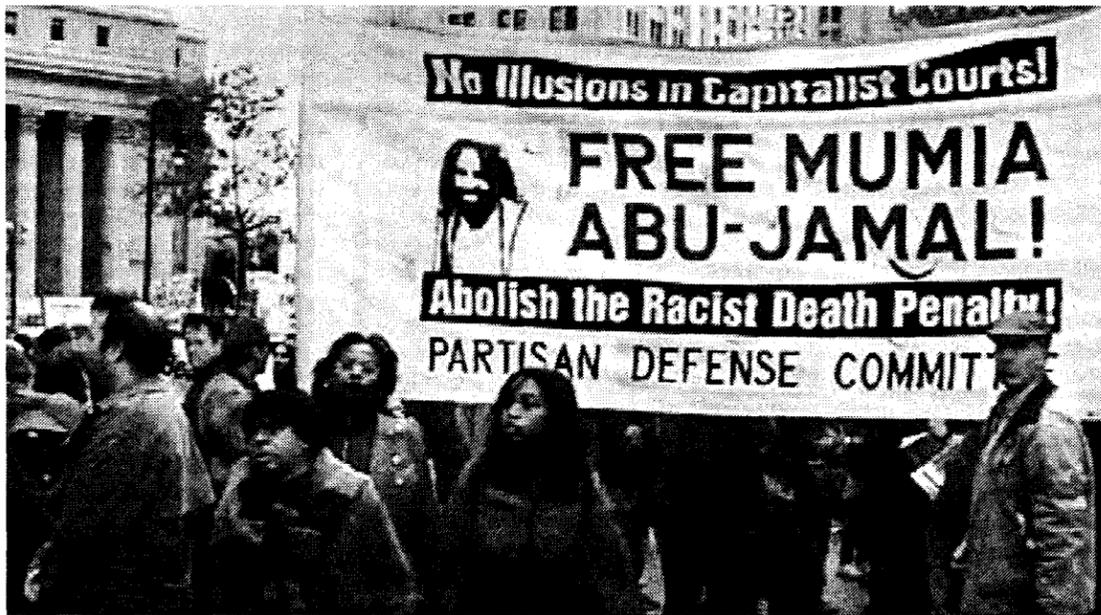


There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!



WV Photos
PDC-initiated mobilization that drove KKK out of New York City on October 23 showed the labor/black power needed in fight for Mumia's freedom.

Mumia Abu-Jamal's fight for freedom is at a critical stage. In the next few weeks, Pennsylvania federal court judge William Yohn is expected to rule on Jamal's *habeas corpus* petition to overturn his 1982 frame-up conviction and death sentence. If Yohn rules against Jamal, Governor Ridge will most certainly sign an execution warrant. Spearheaded by the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), the forces of racist "law and order" represented by both capitalist parties, the Republicans and Democrats, are itching to see this innocent man strapped to the execution gurney. They want this outspoken fighter against racist injustice, who has become the focus of international opposition to the racist and barbaric death penalty in the U.S., silenced forever.

But there are millions of working people, black people, students and others in this country and around the world who want to see Mumia free and the U.S. death penalty abolished. His case has become a clarion call for those fighting cop terror and racist injustice. In defiance of F.O.P. threats, Antioch College students featured a speech by Mumia at last week's graduation. In the coming weeks, many people will be making their voices heard in marches and protests for Mumia from New York and Philadelphia to the San Francisco Bay Area. It is essential that the largest numbers possible turn out for these protests. The Spartacist League

and Partisan Defense Committee will be marching to demand: *Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

These are *not*, however, the demands raised by the liberal and reformist "socialist" organizers of the upcoming protests. Instead, the protest calls are restricted to the demands "Stop the execution!" and "New trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal!" or "The evidence must be heard!" Evidence has been heard, time and again, mountains of evidence proving Mumia's innocence. Mumia should not have spent a single day in prison; he should be freed now. As we wrote at the time of last year's April 24 "Millions for Mumia" marches in Philadelphia and the Bay Area, "Behind the call for a new trial is a political program premised on the belief that the capitalist state can be reformed and that the bourgeois courts can be pressured to be 'just'" (WV No. 711, 16 April 1999).

There is no justice in the capitalist courts! That truth was brought home with a vengeance two months ago, when the four NYPD cops who gunned down Amadou Diallo in a hail of 41 bullets were acquitted in an Albany court. The killer cops walked because by the standards of bourgeois justice they had committed no crime but were simply "doing their job"—which is to enforce racist "law and order" for the capitalist rulers against the ghetto and barrio masses. Meanwhile, other major cities—from Philly and Pittsburgh to Chicago and Los Angeles—have been rocked by exposures showing that racist cop terror and court frame-ups are endemic to this system.

Amid seething anger over police killings in New York and around the country, black Democrats like Al Sharpton

have scrambled to defuse the outrage and channel it into liberal police "reform" schemes and Democratic Party electoral politics. The calls for the upcoming protests are likewise designed to refurbish illusions in this system of racist *injustice*. The Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal declares, "Let us insist that when the judicial process is perverted to violate fundamental rights, the government intervene to ensure equal justice before the law."

The purpose of such liberal appeals is to build a class-collaborationist bloc based on "common ground" with Democratic Party politicians who administer the apparatus of capitalist state repression. Refuse & Resist!, one of the protest sponsors, made this clear in an 18 January Internet posting reporting the conclusions of a delegation that met with Justice Department officials that month: "Our task now is to broaden and deepen the international campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal with a focus on President Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno.... We must say to them: the evidence is in your hands. The time has come to act."

Reno—who ordered the 1993 Waco massacre which slaughtered more than

80 men, women and children in an integrated religious commune! Clinton—who consigned millions of poor and minority women and children to homelessness and starvation by axing welfare, who enacted the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act vastly expanding use of the death penalty and gutting the right of *habeas corpus* for Jamal and 3,500 other death row prisoners! Even the Rehnquist Supreme Court, which has launched one judicial assault after another on the rights of prisoners, recently issued a series of rulings allowing for some exercise of the right of *habeas corpus*. And while Clinton adamantly rejects a federal moratorium on the death penalty, the exposure of frame-ups which sent one innocent man after another to death row compelled even the Republican governor of Illinois to put the state murder machine there on hold. Five of the 13 released from Illinois' death row in recent years were proved innocent only because they were able to get DNA tests.

Appeals to capitalist politicians like Clinton only serve to chain fighters for Mumia's freedom to the capitalist class enemy and to contain the struggle within

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Young Spartacus

Noam Chomsky: Imperialism's "Armchair Anarchist"

SEE PAGE 7



Feds' Raid Snatches Elián

U.S. Imperialism and Miami's *Gusanos*

On April 22, federal agents stormed the house of Elián González' kidnapers, snatching the kid and reuniting him with his father and stepmother near Washington, D.C. While most Americans are probably just relieved not to have to watch "all Elián, all the time" TV anymore, Republicans and some Democrats and the capitalist media are up in arms about whether Attorney General Reno used "too much force" and further traumatized the little boy, who since his rescue at sea last fall has become the poster child for both sides of the ruling-class debate over how to undermine the Cuban deformed workers state. No doubt Elián was terrorized by cops in body armor armed with automatic weapons storming the house in the middle of the night, but by the violent standards of the U.S. capitalist class, particularly when it targets black and working people, the three-minute Miami raid was actually pretty tame.

The Feds justified their "overwhelming show of force" as necessary because "intelligence reports indicated that the house was being guarded by a shadowy network of men who had permits to carry concealed weapons, a history of violent crime or a record of anti-Castro violence," including "members of the militant anti-Castro group Alpha 66" (*New York Times*, 28 April). Well, they ought to know! Alpha 66 and other counterrevolutionary terrorist groups operating out of Miami have been funded and trained by the U.S. government for decades, as part of its unending drive to destroy the Cuban Revolution and restore capitalism.

The whole fiasco, from day one, was set up by the U.S. government. Elián González ought to have been returned to his father in Cuba immediately. But for political (i.e., capitalist propaganda) reasons, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which imprisons and deports black Haitian and Dominican as

well as Chinese immigrants daily, gave the photogenic little Cuban boy a much different treatment, handing him over to his great-uncle's clan of rabid counter-revolutionary *gusanos* (worms) without even a hearing. However, things got out of hand in Miami, the negotiations soured, and the whole arrangement with the *gusanos* blew up in Reno's face. Having created a mess, the Feds after months of dithering resorted to the bourgeoisie's usual heavy-handed methods, sending in the INS thugs in riot gear and armed with assault weapons to grab the kid.

Although Elián has been removed from the clutches of the Miami horde, the fact is that he and his family, sequestered in Maryland at the government-owned Wye Plantation estate, are still held captive in the United States while waiting for the courts to rule on the appeal of the "asylum request" by Elián's *gusano* relatives. Elián and his father have been through enough at the hands of the U.S. government and their anti-Communist fanatics. Let the González family return to Cuba now!

As every resident of America's ghettos and barrios knows, the usual result when the U.S. government storms your house with automatic weapons is very different than what happened in Miami. Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, shotgunned to death in their beds by the Chicago police and FBI in 1969 as part of the government's massive, brutal drive to wipe out fighters for black freedom—that's the norm in this country. Now, the dispatch of a thousand Marines to Vieques in Puerto Rico threatens a very bloody attack on opponents of U.S. imperialism's military bases on that island. That the toll of injuries in Miami amounts to a couple of bruises reflects the kid-glove treatment long accorded to the counterrevolutionary Miami Cuban community.

These Miami *gusanos*, the Cuban capitalist class and their hangers-on who fled the revolution with their money and anti-

Communist obsessions, have for 40 years been the pets of the U.S. government, regularly working as assassins for the CIA throughout Latin America for the promise that the U.S. will install them as the ruling class again if Cuba is reconquered for capitalism. If restored to power, the *gusanos* would wreak bloody vengeance, slaughtering workers and peasants, and especially Communist Party members. But feeling their status threatened by the turn of a wing of the U.S. rulers toward a policy of "constructive engagement" with Castro as a more effective way to undermine the Cuban deformed workers state through investment, cheap consumer goods and fomenting internal counterrevolution, the *gusanos'* level of hysteria has risen.

The Cuban counterrevolutionaries came to the U.S. complete with their own ruling class. They have been given the run of Miami for decades, replicating in "Little Havana" a microcosm of what Cuba was like before the revolution, with all the attendant corruption, racism and religious obscurantism. Having been coddled by the U.S. ruling class for so long, the *gusanos* literally don't get what country they're living in, and are widely perceived as an alien irritant on the American body politic. In the Elián case, their *hubris* got a little out of hand as they blatantly flouted the authority of the federal government: rabid *gusano* Miami mayor Joseph Carollo openly vowed to defy the Feds. After the raid he fired the city manager for refusing to sack the police chief (who resigned the next day), who had failed to alert the mayor of the planned raid. The police chief had also had the temerity to arrest several hundred rioters the day after the raid. The government's raid was a reminder by the American bourgeoisie to the Miami *gusanos* of who's the boss and who pays the bills.

The hypocrisy of the racist U.S. ruling class

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Imperialism and Its "Labor Lieutenants"

The chauvinist protectionism of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in the U.S. and the Labourite union tops in Britain stems from their role as agents for their respective bourgeoisies inside the labor movement. Writing in the midst of the inter-imperialist World War I, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin pointed to the material basis for this labor bureaucracy, which derives its privileges from a small share of the superprofits gained by the



TROTSKY



LENIN

major capitalist powers through their subjugation of the backward countries. The Bolsheviks' political struggle against pro-imperialist social-chauvinism was critical in mobilizing the Russian proletariat to seize power in the October Revolution of 1917.

The bourgeoisie of an imperialist "Great" Power can economically bribe the upper strata of "its" workers by spending on this a hundred million or so francs a year, for its superprofits most likely amount to about a thousand million. And how this little sop is divided among the labour ministers, "labour representatives" (remember Engels's splendid analysis of the term), labour members of war industries committees, labour officials, workers belonging to the narrow craft unions, office employees, etc., etc., is a secondary question.

Between 1848 and 1868, and to a certain extent even later, only England enjoyed a monopoly: that is why opportunism could prevail there for decades. No other countries possessed either very rich colonies or an industrial monopoly.

The last third of the nineteenth century saw the transition to the new, imperialist era. Finance capital not of one, but of several, though very few, Great Powers enjoys a monopoly. (In Japan and Russia the monopoly of military power, vast territories, or special facilities for robbing minority nationalities, China, etc., partly supplements, partly takes the place of, the monopoly of modern, up-to-date finance capital.) This difference explains why England's monopoly position could remain unchallenged for decades. The monopoly of modern finance capital is being frantically challenged; the era of imperialist wars has begun. It was possible in those days to bribe and corrupt the working class of one country for decades. This is now improbable, if not impossible. But on the other hand, every imperialist "Great" Power can and does bribe smaller strata (than in England in 1848-68) of the "labour aristocracy"....

The fact is that "bourgeois labour parties," as a political phenomenon, have already been formed in all the foremost capitalist countries, and that unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged all along the line against these parties—or groups, trends, etc., it is all the same—there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a socialist labour movement.

—V.I. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism" (October 1916)

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5 May 2000

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Twenty-Fifth Anniversary

Vietnam Was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!



Foreign Languages Press



WV Photo

Heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants inflicted stunning battlefield defeat against U.S. imperialism. Spartacists fought for victory to the Vietnamese Revolution.

In celebrating the 25th anniversary of the military victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism and its South Vietnamese puppet forces, we reprint an excerpt from our statement hailing the entry of the North Vietnamese military and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front into Saigon on 30 April 1975 ("Capitalist Class Rule Smashed in Vietnam, Cambodia!" WV No. 68, 9 May 1975). This was a victory for the exploited and oppressed internationally, serving to stay the hand of blood-soaked American imperialism around the world. Today, the vengeful U.S. rulers seize on the anniversary for a vindictive display of imperialist arrogance, recirculating their lying war propaganda about Vietnamese "atrocities." In response to a rabid diatribe by Senator John McCain during his recent visit to Ho Chi Minh City, a Vietnamese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman bitterly stated: "It runs counter to the norms of morality that those people who brought bombs and shells to sow death among our people and wreak havoc with a country now pass themselves off as having the right to criticize their victims-cum-saviors."

In their relentless drive to strangle the Vietnamese Revolution, the U.S. rulers subjected the devastated country to an imperialist embargo. Washington helped

arm the genocidal Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge in Cambodia after his ouster by Vietnamese forces in 1979, which ended a reign, marked by mass murder and wholesale destruction of urban areas, that proved to be not even the most deformed type of workers state. Particularly following the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, which deprived Vietnam of an economic and military lifeline, the Hanoi Stalinist regime has responded to imperialist pressure by pursuing "market reforms" and inviting foreign investment. Today as before, it is the duty of the international proletariat to extend unconditional military defense to the Vietnamese deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

On April 30 the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the National Liberation Front (NLF) rode triumphantly into Saigon as leaders of the defeated puppet regime and the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie fled the country by every available means. The military victory of the DRV/NLF marks the end of 30 years of civil war against colonialism and imperialism and their local allies. It means the overthrow of capitalist rule in South Vietnam, a historic conquest for the working people of the entire world and one which must

be unconditionally defended by class-conscious workers against imperialist attack.

We hail this stunning defeat of U.S. imperialism, the first in a major war during this century, and greet the victory of our class brothers and sisters in Indochina with internationalist proletarian solidarity. The struggle against the imperialists' Vietnam war has also been a major task of socialists in the imperialist centers, dominating the political experience of a whole generation of young aspiring revolutionaries. And it is as fellow combatants in the international class struggle that we warn the Indochinese masses that they must place no confidence in their Stalinist leaders.

The victory in Vietnam, like that in Cambodia two weeks earlier when the Khmer Rouge took Phnom Penh, belongs to the heroic worker and peasant fighters in Indochina who have struggled resourcefully and tenaciously for decades in order to break the grip of imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation on the peninsula. But while a victorious social revolution has occurred, the struggle to establish revolutionary and internationalist workers states in the region is far from over. A phantom coalition with venal rightist generals and a playboy "neutralist" continues to "rule" in Vietnam, although it is clear to all that it

Telegram to Ho Chi Minh

This cablegram was sent on the day the U.S. air attacks against North Vietnam were begun:

Sunday, 7 February 1965

President Ho Chi Minh,
Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Hanoi, North Vietnam

Spartacist in fullest solidarity with defense of your country against attack by United States imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working people furthers the American revolution.

Spartacist Editorial Board

could be quickly eliminated by a resolute offensive of the Pathet Lao.

Meanwhile, in Cambodia and Vietnam (both North and South) political power is not in the hands of the working masses, expressed by democratic rule through soviets (workers councils) as was achieved by the Russian Revolution of 1917. Nor is there in Indochina today a Bolshevik party which could lead the revolutionary struggle forward by extending it internationally to the centers of world capitalism. The new Stalinist rulers in Phnom Penh and Saigon are as committed to the treacherous policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism as those in Moscow and Peking, or Hanoi and Havana.

Instead, what has been created in South Vietnam and Cambodia are *deformed worker states*, qualitatively equivalent to the degenerated workers state which emerged in Russia with the consolidation of the Stalin-led bureaucracy. The ruling bureaucracies of the deformed workers states are narrowly nationalist in outlook, attempting to balance precariously between imperialism and the working class. Based on the property forms of a workers state, they occasionally put up a limited and distorted defense of the social conquests achieved by the overthrow of capitalism in order to preserve their own privileged position.

But because their rule is based on the political expropriation of the working class, these petty-bourgeois bureaucratic castes are incapable of mobilizing the proletarian masses for an international revolutionary assault on the bastions of world capitalism, since it would simultaneously mean their own demise. The Stalinist rulers in Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh must be overthrown by a workers' political revolution led by a Trotskyist party in order to establish the organs of proletarian democracy and open the road to socialism. All Indochina Must Go Communist! ■

1985 MOVE Massacre: We Will Not Forget!

On 13 May 1985, the Philadelphia Police Department under black Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode—conspiring with the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and Ronald Reagan's White House—perpetrated racist mass murder against the MOVE organization, killing eleven black people, including five children, and setting an entire black neighborhood ablaze.

After hundreds of cops had laid siege to the MOVE home on Osage Avenue, firing thousands of rounds, a police helicopter dropped a bomb onto the house while a barrage of bullets forced those attempting to escape back inside the inferno. This act of calculated murder was the culmination of years of harassment, beatings, arrests and police assaults against MOVE members who only wanted to defend their rights to exist and practice their beliefs in Philadelphia.

The sole adult survivor of the attack, Ramona Africa, was then railroaded to prison for seven years. To this day, eight MOVE members still lan-

guish in prison, convicted on trumped-up charges following a 1978 cop assault on MOVE's former home in Powelton Village. Mumia Abu-Jamal courageously spoke out in MOVE's defense at the time and became a MOVE supporter. Mumia was railroaded to death row four years later, after an FBI/cop vendetta going back to the time when he was a spokesman for the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s. *Free Mumia! Free all the MOVE prisoners!*

Just as the racist murder of MOVE members in 1985 was the signature of the Republican Reagan administration, so the 1993 massacre of more than 80 men, women and children of the integrated Branch Davidian religious commune outside Waco, Texas remains the signature of the Democratic Clinton administration. As part of our struggle to build the multiracial workers party needed to lead the socialist revolution that will sweep away this entire racist capitalist system, we are committed to searing the memory of these atrocities into the consciousness of all working people and the oppressed.



UPI

Chinese Miners Revolt Against "Market Reforms"

**For Unconditional Military Defense of China Against
Imperialism, Capitalist Counterrevolution!**

For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust Stalinist Bureaucracy!

When reports of an uprising in late February by laid-off Chinese miners in the town of Yangjiazhangzi surfaced earlier this month, the capitalist media internationally expressed alarm over mounting labor struggles in China. An editorial in the *New York Times* (7 April), mouthpiece of the U.S. bourgeoisie, cynically acknowledged that "the current phase of selling off state factories and mines is creating hardships for many longtime employees" and lectured Beijing that it "should heed the message from Yangjiazhangzi." The imperialist rulers rightly see the resistance of the Chinese proletariat to the ravages of "market reforms" as the chief obstacle to their schemes for the capitalist reconquest of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state.

The scale of that working-class resistance was evident in the revolt by some 20,000 workers and their families in Yangjiazhangzi, located 250 miles northeast of Beijing. The upheaval began when workers at a huge state-owned molybdenum mine which had been shut down in November massed at the enterprise headquarters, demanding to speak to plant managers about their paltry severance pay—\$68 for every year of service in the mines. The managers failed to show up, and a speech by the town's mayor only infuriated the workers more. Miners and their families took to the streets, setting up barricades, burning cars, smashing the windows of government buildings and setting oil drums ablaze.

Authorities moved cautiously lest the workers decide to use the stock of dynamite in the mine to defend themselves. For two days, the workers battled the People's Armed Police, a force created in the mid-1980s specifically to put down growing social unrest. Finally, army units were brought in, firing live ammunition over protesters' heads and quelling the rebellion.

Sixty-eight dollars can barely support a family of three for a month even in this economically depressed region, yet workers also have to pay for their own pension benefits and health insurance out of that money. A man who worked in the mine for 35 years along with his wife estimates that their severance pay will last about ten months. "After that, what am I going to do? How are we going to eat?"

Last year, Chinese premier Zhu Rongji pointed to the mine as a prime example of a money-losing enterprise that would have to be shut down. But the mine is "unprofitable" only by the measure of a capitalist market. Molybdenum is a valuable metal used to toughen steel, and the mine's managers have been enriching themselves by taking over parts of the mine or piecing off other parts to their cronies. One worker bitterly recounted: "They have sold parts of the mine to their friends. They have sold all the mine's trucks. But we haven't seen this money.... They eat it and drink it away" (*Washington Post*, 5 April).

The deepening of "free market" measures is setting the stage for a monumental clash between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the proletarian and peasant masses. The Chinese Labor Ministry reports more than 120,000 labor disputes

last year—14 times more than 1992—from petitions to strikes (*Japan Times*, 25 April). A senior police official in the central province of Anhui reports that it is now common to see "workers collectively besieging enterprise leaders, hurling abuse at them, and even detaining them under duress." In December, a thousand miners fought with police and blocked a railway line in northern China to protest not having been paid in months. Around the same time, 2,000 retired steel workers in the southwestern city of Chongqing (Chungking) closed off the main road to the steel mill to protest cuts in pensions. In the vast rural hinterland, the immiseration of the poor peasantry, as a result of the decollectivization of agriculture in the late 1970s, and the growing class divide with the creation of a class of rich farmers have led to rampant attacks on tax collectors and other officials.

In its article on the Yangjiazhangzi revolt, the *Washington Post* wrote that it was "severe for a disturbance in a Chi-

chy and to place political power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants councils (soviets). The urgent task facing the Chinese proletariat is to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party as part of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International, to prepare and lead this political revolution, standing at the head of the masses and directing the spontaneous and localized workers' struggles toward the seizure of political power.

Since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the international proletariat has been thrown back economically and politically by the bourgeois onslaught and triumphalism over the so-called "death of communism." Proletarian political revolution in China—premised on defense of the planned, collectivized economy which is the social foundation of the workers state—would have a tremendous impact in reversing this assault, reverberating among the proletariat from Indonesia and South Korea to Japan—the industrial powerhouse of Asia—and the U.S. It



Wo-Lap Lam/Asiaweek

State-owned auto factory in China. Workers in state industry are in forefront of struggle against ravages of "market reforms."

nese city but was indicative of unrest bedeviling the Communist Party" and observed that "in the countryside, however, authorities appear more willing to order security services to smash protests and fire on demonstrators." This is a stark indication of the fragility of the bureaucratic caste in the face of an aroused proletariat, which has already shown its potential to win over entire sections of the conscript army of the deformed workers state in struggle against the Stalinist regime. When the working people entered into the student demonstrations, centered on Tiananmen Square in May-June 1989, marking an incipient political revolution, both officers and ranks of numerous People's Liberation Army regiments refused orders to suppress the protests, forcing the regime to bring in other units to crush the workers' uprising.

The bureaucracy which is paving the way for capitalist counterrevolution is simultaneously preparing the ground for a new revolutionary proletarian explosion—not a social revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949 but a political revolution to oust the parasitic ruling oligar-

would revive the working people of Russia who have been ground down by nearly a decade of capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, a revolutionary China of workers and peasants councils would face virulently hostile imperialist reaction. The International Communist League fights to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, to lead the overthrow of capitalist class rule internationally, smashing the imperialist system and laying the material basis for the development of China in a socialist Asia.

China on the Brink

Some of the Yangjiazhangzi miners understand that their layoffs and looming impoverishment stem from the "market reforms" imposed by the Beijing regime, which are undermining the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. That revolution liberated the country from capitalist exploitation and imperialist subjugation, ushering in a planned, collectivized economy which guaranteed workers lifetime employment and social benefits—the "iron rice bowl." State enterprises provide workers not only with a liveli-

hood but with housing, medical care and schooling for their families. Thus the privatization, closure or retrenchment of state-owned factories, mines and other enterprises threatens workers with utter destitution. "We miners have been working here for China, for the Communist Party, since the revolution," said one worker. "And now suddenly my part of the mine is private." These workers understand that such state property belongs to the working people. Who gave the managers the right to sell it off?

It is crucial to understand that the 1949 Revolution was deformed from its inception under the rule of Mao Zedong's bureaucracy, patterned after the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR which usurped power in a political counterrevolution in 1924. Mao's regime excluded the proletariat from political power and based itself on Stalin's nationalist dogma of building "socialism in a single country." That meant accommodation to world imperialism and opposition to the struggle for socialist revolution in other countries. This nationalist perspective is expressed today in the Stalinist regime's embrace of the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie in the name of forging a "greater China."

The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a possessing class but a parasitic caste: resting on the proletarian property forms, the bureaucracy simultaneously acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of the capitalist world market on the deformed workers state. In response to those imperialist pressures, which have sharply increased following capitalist restoration in the former Soviet Union, the bureaucracy has expanded the "market reforms" initiated by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s. Recently, the pace of privatization and retrenchment of state-owned enterprises has accelerated in anticipation of entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO), a move which if implemented would open China to a greater degree of import competition from Western and Japanese multinationals and also to foreign investment in certain industries. We fight against imperialist penetration of the Chinese deformed workers state and defend the state monopoly of foreign trade.

Writing of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), Leon Trotsky noted: "It continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat." Faced with boiling anger at the base, the Beijing bureaucracy has trod warily, imprisoning or even executing some officials for blatant corruption and occasionally reversing some of its own proposed "free market" measures. An article in the *New York Times* (16 April) on a joint venture between Volkswagen and the Shanghai municipal government complained:

"China continues to shelter many of its industries from true competition, in turn perpetuating too many factories and poor management. Though the government warns that China's state-owned companies must prepare for global competition, most sectors of the economy remain stuck in their socialist past."

The U.S. and the other major capitalist powers are intent on a capitalist counterrevolution which would entail the suppression of the Chinese proletariat in blood and the smashing of the Communist Party-dominated state apparatus. To that end, while pursuing "constructive engagement" with the Beijing regime with the aim of furthering economic penetration, Washington brandishes its military might against China and sponsors a range of forces—from the CIA's "Free Tibet" crowd to pro-imperialist "dissidents"—aimed at fomenting counterrevolution from within. The U.S. is proposing a "theater missile defense" in East Asia which would target the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states in the first instance, and has maintained capitalist Taiwan over the past 50 years as a bulwark against China.

The Trotskyist ICL fights for the unconditional military defense of China and the other deformed workers states—North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. As stated in the ICL's "Declara-

tion of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

"Our position flows from the proletarian class character of these states, embodied in the collectivized property relations—nationalized property, planned economy, monopoly of foreign trade and banking, etc.—established by social revolutions that destroyed capitalism. Despite the bureaucratic deformations of these states, our defense of them against the class enemy is unconditional, i.e., it does not depend on the prior overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracies, nor does it depend upon the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict."

Beware Imperialism's Labor Front Men!

A key role in U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary drive is played by the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, whose anti-Communist operations against militant unions in Latin America, South Korea and elsewhere earned it the epithet "AFL-CIA" throughout the Third World. This goes hand in hand with the labor tops' class collaboration in the U.S., where they act as the capitalists' political police inside the unions.

In East Europe and the former USSR, these "labor lieutenants" of American imperialism promoted and helped organize "free trade unions" as battering rams for capitalist restoration. In the early 1980s, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy acted as a conduit to fund Polish Solidarność, a phony "union" which spearheaded capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe. Later, in the Soviet Union, AFL-CIO operatives sought to channel working-class discontent over Mikhail Gorbachev's market-oriented *perestroika* "reforms" into support to anti-Communist demagogue Boris Yeltsin. Yeltsin's pro-imperialist coup in August 1991 culminated over the following months, in the absence of mass working-class resistance, in capitalist counterrevolution.

Capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe, prepared by decades of Stalinist misrule, has brought mass unemployment, falling life expectancy, increasing immiseration and social degradation. It has also emboldened the imperialist exploiters in attacking the working people and minorities in the U.S. and other capitalist countries. It is in the direct class interest of the proletariat in the U.S. and internationally to oppose the imperialists' drive to reconquer China for capitalist exploitation.

The American labor tops are trying to repeat in China the scenario played out in East Europe and the ex-USSR. A key agency in this regard is the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS). According to one of its Washington paymasters, the National Endowment for Democracy, in China the ACILS has "helped labor groups and underground activists educate workers about their rights"—i.e., organizing counterrevolutionary "free trade unions." Meanwhile, back home the AFL-CIO tops are in the vanguard of protectionist and anti-Communist opposition to China's entry into the WTO, joining with liberal Democrats, right-wing Republicans and incipient clerical-fascist Pat Buchanan.

It won't be easy for the "AFL-CIA" to sell American "free enterprise" to Chinese workers. Many workers in East Europe and the former Soviet Union bought the lie peddled by the likes of Yeltsin and Solidarność leader Lech Walesa that "free market" capitalism would bring unparalleled prosperity and living standards comparable to West Europe and North America. But many Chinese workers have *already experienced the miseries of "free market" exploitation*, slaving in large plants owned by Western and Japanese firms and offshore Chinese businessmen or in sweatshop operations often run by native-born exploiters, where conditions are generally far worse than those in state-owned enterprises.

A major concentration of privately owned factories producing textiles, clothing and other light manufactures is located in the Pearl River delta in Guangdong province opposite Hong

Kong. Workers in the "Special Economic Zones" (SEZs), mainly young women from the countryside, slave in these factories 12 hours a day, seven days a week. Their salary is often withheld for the first six months and forfeited altogether if they leave before a year! China's laws stipulate that overtime is limited to 36 hours a week and must be paid at a rate 50 percent higher than regular time. But the bosses in these factories openly flout the country's labor laws, bribing government officials for this privilege. Such conditions are only a small taste of what the Chinese masses would face under capitalist rule, which would qualitatively extend and deepen the exploitation and immiseration now being experienced by workers in the SEZs.

It is telling that even anti-Communist "dissidents" feel compelled to criticize "free market" capitalism in order to gain



Peter Tunley

Entry of working class into student protests in Tiananmen Square, 1989, signaled incipient proletarian political revolution.

a sympathetic hearing from Chinese workers. A prime example is Han Dongfang, a Hong Kong-based "labor organizer" with a regular program on the CIA-funded Radio Free Asia. Han denounces the Clinton administration *from the right* for "de-linking trade from human rights issues." Yet this bellicose anti-Communist hypocritically pays lip service to the intense hostility among Chinese workers to privatizing the economy, writing that he does not believe "large-scale and rapid privatisation is the only way forward for the reform process" (*China Labour Bulletin*, September/October 1997).

Han and his ilk posture as defenders of the economic interests of the Chinese workers, condemning the official All-China Federation of Trade Unions for failing to defend the workers. Indeed, this adjunct of the Stalinist bureaucracy does not defend the interests of Chinese workers. But what Han stands for is the smashing of the Chinese deformed workers state and the introduction of brutal capitalist exploitation throughout the country.

Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

A proletarian political revolution will begin under the banner of struggles against social inequality and political oppression, as in 1989. The struggle for freedom of the trade unions—based on the defense of socialized property—as well as for the right of assembly and freedom of the press, will unfold as part of the fight for soviet democracy, for the formation of workers councils opposing the bureaucratic parasites and suppressing counterrevolutionary elements. The central question is that of revolutionary leadership, which can only be resolved by forging a Leninist-Trotskyist party to bring revolutionary socialist consciousness to the working class. Such a party would combat Han chauvinism and imbue the proletariat with the understanding that it must fight for the interests of all the oppressed—from women to homosexuals to the poor peasantry and migrant workers.

Workers in the state sector, currently in the forefront of the labor struggles, constitute a majority of the Chinese proletariat. But two-thirds of the population still lives in the countryside as peasant smallholders or is otherwise engaged in the agricultural economy. The working class cannot wrest political power from

the bureaucracy without the sympathy and support of the peasant masses, especially the rural youth who make up a majority of China's conscript army.

The drive toward capitalist restoration has led to increasing immiseration of both rural toilers and the urban industrial proletariat. Bankrupted peasants and youth who cannot find a livelihood in the rural areas have flooded into cities looking for work—a vast army of migrant labor estimated at up to 130 million people! Lacking official household registration (*hukou*), migrants are not entitled to the housing, medical care and schooling for their children available to legal urban residents. Most migrants are men who leave their wives and children in the villages and try to eke out a living in the cities by taking the most menial jobs.

These developments have acted to create a major division within the work-

ing industrial workers and rural toilers against the predations of world imperialism. Defend and extend the planned, collectivized economy! Expropriate without compensation the bloodsucking imperialist and offshore Chinese bourgeoisies!

Some Chinese opponents of "market reforms" uphold Mao's "socialism" as an alternative to the present regime. But the Maoist perversion of socialism was national economic autarky and primitive egalitarianism, in which the masses were equal because all were equally poor. Writing in the mid-19th century, Karl Marx explained that in the absence of an international socialist society based on the highest level of technological and industrial development, "only want will be generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and all the old crap must revive." Flatly repudiating Marx, the Stalinists preached the idiocy that socialism could be built in a single country if only imperialist military intervention were thwarted. Refuting this in his 1928 work *The Third International After Lenin*, Trotsky wrote:

"The capitalist world shows us by its export and import figures that it has other instruments of persuasion than those of military intervention. To the extent 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 perhaps the greatest immediate menace to Soviet economy. This alone shows that it is by no means merely a question of an isolated economic victory over 'one's own' bourgeoisie."

In practice, "socialism in one country" meant opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally. Thus, like Stalin, Mao sought alliances with various "anti-imperialist" Third World bourgeois-nationalist regimes and then with the imperialists themselves. This was exemplified by the criminal alliance of Mao's China with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state, forged as the U.S. rained bombs on the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants in the early 1970s. In "China on the Brink" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), we noted: "China's alliance with the U.S., initiated by Mao and Zhou Enlai, helped set the stage for Deng's 'open door' to imperialist exploitation in the next period. Today, Mao's heirs don't even give lip service to the goals of socialism, instead openly offering themselves as compradors (agents) of imperialism."

Opposing workers democracy and international extension of the revolution, both the Soviet and Chinese Stalinists increasingly opted for capitalist market measures to spur productivity. The road of the Stalinist bureaucracy would return the Chinese masses to the prerevolutionary days of impoverishment and imperialist subjugation. The modernization of China—providing the basis for a decent life for all its inhabitants on the basis of access to the advanced technology and productive resources now concentrated in North America, West Europe and Japan—requires proletarian socialist revolution in the imperialist centers, laying the basis for an *internationally planned, socialist economy*. That is the task of the ICL as it fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

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Young Spartacus

ISO Cold Warriors Squirm Over China-Bashing

The International Socialist Organization's recent set of articles on China, including "Why China-Bashing Hurts U.S. Labor" (*Socialist Worker*, 3 March), "We Need International Solidarity—China-Bashing Only Hurts Our Movement" (*Socialist Worker*, 14 April) and "China and the WTO—Target the Enemy at Home" (*International Socialist Review*, Spring 2000), could make a reader wonder what they're up to, given that the ISO has never defended China. The organization originated in taking the side of imperialism in its efforts to destroy the gains of *social revolutions* that overthrew capitalist rule, from Russia in 1917 to China in 1949. They split from Trotskyism at the onset of the Korean War in 1950, abandoning defense of China and North Korea amid a ruthless U.S. and British bombing campaign. These fake socialists are attempting to put on a left face in their recent articles by criticizing the AFL-CIO's anti-China campaigns—an issue that in the wake of the WTO and IMF protests has embarrassingly put them in bed with far-right politicians like Pat Buchanan, who also call to "spread the spirit of Seattle." They argue that the labor bureaucracy is campaigning against

word for any country which the U.S. aims to destroy, usually by the bloodiest of means. Revolutionary Marxists oppose and actively fight against imperialist economic penetration of the Chinese deformed workers state. China's entry would be an attack on what remains of the state monopoly of foreign trade, undermining the economic foundations of the collectivized economy and further encouraging internal counterrevolutionary forces.

Sweeney's protectionist call posits that the U.S. is a model defender of "human rights" that should spread its "democracy" throughout the world. The only thing the U.S. ruling class spreads is imperialist exploitation and plunder, backed by its military might. This ideology of "human rights" imperialism is used to tie workers to support of their own bourgeoisie in preparation for new imperialist wars. And siding with U.S. imperialism against China is a program to bring misery and starvation to Chinese workers and peasants. While the ISO pleads with U.S. imperialism to regulate away sweatshops—an impossibility in and of itself—a counterrevolution in China would turn the entire nation into *one big sweatshop*. So when the ISO says that "the best way to help Chinese workers win their rights is to organize solidarity—not to unite with U.S. politicians to bash China" (*Socialist Worker*, 14 April), they try to disappear the fact that their opposition to the defense of China against imperialism means delivering Chinese workers into the hands of those who intend to bring back capitalist exploitation.

The question for China is imminently posed; after 50 years of imperialist encirclement and two decades of "market reforms," China is at a crossroads. The Stalinist bureaucracy today offers its services as brokers to the imperialists and offshore Chinese bourgeoisie but is constrained by fear of the working class, which militantly continues to resist the attacks on its jobs and living standards. We Trotskyists fight for unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution. What is urgently needed is a Leninist-Trotskyist party in China which can lead the working class in struggle to defend the gains of the Revolution and to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy through a political revolution.

The ISO peddles the lie that the April 12 demonstration was an effort to promote labor rights and offers only one criticism: that "focusing on China alone puts legitimate concerns about labor and human rights at the service of right-wing China bashers like Sen. Jesse Helms" (*Socialist Worker*, 31 March). They worry that it is bad publicity for the AFL-CIO bureaucracy (and the ISO) to be in bed with Buchanan and Helms. Having hailed the protectionist, virulently anti-Communist protests against the WTO and IMF, the ISO wants to distance itself from the *Republican* wing of the leadership of these mobilizations. They admonish the union tops that the April 12 rally was "full of anti-

communist rhetoric that could only warm the hearts of the Republican right-wingers who want a new Cold War with China" (*Socialist Worker*, 28 April).

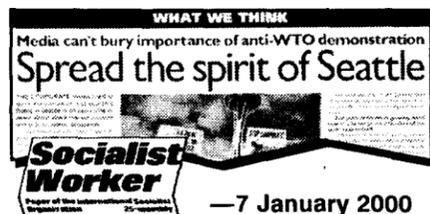
This is exquisite, coming from an organization whose stock in trade for decades has been to put a "socialist" face on the Cold War anti-Communist crusade of the U.S. bourgeoisie, especially as purveyed by the pro-capitalist U.S. labor bureaucracy. Throughout the Cold

unions are the Democrats' most active constituency, and their efforts against China have split the party in an election year. The ISO worries that the labor bureaucracy is straying too far from the Democratic fold: "AFL-CIO officials announced that they were willing to work with union-hating Republican members of Congress in order to block China's entry" (*Socialist Worker*, 3 March). And the ISO even complains that Clinton is too *soft* on China: "In 1991, presidential wannabe Bill Clinton attacked then-President Bush for 'coddling dictators' and maintaining trade relations with China. But after posing as labor's friend



Giase/Seattle Post-Intelligencer

AFL-CIO tops spearheaded anti-Communist crusade against China at Seattle WTO protests with chauvinist signs: "People First Not China First." SL denounced pro-imperialist mobilization; ISO hailed it.



China because it is interested in protecting Chinese workers, saying that AFL-CIO president "Sweeney's call for keeping China out of the WTO is tied to an effort to promote labor rights around the world" (*Socialist Worker*, 3 March).

In fact, when the AFL-CIO misleaders brought thousands of unionists to Washington, D.C. on April 12 to protest the U.S. normalizing trade relations with China, they expressed both their virulent ideological anti-Communism and their chauvinist protectionism, portraying China as a "rogue state" whose workers threaten American jobs. The "rogue state" language comes straight from the mouths of U.S. government spokesmen as a code



AFL-CIO president John Sweeney with Vice President Al Gore at 1996 Democratic convention.

War, the "labor rights" the AFL-CIO promoted internationally were the "rights" of U.S. imperialism to break up militant labor organizing efforts and have labor leaders jailed by repressive U.S. client regimes, work that earned the AFL-CIO the nickname "AFL-CIA" throughout the Third World. The American labor bureaucracy did the bidding of the U.S. government in fighting to destroy the Soviet Union, supporting and funding Polish Solidarność as a "free trade union" to spearhead capitalist counterrevolution and promoting all manner of pro-Western "Soviet dissidents" and reactionary nationalist agitators in East Europe.

Groups like the ISO and other social-democratic outfits followed along in anti-Communist fervor behind the "labor" face of their "own" bourgeoisie, cheering for Solidarność counterrevolution and embracing the "democracy" of the rapacious U.S. imperialist rulers. The ISO enthused over the final destruction of the USSR, which enormously increased the dangers of imperialist economic penetration and capitalist counterrevolution in the remaining deformed workers states, including China, writing: "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991). Apparently, after the devastating consequences of the counterrevolution in Russia, with mass pauperization and the destruction of the country's basic infrastructure visible to all, the ISO feels constrained to conceal its years of service to the imperialists' Cold War.

It is no accident that the ISO Cold Warriors are attempting to distinguish Sweeney's China-bashing from that of the Republicans at a time when labor's protectionist campaigns are "deeply worrying for Democrats," as the *New York Times* (12 April) notes, because the

and being elected to the White House, Clinton quickly dropped any idea of sanctions against China and adopted Bush's policy" (*International Socialist Review*, Spring 2000).

At bottom the ISO is simply asking the labor bureaucrats to be kinder to the Democrats. And they write: "If the AFL-CIO is serious about fighting for labor rights, it's got to face the fact that the main enemy is at home" (*Socialist Worker*, 3 March). This famous proclamation by Karl Liebknecht is an admonition to oppose one's "own" ruling class. It is entirely ludicrous to appeal in such terms to the AFL-CIO tops, who function internationally as the *agents* of the "main enemy at home." As Lenin taught us, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats are a "labor aristocracy" bribed out of the profits of imperialist plunder.

When revolutionary Marxists say "the main enemy is at home," we express our perspective of mobilizing the proletariat in revolutionary struggle to smash the power of our "own" bourgeoisie, the richest and most dangerous imperialist force on the face of the earth. This involves breaking with the Democrats and forging a class-struggle leadership in the unions. It also means the unconditional military defense of revolutionary conquests already won, such as continue to exist in China, as part of the fight for the socialist conquest of power by the proletariat worldwide, which will lay the material basis to ending the poverty, disease and social oppression that imperialism inflicts on millions around the world. While the ISO seeks to line up youth to be waterboys for the reactionary AFL-CIO bureaucracy which itself lines up behind the counterrevolutionary aims of U.S. imperialism, the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight to win youth to a program of working-class revolution against U.S. imperialism. ■

Revolutionary Marxism vs. Anarchoid Anti-Communism

Noam Chomsky: Imperialism's "Armchair Anarchist"

We reprint below an April 25 leaflet by the Boston Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club distributed at Chomsky's recent talks in Boston and New York.

Just as the slimiest rocks are revealed only by low tides, so it is only the low level of class struggle today that allows Boston's prominent academic Noam Chomsky, a liberal dressed in anarchoid clothing, to appear to students as some sort of "radical" pole of attraction. Chomsky is full of self-congratulation for his incredible bravery in publishing some criticisms of the more bloody excesses of U.S. military and foreign policy, along with endlessly explicating his amazing discovery that politicians actually lie. But much is always forgiven those who, like Chomsky, line up faithfully with their own ruling class on the key loyalty test for Americans: better hate the Reds if you want to get ahead. The red-baiting professor and his ilk spit on every social revolution including the Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky. "If the left is understood to include 'Bolshevism,' then I would flatly dissociate myself from the left. Lenin was one of the greatest enemies of socialism, in my opinion," says the anti-Communist Chomsky.

It was Lenin's Bolsheviks who took Marxism out of the realm of theory and gave it flesh and blood, creating the world's first workers state, smashing capitalist exploitation and replacing it with a collectivized, planned economy, a world-historic victory. The young revolutionary state was a beacon of hope and inspiration to the oppressed peoples of the world; it was hated by the imperialists who worked to destroy it, not only through direct invasion, but with the eager assistance of the Chomskys of their time, like the renegade Karl Kautsky who likewise raised a hue and cry against the Bolsheviks for violating "democracy"—by which of course he meant "bourgeois democracy," the class dictatorship of the capitalists.

Today Chomsky joins the imperialist bourgeoisie in hailing the capitalist counterrevolution that plunged the former USSR into misery and fratricidal blood-letting, stating: "My response to the end of Soviet tyranny was similar to my reaction to the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini. In all cases, it is a victory for the human spirit" (*Red & Black Revolution* No. 2, 1996). Fascism itself was the desperate measure of the tottering bourgeois order in Europe to try to drown the class struggle in blood and overturn the 1917 Russian Revolution, that revolution Chomsky so despises. And it was the Soviet Red

On the 1991 Gulf War:

"If the goal had been to secure Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, settle regional issues, and move towards a more decent world, then Washington would have followed the peaceful means prescribed by international law: sanctions and diplomacy."
"The Gulf Crisis," *Z Magazine*, February 1991



Karen Robinson

The sanctions Chomsky called for have killed over one and a half million Iraqis, depriving them of food and medicine (left). August 1995: British soldiers in Sarajevo fire at Bosnian Serb positions.



Fergus Wilkie

On U.S./NATO "peacekeeping" forces going into Bosnia in 1995 under United Nations authorization:

"I probably would have voted for sending the troops."
Class Warfare, 1996



Reuters

Army, despite Stalinist misleadership, which smashed Hitler—and liberated Nazi death camps like Auschwitz. This attempt to equate Communism with fascism, the hoary refrain of reactionary bourgeois apologists, in fact trivializes the unique and unspeakable crimes of Hitler's Holocaust, when millions were slaughtered in the demented effort to obliterate whole peoples from the earth. But that doesn't seem to bother Chomsky, who, exemplifying liberal "even-handedness," in the early 1980s publicly defended Nazi Holocaust apologist Robert Faurisson, a French academic. When criticized by French leftists for this vile stand, Chomsky sniffed this was just because they were under the "great influence of Leninism."

The destruction of the USSR has spawned heightened interimperialist rivalries and war. The collapse of the USSR's collectivized economy was a great defeat for the world working class, the result of unrelenting imperialist encirclement, pressure which the Stalinist bureaucracy, a parasitical caste which usurped political power from the working class, ultimately was a product of and capitulated to. It was we Trotskyists who fought for unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism. We stood for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is our program today for China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea.

Chomsky, of course, is a hero of the "Spirit of Seattle" crowd. Those protests in Seattle were a circus dominated by national chauvinism, racist protectionism and counterrevolutionary attacks on the Chinese deformed workers state. Both in the Seattle anti-WTO protests and in the Washington, D.C. April 15-16 anti-IMF/World Bank protests, the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy manipulated liberal student youth whose concern for global poverty is mixed with illusions in the "democratic" nature of the American state, for their own reactionary ends: chauvinist trade protectionism and anti-Communist China-bashing.

Today we continue to unconditionally militarily defend China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution,

based on the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which smashed capitalist exploitation and neocolonial subjugation in the most populous nation on earth. The relentless hostile pressure of imperialism has made big inroads into China's economy, while Washington pursues a two-pronged attack, militarily threatening over Taiwan while pushing China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in order to promote unbridled capitalist exploitation within. We call for working-class political revolution to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy which has ruled China ever since the 1949 Revolution, which created a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Only the working class under authentic communist leadership can defend the collectivized economy, creating a government based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism, which alone can open the road to socialism.

War is a key test for any self-styled socialist. At the height of the U.S./NATO terror bombing of Serbia last spring, Chomsky, along with his fellow "Socialist Scholar" panelists, dutifully kept silent on the question at the opening discussion of their conference, as Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) head Bogdan Denitch (who supported the bombing) decreed. In this confab of supposed

socialists, the Spartacus Youth Club rose in opposition to the bombardment, raising signs demanding "Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" and "Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!" Now, a year later, Chomsky just can't resist scratching that itch to be an adviser to the powerful. Speculating on "Another Way for Kosovo?" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, 14 March), Chomsky advises that "a serious concern for protecting Kosovars" might have led to more diplomatic negotiations or even sanctions. He complains, "NATO also made little effort to pursue other peaceful means; even an oil embargo, the core of any serious sanctions regime, was not considered until after the bombing." So it's not the supposed war aims of the NATO imperialist military alliance he objects to, just the method. Indeed, when U.S./NATO "peacekeeping" forces went into Bosnia in 1995 under United Nations authorization, Chomsky announced: "I probably would have voted for sending the troops" (*Class Warfare*, 1996).

As for Iraq, today Chomsky weeps crocodile tears over the murderous effects of UN sanctions, signing "A Call to Action on Sanctions and the U.S. War Against the People of Iraq" (8 January 1999). But he supported sanctions in

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Chomsky...

(continued from page 7)

1991! Chomsky wrote in 1991 on "The Gulf Crisis": "If the goal had been to secure Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, settle regional issues, and move towards a more decent world, then Washington would have followed the peaceful means prescribed by international law: sanctions and diplomacy" (*Z Magazine*, February 1991). But sanctions kill and diplomacy is just war by other means.

Running like a cowardly yellow thread throughout Chomsky's critiques of American policy is a repetitive assurance (to whom?) that the U.S. "has limited resources of violence to employ against relatively privileged groups"; that intellectuals here "will not suffer the fate of Orwell's Winston Smith or his real life counterparts.... They will face unpleasantness, vilification, a degree of risk, sometimes loss of substantial privilege, but not torture, decapitation or psychiatric prison"; that "a feature of American democracy" is "the inability of the state to use massive violence against its own citizens"; and that this is a "society that lacks the forms of coercion and punishment found elsewhere." So it seems for this armchair anarchist only *some* states—"totalitarian" ones—are founded on coercion, whereas American "democracy" needs only "ideological control" of the population by intellectuals. What reactionary, self-serving nonsense!

This rosy picture is not one any black person in this viciously racist society would recognize. As Leninists—and even consistent anarchists—know, *all* states are instruments for the forcible domination of one class over another, resting on bodies of armed men to maintain control. The American state, under its electoral façade, is an extremely violent terror machine, with the highest percentage of its population in prison of any so-called "Western society." To be considered a serious presidential candidate, enthusiastic participation in a legal lynching is a requirement, as executions under the barbaric death penalty reach new records. America's police are armies of occupation in black, minority and poor city neighborhoods—ask Abner Louima or Rodney King about torture, ask Amadou



Russian factory workers at 1917 May Day demonstration carried Bolshevik slogans. Five months later, Russian workers smashed capitalist rule, ripping one-sixth of the globe out of the sphere of imperialist domination.

Diallo's surviving parents about murderous police killings. You don't have to be black, either—remember Waco, where Clinton and Janet Reno's federal killers in the BATF and FBI slaughtered over 80 men, women and children in an integrated religious commune. Cops regularly seek to smash workers' picket lines, too. Even Boston's famous fugitive gunrunner Whitey Bulger knows far better than this fancy professor what the story is in this violent society.

Chomsky can even justify imperialist war if it is carried out with good intentions or by some mythical good world body which meets the "heavy burden of proof...in undertaking the threat or use of force in violation of the principles of international order." "In the real world," Chomsky informs us with a straight face,

either "the powerful do as they wish" or else we must set up "some kind of framework of world order, perhaps the U.N. Charter, the International Court of Justice, and other existing institutions, or perhaps something better if it can be devised and broadly accepted" (*The New Military Humanism: Lessons from Kosovo*, 1999). Anything else, he writes, is just "abstract discussion" fit only for "graduate seminars in philosophy." Well, it was Karl Marx, nemesis of Chomsky's hero Bakunin, who pointed out that rights cannot stand higher than the material conditions for them, and that "Liberation" is a historical and not a mental act, and it is brought about by historical conditions." The world today, outside of the remaining deformed workers states, is dominated by competing imperialist states and

their occasional junior partners, sometimes allies, sometimes enemies, and their corrupt neocolonialist regimes, all armed to the teeth and jockeying for advantage. Schemes for "world peace" which leave this system intact are at best an ivory tower pipe dream; at worst, as in the Chomsky version, a thin cover for despair and a fig leaf for continued imperialist plunder.

Actually, the eminent professor has more in common with his anarchist hero Mikhail Bakunin than merely rantings against "Red bureaucracy" and hostility to Marx and Engels' historical materialist understanding that the industrial working class is the motor force for revolution against capitalism, which must result in the "dictatorship of the proletariat" to ensure the success of the revolution. After all, Bakunin was the only prominent 19th century Russian revolutionary to ever address an abject personal appeal to Tsar Nicholas I, head of Russia's absolutist empire—and not merely when he was in prison, but upon his release ten years later, in an 1862 pamphlet: "We should most gladly of all follow Romanov, if Romanov could and would transform himself.... he *alone* could carry out and complete a great, peaceful revolution without shedding one drop of Russian or Slav blood." Neither NATO, the UN, the WTO, the World Bank nor the other agencies of imperialism are any more likely to "transform themselves" than the Tsar was. Just as it took Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, a vanguard party leading the working class, to create the first revolutionary workers state in history out of the ruins of the autocratic Russian empire, so today it will take a revolutionary internationalist vanguard party to lead the fight for successful workers revolution against rotting American imperialism. That is the fight to which the Spartacist League, American section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and Spartacus Youth Clubs are dedicated. Those who set their sights higher than a comfortable academic career as an ideologist for the imperialist war machine should join us in our fight for a communist future for humanity.

—25 April 2000
Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth Club

Iraq...

(continued from page 12)

Iraqi hospitals have literally become holding pens for the dying—the cancer ward at Saddam Children's Hospital in Baghdad has a 100 percent death rate—because the UN has deliberately blocked entry of vital equipment, antibiotics, painkillers and chemotherapy drugs into the country. They do this under the incredible pretext that these medicines could be used to manufacture "weapons of mass destruction." The head of the World Health Organization's cancer program told Pilger that when he returned from Iraq last year he drew up a list of drugs needed for cancer treatment: "We informed the UN that there was no possibility of converting these drugs into chemical warfare agents. We heard nothing more."

Toxic pollution, malnutrition and lack of medical care, all attributable to the bombings and sanctions, have created a public health crisis. Hospitals have recorded a fivefold increase in cancer, including the appearance of new types of cancers. Among the suspected causes for this explosion in cancer cases is the highly toxic and radioactive residue of depleted uranium (DU) ammunition that was fired by American and British troops during the 1991 Gulf War. Iraqi doctors estimate they could treat successfully fully one-half of the cancer cases if they only were given the basic medical supplies the embargo has withheld from them. "Oil for food" provides a pittance for medical expenditures of only \$11 per person for an entire year!

The embargo perpetuates the devastation of the Gulf War in countless other ways. Typhoid, cholera and dysentery are sweeping the country. These deadly infectious diseases were all but eliminated from Iraq a decade ago. But sewage systems have collapsed from damage sustained in the bombings and the absence of any spare parts for repairs. As a result, raw sewage collects in the streets and infects the waterways, triggering outbreaks of disease. Chlorine to treat the water would help contain the spread of disease, but the UN has banned its purchase.

Leftover mines dotting the landscape of southern Iraq, along the routes where the U.S. slaughtered thousands of fleeing Iraqis in 1991, daily kill travelers. The infrastructure—the bridges, roads, canals, water filtration and power plants and communications centers—of the country is in ruins. The consequence is the complete implosion of the economy, now marked by widespread poverty, high unemployment and hyperinflation. Agriculture is failing on an unprecedented scale because the imperialists put "on hold" fertilizer and seed. The current price of staples, such as rice and lentils, is 1,000 times higher than in 1990. If it were not for food rationed out by the regime at 1991 prices, the starvation would be even more widespread. Meanwhile, wealthy Iraqis among the ruling capitalist elite get all they desire through the black market and other means.

When Secretary of State Madeleine Albright was asked if she thought that the death of half a million Iraqi children was a price worth paying, she replied: "This is a very hard choice, but we think the price is worth it." The U.S. ruling

class views the Iraqi people with the same racist contempt with which it views blacks, Hispanics and other minorities in this country. America's rulers have written off the entire Iraqi people as "collateral damage" to its deadly designs.

In recent years, a growing number of liberals in the U.S. have been pushing for an end to the embargo. But in 1991 the liberals were in the vanguard of those pushing for sanctions against Iraq as an "alternative" to war. And the International Socialist Organization dutifully tailed behind the liberals, endorsing a 26 January 1991 "Campaign for Peace" march in Washington which called for UN sanctions against Iraq.

At bottom, these reformists believe the imperialist ruling class can be pressured to pursue more "humanitarian" ends. But imperialism is not a bad "policy" that can be changed through pressure, as our reformist opponents on the left pretend. It is a brutal system of oppression, economic exploitation and military subjugation. As we declared in a statement of the Spartacist League Political Bureau in response to one of the many times the U.S. has threatened or perpetrated mass destruction in Iraq (*WV* No. 685, 27 February 1998): "Whether or not America's capitalist rulers decide *this time* to yet again rain death and destruction on Iraqi men, women and children does not change by one iota the rapacious and murderous character of this imperialist system." Against the reformist "socialists" who perpetuate illusions in "humanitarian imperialism," we asserted:

"As Lenin stressed in polemicizing against similar views advanced by German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, imperialism is the 'highest stage of capi-

talism,' marked by the concentration and domination of finance capital, the pre-eminence of the export of capital and competition among the advanced capitalist countries to control markets and spheres of exploitation. War is a necessary product of the capitalist system."

The U.S. imperialists paint Saddam Hussein as "another Hitler." But all the imperialists' chatter about "weapons of mass destruction" in the Iraqi arsenal serves as a smokescreen to mask the enormous stockpile of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons amassed by the U.S. imperialists, the biggest mass murderers on the planet. The nationalist butcher Saddam Hussein came to power with the backing of the U.S. imperialists, who saw in him a weapon against the combative Iraqi proletariat. Washington provided Hussein with arms during his 1980-88 war with rival Iran. Meanwhile, Saddam Hussein consolidated his rule through anti-Communist massacres, anti-labor repression and bloody pogroms of the Kurds.

It is the task of the Iraqi proletariat, standing at the head of the oppressed—women, ethnic, national and religious minorities—to sweep away this capitalist regime through socialist revolution and establish a socialist federation of the Near East. Only international socialist revolution can bring an end to the profit-hungry imperialist system. The International Communist League is committed to re-forging Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution, which would link the struggle to emancipate the workers and oppressed of the Near East with the fight to smash capitalism in the advanced industrial countries, particularly the U.S. ■

Mumia...

(continued from page 1)

the "respectable"—i.e., losing—bounds of the capitalist justice system. If we are to prevail against the powerful forces who scream for Jamal's legal lynching, we need to mobilize the power we have on our side. The only thing the capitalist rulers understand is when their profits are stopped. The social power to do that resides in the multiracial working class, with its numbers, organization and capacity to stop the wheels of production. The ranks of labor have got to be brought out in the streets and in strike action to demand Mumia's freedom.

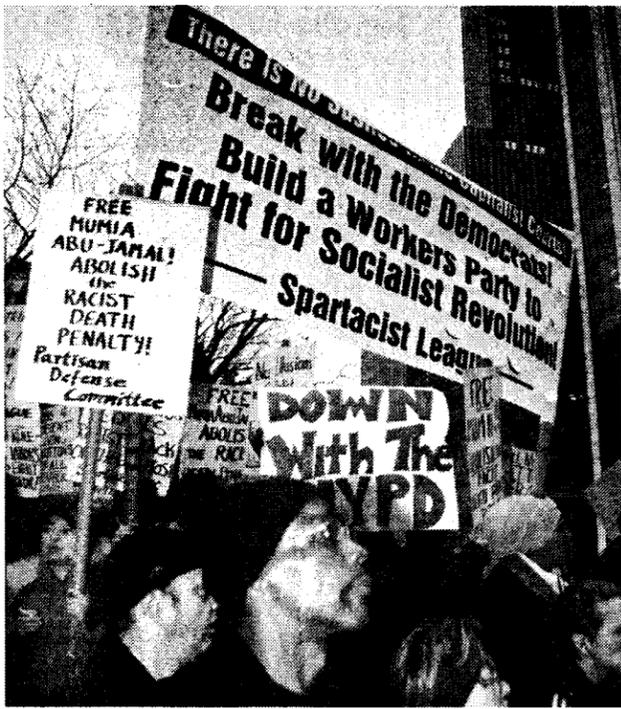
Mobilize Labor/Black Power!

If labor's power is to be brought to bear in a mighty blow on behalf of Jamal, it must be mobilized independent of the very forces of the capitalist state that have worked for years to frame up this innocent man. A taste of that power was seen on the streets of New York City last October 23, when at least 8,000 people, with a solid core of disciplined contingents of trade unionists, rode the KKK out of town in response to the PDC call to stop the fascists. Democratic Party politicians like Al Sharpton, who did all they could to spike that labor/black mobilization and give the Klan killers a free ride, are today among the personalities being featured at a May 7 rally for Mumia in Madison Square Garden.

What made that victory against the Klan possible was the Marxist leadership of the SL and PDC. We warn working people and anti-racist youth that the capitalist Democratic Party is no less an enemy of labor and black people than the Republicans. When Mumia's 1995 death warrant was stayed by an international outcry of protest, he wrote: "Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all." To do that requires a break with the Democratic Party and the forging of a workers party to lead a proletarian revolution which smashes the capitalist state—whose core consists of the cops, courts and prisons—and replaces it with a workers state which ushers in an egalitarian socialist society. The death penalty is the ultimate sanction in the arsenal of capitalist state repression. We oppose the death penalty on principle: we do not accord the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die.

While supporting all legal actions on his behalf, since taking up Jamal's cause over 13 years ago, the PDC and SL have fought for a strategy centered on mobilizing the power of labor. We have initiated numerous labor/black mobilizations on Mumia's behalf, seeking to imbue the working class with an understanding of not only the nature of the capitalist state as a force for organized violence against the exploited and oppressed but also the unity of the interests of labor and the fight for black freedom in America.

This perspective is diametrically



Left: February 26 NYC protest against acquittal of police killers of Amadou Diallo, which brought home to many that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. Reformist left promotes reliance on capitalist courts in fight for Mumia's freedom.

opposed to that of reformists like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), Workers World Party (WWP) and Socialist Action (SA). Renouncing the fight to win the proletariat to a revolutionary struggle against capitalist injustice and oppression, the ISO, WWP, SA, et al. preach the reformist notion that the capitalist state can be pressured to act on behalf of workers and the oppressed. All of them endorse the liberal politics of the upcoming protests. A featured speaker at numerous past rallies was Ron Hampton, of the National Black Police Officer's Association. These groups would undoubtedly tell anti-racist youth that they, too, support the call to free Mumia now. But the reformists claim that to build "a broader and more inclusive movement," it is necessary to reach out to the "American mainstream," as Solidarity's Steve Bloom put it last year. And how they do this is to tailor their demands to what's acceptable to bourgeois liberals who want a new trial *not* to free Mumia, but to restore the "integrity" of the capitalist justice system, because Mumia's original trial and subsequent Post-Conviction Relief Appeal under the notorious judge Sabo was such a blatant travesty, marked by racist jury-rigging, coercion of witnesses and disappearance of evidence. They seek to paint the frame-up of Jamal as a "miscarriage of justice" in the same way as they try to pass off the heinous police killing of Amadou Diallo as an "aberration" in an otherwise just system of "democracy."

Break with the Democrats— Forge a Workers Party!

Unlike social democrats like the ISO and SA, the Progressive Labor Party does talk of a "communist revolution" by the working class. PL's posture of militant opposition to racist and capitalist repression is belied by its gross sectarian refusal until recently to defend Jamal on the spurious grounds that he is a "black nationalist"—i.e., not a member of PL. More fundamentally, PL despairs of mobilizing the working class for socialist revolution—or anything else, for that matter. Instead, PL pushes liberal anti-racism—working in such institutions as the church and PTA!—and a strategy of individual or small group actions against the fascists. On October 23, PL crowed about managing to land a blow against an isolated Klansman, while sneering at the mobilization which brought out the thousands of working people who held the cops at bay and drove the Klan out. Dismissing the unions, the mass organizations of the working class, as "pro-boss," PL consigns the organized proletariat to a role as passive observers of its "direct action" antics and leaves the unions in the hands of the pro-capitalist misleaders.

We aim to win the vanguard layer of the proletariat's historic role as the champion of black freedom and the gravedigger of capitalism. This can happen only by means of a revolutionary party utilizing all available methods to raise the

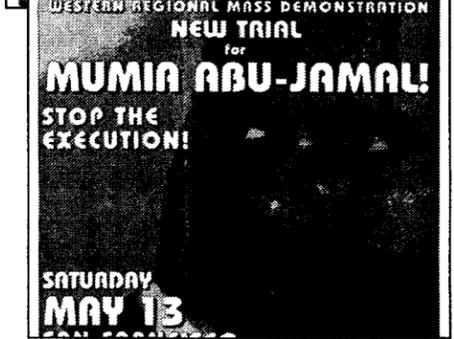
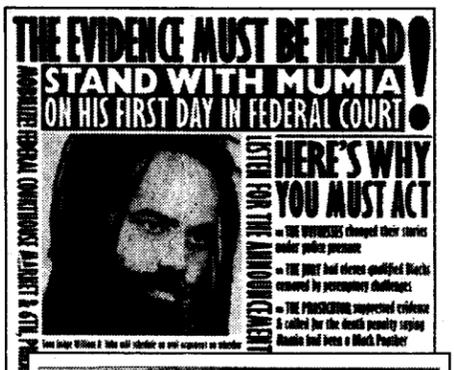
class consciousness of the workers by increasing their trust in their own forces, by destroying their illusions, by reinforcing their revolutionary will and self-confidence and by organizing the overthrow of all the forces standing in the way of the conquest of power.

Above all, that means a fight to break the chains forged by the trade-union misleaders that have shackled the unions to the political parties and the state agencies of the enemy class and to expose those who cover for this class collaboration. For example, the "Labor Conference for Mumia" to be held in Oakland on May 12 is endorsed by the Central Labor Councils of San Francisco and Alameda County and a range of union officials, including ILWU longshore union president Brian McWilliams. But their aim is not to mobilize the unions in a class-

Elián...

(continued from page 2)

class is mind-boggling. Senate Republican leader Trent Lott of Mississippi demanded a Congressional investigation, thundering that the Miami raid "could only happen in Castro's Cuba"—but he's proud to speak before gatherings of the "Council of Conservative Citizens," a direct descendant of the KKK-infested White Citizens Councils that terrorized civil rights activists in the South. "Storm-troopers!" shrieks notorious New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani—whose "Operation Condor" anti-drug squad shares its name with Hitler's Condor Legion. Just look at New York City, where Giuliani's cop commandos—the racist killers of Amadou Diallo, Malcolm Ferguson and Patrick Dorismond, to name only a few of their recent victims—routinely kick in doors, beating, terrorizing and killing black and minority people. Unsurprisingly, as the polls came in showing that the majority of Americans approved of the government raid, the Republicans withdrew their demand for an investigation.



struggle fight to free Mumia, but rather to yoke the unions to the ox-cart of the Democratic Party liberals, echoing in their conference call: "Justice Demands that 'The Evidence Must Be Heard'." You can't mobilize labor strikes for Mumia's freedom when you're in bed with the politicians of the capitalists against whom those strikes would be directed.

Based on the only significant integration in racist America—in the workplace and on the factory floor—the trade unions have the social power and the potential to become battalions in the struggle against racist oppression and exploitation and to shake the foundations of this decaying capitalist system. If undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement, the fight to free Mumia, to abolish the racist death penalty, would be a first, giant step in that direction. ■

Our starting point as Marxists is revolutionary proletarian opposition to the American imperialist bourgeoisie and its state. In particular, we call for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against ravenous U.S. imperialism's drive for counterrevolution. The seemingly counterposed tactics of the U.S. ruling class are in fact complementary: to destroy the gains of the Cuban Revolution through terror, military force and economic strangulation; or (since the former hasn't worked yet) to incite counterrevolution from within Cuba through economic penetration. Either way, the Cuban Revolution is in grave danger, more than ever since the collapse of the Soviet Union cut off the economic lifeline that helped the Cuban deformed workers state to survive as long as it has.

We fight for socialist revolution to bring down the American imperialist colossus from within. Our job, as revolutionary internationalists, is to build the Leninist-Trotskyist parties that can overthrow the capitalist governments of racism and war all over the world, and especially here in the U.S. Down with the imperialist embargo of Cuba! For workers revolution throughout the Americas! ■

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¡Forjar un partido trotskista! ¡Por la revolución obrera!
Lecciones de Indonesia 1965

Rover Auto Workers Demonstration: Flag-Waving Orgy for British Bosses

The following article, reprinted from *Workers Hammer* No. 172 (Spring 2000), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain, concerns the decision by BMW to sell off British Rover to the Alchemy firm. As we go to press, Alchemy has pulled out of the deal, and the Longbridge Rover plant may now be closed altogether.

With anger mounting among British auto workers over threatened layoffs and plant closures, management at the Ford Dagenham plant is reportedly preparing to announce the end of production there next year, prompting a threatened strike vote by the Transport and General Workers Union. Last October, some 1,000 workers at this plant, nearly half of whom are black or Asian, staged wildcat strikes against racist intimidation inside the factory, giving a taste of the social power of the working class. But the trade-union bureaucracy worked hand in hand with management to squelch the strikes in exchange for a promise to set up committees to "monitor" racial equality.

Today the union tops pursue the equally futile strategy of seeking to pressure the capitalist Labour government to keep the plant open. Against the nationalist protectionism of the Labourite union tops, we fight to unite the British proletariat with its class brothers and sisters internationally through class struggle against all the capitalist exploiters. For a Socialist United States of Europe!

WORKERS HAMMER

German car manufacturer BMW's decision to sell Rover, which they bought in 1994, means tens of thousands of job losses in the West Midlands, the heart of manufacturing industry in Britain. Longbridge, the biggest car plant in Britain which employs 9,000 workers, is to be bought by "venture capital" company Alchemy, who will make the majority of workers redundant [laid-off], sell what's profitable and (perhaps) salvage a small plant making sports cars. Alchemy are also buying the Cowley plant, while Rover Solihull is being bought by Ford, who in turn are threatening to close their car plant at Dagenham, near London, which only last year they planned to expand.

The week after BMW announced they would pull out, Honda reduced production at their Swindon plant by 50 per cent. The massive wave of closures in the car industry is another severe blow to the industrial proletariat. It comes in the wake of decades of job losses, the result of defeats and betrayals of the working class. Harland and Wolff's shipyard in Belfast has served redundancy notices on its entire workforce. A recent report commissioned by the General, Municipal and Boilermakers Union (GMBU) says manufacturing jobs are being lost at the staggering rate of over 6,000 a month; the average under the Tories was 4,600.

In response to the job massacre at Rover, [union bureaucrats] Bill Morris, Sir Ken Jackson & Co. organised a huge march in Birmingham on 1 April on an explicitly protectionist, British nationalist basis. The official slogans were: "Save British manufacturing industry!" and "Save British jobs!" The leaflet containing these slogans was jointly published by the four main unions in the car industry—the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU); Amalgamated Engineer-



Birmingham, April 1: Clifite SWP placards dominated chauvinist march to "save British industry."

ing and Electrical Union (AEEU); GMB; and Manufacturing, Science and Finance (MSF). While the demonstration reflected anger and bitterness against BMW and the government, its political perspective was so alien to the actual interests of the working class that it had the full support of the *Birmingham Evening Mail*, an anti-trade-union rag, and even of Tony Blair, who has nothing but contempt for the working class and oppressed.

Not surprisingly then, the demonstration was an obscene red-white-and-blue orgy of chauvinism, in which trade-union banners (and Socialist Workers Party [SWP] placards) mixed freely with the Union Jack, the racist emblem of the Empire in colonial times and of the subjugation of Catholics in Northern Ireland today. Also present was the English cross of St. George which, like the Union Jack, is used by fascist outfits. Several signs gave vent to blatant anti-German chauvinism, such as "We won two world wars—let's win the third." The rally chair, TGWU bureaucrat Tony Woodley, who sold a rotten productivity deal to Rover workers in 1998, used the platform to denounce the "obscenity of people in Germany, including trade-union workers, deciding the future of 40,000 workers whilst in Britain we were being kept in the dark." The enemy of workers in Britain is the British bourgeoisie!

The only thing the union bureaucrats are offering the proletariat, which in the Birmingham area is racially integrated, is chauvinism and rhetoric about "saving" British industry. Until such time as workers revolution rips it from their hands, British industry belongs to the bloodsucking capitalists. The working class has no country!

Social-chauvinism and nationalism are an integral part of the political programme of Labour and the trade-union bureaucracy whose loyalty is to British imperialism. Protectionism leads to trade wars, laying the basis for war between imperialist powers which are engaged in a ruthless struggle against each other for control of markets and spheres of influence. Protectionism also pits workers in Britain against workers in other coun-

tries, lining them up behind their "own" bourgeoisie and preparing them to be cannon fodder in imperialist wars. Only international proletarian revolution can eliminate the threat of a third, nuclear, world war.

The Labourite union bureaucracy of today upholds the rotten tradition of those social democrats who supported their "own" ruling class in the first imperialist world war. V.I. Lenin, leader of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, pointed out that they had been bribed by the crumbs of imperialist profit and that their social-chauvinism means defence of "national interests" and abandonment of class struggle. "What is the economic substance of defencism in the war of

Last year the trade-union bureaucracy fully backed Blair and NATO in the massive bombing of Serbia, a small dependent country, in the biggest military conflagration in Europe since World War II whose purpose was imperialist domination and military occupation of the Balkans. The International Communist League fought for the defeat of imperialism through workers revolution and defence of Serbia, and today we call for all imperialist troops out of the Balkans. We also participated in an international campaign begun by car workers in Italy to aid car workers in the Zastava car plant in Kragujevac, Yugoslavia whose factory was deliberately bombed by NATO knowing full well it was protected by a "live shield" of Yugoslav workers.

Protectionism, which calls to "save British industry," is poison to the working class, and fuels racist terror against minorities. Twenty years ago, following the defeat of the steel strike, the fascist National Front marched through Corby, a steel town in England, on the slogan "British jobs for British workers." And protectionism certainly does not save jobs; indeed saving jobs is a far cry from what the likes of [TGWU head] Bill Morris are in business for. Former Liverpool dockers sold down the river by Morris know this only too well. These bureaucrats, out-and-out Blair loyalists, have been complicit in massive attacks on workers, including in the car industry.

The working class has the fighting strength to defend itself against the current attack on jobs, which should be met with strikes shutting down the entire car industry. The only way forward is real class struggle, against the Labour government, smashing the reactionary anti-trade-union laws in the process. But this requires a sharp break with the trade-union bureaucracy who are wedded to Labour and to capitalism. The working class in Birmingham and the West Mid-

Multiethnic contingent of Ford Dagenham workers at 1984 march to support heroic coal miners strike.



1914-15?" Lenin asked in "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International" (1916):

"The bourgeoisie of all the big powers are waging the war to divide and exploit the world, and oppress other nations. A few crumbs of the bourgeoisie's huge profits may come the way of the small group of labour bureaucrats, labour aristocrats, and petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers. Social-chauvinism and opportunism have the same class basis, namely, the alliance of a small section of privileged workers with 'their' national bourgeoisie against the working-class masses; the alliance between the lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie against the class the latter is exploiting."

lands, centred in the car plants, is often integrated, while racist attacks are increasing dramatically. Mobilising the proletariat in defence of its own class interests and the interests of all the oppressed—blacks and Asians, Irish and immigrants—points to the need for a break with Labour and for a new revolutionary leadership.

The Spartacist League fights to build a multiethnic revolutionary workers party, forged in political struggle against Labour. A Leninist vanguard party will be built on the understanding that workers can defend their own interests and those of all the oppressed only through

For Class Struggle Against Labour Government!

their mass mobilisation in struggle which culminates *not* in another version of parliament but in a genuine, revolutionary workers government which expropriates the bourgeoisie and institutes a planned economy which will re-industrialise this country and open the road to a socialist future.

Labour-Loyal "Socialists" Wallow in British Chauvinism

The entire gamut of Labourite "socialists" are revelling in the union bureaucracy's flag-waving patriotic demonstration in Birmingham. This is the domestic side of the social-chauvinism—socialism in words, chauvinism in deeds—they displayed during the Balkans War when they beat the drums for British imperialism. The Socialist Workers Party [parent group of the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.] mobilised heavily for the march and supplied thousands of placards which dominated the demonstration, thus giving it a "socialist" cover.

The SWP was instrumental in building a platform for disgusting German-bashing chauvinism. Their slogans were: "Save our jobs/Occupy, organise, fight for the right to work/Renationalise Rover now!" The demonstration was a graphic illustration of the fact that harking back to the Old Labour saw of "nationalisation of the losers," calling for the British government to save British industry, means rank protectionism and xenophobia. The SWP placards blended in so completely with the patriotic character of the demonstration that some people who carried them were literally wrapped in the Union Jack. *Socialist Worker* (8 April) eulogised the demonstration as "The great jobs revolt," didn't mention its patriotic character but mentioned nonchalantly that: "There were many brilliant things about Saturday's march—like the fact that the Nazi National Front were turned away from joining the march by car workers stewarding the demonstration." Needless to say, they took no responsibility for having built and supported a demonstration that the NF wanted to join.

Today, the "socialists" who supported the Birmingham demonstration bear their share of responsibility for the growth of racist terror gangs, such as the scum who murdered Harold and Jason McGowan in Telford, who are emboldened by the flag-waving of Labour and the union bureaucracy. The Socialist Party [SP—led by Peter Taaffe] enthused that the Birmingham demonstration was "a massive display of human solidarity" which "shows the potential strength working-class people coming together can have" (*Socialist*, 7 April). The presence of Union Jacks wouldn't have bothered the SP, who have frequently hosted Billy Hutchinson of the Loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force at their events.

Workers Power (April 2000) gushes over the "magnificent 80,000 march in Birmingham" but opines that "it was left to Carl Chinn, in the midst of a revivalist 'patriotic' speech calling for support to British manufacturing, to call for action." The "action" *Workers Power* has in mind, "to force Labour to nationalise Rover," is to re-run this British nationalist spectacle in London! This is fitting for a group who sponsored an obscene pro-NATO meeting in London last year as an act of support to their beloved Labour government during NATO's nightly bombing raids over Serbia. Their British press published a letter from workers in Germany in "solidarity" with Rover workers, which states: "If there is now an outbreak of hate against everything German at your place, this is understandable." *Workers Power* capitulates to social-democratic nationalism which is the antithesis of proletarian internationalism.

The British left hark back to the "good old days" of nationalised industry, which in the car industry meant workers were exploited by British Leyland, and laid off by them, sometimes at the rate of 1,000 a month. Those days are gone, and to demand nationalisations from Blair's government—who are hell bent on privatising the London Underground, council hous-

ing and the air traffic control system—isn't just ludicrous. It's also a cover for abject capitulation to British chauvinism and nationalism. What's necessary is the mobilisation of workers *independently* of the class enemy and of their agents within the workers movement.

Somewhat unusually for them, Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP) said "no to anti-German campaigns," "no to British nationalism," and "fight for a socialist solution to the economic crisis." But the SLP's programme is Old Labour reformism which is based on protectionism and nationalisation. Scargill has always supported protectionism. In 1992, during massive demonstrations against the [coal mining] pit closures, he joined with Sir Winston Churchill Jr. in a campaign to "save British coal." These demonstrations were a harbinger of what's being pushed in response to the closures in the car industry today. They were a cross-class coalition whose primary political axis was British nationalism. The counterposition was stark between the 1984-85 miners strike which had *international proletarian* support from South Africa to the USSR and the 1992 protests. The Spartacist League called for strike action by the miners along with workers in strategic industries such as rail, transport and power. We called for workers action committees to stop the pit closures and to run the country.

Imperialist Rivalry Leads to War

Internationally, competition between imperialist powers has sharpened since counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet



Independent

Auto workers protested in both France and Belgium in 1997 against closure of Renault plant in Vilvoorde, Belgium.

Union. Trotskyists fought for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union, a degenerated workers state which, despite the rule of a corrupt nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, was based on a planned collectivised economy which issued out of the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. Today, rivalry is intense between the major imperialist powers—the U.S., Japan and Germany—and there are conflicts among different powers within the European Union (EU), the trade bloc dominated by Germany. The car industry in Britain, which employs roughly 800,000 workers, is entirely owned by foreign companies, particularly American and Japanese firms who use Britain as a foothold within the EU. It graphically illustrates the workings of the system of imperialism, which Lenin described as capitalism at its highest stage, characterised by the domination of finance capital and the concentration of production in the hands of a small number of very large companies. Competition between these companies for domination of international markets is relentless, and there is constant striving for rationalisation.

The largest names in the car industry—General Motors, Ford, Volkswagen, Toyota and DaimlerChrysler—have all been involved in a recent round of mergers and takeover bids for companies such as Fiat, Honda, Peugeot-Citroën and BMW. The *Economist* (26 February) reports that six firms now account for 70 per cent of the market, and that BMW, although profitable, was being drained by Rover, its

"English patient" whose cars were so hard to sell that "a fleet of the excellent Rover 75 saloon is clogging parking lots in the English Midlands." Moreover, even though these huge corporations frequently set up operations in far-flung countries, they remain based in particular nation-states, which in the post-Soviet period are increasingly involved in inter-imperialist rivalry.

The EU, which was previously a diplomatic appendage to the anti-Soviet NATO alliance, is today an unstable adjunct to the military, economic and political priorities of European capitalists. As proletarian internationalists, the ICL opposes the EU, an imperialist economic bloc which is a vehicle for capitalist co-operation against the workers of Europe and against immigrants as well as against rival imperialist powers. Like Lenin, we believe that it is impossible to cohere a stable European bourgeois "superstate" because capitalism is organised on the basis of nation-states.

The British bourgeoisie is divided in their attitude to the EU, which reflects a conflict between loyalty to U.S. imperialism and its German rival. The City of London acts as a junior partner of Wall Street in competition with Frankfurt, but manufacturers tend to seek closer ties to the EU and to favour joining the Euro. Manufacturing capitalists are concerned that goods made in Britain cost more than those made in the Euro-zone and are therefore harder to sell outside Britain. At the Birmingham demonstration, the union bureaucrats echoed this argument, pleading to the government that the strong pound disadvantages British exports.



Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain protests NATO terror bombing of Serbia, March 1999.

Britain's interests "moving Europe closer to the USA" (*Independent*, 29 March). This describes the role he seeks for Britain as a junior partner of U.S. imperialism within the EU.

Our opposition to the EU is based on proletarian internationalism which is counterposed to the nationalist protectionism pushed by "Euroscptics," Old Labour reformists such as Scargill, as well as pro-EU union bureaucrats such as Ken Jackson and Bill Morris. The disgusting flag-waving chauvinism of their "save Rover" campaign is the fitting adjunct of their no-class-struggle policy reflecting their eagerness to serve British imperialism at home and abroad.

The trade-union movement must wage a class-struggle fight for jobs and better working conditions across national boundaries, which will necessarily challenge the entire capitalist system. Capitalism created a world market and in so doing, as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels observed over 150 years ago, it simultaneously laid the basis for proletarian internationalism. German workers face similar attacks from Gerhard Schröder's Social Democrats in government as workers here face from Blair and New Labour. Throughout Europe, the strategic task for revolutionaries is to win workers to the understanding of the need for a complete break with social democracy.

The ICL is dedicated to the task of reorganising Trotsky's Fourth International, the necessary instrument to fight for new October Revolutions, through intransigent political struggle against social-democratic parties and their fake "socialist" hangers on. For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles, part of a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

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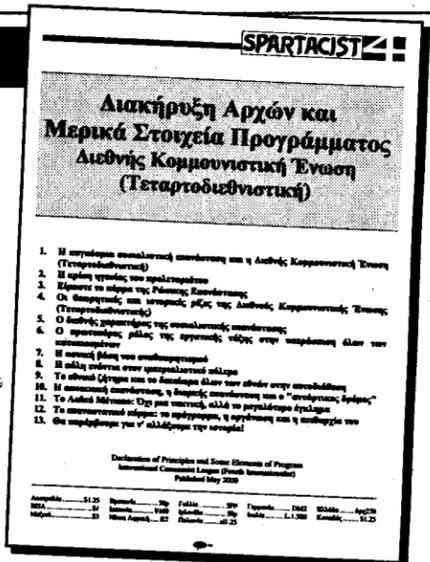
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WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S. Hands Off Vieques Protesters!

Puerto Rico

MAY 2—As we go to press, two Navy warships with a thousand Marines and a contingent of FBI agents aboard are anchored off the small Puerto Rican island of Vieques, preparing to storm the island in order to evict protesters who have occupied a Naval bombing range there for the past year. All working-

class organizations, everyone opposed to imperialist oppression, must demand: **Hands off the Vieques protesters!**

With the Puerto Rican population overwhelmingly opposed to the U.S. Navy's presence in Vieques, and coming after a year of widening protest over this issue, such a blatant colonialist attack could very well ignite massive social struggle in San Juan and throughout the island and resonate as well on the North American mainland. In July 1998, Puerto Rico was rocked by a general

strike in opposition to a plan by the colonial regime of Governor Pedro Rosselló to sell the state-owned telephone company to a U.S. firm.

The military occupation of Puerto Rico exemplifies that nation's status as the principal remaining colony of the United States. Fully 13 percent of the island is controlled by the Pentagon and is used as a crucial staging ground for Washington's imperialist domination of Latin America. These imperialist forces are a particular threat against the

Cuban Revolution. We call for the unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against capitalist attack and internal counter-revolution.

The Spartacist League/U.S. demands: **All U.S. troops and bases out of Puerto Rico—For the right of independence for Puerto Rico!** The road to breaking the yoke of imperialist subjugation is through socialist revolution in Puerto Rico and above all in North America.

Smash U.S./British Imperialists!



AFP



Le Nouvel Afrique-Asie

Civilians sort through wreckage of homes destroyed by U.S. bombing. Iraqi families protest genocidal UN economic sanctions.

Down With Starvation Blockade and Bombing of Iraq!

The U.S. and their British junior partners have reduced Iraq to a wasteland. This ongoing act of imperialist savagery began with the massacre of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the one-sided U.S.-led 1991 "Desert Slaughter." The 1991 Persian Gulf War was followed by a series of bombing campaigns over the years. Since December 1998, near-daily American and British terror bombing in the vast "no-fly" zones over Iraq has laid waste to hospitals, schools and residential areas, killing upward of 300 and injuring 860 mostly civilian Iraqis. In addition, for almost a decade, a United Nations starvation blockade has claimed the lives of more than 1.5 million in a country whose total population was 22 million. The United Nations Childrens Fund (UNICEF) reported last August that up to 200 children a day were dying due to the ravages of the embargo.

During the Gulf War, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs called to "Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!" We opposed the starvation sanctions from the outset. Today, we say:

Down with the starvation blockade! U.S./Britain: Hands off Iraq! All U.S./UN troops out of the Persian Gulf!

While the bourgeois media has downplayed the deadly impact of the imperialist blockade, a recent article by British journalist John Pilger in the London *Guardian* (4 March) exposed its devastating effects. UNICEF's senior representative in Iraq told Pilger:

"In 1989, the literacy rate was 95%; and 93% of the population had free access to modern health facilities. Parents were fined for failing to send their children to school. The phenomenon of street children or children begging was unheard of. Iraq had reached a stage where the basic indicators we use to measure the overall well-being of human beings, including children, were some of the best in the world. Now it is among the bottom 20%. In 10 years, child mortality has gone from one of the lowest in the world, to the highest."

The starvation blockade and bombing are part of Washington's drive to assert its "right" to ride roughshod over the colonial and semicolonial peoples of the world and demonstrate to its imperialist

rivals that the U.S. remains top dog. In particular, the U.S. imperialists seek to control the vast oil and natural gas resources in the Near East at the expense of their imperialist rivals, who heavily depend on these energy resources. For their parts, France, Russia and other European powers have increasingly pushed for an end to the sanctions because, as the *Wall Street Journal* (24 November 1999) explained, these countries are "salivating at the prospect of doing business in Iraq again."

At the same time, the recent resignations of a number of senior UN officials responsible for implementing the embargo have highlighted the barbarity of the imperialist sanctions. Former Assistant Secretary-General Denis Halliday, who served as relief coordinator in Iraq until his 1998 resignation, declared, "I had been instructed to implement a policy that satisfies the definition of genocide: a deliberate policy that has effectively killed well over a million individuals, children and adults." His successor as relief coordinator, Hans von Sponeck,

resigned in February, followed two days later by the head of the World Food Program in Iraq, because they could no longer tolerate the wrenching reality the embargo has wrought. Von Sponeck was in charge of the "oil for food" program, which since 1996 has allowed Iraq to sell a limited amount of oil to pay ransom to the imperialists and to purchase food and medical supplies approved by the UN with the remaining funds.

As part of the demonization of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, the imperialists cynically claim that it is the Iraqi government which is responsible for the starvation and suffering by preventing supplies from reaching the population. The British defense secretary declared last year, "Saddam Hussein has in warehouses \$275 million worth of medicines and medical supplies which he refuses to distribute." But the imperialists know this is a lie. According to von Sponeck, "Our most recent stock analysis shows that 88.8% of all humanitarian supplies have been distributed."

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