spot among the workers, who have a fixed income. Last year was the first time that China saw double-digit inflation in almost 40 years. This year it's estimated to be 30 percent. And all these unemployed workers who flocked to the demonstrations--where did they come from? Article 42 of the Chinese Constitution proclaims guaranteed lifetime employment for China's workers; it's what is called the "iron rice bowl." But the dislocation that went on in the countryside shook loose a lot of poor peasants and they're flocking to the urban areas.

Furthermore, the way that Deng Xiaoping has largely dismantled centralized economic planning means that if individual factory managers don't show a lot of output, they can fire workers, lay off workers. Unemployment is an extremely explosive issue right now. They're also letting factories go bankrupt if they can't turn a so-called profit, except the government has not closed a single factory under that new law, precisely because they fear the workers' resistance to such a measure.

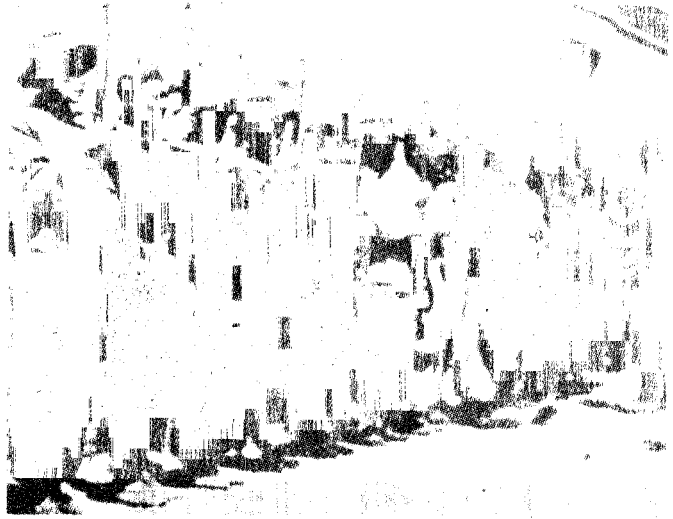
There's another important factor of instability. It's a certain political awakening. In 1978 when Deng Xiaoping first got back in the saddle, students went out in demonstrations and said, "Hello, Xiaoping." That was their chant, calling him familiarly by his given name, which they've never done to a Chinese leader in the past. Now he's the most hated man in China, next to Li Peng probably. When the current wave of demonstrations first broke out, students were not really opposed to the government. What they were doing was appealing to those in the regime they saw as their friends. But how about Zhao Ziyang, who they were looking up to as a fighter against corruption and bureaucratism? Zhao was one of the main architects of the economic reforms like the bankruptcy law in 1987. And corruption? Zhao's two sons are two of the wealthiest men in China now.

The demonstrators' illusion that they would find a solution by pressuring for change at the top was utterly shattered on June 4, under the bodies at Tiananmen Square. The next uprising will be fundamentally different.

FOR WORKERS DEMOCRACY— FOR LENIN'S COMMUNISM!

I also want to talk about the illusions that the students showed in Western-style democracy. Democ-

racry is a very vague term, and many people mean many things by it. As Marxists, we understand there is no such thing as a classless, pure, abstract democracy. Democracy here and in West Europe was a product of revolutionary struggles against feudalism, and in this country against slavery, and it provided a political framework for the development of capitalist class society. Today the capitalist state tolerates democratic institutions just so long as their rule is not in jeopardy. When their rule is in jeopardy, you get something like Chile 1973. There you had a self-described Marxist elected president who didn't even talk about building socialism but was



Mondadori

Shanghai, 1927: Stalin ordered workers to give up guns to Chiang Kai-shek, leading to bloody massacre.

seen as enough of a threat by the United States for it to help sponsor the bloody coup by Pinochet that unleashed the last 16 years of terror.

For the Chinese people, there is an alternative. It's the workers democracy of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, when the workers seized power and built their state on the basis of workers' and peasants' soviets, the revolution that inspired the founders of Chinese communism. That's why we say in China today, workers' and soldiers' soviets must rule.

We have another slogan: "For Lenin's Communism." In fact, what the Chinese people know of communism is the Stalinist perversion of the communist program. You know, a whole wave of radicals in the '60s and the early '70s looked to Maoism as a revolutionary alternative to the conservative policies of Brezhnev and the Kremlin. The Spartacist League, though, said, "we must warn against the growing objective possibility--given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union--of a U.S. deal with China." That's exactly what happened, and that alliance was *forged by Mao*.

It was an alliance that was sealed in acts of war, from Angola in 1975, where China armed insurgents backed by the CIA and South Africa against the pro-Soviet MPLA, to Afghanistan today, where the Chinese regime is arming the CIA's cutthroats who are fighting to re-enslave women and to stamp out any

(continued on page 22)

Courts, Cops, Government Target Women

Down With the War on Abortion Rights!

Millions watched in horror this summer as the courts and "pro-life" bigots targeted two young women for a cruel anti-abortion witchhunt. At the behest of vengeful ex-boyfriends (backed by the well-financed anti-abortion groups), the black-robed judges granted injunctions barring Chantal Daigle and Barbara Dodd from having abortions. In a grotesque invasion of privacy, the courts made the sexual histories and most intimate thoughts of these women public property. It was a nightmare come to life, not only for Chantal Daigle and Barbara Dodd, but for every woman who has ever worried that she might need an abortion.

Seventeen weeks pregnant, 21-year-old Chantal Daigle was on her way to a Sherbrooke, Quebec abortion clinic on July 7 when former fiancé Jean-Guy Tremblay thrust into her hands a court injunction ordering her not to have the procedure. Faced with the threat of two years in jail and a \$50,000 fine for defiance, Daigle began the agonizing five-week battle that took her through two Quebec courts and eventually to the Supreme Court of Canada.

The Quebec Court of Appeal upheld the injunction against her, ominously ruling that not only the fetus, but her violent ex-boyfriend had more rights than she did. Daigle had literally become a piece of chattel property, forced to do the bidding of her male "owner" backed by the state. This ruling meant that spurious "fetal rights" could cancel those of living women. A writer for the *University of Toronto Law Review* pointed out that pregnant women could be denied life-saving (and potentially miscarriage-inducing) medical care such as appendectomies and radiation therapy as a result of this ruling (Catherine Tolton, *Globe and Mail*, 4 August). Already in the U.S. anti-abortionists have tried to interfere in the case of a comatose woman whose doctor advised an abortion to aid her recovery.

On August 8 the Supreme Court of Canada finally threw out the injunction. But part way through the

hearing, the judges were stunned to learn that a week earlier Daigle had slipped across the border to Boston, disguised and using a pseudonym, and had the abortion in defiance of "the law." She was running out of time. If she had waited until the Supreme Court met, she would have been 23 weeks pregnant,



SC Photo

Toronto: TL joins demo protesting anti-abortion injunctions.

by which point the dangers to her health posed by an abortion would be greatly increased. This articulate and brave young working woman was not going to let the court force her to have a baby she did not want. As she told the British tabloid the *Mail on Sunday*, "I had decided to go ahead before the Supreme Court's decision because I was afraid of a negative judgment.... Despite the courts I was determined to have my own way."

Dr. Henry Morgentaler's heroic 20-year fight for women's rights resulted in the Supreme Court's 1988 ruling that Canada's abortion law was unconstitutional. But Brian Mulroney's government is determined to introduce new anti-abortion laws. Tory "justice" minister Douglas Lewis has suggested that

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