Defend, Extend Gains of 1949 Revolution! 
For a China of Workers and Peasants Councils in a Socialist Asia!

China

Defeat Imperialist Drive for Counterrevolution!

The People's Republic of China (PRC) was born of the 1949 Revolution which, despite profound bureaucratic deformations, was a social revolution of world-historic significance. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been cruelly exploited from time immemorial. The rule of the murderous warlords and cruelly exploited from time immemorial. The rule of the murderous warlords and wretched bourgeoisie was destroyed.

The creation of a centrally planned, collectivized economy laid the basis for an enormous leap in social progress and China's advance from abject peasant backwardness. The revolution enabled women to advance by magnitudes over their previous miserable status, symbolized by the barbaric practice of foot-binding. A nation which had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation.

However, the 1949 Revolution was deformed from its inception under the rule of Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime, which represented a nationalist bureaucratic caste resting atop a collectivized economy. Unlike the Russian October Revolution of 1917, which was carried out by a class-conscious proletariat guided by the Bolshevik internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, the Chinese Revolution was the result of peasant guerrilla war led by Mao's Stalinist-nationalist forces. Patterned after the Stalinist bureaucracy that had usurped political power from the proletariat in the USSR, Mao's regime preached the profoundly anti-Marxist notion that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—could be built in a single country. In practice, "socialism in one country" in China, as in the USSR of Stalin and his heirs, meant opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally and accommodation to world imperialism.

In particular, China's alliance with American imperialism against the Soviet Union, begun under Mao in the early 1970s and continued by his successor, Deng Xiaoping, contributed to the eventual destruction of the USSR through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. This was a historic defeat for the international working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world. The post-Soviet period has seen the increased pressure of world, especially American, imperialism—economic, political and military—on China. Thus the Pentagon has been actively pursuing plans for an effective nuclear first-strike capacity against China's small nuclear arsenal, a strategy openly proclaimed by the Bush gang in Washington.

The International Communist League stands for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. The Chinese working class must sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy, which has gravely weakened the system of nationalized property internally while consolidating imperialism at the international level. We stand for a proletarian political revolution to place political power in the hands of workers and peasants councils. The urgent task facing the Chinese proletariat is to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party as part of a reforged Fourth International to prepare and lead this political revolution, standing at the head of the toiling masses and directing the spontaneous and localized struggles of the workers toward the seizure of political power.

Is the CCP Restoring Capitalism in China?

Ever since the Deng regime introduced market-oriented economic "reforms" in the early 1980s, an increasingly influential current of Western bourgeois opinion has maintained that the Communist Party itself is gradually restoring capitalism in China while keeping a tight grip on political power. This position was widely and loudly trumpeted late last year when the 16th Congress of the CCP legitimized party membership for capitalist entrepreneurs. "China Turns Its Back on Communism to Join Long March of the Capitalists" was a typical headline in the Western press, in this case that of the London Guardian (9 November 2002).

In fact, this congress did not introduce a significant change in either the social composition of the CCP which after all has 66 million members, or its functional ideology. According to an official survey, only two million private business owners 600,000 are party members and continued on page 7

"The Cause That Passes Through a Prison"

18th Annual 
Holiday Appeal for 
Class-War Prisoners

SEE PAGE 4
For over two weeks, as government immigration courts and federal agents forced Palestinian activist Amer Jubran into dropping his challenge to government protection, Jubran was ordered to testify without any cumbersome formalities, Russian citizenship rights, or toleration on this basis of any privileges or advantages, or any oppression of national minorities or restriction of their equality, to be contraventions of the fundamental laws of the republic. Guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, adopted in 1918, explicitly granted asylum to victims of imperialism.

20. Proceeding from the principle of solidarity of the working people of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic grants full political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners residing in the territory of the Russian Republic for purposes of employment, and belonging to the working class or to the peasantry not employing the citizens to foreigners residing in the territory of the Russian Republic for purposes of employment, and belonging to the working class or to the peasantry, to save the broadest possible forces, centered on the power of the labor movement, to save the entire population.

21. The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic deprives individuals and groups of rights which they utilize or advantages, or any oppression of national minorities or restriction of their equality, to be contraventions of the fundamental laws of the republic. "Constitution (Fundamental Laws) of the RSFSR," printed in Yuri Akhkon, ed., First Decrees of Soviet Power (Lawrence & Wishart, 1970).

BOSTON—On November 6, racist immigration courts and federal agents forced Palestinian activist Amer Jubran into dropping his challenge to government protection. The relentless persecution of Jubran, his family and associates is part of a broad government assault against anyone who protests the "war on terror" or the depredations of U.S. imperialism—especially those who speak up in defense of the beleaguered Palestinian people against Zionist state terror. Facing possible deportation, Palestinian activist Faroukh Abdul-Muhi still languishes in a Bergen County jail in New Jersey, where he has been held since October 23 after being detained in a Gastpoy-style raid on his home in Queens. His deportation could result in his being turned over to the Israeli state, which would almost surely mean torture or worse. Meanwhile, recent reports indicate that the government is now using the Patriot Act in renewed efforts to deport two of the Los Angeles Eight, Palestinian activists who have been in the state's cross hairs for 16 years for defending Palestinian rights. Free Faroukh Abdul-Muhi now! Hands off the L.A. Eight!

Speaking to a crowd of 60 supporters outside Government Center on November 6, Jubran said he would continue his fight for Palestinian freedom when he returned to Jordan. He said that while he knew some very decent people here, like his family and associates is part of a broad government assault against anyone who protests the "war on terror" or the depredations of U.S. imperialism—especially those who speak up in defense of the beleaguered Palestinian people against Zionist state terror. Facing possible deportation, Palestinian activist Faroukh Abdul-Muhi still languishes in a Bergen County jail in New Jersey, where he has been held since October 23 after being detained in a Gastpoy-style raid on his home in Queens. His deportation could result in his being turned over to the Israeli state, which would almost surely mean torture or worse. Meanwhile, recent reports indicate that the government is now using the Patriot Act in renewed efforts to deport two of the Los Angeles Eight, Palestinian activists who have been in the state's cross hairs for 16 years for defending Palestinian rights. Free Faroukh Abdul-Muhi now! Hands off the L.A. Eight!

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22. The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, recognizing the equality of all people, regardless of race or nationality, draws on the established tradition of non-toleration or toleration on this basis of any privileges or advantages, or any oppression of national minorities or restriction of their equality, to be contraventions of the fundamental laws of the republic. "Constitution (Fundamental Laws) of the RSFSR," printed in Yuri Akhkon, ed., First Decrees of Soviet Power (Lawrence & Wishart, 1970).

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Japan/Trotskyists Say: Japan/U.S. Hands Off North Korea!

We print below a translation of an article which appeared in Spartacist Japan (No. 2, October 2003), newspaper of the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League (Fourth International).

SEPTEMBER 20—For more than a year, the Japanese capitalist ruling class has been on a vicious campaign, staging provocations against the North Korean deformed workers state and laying the basis for terrorist attacks against the pro-North Korean group Chosen Soren. The purpose of this campaign is to prepare the population for whatever role the Japanese military will play in the imperialists' attempts to destroy North Korea and to set up Chosen Soren and anyone who stands for the defense of minorities and the working class in this country for state-sanctioned murder by the right-wing militarists.

Over the past year, North Korean ships have been interdicted and sequestered on the high seas by Japan, Australia and Spain. The Japanese coast guard played a prominent role in the September “Pacific Protector” naval exercises in the Coral Sea off the coast of Australia. These “exercises,” part of the “Proliferation Security Initiative,” threaten a full-scale naval blockade of North Korea, which would be an act of war. The government's continued raids on and detentions of the Mangyongbong-92 ferry, in which more than 1,900 police and coast guard personnel have taken part, are blatant attempts to isolate, intimidate and terrorize not only North Korea, but all ethnic Koreans and their defenders in this country. Japanese pirates: Hands off North Korean ships!

The hysterical accusations of “nuclear ambitions” and “spying, smuggling and illegal cash transfers” on the part of North Korea are pretexts for both Japanese and American imperialism to place a new generation of missiles in East Asia, the so-called “theater missile defense” system, which would be an act of war.

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Behind the campaign of Japanese and U.S. imperialism lies a broader strategy of encircling the Chinese deformed workers state, an encirclement that extends militarily from Central Asia through the Philippines and the possibility of stationing U.S. Marines in northern Australia. We stand for the unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state—and of China, Cuba and Vietnam where capitalism has also been eliminated—against imperialism and internal capitalist counterrevolution.

Our defense of the North Korean deformed workers state itself.

Defend Korean Minority in Japan: Defend North Korea's Right to Nuclear Weapons!

21 NOVEMBER 2003
Little captures the greed and hypocrisy of this country's capitalist rulers as poignantly as the holiday season. Amid the hype about the joy of giving and "good will towards men," American troops carry out a brutal occupation of Iraq. Legions of homeless pick through garbage cans for Christmas dinner. Thousands of workers receive pink slips while Wall Street magnates give themselves tens of millions in Christmas bonuses. ghetto children go to bed hungry in dilapidated slums without heat. Over two million men and women, over half of them black and Hispanic, greet another new year behind prison bars. In John Ashcroft's America the only Santa Claus coming down your chimney will be an FBI agent.

For us, this time of year is an occasion to redouble our commitment to those among the inhabitants of America's prison nation who were singled out for standing up to racist capitalist oppression—trade-union militants, fighters for black freedom, fighters against national oppression and opponents of imperialism and capitalist militarism. We provide monthly stipends to 16 class-war prisoners and holiday gifts for them and their families. These gifts and messages of solidarity are a necessary reminder to these brothers and sisters that they are not forgotten.

The Partisan Defense Committee initiated this program in 1986, reviving a tradition of the early International Labor Defense (ILD) under its secretary, James P. Cannon (1925-28). As Cannon described: "The procession that goes in and out of the prison doors is not new one. It is the result of an old struggle under new forms. Unionization, a ferment of new life in American society, has produced new forms of opposition against oppression have been constantly faced with the dungeons of a ruling class..." No gift is a great one which has not produced fighters in its ranks who have dared to face arrest and trial and imprisonment,--James P. Cannon. "The Cause That Passes Through a Prison" Labor Defender (September 1990)

This year's Holiday Appeal takes on special significance, not only because a recent opinion of the Supreme Court allowing pushing death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal a step closer to the death chamber, but also because most of the class-war prisoners we honor have spent at least a quarter century behind bars. Using the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center as a pretext the government, with the Democrats in near-unanimous agreement, rammed through the Patriot Act and other edicts which mark a qualitative diminution of democratic rights. The government's secret police have vastly expanded authority to tap your phone, search your home, scour your financial records, interrogate your librarian and place you under arrest without probable cause that a crime has been committed.

Much of what the government seeks to do is seen particularly in the case of Jose Padilla. An American citizen, Padilla was arrested in May 2002 at Chicago's O'Hare airport and held as a material witness for a month before the Bush administration declared that he had fantasies of setting off a radioactive "dirty bomb." So they declared him an "enemy combatant" and shipped him off to a military big, where he remains today without access to an attorney, without charges being filed, without any prospect of a hearing or trial to challenge the accusations against him—the very essence of what is supposed to be due process of law.

The PDC and Spartacist League filed a friends of the court (amicus curiae) brief in the federal court of appeals on Padilla's behalf. As the brief points out, the Bush administration is turning in place the juridical scaffolding of police-state rule—suppression of civil courts on presidential command, unlimited powers of police to arrest and detain indefinitely without cause. The government is doing no less than asserting the right to disappear people, i.e., to institutionalize in the American justice system the arbitrary deprivation of rights that is the hallmark of right-wing dictatorships propped up around the world by U.S. imperialism. To take a stand for today's class-war prisoners is to stand up to Washington's police-state designs and to strike a blow for tomorrow's fighters against the ravages of capitalist oppression.

While largely directed at immigrants from predominantly Islamic countries, the new repressive measures are ultimately to be used against the labor movement, blacks and opponents of U.S. imperialism. When New York transit workers voted to go on strike last year, the media screamed they were launching a "jihad" and the strikebreaking Taylor Law was invoked. On April 7, based on so-called intelligence information, riot-equipped cops at the Oakland docks fired on longshoremen and antiwar protesters, including supporters of the Spartacist League, with wooden bullets and concussion grenades. Had the Patriot Act been in force at the time, class-war prisoner Jerry Dale Lowe, the West Virginia miner sentenced to eleven years for defending his union during a 1993 strike, could have been declared a "terrorist" and whisked off to a prison indefinitely without even the semblance of a trial.

For Class-Struggle Non-Sectarian Defense! The PDC is a class-struggle, nonsectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We stand unconditionally on the side of working people and their allies in struggle against their exploiters and oppressors. We defend, in Cannon's words, "any member of the workers movement, regardless of his views, who suffered persecution by the capitalist courts because of his activities or his opinion" (First Ten Years of American Communism [1962]). Initiated in 1974, the PDC cut its teeth on organizing successful international defense campaigns for Latin American leftists in the grip of bloody military dictatorships. We launched fund-raising campaigns for striking British miners in the mid 1980s as well as for the people of the Afghan city of Jalalabad when it was besieged by CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries following the Soviet withdrawal in 1989. We have initiated mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the KKK from marching in cities across the country, including the 10,000-strong mobilization in New York City four years ago. In Oakland, in February 2002 the PDC and Labor Black League for Social Defense initiated a united-front demonstration of 300, centered on the powerful longshore union, in defense of immigrants and in opposition to the Patriot and Maritime Security acts.

These actions draw on the internationalist defense traditions bequeathed from the early years of the Communist International. These were embodied in a defense organization formed in the Soviet Union in 1922 called the International Organization for Aid to Fighters of the Revolution (MOPR)—more popularly known as the International Red Aid—and its American affiliate, the ILD. The MOPR was formed primarily to organize worldwide worker relief efforts for victims of counterrevolutionary White terror unleashed after the Red Army's withdrawal from Poland. Its first campaign assisted the Bulgarian victims of White terror after the failed
An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!

The 16 class-war prisoners described below receive monthly stipends from the PDP!

Mumia Abu-Jamal: Former Black Panther Party spokesman, well-known supporter and cherished award-winning journalist known as the “voice of the voiceless.” Jamal was framed up for the 1981 killing of police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. December 9 marks 22 years on death row, Mumia remains just a short walk away from the execution chamber.

Jaan Launam and Ray Luc Levesaur were sentenced to almost two decades behind bars. These leftist activists were part of the Ohio 7, who were convicted for their role in a radical group that took credit for “expropriations” and bombings in the late 1970s and ’80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism such as military and corporate offices. Before their arrests in Ohio in 1984 and Criminalizing political beliefs since the Haymarket martyrs, mostly anarchists, who without a shred of evidence were framed up for a bombing during a workers rally in Chicago on 4 May 1886. A 1982 anti-sedition law in New York became the model for state and federal “criminal syndicalism” laws which targeted organizations and individuals seeking “a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any policy of boycott or strike.” Jaan passed the first legislation barring immigrants who “believe in or advocate the overthrow by force and violence of the U.S. government,” the first such law criminalizing political beliefs since the Aliens and Sedition Acts of 1798.

With the beginning of World War I and the rise of labor struggle was met with brutal state repression. There is the case of the Haymarket martyrs, mostly anarchists, who without a shred of evidence were framed up for a bombing during a workers rally in Chicago on 4 May 1886. A 1982 anti-sedition law in New York became the model for state and federal “criminal syndicalism” laws which targeted organizations and individuals seeking “a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any policy of boycott or strike.” Jaan passed the first legislation barring immigrants who “believe in or advocate the overthrow by force and violence of the U.S. government,” the first such law criminalizing political beliefs since the Aliens and Sedition Acts of 1798.

The ILD together with the ILD’s heyday of the Vietnam antiwar movement and the New Left, who wrote off “interfering with international commerce.” We have urged the UMWA and other militants everywhere to take up lowe’s cause. The leadership of the UMWA, along with the rest of the union bureaucracy, abandoned Chaplin to face the racist-hating government alone. And though his sentence is winding up, the fight for his freedom is as pressing as ever.


They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 8 August 1978 siege on their Philadelphia home by over 600 heavily armed cops, having been falsely convicted of killing a police officer who died in the shootout. Convicted of the same charges, Merle Africa was sentenced to life in prison in 1998. In July, Hart was thrown into solitary. He refuses to lessen his sentences so that he may die in prison, the last of the San Francisco, CA

Convicted of the same charges, Merle Africa and killed officer Faulkner. But to the lawyer he didn’t want—and who didn’t want Jamal’s case—a judge, Albert Sabo, known as the “king of death row,” an overwhelmingly white jury, a prosecutor’s office that concealed fabricated evidence and a parade of witnesses who were coerced by the notorious Philadelphia Police Internal Pension and the New Right. In American history, all three were acquitted, an important setback to the government’s attempt to make all leftist political opponents into outlaws.

The politics of the Ohio 7 were once held by thousands of radicals during the heyday of the Vietnam antiwar movement and the New Left, who wrote off the possibility of winning the working class to a revolutionary program and saw themselves as an auxiliary to “Third World” liberation movements. But, like the Weathermen before them, the Ohio 7 were labeled “domestic terrorists” and forced into hiding. From the standpoint of the proletariat, the actions of Levesaur and his comrades against the state are not a crime. As the PDC has said from the time the Ohio 7 were first persecuted by the capitalist state, these courageous fighters should not have served a day in prison and should be freed now.

Hart’s son, Jamal Abu-Jamal, of the San Quentin Six still in prison; a militant anti-racist leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson, who was murdered by prison guards in 1971. In prison for over 38 years, last year Pinell was again denied parole and continues to serve a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit in California. Pinell, who has been denied parole seven times, has a parole hearing scheduled for January.

For more information:
(510) 309-5668
P.O. Box 7746
San Francisco, CA 94107

SPONSOR: PANETHON DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Benefit for Class-War Prisoners
Organize 1st Jamaica’s Freedom

Bay Area
Sunday, December 7
1 to 4 p.m.
Carrolls Cafe
474 Valencia, San Francisco
For more information:
(510) 893-0939
P.O. Box 7746
San Francisco, CA 94107

New York City
Saturday, December 13
5 to 10 p.m.
6 Harviam St., Flatto (1st or 1st to Franklin St.)
For more information:
(212) 693-2845
P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013

Chicago
Sunday, December 14
3 to 7 p.m.
Underground
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)
For more information:
(312) 635-4458
P.O. Box 823857
Chicago, IL 60682

P.D.P.
FRAMED UP FOR THE 1981 KILLING OF POLICE OFFICER DANIEL FAULKNER AND SENTENCED TO DEATH EXPLICITLY FOR HIS POLITICAL VIEWS.

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COMMITTEE

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P.D.P.
This summer, Hong Kong was the site of a series of mass, anti-Communist mobilizations openly, indeed flagrantly, backed by the US bourgeoisie. The immediate pretext for the protests was the "security" legislation introduced (and since withdrawn) by the Beijing-appointed and directed executive of this capitalist enclave within the People’s Republic of China (PRC). These events clearly illuminate certain basic truths that have been obscured by the widespread notion that China has become or is fast becoming a new kind of a series of mass, anti-Communist mob­back. The conciliatory policies of the CCP (China’s capitalists fled to the off­have allowed Hong Kong to become a class in Hong Kong, the imperialist­ing the Stalinist bureaucracy would nec­never challenged British sovereignty over the island as the racist and repres­ supported the proposed legislation out of loyalty to Beijing. In fact, the DAB and FTU staged counterdemonstrations, report­ and landlords and their American imperi­mining a majority of the votes. Hence­less on China’s capitalists and landlords in China has become or is fast becoming CCP­state, two systems,” according to the PRC. Supported by a section of the Hong Kong bourgeoisie, including especially the Demo­class-i.e., racial oppression, per­y direction, proposed this legislation, and we place no­content with the manipulation of the Beijing regime of­national sovereignty over Hong Kong. After years-long negotiations, Hong Kong was transferred to the sovereignty of the People’s Republic in 1997. Under­have opened the door for the Chinese workers state. Concretely, the Beijing­with elections and legislation be postponed for at least a year. In­The crisis over Article 23 The crisis last summer was set off when the Tung executive, certainly acting under the directions of Beijing, proposed “security” legislation in the form of implementing Article 23 of Hong Kong’s separate constitution (the Basic Law). This would have broadened the powers of the Hong Kong executive to suppress “seditionists” and individuals. Had the new “security” law been enacted, it would have been more likely used against militant workers and leftists, including members of AGW. Hong Kong’s capitalists are increasing­the PRC’s urban working class, including militant workers and leftists, such as the members of the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB) and the Federation of Trade Unions (FTU), which with a combined membership of almost 300,000, is the city’s largest. Many DAB­hailing as the rotted British Empire finally fell. Hong Kong, together with the lowering of the bloody Union Jack and the raising of the five-starred red flag of the People’s Republic. But we warn that in the hands of the venal Stalinist bureaucracy, which has pledged to maintain Hong Kong’s capitalist system, the takeover of the territory is a dagger aimed at the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution;” WW NO. 671, 11 July 1997. Throughout the colonial period and in the wake of the July 1 occupation by the British, the British imperialists lured it over the island as the racist and repres­sion. It was only in the eighties and nineties, leading up to reunification that the Brit­ish imperialists started to install some trappings of a false "democracy" in the PRC. The last British colonial governor, Chris­tian, actively promoted the formation of a militantly anti-Communist movement in the name of Western-style “democracy.” Behind the facade of parliamentary democracy in the West and elsewhere is the reality of the political as well as economic dominance of the capital­class—i.e., racial oppression, per­secution of immigrants, brutal exploita­tion, etc. As part of our struggle to defend and extend the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, we call for the expropriation of the Hong Kong bourgeoisie, including their holdings on the Chinese mainland. But to carry out this task poses the need for forming a broad-based proletarian alliance­linked to China in the name of Western-style “democracy.” This was not at all for the liking of Jiang Zemin and his cohorts. As it was, a compromise was reached. Beijing-appointed Hong Kong’s regime of “security” in Hong Kong headed by a former ship­magistrate, Tung Chee-hwa. The city’s­the formula “one country, two systems,” the Jiang Zemin regime ensured there would be no infringement of the property rights of Hong Kong’s wealthy financiers and other businessmen. We wrote at the time: “The International Communist League (Fourth International), which has been fighting as the rotted British Empire finally fell. Hong Kong, together with the lowering of the bloody Union Jack and the raising of the five-starred red flag of the People’s Republic. But we warn that in the hands of the venal Stalinist bureaucracy, which has pledged to maintain Hong Kong’s capitalist system, the takeover of the territory is a dagger aimed at the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution;” WW NO. 671, 11 July 1997. Throughout the colonial period and in the wake of the July 1 occupation by the British, the British imperialists lured it over the island as the racist and repres­sion. 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China... (continued from page 1)

have been for some time. The over­
whelming majority of these were long­
time CCP managerial cadre who took
over the small state-owned enterprises
they were running when these were pri­
vatized over the past several years.

Some groups that falsely claim to be Trotskyist have embraced the now­
over­
taken government of the incumbent
capitalist-restorationist regime, the Taaffe­
tendency led by

imperialist-backed anti-Communist forces
in China in the name of promoting
“democracy,” just as they supported Boris
Yeltsin’s “democratic” counterrevolution in
the USSR in 1991.

In maintaining that China continues to be a bureaucracy of deformed expres­sion of proletarian state power, we do not
deny or minimize the growing social
weight in China of both the newly fledged
capitalist entrepreneurs on the mainland
and the old, established offshore Chinese
bourgeoisie in Taiwan and Hong Kong.
Many a top government and party offi­
cial has a son, younger brother, nephew—or, as in the case of Chinese president Hu Jintao, son-in-law—who’s a private businessman.

Nonetheless, the political power of
the main body of the Beijing Stalinist burea­ucracy continues to be based on the core
collectivized elements of China’s econ­omy. Furthermore, the economic policies
of the CCP regime are still constrained by fear of social—especially working­
class—unrest which could topple it. This
came close to happening in 1989 when
student-centered protests for political lib­
eralization and against corruption trig­
ered a spontaneous workers revolt that
was then suppressed with great bloodshed
by regime-loyal army units. (For an exten­sive account of this incipient prole­
revolution, see “Workers Vanguard” No. 730, Winter 1999–2000. See also “People’s Democracies” by Walter Grüvel, available from
Workers Vanguard, 1217 6th St., New York, NY 10116.)

The Latest Illusion of Chinese Stalinism

China’s high rate of economic growth
in recent years—moreover, amid a gen­
erally gloomy world economy—has
produced a certain triumphalist mood
among the CCP leadership and cadre and
affiliated intelligentsia. One can cer­
tainly encounter a very different mood
among the millions of workers laid off
from state-owned enterprises and dis­
placed miners from the countryside and poor peasants barely eking out a living
selling live chickens and vegetables on
street corners. But among Chinese intellec­
tuals of mainstream political views one
finds little or no significant dissident
movement or tendencies on the mainland
and yet the CCP leadership continues to
be a bureaucracy of deformed expres­sion
of proletarian state power, we do not

world shifts in the bureaucracy’s formal
ideological posture) have increasingly strengthened those social forces that will
give rise to imperialist-backed, openly
counterrevolutionary factions and parties when the CCP can no longer maintain its
present monopoly of political power. This
can be clearly seen today in the capitalist
enclave of Hong Kong, the only part of the
PRC where bourgeois oppositional par­
ties exist. Last summer, Hong Kong’s
Democratic Party organized mass
protest rallies to protest the Bush admin­
istration in Washington and its junior partners in London (see “Hong Kong: Expropriate the Bourgeoisie?”, page 6).

So great is the right-wing Chinese
emigrant intelligentsia’s fear of state cap­i­talism that it has decided, quite deci­sively, to embrace the now­
nowopoly of political power. This
came close to happening in 1989 when

workers in China, transforming it into
a global superpower—indeed, the
global superpower of the 21st century—
through ever greater integration into
the world capitalist economy. They truly believe their country can emulate the
manipulate Citibank, the Deutsche Bank and
the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi to help build
up China so that in a generation or two it
will surpass the United States, Germany
and Japan. Believing they are transform­
ing China into a global superpower, they are actually clearing the path for return­
ing China to the pre-revolutionary era of
untrammeled imperialist subjugation.

The growth of imperialist belliger­
tion toward China since the collapse of
the Soviet Union is evidence enough that
the world’s bourgeoisies will not counte­
nance the Beijing bureaucracy’s great
power status. Over the past decade, the
Pentagon has redeployed a signifi­
cant proportion of its military forces to
the Pacific Rim region, while pushing ahead with plans for a “theater missile
defense.” As a result of its incursion into
Afghanistan and Central Asia, as well as
a renewed military presence in the
Philippines and elsewhere, the U.S. has
significantly strengthened its military
to China. In signing up to the U.S.-
led “war on terror,” Beijing has only
encouraged U.S. imperialism in its own
counterrevolutionary drive. The Chinese
leadership has also joined the crusade
against North Korea’s nuclear weapons
program. This is a nationalist betrayal that
under­
mines the Chinese deformed workers
state and its potential to counterbalance
China would further embolden the impe­
rialists to lash out against their own work­
ers and against the semicolonial peoples
everywhere. It would also heighten rival­
ries between the imperialists over who
will control China, the planet that much
closer to a new imperialist world war.

This underscores the obliga­
tion of the international proletariat to
stand in defense of the gains of the Chi­
inese Revolution. On the other hand, a
pursuit of opening up China to the
banner of proletarian internationalism
would truly shake the world.

In this regard, the Chinese
leadership has shown itself ready to
make concessions to imperialism.

To be sure, the ruling Chinese Stalin­
ists are not simply supine in the face of
Washington’s sway. They are taking
measures to counterbalance the
superpower’s initiatives. The Chinese
regime is really problematic and technically
unworkable. The experience of other
former communist countries shows that
there is no single case of making privat­
ization work well, with the exception of China. Stalinist parties are not simply supine,
acting merely as extensions or sustains of
the bureaucratic apparatus of the central
communist party. There appears to be
organizational factional opposition in what
is now China’s state-capitalist monop­
opoly. This is a realpower struggle
outside the party. The regime of Jiang Zemin, who succeeded Deng when the latter
died in 1997, was able to prevent any
democratic reform, but this anti-Communist advocate of

China's Capitol. (continued from page 1)

Mao’s anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism
brought open door to imperialist penetration of China.

China... (continued from page 1)

Mao’s anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism
brought open door to imperialist penetration of China.
Imbed with Stalinist preachings of "socialism in one country," even the most leftist Chinese workers may view the present status of the country as a form of the advanced capitalist countries as remote or utopian. But a proletarian political revolution - that is, a genuine overthrow of the "paradise of communism" ideological climate propounded by the bourgeoisie since the days of 1917 - is the only way to radicalize the proletariat of Japan, the industrial powerhouse of East Asia. It would help give a new sense of purpose to the reunification of Korea - through political revolution in the beleaguered North and social revolution in the South - and reverberate among the masses of South Asia, Indonesia and the Philippines before being impelled to the point where they would revive the working people of Russia who have been ground down by a decade of capitalist mismanagement.

Only through the overthrow of capitalist class rule internationally, particularly in the imperialist centers of North America, West Europe and Japan, can the all-round modernization of China be achieved as part of a socialist Asia. It is to provide the necessary leadership for the proletarian struggles that the world Trotskyist movement must reforge Trotsky's Fourth International - world party of socialist revolution.

The Core Collective Elements of China's Economy

Socialism, as theoretically officially described, China as a "socialist market economy." It is the "socialist" (i.e., collectivist) aspect that is responsible for the "positive" economic developments in China in recent years: the vast expansion of investment in housing, industrial plant, construction, canals, railroads and the giant Three Gorges Dam project, the attempt to close China to the world. It has been successfully through the 1997-98 East Asian financial crisis and economic crisis and then a general economic slowdown. In one way, it is the market aspects of China's economy which are responsible for the negative development: the ever wider gap between rich and poor, the immanence of a large and growing fraction of the population living on the verge of subsistence, the off from state-owned enterprises, the army of impoverished migrants in the cities, who no longer have a living in the countryside.

In China today, it is the core collectivist aspects of the public sector (e.g., urban construction, canals, railroads and the giant Three Gorges Dam project), the attempt to close China to the world, which continue to be dominant, though not in a stable, coherent manner due to an ever-shifting political environment, market-oriented arrangements and government policies. In 2001, state-owned and state-controlled enterprises (including holding corporations) accounted for 57 percent of the gross value of China's industrial output (Statistical Yearbook [2002]). But this simple statistical figure obscures the strategic central role of state-owned industry. The private (including foreign-owned) sector consists for the most part of factories producing light manufactures such as textiles, food, shoes, consumer goods, etc. Heavy industry, the high-tech sectors, modern armaments production are only a small part of the Chinese state-owned enterprises. It is these enterprises that have been the key factor in modern China's economic growth and hold the key to maintaining and expanding production in state-owned industry and to the re-emergence of imperialism. Between 1998 and 2001, government spending in China increased from 12 to 20 percent of the country's gross domestic product. The largest and fastest-growing component of government expenditure has been investment in infrastructure, which increased by 81 percent over these three years. Moreover, this has been happening at a time when the entire capitalist world-including the wealthiest countries in North America and West Europe-has been pursuing fiscal austerity. Total planned expenditure to construct a network of canals for irrigation purposes from the Yangtze River to the Yellow River in the north is $39 billion. Another $42 billion is to be spent on expanding the lines of China's state-owned railroad system. By comparison, last year direct foreign investment in China from all sources totaled $53 billion.

Continued state ownership of the financial system has enabled the Beijingers to maintain their regime up to now to effectively (not totally) control the flow of money. The state-dominated financial system of China, currency, the yuan (also called the renminbi) is not freely convertible; it is restricted to imports and exports. The restricted convertibility of the yuan has kept China protected from the volatile movements of short-term capital ("hot money") which periodically wreak havoc on the economies of the advanced capitalist world. China's currency, the yuan, (also called the renminbi) is not freely convertible; it is restricted to imports and exports. The restricted convertibility of the yuan has kept China protected from the volatile movements of short-term capital ("hot money") which periodically wreak havoc on the economies of the advanced capitalist world.

Furthermore, over the past year Beijingers have maintained a near-constant exchange rate of the yuan (in "free market" terms), much to the dis­ pleasure of American, European and Japan­ese capitalists. A second-level capitalist imperialist country like Britain could not have controlled the exchange rate of its brick wall with two horse-drawn carts full of goods. While China's exports to the U.S. and other Western countries continue to increase, their level will probably consist of low-wage, low-value light manu­facture and consumer goods like clothing, toys and household goods. As Jona­than Anderson points out, China's in­crease in gross industrial output between 1993 and 2002—from $40 billion to $1,300 billion—was nearly completely offset by the increase in its gross pur­chase of industrial products, i.e., machin­ery and capital equipment.

Against the economies of the U.S., Japan and West Europe, Chinese indus­try, with its relatively low productivity of labor, cannot compete on the world mar­ket. The Trotskyist vision of Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country" in the Soviet Union applies with force to the present situation.

"The capitalist world shows us its import and export figures that it has other instruments of persuasion than fiscal austerity. To extend that productivity of labor and the productivity of a social system as a whole are measured on the market by the correlation of prices, it is not so much military intervention as the intervention of cheaper capitalist commodities that constitutes perpetual immediate menace to Soviet economy." (Economic Strategy (After Lenin [1928])

The main weapon available to a nation­ally isolated and relatively economically backward workers state against the inter­vention of cheaper goods is the state monopoly of foreign trade—the, i.e., the strict control of imports and exports by the gov­ernment. It has repeatedly been the case that the economic strategy of a workers state is dependent on a "national bourgeoisie" to maintain an "independent economy.

The official statistical figures released by China's state-owned financial system. The China's two main stock exchanges, in Shanghai, Beijing, etc., mainly employs migrants from the rural areas. The monopoly of the stock exchanges (canal building, laying railway track) employ impoverished peasants and rural workers. The control of the shares Beijing, Shanghai, etc., such projects would retard and reverse China's economic development. The ex­pansion of the capitalist state bourgeoisie, is absolutely essential to economi­cally link the wealthier coastal provinces with the more backward northern and central China.

In recent months the main economic demand made by American, European and Japanese ruling circles on the Chi­nese government has been to reverse the yuan upward. By increasing the price of China's manufactured goods in world markets, such a move would do to China's export earnings and volume. Many private as well as state-owned enterprises would have to reduce their off workers, reduce production and in some cases suffer bankruptcy. But the real pressure from the American, West European and Japanese bourgeoisie is a more basic assault on China's "socialist market economy." The capitalists want to force the Beijing regime to make the yuan fully convertible in order to remove any restriction on financial penetration of the banks of Wall Street, Frankfurt and Tokyo.

Privatization: Appearance and Reality

Over the past two decades a large frac­tion of state-owned industry—whether measured by number of enterprises, labor force or output value—has been privatized. Most small enterprises were simply sold off to individuals, typically the workers themselves, who were then privatized. The larger enterprises, however, were "privatized" through a shareholding scheme. When, in 2001, China opened its first stock market, much of the Western bourgeoisie media hasted this as proof of China's "market orientation." But this had taken a decisive step on the road to capitalism. But what has actually happened?

Of the 1,240 companies listed on China's two main stock exchanges in 2002, in some cases the government holds a major­ity of shares, in others a substantial minority. Some enterprises are state-owned, some state-controlled, some state­owned government-controlled because the CCP has retained a monopoly of political power in China—but neither is there shareholders' democracy. A disgruntled shareholder has no place at the annual shareholders' meeting; the incumbent management, typically politically well-connected CCP cadre, can act as if in a very bad place very rapidly.

Shareholders in China's corporations do not receive dividends. Instead, they are state­capitalist sense. They have the right to income from their financial assets and they can sell these income rights if they are suitably
or lucky enough, for a net gain over the purchase price. But they cannot determine or even influence the management and corporate policies. These are determined by various and often conflicting political as well as economic pressures.

A clear example of this is Golden Summit, a cement-making enterprise in Leshan in the far western province of Sichuan. In the late 1990s, Golden Summit was listed on the Shanghai stock exchange in the early 1990s. It turned out to be quite a profitable operation. But they cannot political as well as economic pressures. Why then was it done? Because the workers at Dadu River Steel had staged violent protests over unpaid wages. So the local CCP leadership utilized the ample cash reserves of Golden Summit to purchase the local enterprise in its entirety. Thus a managerial decision affecting the company’s financial condition was made on political, not economic grounds.

A recent book on China’s financial structure by two academic economists in Australia describes the real character of the shareholding corporations:

“...the key problem in the case of China’s stock markets is that the high ownership concentration also reflects a continuously diminishing of state ownership in market governance. The lack of a lock for corporate control is nonexistent for the overwhelming majority of listed companies. Even when they are controlled by managers, the managers face only a limited threat of punishment if they make decisions from either ‘insiders’ or ‘outsiders.’ It should be emphasized that this is the state runs even deeper than the dominant ownership positions.” —James Laurenceson and Joseph Coughlan, Investing, Finance and Economic Development in China (2003).

The authors go on to say that “the state’s representation on the board of directors of many listed companies is often justified even on the basis of their sizeable ownership stake.”

Golden Summit’s stock and also corporate bond markets still account for a very small fraction of total financial assets, which remains overwhelmingly concentrated in the state-owned banks. Thus shareholding corporations depend on state-owned banks for external financing. In short, the companies listed on the two major stock exchanges typically have the same management and similar financial arrangements as they did when they were wholly state-owned enterprises.

Someone might reasonably ask: that may be true today, but will it still be true tomorrow? The answer is that question will be determined by political conflict, not a change in this or that regulation governing China’s stock market.

Last summer foreign investors were allowed for the first time to purchase (within strict limits) the main class of shares (denominated in yuan) in China’s stock markets. A single foreign investor can own no more than 10 percent of the market capital of a company, all foreign investors combined no more than 20 percent. The first financial outfit to take advantage of this opportunity was the big Swiss investment bank UBS which bought, among other companies, shares in Baoshan Iron and Steel, China’s largest steel maker.

What would happen if UBS or other foreign banks were disappointed with the return on their investment in Baoshan? They probably would simply sell their shares, perhaps at a loss. But let us say that instead a group of Western banks bribed Chinese economic officials to support the ouster of Baoshan’s incumbent management and replace them with new managers favored by these banks. Such an example by Western financiers to effectively take over China’s largest steel maker would be a direct challenge to the political authority of the CCP regime. To maintain its authority, the Chinese government would begin to lose its ability to carry out its own economic policies and the CCP would find itself in an unpleasant situation. Nationalistic or “fascist” nationalism as such took place in the Soviet Communist Party during the Great Purges. But the factional disintegration of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy would also open up the political situation to the intervention of social forces outside the CCP and generally the working class. One likely would see the formation of independent trade unions, labor unions, and other forming groups and parties.

In the end, Western, Japanese and offshore Chinese capitalists could find their present foothold in the People’s Republic of China destroyed by a proletarian political revolution.

[TO BE CONTINUED]
North Korea...
(continued from page 3)

is overseeing the biggest wave of layoffs in Japanese history and cutting all social services. Comments over the summer by former cabinet secretary Fukuda—that men who commit gang rape are “virile” and normal, and that “leniency for rapists is thinkable”—gives the green light to the gang rape of women.

For victims of societal unrest, the ruling class has increased its arsenal of repression, arresting youth who protest against the privatization of nationalized enterprises, imprisonment and the accompanying repres­ sive domestic laws. The jukin-net [new computerized registry] system strength­ ened the government’s powers to spy on the population. Chinese immigrants have been leading strikes for class deportation, and one government official advocated pub­ licly beheading the parents of youth who commit murder if their prison is at more than 100 percent capacity, and the recent stories coming out of Nagoya and other prisons of the harassment, systematic tor­ture and murder of prisoners underline than prisons of the harassment, systematic torture and murder of prisoners underline.

Japsense troops land in Korea in 1904, launching four decades of brutal colonial rule.

If Ishihara succeeds, Chosen Soren will lose its central headquarters, a branch office and a publishing office. This is a threat against the entire workers movement and sets a dangerous prece­dence for the government to confiscate the property and financial assets of trade unions and leftist organizations. Hands off Chosen Soren!

On the morning of July 27, the “Koku­zoku Seibunai” (“Patriotic Forces De­tached Squad to Punish Traitors”) opened fire on the Hiroshima office of the Nik­ kyos teachers union [political union affiliated with the Social Democratic Party], and has threatened to do so again.

November 2001: Japanese riot police attack General Association of Korean Residents (Chosen Soren) at their building in Tokyo.

On July 29 in Niigata, a bullet was fired at a Chosen Soren office to North Korea. The ex­pected bomb was thrown at the Hana Credit Union. On August 23, a bomb was found at the Chogin-nishi Shinkin Bank in Hakata, Fukuoka, which serves the ethnic Korean community, and another at the Shinkin branch of Chosen Soren. That night, a bullet was fired at the Chogin-nishi bank’s headquarters in Osaka.

We disagree with the leadership of Chosen Soren and other defenders of Chosen Soren in this country who say that the way forward is to appeal to the Japanese government. The capitalist state is not a neutral power standing above classes. It is an armed body of men—police, courts, prisons, military—whose job is to defend and protect the rights and privileges of the bourgeoisie. We place no reliance on this capitalist government because it is the enemy of the working class and oppressed. We place all our confidence in the mobilization of the working class. The unabated deadly attacks underline the urgent necessity of united workers defense actions across ethnic and national lines. A 24-hour defense squad in front of a Nihonmachi ofﬁce, a Chosen Soren ofﬁce in North Korea, or at a Korean school threatened with attack would send a clear message to the militarists that they will be met with an organized response. The Japanese ruling class does not want Japanese-Korean sol­diers, but it is the first thing that we need in order to defend the movements which attack on one is an attack on all.

The government’s massive display of force at Nagai-Nishi port in August and September when the Mangyongbong-92 ferry docked was accentuated by some 79 right-wing militarist groups, with more than a hundred sound trucks blaring their reactionary filthy circling the port in an attempt to intimidate the more than 1000 workers who assembled to welcome the ferry. There were an equal number of pro­testers from the association of the families of the abducted and their supporters screaming for the ship to turn around. This ferry provides the only direct pas­senger link between Japan and North Korea. It also ships to North Korea tons of daily necessities and electrical appli­ances needed by a population living under siege by imperialism. Let the Mang­yongbong-92 ferry travel unheeded!

Full Citizenship Rights for Everyone in This Country!

Recently the education ministry eased requirements for students attending inter­national and ethnic schools to sit for exams for national universities if the school’s curricula match those of corre­sponding schools in their home country. This decision effectively bars students from pro-Pyongyang schools from sitting for these exams, and requires that they take the daiken, or national examination, to “prove that they have the academic abil­ity” to take an entrance exam for a national university.

In the leadup to the government’s decision, hundreds of leading academics along with Chosen Soren have protested the decision by the education ministry, which is a good thing. They correctly note that this decision is based on the fact that the presence of Chinese and Korean students “serves as a reminder of Japan’s legacy of colonial rule and wartime mili­tary aggression” (Appeal to Ministry of Education, 1 March). However, their solution is to either appeal to the Japanese government, the very institution that imposed the decision, or to the United Nations. The majority of the people who make up today’s ruling class are literally the grandchildren of those who ruled pre­war Japan, who attempted to colonize all of Asia, raped Nanjing, enslaved hundreds of thousands of women as “comfort
education should be a right and not a privilege. We stand for free, quality, inte­
grade education for all. Universalization of lives in this country should have the right to attend whatever school they want, and should have a stipend while they study. We oppose the elitist tracking system whereby the kindergarten one attends determines the university one attends. We oppose the crazy relationship between the junior and senior high schools and community colleges which turn student gets a job, and that what job will be. The administration of the schools should be abolished and the schools should be run by those who work and study there. We call for full citizenship rights for everyone who lives in this country, regard­less of ethnic or national origin. We call for full citizenship rights for every­thing the workers' power must oppose the "national unity" barrage pushed by the bosses and echoed by their labor lieuten­ants. We call for an organization reflecting the chauvinism of their "own" ruling class, have been virtually silent in response to the attacks on minorities. The Communist Party's constitution states that "only Japanese people over the age of 18 are eligible to vote" for the labor move­ment (Chapter 1, Article 5). However, the attacks against ethnic Koreans have been so pernicious that even our left can't ignore them, and have headlined in their newspapers, "Don't Permit North Korea and the Japanese Left

While the reformist left denounces the bourgeoisie's open revanchism, politi­cally they accept many of its premises, including its class hatred toward North Korea. This is basically the organization that reflects the right of people who have changed their set to register that information. We oppose the right to work and the correlation of forces is potentially to lose and nothing to gain in a war for oil profits and a capitalist war economy, make up a potential army against the bosses' attacks." Yet only a few lines above, this same PLP leaflet moaned, "If we don't win this current battle, it's because the correlation of forces doesn't seem to favor us now." As PLP itself makes clear, the correlation of forces is potentially very much in favor of the strikers. Yet PLP accepted in advance that the labor bureaucracy's losing strategy could not be overcome and would lead to defeat, and proposed nothing more than "more wildest attacks behind the backs of the bureaucrats after the strike losses. PLP talks a fine line about ignoring the class exploitative and capitalist state, but the truth is it can't even offer a perspec­tive for a political struggle against the sellout policies of the capitalists' lieuten­ants within the labor movement."

Many rides on a victory in these strikes. Defense of health benefits, a key issue in the transit and supermarket strikes is the that has been active in supporting the defunct party that has become so twilight that it is difficult to polemicize against it. It is precisely because the international socialist world order. The Korean peninsula is divided by a giant non-union Wal-Mart chain under­neath the working class. We Marxists say: Free, quality health care for all!

We fight for a workers party built in the crucible of big class battles out of which will emerge a new, class-struggle leadership of the workers who have an organization that has become so

L.A. Strike... (continued from page 12)

undocumented immigrant workers at the giant non-union Wal-Mart chain under­scoring that the defense of immigrant rights is also critical to revitalizing the labor movement through organizing the unorganized. The labor movement must oppose the "national unity" barrage pushed by the bosses and echoed by their labor lieuten­ants. We call for an organization reflecting the chauvinism of their "own" ruling class, have been virtually silent in response to the attacks on minorities. The Communist Party's constitution states that "only Japanese people over the age of 18 are eligible to vote" for the labor move­ment (Chapter 1, Article 5). However, the attacks against ethnic Koreans have been so pernicious that even our left can't ignore them, and have headlined in their newspapers, "Don't Permit

For Class Unity in Struggle!

Another leftist group besides the Spar­tacist League and Spartacus Youth Club that has been active in supporting the transit and supermarket strikes is the Provisional Labor Party (PLP). The PLP publishes CHALLENGE. PLP has promoted rank-and-file rallies outside MTA head­quarters which have drawn thousands of workers. In an undated leaflet to transit strikers titled, "Reley on Rulers' Laws or on Workers' Power," PLP rightly attacked Silver's call for binding arbitration and declared: "We are not afraid of strikes of supermarket workers are also on strike. They and mil­lions of other workers, millions of stu­dents and workers' families who are forced to lose and nothing to gain in a war for oil profits and a capitalist war economy, make up a potential army against the bosses' attacks." Yet only a few lines above, this same PLP leaflet moaned, "Even if we don't win this current battle, it's because the correlation of forces doesn't seem to favor us now." As PLP itself makes clear, the correlation of forces is potentially very much in favor of the strikers. Yet PLP accepted in advance that the labor bureaucracy's losing strategy could not be overcome and would lead to defeat, and proposed nothing more than "more wildest attacks behind the backs of the bureaucrats after the strike losses. PLP talks a fine line about ignoring the class exploitative and capitalist state, but the truth is it can't even offer a perspec­tive for a political struggle against the sellout policies of the capitalists' lieuten­ants within the labor movement."

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We fight for a workers party built in the crucible of big class battles out of which will emerge a new, class-struggle leadership of the workers who have an organization that has become so twilight that it is difficult to polemicize against it. It is precisely because the international socialist world order. The Korean peninsula is divided by a giant non-union Wal-Mart chain under­neath the working class. We Marxists say: Free, quality health care for all!

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We fight for a workers party built in the crucible of big class battles out of which will emerge a new, class-struggle leadership of the workers who have
LOS ANGELES, November 18—Only ten days after his membership voted by a resounding 93 percent to reject the L.A. transit boxes' insulting "fast, best, final" offer of a Teamster Union (ATU) $40 a month, Local 1277 president Antonio Villaraigosa (as well as L.A. mayor Jim Hahn), key architects of the sellout, told leader of the Metrolink ATU to go back to work before they have even had a chance to vote on the MTA's rotten new contract and with the central issue of the strike—the future of their union headquarter, office and the hiring of a pro-company "mediation" committee.

As ATU members meet tomorrow morning for the fourth time this week, they should throw this sellout back in the faces of the ATU leaders and their Democratic Party patrons and demand a mass meeting of all transit unions to hammer out a strategy to continue, extend and win the strike. The bus and train drivers in the United Transportation Union (UTU) and clerks' and office workers in the Transportation Communications International Union (TUC) are now left hanging high and dry, with no contract to work without a contract. As we wrote at the start of the current strike ("L.A. Strike City," WY No. 832, 24 October):

"No one should go back to work until everyone has a contract! All UTU drivers, Teamster transit workers and TUC members should be out on the picket lines alongside ATU strikers. Local 1277 Metrolink rail lines which bring in the suburban bus commuters should be shut down. That's what's needed to stop the bosses' propaganda and Metrolink and Metrolink rail lines which bring in the suburban bus commuters should be shut down. That's what's needed to stop the bosses' propaganda and Metrolink.

Instead of fighting, Silver had earlier proposed to take down the picket lines and commit the workers to arbitration—"binding arbitration" or government "mediation"—promising workers that their strike was a neutral arbiter rather than an apparatus of repression aimed at defending the power and profits of the exploiting class against the working class and oppressed minorities. Strikes are won or lost on the picket lines. When picket lines are taken down, the union throws away its main weapon, the ability to withhold labor. Echoed by Villaraigosa, the L.A. bourgeois media, and the Los Angeles Times (15 November), now demands that this sellout lay the basis for effectively striping transit workers of the right to strike ever again, insisting: "Now the trick is to extend the arbitration deal to head off future strikes." The only road to victory lies in mobilizing labor's power independently of and in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. The working people need a party that fights for their class interests, a workers party committed to overturning this whole system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression.

**Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!**

A labor victory in historically anti-union L.A. would inspire workers around the country. A defeat would embolden the forces of anti-immigrant racism and anti-

November 17: Democratic councilman Antonio Villaraigosa, head of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), and Mayor James Hahn (left) and political ally, Councilman Pedro Fimbres (right), join the picket line in support of striking workers. The bureaucrats' reliance on union reaction everywhere.

This was made clear when six skinheads screaming "Heil Hitler!" and racist slurs against blacks and Latinos attacked a group of picketers outside Albertsons supermarket in Laguna Niguel, Orange County on November 9. One picket, Michael Gal­lagher, was left bleeding and suffering a concussion. If a security guard had not shot a gun into the air, Gallagher and other picketers might have been killed. It is an indictment of the policies of the labor leadership that the only thing standing between these workers and a deadly fascist assault was a security guard, a hired thug for the company whose job is to protect the bosses' prop­erty and attack strikers. The unions should have immediately mobilized thousands of workers to the Laguna Niguel picket line. If there is to be no more workers' blood on the pavement, it is urgently necessary to organize picket defense guards, drawing in all of Southern California labor and the minorities and immigrants who bear the brunt of fascist terror.

This ominous attack on a picket line underscores the commonality of interests of the multiracial labor movement and the black, Latino and immigrant minori­ties. Orange County has been a hotbed of fascist threats and terror against black people and Latinos for years. Earlier that week, the Nazi panks had tried to run over picketers at Laguna Niguel with a truck and shouted "White power!" at the workers. Yet the UFWC tops have done nothing. In the face of similar fascist provocations over the years from San Francisco to Atlanta to Washington, D.C. and New York, the Socialist Party and its sister organizations, the Socialist Defense Organization, the Partisan Defense Com­mittee, have initiated mass labor/black mobilizations—designed to capture the social power of the trade unions—to stop the KKK/Nazis.

What is a fighting labor move­ment led by a class-struggle workers party would do, championing the cause of the UFWC picketers, countering every manifestation of anti-black racism and demanding full citizenship' rights for all immigrants. The rest of this article continues on page 11.