

Down With Imperialist Occupation of Kosovo!

All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now!



AP

JUNE 8—With their customary vindictiveness, America's capitalist rulers are gloating that the world's mightiest imperialist powers succeeded in bringing Serbia—a small, dependent country barely the size of Ohio—to its knees through ruthless, relentless terror. Under the U.S./NATO "peace" diktat, Kosovo will be turned into a NATO protectorate with 50,000 occupation troops for an indefinite period. This was NATO's goal from the beginning, not its cynical talk of protecting the Kosovo Albanians. As proletarian internationalists who called forthrightly for the defeat of our "own" bourgeoisie, the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, denounces this predatory "peace" dictated by the world's bloodiest mass murderers. *Down with U.S. imperialism! For workers revolution!*

This imperialist conquest is a blow not only to the people of Serbia and throughout the Balkans but to working people and the oppressed world over. It will place the Kosovars—Serbs, Gypsies and Albanians alike—under the direct thumb of the imperialists, exacerbating national hatreds in the region. It will fuel the rapacity of the American bourgeoisie at home and abroad. It will sharpen the conflicting appetites of the major capitalist powers, accelerating the drive to an even bloodier war in the future.

After 73 days and a staggering 33,000



S. Pikula

U.S. occupation force for Kosovo massed in Albania. Imperialists forced Serbia into submission through terror bombing: Belgrade hospital devastated by NATO May 20.

Down With U.S. Imperialism! For Workers Revolution!

bombing sorties, the Democratic Clinton administration and its NATO partners—crucially assisted by the "soft cop" role played by Boris Yeltsin's capitalist Russia—got what they wanted by showing just how ruthless they could be in killing defenseless civilians. In just two days last week, U.S./NATO bombers killed more than 40 civilians and wounded dozens

more as bombs and missiles destroyed a sanatorium, a retirement home and a crowded bridge in the middle of market day. Even after Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic accepted NATO's "peace" diktat, the imperialists continued to rain death and destruction on the Serbian people, vowing yesterday to step up the bombing because NATO did not get

instant agreement to every last detail of its ultimatum for a Serb troop withdrawal from Kosovo.

As in the one-sided 1991 war against Iraq, the imperialists systematically went after the infrastructure necessary for the civilian population to survive: electrical generators and distribution grids, water purification plants, citywide central heating plants, communications systems. Factories, hospitals, nursing homes and apartment complexes were blown to smithereens. Serbian working people face a looming catastrophe of unemployment, food shortages, disease and a winter without heat. Enormous quantities of toxic chemicals have been released into the air and waterways by the bombing of petrochemical plants and fuel refineries and the Pentagon's use of shells made of depleted uranium, a radioactive waste product. Now the imperialists are engaging in outright blackmail, threatening not to invest a penny in Serbia to undo the ruin they caused until Milosevic—who the NATO terror bombers have the gall to indict as a "war criminal"—is ousted as president.

Nearly eight years of economic sanctions against Serbia had already set back this relatively industrialized country by decades. Now the "democratic" U.S./NATO imperialists have wreaked more devastation in Serbia than did German imperialism under Hitler's Nazis in World War II. A half century of economic progress made possible by the post-World War II overturn of capitalism in Yugoslavia—which was reversed through imperialist-instigated counterrevolution in the early 1990s—has been wiped away. This is the true face of "humanitarian" imperialism.

A War of Imperialist Domination

The several hundred thousand Serbian inhabitants of Kosovo now rightly fear that they will be driven from their homes,

continued on page 12

Ten Years After Tiananmen

China: Fight Capitalist Restoration! For Workers Political Revolution!

See Page 8



Reinstate Victimized New Directions Supporter! Down With New Directions Anti-Union Court Suit!

A recent series of demonstrations by New York City's Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 members and other unionists in front of Transit Authority (TA) headquarters have demanded the immediate reinstatement of Roger Toussaint, chairman of the local's 1,800-strong Track Division, who was fired in April. The TA's firing of Toussaint is a vicious attack against the entire union and must be fought: Reinstate Toussaint immediately with full back pay and full benefits!

But in attempting to get his job back, Toussaint—a leader of the New Directions group of bureaucratic rivals to the Willie James leadership of the local—is pursuing a treacherous strategy which seriously threatens the union. Outrageously, the union executive board under James voted in April to side with management by throwing Toussaint out of the union and his elected post as chairman of the Track Division. However, Toussaint then appealed to the class enemy, the capitalist state, by filing a lawsuit *against the union* seeking, as a New Directions leaflet reported, “an injunction to overturn

the Executive Board's action.”

This is an open invitation to government union-busting. The courts are not some “neutral” body but, along with the cops and prisons, are at the core of the repressive state apparatus whose entire purpose is to protect the property and profits of the capitalist ruling class. Bringing the courts into union affairs can only have one outcome—to *destroy* the union's ability to combat management attacks. Local 100 has experienced firsthand the union-busting role of the courts, which invoked the anti-labor Taylor Law to heavily fine TWU members after the 1980 NYC transit strike was sold out. Conversely, the TWU won its 1966 strike through *defiance* of the strikebreaking Condon-Wadlin Act.

The TA's “reason” for the firing of Toussaint, which was backed up by anti-labor arbitrators, was that his union rep had missed the deadline for filing an appeal in the grievance procedure after management had brought him up on disciplinary charges. One of the charges was that he had ridden in an “unauthorized” vehicle while conducting union business

on company property. In its effort to harass workers, management has placed an array of restrictions—from the pettiest to the most severe—on union reps to make it nearly impossible for them to assist workers, especially in remote locations. Toussaint was also charged with failure to notify the snoopers in TA “Sick Control” of his whereabouts during sick leave!

The victimization of Toussaint is an attack on the union with the clear intent of trying to stop all TWU members from defending themselves against management attacks. Track Division vice chairman Joel Fredericson and other union reps have also recently faced TA disciplinary actions. The track department is notorious for being the most dangerous department to work in. Workers have to constantly perform heavy work in filthy, deteriorating, unsafe conditions under constant pressure of speedup and management harassment. Toussaint was one of the union reps to investigate the death of track worker Thomas DeStefano last July, who slipped in a wet subway tunnel and fell against the electrified third rail. Last year alone there were seven third-rail accidents, and since 1991 ten subway workers have been killed on the job.

There is a history of victimization of union members who stand up to TA management. Militants opposed to the union-busting “workfare” scheme, which Willie James wrote into the last contract, have been targeted for harassment by management, as have those seeking to mobilize the power of the union to protest racist cop terror in the city. Union members fighting against unsafe working conditions have been arrested for “criminal trespass.” But far from waging any kind of fight to defend jobs and enforce safety conditions, the James leadership has colluded with TA management, even dismissing Earl Kelly as a union safety officer last September after a transit supervisor called the cops to arrest him for protesting safety violations.

Hundreds of transit workers have signed petitions to the Local 100 leadership demanding Toussaint's reinstatement in his union post and that the union pay his salary. Yet even though a majority of the local executive board recently voted in favor of giving Toussaint his union post back, James continues to oppose this.

Holding nearly half the seats on the union's executive board, New Directions poses as an opposition to the James “old guard.” But both share a policy of reliance on the class enemy. New Directions has recently hooked up with Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and the Committee for Real Change (CRC)—a grouping in the AFSCME DC 37 city workers union—in an outfit called “City Workers for Real Change.” Using the capitalist state against the unions is the stock in trade of all these “reform” bureaucratic lash-ups. Both the TDU and CRC have filed suits against their unions

under the notorious Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), long the feds' weapon of choice in going after the labor movement. We say: *Government hands off the unions! Labor must clean its own house!*

The unions were not built through looking to the courts and “labor boards” of the capitalist government but through hard-fought battles on the picket lines against company goons, scabs and cops. With the TWU contract expiring this December, even James has been feeling the heat from members fed up with give-backs in the face of the TA's surplus of nearly \$400 million. While James murmurs about a possible strike, he is quick to point out, “I don't want to use a strike—it would be horrible” (*New York Times*, 15 May). New Directions, meanwhile, also postures with talk of the need to “prepare for a strike.”

With their ability to bring the financial capital of U.S. imperialism to its knees, transit workers are a potential powerhouse of NYC labor and could play a key role in fighting to reverse the bourgeoisie's attacks on living standards, health care and social programs. This power can also provide the focal point for mobilizing the black and Hispanic masses in integrated labor-centered protest against racist cop terror—the death-squad-style execution of Amadou Diallo by the notorious NYPD Street Crime Unit, the cop torture of Abner Louima, and most recently the shooting in the Bronx of unarmed 16-year-old Dantae Johnson, again by the Street Crime Unit.

But both the James and New Directions wings of the bureaucracy act to undermine the capacity of this union to struggle by chaining it to the capitalist courts and political parties. Long a toady of racist, anti-labor mayor Giuliani, James is now jumping back on the Democrats' bandwagon along with other NYC labor sellouts. But the Democratic Party, which is constantly pushed as a “friend of labor,” is no less a party of capital than the openly anti-labor Republicans. Meanwhile, the TWU “organizes” security guards and foremen, who are agents of the bosses. Security guards, foremen out of the TWU!

The fundamental precondition for any real struggle by the unions against the bosses is the *complete independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state*. To break the ties which shackle labor to the parties and agencies of the enemy class means fighting to build a new leadership of the unions—one based on the politics of class struggle as opposed to the class collaborationism of the labor bureaucrats. Working people need their own party, a multiracial revolutionary workers party, that can mobilize the social power of labor in the struggle to end this system of capitalist exploitation and oppression through a victorious socialist revolution. ■



TROTSKY

Imperialism Breeds War—For International Socialist Revolution!

As demonstrated by the “peace” diktat now being imposed, the U.S./NATO war against Serbia is a war of imperialist domination against a small, dependent country. This one-sided slaughter underscores the essence of the imperialist system, capitalism in its decline, which breeds ever more catastrophic wars. Writing in the 1930s, as fascism engulfed much of capitalist Europe and competing blocs of imperialist powers pre-



LENIN

pared for World War II, Leon Trotsky stressed that the only way to end imperialist war is through the revolutionary seizure of state power by the proletariat.

Inside the individual countries, the historic blind alley of capitalism expresses itself in chronic unemployment, in the lowering of the living standards of the workers, in the ruination of the peasantry and the town petty bourgeoisie, in the decomposition and decay of the parliamentary state, in the monstrous poisoning of the people by “social” and “national” demagoguery in face of an actual liquidation of social reforms, of the pushing aside and replacement of old ruling parties by a naked military-police apparatus (*Bonapartism*, of capitalist decline), in the growth of fascism, in its conquering power and smashing of each and every proletarian organization.

On the world arena, the same processes are washing away the last remnants of stability in international relations, driving every conflict between the states to the very edge of the knife, laying bare the futility of pacifist attempts, giving rise to the growth of armaments on a new and higher technical basis and thus leading to a new imperialist war. Fascism is its most consistent artificer and organizer.

On the other hand, the exposure of the thoroughly reactionary, putrified and robber nature of modern capitalism, the destruction of democracy, reformism and pacifism, the urgent and burning need of the proletariat to find a safe path away from imminent disaster put the international revolution on the agenda with renewed force. Only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the insurgent proletariat can save humanity from a new, devastating slaughter of the peoples.

—Leon Trotsky, “War and the Fourth International” (June 1934)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Spartacist Forum

Ten Years After Tiananmen Square

China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement

BOSTON

Thursday, June 17, 7:30 p.m.
For more information: (617) 666-9453

Community Church of Boston
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Teamsters Tops Nix Car Haulers Strike, Push Vile Anti-Mexican Protectionism

As nearly 13,000 truckers prepared to strike against the major car-hauling companies at midnight on May 31, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) tops postponed the walkout with an announcement headlined: "Hoffa, Teamsters Beat Back Management Demands to Transfer Work to Mexican-Owned Trucking Companies." Two days later, newly elected IBT president James Hoffa Jr. agreed to a four-year contract that won the praise of the *Wall Street Journal*. While management did not get the outright two-tier wage system it had sought, the contract opens the door to this by allowing some newly hired mechanics to work weekends without overtime pay. The contract also calls for a miserly wage increase and changes in work rules that will allow the hauling companies to keep raking in enormous profits.

The IBT tops' actions are a stark indication of how chauvinist protectionism is counterposed to class struggle. With auto makers approaching a hot sales season as they churn out record numbers of cars and trucks, 96 percent of Teamster car haulers had voted to authorize a strike. The Big Three auto companies were trembling at the prospect of a strike, which would have interrupted their flow of profits and could have set the pace for upcoming contract negotiations with the United Auto Workers (UAW). Instead of unleashing Teamster power *against the bosses*, the Hoffa bureaucracy howled over the supposed "dangerous threat" posed by Mexican workers.

AFL-CIO president John Sweeney rushed to congratulate Hoffa for "an important victory by beating back the demand...to use drivers from Mexico," ranting how "America's highways will be safer now that Mexican trucking is off the car haul negotiating table." Hoffa is a spokesman for the IBT "old guard," while Sweeney was allied with former Teamsters president Ron Carey, who was hailed by the reformist left as a "progressive." But all wings of the labor bureaucracy are united in their support to the interests of the U.S. capitalists, not least through their "America first" protectionist chauvinism.

In 1995, the Carey IBT leadership organized union protests against Mexican drivers in response to a provision in the NAFTA "free trade" agreement allowing cross-border trucking in the U.S. Southwest. These vile protests played straight into the racist frenzy surrounding the passage of California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 a year before. And when the heavily Latino truckers struck the Los Angeles ports in 1993 to demand repre-

sentation by the Teamsters, the Carey bureaucracy stabbed them in the back, as Teamsters scandalously scabbed on the strike. Now the IBT tops are gearing up for another chauvinist campaign against a NAFTA provision that will allow Mexican trucking operators to haul goods throughout the U.S. beginning on January 1.

Against the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO tops, the Spartacist League denounces NAFTA as a "free trade rape of Mexico" aimed at strengthening U.S. neocolonial domination of that country. We call for



Teamsters leadership under Carey organized chauvinist protest in San Diego against Mexican truckers, December 1995. Protectionism is poison to class struggle.

international labor solidarity—linking U.S. and Mexican workers in common struggle against the capitalist exploiters. Realizing this perspective requires a political struggle within the unions to oust the pro-capitalist labor misleaders and forge a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement.

When the Big Three were laying off tens of thousands of auto workers in the 1970s and '80s, the UAW bureaucracy refused to organize the needed strikes and plant occupations, instead diverting workers' anger into Japan-bashing bigotry. Currently, the United Steelworkers (USWA) bureaucracy has joined the American steel corporations in strident demands that Clinton clamp down on foreign steel imports. The USWA "Stand Up for Steel" campaign harkens back to the protectionist tariffs aimed at the Japanese "trade menace," which directly paved the way to World War II in the Pacific, as Japanese and American workers were sent to the slaughter to further the aims of the competing imperialist rulers. Trade wars lead to shooting wars, the ultimate means for rival capitalist states to secure a monopoly of foreign markets and

spheres of exploitation.

The chauvinist protectionism pushed by Hoffa, Sweeney & Co. also fuels anti-immigrant and anti-black racism in the U.S. While railing against "cheap labor" abroad, the AFL-CIO tops refuse to launch the sort of militant organizing drive needed to unionize the non-union operations which they themselves allowed U.S. corporations to open up across the country, especially in the South where the companies are bolstered by a whole legal apparatus of "right to work" laws. To unionize the South will require

an entirely new union leadership, one that's willing to defy the bourgeois state and wage a real fight against the racist oppression of black people which is at the core of American capitalism and is used by the employers to drive down the wages of all workers. In the same way, the capitalists use the vulnerable legal status of immigrant workers to ward off unionization efforts and maintain a pool of low-wage labor. To organize such workers, it is necessary to demand *full citizenship rights for all immigrants*.

The AFL-CIO tops' support to the interests of U.S. corporations against their foreign competitors is part and parcel of their class-collaborationist program, which is politically expressed through their support to the dual parties of capitalism, chiefly the Democrats (or, in the case of types like Hoffa, the Republicans). In this way, the union bureaucrats act to chain the workers organizations to the political representatives of the capitalist class and its state. Both Carey and Hoffa were installed as IBT president through elections run by the federal government, which effectively took control of the Teamsters in 1989.

This culminated a decades-long union-busting vendetta by the Feds, particularly by Democrat Robert Kennedy, against the Teamsters and especially against James Hoffa Sr.

The 1989 government takeover was aided and abetted by the self-styled "reformers" of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), who are in turn championed by a host of reformist leftists, from the International Socialist Organization to Solidarity and Socialist Action. As Marxists, the Spartacist League has always opposed on principle any intervention into the labor movement by the bosses' government. We say: Labor must clean its own house! Government hands off the Teamsters! Feds and finks out!

The Feds' aim in going after the Teamsters was not to eliminate corruption, as the fake lefts would have it, but to cripple this powerful union. That power was seen in the solid and widely popular 1997 strike against UPS, after which the government escalated its anti-union crusade, forcing Carey out of the presidency and the union. Despite growing competition from railroads and non-union trucking companies, Teamster car haulers still have plenty of clout. While the railways have boosted their proportion of long-distance car deliveries to 71 percent in recent years, union truckers still account for 90 percent of all deliveries of new vehicles to auto dealers.

To unleash the power of the Teamsters and the rest of the labor movement requires a leadership committed to a program of class struggle, not class collaboration. As we wrote in an exchange with an official of the International Association of Machinists at the time of the 1995 Boeing strike (WV No. 634, 1 December 1995):

"In today's post-Soviet world of heightened imperialist rivalry, the road of the labor bureaucracy leads inexorably toward World War III. The struggle for the political independence of the unions from the capitalist state—itsself a recognition of the counterposed interests of capital and labor—requires a *political* expression. That means a workers party based on the theory of the class struggle, a party whose purpose is not to provide an electoral shill for the Democrats but to give conscious leadership to the struggle of the workers, not only to improve their present conditions but to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery. This must be an *international* fight. Our watchword is not the deadly dangerous trap of 'defending American jobs' against foreign competition but the words which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels inscribed on their banner nearly 150 years ago: 'Workers of the world, unite!'" ■

Drop Charges Against PL Anti-Kazan Protester!

The following protest letter, dated May 30, was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to the Los Angeles city attorney.

The Partisan Defense Committee demands that all charges against Michael Rindge, a supporter of Progressive Labor Party, be dropped. Michael was arrested while protesting the Academy Award ceremony which presented an Oscar to the anti-communist rat Elia Kazan. Kazan, a loyal servant of racist U.S. imperialism, turned over the names of eight of his former com-

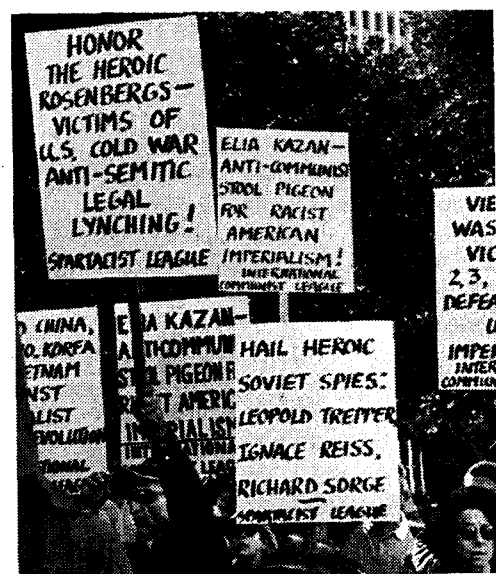
rades of the Communist Party to the notorious House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) in 1952. Kazan's career then flourished while those he fingered were hounded from the entertainment industry.

At the Oscar protest, police situated the anti-communist and sinister Jewish Defense League (JDL) and other assorted right-wingers adjacent to anti-Kazan protesters. Michael was arrested when he protested the provocative, pro-Kazan JDL.

Every social class reveals its moral-

ity and standards through those whom it glorifies. Hollywood's salute to Kazan brings to mind what Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said at the time of the HUAC hearings, speaking of the even viler fink Whittaker Chambers: "American capitalism, turning rotten before it got fully ripe, acclaims the stool pigeons and informers, who squeal and enrich themselves, as the embodiments of the highest good they know. By their heroes ye shall know them."

The honoring of the witchhunters while vilifying the victims is part of the racist ruling-class drive to send a message to a new generation of youth that any interest in communism is forbidden. We are proud that we joined the protest against Kazan and again demand that all charges against Michael Rindge be dropped!



March 21 protest against Cold War fink Kazan outside Academy Awards.

Looking for a Few Good Stalinist Bureaucrats

For more than two years after its formation in August 1996 by a handful of defectors from our Trotskyist program, the so-called Internationalist Group (IG) of Jan Norden wrote barely a sentence or two on one of the most burning questions facing proletarian internationalists today: the fight against capitalist counterrevolution in China. As Trotskyists, we call for unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution. At the same time, we fight to forge a Trotskyist party to lead a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and usher in a regime based on workers (soviet) democracy and proletarian internationalism. Under-scoring the urgency of this task, we warn that the main force leading the drive for capitalist restoration today is the Stalinist regime itself. Not so the IG.

In his last years in the International Communist League, Norden waged an increasingly bitter, though never openly declared, factional war against the Trotskyist program of the ICL. Too weak, too incoherent and too cowardly to form a faction, Norden & Co. engineered their expulsion from our party. Opportunistically tailing a wing of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), remnants of the former East German (DDR) Stalinist bureaucracy, Norden endowed the geriatric Stalinist has-beens with some kind of instinctive revolutionary appetites based on supposed continuing "attachments" to a DDR workers state which no longer existed and which the Stalinists themselves had sold down the river.

Finally breaking their silence on China in their *Internationalist* (November-December 1998), the Nordenites now apply this tailist position to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which openly proclaims that it is intent on introducing a full-fledged "market economy," i.e., capitalism. While acknowledging that "the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy has gone further than the government of any other deformed workers state in fostering market reforms that fuel capitalist forces," the IG adamantly maintains that the Stalinist bureaucrats cannot lead the drive to restore capitalism. To back up its claim, the IG cites no less an authority than CCP leader Jiang Zemin professing that China "must keep public ownership as the foundation of its socialist economic system." Jiang made his proclamation just as the CCP 15th National Congress in September 1997 had voted to sell off the bulk of state-owned industry.

In the typical manner of centrists—revolutionary in words and opportunist in deeds—the Nordenites talk of proletarian political revolution. But in practice, the IG promotes the illusion that a wing of the Beijing bureaucracy will itself take up the fight against capitalist counterrevolution. Thus, the IG goes into a frenzy over our straightforward assertion that the CCP bureaucracy is intent on restoring capitalism, denouncing this as a repudiation of Trotsky's understanding of the dual nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Trotsky's understanding of the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy was premised on the fact that this parasitic caste derived its privileges from its position atop the collectivized economy of the Soviet workers state while simultaneously serving as a trans-

mission belt for imperialism. Trotsky's book *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936) was devoted to showing how the Soviet bureaucracy's increasingly bourgeois outlook and aspirations fueled the tendency toward capitalist restoration. He wrote: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat? Thus stands

are themselves running major capitalist enterprises. And it is to this bureaucracy that the IG grants a theoretical and political amnesty.

Pablo/Norden vs. Trotskyism

There is an old saying in China: "A brothel needs a virtuous shop sign to sell well." To more effectively peddle its

lution was a bureaucratically deformed workers state, ruled by a nationalist regime committed to the reactionary Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." As we noted in the 1966 SL/U.S. Declaration of Principles:

"Experience since the Second World War has completely validated the Trotskyist theory of the Permanent Revolution which declares that in the modern world the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be completed only by a proletarian dictatorship supported by the peasantry. Only under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat can the colonial and semi-colonial countries obtain the complete and genuine solution to their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation."

Today, the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution is increasingly urgent as Mao's heirs openly sell out the gains of the 1949 Revolution.

The position today embraced by the IG was rebutted by James P. Cannon's then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the 1953 fight against Pabloism. The Spartacist League's forerunner, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) in the SWP, fought against the SWP leadership's subsequent embrace of Pabloism, manifested in uncritical enthusing over Cuba's Castro, and upheld the Trotskyist perspective of political revolution. In its key 1962 document "In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 1), the RT quoted the following statement from a 1953 document against Pablo:

"The proposition that no significant segment of the bureaucracy will align itself with the masses against its own material interests does not mean that the bureaucracy would not manifest deep cleavages under the impact of an uprising.... But the function of a revolutionary policy is to organize, mobilize and help lead the masses in their struggle, not to look for, even less to bank upon any real break in the bureaucracy."

During the Tiananmen events in China in 1989, for example, a number of senior People's Liberation Army (PLA) commanders broke ranks and refused to fire on the protesters. But this does not mean that Trotskyists look to, much less bank upon, a wing of the CCP/PLA bureaucracy. Yet that is explicitly the line of the IG. "We seek where possible to split sections of the bureaucracy," proclaims the *Internationalist*, railing that the ICL's line makes it "theoretically false and practically foolhardy to look for splits in the PLA officer corps, for example, which is a key component of the bureaucracy."

Tellingly, the IG's position parallels that of the Stalinoid Workers World Party, which claims that the CCP and PLA "stand as barriers to full-scale counterrevolution and imperialist takeover" (*Workers World*, 1 April). And old-time Maoist William Hinton, while denouncing the "capitalist roaders" in the Chinese regime in his book *The Great Reversal: The Privatization of China, 1978-1989* (1990), similarly argues that chief among the "internal barriers to capitalist road development in China" are the "bureaucrats in office at all levels in the state system." Hinton looks to "dedicated communists in the Chinese Communist Party and also in the army" to stop the drive to capitalism, "perhaps through an army coup led by radical officers who can rally all the revolutionary elements in the army, in the party, and in society."

Hinton calls for a revival of Maoism. The IG claims to be for a Trotskyist party. This is, as Mao would say, a



Richard Drew

Chinese premier Zhu Rongji (above left) at New York stock market during April visit. Chinese officials join Pratt & Whitney CEOs in breaking ground for new capitalist enterprise in Chengdu. IG maintains Stalinist bureaucracy cannot lead drive for capitalist restoration!



Reuters

the question upon whose decision hangs the fate of the Soviet Union." And in his 1937 article "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" Trotsky again stressed:

"That which was a 'bureaucratic deformation' is at the present moment preparing to devour the workers' state, without leaving any remains, and on the ruins of nationalized property to spawn a new propertied class. Such a possibility has drawn extremely near....

"The recognition of the USSR as a workers' state—not a type but a mutilation of a type—does not at all signify a theoretical and political amnesty for the Soviet bureaucracy. On the contrary, its reactionary character is fully revealed only in the light of the contradiction between its antiproletarian politics and the needs of the workers' state. Only by posing the question in this manner does our exposure of the crimes of the Stalinist clique gain full motive force. The defense of the USSR means not only the supreme struggle against imperialism, but a preparation for the overthrow of the Bonapartist bureaucracy."

When Trotsky wrote this, everything of any significance in Stalin's Soviet Union was state-owned. In China today, whole swathes of the economy have been handed over to private capital, while leading elements of the CCP bureaucracy

revisionist wares, the IG sprinkles some ritual references to Trotskyist orthodoxy through its article. But its line comes straight from the liquidationist politics of Michel Pablo which destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1950s. Impressionistically seizing on the Stalinists' creation of deformed workers states in East Europe after World War II, the Pabloites argued that the Stalinist bureaucracy could outline a "roughly revolutionary" course, denying the necessity for an independent Trotskyist vanguard.

The social revolutions which took place in East Europe after World War II, and also in China, North Korea and later Cuba and Vietnam, were historic defeats for imperialism. The 1949 Chinese Revolution led by Mao's CCP culminated years of civil war against the imperialist-backed Guomindang of Chiang Kai-shek. By expropriating the bourgeoisie, the revolution laid the basis for a planned economy, resulting in huge strides for the workers and peasant masses. From the beginning, Mao's regime was faced with defending the revolution against the imperialists, such as in the 1950-53 Korean War.

But what issued out of the 1949 Revo-

“secondary contradiction” between Hinton and Norden, who both look to a wing of the CCP/PLA bureaucracy as a substitute for mobilizing the Chinese proletariat to stop the galloping drive toward capitalist restoration.

IG's Stalinist Fantasyland

Reporting on the CCP's 1997 decision to sell off state-owned industry, we warned: “If implemented, this proposal would mean the liquidation of what remains of the planned, collectivized economy and the restoration of capitalism in China” (WV No. 675, 3 October 1997). We stressed that to implement its plans the Beijing regime would have to crush growing working-class resistance expressed in “a rising tide of workers struggles against the effects of ‘free market’ measures.” This poses pointblank the need to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead that resistance in a fight for proletarian political power.

Demonstrating its touching faith in Jiang Zemin's CCP, the IG simply denied the reports of the privatization plan as “the wishful thinking of the bourgeoisie and its commentators.” The *Internationalist* asks, “Had the Communist Party voted to liquidate the economic foundations of the workers state, threatening its own existence?” The answer, a resounding “No.” Repeatedly dismissing any notion that the regime is intent on the wholesale reintroduction of capitalism, the IG article stresses that the government's plan is “not all-out privatization but mass layoffs.” Triumphantly, the IG writes of “the privatization that never happened.” Rather more credibly, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (18 February) reports “the largest transfer of industrial property since Mao Zedong nationalized industry in the 1950s” and crows: “China has entered its most ambitious and pragmatic reform phase yet. It is paring down and restructuring the state sector in ways unimaginable only a few years ago.”

Further embellishing the Chinese Stalinists' anti-capitalist credentials, the IG points to the fact that the regime has occasionally staged well-publicized clampdowns on some of the most blatantly corrupt officials, moved to shore up some state-owned factories and ordered the PLA to divest some of its massive business holdings. Even the Western bourgeois press has noted that such actions by the Beijing regime are motivated by fear that the growing number of workers' strikes and protests could explode into a full-scale upheaval. As Trotsky noted of Stalin's regime in *The Revolution Betrayed*, “It continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat.”

The *Internationalist* seizes on a misformulation on Tibet in our article “China on the Brink” (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997). In stressing the need “to defend the rights of national minorities against Han chauvinism,” we called for “the right of independence for a Tibetan soviet republic.” In correcting this in WV No. 695 (28 August 1998), we pointed out that there is no material basis for hideously backward Tibet to exist as an independent state except as a counterrevolutionary wedge against China. Months after our correction, the *Internationalist* intones against our original formulation as a “capitulation to the anti-Communist ‘Free Tibet’ campaign pushed by U.S.

imperialism.” This is rather remarkable given that our *Spartacist* article denounced “imperialist-sponsored ‘independence’ movements” and specifically attacked the imperialist-backed campaign for “independence for Tibet as a battering ram against the Chinese deformed workers state.” The cheapness of the IG's demagoguery is revealed by its favorable citation of a similar formulation in WV No. 635 (15 December 1995)—when Norden was still editor—that “a China of workers and peasants councils would recognize the right of independence for Soviet republics in Tibet and other minority regions.”

The IG is fond of screaming how we have changed our line on every question under the sun ever since Norden departed our ranks. Now the *Internationalist* denounces our supposedly “anti-Marxist perspective of a cold counterrevolution by decree” as yet another revision [emphasis by the IG]. A counterrevolution cannot simply be “decreed,” but that is the aim of the CCP bureaucracy. In seeking to deny this, it is the IG that's doing the revising. The SL/U.S. Ninth National Conference document, adopted unanimously at a time when Norden was on our Central Committee, declares: “The Chinese Stalinists, with the support of Japanese and significant sections of American imperialism, are moving to attempt a cold restoration of capitalism from above” (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 51, Autumn 1994).

Because we warn that the CCP is intent on restoring capitalism, the IG accuses the ICL of “directly reflecting the pressure and views of ‘its own’ imperialist bourgeoisie!” Actually, it is the view of a significant wing of the U.S. bourgeoisie that the Beijing bureaucracy is a battering



Basil Blackwell Inc.

Trotskyist Left Oppositionists exiled to Siberia by Stalin demonstrate on anniversary of October Revolution, 1928.

Stalinists led the counterrevolution there. Now the IG writes:

“The leading force for bourgeois counterrevolution in China today is the bourgeoisie and powerful capitalist-restorationist forces inside and around the bureaucracy who are allied with it. Likewise, it was the German bourgeoisie of the Fourth Reich and its social-democratic running dogs who led the drive for capitalist reunification that obliterated the DDR in 1990” [emphasis in original].

What bourgeoisie in China? Despite massive inroads by Taiwanese and Hong Kong capital on the mainland, it is the CCP bureaucracy which holds the reins of state power in Beijing. And Jiang Zemin & Co. have made no secret of their intention to lead a forced march to “free market” exploitation, from privatization of state industries—the backbone of a planned economy—to undermining

threat to capitalist reunification, getting a green light from Gorbachev. The Stalinist bureaucracy in Berlin wielded its remaining power at the head of the East German state to ram through capitalist restoration. As we noted in a September 1990 document by comrade Albert St. John (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91):

“In the DDR, the Stalinist regime collapsed, caught between Gorbachev and public outrage, and its remnants, rather than see the proletariat in power, delivered up the East German deformed workers state to German imperialism. They not only opened the gates, but above all sought to avoid ‘chaos’ (read: resistance from the workers) as they co-administered the liquidation of the planned economy and the restoration of capitalism.”

And in the main document adopted at the ICL's Second International Confer-



Spartakist

ICL fought to forge Leninist-egalitarian party to lead proletarian political revolution during upheaval in East Germany 1989-90. In March 1990 election, Spartakists raised call: “No to Capitalist Reunification! For a Germany of Workers Councils!”

ram for capitalist restoration. In fact, the greatest danger to imperialist designs is a working-class challenge to the Chinese regime. In masking the role of the Beijing Stalinists, the IG serves to disarm and divert the Chinese proletariat from its historic mission and thereby aids and abets the forces of counterrevolution.

Stalinism: Gravedigger of Revolution

The IG's central theoretical argument is that because the Stalinist bureaucracy is a “contradictory, parasitic layer,” and not a social class, it cannot lead the counterrevolution. Norden has long fumed over our statement that the East German

the state monopoly of foreign trade through their pursuit of membership in the World Trade Organization. Indicative of the Stalinists' aims is their maintenance of capitalism in Hong Kong after regaining control of the island from British colonialism.

And what of the Soviet Union, where there was no bourgeoisie before the counterrevolution? It was Mikhail Gorbachev, then head of the Soviet Communist Party, who in 1990 introduced the “500-Day Plan” for capitalist restoration. And it was Gorbachev's erstwhile ally in the Soviet bureaucracy, Boris Yeltsin, who pushed through the counterrevolution.

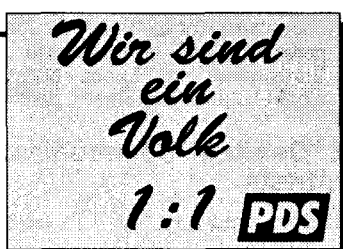
In Germany, the bourgeoisie already held state power in two-thirds of the country before the counterrevolutionary annexation of the DDR. As the East German Stalinist regime began to fall apart in the latter half of 1989, this opened up an unfolding political revolution, exemplified by the 250,000-strong Treptow anti-fascist mobilization initiated by the ICL—and then taken up by the East German ruling party—in January 1990 in Berlin. Particularly as the ICL's Trotskyist program gained a hearing among ever wider layers of East German workers and soldiers, West German imperialism and its Social Democratic Trojan Horse quickly moved in to thwart any

ence in 1992 (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 47-48, Winter 1992-93), we summarized our intervention into the unfolding political revolution in the DDR as follows:

“As Treptow later showed, from the beginning we were in a political struggle with the abdicating Stalinist regime over the future of the DDR. While we were calling for a government of workers councils, the Stalinists were consciously acting to prevent a workers insurrection by demobilizing all army units that had formed soldiers councils as a result of our early propaganda. Although shaped by the disproportion of forces, there was in fact a contest between the ICL program of political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution.”

Norden voted for this document. But his opportunist appetites came into ever more open collision with the ICL's Trotskyist program. Desperately looking to the social-democratic remnants of the former East German Stalinist SED ruling party to lead after-the-fact “resistance” to the ravages of the very counterrevolution the Stalinists had pushed through, Norden embarked on an opportunist pursuit of the Communist Platform (KPF) wing of the PDS. Norden gave public expression to this opportunist appetite in a January 1995 speech at Berlin's Humboldt

continued on page 6



DDR prime minister Modrow with Soviet president Gorbachev, who gave green light for counterrevolution. Modrow's PDS declared, “We Are One People,” supporting capitalist reunification.



AP

IG on China...

(continued from page 5)

University aimed at a KPF audience. Denying the ICL's role as the conscious vanguard in the unfolding political revolution in the DDR in 1989-90, Norden repeatedly intoned that "the key element was missing, the revolutionary leadership." Norden put forward that the "SED tops" had simply been "paralyzed" during the events, that none of them "could even conceive" of a political revolution. In fact, Norden's "comrades" of the KPF could not only conceive of political revolution, they had done everything they could to suppress one: they knew full well that they would have been its targets!

As a rationale for his orientation toward the KPF, Norden argued at a 1995 meeting of the ICL International Secretariat:

"There's I think a tendency to simply collapse Stalinism and social democracy in some of the discussion, which ignores Trotsky's point, which was that if you abandon attachments to the Soviet degenerated workers state, then Stalinism and social democracy become indistinguishable. But the fact of the matter is that precisely those attachments present us some of the opportunities and contradictions that we have to exploit, for example with the Communist Platform."

The Stalinist bureaucracy was "attached" to the degenerated workers state as a parasite is to a host. Norden raises this "attachment" to the sphere of metaphysics, attributing to the class traitors of the KPF nostalgic "attachments" to a workers state which *no longer existed*. By the

political revolution. In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky noted:

"Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class."

The Stalinist bureaucracy derives its privileges as a ruling caste by appropriating a hefty chunk of the social surplus generated by the state economy. This fuels the aspirations of the upper layers of the Stalinist bureaucracy to become outright capitalists.

The Nordenites argue that the bureaucracy is inherently wedded to the workers state on which it parasitically rests. As shown by the experience of the Soviet Union and East Europe, this is demonstrably false. Significant elements of the former bureaucratic apparatus were able not only to preserve but substantially enhance their economic status as a result of capitalist restoration. To give but one example, former Soviet apparatchik Viktor Chernomyrdin went on to become one of the wealthiest men in Russia as head of the natural gas monopoly. In the case of China, there is already a high level of integration and overlap between large sections of the bureaucratic apparatus and private capitalists.

A factory manager or top PLA officer who came over to the side of the workers in a political revolution would do so only out of ideological conviction. Their former material privileges would be ripped away. Trotsky made this clear in *The Revolution Betrayed* in laying out the



Wladimir Krawtchenko

Heroic Soviet spy Ignace Reiss issued declaration in favor of Fourth International, printed in Bulletin of the Opposition No. 58-59, September-October 1937.

the present bureaucrats, administrators, technicians, directors, party secretaries and privileged upper circles in general. A purgation of the state apparatus would, of course, be necessary in this case too. But a bourgeois restoration would probably have to clean out fewer people than a revolutionary party."

On the Dual Nature of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

In his 1995 Humboldt speech, Norden claimed that a "Reiss faction" could have emerged within the Stalinist SED in 1989-90. In a subsequent internal document, Norden claimed that in this way he was illustrating "Trotsky's point that the bureaucracy, due to its dual nature, will split under the impact of a political revolution."

Ignace Poretsky (Reiss), a longtime Polish Communist, was a senior member

A significant section of the Soviet bureaucracy in the 1930s had experience in the pre-1917 revolutionary movement or had joined the Communist Party under Lenin and Trotsky. Many of them had been involved in various oppositional groupings within the CPSU in the 1920s. While they had for various reasons capitulated to Stalin, these former left oppositionists constituted a distinct layer within the upper reaches of the Soviet political order. A major aim of Stalin's Great Purges was to eliminate the potential for the crystallization of a Trotskyist faction among such cadres by physically exterminating them. And he succeeded in doing so.

In positing the emergence of a Reiss faction from within the contemporary Stalinist bureaucracies because of their contradictory character, Norden invests Stalinism with a revolutionary potential. As Trotsky stressed in his analogy between the Soviet degenerated workers state and the trade unions in capitalist countries, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy also has a contradictory character, and some trade-union officials will move leftward in response to a workers upsurge. But nobody would conceive of anything akin to a Reiss faction spontaneously emerging from the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

Anticipating Norden's political trajectory, Seymour concluded:

"During Cold War II it was necessary for us to emphasize the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy against the pseudo-Trotskyist advocates of the 'bourgeois-democratic revolution' in the Soviet sphere. But that contradiction must be understood *dialectically* not statically. As is now obvious, the Soviet and affiliated bureaucracies were *not* committed to maintaining the status quo by carefully balancing between left and right. The *historical tendency* of all Stalinist bureaucracies is to bring about capitalist restoration by one means or another. The Transitional Program thus describes the bureaucracy 'becoming *ever more* the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers state' [emphasis added].

"This tendency is not linear but is punctuated by *generational change*. It is no accident that the rapid rightward slide of the Soviet bureaucracy culminating in capitalist counterrevolution occurred when the Brezhnev/Andropov generation was replaced by the postwar generation of Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Shevardnadze. Nor is it an accident that one of Deng Xiaoping's sons is a big-time real estate operator with direct ties to a Hong Kong billionaire. The Chinese masses call the children of the top officials 'the princelings.' This expresses a popular understanding that these are people born to positions of social privilege, political influence and increasingly Western levels of wealth. And being determines consciousness.

"To search for a 'Reiss faction' in the present-day Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucracies would be futile and totally disoriented."

IG: "Death of Communism" Centrists

This is precisely the IG's perspective today. Behind its whitewash of the Stalinist bureaucracy lies its profound defeatism in the capacity of the proletariat to fight in its own interests and in the Trotskyist program which can uniquely lead the working class to sweep away

continued on page 11

AFP



WV Photo

Out of the bowels of the former Stalinist bureaucracy: anti-Semitic Russian general Makashov, whose bourgeois-nationalist "Communist Party" pushes vile Great Russian chauvinism at November 1998 Moscow demonstration.

time Norden embarked on his opportunist "regroupment" perspective, the PDS was a thoroughly social-democratic party loyal to the German imperialist order. When Stalin's Comintern passed over to reformism under the banner of the "People's Front," Trotsky wrote of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries: "Nothing now distinguishes the Communists from the Social Democrats except the traditional phraseology, which is not difficult to unlearn" ("The Comintern's Liquidation Congress," August 1935).

Stalinism and Capitalist Restoration

At bottom, the IG rejects the understanding of the Stalinist bureaucracy upon which Trotsky based his call for

alternatives of political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution for the Soviet Union:

"Let us assume first that the Soviet bureaucracy is overthrown by a revolutionary party having all the attributes of the old Bolshevism, enriched moreover by the world experience of the recent period. Such a party would begin with the restoration of democracy in the trade unions and the Soviets. It would be able to, and would have to, restore freedom of Soviet parties. Together with the masses, and at their head, it would carry out a ruthless purgation of the state apparatus. It would abolish ranks and decorations, all kinds of privileges, and would limit inequality in the payment of labor to the life necessities of the economy and the state apparatus....

"If—to adopt a second hypothesis—a bourgeois party were to overthrow the ruling Soviet caste, it would find no small number of ready servants among

of the Soviet intelligence services who openly denounced Stalinism and proclaimed his adherence to the Fourth International in 1937. Shortly thereafter he was murdered in Switzerland by Stalin's agents. Trotsky saw Reiss as representing a potential for a communist opposition to Stalin within the cadres of the Soviet state apparatus. Unlike the Stalinist sellouts of the KPF whom Norden was trying to flatter at Humboldt, Reiss was genuinely attached to the Soviet workers state and the Bolshevik Revolution which had brought it about. In his 1937 statement, Reiss declared:

"What is needed today is a fight without mercy against Stalinism! The class struggle and not the popular front, workers' intervention in the Spanish revolution as opposed to the action of the committees.

"Down with the lie of socialism in one country! Return to Lenin's international!"

—quoted in Elisabeth K. Poretsky, *Our Own People* (1969)

Against Norden's confusionist talk of a "Reiss faction" in the present-day Stalinist regimes, comrade Joseph Seymour wrote in a December 1995 internal polemic: "First, such a formation is *not at all synonymous* with those elements of a Stalinist bureaucracy who go over to the side of an unfolding political revolution.... Furthermore, Trotsky was *not* describing any and every current within the bureaucracy to the left of Stalin. A Reiss faction meant a genuinely communist opposition made up of seasoned cadres who understood and adhered to the principles of Bolshevism."

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Hands Off Ethnic Studies Protesters!

We reprint below a May 6 leaflet by the Spartacus Youth Club addressed at student protests against administration attacks on the Ethnic Studies program at the Berkeley campus of the University of California (UC). On April 14, nearly 50 students led by the "Third World Liberation Front" (TWLF) took over Barrows Hall, which houses the Ethnic Studies Department, sealed the building and canceled classes. The protesters raised limited demands, calling for more money and faculty to offset the effects of years of budgetary attrition. After ten hours of student occupation, the UC cops dragged off demonstrators in chokeholds and by the ears and arrested 46.

The organizers' liberal strategy of morally shaming and pressuring the capitalist administration necessarily accepts the race and class bias of capitalist higher education, seeking merely to finagle with the details. The protesters' initial demands explicitly accepted future "standard" budget cuts and didn't say a word about the elimination of affirmative action. The present Berkeley chancellor, Robert Berdahl, is hired specifically to oversee the dismantling of affirmative action, as he had done earlier at the University of Texas. We do not tailor our program to what is acceptable to the racist capitalist rulers. Fight for open admissions with no tuition—free quality integrated education for all!

On April 29, the TWLF staged a last-ditch hunger strike and vigil in front of the chancellor's office at California Hall. The administration agreed to negotiate over pared-down demands and worked up a tentative agreement with the Ethnic Studies faculty. When students didn't immediately accept this deal, the campus cops attacked the vigil at 3 a.m. on May 4 and arrested 83 demonstrators, including five of the six hunger strikers. The next day, hundreds of students rallied to protest the arrests. The SYC demanded: "Hands off campus protesters—drop all charges!"

Within two days, the TWLF had accepted substantially the same tentative agreement the administration had proposed: promises for a research center, a mural and eight (instead of 20) new professors. Having already initiated a racist purge of the campus and whittled down Ethnic Studies, the administration in the end simply promised to delay further cutbacks for a few years. The initial demand for guaranteed admission slots for Ethnic Studies (a backdoor effort to get around the ban on affirmative action) was dropped in favor of an "outreach" program. And to keep it clear who's the boss, eight of the arrested protesters still face university disciplinary charges.

With the building occupation taking place in the midst of the U.S. terror bombing of Serbia, it's no accident that the administration clamped down hard on student protest. To the extent that anybody in the "Third World Liberation Front" alluded to the war, it was to demand "Stop the ethnic cleansing in Berkeley," echoing the "humanitarian" rhetoric of U.S. imperialism. The Spartacus Youth Club seeks out youth who are interested in what is going on beyond the hallowed halls of Berkeley, who oppose U.S. imperialism at home and abroad.

Some students thought that a few token gains under capitalism were enough, but many others simply accepted the organizers' lie that this was the first step in a larger struggle. In fact, it was the same losing strategy of liberal pressure politics that *demobilized* the struggle against Proposition 209—which outlawed affir-

Berkeley SYC Leaflet

mative action throughout the state—through the dead-end of Democratic Party electoralism.

During the protests, the TWLF organizers tried to exclude us on the grounds of "spiritual disrespect." Nonetheless, we continued to talk and sell to those who wanted to do more about oppression than just study it. Students have every right to more Ethnic Studies classes. But as Marx said, the point is to change the world, not just interpret it.

* * *

The vicious cop sweeps and repeated arrests at the Ethnic Studies sit-ins are meant to intimidate all who would dare protest in defiance of the administration. Hands off campus protesters—drop all the charges! The racist attack on Ethnic Studies comes on the heels of Prop. 187, Prop. 209 and the elimination of affirmative action, part of a broader capitalist assault on blacks, minorities, immigrants and workers. The *only* function of the UC administration is to maintain the university as a bastion of race and class privilege which trains future leaders and ideologues for U.S. imperialism. We communists say: Abolish the administration—for worker/student/teacher control of the university! Fight for open admissions—free higher education for all!

The Spartacus Youth Club defends Ethnic Studies against racist attack, but students should understand that these sit-ins and hunger strikes are a liberal-led rearguard action in the wake of the capitalists' bipartisan racist purge of higher education. This is a class-divided society in which the rich capitalist rulers rely on racism to keep themselves in power by pitting those they oppress and exploit against each other along race lines. Just as the fight against Prop. 209 was undermined by impotent liberal appeals to capitalist Democratic Party politicians to "do the right thing," these protests push "moral persuasion" to pressure the capitalist campus administration to redress racism in the university.

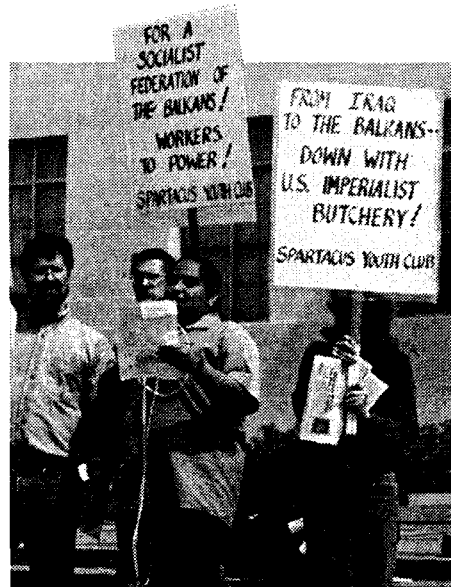
Students who oppose this racist system had better understand that the repression against the Ethnic Studies protests, whose demands don't even begin to challenge capitalism, serves a larger purpose. There is an *imperialist slaughter* going on in the Balkans! The American government is calling up 30,000 reserves, and ground troops are on the agenda. The campus administration wants to squash any student protest now, no matter how limited its aim, to head off potentially more serious student opposition to U.S. imperialism's bloody terror in the Balkans.

Those who talk about "Third World Liberation" on the Berkeley campus should start by opposing their own "First World" imperialist bourgeoisie (led by the Democrats) which is right now raining bombs on Serbia, a small country the size and population of Ohio. This U.S./NATO war of aggression has absolutely nothing to do with the Albanian Kosovars, and everything to do with U.S. imperialism's longstanding aim to insert an American combat force in Serbia, which has been an obstacle to U.S. military and economic ambitions in the region.

Imperialism is not a foreign policy that can be changed through pressure politics, it is an economic system in which the major capitalist powers divide and redivide through war the world's spheres of

exploitation. Imperialist intervention and war is for *profit*, not for "humanitarian" aims—and it doesn't matter whether it's done through the U.S.-led NATO alliance or under a UN fig leaf.

NATO was set up by the U.S. 50 years ago as a military alliance aimed at the destruction of the Soviet Union, where the working class took power out of the hands of the capitalists in 1917 and



Young Spartacus Berkeley SYC protest against U.S./NATO Balkans war, March 29.

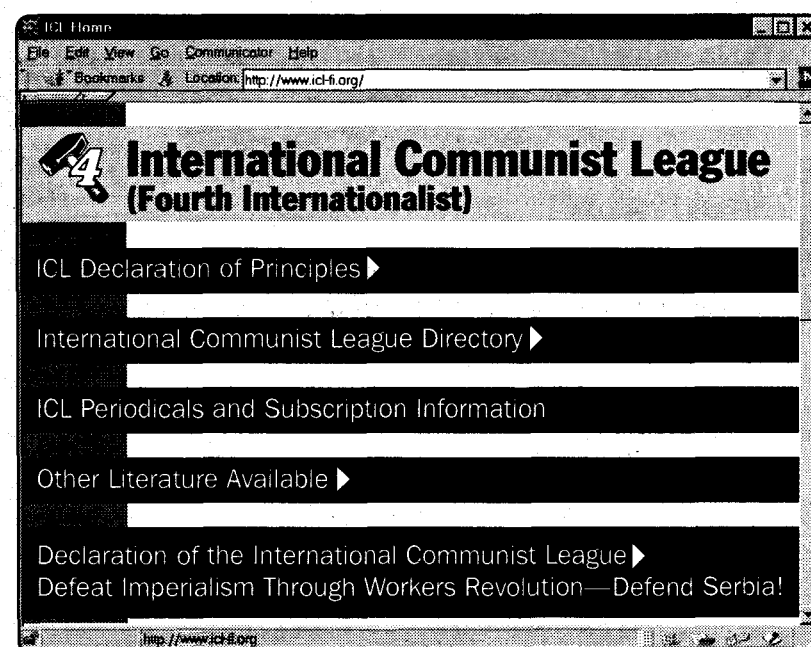
established a planned and collectivized economy with full employment, free education, and where production was for human need, not profit. Despite the bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution, the subsequent mismanagement of the economy and the constant appeasement of imperialism by the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union served as an impediment to imperialism's bloody ambitions around the world. Now U.S. imperialism thinks it can do anything to anybody—bombing, invading and starving one country after another. They proved it with their bloody *United Nations-sponsored* Persian Gulf War and subsequent starvation blockade of Iraq which has killed over one million people. "State Department" socialists like the

International Socialist Organization (ISO) who hailed the destruction of the Soviet Union as a victory for "democracy" have now become NATO socialists. They support the demand for Kosovo independence, even though this has become just a cynical pretext for NATO intervention. Just like the Republican Tom DeLay, who wails about "the failed policy of bombing for diplomacy," the ISO pleads with Clinton to "Stop the Bombing" because it only strengthens Milosevic—as if Milosevic, not our own imperialist rulers, was the main enemy. Seeking to appeal to an "antiwar" wing of the American ruling class, the ISO-brokered "Berkeley Coalition to Stop the War in the Balkans" doesn't even oppose the imperialist presence in the Balkans—so long as it is carried out not by NATO, but under the fig leaf of the United Nations!

Rather than appeal to one section of our racist rulers to "see the light," we counterpose a policy of class struggle, here and in Europe, to drive *all* the imperialists out of the Balkans. If America's capitalist rulers get away with imposing their diktat, it will also strengthen their hand in breaking strikes, busting unions and flooding the ghettos and barrios of America with even more cops. On the other hand, every blow against U.S. imperialism in the Balkans will help to weaken the class enemy, providing an opening for the working class and oppressed here to fight against the torrent of attacks being leveled by Wall Street and its political agents, the Democratic and Republican parties. We are for the military defense of Serbia, without giving the Milosevic regime a shred of political support.

Only the working class—whose labor produces all wealth—has the social power and class interest to sweep away American imperialism. We need to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that can lead the working class in a socialist revolution that smashes racist capitalism once and for all. This is the kind of party we in the Spartacus Youth Club seek to build—not just to study imperialism in textbooks, but to write a page of history ourselves and strike a blow for the workers and oppressed of the world. Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! ■

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Ten Years After Tiananmen

China: Fight Capitalist Restoration! For Workers Political Revolution!

We print below in edited form the concluding part of a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Ray Bishop at an SL forum in Chicago on May 15. Part One appeared in WV No. 714 (28 May).

PART TWO

If you were politically conscious in 1989 or have read about the Tiananmen events, you know at least that it had something to do with mass student protests, and that eventually the regime led by Deng Xiaoping moved in troops to crush those protests. At the time, the capitalist media and governments around the world harped on how students had erected a replica of the Statue of Liberty and described these as mass student protests for "democracy." By "democracy," they meant the bourgeois democracy practiced in the U.S. and West Europe. We know this better as murderous police terror in the ghettos, strike-breaking, destruction of social welfare programs. Lenin described bourgeois democracy as a "democratic" mask for the naked dictatorship of the capitalists over the working class.

The Chinese Stalinist regime put out the very same lie as the bourgeois propagandists. They called the protests "counterrevolutionary" and pro-capitalist. Talk about hypocrisy: Deng Xiaoping was the man who engineered the destruction of collectivized agriculture in China, who opened up "special economic zones" for exploitation by foreign capital, whose entire program revolved around making a deal with the U.S. and Japan to further imperialist penetration of China. And he accused the protesters of wanting to bring back capitalism?

So what happened? In mid-April 1989, a group of students bicycled out from a university in Beijing in the middle of the night to Tiananmen Square. At a monument to heroes of the Chinese Revolution in the center of the square, they laid a wreath in honor of a Communist Party official named Hu Yaobang, who had just died. He was regarded as one of the only officials who was not corrupt. The next day, thousands of students came out to the square.

Tiananmen Square is the political center of China. It's where Mao in 1949

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

declared the foundation of the People's Republic. It's where lots of mass demonstrations have happened. By the time of Hu's funeral a week later, the protests had expanded, not only in Tiananmen but to several other cities. What were the students demanding? For one thing, they were on a fixed income and they didn't like the fact that there was rampant infla-

sang the "Internationale," the international workers anthem. That's not exactly counterrevolutionary.

Workers Join Tiananmen Protests

But something else happened with the protests. After Hu's funeral, students from 21 universities in Beijing called



Reuters

Beijing, May 1989: Workers defended Tiananmen student protesters, opposed effects of pro-capitalist "market reforms." We called for proletarian political revolution to sweep away venal Stalinist regime.

tion in China for the first time since 1949 because of "market reforms." They didn't like the fact that they were assigned jobs after graduation and couldn't choose their own careers. In general, they were protesting the Stalinists' stultification of social and political life. By and large, these were pretty privileged people, sons and daughters of the bureaucracy. It's true that during the course of the protests they showed plenty of illusions in the U.S. and in bourgeois democracy. At the same time, the student protesters

for a strike, and they began to leaflet working-class neighborhoods. And then the working class began to respond, at first very timidly. They started coming out to Tiananmen Square. Now, a lot of the students had petty-bourgeois contempt for the workers. They looked down on them as ruffians who were going to cause trouble, and they kept them segregated to one part of the square. But as the days went on, it was the working-class component that grew. And the workers began to raise their own demands, mostly against corruption, inflation, economic insecurity. You have to understand that prior to the 1989 protests, the effects of "market reforms" had led to a real explosion of the kind of strikes and protests we've seen on the increase in the last several years in China.

May 4 was a very important date: the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement of 1919, which was a mass anti-imperialist protest movement out of which emerged the Communist Party as well as the trade-union movement in China. On the day of the anniversary, there was a massive demonstration of 300,000 people in Beijing. There was another huge demonstration two weeks later, and then the regime decided it had had enough and declared martial law. The students called a hunger strike.

The workers had different ideas. They started setting up defense guards. You might have seen pictures of them in news-

papers and books. They set up what were called "dare to die" teams after martial law was declared whose specific purpose was to defend student protesters against police crackdowns. One of those was called the "Black Panthers," interestingly enough. Workers were putting out their own leaflets. They set up a loudspeaker in Tiananmen Square that they turned into an impromptu radio station, and every night workers coming in from the factories would read their complaints over the air, etc. A very high level of organization, and it showed some political consciousness. When the martial law edict came down, one of those motorcycle groups drove through the Capital Iron and Steel Works—a massive steel facility right in Beijing—calling for a general strike. And you also had organizations springing up in the working-class neighborhoods.

For two solid weeks, the regime could not enforce its martial law decree. Even the police were joining the demonstrations—that's quite a clear reflection of the difference between a deformed workers state and a capitalist state. One very good book on these events is called *The Legacy of Tiananmen—China in Disarray* by a BBC reporter named James Miles, who was there at the time. He tried for days to call the foreign ministry and other government offices and couldn't get them to even answer the phone. They were not there.

Most importantly, the workers' actions were beginning to polarize the armed forces, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) itself. The first major army unit called in to crush the protesters would not move on them when workers in the neighborhoods came out to meet them. Seven retired senior PLA officers wrote a letter to Deng to protest the use of the People's Army against the people. Eventually, Deng was able to get loyal army units to move on the protesters, and there was a massacre on the night of June 3-4. Now, the bourgeois media lies about this, too. They say it was the students who were slaughtered. That's wrong. The students were allowed to leave Tiananmen Square peacefully. What happened was that before the army units got to Tiananmen Square, they were again met by mass outbursts in the neighborhoods. They turned their guns on the working-class population of Beijing. It was the workers who bore the brunt of repression that night. There's really no way to tell how many people were killed; the estimates vary wildly.

But it's important to understand that it still took weeks for the regime to regain its hold over that society. The June 4 massacre was answered with mass strikes throughout China. There was a display at a military museum after it all died down that pinpointed where the protests had taken place—at least 80 cities were caught up in the turmoil.

Lessons of Tiananmen

As we wrote at the time of the Tiananmen events: "It was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature" ("Defend Chinese Workers!" WV No. 480, 23 June 1989). Through its repression directed against the working



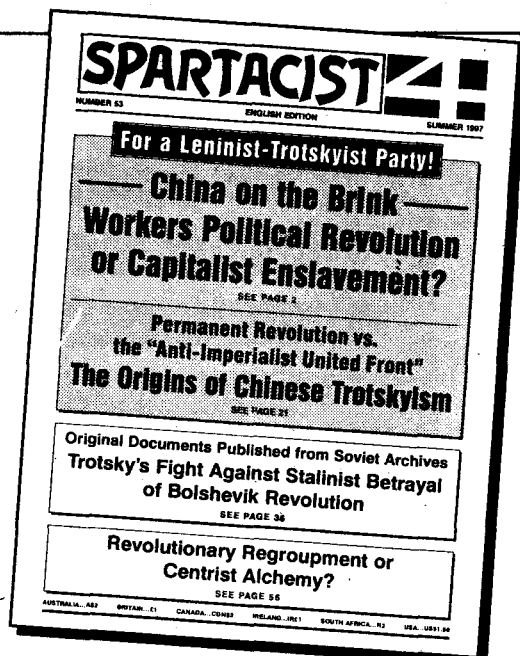
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class, the bureaucracy in its own way showed that it realized that. The Stalinists televised frame-up trials of workers and marched workers through the streets with signs charging things like "instigating social unrest" and "spreading rumors." For that, you could be executed. And they did execute dozens of workers, but not students.

This reveals something critically important to understand about the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is not a possessing class, it is a parasitic caste sitting atop collectivized property forms. Its rule is extremely brittle. Ruling in the name of "the masses" while in fact politically fearing and suppressing the proletariat, the bureaucracy cannot stand the least bit of independent working-class organization.

The events in Tiananmen bear resemblance to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, when workers rose up against the Stalinist regime there and fraternized with the first wave of Soviet troops that were called out to crush the uprising. The pro-socialist Hungarian workers created workers councils, like the soviets that arose in Russia in 1917 and took power there under Bolshevik leadership. Under the impact of the workers revolt in Hungary, the bureaucracy shattered. Many of its elements joined the side of the working class. The Stalinist bureaucrats were finally able to muster fresh Soviet troops to put down the rebellion.

What was missing in both Hungary '56 and China '89 was a revolutionary leadership of the proletariat. Even a tiny Bolshevik organization could have had a decisive effect in those events.

I wanted to raise one point that's kind of a postscript on Tiananmen. I've heard from Chinese students—ones who don't like that China is so clearly moving toward capitalism—that it was right for the government to suppress the Tiananmen protests because they would have developed into a counterrevolution. They point to some of the student leaders at the time, who have since become open spokesmen for U.S. imperialism. One of them is a big stockbroker in Taiwan right now.

In fact, there is no evidence of any significant number of openly pro-imperialist elements in the Tiananmen protests. In any case, a Trotskyist group would have sought to expose and politically defeat those tendencies which promoted illusions in parliamentary (i.e., bourgeois) "democracy." Our program is a regime of *workers democracy*, the rule of workers, soldiers and peasants soviets based on defense of collectivized property.

Many Western academics claim that the Chinese workers were trying to emulate Polish Solidarność. This is a lie. Solidarność, which arose in 1980, was a counterrevolutionary fake union totally backed by the CIA and the Vatican. It was the spearhead of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe. The workers in Tiananmen had no truck with such forces. Where Solidarność carried photos of Pilsudski—the nationalist dictator of pre-World War II Poland—the workers at Tiananmen carried posters not of prerevolutionary Chinese dictator Chiang Kai-shek but of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, founders of the People's Republic.

That's not to say that the Chinese workers face no danger from anti-



Xinhua

Rural "backyard steel furnaces" of late 1950s. Mao's utopian "Great Leap Forward" led to economic collapse, terrible famine.

Communist reactionaries opposing the Beijing regime. One such is Han Dongfang, a Tiananmen student leader who went on to set up shop in Hong Kong as an organizer of so-called "free trade unions," particularly targeting Southern China. This guy is so openly pro-U.S. he even has a show on the CIA's Radio Free Asia. People like Han are deadly

ing political revolution. The impulses of the workers were directed not toward capitalist restoration and reunification with imperialist West Germany but toward building what they considered a decent socialist society on the foundations of East Germany's nationalized economy. That situation created an exceptional opportunity for Trotskyist intervention,



Magnum

Mao greets Nixon in 1972 as U.S. rained death and destruction on Vietnam. Stalinist pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism meant betrayal of revolutionary struggle.

enemies of the proletariat. They want to take full advantage of the unrest in China today to foment a Solidarność-type counterrevolution.

Predictably, Han is sponsored by the American AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, who we call the "labor lieutenants" of the capitalist class. The AFL-CIO tops worked hand in glove with the CIA throughout the anti-Soviet Cold War, setting up anti-Communist "labor" fronts—under the same slogan of "free trade unions"—in order to smash leftist-led and other militant unions in U.S.-backed police states from South Korea to South America and to foment capitalist counterrevolution inside the Soviet bloc. Their support to U.S. imperialism abroad goes hand in hand with chaining workers to their own exploiters at home, mainly through support to the capitalist Democratic Party.

The Collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the USSR

It is important to look at the Tiananmen events in an international context, particularly the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the Soviet Union. Five months after the Tiananmen protests were crushed, the Stalinist regime in East Germany began to collapse, signalled by the opening of the Berlin Wall. East Germany at that time was engulfed in a develop-

and the International Communist League undertook the biggest sustained mobilization in our tendency's history.

We unconditionally opposed the capitalist reunification of Germany. We fought for political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West, for a red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe. The impact of our program was seen in January 1990, when 250,000 turned out in a demonstration initiated by our German comrades and joined by the East German ruling party to protest the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial in Berlin's Treptow Park. At Treptow, for the first time since Trotsky and his followers were expelled from the Soviet Union in the late 1920s, Trotskyists were able to address masses of workers under Stalinist rule. Our comrades denounced the Stalinist bureaucracy and put forward a revolutionary-internationalist program.

The spectre of organized proletarian resistance to capitalist reunification alarmed the West German rulers and their front men of the Social Democratic Party, and they accelerated the drive for capitalist counterrevolution. The Stalinists in the Kremlin and in East Germany gave the green light for reunification.

There was a contest between our program of political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and coun-

terrevolution. While we were calling for a government of workers councils, the Stalinists were consciously acting to prevent a workers insurrection. That included demobilizing army units which had formed soldier councils, in large part as a result of our propaganda.

And in the Soviet Union, when Boris Yeltsin made his power grab in August 1991, we put out a call titled "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" This was the first statement widely distributed throughout the Soviet Union opposing Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary power bid. It advanced a program for political revolution against capitalist restoration—for genuine workers soviets as organs of a new proletarian political power.

The Soviet proletariat did not act to stop the counterrevolution. It is important to understand why. More than anything, this had to do with how their consciousness had been poisoned by decades of Stalinist misrule, of Stalinist lies and distortions of revolutionary Marxism. We wrote in our pamphlet "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled": "Who is guilty for the catastrophe? First and foremost it is the Stalinists who bear responsibility." We noted that through "market reforms" and acquiescence to capitalist restoration throughout East Europe, Gorbachev opened wide the floodgates to a direct counterrevolutionary onslaught by Yeltsin & Co." In the end, it was the Stalinists who led the counterrevolution.

From Mao to Deng

Now, the question of "market socialism" has particular relevance to China. In the former USSR and Yugoslavia, "market reforms" gave enormous impetus to capitalist counterrevolutionary forces which tore those societies apart. This is an important question. We defend the planned economy as the necessary starting point for socialist development. But to operate effectively, a centrally planned economy must be administered by a government of democratically elected workers councils. Or else you have what occurred in the USSR and in China. The Stalinist regimes there are hostile to any expression of workers democracy, and they are die-hard enemies of the program of world socialist revolution. This is the only road to advancing toward socialist society, which requires overcoming scarcity. What the Stalinists do instead is simply decide bureaucratically how everything gets produced and planned. In turn, that creates tremendous imbalances and distortions.

In China, one thinks immediately of the 1950s "Great Leap Forward" under Mao—a harebrained idea that backward China could somehow leap to the status of an advanced industrial power by building "backyard steel furnaces" and getting the worker and peasant masses to work harder and harder. That ended in total disaster. The population was exhausted after a couple of years. The result was, among other things, a horrible famine, one of the worst in history, costing at least 20 million lives.

The only alternative the Stalinists have to such bureaucratic commandism is to introduce capitalist market measures, forcing factories to produce for the market, encouraging private businesses and

continued on page 10



Sipa

Boris Yeltsin on Moscow barricades of counterrevolution, August 1991. ICL called for mobilization of Soviet proletariat to defeat counterrevolutionary drive, protested Yeltsin's visit to Wall Street, January 1992.



WV Photo

China...

(continued from page 9)

foreign investment. That's exactly what happened in China under Deng. The prelude to Deng's coming to power was the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—Mao's bid to strike back at his bureaucratic rivals after he almost lost power following the Great Leap Forward. Starting in 1966, for about ten years China was in total turmoil: universities and schools were closed down, factories were disrupted by Mao's bands of young Red Guards storming in and attacking workers.

Deng was brought back into office in 1978, two years after Mao's death, to restore some order. His program of "building socialism with capitalist methods"—"market socialism"—was accelerated after Stalinist rule collapsed in East Europe and the USSR. And it has continued to pick up steam since Deng died in 1997. At its 15th National Congress that October, the Chinese Communist Party announced a plan to privatize the bulk of state industry—some 300,000 industrial concerns. An article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (18 February) describes what this has meant:

"No one knows exactly how many companies have been sold so far—local governments have under-reported sales lest they be accused of selling too much, too cheaply. But clearly it has been the largest transfer of industrial property since Mao Zedong nationalized industry in the 1950s."

Just this March, the National People's Congress, the putative parliament, amended China's constitution to declare private business "an important component of the socialist market economy." The bourgeois media cheered that such measures were "creating the most favourable environment in the 50 years since the Communist Party came to power" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 25 February). Another amendment changed the criminal category that used to be called "counterrevolutionary activities." No longer. Now it's "criminal activities that endanger state security." None of this means that the Chinese state is now capitalist. But it certainly shows the Stalinists' intentions.

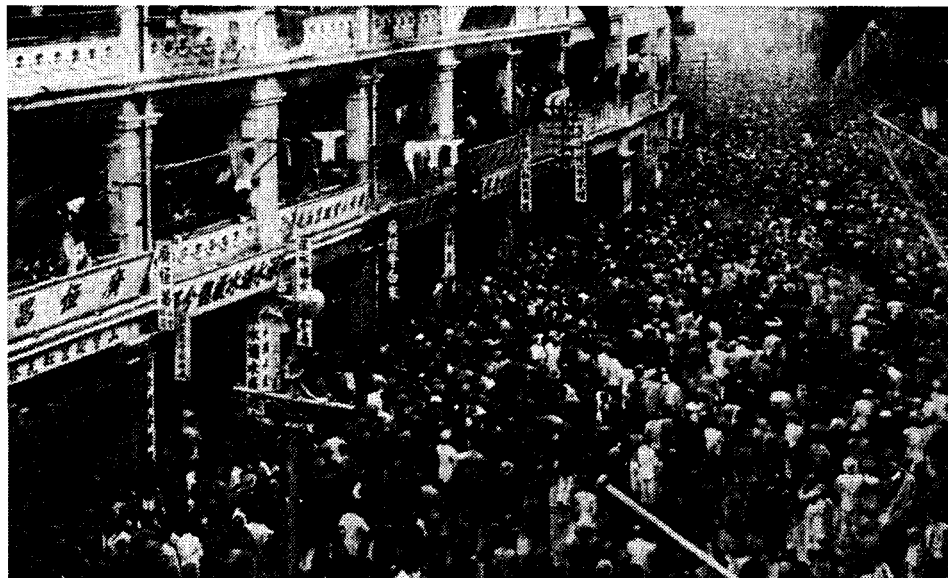
"Market socialism" in China, just like in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, has spawned forces inside the bureaucracy, inside the society, who long to be a bourgeois ruling class. In Russia, in fact, a lot of what you can call the new mafia-bourgeois ruling class came straight out of particularly the younger layers of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

However, the Beijing bureaucracy understands that its measures have created tremendous turmoil and that it is sitting atop a social powder keg. How do they deal with that? On the one hand, there's brutal repression; for instance the death penalty, which the Chinese government uses more than any other country. Dropping even the pretense of "socialism," the regime increasingly appeals to Chinese "great power" nationalism. We saw this with the protests over the U.S./NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. There's a story about how someone showed up outside the U.S. embassy in Beijing with a portrait of Mao, and all of a sudden protesters are screaming,



Museum of the Revolution, Beijing

Chen Duxiu, founder of Communist Party and editor of journal Youth, later led Chinese Trotskyist movement. Hong Kong seamen's strike of 1922 demonstrated social power of emerging Chinese proletariat.



Labor Defender

"Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao!" A journalist interviewed one of these people and asked: Why are you saying that? They said: Ah! Because under Mao China was strong, nobody would have messed with us back then. There was no reference to socialism, nothing like that. Just China as a great power.

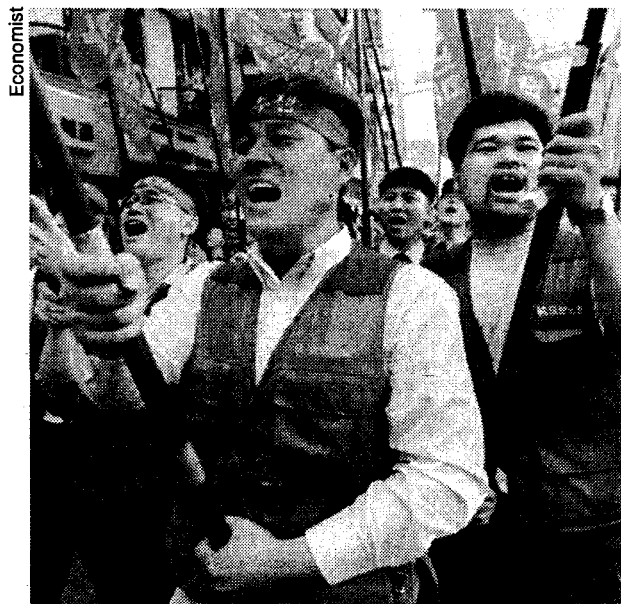
Nationalism is a bourgeois ideology. It acts to subordinate the Chinese working class to the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie and encourages all sorts of social reaction inside China. The bureaucracy today is very busy promoting what it calls "traditional Chinese values." Last month, we saw what that means: 10,000 people outside the Chinese leadership compound in Beijing organized by a reactionary Buddhist society which thinks you can harness supernatural powers through your navel. Newspapers wondered why the bureaucracy didn't clamp down on the protest. Well, the *Wall Street Journal* gave a hint as to why. It wrote that there were a lot of former members of the Stalinist regime in that reactionary Buddhist society.

Speaking of "traditional values," along with the "market economy" you have a market in women in China today: the re-emergence of the age-old practice of buying and selling "wives," mainly in the countryside. This vile practice is a direct product of the reversion of farming back to family-operated plots and of other pro-capitalist measures. Women have been among the biggest losers of "market reforms" in China. They have been disproportionately laid off by factory managers in state industry who want to avoid paying maternity benefits. Among the key tasks of a Trotskyist party in China today would be the defense of the specially oppressed: a workers and peas-

ants government would make short shrift of the scum who traffic in women and would enshrine defense of the rights of homosexuals.

Given what has happened in China, most of the left has written off the country as any kind of workers state, claiming that either it was always a capitalist state or has recently become so. A prime example of the first is the International Socialist Organization, which has always been viscerally hostile to the Chinese Revolution. The founder of that tendency, a man

Workers protest in Seoul, South Korea this spring. Chinese proletariat must break with Stalinist nationalism, link their fight against galloping capitalist counterrevolution with struggle for socialist revolution throughout Asia.



Economist

named Tony Cliff, was expelled from the Trotskyist Fourth International because when the Korean War broke out he refused to defend China, North Korea and the Soviet Union against U.S. and British imperialism. For all their talk of a "third camp," they in fact embrace imperialist "democracy." They supported every counterrevolutionary movement against the Soviet Union: Afghan reactionaries, Solidarność, the pro-imperialist Yeltsin forces.

The Socialist Equality Party of David North, a tendency which likewise supported every reactionary force against the Soviet Union during the Cold War of the 1980s, claims that "the Chinese state is not, even in the most distorted sense, an instrument for the defense of the working class" (*Fourth International*, Winter-Spring 1994). Elsewhere, they write: "Under Deng the bureaucracy has largely completed its transformation into a property-owning bourgeois ruling class" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 17 March 1997). While the Beijing bureaucracy has gone much further along that road than even the Soviet Stalinists under Gorbachev, it can't be a "property-

owning class" when it cannot legally buy and sell property, when there is no right of inheritance, which is a fundamental mechanism for transmitting property in a capitalist society. And that can only be secured through a counterrevolution establishing a new, bourgeois state apparatus.

Reforge the Fourth International!

Now, there are other leftists who defend "socialism" in China. In its newspaper *Workers World* (1 April), the Workers World Party (WWP) writes: "The commanding heights of the economy are still centrally guided by the Communist Party of China and the People's Liberation Army. Although weakened in their communist elan and their connection to the masses by the market reforms, they still stand as barriers to full-scale counterrevolution and imperialist takeover." Consistent with this position, the WWP denounced the Tiananmen protests, echoing the bureaucracy's line that they were "counterrevolutionary." But through its control of the "commanding heights" of the nationalized economy, the Stalinist bureaucracy is selling it off as fast as it can as it pursues its capitalist-restorationist program.

The notion that somehow the bureaucracy will necessarily defend state property feeds what is probably the deepest illusion among Chinese workers, who look back to Mao as an alternative to today's openly corrupt, openly pro-capitalist regime. Mao's rule in fact led directly to that of Deng. While Mao was prone to engage in verbal militancy during the early years of the revolution in response to imperialist hostility, he always sought alliances with bourgeois-nationalist regimes in the "Third World," as well as with imperialist powers—the corollary to the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." In Indonesia in the 1960s, the Maoist Communist Party—the largest in the capitalist world—told the workers to support the

bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno and even joined his government. That disarmed the Indonesian workers and prepared the way for the horrendous bloodbath in 1965 that was ushered in with the CIA-backed military coup by Suharto.

But above all, look at Mao's traitorous anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism. In 1969, at a time when Maoism was enormously popular among American radicals, we wrote: "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*." And that's exactly what happened. Those who look to Mao as an alternative to people like Zhu Rongji should consider the following: it was pretty grotesque that when Zhu Rongji was in the U.S., he was at banquets toasting Clinton as U.S. bombs were raining down on Serbia. We have another memory: when U.S. president Nixon went to China in 1972, Mao clinked champagne glasses with him while the U.S. was carpet-bombing Vietnam. And Mao's action was far more reprehensible. Where Milosevic's Serbia is a small capitalist country, Mao was

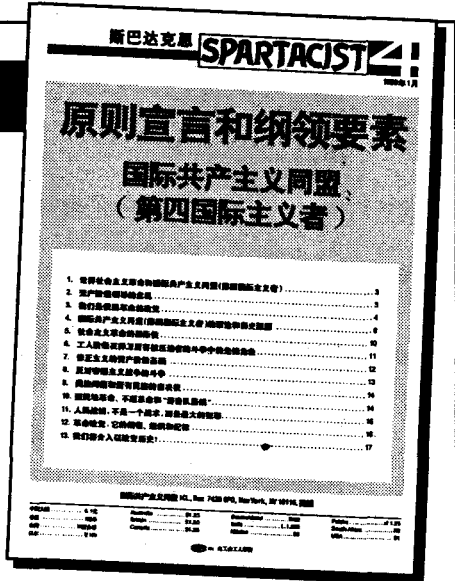
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IG on China...

(continued from page 6)

the Stalinist gravediggers of revolution. When Norden & Co. left our ranks, we dubbed them "Pabloites of the second mobilization"—the "death of communism" version of the revisionist current which destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1950s. The Pabloites of 1953 threw out Trotskyism in a world where Stalinist-led social overturns had created deformed workers states in East Europe and China. The IG does the same in a world marked by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, a historic defeat which has thrown back proletarian consciousness.

The Pabloites of the first mobilization demonstrated in practice how their line of pressuring the Stalinist bureaucracy was counterposed to Trotskyism. Pablo directed the Chinese Trotskyists to give political support to Mao's CCP—even as Mao's regime was rounding up the Trotskyists for execution or imprisonment—and slandered Trotskyist opponents of Mao as "fugitives from the revolution." When the workers of East Berlin rose up in an incipient political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in 1953, the then-Trotskyist SWP denounced the "counterrevolutionary role" of the Kremlin in suppressing it. The Pabloites, in contrast, responded with a call for "real democratization of the Communist Parties"—i.e., an appeal to the bureaucracy to reform itself. And in the face of a workers' rising in Poland in 1956, the Pabloites promoted "reform" Stalinist Wladyslaw Gomulka, hailing "the leadership role played by the Gomulka tendency...a centrist tendency nonetheless moving to the left" (*Quatrième Internationale*, December 1956). In power, Gomulka conciliated the Catholic church and the peasantry, helping pave the way for the Solidarność-led counterrevolution which was to destroy the Polish deformed workers state in the late 1980s.

Pablo's forces rapidly generalized their liquidationist appetites, carrying out "deep entries" not only into the West European Stalinist parties but into social-democratic parties as well. Over the years, the Pabloites' tailist affections shifted from pro-Moscow Stalinism to Third World guerrillaism to the New Left "student vanguard" of the 1960s, finally embracing anti-Soviet social democracy and promoting the open forces of capitalist counterrevolution from Poland in the 1980s to China today.

For their part, Norden and his co-



La Bohémik

Ernest Mandel (far left) and Michel Pablo, IG's liquidationist predecessors. Tailing Stalinism, Pabloites denounced Chinese Trotskyists imprisoned by Mao, like Zheng Chaolin (near right) and Liu Jingzhen.



Humanities Press

thinker and companion Stamberg enthused over Castro's Cuba as they chased after ex-Stalinist has-beens in the former DDR. Reporting on a trip to Cuba in 1993, they crowed that "the Cuban Revolution is going to make it"—at the very moment when the Castro regime had just made a huge concession to capitalist forces by reintroducing the American dollar into the economy! Stamberg further asserted that the Cuban working people "are class conscious," denying the poisonous influence of Stalinist nationalism embodied in the dogma of "socialism in one country." In the same vein, in its article on China the *Internationalist* speaks of "the socialist workers of Vietnam and North Korea."

Particularly through the self-serving notion that revolution in advanced capitalist countries is impossible, Stalinism has done everything in its power to wipe out anything that smacks of socialist consciousness in the working class, which more than any other factor has disarmed

the proletariat before the counterrevolutionary onslaught. The "Communist" parties of China, Cuba, et al. are diehard enemies of the only program that can ensure the survival and further development of the planned economies: the struggle for international socialist revolution, extending particularly to the imperialist strongholds of the U.S., Japan and West Europe.

Just as the Pabloites extended their tailist policy toward the Stalinist bureaucracy to all manner of alien class forces, in their brief existence the IGlets have gone on to capitulate to an array of forces hostile to the independent mobilization of the proletariat. Beginning with our publicly available bulletin "Norden's 'Group': Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism" (available as *International Bulletin* No. 38), we have steadily charted the IG's opportunist course.

We have exposed how the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil, affiliate of the IG's fraudulent "League for the Fourth International," crossed the class line by

dragging the Volta Redonda municipal workers union into the capitalist courts (see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits: IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed" and "Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union—IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," *WV* Nos. 669 and 671, 30 May and 11 July 1997). We have exposed their pandering to Latin American nationalism (see "For the Right of Independence for Puerto Rico!," *WV* No. 704, 8 January). And, most recently, the IG made its debut lawyering for trade-union opportunists in the U.S. who promoted a class-collaborationist appeal to Democratic Party politicians based on the lie that Mumia Abu-Jamal can get justice in the capitalist courts (see "Labor Opportunism, the Democratic Party and the Defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal," *WV* No. 714, 28 May).

The bottom line for the Pabloites of both the first edition and the pathetic second edition is the search for social forces other than the proletariat and vehicles other than a Leninist vanguard party. We stand with Trotsky, who declared in the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International: "The Fourth International does not search after and does not invent panaceas. It takes its stand completely on Marxism as the only revolutionary doctrine that enables one to understand reality, unearth the cause behind the defeats, and consciously prepare for victory."

The fate of the Chinese proletariat—and, indeed, the future of all humanity—hinges on the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. And that struggle includes unmasking centrists like the IG who, despairing of the task of instilling revolutionary consciousness in the proletariat, promote opportunist shortcuts and false hopes in the betrayers of the working class. ■



WV Photos

IG honcho Jan Norden (far left) peddling revisionist wares as he alibis ILWU bureaucrat Jack Heyman's class collaborationism at April 24 "Millions for Mumia" rally, San Francisco.

stabbing in the back a *social revolution* in Vietnam. Deng simply took up where Mao left off, invading Vietnam in 1978, three years after the U.S. was driven out by the heroic workers and peasants. Deng's China then supported the Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats who were bankrolled by the CIA to kill Soviet soldiers in the civil war there in the 1980s.

Mao's party was Communist in name only. His peasant-based Stalinism was the product of a historic *defeat* of the Chinese proletariat: the failed revolution of 1925-27 and the Shanghai massacre of April '27. That's the point I want to end on. Mao's party was radically different from the early Communist Party. Under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia, a couple of dozen intellectuals who came out of the ferment of the May 4th Movement were won to the proletarian and internationalist program of the Bolsheviks, of world socialist revolution. That's how they fought to liberate China from feudalist bondage, imperialist exploitation, landlord tyranny, all-sided backwardness. By 1924, they had grown to be the mass party of the Chinese proletariat, which though numerically small was strategically placed to carry out a socialist revolution and liberate China from the yoke of imperialism.

But under Stalin's direct orders, the Chinese Communists surrendered their independence, gave up their weapons

and membership lists to the Guomindang of Chiang Kai-shek. The result was the beheading of the Chinese proletariat when Chiang turned on the Communists beginning in 1926. Mao took over the CCP after that, when the party abandoned the cities, took to the hills and severed its ties to the proletariat. Mao's party became a peasant-nationalist party with a peasant-nationalist program.

But that's not the whole story. Leon Trotsky fought Stalin's betrayal of the Chinese Revolution. Drawing the lessons of this betrayal and pointing to the Russian Revolution, he generalized his program of permanent revolution: that in the epoch of imperialism the only road to achieving tasks like agrarian revolution and national emancipation lies in the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat and the extension of socialist revolution to the imperialist centers. Some of the best Communists who survived the horrors of 1927 went on to form a Chinese Trotskyist party. They fought to maintain revolutionary Marxism in the cities, suffering imprisonment under Chiang Kai-shek and later under Mao.

The Chinese Trotskyists were inspired by the internationalism that has to be at the core of any revolutionary perspective for China today. What happens in China is going to have a huge effect beyond its borders. Immediately you can look to

Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia, countries which are wracked by crisis but where a militant young proletariat has emerged. Or South Korea, where militant workers are heroically fighting against the police-state repression of the U.S.-backed Kim Dae Jung, a former "human rights" hero. The outcome in China will also have an enormous effect on the remaining deformed workers states—Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba.

At the same time, a political revolution

in China today would be the target of tremendous imperialist hostility. As part of our struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party in the U.S., we stand for unconditional military defense of China against the U.S. imperialist rulers. We seek the overthrow of U.S. imperialism through proletarian revolution. All of this highlights that the struggle to forge a Chinese Trotskyist party must be part of a fight for a world party of socialist revolution—the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

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(continued from page 1)

just as some 300,000 Serbs were forced out of Krajina in 1995 by a U.S.-backed Croatian military offensive. The future of the sizable Gypsy (Roma) population is no more secure. Three days ago, a pogromist mob of several thousand ethnic Albanians fired up by Serbia's capitulation to NATO attacked a Gypsy family in the Stankovec refugee camp in Macedonia for supposedly siding with the Serbs. Nor can the Albanians expect much of a future under the NATO occupation which is supposedly being carried out on their behalf. The NATO powers intend to disarm the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), their pawns in the war against Serbia, and explicitly reject the Albanians' right to independence.

As we declared in an April 21 ICL statement (WV No. 712, 30 April):

"NATO's war against Serbia has nothing to do with 'human rights' or defense of the Albanian population of Kosovo against 'ethnic cleansing.' This war is not about the Kosovo Albanians. It is a war of domination aimed at realizing longstanding American plans to insert a substantial U.S./NATO military presence in Serbia."

Behind the war on Serbia was the drive by U.S. imperialism to assert its "right" to ride roughshod over small,

as the imperialist powers celebrate the maintenance of NATO "unity," the ratcheting up of inter-imperialist rivalry has turned another audible click. While the U.S. called the shots, and Tony Blair's Britain reveled in its role as Washington's attack dog, the European powers are now intent on building up a military force independent of the American imperialists. Right under the *New York Times* (4 June) headline announcing the NATO-imposed "peace" deal was another reading, "European Union Vows to Become Military Power."

War is always a decisive test for revolutionaries. The ICL proclaimed: "Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution—Defend Serbia!" Our military defense of Serbia implied not an iota of political support to the capitalist Milosevic regime. We gave concrete expression to our proletarian-internationalist line by joining in the campaign initiated by the syndicalist-influenced Italian COBAS trade unions to provide financial assistance to Yugoslav workers whose factories had been bombed by NATO. **Above all, we stressed the need to forge Leninist vanguard parties to lead the proletariat in overthrowing the imperialist bourgeoisies through socialist revolution.**

Virtually every West European government prosecuting this imperialist war is today administered by social-democratic

that capitalism could be more "peaceful" and "humane." "Bombs won't bring peace," said the ISO. But the bombing brought the only kind of peace possible under capitalism—a "peace" of imperialist plunder and domination.

This war laid bare the essence of imperialism. It is not a policy which can be changed under mass pressure, as the reformists would have it, but what Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin described as "the highest stage of capitalism"—capitalism in its epoch of decay, in which competition among the major powers for markets and spheres of influence inexorably leads to ever more catastrophic wars. War is a continuation of the "normal" brutal workings of the capitalist profit system, which sucks the lifeblood out of the working people and daily condemns countless numbers to death from poverty.

Capitalism cannot be reformed. It must be overthrown by workers revolution. This is the only way to end war and establish genuine equality among nations. As a March 25 SL/U.S. statement declared at the start of the bombing (reprinted in WV No. 710, 2 April):

"Every blow against U.S. imperialism in the Balkans will help to weaken the class enemy, providing an opening for the working class and oppressed here to fight against the torrent of attacks being leveled by Wall Street and its political agents, the Democratic and Republican

sevic acceded to an imperialist occupation force in Bosnia under the "Dayton accords." It was when Milosevic refused to similarly give in to NATO's dictates over Kosovo that the imperialists started to again vilify him as a "new Hitler" and rail about supposed Serbian "genocide."

But after the Clinton administration churned out repeated stories about mass rapes and the murder of 100,000 Albanians, the *New York Times* (29 May) reported that "the State Department now puts the death toll at 4,600" and admits that "evidence on the incidence of rape is less complete." To be sure, Milosevic is a nationalist butcher. But who are the imperialist mass murderers to pass judgment on the Serbs, anyway? The French monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique* (May 1999) ironically noted that key weapons in the Pentagon's arsenal, the Tomahawk cruise missile and the Apache helicopter, hark back to the Native American Indian victims of U.S. genocide. U.S. imperialism's long history of war crimes extends from the slaughter of Filipino freedom fighters at the turn of the century to the firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo and the A-bomb incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II to the millions killed in its counterrevolutionary wars to "roll back Communism" in Korea and Vietnam.

To describe as genocide the "ethnic cleansing" carried out by the Serbs and other nationalities in the Balkans is to trivialize the Holocaust and amnesty the deliberate, planned extermination of Jews, Roma and others the Nazis deemed "subhuman." Meanwhile, both Germany and the U.S. arm Turkey, which has been waging a war of annihilation against the oppressed Kurdish minority for decades. And after using the oppression of Kurds in Iraq as a propaganda weapon in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the U.S. has turned a blind eye to repeated Turkish incursions and slaughter in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The killing of Albanians carried out by the Serbs in Kosovo—as the earlier killings of minority ethnic groups in Bosnia and Croatia by Serbian, Croatian and Muslim communalist forces—was intended to terrorize the population into fleeing, not to kill every last person. This was underlined in a recent Internet posting ("The Fatal Flaws Underlying NATO's Intervention in Yugoslavia," 6 April) by Satish Nambiar, the Indian general who headed UN forces in Bosnia in the early 1990s: "We did not witness any genocide beyond killings and massacres on all sides that are typical of such conflict conditions. I believe none of my successors and their forces saw anything on the scale claimed by the media.... Western policies have led to an ethnically pure Greater Croatia, and an ethnically pure Muslim statelet in Bosnia." Such brutal forced population transfers ("ethnic cleansing") were carried out by the Zionists against the Palestinians in 1948 and in numerous other cases of "nation-building" under capitalism.

Depending on what suits its immediate interests, U.S. imperialism has forced interpenetrated peoples to live together or to separate. In the case of Kosovo, the U.S. has talked about both possibilities. In Croatia, it supported the expulsion of the Serbs. In Bosnia, it railed against "ethnic cleansing" of Muslims by Serb forces while heavily backing the Muslim government which was driving Serbs out. While most of the left supported the Bosnian Muslim forces, falling into line behind the "humanitarian" pretensions of their "own" capitalist rulers, we refused to take a side in the interethnic slaughter. And when U.S./NATO bombers launched murderous attacks against the Bosnian Serbs in 1995, we were virtually alone on the left in militarily defending the Serbs against imperialist attack. As we declared in the March 25 SL/U.S. statement quoted above:

"The all-sided nationalist bloodbath in the Balkans was directly instigated by the imperialists in their drive to destroy the former Yugoslavia through capitalist counterrevolution. Social counterrevolution has once again made the Balkans the



Reuters



Workers Hammer

Kosovo Liberation Army, pawns of NATO, embraced by Workers Power centrists, seen here at April 10 London rally.

dependent countries and to demonstrate to its imperialist rivals that the enormous American arsenal of mass destruction continues to make it top dog. To drive home this point, the U.S. rulers refused to even countenance the fig leaf of a United Nations "authorization," instead running the war solely under the banner of the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance.

Capitalist Russia subordinated its own regional imperial ambitions to its economic dependence on the West, though the war sharply intensified anti-American sentiment both among the population and within Russia's ruling circles, who already feel threatened by NATO's expansion into East Europe. Having delivered up their Serbian "brothers" to the tender mercies of NATO, the Russians are pushing for a greater role for the UN—where they have a voice—in the occupation of Kosovo. This also plays to growing European resentment of NATO. Even

parties, sometimes in bloc with ex-Stalinists and/or bourgeois parties. In this the social democrats carry out to the hilt the role played by those leaders and parties of the Second International who acted as henchmen for their own bourgeoisies in World War I. On the other hand, the revolutionary social democrats, particularly centered in the Slavic countries and the Balkans—Lenin's Bolsheviks, the Bulgarian "Narrow" Socialists, the Serbian Social Democrats—as well as the Liebknecht/Luxemburg wing of the German Social Democracy and others, called for proletarian opposition to the imperialist slaughter. This polarization laid the basis for the formation of the Third (Communist) International following the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. That is our tradition as we fight for proletarian revolution to sweep away the imperialist warmakers today.

In contrast, the reformist and centrist "socialists"—from Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and the International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S. to the United Secretariat of Alain Krivine and the Workers Power group—follow in the footsteps of the class traitors who voted for imperialist war credits in 1914. Now, under the impact of a major war in Europe involving the imperialist powers, we have been presented with the spectacle of erstwhile "revolutionaries" and "anti-imperialists" joining pro-imperialist war rallies. Virtually to a man, these groups promoted the war aims and war propaganda of the imperialist rulers while declaiming against the NATO bombing. Indeed, it was the liberals and fake socialists who most loudly and assiduously promoted the lie that what was at issue was the plight of the Kosovo Albanians. The few exceptions, like the Workers World Party—whose "antiwar" rallies were orgies of Serb chauvinism—joined in pushing the lie

parties. We fight to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party, forged in the crucible of class struggle, which is the necessary instrument to lead the working class to the overthrow of this entire system based on racism, exploitation and war through a socialist revolution which rips industry and power away from a small handful of filthy rich and creates an egalitarian socialist economy."

Big Lies for Imperialist Terror

Despite the lies of the liberals and reformist and centrist leftists who lined up against Milosevic's Serbia with cries of "poor little Kosovo," it is abundantly clear that the mass exodus of refugees was a calculated and anticipated outcome of the U.S./NATO attack. The refugees' plight was in turn milked by the capitalist media to whip up support for imperialist intervention and to cover up the real reason behind the bombing: the fact that the Serbian regime would not accede to NATO occupation of Kosovo. Now that Serbia has acceded, the U.S. has made it clear that the return of the Albanian refugees will not be allowed to stand in the way of consolidating the NATO occupation. The *New York Times* (7 June) reports that NATO forces may find themselves "in the awkward position of potentially blocking refugees from returning to their country."

U.S. machinations over Kosovo come through in a recent report in the *New York Times* (22 May) which quotes Nick Dowling, a former White House aide for Balkan affairs: "All the analysts felt that Milosevic was unpredictable, but faced with hard resolve he would cut a deal very similar to the deal he made in Bosnia." The report continued: "In Kosovo, the bombing strategy was not intended to protect Kosovo Albanians or drive out Serbian forces, Mr. Dowling said" (emphasis added). Following an intense NATO bombing campaign in 1995, Milo-

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flash point of ancient nationalist hatreds and inter-imperialist rivalries. Marxists oppose the poison of nationalism and fight for the class unity of the workers of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Kosovo in overthrowing all the bloody nationalist regimes of the region, from Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic to the U.S.-backed fascist Tudjman in Croatia. *For a socialist federation of the Balkans!*"

"NATO Socialists"

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was formed as an outcome of World War II, when Tito's Communist Partisans successfully battled the occupying Nazi German Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. The victory of the multinational Partisan forces demonstrated that, despite centuries of ethnic conflict, unity of the South Slav peoples within the borders of Yugoslavia was possible—but only on the basis of proletarian state power. At the same time, only the extension of socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe could provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impoverished Balkans.

However, Yugoslavia under Tito was a deformed workers state ruled by a Stalinist bureaucracy wedded to the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." The regime's pursuit of "market socialism"—which escalated after Tito's death in 1980—increased regional disparities, fueling resurgent nationalism and ultimately paving the way for capitalist counterrevolution. The resulting massacres, forced population transfers and other atrocities are inherent in the drive to form bourgeois nation-states on the ruins of what had been an economically integrated multinational society made up of closely intermingled peoples.

Marxists call for full equality of all nationalities, including opposing a privileged position for any one language. In the case of peoples who share a common language and cultural tradition—like



Zastava car plant in Kragujevac after NATO bombing. ICL joined COBAS-initiated fund drive to aid Yugoslav workers.

nated to the need to militarily defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack.

The separatist UCK was plenty unsavory to begin with, engaging in indiscriminate terror against Serb civilians. But with the U.S./NATO intervention against Serbia earlier this year, the UCK became simply a pawn of the imperialists. The fake socialists who continued to clamor for "independence for Kosovo" and support to the UCK did so only as a cover for their support to the war aims of the imperialists. This was clear when Workers Power and a number of other Labourite "socialist" groups sponsored a May 11 meeting in London whose main speaker was a rabidly pro-NATO Albanian nationalist.

In classic centrist doubletalk, in a statement distributed at a March 30 public meeting in London, Workers Power claimed to "support the Serbian forces' self-defence against NATO attack"—although, it added, "not in Kosova which

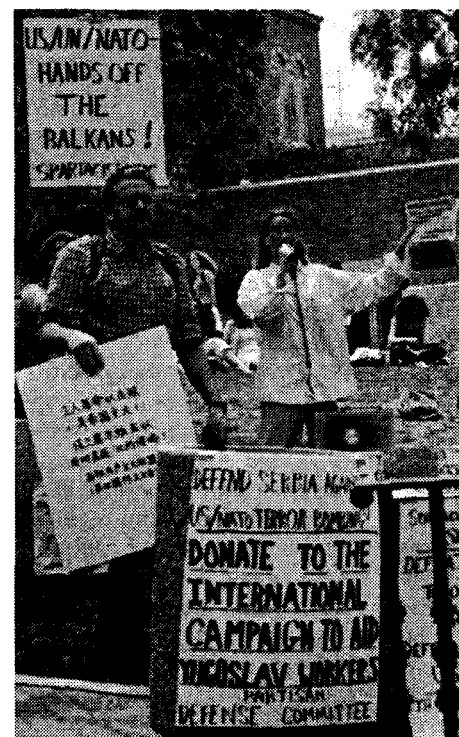
ment of NATO's strategy. The Serbs initially frustrated NATO by hiding, hunkering down and trying to ride out the air war.

"The Albanian partisans changed that by trying to infiltrate Kosovo from their bases in Albania about two weeks ago. The light-armed insurgents were a poor match for the heavily equipped Serbian military, which had tanks, armored personnel carriers and artillery, and the offensive fizzled.

"But Serbs had to mass in the open to take on the guerrillas, making them vulnerable to allied attacks from the air. In recent weeks, Serbian forces near the Albania-Kosovo border have taken a heavy pounding."

From the start of the war, the UCK repeatedly called for a NATO ground invasion and boasted about how it was spotting targets for NATO jets and otherwise aiding the imperialists. To give but one example, a UCK commander told the Parisian daily *Le Monde* (9 April): "The UCK gives NATO information about targets! On Tuesday, I sent information about a bridge and a road used by the Serbs. The bridge was bombed and destroyed Wednesday morning." UCK leader Hashim Thaci, asked by *Le Monde* (29 May) what kind of government he envisaged in Kosovo after a NATO victory, vaguely referred to "free elections," concluding: "And provisionally, why not a protectorate?" The question of military defense of the Kosovo separatists against U.S./NATO forces might well be posed in the event of armed clashes if the imperialist occupation troops move to disarm the UCK. But in the U.S./NATO war against Serbia, the UCK was exactly what we said they were—a pawn of NATO.

In a polemic against the ICL in its pamphlet, the Australian WP declared: "Any group that will not support the Kosovars' right to self-determination is left with no solution to the crisis in the Balkans, because no mass force has independently taken up the slogan of a socialist federation." This is quintessential centrism, the opportunist search for a "mass force" to tail as a substitute for the independent mobilization of the proletariat on the basis of a revolutionary program. In fact, WP found its "mass force" for "Albanian self-determination"—NATO



Young Spartacus

missiles, warplanes and 50,000 occupation troops! Tailing behind Blair's Labour Party, which was the most belligerent government in the war against Serbia, WP was in turn one of the most vociferous promoters of NATO's UCK puppets.

Similarly, Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French section of the United Secretariat, capitulated to the popular-front government of Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin, which tried to undermine U.S. dominance of a Kosovo occupation force. Thus, the LCR pushed the UN or the European-dominated Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as an alternative to NATO. The LCR's *Rouge* (1 April) published a "Call by Public Figures" signed by LCR leader Daniel Bensaid which proclaimed:

"NATO was not the only, and above all not the best, linchpin for an accord. The conditions for a multinational police force (particularly composed of Serbs and Albanians) could be found under the auspices of the OSCE to enforce a transitional accord."

This was an open call for imperialist intervention in Kosovo—in a form more suited to the specific interests of French imperialism!

The fake lefts' ideological prostration before their capitalist rulers over Kosovo reflects their many years of support to Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of "democracy" and "human rights." During the anti-Soviet Cold War of the 1980s, WP et al. avidly backed counterrevolutionary forces in the Soviet Union and East Europe, from Polish Solidarność in the early 1980s to Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist "democrats" in 1991. Thus, in their own small way, they made a political contribution to the post-Soviet world of nationalist fratricide and increasing imperialist terror.

The pseudo-radical "anti-NATO" posture of the European left in fact reflects the heightened nationalism pushed by their respective bourgeoisies as the ideological accompaniment to increased economic competition. Having done their utmost to persuade the proletariat of their respective countries that capitalist

continued on page 14



Reuters

Demonstrations rocked Greece and Cyprus (above) and mass worker protests swept Italy in response to NATO war of domination.

Austrians and Germans—the question of whether they have separate states is not all that significant. But the Albanians speak a different language than the Serbs and have a quite distinct national culture, reflected as well in the fact that the Albanians are Muslim and the Serbs Orthodox Christian.

Long before the imperialists and their leftist apologists cynically took up the cause of the Kosovo Albanians, we wrote: "Marxists should, of course, recognize the rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia to fuse with Albania" ("The National Question in Yugoslavia: Part 2," WV No. 110, 21 May 1976). We called for proletarian political revolutions to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies in Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria and for the formation of a socialist federation of the Balkans. Today, we fight for socialist revolution throughout this region. We continue to support the right of the Kosovo Albanians to secede—a democratic question which has been subordi-

they have no right to occupy"—and specifically called for "the right of the Kosovars to acquire arms and supplies from whoever is willing to give them." Thus, WP promoted the obscene lie that self-determination would be brought to the Albanians on NATO bayonets! And in 1995, WP explicitly refused to defend the Serbs against NATO imperialist attack with the line that "each side's strategic goals are reactionary" (5 September 1995 statement).

Throughout the current war, WP stubbornly denied that the UCK had been subordinated to the NATO imperialists. In an Australian WP pamphlet titled *War in the Balkans*, these centrists insist that the UCK "is the only independent force resisting the massacres and ethnic cleansing of Kosova" and "is clearly not yet reduced to merely 'an instrument of NATO.'" This is cynical eyewash. The *New York Times* (5 June) reported bluntly:

"The Kosovo Liberation Army, for example, emerged as an important ele-

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Balkans...

(continued from page 13)

"democracy" is superior to "Stalinist totalitarianism" (thus binding the workers to their class enemies) and having renounced any pretense to workers revolution, these "socialists" now look to imperialism as the guarantor of "democratic rights."

Opportunism is nationally defined. While Workers Power is in the tow of Blair's NATO-loyal Labour Party, across the channel the European centrists' support for a UN/OSCE occupation force reflects growing anti-American nationalism. Their common starting point is utter prostration to imperialism in this regional aggression, portending a larger capitulation with the inevitable outbreak of a new inter-imperialist war—inevitable if the proletariat does not seize power first. In acting *against* a proletarian revolutionary perspective, the centrists help to increase the possibility of wider wars.

Balkans Cockpit for Imperialist Intrigues

What lay behind U.S. hostility to Milosevic's Serbia and the recent war was Washington's need to find a new purpose for maintaining NATO, set up as an anti-Soviet alliance, following the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. In an article in *New Left Review* (July/August 1996), James Petras and Steve Vieux wrote:

"The disintegration of the Yugoslav confederation and the subsequent emergence of warring ethnic mini-states formed the background for the revitalization of NATO and the re-emergence of US hegemony in Europe. At the cost of tens of thousands of lives, the US blocked European peace initiatives in order to safeguard its political 'leadership' on the continent via NATO."

In 1991, newly reunified German imperialism—seeking to reassert its traditional sphere of influence in East Europe and the Balkans—pushed for an independent Slovenia and Croatia, instigating the all-sided nationalist bloodbath which ripped apart the multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state. At the same time, Germany was moving toward a strengthened political bloc with France through the Maastricht Treaty and floating the idea of building a joint military force, the so-called "Euro-Corps," outside the NATO framework.

The Petras/Vieux article quotes a 1992 policy paper by the U.S. National Security Council which stressed: "While the United States supports the goal of Euro-

pean integration, we must seek to prevent the emergence of Europe-only security arrangements which would undermine NATO, particularly the alliance's integrated command structure." U.S. domination of NATO, based on its overwhelming military power, is also institutionalized in the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty which set up the alliance. The treaty specified that no European power could pull out of NATO for 20 years, and even then only after giving a one-year "notice of denunciation...to the Government of the United States." In response to Germany's actions in the early 1990s, Washington moved to assert its leading role, pressing Bosnia to

rhetoric and cosmetic actions against Milosevic with effective acquiescence in the autonomy plus counter-insurgency approach....

"The signal for this tactic was given when the US Ambassador in Yugoslavia publicly branded the KLA [UCK] a terrorist organisation. According to the BBC, this was the specific go-ahead for Milosevic to launch his counter-insurgency in March, along with his offer of provincial autonomy....

"But sometime in October, Madeleine Albright changed tack. The change involved instructing [Clinton administration aide Christopher] Hill to produce a new document that would form the basis for peace negotiations between the parties in Kosovo. And this new document



Novosti

End imperialist war through workers revolution! Revolutionary soldiers march through Moscow under the banner of Communism, 1917.

declare independence and instigating a communal bloodbath there. This finally led to the 1995 U.S./NATO bombing aimed at forcing Milosevic to accept an occupation force in Bosnia.

In early 1998, the UCK launched its first major offensive in Kosovo, as an eruption of domestic chaos in Albania eliminated effective policing of the border with Kosovo. Now the U.S. sought to head off the contagion of Albanian nationalism and the possibility of a Greater Albania. In another article in *New Left Review* (March/April 1999), Peter Gowan wrote of the subsequent shifts in U.S. policy:

"It would, in effect, involve an alliance between the US and the person whom the Americans had built up as the Saddam Hussein of the Balkans: Slobodan Milosevic. From March to September 1998, the Clinton Administration nevertheless pursued this strategy, combining

contained the key change: Milosevic was to have to accept a de facto NATO protectorate over Kosovo.... Albright would have known that no Serbian politician could dare to accept such a diktat from NATO."

According to Gowan, this latest shift was again explained by Washington's great-power interests vis-à-vis its European NATO partners:

"A military attack on Yugoslavia by the whole NATO alliance would, of course, have enormous pan-European political consequences, far more important for the state interests of all the great powers than the fate of the Kosovo Albanians. Success would decisively consolidate US leadership in Europe. Success outside the framework of UN Security Council permission would ensure no collective security in Europe by the UN back door of a Russian veto. And it would seal the unity of the alliance against a background where the launch of the Euro—an event potentially of global political significance—could pull it apart."

Notably, the value of the Euro has fallen substantially since the start of the war. Far from sealing NATO unity, the war has only highlighted the divergent interests of the imperialist powers, and the end of the war will bring them further to the fore. While Germany and France jockeyed to undercut U.S. dominance over the occupation force in Kosovo, Greece and Italy openly broke ranks and called for a pause in the bombing. And behind these differences lay conflicting economic interests. Commenting on a series of recent trade disputes, the London *Economist* (8 May) warned: "Trade relations between America and Europe have rarely been so bad." The cost of the war was hard felt by the already sluggish European economies, raising fears that they could be plunged into recession. Now West Europe has been saddled by Clinton with the total bill for rebuilding areas devastated by the bombing. Meanwhile, historic tensions between Germany and France have also resurfaced. A flurry of books have been published recently in France with titles like *Germany Is Worrisome* and even *The Coming War with Germany*.

Tensions among the imperialist powers were compounded by deep differences on their domestic political terrain. In Germany, social-democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder's coalition partners, the Greens, almost split over the question of the bombing, posing a threat to the continued existence of the government. With Green leader Joschka Fischer serving as

foreign minister in Schröder's government, these petty-bourgeois yuppie eco-radicals and erstwhile "pacifists" played a key role in the first war prosecuted by the German bourgeoisie since 1945. In fact, this was simply the logic of their earlier opposition to NATO from the standpoint of resurgent German nationalism. Fishures appeared even within Schröder's party, as key leader Oskar Lafontaine pulled out of the cabinet over Germany's subordination to the U.S.-led NATO. In France, Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin's coalition partners, the Communist Party and the bourgeois Movement of Citizens, openly opposed the bombing.

Reforge the Fourth International!

Meanwhile, in Germany and particularly in Europe's southern tier, there was massive popular opposition to NATO's bombing of Serbia. Greece was swept by repeated demonstrations against the war. And in Italy, the working class made its social power felt in a series of strikes and protests against the war. On May 13, more than a million workers in transportation, public services and the industrial sector joined in a one-day political strike initiated by COBAS around the slogan "Not a life, not a lira for this war!" The popular-front regime headed by Party of the Democratic Left prime minister Massimo D'Alema responded by seizing on the assassination of a government official to launch a witchhunt particularly directed against COBAS.

What is desperately needed is a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party which links the struggle against imperialist war to the proletarian struggle against the capitalist exploitation and oppression and imbues the working class with the consciousness that it must seize state power and expropriate the bourgeoisie. In "War and the Fourth International" (1934), Trotsky wrote of the imperialist epoch:

"The catastrophic commercial, industrial, agrarian and financial crisis, the break in international economic ties, the decline of the productive forces of humanity, the unbearable sharpening of class and international contradictions mark the twilight of capitalism and fully confirm the Leninist characterization of our epoch as one of wars and revolutions."

He concluded: "The struggle against war means now the struggle for the Fourth International!"

In the U.S., where the proletariat is shackled by its pro-capitalist misleaders to the Democratic Party of racism and war, there was no working-class protest against the war. But there is plenty of social tinder at the base of this society. The bloodstained U.S. imperialists who led the air war against Serbia are the same racist rulers who carry out a relentless war at home against workers, blacks, immigrants and other minorities. Competing with its imperialist rivals in a ruthless drive for profits, the strikebreaking ruling class has driven down the living standards of millions of working people and deprived them of decent, affordable housing, education and health care. The "humanitarian" pretensions of Washington are belied by the vicious racial oppression enforced by the American ruling class. The axing of welfare has condemned millions to homelessness, disease and starvation. About one in twelve black men now sits behind bars as the prison population soars to over 1.8 million people. Combined with the speedup on death row, this is a reminder that a whole layer of the ghetto population has become expendable—a surplus population to be intimidated and repressed.

The victory of the U.S. government—which serves to defend the interests of the filthy rich capitalists—against tiny Serbia will only strengthen the ability of the ruling class to plunder the world. The rapacious U.S. rulers must be swept away through workers revolution. The Spartacist League is committed to forging the multiracial revolutionary workers party needed to lead that struggle to victory in the bastion of world imperialism. ■

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NYPD...

(continued from page 16)

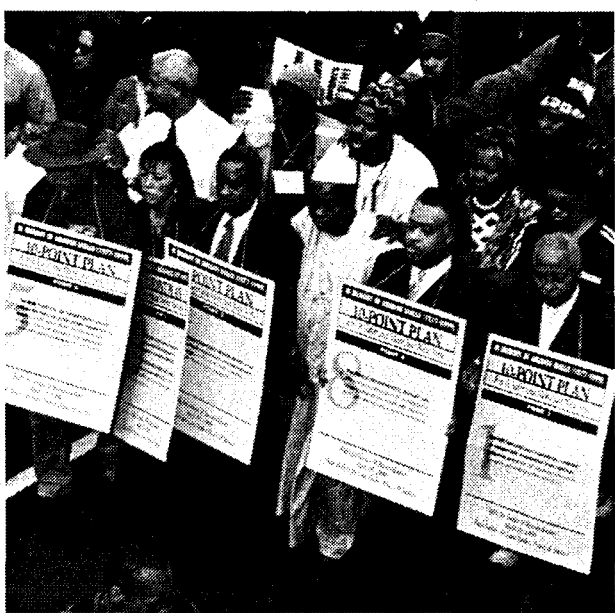
Volpe is being made into the new poster boy for capitalism's judiciary: the system worked, we are told, this monster is no longer among us. The reformist Workers World Party plays into this liberal illusion, exulting that "the unity of the masses...forced the capitalist state to put its own agents of class terror and repression on trial" (*Workers World*, 10 June). In fact, Volpe is one of the few killer cops who have ever even been tried. And his confession came after two years of solid stonewalling. Volpe had threatened to kill Louima if he ever talked about how he'd been beaten in a cop car and taken to a Brooklyn station house where the cops ripped open his rectum and bladder with a broom handle, which was then shoved into his mouth, breaking his teeth. It's something of a miracle that Louima lived, and that he had the incredible courage to tell his story to a nurse in the emergency room.

How many thousands of others are routinely beaten and humiliated into silence, or forced into false confessions, or just killed outright? What gets into the court system is only the tip of the iceberg. Volpe copped a plea—with not even a hint of remorse for what he had done to Louima—only when he concluded that the powers-that-be had decided he had to go as a sop to defuse deep popular fury.

The courts, like the cops, are instruments of capitalist class rule, designed to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie, not those they exploit. A telling instance of the deep cruelty of this system occurred in New York City in the midst of the Louima trial in late May. Tabitha Walrond was relentlessly persecuted and finally convicted of "criminally negligent homicide" in the tragic death of her newborn son. She was poor and black, and she never had a chance. She had tried to breast-feed her son; unaware that her surgically reduced breasts weren't producing sufficient milk. She was repeatedly turned away by the health care system as she tried desperately to get help for her son—because he didn't have a Medicaid card. And so the child slowly slipped into starvation and died. Having lost her baby to vicious official indifference, 19-year-old Tabitha Walrond now faces up to four years in prison. This is the true face of capitalist "justice."

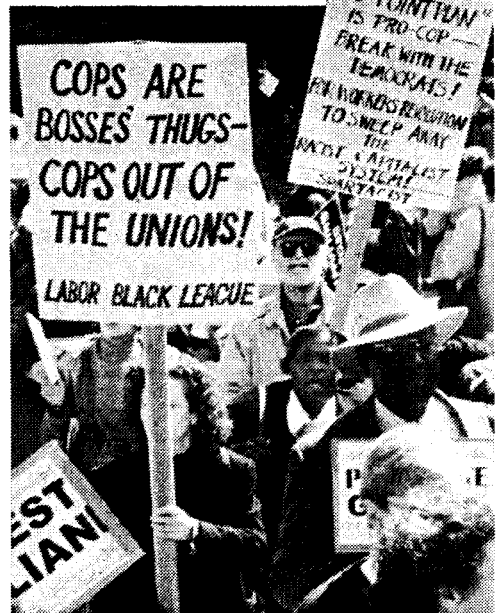
Black Demagogues and Labor Bureaucrats Defuse Outrage

For months, New Yorkers have seethed in outrage as one vicious cop assault fol-



WV Photos

New York, April 15: Local 1199 head Dennis Rivera (far left) joins fellow Democrats Al Sharpton and ex-mayor David Dinkins in pushing whitewash schemes to "clean up" racist cops. Spartacists call for mass labor-centered protest against cop terror.



lows another and the arrogant Giuliani administration treats the entire citizenry as a bunch of perps who just haven't been caught yet. Desperate to head off a social explosion following the Diallo killing, black liberals like Al Sharpton and "new generation" labor bureaucrats like hospital workers' Local 1199 head Dennis Rivera worked overtime to keep the outrage confined to safe channels with blowing-off-steam ploys like the token arrests of prominent pols and celebrities for absurd "civil disobedience" stunts at Police Plaza. To refurbish the image of the cops, they push a "10-Point Plan" to reform the NYPD—by, among other things, adding a few more black and Hispanic faces—including a demand for better pay for the cops! So now the NYPD has added a few dozen minority cops to the Street Crime Unit death squads, and promoted the whole unit—except for the handful facing charges—to detective status, with a hefty raise in pay.

Speaking at a hearing on NYC police brutality called by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission—whose purpose, in the words of its own chairman, is "to be a safety valve"—Sharpton declaimed, "Just like the federal government had to go into the South 30 years ago to protect citizens, I argue the federal government needs to come into New York" (*Daily News*, 27 May). From Little Rock 1957 to Birmingham 1963, federal troops were sent in only when the capitalist rulers sought to suppress militant black struggle, fearing moves toward armed black self-defense or that desegregation protests would otherwise break out of the confines of electoral pressure politics. Then again, Sharpton, who wore a wire as an FBI fink in days past, has never had a problem with the Feds.

Likewise today, Sharpton and Rivera's efforts are aimed at quelling militant protest against cop terror. In his *Daily News* (16 April) column, Juan Gonzalez reported Rivera's assurances that "the 10 demands put forth by the coalition are meant to reform the Police Department, to bring both order and justice to the city." What Rivera meant was seen a few weeks later when he and the rest of the NYC labor bureaucracy invited the cop "unions" to be an official part of the huge May 12 labor rally. Having for years enforced Republican Giuliani's job cuts and wage freezes, the pro-capitalist labor misleaders now try to refurbish their credentials by promoting their traditional Democratic Party allies (see "NYC Labor Rally: Angry Ranks, Sell-out Bureaucrats," WV No. 714, 28 May). At the same time, the union tops sought to deflect burning anger over the rampage of cop terror through their obscene display of unity with the cops. Cops are not workers! Cops, courts out of the labor movement!

Lending credence to the efforts of the labor tops is the International Socialist Organization (ISO)—"socialists" who embrace the very institution of class repression designed to maintain the capitalist order. The ISO and its Campaign to End the Death Penalty are signatories to a "Call For a Citywide Network Against Police Violence" which puts forward its own ten-point program to clean up the cops. Aside from not calling for a police pay raise, the ISO-backed program is virtually indistinguishable in its demands—and even much of its language—from Sharpton/Rivera's, pushing an "independent Civilian Complaint Review Board" and a change in "the racial and ethnic composition" of the NYPD. At bottom, the ISO shares the perspective

of Rivera & Co., fostering the reformist illusion that the capitalist state can be pressured to serve the interests of workers and minorities.

Ironically, the argument that more black cops will create a "fair" police force is likely to be least appreciated by Abner Louima and the family of Amadou Diallo, since in their native countries, Haiti and Guinea, the cops are black. In Haiti especially, the murderous terror of the police force, an instrument of neocolonial repression, is widely evident. In the U.S., the police force—whatever its racial composition—is inherently racist. Its purpose is to serve and protect a system of capitalist exploitation which is rooted in racist oppression. America's capitalist rulers wield racism to divide the working class and retard its consciousness by obscuring the fundamental class division in this society.

At one of the Brooklyn protests following the brutalization of Abner Louima, a Spartacist League speaker declared (WV No. 673, 5 September 1997):

"The problem is not simply Giuliani. Don't forget that under [Democratic Party mayor] Dinkins 6,000 more cops were brought in. Don't forget that it was under the Democrats that U.S. troops invaded Haiti in 1915 and massacred the *cacos* insurgents. The problem here is not just a few 'rotten apples.' The problem is the nature of the cops as guard dogs of the capitalist system.

"The answer is not to simply get a police station closed, to have an inquiry or a civilian review board. What's needed is to mobilize the power of the working class against the capitalist system.... But that requires a fight against the present leaders of the workers movement, who support capitalism. And that means a fight against the very foundations of the capitalist system, a fight by a revolutionary party for socialist revolution!" ■

L.A. Cops...

(continued from page 16)

Parks' diatribes. A *Times* (28 May) editorial warned that Parks "mustn't say or do anything that even hints of an us-versus-them mentality. The LAPD has seen that kind of thinking before, and it's dangerous." After the 1992 upheaval, L.A.'s capitalist rulers replaced notoriously racist police chief Darryl Gates with Willie Williams, a black man. Parks, a former Gates toady, is also black.

But whether under Gates or his successors, the LAPD continues to terrorize the ghettos and barrios and brutally attack picket lines and workers' protests—like during the largely Latino 1990 "Justice for Janitors" rallies and the 1993 Teamsters strike. The cops are an armed force defending the whole system of class

exploitation and racial oppression. And perhaps none are more conscious of their mission to defend capitalist property through repression and terror than the cops in this "open shop" city, many of whom are gungho ex-Marines and other military types.

Led by liberal black columnist Earl Ofari Hutchinson and black nationalist Najee Ali of Project Islamic Hope, the protests over the Mitchell killing have pushed illusions in greater "oversight" of the police. In an op-ed piece in the *Black World Today* (26 May), Hutchinson advises Mitchell's killers: "Couldn't the officers have fired a warning shot? Radioed for help? Used non-lethal force such as a stun gun, tasers, rubber bullets, tear gas, pepper spray or bean bags?"

Just as they did in New York City after the killing of Amadou Diallo, black Democrats Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson came to Riverside to clean up the image of the cops. Jackson told a rally protesting the refusal to charge the cops who executed Tyisha Miller, "We must restore the credibility of the police." Another group which came to Riverside was the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King III, which held a public hearing as part of a campaign to "Stop Police Misconduct/Brutality" in conjunction with the Con-

gressional Black Caucus. The SCLC emphasizes: "We are not anti-police!"

These liberals loyally uphold the racist bourgeois order. Their repeated calls for more minority cops and civilian review boards do nothing to stop police terror but are aimed rather at making the cops more "credible" in order to better carry out their repression. We Marxists say plainly that the cops cannot be reformed. There will be no end to racist cop terror short of the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression which the cops serve as guard dogs.

From New York City to L.A., the Spartacist League has fought to mobilize mass labor protest against racist cop terror. During the 1992 L.A. upheaval, we called for labor to mobilize its forces in a massive demonstration against the murderous police occupation of South Central L.A., declaring: "The working class must not allow the black population to be isolated—the powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers should organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the black community" (WV No. 551, 15 May 1992).

Such a perspective is no less urgent today in southern California. Labor in this "open shop" town must break its ties to the Democrats, including newly

elected governor Gray Davis, who pushes the racist death penalty and calls for more cops and prisons. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party—which combats racist oppression, demands full citizenship rights for all immigrants and fights to organize the unorganized—as part of the struggle to lead the multiracial working class to power through socialist revolution. ■

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NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August.

Our next issue will be dated July 9.

WORKERS VANGUARD

As Cop Confesses to Louima Torture NYPD Racist Rampage Continues

JUNE 8—No sooner had cop Justin Volpe confessed last week to the horrific torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima two years ago than the damage control operation moved into high gear. Today, a Brooklyn court acquitted three of Volpe's accomplices, while a fourth was slapped with two charges.

From the moment Volpe confessed, the capitalist press and politicians were selling the lie that "justice" was done, that Volpe was an "aberration," that a couple of cops testifying against him had brought down the "blue wall of silence." "It's justice time," exulted black Democrat Al Sharpton outside the courthouse. Cop shootings are rare, NYC's snarling mayor Rudolph Giuliani was reported as saying in the *New York Times* (27 May), which also ran the following headlines: "Officer Critically Wounds Unarmed Youth After a Struggle," "Guards Charged in Fatal Beating Of Inmate at Nassau County Jail," "New Jersey Ends 24 Cases After Troopers Are Indicted." Something is aberrant here, but it sure isn't cop terror.

Amid the liberals' cheering on May 26, an unarmed black teenager was shot in the Bronx by the NYPD Street Crime Unit which executed black African Amadou Diallo with 41 bullets outside his Bronx apartment in February. As 16-year-old Dantae Johnson lay hospitalized in critical condition with a bullet wound in his abdomen, Police Commissioner Howard Safir indicted the *victim*. What were Johnson and a friend doing out on the street at 12:30 at night, bellowed Safir, why did they run for home when police ordered them to freeze? Why? "We ran because we were scared. We didn't know why they were trying to arrest us," said Dantae's friend Kyle Thompson.

Two nights after the Bronx shooting, 16-year-old Jamel Nixon was shot in the



Abner Louima in hospital after 1997 brutalization by NYPD. Right: Jamel Nixon (top) and Dantae Johnson, shot by NYC cops.

arm by a plainclothes housing cop in Brooklyn as he ran for home. Predictably, cops later claimed they found a gun on the young man. But eyewitnesses heard Jamel Nixon screaming as the police dragged him away, "I don't have anything, I've been shot."

It's not just New York or the inner cities. On the New Jersey highways, a black man was killed in a hail of 27 police bullets on June 2, as cops spotted him with a white woman passenger and chased him down I-80. Even the state authorities finally admit that "racial profiling" is endemic among the NJ state troopers. Meanwhile, the top cop respon-

sible for overseeing and covering up this systematic racist harassment and terror, Attorney General Peter Verniero, has now been *promoted* with an appointment to the state Supreme Court. In L.A., a 54-year-old black homeless woman was gunned down in front of horrified witnesses, only months after cops in nearby Riverside pumped 27 bullets into 19-year-old Tyisha Miller as she sat unconscious in her car awaiting "911" emergency assistance. Her killers weren't even charged, much less brought to trial.

Dantae Johnson's aunt, Deborah James, told a simple truth about this racist society: "This is a black neighborhood. When



New York Times



NY Daily News

you see white cops coming after you, you are afraid." It is this daily, deadly fear of the cops in the city's ghettos and barrios which turned into mass outrage in the wake of the Diallo killing. While the Democratic Party politicians and their allies in the NYC labor bureaucracy tried to get in front of the seething anger in order to quell it, to channel it into schemes to "reform" the police and into the "lesser evil" electoral farce, the Spartacist League campaigned for the heavily black and Hispanic unions to organize a powerful mass protest against racist cop terror. As we wrote in "Beware Democratic Party Hustlers—Enemies of Labor, Blacks" (WV No. 710, 2 April):

"The mass outrage against the cops *does* need an organized political expression. Not one aimed at strengthening the hand of the Democrats, the political tool of the very capitalist rulers whose interests the cops 'serve and protect,' but one which provides a proletarian class axis that can weld the social power of the multiracial working class to the anger of the inner city through mass labor-centered protest against cop terror."

The Democrats, no less than the Republicans, are a party of capital and enemies of working people. Their role is to front for and politically administer this economic system of exploitation and its state apparatus of repression on behalf of the tiny handful who control all the wealth, the capitalists, while trying to palm off the lie that workers, minorities and the poor have "democracy" because they can cast a ballot every once in a while for one or the other wing of the same property party.

Capitalist Courts— Racist Injustice

The big lie being pushed now is that if you're patient, you can expect justice from this court system. Sadistic torturer
continued on page 15

Police Killers of Tyisha Miller Walk L.A. Cops Gun Down Homeless Woman

Margaret LaVerne Mitchell, a 54-year-old homeless black woman, was shot dead in broad daylight by a Los Angeles cop on May 21. By the LAPD's account, bicycle patrol cop Edward Larrigan and his partner stopped Mitchell to determine if her shopping cart, holding all her personal possessions, was "stolen." When a passerby intervened, Mitchell moved on, only to be chased by Larrigan. The burly cop claims he pumped a bullet into her chest because he felt "threatened" when the 100-pound Mitchell purportedly lunged at him with a screwdriver.

The city administration of Mayor Riordan has engaged in a flagrant cover-up attempt. At least two witnesses say they saw nothing in Mitchell's hand and that she never threatened the cop. James Terrell, a lawyer for Mitchell's family, reports that the coroner's office ghoulishly removed those portions of her body where the bullet entered and exited and

that the autopsy report conspicuously omits any indication of how far away the cop was when he shot her.

Mitchell's killing came just two weeks after the Riverside County District Attorney announced that the cops who killed Tyisha Miller last December would not face charges. Miller, a 19-year-old black woman, was killed in a hail of 27 bullets as she sat unconscious in her car. The outrageous whitewash of the cops undoubtedly bolstered the bloodthirsty LAPD cop's belief they he could gun down a homeless black woman with impunity.

Trying to pin the blame for this cold-blooded killing on the victim and her family, LAPD chief Bernard Parks disgustingly accused Mitchell's family of neglect because they didn't get her medical treatment for her depression. In fact, Richard Mitchell had tried to get help for his mother from government agencies for years, to no avail. Over the past 20 years,

California—the cutback state—has rolled back many mental health and social service programs, spending more now on prisons than education. Mitchell, a former bank worker who had managed to get a college degree while raising her son, was affectionately known as "Mom" in the wealthy Hancock Park area of L.A. where she stayed after becoming mentally ill and homeless. Ralph Glickman, a retired delicatessen counterman, recalled: "I saw her every day for 18 months. She used to sit on that bench over there. She was a very nice lady."

Parks also denounced daily protests against the Mitchell killing for having an "agenda" and for "stereotyping" the cops as racist! Still haunted by the massive 1992 upheaval following the acquittal of the cops who sadistically beat Rodney King, even the capitalist mouthpieces at the *L.A. Times* are being made nervous by
continued on page 15



Sinco/L.A. Times

Margaret LaVerne Mitchell