

The Deutschmark That Ate Europe “New World Disorder”

Last fall, German bankers killed off the illusion of European economic “unity.” Late last month they ignominiously buried the corpse. After a successful speculative assault on the French franc, the remains of the European Monetary System (EMS), which fixed exchange rates among European currencies, were formally laid to rest. Henceforth these currencies will be allowed to fluctuate over a 30 percent range of their previous parity against the German deutschmark. The counterrevolutionary reunification of Germany, which was billed as the cornerstone of a united capitalist Europe, has turned out instead to be its undoing.

For the past decade, *le franc fort* (the strong franc) has been held up as a prime symbol of French national grandeur. As long as parity was maintained between the franc and the deutschmark, French ruling circles could pretend that the European Community revolved around a Bonn-Paris axis. But, like the Maginot Line in 1940, the *franc fort* has now been swept away by the overwhelmingly superior strength of a resurgent Germany. Today it is the bankers of Frankfurt who openly call the shots.

And the French bourgeoisie is howling in impotent rage. “The Franco-German axis,

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Gorka Lejarcegui

Exhausted currency trader during the run on the French franc.

“Free Market” Misery Fuels Exodus Explosion Builds in China



John Gittings



Girard/Contact

Impoverished peasants leave the countryside, lining up for railroad tickets to Beijing (left), as pro-capitalist economic policies widen gulf between rich and poor.

The dramatic sight of a ship jammed with Chinese emigrants disgorging its human cargo as the *Golden Venture* ran aground off New York City in June highlighted the plight of the many thousands fleeing the effects of capitalist market “reforms” in the People’s Republic of China. The smuggler ship’s name aptly captures the aspirations of the new Chinese millionaires and foreign investors who see a clear field for exploitation in the country’s burgeoning “free market.” But the cracking of the “iron rice bowl”—the guarantee of lifetime employment and social welfare ushered in by the 1949 Revolution—has meant untold misery for hundreds of millions of workers and peasants in the Chinese

For Workers Political Revolution!

bureaucratically deformed workers state. A couple of months ago, it seemed as if every major U.S. newspaper featured a “special report” on China’s looming economy. Long gone are Western recriminations over the bloody suppression of the Tiananmen uprising four years ago. Hailing “China: The Emerging Economic Powerhouse of the 21st Century,” *Business Week* (17 May) gushed that “The Chinese are rushing toward prosperity—and there seems no stopping their momentum,” and urged the Clinton administration to embark on “A New China Policy for a New China.” The *New York Times* (23 July) headlined: “China, Barreling Along the Capitalist Road, Now Posts Strict Speed Limits.” And the mouthpiece of the Swiss bankers, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (23 March)

asked, “China’s Economy as a Model of Reform?”

By dismantling central economic planning, loosening monetary controls and opening huge swathes of coastal China for foreign exploitation over the past 14 years, Deng Xiaoping’s “socialism with Chinese characteristics” had seemingly created a fifth “Asian tiger,” potentially dwarfing Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines. To keep population growth down, the bureaucracy imposed mandatory birth control and sterilization policies, restricting families to one child each. The International Monetary Fund and the CIA now rank Deng’s China as the world’s third largest economy, trailing only the U.S. and Japan. Disgruntled ex-bureaucrats in the former Soviet Union and imperialist

spokesmen alike see in the “Chinese road” of creeping capitalist restoration tightly controlled by the ruling Communist Party apparatus a positive model in contrast to the chaos of Yeltsin’s Russia.

The London *Independent* (30 November 1992) remarked last year: “As Russia’s economy sinks deeper into crisis, many are now looking with envy at Peking’s successful reforms.” But eight months later, the same paper wrote, “As Russia stumbles to its feet, the ‘Chinese model’ is collapsing” (*Independent*, 22 July). What is behind this shift?

The steady accumulation of enormous contradictions in China’s economy and society has turned the country into a pressure cooker waiting to explode. Deng’s injunction that “to get rich is glorious” has fueled the rise of a layer of greedy speculators and entrepreneurs, most of them drawn from the *taizidang*—the “prince’s party” of privileged offspring

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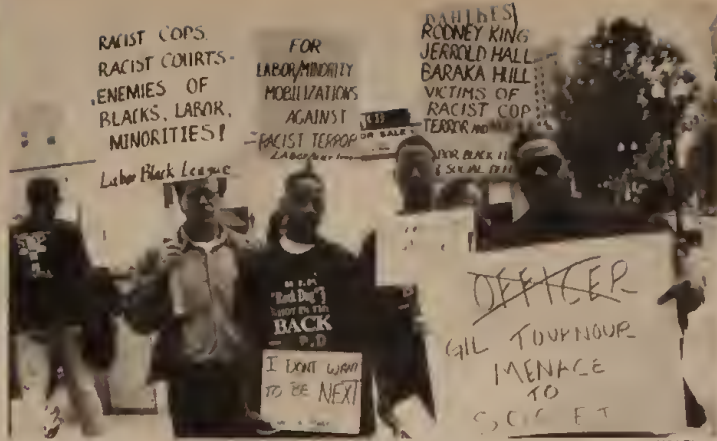
Protest Racist Cop Killing of Baraka Hull

OAKLAND, California—Around noon on July 30, Baraka Patrick Hull, a 19-year-old black man, sat in a car with his friend, parked in a driveway on 73rd Avenue in Oakland. When a police car pulled up behind them, blocking their car, the two youths fled. As Hull ran down the street, white Oakland cop Gil Tournour shot him in the back at close range. An hour later Hull was dead. His crime? The cop thought he looked "suspicious."

Outraged residents from the largely black and Hispanic neighborhood say they saw Tournour gun down Hull in

cold blood. Witnesses reported that the cop chased the black youth for less than 100 feet and then stood behind a tree to shoot him down. "You shot my baby, you shot my baby," Hull's mother, Brenda Curry, who lives a few houses from the scene, cried at the cops. "My son wasn't doing anything, and you murdered him" (*Oakland Tribune*, 31 July).

Neither the *Tribune* nor any area newspaper bothered to report that the grief-stricken mother was arrested and handcuffed by the cops at the scene for protesting her son's murder (a shock-



August 7: Demonstration outside Oakland police headquarters called by Hull family members.

ing scene shown on KTVU Channel 2 news)! Subsequently leaflets endorsing the racist cop murder of Hull were left on the Currys' doorstep! No doubt the work of the cops, fascists or both.

According to civil rights attorney John Burris, who is investigating the shooting on behalf of Hull's family, the young man fled in order to hide two "illegal" handguns he was carrying (*Oakland Tribune*, 3 August). The Oakland Police Department seized on this to invent an after-the-fact scenario to alibi the killer cop, claiming that "at one point...Hull turned to his left and pointed a semi-automatic pistol under his left arm at Tournour." But this lying cover-up was flatly contradicted by eyewitnesses who told reporters that Hull never had a gun in his hand.

The spot where Hull died quickly became a memorial, where residents have left flowers and handwritten tributes to the victim. Father of a young daughter, Baraka Hull worked nights for UPS and lived with his father, Glenn Hull, in South San Francisco. He often visited the East Oakland neighborhood where his mother and grandmother live, and where he was murdered.

Hull had a good reason to believe he should run for his life. Attorney Burris told a representative of the Partisan Defense Committee that he has recently represented four cases of individuals shot in the back by Oakland cops. The truth is that Hull was killed solely because he was black. To the racist cops, two black youths sitting in a car in East Oakland are automatically "suspicious," and when Hull ran, he was automatically "guilty."

And it's not just black youth who are victims. We remember Charles Briscoe, a black machinist brutally and sadistically murdered by the Oakland cops. (Briscoe's murder was protested by a large rally organized by members of his union at Oakland City Hall.) Not long ago Le Var Burton, the black actor, was pulled over while driving his Mercedes because he supposedly fit the profile of a "gang member"—i.e., a black man in a fancy car.

On August 7, in an action called by Hull family members, some 50 demonstrators protested Hull's murder outside Oakland Police Headquarters. In atten-

dance were Hull's father, mother, stepmother and uncles, including Mark Curry, a star of the TV sitcom "Hangin' With Mr. Cooper." The family is demanding the firing of Tournour and an investigation into the police department's "deadly force" policy.

Members of the family of Jerrold Hall, who was fatally shot in the back by a white BART cop last year in a similarly wanton act of racist murder, were also present. Demonstrators carried signs denouncing the Oakland police department for genocide and a number of black children held signs reading "I don't want to be next, let me live past 19 years old."

A dozen supporters of the Labor Black League for Social Defense, Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League joined the demonstration with signs including "Rodney King, Jerrold Hall, Baraka Hull—Victims of Racist Cop Terror and Murder" and "Racist Killer Cop Tournour Belongs Behind Bars!" We also carried signs highlighting our fight to build an integrated workers party that includes in its program "For Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Cop Terror!" Baraka Hull was a member of Teamsters Local 278 at UPS. The Bay Area's integrated labor unions should protest against this outrageous killing and in defense of minorities against racist attack.

A generation of black youth have been written off as "surplus population" by the racist rulers of this country. The shooting down of black youth in the streets is not a question of "bad cops" or "bad police departments." The cops will not be "controlled" by "civilian review boards" or black faces in high places—whether it's Oakland's new black police chief Joseph Samuels or Elhuh Harris, Oakland's black Democratic Party mayor.

The cops are the backbone of the capitalist state, which along with the army, courts, prisons and FBI constitute the armed coercive force by which the ruling class maintains its class dictatorship over the working class. Cop terror in the ghettos and barrios across America is part of maintaining their bloody racist class rule. The murderous, racist police will be swept away for good when the workers take power in their own name in a socialist revolution! ■



TROTSKY

China and Permanent Revolution

The Russian October Revolution of 1917 was a confirmation of the perspective of permanent revolution advanced by Leon Trotsky in 1905. Trotsky held that in economically backward Russia, the tasks of the democratic revolution—agrarian reform, national consolidation, etc.—could only be carried out through workers' revolution that would necessarily pass over to socialist tasks. In his 1917 "April Theses," Lenin came to the same conclusion, preparing the Bolshevik



LENIN

victory. In a negative sense, the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, a result of Stalin's subordination of the working class to the weak national bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek, demonstrated the validity of the strategy of permanent revolution in all colonial and semi-colonial countries in the imperialist epoch. In all cases, the key is a Bolshevik party theoretically armed to lead the workers to power.

The politics of the Communist International in China showed convincingly what the Russian revolution would have been converted into if the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries had not been thrust aside in time by the Bolsheviks. In China the conception of the permanent revolution was confirmed once more, this time not in the form of a victory, but of a catastrophe.

It would, of course, be impermissible to identify Russia and China. With all their important common traits, the differences are all too obvious. But it is not hard to convince oneself that these differences do not weaken but, on the contrary, strengthen the fundamental conclusions of Bolshevism. In one sense tsarist Russia was also a colonial country, and this found its expression in the predominant role of foreign capital. But the Russian bourgeoisie enjoyed the benefits of an immeasurably greater independence from foreign imperialism than the Chinese bourgeoisie. Russia itself was an imperialist country. With all its meagerness, Russian liberalism had far more serious traditions and more of a basis of support than the Chinese. To the left of the liberals stood powerful petty-bourgeois parties, revolutionary or semirevolutionary in relation to tsarism. The party of the Social Revolutionaries managed to find considerable support among the peasantry, chiefly from its upper layers. The Social Democratic (Menshevik) Party led behind it broad circles of the urban petty bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy. It was precisely these three parties—the Liberals, the Social Revolutionaries, and the Mensheviks—who for a long time prepared, and in 1917 definitely formed, a coalition which was not yet then called the People's Front but which had all of its traits. In contrast to this the Bolsheviks, from the eve of the revolution in 1905, took up an irreconcilable position in relation to the liberal bourgeoisie. Only this policy, which achieved its highest expression in the "defeatism" of 1914-17, enabled the Bolshevik party to conquer power.

The differences between China and Russia—the incomparably greater dependence of the Chinese bourgeoisie on foreign capital, the absence of independent revolutionary traditions among the petty bourgeoisie, the mass gravitation of the workers and peasants to the banner of the Comintern—demanded a still more irreconcilable policy—if such were possible—than that pursued in Russia. Yet the Chinese section of the Comintern, at Moscow's command, renounced Marxism, accepted the reactionary scholastic "principles of Sun Yat-Sen," and entered the ranks of the Kuomintang, submitting to its discipline. In other words, it went much further along the road of submission to the bourgeoisie than the Russian Mensheviks or Social Revolutionaries ever did.

—Leon Trotsky, "Revolution and War in China" (January 1938)

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ILWU: Contract Threatens Coast Unity

SAN FRANCISCO, August 8—Longshoremen up and down the West Coast are voting on a contract which threatens to carve up the union, setting port against port and local against local. At a "stop work" contract meeting of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on August 5, members of the SF local were met by unionists shipped up from Los Angeles by the International to tell them to vote for the contract. But one group of older black longshoremen, deeply angry over the contract, told them in no uncertain terms to get back to L.A.

Workers in the Bay Area are furious over the proposed surrendering of intra-port travel payments (normally made to longshoremen when, for instance, they must travel from their San Francisco base to the Oakland port) which add up to as much as \$5,000 a year. When details became known on July 1, Local 10 workers struck in protest for a day. The contract also contains a virtual pay freeze and continues the divisive *four-tier* wage system. Sharply increased pensions are the "sweetener"—although it will take a worker hundreds more hours of work per year to qualify for a full pension credit. But the monetary details are only the tip of the iceberg of this rotten deal.

The real kicker in the proposed new contract is the much-ballyhooed Section II, "Framework for Special Agreement." Here the union bureaucrats and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) bosses agree to negotiate a *separate* agreement in 1994 which ominously talks about "company by company, terminal by terminal" negotiations, "eliminating redundant jobs due to automation," and "the elimination of unnecessary or out-



ILWU longshoremen outside L.A.-area container facility protest Southern Pacific's union-busting in February 1992.

dated Contract provisions or work practices." Like the union hiring hall? This section, if implemented, would give a *blank check* to the bosses to "rationalize" the waterfront as they see fit, forcing workers to compete against each other, "company by company" and "terminal by terminal," in the name of "competitiveness." It would destroy the coastwise standards won by the historic maritime 1934 strike and jeopardize the existence of the ILWU.

ILWU International president David Arian promotes the "framework" as the wave of the future, which "will address the employers' needs" and "their legitimate desires to modernize operations"

(Dispatcher, 14 April and 27 July). He claims that the PMA will give the union "top to bottom" jurisdiction on the waterfront. So where will Arian's new jobs come from? That's "sensitive," and neither side will elaborate in public. But it's obvious that Arian's corporatist deal with the PMA rests on *raiding* other unions like the Machinists and the Teamsters, setting up deadly jurisdictional warfare on the docks.

In his July 19 speech to the ILWU's Coast Caucus—where fully 40 percent of the delegates voted against the agreement—Arian attempted to browbeat the delegates with his version of the alternative that faces the union—the defeats

suffered by Australian and New Zealand dock workers. In Australia, under the 1989 Enterprise Bargaining Agreement, the union tops, the bosses and the government ganged up to wipe out over 4,000 jobs—effectively cutting the workforce in half since 1990. Union control of hiring has been cut back, manning scales torn up, casual labor increased, and nationally uniform conditions are gone. Arian threatened that to fight means death, as in New Zealand, where "half the workers on the waterfront today are nonunion working for six dollars an hour, with the union workforce working right next to them and the government persecuting them." But these defeats came at the hands of Arian's counterparts in the trade-union bureaucracy, pursuing exactly the same kind of class collaboration the ILWU bureaucracy is shoving down longshoremen's throats here.

But Arian needn't have gone all the way Down Under for his example. His supporters from L.A. Local 13 write that "Under this contract certain sacrifices will be made. Historically, Harry Bridges confronted the same situation during the M&M negotiations." The 1961 "Mechanization and Modernization" (M&M) contract negotiated by Bridges was a watershed for the union, the beginning of a long, agonizing decline in size. Bridges accepted the introduction of "labor-saving" machinery at the workers' expense, in exchange for the "Pay Guarantee Plan" (PGP), which the bosses use to blackmail the union, threatening to cancel the PGP at even the hint of job actions.

Like the division of the union into "A" men and second-class "B" men, and the creation of a privileged layer of steady

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Romanian Miners Strike Against Capitalist Austerity

For the third time since the fall of the hated Ceausescu regime in 1989, the miners of Romania's Jiu Valley are in revolt. The 45,000 miners of the Transylvanian Alps coal basin downed tools August 1, after the government rejected the union's demands for doubling the monthly wage to 224,000 lei (\$280), and proposed huge wage differentials between coalface and above-ground mine workers. Now, with the minority "social-democratic" government hardlining it, the miners are threatening to take their protest to the streets of Bucharest once again.

For the workers of Romania, while life under Ceausescu was bad, life under pro-capitalist austerity "reformers" is even more miserable (see "Capitalism Is So Bad, Romanians Say Life Was Better Under Ceausescu," WV No. 571, 12 March). Since 1989, the ex-Stalinists of the National Salvation Front (NSF) led by President Ion Iliescu have imposed "free-market reforms" in Romania which have led to galloping 230 percent annual inflation. Under pressure from the International Monetary Fund bloodsuckers, the government ended food subsidies last month, and this month introduced a value-added tax, which hits workers and poor people hardest.

Meanwhile, as ethnic/nationalist warfare and persecution sweep through East Europe, tens of thousands of Roma (Gypsies) have been forced to flee Romania to neighboring countries as their homes have been razed. But as Ger-



August 1: Tens of thousands of Romanian coal miners go on strike.

many has slammed shut the gate to refugees, the first to be sent "home" by the chartered plane-load are the Roma, more than 500,000 of whom were annihilated by the Third Reich.

Despite the immiseration of the Romanian people, the IMF last month refused a loan to Romania because of "doubts about the commitment to free-market reforms"—they'd prefer an even more right-wing government. Thus Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu is refusing even to negotiate with the miners, hoping to make a good impression on the imperialist bankers cartel. Meanwhile, the

state sector workers are outraged by the measly 20 percent pay raise offered by the government, and the union of railway mechanics called for a strike in sympathy with the miners. Earlier this spring, tens of thousands of workers joined in protests and warning strikes, calling for "no more hunger and poverty" and demanding the resignation of President Iliescu and the government.

Miners union leader Miron Cosma, who had initially capitulated to the government at the negotiations in Bucharest, was forced to race back to the mine headquarters at Petrosani July 29 after

workers staged a walkout demanding his dismissal. Cosma, who has on repeated occasions aided Iliescu, reluctantly called the strike, threatening, "We do not want to go to Bucharest, but everything is possible."

Although the militant miners are ready and willing to fight against the IMF "shock treatment," it will take more than trade-union struggle to defeat the capitalist onslaught and combat the growing menace of nationalist chauvinism. The rump-Stalinist Socialist Labor Party, which is strong among the Jiu Valley miners, supports the minority NSF government.

As we noted in the main document of the Second International Conference of the International Communist League:

"The nascent bourgeois states of East Europe are, however, *extremely weak and fragile*. They have brought untold misery to the working people of the region without as yet generating a new class of capitalist proprietors.... The new East European regimes face a fundamental contradiction of trying to restore capitalism without capital... These brittle and shallowly rooted bourgeois-restorationist regimes can be shattered by an explosion of working-class struggle."

The Jiu Valley miners (who struck against Ceausescu himself in 1977) have twice mobilized in Bucharest to defend the NSF government: the first time against reactionary rioters preparing for a right-wing coup in June 1990; the second time to oust technocratic prime minister Petre Roman in September 1991. And if Iliescu hadn't capitulated then to the miners, they probably would have swept him away too. But today, with the IMF and World Bank wolves howling at the gates, the courageous Romanian miners are in urgent need of a genuinely communist—i.e., Trotskyist internationalist—party to lead them in a revolutionary struggle extending from the Balkans across East Europe and the ex-USSR. ■

The Government's War Against Black America



28 March 1968: Martin Luther King marched in support of striking Memphis sanitation workers (right). King was assassinated one week later.

Massive Army Spy Operation Stalked Martin Luther King

It has been known for years that Martin Luther King, Jr. was the target of a massive surveillance and disinformation campaign by the FBI and other government police agencies. The FBI's COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) sought as one of its main goals to "Prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement." The Atlanta FBI had a "Destroy King" squad. But a recent investigative report by Stephen G. Tompkins in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* (21 March) reveals a far more extensive and sinister spy operation carried out by the U.S. Army against the slain civil rights leader.

King was struck down 25 years ago, as he stood on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis on 4 April 1968. James Earl Ray immediately pleaded guilty to being the lone assassin. Yet, at the moment of his murder, King was being secretly tracked by droves of Army intelligence officers and, apparently, elite Green Beret "counterinsurgency" squads.

Summarizing the results of his exhaustive 16-month investigation—based on reviewing "a trail of memos, memoirs, diaries and meeting notes" as well as classified government documents and interviews with nearly 200 people—journalist Tompkins judiciously writes that there is "no hard evidence that Army Intelligence played any role in King's assassination." But the wealth of material amassed by Tompkins (who now works for the governor of Tennessee) makes it abundantly clear that the Army was prepared to use any weapon against King and was "desperately searching for a way to stop him."

"Klan Special Forces"

Army Intelligence first started a dossier on King in 1947, when he was photographed with other Morehouse College students at a meeting with a "suspected Communist." Ten years later, "Army spies pegged King as a Communist tool" when he spoke at an integrated school in Tennessee. As King went on to become the most prominent spokesman of the liberal civil rights movement, Army Intelligence and a host of other spy agencies began dogging his every step and eavesdropping on every conversation. King had been the target of FBI surveillance and dirty tricks for years before his murder, going back to a COMINFIL ("Communist infiltration")



U.S. Army intelligence Command operations room at Fort Holabird, Maryland (left), as agents conduct domestic radio surveillance in 1968.

campaign in 1962, which was the precursor for the later COINTELPRO operation aimed at destroying the Black Panther Party and other militants (see "Why the FBI Tried to Destroy M.L. King," WV No. 396, 31 January 1986).

As Tompkins documents, the Army spy operation against King was part of a covert war against black America dating back to at least 1917, on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, when a domestic espionage network was set up to go after militant socialists, revolutionary syndicalists like the Industrial Workers of the World, and "Negro unrest." King's maternal grandfather, head of the Atlanta NAACP, was an early target, as was his father, who participated in the National Negro Congress, associated with the Communist Party.

Tompkins reveals that government spying on the civil rights movement was so massive that, beginning with the 1963 Birmingham civil rights campaign, the Army was deploying high-altitude U-2 spy planes, notorious for infiltrating

Soviet airspace, to track black protesters! On at least 26 occasions over seven years the military used U-2s in domestic spy flights, taking off from the super-secret "Site 98" outside Nellis AFB in Nevada, as well as SR-71 "Blackbird" reconnaissance planes.

When Maj. Gen. William Yarborough was appointed Army assistant chief of staff for intelligence in late 1966, he brought with him the conviction that King and other black activists were directly bankrolled by China or the Soviet Union. The liberal preacher was an ideological opponent of black radicals, who rightly viewed him as a conciliator of the racist status quo. But the feds were determined to prevent the rise of a "black messiah." The convulsive growth of black militancy in the urban ghettos coupled with massive antiwar protests sweeping the campuses made the Pentagon brass feel like they were fighting—and losing—a war on two fronts, particularly in the wake of their humiliation at the hands of the Vietnamese NLF

during the January 1968 Tet Offensive. It looked as though "the empire was coming apart at the seams," Yarborough said later.

Yarborough presided over what Tompkins terms the "largest domestic spy network ever assembled in a free country." Six regional Military Intelligence Groups ran 304 different offices around the country, while a seventh (the 116th MIG) operated exclusively in Washington, D.C. and the "super-secret" 902nd MIG headquartered in Falls Church, Virginia was controlled directly by Yarborough. Army Intelligence maintained its own dossiers on nearly 81,000 individuals and more than 211,000 organizations, with access to an additional 21 million files held by the Defense Central Index of Investigation, the FBI, CIA, Secret Service and other spy agencies.

Before taking charge of Army Intelligence, Yarborough had commanded the Green Beret training school at Fort Bragg. Insisting that the Green Berets and Army Intelligence could "mutually support" each other in "counterinsurgency operations both foreign and domestic," Yarborough began making use of these hard-bitten killers on the home front. Prominent among them was the 20th Special Forces Group based in Birmingham, Alabama, which included some of the worst dregs from the Vietnam War, "those who had worked in murky clandestine operations with the CIA, the Special Operations Group (SOG) or the top secret Detachment B-57"—like the infamous Phoenix "rural pacification" program which assassinated tens of thousands of Vietnamese. For the racist killers of the 20th, according to one counterintelligence officer, "Birmingham became Saigon. The rural South was in-country and at times things got out of hand."

When black Detroit erupted in the summer of 1967 in the largest inner-city rebellion yet seen, Yarborough ordered his men: "Get out your counterinsurgency manuals, we have an insurgency on our hands" (quoted in Frank J. Donner, *The Age of Surveillance*). Tanks rolled through the streets of the Motor City, blasting away at anything that moved and killing 43 people.

Tompkins notes that the military churned out plans—which were kept secret even from civilian police agencies—for possible counterinsurgency operations the following summer in 124 cities, complete with "maps with all 'sensitive areas' marked, landing zones,

secret storage sites for riot gear and weapons, and files on all civic leaders and known troublemakers." Green Beret units were dispatched to 39 cities—including Memphis—to "scout sniper sights." Detroit mayor Cavanagh ordered a special \$9 million bond issue to buy machine guns, M-1 carbines, tear gas guns and grenades, armored vehicles, a helicopter and a spotter plane. Memphis cops set up five new "anti-sniper" squads.

Meanwhile, the army itself was secretly shoveling weapons and funds to metropolitan police departments and right-wing groups. The 109th Military Intelligence Group gave money to Baltimore's Inspectional Services Division to spy on "black radicals." The 116th allocated \$270,000 to Washington police in 1967 and 1968. In Chicago, the 113th MIG supplied the right-wing "Legion of Justice" terrorists with tear gas and electronic surveillance equipment for use against antiwar groups. In the South, the 20th Special Forces set up a paramilitary training base in Cullman, Alabama for KKKers who called themselves "Klan Special Forces" and "soon became the 20th's intelligence network."

When King began speaking out against the Vietnam War in 1967, an army report frantically warned that "Negro troops are unsettled." In February 1968, Yarborough's top aides held a strategy meeting at Army Intelligence Command headquarters at Fort Holabird, Maryland to map out a systematic campaign to stop King, who was then organizing a "Poor People's Campaign" march on Washington for April. A secret Pentagon report warned that the march would be "a devastating civil disturbance whose sole purpose is to shut down the United States government," and blasted King as "a Negro who repeatedly has preached the message of Hanoi and Peking."

Army and police teams photographed King at a prayer march at Arlington Cemetery on February 6, and then used the pictures for dart practice. Later that

month, an intelligence report noted: "Indications from reliable source are MLK will be in Memphis to support union striking city." When a March 28 demonstration for striking Memphis sanitation workers was attacked by cops, leaving one black youth dead and 60 injured, the FBI used this to warn that "acts of so-called non-violence advocated by King cannot be controlled. The same thing could happen in his planned massive civil disobedience for Washington in April."

As King returned to Memphis on April 3, he was shadowed by the 111th MIG. Also in Memphis, on an "unknown mission," was an "Operation Detachment Alpha 184 Team" of Green Berets. Tompkins' research could account for only eight members of the usual complement of twelve on this team. The following afternoon, King was shot dead. Hundreds of thousands of blacks took to the streets in outrage, as America's inner cities went up in flames. Congressmen looking out of the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C. could see the smoke spiraling skyward.

Feds and Klan Go Hand in Hand

One way or another, Martin Luther King was a victim of the very forces on whom he preached reliance. While urging the black masses to "turn the other cheek," King appealed for the organized violence of the capitalist state to be used in the service of reforming an unreformable system of racist oppression. He looked to the cops even to quell black rebellion. When the Los Angeles ghetto of Watts exploded in the summer of '65, King despicably declared, "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them."

Indeed, the cops and troops were used *exclusively* to check black unrest. When Birmingham police chief Bull Connor unleashed his stormtroopers against King's protests in 1963, the Kennedy White House sent in 3,000 troops only after black demonstrators started defend-



Birmingham, 1963: As police chief Bull Connor unleashed his stormtroopers against civil rights protests led by Martin Luther King, Army Intelligence U-2 spy plane flew overhead.

ing themselves against the racist thugs. Despite occasional token reforms and lip service to black rights, the capitalist government—at every level—worked hand in hand with the Dixiecrat segregationists and racist mobs, from FBI Klan "informant" Gary Rowe, who was complicit in the 1964 Birmingham church bombing and the 1965 murder of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo, to the feds' role in the 1979 KKK massacre of five Greensboro leftists.

Several months after King's murder, then attorney general (and current liberal darling) Ramsey Clark gleefully reported to his boss, Lyndon B. Johnson, that the predicted summer of violence which King's march was to have triggered never happened. Far from being a "rogue operation," the whole FBI/Army vendetta against King was tied to the White House through the Interdivisional Unit set up by Clark in 1967. Clark's chief liaison with Yarborough was War-

ren Christopher, now Clinton's secretary of state. (Clark and Christopher furiously denied involvement until confronted with internal memos they had written.) And from the massacre of an integrated religious commune in Waco to the police-state occupation of South-Central L.A. last spring, the capitalist government's war against black America remains in high gear.

King's death coincided with the demise of the liberal movement he embodied, whose reliance on the Democratic Party of war and racism hit a dead end when they tried to tackle the economically entrenched segregation in the North. In the end, he was a victim of the system he tried loyally to serve. As we noted in 1986, "If the FBI did not pull the trigger, they fueled the social climate that spawned the vermin like James Earl Ray. King tried to serve both the oppressed and the oppressor, but the latter would not accept a dual loyalty." ■

Malcolm X Called It "The Farce on Washington"

August 28: Liberals/Reformists Want a Repeat

Karl Marx remarked that if everything in world history occurred twice, the first time was tragedy, the second time farce. Well, if the 1963 March on Washington was, as Malcolm X called it, a farce, what does that make its 30-year anniversary, the "August 28 March on Washington for Jobs, Justice and Peace"? Initiated by Coretta Scott King and endorsed by the NAACP and the AFL-CIO, the march's sponsors are focused on pressuring the Democratic White House for their various agendas. The moribund Communist Party USA (which outlived the collapse of Soviet Stalinism by force of lethargy) is whooping it up, hoping to breathe new life into its shopworn reformism.

But blacks and all poor and working people will not be served by trooping for Clinton. Desperately needed is a class-struggle fight to mobilize the power of labor and blacks in defense of their rights and their lives. And this fight must be waged *against* the Democratic Party government, and the sellout union bureaucrats and black misleaders that prop it up. That means *strikes* that stop scabs in their tracks, not crawling before the capitalist politicians in Congress to pass toothless laws against "replacement workers." It means *labor/black mobilizations* against racist terror, and a fight to abolish the racist death penalty, the legal lynching overwhelmingly of young black and Hispanic men by the capitalist state. It means *defense of abortion clinics*, not reliance on feminist lawyers and their Democratic Party friends. Most of

all, it means building a *fighting workers party* to galvanize and organize the struggle, through a *break* with the Democrats, whose reason for existence is to keep the working class and minorities in line.

One thing's for sure, you won't find these kinds of politics on the platform in Washington on August 28. Now that Clinton's in, the CPUSA's *People's Weekly World* (24 July) hastens to assure us that "August 28 is not anti-administration," unlike "Solidarity Day of August 1981" in the first year of the Reagan administration. But that massive march, called after Reagan's mass firing of the striking air controllers, was held to blow off steam and kiss off the PATCO strikers, while social-democratic sellouts like IAM head Bill Winpisinger refused to shut down the airlines and win this crucial labor battle.

"Keep the Dream Alive!" headlines a leaflet for the August 28 march from DC 37 municipal workers, referring to M.L. King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech at the '63 march. Radical SNCC students responded then with a hutton, "I Have a Nightmare."

The 1963 March on Washington was an attempt to channel the mass struggle for black rights into pressure politics for the passing of a civil rights bill and to cement ties with the Democratic Party. Even the most conservative civil rights leaders initially saw the march as a means to put the heat on the Kennedy administration, which was dragging its heels on the bill

and other anti-discrimination legislation. But when Kennedy called the "respectable leaders" into the Oval Office for a conference, they quickly changed their minds. They changed their destination from the White House to the Lincoln Memorial, issued a march handbook deleting a "statement to the president" and a call to confront Congress. Participation was denied to "subversive" groups, and speeches were censored. Although John Lewis of SNCC was invited to speak, he was pressured

into deleting from his prepared text the sentence, "We cannot depend on any political party for both Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence."

Although the '64 Civil Rights Act was a supportable declaration of minimal democratic rights, the march was meant to build support for precisely that party whose purpose was to sabotage any attempt by blacks to gain those rights.

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Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 10

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Harlem Benefit for Jamal, Graham

Urgent Call: Stop the Execution of Gary Graham!

"A Literary Benefit for Two Black Writers on Death Row" was held in the Harriet Tubman School auditorium in Harlem, August 5. Some 200 people turned out to hear prominent stage and screen personalities Danny Glover and Ruby Dee read from the works of prisoners Mumia Abu-Jamal and Gary Graham. NYC judge Bruce Wright was also a featured speaker.

The hour of execution looms for Gary Graham, who has been scheduled for judicial murder by the state of Texas on August 17. At press time, a judge's order for an evidentiary hearing or a stay of execution is being appealed by the state. Mumia Abu-Jamal is a death row political prisoner in Pennsylvania. A Philadelphia radio journalist, Jamal is a former Black Panther and supporter

of the MOVE organization.

The case of Gary Graham has become a symbol of the 2,700 prisoners on death row across the U.S. Sentenced to death at age 17 despite substantial evidence of his innocence, Gary Graham has become a symbol of the government's vindictive campaign to wield the executioner's ax, and to hell with the evidence. Graham was railroaded on charges of shooting a man in a supermarket parking lot despite numerous witnesses who have attested to his innocence. His court-appointed "defense attorney" was an acquaintance of the sole prosecution witness. Graham's case has recently been championed by the NAACP and taken up by the Congressional Black Caucus.

The August 5 Harlem meeting was co-sponsored by Amnesty International, along with the Black Panther Newspaper Committee, the Gary Graham Coalition, the Hunter College Black Student Union and the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal. This marked an important change on the part of Amnesty International, USA, which had until recently avoided taking up the cases of black political prisoners.

Speaker after speaker linked the racist death penalty to the history of



Gary Graham

New York Times

repression of the black populace of the U.S. Former political prisoner Dhoruba bin Wahad linked the death penalty to the government's COINTELPRO program aimed at intimidating black youth and forcing them out of political struggle. More than one speaker bitterly contrasted the adulation accorded black imperialist front man, General Colin Powell, with the judicial torture meted out to Graham and Jamal.

Civil rights attorney Leonard Weinglass, chief counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal, repeated the call for an urgent fight to stop the execution of Gary Graham. The U.S. has been executing people this year at a rate higher than at any time in the last 30 years, he noted. "Even countries like South Africa have not executed in three years, and the pace of executions is quickening very rapidly. If they can get past Gary, if they can get past Mumia, then it is indeed very serious."

In the words of Gary Graham, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." Stop the executions!



WV Photo

Danny Glover and Ruby Dee read from writings of Mumia Abu-Jamal and Gary Graham at Harlem benefit, August 5.

ILWU...

(continued from page 3)

men, Bridges' M&M contract laid the basis for the erosion of jobs that Arian continues today. Against this strangling of the union, there must be a fight for jobs for all—including "B" men and casuals—at full pay and pensions, with special training and recruitment programs for minorities and women.

Arian says "the days when we could win some measure of justice by simply establishing a picket line...are long gone." Arian, and bureaucrats like Richard Trumka of the Mine Workers, are the offspring of the anti-communist, union-busting Taft-Hartley law, tied by a thousand strings to the bosses' government,

steeped in the world of Labor Board rulings and begging Congress. PMA bosses wondered, after years of "quiet" under former union chief Jimmy Herman, if Arian, a "self-avowed socialist," was going to "spell trouble." Well, Arian quickly "clarified that he is not a socialist" (*Journal of Commerce*, 3 April 1992). His sabotage of a coastwide action against Southern Pacific Railroad's firing of 300 Los Angeles ILWU workers last year reassured the PMA.

The same bureaucracy which is sinking the ILWU retails the most disgusting "defense" of "American jobs" in its protectionist opposition to the Free Trade Agreement which aims at the creation of a "Fortress North America" to wage trade war against Japanese and European rivals. Criticizing Bush last

year for "ripping away at the fabric of American life," Arian rants that the government holds "our agriculture industry hostage to low-wage foreign competition" and "they subvert laws, such as the Immigration Act, which were intended to protect American workers" (*Dispatcher*, 24 March 1992).

On the eve of the contract, the shipper's *Journal of Commerce* (1 July) noted that the longshore union, "by virtue of its control over dock work in ports handling roughly half of the country's imports and exports, is considered one of the most powerful in the country." Instead of chauvinist appeals, what's needed is *international workers unity*. And waterfront unions from Vancouver, Canada to Veracruz, Mexico are well placed to be in the forefront of militant class struggle against their respective capitalist rulers and the bosses' "free trade" fraud. But that requires a leadership that fights, in Trotsky's words, to transform the unions into "instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat" (*Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* [1940]). ■

Malcolm X...

(continued from page 5)

Characterizing the march as the "Farce on Washington," Malcolm X wrote:

"In '63 it was the march on Washington. In '64, what was it? The civil-rights bill. Right after they passed the civil-rights bill they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it; murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So that the civil-rights bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was designed to enable us to let off our frustrations. But the bill itself was not designed to solve our problems."

—George Breitman, ed.,
Malcolm X Speaks (1965)

Malcolm gave voice to and reflected the feelings of thousands of young black

radicals whose experience in "the movement" was leading them to break with the pacifism and Democratic Party liberalism of their leaders, in the direction of the initially contradictory politics embodied in the slogan of black power. For these radicals, Malcolm's writings demolished the politics of Martin Luther King, who had come to see the 1963 march as the high point of his career. Today, this does not prevent such craven social democrats as *Socialist Action* from lauding the "evolution" which "moved Dr. King from the path of reform and the belief that American institutions can be fixed to a more radical outlook" (*Socialist Action*, April 1993). This blatant rewriting of history, echoing a long-time CP theme, erases the central political fight between the right and left wings of the civil rights movement, so as to hide the reformists' own tailist role in it.

Thirty years after the '63 March on Washington, the desperate plight of black people in this deeply racist country is far worse. Massive layoffs and the de-industrialization of American capitalism have decimated the black proletariat and marginalized millions into the forgotten wastelands of South-Central and the South Bronx. While fire-bombers torch West Coast NAACP offices, Clinton's "justice" minister Janet Reno and the feds unleash a fiery inferno on "dissenters" like the small Christian sect in Waco, Texas.

The "black power" radicals correctly rejected the program of liberal integration into this racist capitalist system. But they never found the link between the ghetto and the factory, the program of *revolutionary* integrationism, and soon consolidated around the dead end of black nationalism. Our fight is to forge the multiracial vanguard party of the proletariat that champions the cause of all the oppressed. For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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This summer we have produced a new issue of our *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* series. The subject matter is a bulletin titled "Bureaucratic Centralism in the IBT," the product of a recent split in the "International Bolshevik Tendency" between its two main North American centers (Toronto and the SF Bay Area). Published by the Bay Area ex-BTers, the 130-page bulletin is esoteric, apolitical, personalist and grotesque. Yet it has been the source of some real reading pleasure at least for members of our organization, who have relished its recasting of *Darkness at Noon*-vintage anti-communism as a *Peyton Place* soap opera. This collection of documents and other communiqués from inside the BT demonstrates, and in their own only too colorful words, that everything we have ever said about them is more than true.

Regular readers of *WV* will be familiar with the BT. A small collection of embittered ex-members who left our organization coincident with the opening of imperialism's "Cold War II" against the USSR, for the past ten years the BT has been animated by a fanatical hatred of, and pathological obsession with, the Spartacist League. To cover for their own cowardly departure from our organization, the BTers came together (in some cases after having voted for each other's expulsions) to retail lurid tales of Spartacist "degeneracy" and "bureaucratism." But if ever there was a degeneration product of the SL, the BT is it.

The reflection of every flinch and deformation produced by the pressures of the racist and anti-Soviet ruling class, they attracted to their ranks some of the worst elements who ever spent any time in our organization. It is not an easy thing to get expelled from the Spartacist League, but the BT managed to collect a high proportion of those who were. We urge the curious among our readers to order the new bulletin and see for themselves that the BT and their erstwhile comrades of the ex-BT ("Communist Workers Group") are, as we have always said, a collection of petty bureaucrats, thieves, liars, brutes and sociopaths.

While shot through with references to the SL as the ultimate "bureaucratic" evil, the reader will find in the bulletin a squalid tale of a real bureaucratic snake pit. There are no financial guidelines, no organizational rules, no codified rights for sections or locals much less the (minuscule) membership. They can't even decide if they have one or two "sections" in North America! The "International Secretariat" simply makes up the rules as it goes along to feed their egos and/or serve perceived factional advantage.

A Falling Out Among Thieves

The opposition in the Bay Area BT was headed by Gerald Smith and Fred Riker. They went into revolt over the production of their own local journal, *1917 West*. Met with resistance by the BT's "International Secretariat," they simply took the money and ran to the printers. This was hardly a novel course of action for these two birds. Both of them were expelled (separately) from the SL on charges of financial chiseling and malfeasance, following a history of generally behaving as abusive bullying pigs. The BT, claiming our charges against these "victims" were inventions of the SL's "bureaucratic regime," demonstrated their regard for Riker by making him the Bay Area treasurer (meanwhile Gerald was made a full member of their "International Executive Committee").

Now here's how Fred responds to charges of "misappropriating" funds for the *1917 West* affair: "Fred said that he would 'deck' any comrade who used the word 'misappropriate'.... Fred's parting words to Boyd were to the effect: 'If you use that word I'll blow your head off'." Later, Fred resigns, cutting off the Bay Area BT's computer linkup and holding the phone and bank account (both in his name) hostage. Then there's Gerald. He abstains on a motion that he



Fox Photos Ltd

From the Snake Pit of Anti-Spartacism

refrain from calling a woman comrade "a bitch." Later he gets into a fistfight at 14th and Franklin Streets in downtown Oakland with the local BT organizer.

Despite the BT/ex-BT fascination with things financial, the documents presented in the new bulletin don't mention an earlier split among their German comrades, which similarly took place over money. To summarize this tale, the Germans (who are scarcely mentioned in the bulletin in any context) rushed to "regroup" with a couple of swindlers who had stolen a car and a bank account of our German section. Our comrades had alerted the public in an article, "They Stole the Wrong Car." But this only egged on the BT, which published a lengthy joint document with these elements. Less than a month later, the Germans had put out a new edition of this document with a postscript explaining that "alien elements, careerists" whose "only tie to Trotskyism" was their "justified later stand against the slanders of the ICL" (i.e., our public exposure of their theft), had just departed after swiping "sizeable sums of party money!"

Representing the BT's "International Secretariat" in the fight against the Bay Area is Tom Riley, who has long claimed he was the victim of a major "purge" in our Canadian section in the early 1980s (in fact, he quit). The new bulletin shows Riley to be a preening, strutting martinet who makes up the "rules" as he goes along. Thus, in his pronouncement on the fistfight between Smith and the Bay Area organizer, he devises guidelines for when it is justified for one member to slug another first! This was certainly convenient given that the leadership-loyal local organizer threw the first punch—he was "criticized" while Gerald was suspended from membership.

In the documents, Riley complains of Gerald's "verbal abuse, unruliness, rudeness and other forms of non-socialist behavior which have moreover sometimes been accompanied by expressions of social backwardness on the gay question and particularly the woman question." But everyone recognized that Gerald and Fred were pigs; indeed Riker wore it as a badge of honor, belching out that he and Smith "are what passes for here as worker intellectuals." But none of it ever bothered the priggish Riley until Riker and Smith got in *his* way.

The "Politics" of Ego and Opportunism

Riley is the strutting editor *maximo* of the BT, who evidently demands that any

and every piece of copy produced by every BTer anywhere pass through his computer for editing before publication. He can't understand why Smith and Riker got so uppity over this, particularly given his close collaboration in the production of Riker's *Militant Printer*. Riley fondly remembers "the considerations and suggestions that I made regarding the tricky tactical questions which arose last year in connection with the pensioners and the health care plan." The result was an article proposing to ax the retirees from the union's medical plan (see "BT Sleazeball Says: Ax the Pensioners," *WV* No. 550, 1 May 1992).

In fact all sides agree that, with the exception of one article, every piece in *1917 West* was thoroughly edited by Riley. This was purely a manifestation of bureaucratic egotism, for the BT's political line, such as it is, is determined by unrestrained local opportunism. So when Gerald wanted to make time with the anarcho-liberals of "Copwatch"—a "police reform" group in Berkeley—*1917 West* (October 1992) was devoted to an article which, pandering to California yuppie fear and loathing of the black and Hispanic masses following the 1992 L.A. upheaval, obscenely offered "socialism" as the answer to "fighting crime" (see "Cops, Crime and the BT," *WV* No. 569, 12 February). Similarly during the Persian Gulf War, the Bay Area BT repeatedly revised a leaflet to ditch whatever parts (e.g., the demand to "break the blockade of Iraq") might offend the "yellow ribbon" popular front.

Such political matters did not impinge on the BT split according to the docu-

ments. What gored Riley's ox about *1917 West* was that he saw it as competition with *his* journal, *1917*. In revenge, Riley demanded the Bay Area local foot the bill for *1917*, modestly writing that "A local that thought it had enough money to do a flashy printing job on a local paper with a circulation of 300 or so, could and should be tapped for money for the publication of the world's best Trotskyist journal."

Welcome to "Billstown"?

Running through the melodrama of the Bay Area "worker intellectuals" vs. His Editorship in Toronto is another element: the ascendancy of one Bill Logan. Logan was expelled from our organization by the delegates to our international conference in 1979, on charges of being "a proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions." An extensive investigation culminated in a trial by an International Control Commission which heard hours of painful testimony, in particular from our Australian section where Logan had served as the national chairman. Recognizing that this man was unfit for membership in any working-class organization, we took the unusual step of making the internal bulletins documenting the evidence against him available to the public in Australia and New Zealand.

Within the past few years, Logan moved in on the BT, which happily embraced him as the ultimate "victim" of the SL "regime." But the new bulletin shows him practicing his old tricks, with the members of his "Permanent Revolution Group" in New Zealand as his guinea pigs. A report by the PRG organizer says: "Bill came up with the idea of a one-off session, which we have called 'Communist Criticism', where all comrades were expected to comment openly and frankly on the good and bad characteristics of other comrades.... The criticism session was held on a whole Sunday and then over two normal meeting nights." This new "idea" for intimidating, humiliating and manipulating the membership is nothing but the old "criticism/self-criticism sessions" given currency among New Leftists during the Maoist "Cultural Revolution." Now the BT internationally is invited to admire Logan's creative views of the organizational question as he subjects his New Zealand followers to *three days* of this torment.

What next for this unsavory outfit? In the short run, nothing much has changed, as—despite a vicious split where both sides have nailed their antagonists as liars and thieves, bureaucrats and bullies—both groups come out to our public meetings and denounce us as a "bureaucratic cult!" But new conflicts of ego and appetite are surely in store for this small snake pit of self-inflated "leaders" of the "International BT." We invite you to obtain our new issue of *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* as we all await the next installment in the sordid BT saga. ■

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Young Spartacus

James P. Cannon and the Fight to Build the Revolutionary Party Origins of American Communism

Young Spartacus is pleased to print here a presentation on the foundations of American communism by comrade T. Marlow to the Spartacist League's East Coast educational last spring. The main reading for this educational was the book, James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism: Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928, published by the Prometheus Research Library in 1992. Comrade Marlow's remarks have been slightly edited for publication

PART ONE OF TWO

An obvious question, particularly for younger comrades to ask, would be: "Why this book? Why Cannon and why this period of his life?" Looking at the bedraggled remnants of the long-since Stalinized and ossified Communist Party USA, one would hardly be able to believe that in its early years the American Communist Party (CP) was a revolutionary organization with a lively (to put it mildly) internal life. For most of those years, James P. Cannon was a recognized national leader, not only of his own faction but also at times of the party itself.

What the Prometheus Research Library's book presents is a selection of the most important writings and speeches by Cannon from this period, which should be taken as a valuable supplement to Cannon's own book *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962) and the two-volume history of the early Communist Party by Theodore Draper (*The Roots of American Communism* [1957] and *American Communism and Soviet Russia* [1960]). Cannon's works from the later period of his life are available in the books published by Pathfinder Press, which were edited by the late George Breitman, who got us started on this project in the first place. I say "available" lightly, since the Socialist Workers Party now prices its books at rates so exorbitant as to make a Moscow black-marketeer blush. I think that our hook fits well in Cannon's own conception when the American communists started Pioneer Publishers—to make good quality political books available to the working class at prices they might even be able to afford.

Despite the many problems which plagued the CP in the 1920s it was then that it tried to be a revolutionary party and it was from that party that the cadres were found to regenerate a genuine Leninist, i.e., Trotskyist, organization in this country. That is our own history—and the material in the book has to be read and assimilated, not dismissed as perhaps interesting ideas from seven decades ago. Assimilating that history



Library of Congress

Industrial Workers of the World rally in New York draws Yiddish-speaking workers, Irish socialists. Immigrant workers were prominent in early Communist Party, which sought to win IWW revolutionary syndicalists to Bolshevism.

means knowing where they were right and also where they were wrong.

Many of the problems faced by Cannon then are similar to those we face today—a resurgent bourgeoisie and a politically backward proletariat on the defensive. With the ignominious collapse of Stalinism and the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, our world is shaped by increasing inter-imperialist rivalries, while the working class is saddled with, at best, a gro-

tesquely reformist leadership. The question was then, and is now: how does one build a revolutionary party and extend its influence into the mass of the workers? Just as in the 1920s, those workers organized in trade unions represent a minority, and even these are saturated with bourgeois ideology. Surmounting this obstacle is the primary question we face: to construct the mass vanguard party required to lead the workers to power and eliminate the capitalist sys-

tem before the bourgeoisie gives us another 1914—and this time it will be a world war with nuclear weapons.

James P. Cannon— The Finest Communist America Has Yet Produced

In the history of American communism, the tactical questions were inevitably subordinated to a more fundamental one: upon what *political basis* is the revolutionary party to be built? Here we have an advantage Cannon lacked in the 1920s, which is the theoretical heritage of the Trotskyist Left Opposition, and Cannon's own hard-won lessons. Cannon became the principal founder of American Trotskyism and later was a leader of the world Trotskyist movement.

After World War I, the U.S. was an imperialist power in its adolescent strength and except for a brief period of anti-Communist hysteria in 1919-1920, there were nearly two decades of nominal bourgeois democracy. This allowed the CP of the '20s and both the Stalinized CP and the Trotskyists of the '30s more freedom of action than was available in Europe. The American Trotskyists were spared much of the direct persecutions that their European comrades faced, both from Stalin's GPU (forerunner to the KGB) and the fascists. In addition, the American CP was *relatively* less policed by the Stalinized Comintern of the later



no credit

James P. Cannon (center) with Max Eastman (left) and IWW leader "Big Bill" Haywood, in Moscow at Fourth Congress of Communist International, 1922.

History of the Marxist Movement

'20s. In particular, when the anti-Trotsky campaign began in earnest in the mid-1920s, the Americans were less directly affected because the American CP was regarded as a distant outpost, and rather less important in the Comintern's factional struggles than the Germans, for instance. The result was that when Cannon was expelled in 1928, he left as a *credible political leader*, one who carried with him about a hundred capable members of his faction in the CP. This was in sharp contrast to the European supporters of Trotsky's Left Opposition, most of whom were mercilessly hounded and discredited within their own parties before they were expelled. They came out as isolated individuals, while Cannon brought with him a cadre which could and did form a serious political organization.

Why did Cannon take the leap in 1928? What had prepared him, unlike any other central leader of the CP, to break with his past and embrace Trotskyism, knowing as he did what kind of ostracism that would mean from former friends and comrades? Cannon is quite candid about the many mistakes he made in the early period, and noted:

"With inadequate theoretical schooling I was already groping my way to the conception, which later became a governing principle, that a correct political line is more important than any organizational question, including the question of party control."

—*The First Ten Years of American Communism*

Cannon was obviously not indifferent to the question of party leadership, as is amply demonstrated in our book and in his *First Ten Years*. However, around 1925 he began to understand more clearly that *political principle* was more important than whatever temporary factional advantages could be obtained by compromising those principles. This happened precisely when all of his factional collaborators and opponents were learning exactly the opposite lesson.

Cannon's history after the 1928 expulsion is well known and outside of the scope of this talk. Suffice it to say that when he died in 1974, *Workers Vanguard* ran a short obituary which pretty well summed up the man:

"James P. Cannon was the finest communist political leader this country has yet produced. In his prime he had the evident capacity to lead the proletarian revolution in America to victory."

What distinguished Cannon from his contemporaries in the CP was that he never gave up the revolutionary perspective of his youth. He could be (and was!) as good a factionalist as the others, but he didn't succumb to the disease of the power games, which the others did. They either ended up as Stalinized shells of their younger days, or as outspoken agents of American imperialism. In any case they have left the American proletariat nothing with which to arm itself for the necessary class battles before it. Cannon was quite unique in that regard; for that alone we honor him and we carry on the fight he began, despite the later degeneration of the party he created in 1928.

People of that calibre are quite rare, and that in itself is reason enough to study Cannon's writings from this important formative period. We have a plaque at the Prometheus Research Library with a quote from the philosopher George Santayana: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." It's not a new idea: about 2,000 years ago, the famous Roman orator Cicero stated, "Not to know what happened before one was born is to remain a child." With that in mind, let's study the lessons from Cannon's work in the early days, "grow up" a bit and be better communists.

Impact of the Russian Revolution

American Communism was hardly formed by Bolshevik parachutists in 1917—the early movement came from within the indigenous radical movement in the U.S., with its warts and all. Cannon

was himself part of that tradition, having early on joined the Socialist Party (SP) in 1908. Three years later he broke from the SP and went into the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW, "the Wobblies"), where he served as an agitator and organizer during and after the First World War. He might have remained as such, a good field worker trained under the tutelage of Vincent St. John, affectionately known as "the Saint." The event which interrupted this process, and which has shaped the rest of the history of this century, was the Bolshevik Revolution.

Cannon notes in the *First Ten Years*:

"The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was the *action* that brought the American communist movement into existence. Everybody knows that, and it is usually taken for granted that the *ideas* of the Russian Bolsheviks shaped the new movement from the start. Draper proves conclusively—and this is one of his major contributions to an understanding of the period—that this was not really the case. It took quite a while for the influence of Bolshevik ideas to come up even with the authority of their action."

Trotsky was known to some of the SP left wing from his brief stay in New York in 1917; Lenin was virtually unknown. In fact, it wasn't until about 1918-1919



John Reed, Communist leader and author of *Ten Days That Shook the World*.

that basic articles by Lenin and Trotsky were available in English (first published in the *Revolutionary Age*, then edited by Louis Fraina). But if the theoretical ideas of the Bolsheviks were largely unknown to the future Communists, the *fact* of the revolution made a big splash in the American radical milieu. Cannon later summarized what must have been the feelings of many throughout the world: "The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all, took the question of the workers' revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality."

The impact of the Bolshevik Revolution cannot be underestimated. For the first time a party committed to openly socialist goals had conquered political state power. Even the hidebound reformist leadership of the American SP in 1918 said, "We glory in their achievement and inevitable triumph." Words like this from the likes of Victor Berger, an open white racist and one who reveled in the appellation "the American Bernstein," should give one an idea of how little was known about the Russian Revolution in this period. (Eduard Bernstein was the prominent German Social Democratic revisionist of Marxism, whose opportunist economist adaptation to the existing prevalence of capitalism was combatted by the then-Marxist Karl Kautsky and also Rosa Luxemburg at the turn of the century.)

Cannon left the IWW to join up with the pro-Bolshevik left wing then developing within the SP. This was no isolated minority—by early 1919, the left wing probably had about two-thirds of the party membership behind it. This fact



Lake View Press

IWW militants deported as a result of the Palmer Raids.

was not lost on the conservative SP leadership of Hillquit and Berger—in the summer of 1919 they proceeded to purge whole branches and especially the East European foreign language federations, where the left wing had most of its strength.

In part, the actions of the right-wing leaders of the SP brought the split to a head, but it wasn't entirely clear whether or not the lefts could have creamed them in a showdown fight and thereby taken over the party with all the physical resources (buildings, press, etc.) it possessed. Rather than having to start from scratch, the early American CP might have had more members and much greater resources at hand. That such an obvious contest was not made can be laid at the doorstep of the foreign language federations, chiefly the Russians, which dominated the membership of the SP left wing.

Cannon refers to the Russian federation "madmen" who forced what he thought was a premature split in the SP in 1919. He spoke bitterly about the treatment of the few English-speaking delegates from the "western states," which Cannon said was how the "madmen" defined "the whole country west of Manhattan Island." The Russian federation leaders in particular thought themselves superior to the "backward" American country bumpkins, and they didn't disguise their contempt. Many if not most were closer to the Mensheviks politically. But after the Bolshevik Revolution, they thought themselves to be anointed Bolsheviks by the mere accident of nationality and language.

Lenin himself had prescribed a split with the Social Democrats, but not the

idiocy which the "American" Russians then perpetrated. (By the way, the American SP was against the war, unlike the main European social-democratic parties.) The net result of all this foolishness was not only that the left wing did not make a real fight for the leadership of the SP but that American Communism was graced not by one, but two parties at its birth. One was the Communist Party of America (CPA), which included the bulk of the East European language federations along with Ruthenberg; the second was the Communist Labor Party (CLP) of John Reed et al., who at least tried to get what they could out of the old SP. (Reed is best known for his book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, a chronicle of his experiences in Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution.) Cannon eventually joined Reed's CLP, perhaps because it wanted to root the party in the American working class. Evidence for this is that the CLP had its strength in the Midwest, which also corresponded to the geographical strength of the IWW.

Communists and the IWW

That brings up a question: why didn't more of the syndicalist-oriented militants from the IWW flock to the Communists? At least superficially there was good reason to believe that it was possible. For example, at the 1905 founding convention of the IWW, Bill Haywood himself had pointed to the importance of the 1905 Russian Revolution, and said this was an example the American workers should follow.

Cannon also cites Haywood's favorable reception of a friendly letter from the Comintern in 1920, inviting the IWW

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Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928

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SWP Anti-Gay Bigots vs. "Rainbow Curriculum"

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a weird reformist group long infamous for its shameless tailing of petty-bourgeois movements, recently published a nasty piece of anti-gay bigotry in its newspaper. In a 7 June *Militant* article, oh-so-evenhandedly headlined "Behind Debate on N.Y. School Curriculum," the SWP claims there's no difference between the paternalistic, right-wing religious totalitarians led by Pat Robertson/Cardinal O'Connor and the liberal proponents of the "Rainbow Curriculum!"

The SWP says "so-called multicultural education is no more an advance for working people than Buchanan's attempt to return to teaching the 'Ten Commandments.'" The "Rainbow" approach proposed last year by schools chancellor Joseph Fernandez sought to instill a little basic decency and tolerance for gays and lesbians in the city's turbulent and miserable public schools. But that, along with his earlier distribution of condoms, set off a firestorm of reaction that eventually toppled Fernandez.

While giving lip service to "civil rights for gays," the SWP piece goes out of its way to suck up to anti-gay bigots. "Liberals put wind in sails of rightists," they claim: "liberals who champion this curriculum attempt to use the classrooms not to teach facts, including on sex edu-

cation, but to impose their particular views of certain lifestyles." "Certain lifestyles," eh? This loaded code word—you know it's not the Mormons they're talking about—is the "polite" way to put down gays and lesbians.

This slimy anti-gay assault can only help fan the flames of all-sided hatred being whipped up by professional politicians/bigots like O'Connor and Republican "Great White Hope" Rudolph Giuliani. In contrast to the SWP's bigotry, in our article last winter, "NYC Curriculum Battle Flashpoint for Anti-Gay Bigotry," we noted: "One needn't agree with the liberal premises of the curriculum's proponents to understand the need to defend it against the bigots' assault" (WV No. 568, 29 January).

The *Militant* quotes a supposedly horrid piece of "Rainbow" advice: "A pamphlet distributed under Fernandez's chancellorship, for example, which encourages condom use, recommends among other things: 'For anal intercourse, lube up the receptive partner's anus (asshole) as well.... Do it! (Have fun!)' Such 'explanations' that focus on 'fun' things youth should 'try out' have nothing to do with sex education." God forbid kids should get the idea sex can be fun—or gay sex, anyhow, according to the SWP. Despite at least three irate letters sent by readers attacking this

creepy bigotry, the piece was reprinted in Spanish in *Perspectiva Mundial* (July/August 1993), in what one can only assume was a crude and insulting attempt to cater to backward consciousness among Hispanics.

One angry reader pointed out that the use of lubricants during anal intercourse "is not just a cute trick to increase sexual enjoyment, but a vital weapon in the fight against AIDS." SWP writer Argiris Malapanis only hardened up his position in response, reiterating that the pamphlet "does promote a certain lifestyle. Working people should not advocate promiscuity but responsibility on sexual matters" ("Does N.Y. School Curriculum Point Way to Fight Antigay Prejudice?" *Militant*, 26 July). Frankly, it escapes us how any particular technique automatically equals "promiscuity."

Of course, the SWP's basic attitude toward rad-lib "movements" veers—often wildly—with the prevailing bourgeois-liberal political winds. For a detailed history of the SWP's shameless opportunism toward gays and lesbians, our article "Seduced and Abandoned: The Politics of Opportunism: Gays and the SWP" (*Women and Revolution* No. 24, Spring 1982) provides a starting point. As we noted then, "In May 1971 the SWP announced a 'probe' into the gay liberation movement that, in

hindsight, was really the beginning of a withdrawal from it." During the '70s, the SWP's on-again, off-again attitude alienated many gay activists (as well as driving out some of their own members).

The NYC schools "Rainbow Curriculum" battle has brought out the creeping Puritanism and social bigotry of the SWP in part because it intersects the socially explosive issue of teen and youth sexuality, an issue on which the SWP has had a reactionary position for over a decade. Seeking to expunge any memory that such gay liberationists as David Thorstad, one of the founders of NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association), had been a prominent (if brief) SWP spokesman on the gay question, in early 1979 the SWP came out with the disgusting position that "repeal of age-of-consent laws is a reactionary demand." As we pointed out in *Young Spartacus* (Summer 1979):

"Revolutionaries, unlike the social-democratic SWP, oppose any and all legal restrictions by the capitalist state on effectively consensual sexual activity. Get the cops out of the bedrooms! We know that such measures are not designed to protect children but to enforce the sexual morality of the nuclear family, which is at the root of the oppression of women, youth and homosexuals." ■

American Communism...

(continued from page 9)

to join the ranks of the Comintern. It contrasted the revolutionary parliamentarism envisaged by Lenin and the Bolsheviks to the "ballot-box fetishism" and reformism of the right-wing socialists. Haywood was reported to have exclaimed to a colleague: "Here is what we have been dreaming about; here is the IWW all feathered out!" However, this didn't set aside the traditional antipathy for politicians and parties amongst the IWW ranks and leaders. That they couldn't see the difference between Lenin's Comintern and the groveling reformism of Berger et al. was to be their undoing.

Cannon tried very hard to pull the strings that he had in the IWW. He describes one occasion (probably around 1921) when he attempted to recruit his former mentor, Vincent St. John, to Com-

munist. At the Staten Island cottage of Carlo Tresca and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Cannon talked long into the night and "the Saint" listened, without accepting or rejecting Cannon's proposition that the future belonged to the young Communist Party and that militants such as St. John should join it and give it a necessary proletarian character.

Cannon lost that fight, but only barely—he relates that later, when Flynn herself had joined the CP and was involved in the work of the International Labor Defense (ILD), she mentioned how close Cannon had come to winning over "the Saint" that evening. It evidently hurt Cannon a lot, not just because of his personal relationship with St. John, but also what it might have meant to the infant CP to have gotten an influx of some people who knew how to work in the working class and could speak English, for example.

Another plausible reason for the failure of the Communists to win over the bulk of the syndicalists from the IWW was that the best militants of the IWW were

in jail at the time, due to intensive government persecution during World War I and especially after November 1917. Many of these people got long terms in federal prisons and were therefore cut off from the post-World War I ferment which shook the SP left wing and the labor movement in general. Bill Haywood chose exile in the Soviet Union over the prospect of a long term in jail and a heavy fine. A meeting between Cannon and Haywood in Moscow in the spring of 1925 did lead ultimately to the formation of the International Labor Defense, but it is nonetheless true that the bulk of the IWW were lost to the Communist movement. Shortly thereafter the IWW became a mere shell of its former self. By 1925, only eleven delegates attended the IWW national convention. They had a lot of guts but they didn't have a program.

A Damaging Split

The early American Communists had a bad split, one which essentially handed over the unaffiliated but perhaps sympa-

Communist International

thetic ranks of the SP to the right-wing leaders, who represented only a minority of the party. So you had the spectacle of two Communist parties in the late fall of 1919, both of which claimed loyalty to the same basic politics and to the Third International, and both of whom spent much of their slender resources on attacking each other publicly. What is truly criminal is that this needless internecine warfare just happened to coincide with a massive postwar upsurge in the American labor movement. More workers were involved in strikes in 1919 than in all of the subsequent six years combined. These strikes didn't exactly go unnoticed by the Communists—future CP leader William Z. Foster was lambasted in their press for his role in the 1919 steel strike, largely because Foster worked within the confines of the admittedly conservative, craft-union framework of Samuel Gompers' American Federation of Labor (AFL).

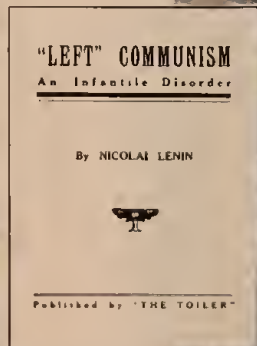
The early CP was and continued to be dominated by the former foreign language federations inherited from the old SP. Well into the 1920s, native American English-speakers comprised, at best, 10 percent or less of the membership. At the end of 1919, Draper cites figures for the Communist Party of America which show that the Slavic federations alone accounted for 56 percent of the membership. Throw in the Baltic states and it rises to over 77 percent! The party was so strapped for English language capacity that CPA national secretary Charles Ruthenberg opposed sending Louis Fraina to Moscow as the CPA representative because he was one of the few comrades capable of writing and editing the newspaper—and Ruthenberg lost the vote!

To blame the domineering influence of the Russian federation leaders for all of the ultraleftist idiocies would be wrong. The American-born membership, coming largely from a syndicalist background, had plenty of the same problems. Just to give you a flavor, an October 1919 issue of the CPA's paper *The*



Progress Publishers

V.I. Lenin's "Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder was written for the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920 (right). Cannon's Communist journal, *The Toiler*, published an early edition.



(continued from page 1)

which has been the motor of Europe, has cracked," the *Journal de Dimanche* lamented bitterly. "German bad faith and the selfishness of the Bundesbank will leave their mark, and painful memories." The authoritative *Le Monde* warned darkly that the "current monetary crisis could end in the shipwreck of the European project." Such anti-German diatribes are echoed in other European countries whose economies have been destabilized by the financial diktats of the Fourth Reich. "Bundesbank Exterminator" headlined the Spanish *El Pais*.

French venom is not only being spewed at the "selfish" Germans. Former foreign minister Roland Dumas accused the "Anglo-Saxons" of undermining the franc in order to sabotage European "integration." Meanwhile, the lame duck British Tory government of John Major is striking a smug, "we told you so" pose because it pulled the pound out of the European Monetary System almost a year ago while the French squandered their foreign-exchange reserves in a futile effort to "defend" the franc.

At the economic level, the end of the deutschmark-franc parity will usher in a new period of monetary chaos in West Europe, marked by competitive devaluations and other beggar-my-neighbor trade policies like those of the 1930s. European governments can change their national cost and price levels simply by depreciating their currencies. Multinational corporations and banks will be reluctant to operate in countries where the real value of their profits can fluctuate wildly from year to year, even from month to month. The vaunted project of a "single market" in the European Community now lies in shambles.

At the political level, the fall of the franc fort signals increasing and open conflicts between French and German capitalism, conflicts that were to a degree suppressed and papered over during the Cold War. As we wrote when the European Monetary System disintegrated last September:

"We are beginning to see the unraveling of the European Community (EC), the economic glue which for three and a half decades held together competing West European capitalist states in the American-dominated NATO alliance against the Soviet Union. But with the collapse of the Stalinist-ruled deformed workers states of East Europe and the ascendancy of capitalist counterrevolution in Russia, the Cold War imperialist alliances are coming apart."

— "Fourth Reich Bankers
Detonate...Euro-Chaos,"
WV No. 560, 2 October 1992

The EC was a going concern as long as West Germany paid the bills. But since

PROFITS VS. THE GROWTH IS SCHOOLS VS. THE ENVIRONMENT STRATEGIES VS. THE MARKET

BusinessWeek

WHAT'S WRONG?

When communism collapsed and free markets blossomed around the world, the peace dividend and capitalism together were supposed to spur rapid economic growth. Ultimately, they may. But so far the world economy has faltered. High unemployment, slow growth, and severe wage and price competition are rampant in the industrialized nations. Welcome to the new economic order nobody expected.

"New world order" of economic crisis, mounting Interimperialist rivalries. Madrid's *El Pais* called the D-mark "The Master of Europe."

Bundesbanko exterminador

La prensa y el franco agrupan dentro de un Sistema Monetario a punto de saltar por los aires

La prensa y el franco agrupan dentro de un Sistema Monetario a punto de saltar por los aires



Der Herr Europas

El dueño de Europa

El dueño de Europa

the capitalist reunification of Germany, money has flowed the other way. Bonn has financed its "leveraged buyout" of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) through massive deficit spending, estimated this year to equal 7.5 percent of the country's gross national product. To prevent the huge budget deficits from depreciating the sacred deutschmark, the masters of the Bundesbank jacked interest rates to near-record levels.

As money capital flowed into Frankfurt banks, other European governments either had to raise their own interest rates, thereby further depressing their economies, or devalue their currencies, thereby fueling inflation. The French are understandably both bitter and envious that Germany can combine fiscal profligacy with a strong currency. Ten years ago, after two successive devaluations, the social-democratic government of François Mitterrand announced that henceforth *rigueur* (austerity) and the strong franc would be the cornerstones of its economic policies. As a result, unemployment in France has hovered around 10 percent for the past decade.

Last spring the electorate punished Mitterrand's social monetarists by giving a huge majority to the right-wing bourgeois parties, who sought to channel economic discontent into anti-immigrant racism. The new government of Gaullist prime minister Edouard Balladur was also committed to the *franc fort* and so faced the same insoluble dilemma as its Socialist predecessor. In June, unemployment in France rose to a record high of 3.2 million, 11.5 percent of the labor force. The Balladur regime edged interest rates down a bit, hoping to

stimulate the economy. That brought on the deluge.

As a new wave of speculative pressure against the franc began to build in mid-July, the Bundesbank stubbornly refused to lower the key discount it charges German banks. A Paris-based economist for the Wall Street firm of Smith, Barney reported: "The market smelled blood when the Bundesbank failed to budge." European central banks shelled out \$43 billion in two days trying to stave off the speculative sharks. But this was peanuts compared to the more than \$1 trillion traded each day in the currency markets, and they soon gave up any pretense of a European-wide monetary order.

Having reduced the rest of West Europe to financial chaos, Bundesbank president Helmut Schlesinger triumphantly proclaimed the autocracy of the D-mark: "The Bundesbank does what it considers to be right—not what people expect from it" (*Washington Post*, 3 August).

Only yesterday the imperialist bourgeoisie was crowing over the "death of communism," while a spokesman for the U.S. State Department proclaimed the "end of history" with the supposedly definitive triumph of the Western liberal "market economy." But today the capitalist world is reeling. Even while ripping up "welfare state" programs, implemented following World War II in order to compete with the "Communist threat," the imperialist masters of the world are in economic crisis. *Business Week* (2 August) ran a front-cover story asking:

"What's wrong? When communism collapsed and free markets blossomed around the world, the peace dividend and

capitalism together were supposed to spur rapid economic growth. Ultimately, they may. But so far the world economy has faltered. High unemployment, slow growth, and severe wage and price competition are rampant in the industrialized nations. Welcome to the new economic order nobody expected."

Business Week's "answer" was that "a new, brutally competitive world economic order is emerging with the demise of the Cold War. The forces that are propelling this new order will persist for years and promise to make life tougher for almost everyone—from assembly-line workers to chief executives." But despite the "we're all in it together" rhetoric from the capitalist press, last year the average CEO in the U.S. earned 157 times the salary of the average worker. The impact of the new world disorder has been to sharply increase class divisions, spurring class battles from southern Italy to eastern Germany, Poland and beyond. What's urgently needed is a revolutionary leadership to lead those struggles to victory.

While the masters of the Fourth Reich revel in their powers of destruction, the working people of Europe—not least in Germany itself—are facing the worst economic downturn in decades, the dismantling of the postwar "welfare state" and the rise of fascist parties fueled by anti-immigrant racism and terror. The bloodsucking bankers and multinationals must be defeated and expropriated through revolutionary class struggle. Only a Socialist United States of Europe can provide a decent and secure life for all working people from the former Soviet Union to the Iberian peninsula. ■

Communist wrote, "Trades unionism is the arch enemy of the militant proletariat," adding that "This is one of the tasks of the Communist Party—the destruction of the existing trades union organizations." Imagine how well that would go over at your average plant gate sale! Such pronouncements, coupled with their insistence on putting "FORCE" and "VIOLENCE" in bold, block capitals in their press, no doubt explains why the Communists made so few friends within the organized workers movement in 1919-1920.

State Repression and the Struggle for Party Unity

A significant strike wave swept the country in 1919, including a general strike in Seattle as well as the formation of "Councils of Workers, Sailors and Soldiers" in other cities—obviously reflecting the impact of the Russian Revolution. A section of the ruling class panicked and thought an American Bolshevik revolution was imminent (it wasn't). The product of their panic has come to be known as the Palmer Raids, after then attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer. The first raids were actually in New York in

late 1919 and were carried out on behalf of a state senate committee. There were wholesale arrests and deportations of non-citizens, without a shred of "due process." Ruthenberg and several prominent leaders were sentenced to five to ten years in prison. Both the CPA and CLP were driven underground, and due to deportations and attrition, the combined forces of both parties were reduced by about 80 percent.

This witchhunt was obviously an overreaction, and the wholesale lawlessness of the Justice Department was later denounced in an official May 1920 report written by a committee including future Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter. Warren Harding, who was elected president in 1920, later pardoned Debs and some of the IWW militants imprisoned during the war, but no pardon was granted the Communists. Draper estimates that before the raids, the total membership in the CPA and CLP was somewhere around 40,000-50,000. Even before the raids, the two Communist parties were hardly in a position to threaten the rule of the bourgeoisie (except in print). Moreover, as far as "mass work" went, they both refused to

work in the AFL unions, and most of the syndicalists stayed with the IWW.

In early 1920, there were sporadic attempts to heal the split in the Communist movement. Eventually, Ruthenberg got tired of the bullying of the Russian federation leaders, who berated him for wanting "contact with the masses," (!) which in their conspiratorial "Bolshevik" fantasies would mean "contamination" of the "pure" communist spirit of the party. Ruthenberg led a split out of the CPA, and for a brief period there were actually three parties in the U.S.! Soon afterward, the CLP merged with the new Ruthenberg group to form the United Communist Party (UCP). If you want to pick a date for Jim Cannon's emergence as a national leader, this would be a good one. Cannon spoke at the founding UCP convention, and argued for more flexible tactics in trade-union work and a break from the left wing's total rejection of the AFL. Given his IWW past, this impressed the delegates, and Cannon was elected to the central committee. He moved to Cleveland to edit *The Toiler*, and then in 1921 went to New York as part of the resident leadership.

One corrosive effect of the Palmer

Raids was to further confirm to a section of the party that it had to remain underground in principle. This gave the ultraleft tendencies something of a new lease on life and prolonged the split in the early Communist Party. Some answers to the problems of ultraleftism came from Russia, as did much good help in general in the period while Lenin was still alive. Only with considerable prodding from the Comintern did the CPA and the UCP finally fuse in the spring of 1921. Cannon noted:

"All that hodge-podge of ultra-radicalism was practically wiped out of the American movement in 1920-21 by Lenin. He did it, not by an administrative order backed up by police powers, but by the simple device of publishing a pamphlet called 'Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder.'"

The importance Lenin attached to the pamphlet is indicated by the fact that he gave personal attention to the printing schedule so that translations into German, French and English would be available for the delegates at the Second Congress of the Communist International in July 1920. The English version wasn't printed in the U.S. until January 1921.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

China...

(continued from page 1)

of top bureaucrats who are well-situated to rake in payoffs for their *guanxi* (connections) in the apparatus. Deng's "open door" policy, grotesquely recalling the imperialist encroachment at the turn of the century, has turned much of the coastal region into "special economic zones" rife with corruption and exploitation. This in turn has exacerbated skyrocketing disparities between town and country and from area to area, leading to the growth of regional "warlordism."

Seething unrest among the peasantry has erupted in more than 200 disturbances in the past year alone, including a virtual revolt by 10,000 farmers in Renshou county last June. Laid-off workers have taken to attacking and even killing their factory directors. At the same time, frustration is growing among small-time speculators scrambling to get on the gravy train. In one incident last August, 50,000 would-be investors rampaged through the southern city of Shenzhen near Hong Kong when they were cut out of an advertised release of new stocks. Capital flight surpassed \$30 billion last year, up two-thirds from the year before, while the trade deficit doubled over two months this spring. Inflation is running at 21 percent in the cities, and a cash shortage in the countryside means that workers' remittances to their hard-pressed peasant families are being "paid" with worthless chits.

Worried bureaucrats in Beijing are now scrambling to halt the *guo ri* (overheating) of the economy which could make the boom go bust in short order. At the beginning of July, Communist Party head Jiang Zemin announced a new effort to slow down the runaway economy and fight corruption among state officials. Liberal deputy prime minister Zhu Rongji, who some call "China's Gorbachev," took over direct control of the People's Bank. Zhu threatened to "cut off the heads" of bureaucrats who withheld cash from the peasants, and dispatched "investigation teams" throughout the country to whip local bureaucrats into line. But the party's authority, almost nil among the working people after the 1989 crackdown, is rapidly diminishing among regional officials, who chafe at new restrictions on spending and investment while attempting to lure foreign capital into joint ventures. As a London *Independent* (2 July) columnist noted:

"Fear of widespread social unrest may be growing in the corridors of power. The 1989 democracy movement won support from people furious with inflation and corruption. This time both problems are accompanied by far bigger regional disparities in wealth and much broader dissatisfaction among the peasants. Added to that, poorly paid state industry workers are losing the old life-long benefits of the 'iron rice bowl' system and becoming more strident."

The fate of the Chinese Revolution hangs in the balance, and the situation

1989 protests: Many workers carried Mao portraits as rebuff to Deng & Co. "capitalist roaders."



is moving very quickly. Since a burgeoning workers revolt was headed off by bloody repression in June 1989, the situation in China has only worsened. Today more than ever, only the overthrow of the sellout nationalist bureaucracy through political revolution by China's powerful proletariat—uniting behind it the hundreds of millions of poor and displaced peasants and linking up with proletarian struggle in Korea and Japan—can halt the march toward capitalist restoration and anarchy. The task for revolutionary intellectuals and militant workers who want to fight for a socialist future in China is the building of an authentically Leninist vanguard party, part of a reborn Trotskyist Fourth International.

Chinese Stalinism at a Dead End

The looming crisis in China is the direct result of more than a decade of "market socialist" reforms. Following the anarchy of Mao Tse-tung's "Cultural Revolution" and the subsequent purge of the "Gang of Four," the Deng Xiaoping regime sought to achieve the "Four Modernizations" (in agriculture, industry, technology and the military) by discarding central economic planning for a hybrid mix of state industries and privately owned plants dominated by foreign capital. State industries were subjected to "profit" accountability with the aim of increasing efficiency. Agricultural communes were liquidated and private commerce encouraged in the countryside. Millions of dislocated peasants flocked to the new "special economic zones" (SEZ), reminiscent of the foreign concessions held by colonial powers in prerevolutionary China, to slave up to 16 hours a day with no union protection and at wages well below those in Hong Kong and Taiwan. In a highly publicized January 1992 tour of the booming SEZs of Guangdong province, Deng voiced his approval by calling on "reformers" to "do it faster."

As China's economy continues to expand by more than 10 percent annually, the Stalinists in their Zhongnanhai compound have become the envy of former Soviet bureaucrats (and are seen as a model by the beleaguered Stalinist regimes in Hanoi and Havana). Unlike Yeltsin's Russia, Deng's China is attractive to investors, especially Chinese capital in Hong Kong and Taiwan, who seized on the country's literate but low-paid workforce to turn coastal China into a "production platform" for the "little tigers" of Southeast Asia. To the Chinese Stalinists, a steadily booming economy meant they could huy off the population with rising incomes, hoping to avoid the fate of their Soviet counterparts. Right-wing American journalist Robert Novak enthuses about the "new China": "Somber old Shanghai is returning to its pre-war splendor as the Paris of the Orient. The people, dressed in a riot of color, endlessly pursue the profit motive" (*Washington Post*, 19 July).

But the "miracle" of Deng's "socialist market economy" is an illusion waiting to be shattered. The outdated physical plant and machinery of China's state industries simply cannot compete head to head with new plants built by Taiwanese or Japanese capital, which moreover don't have to pay the same social overhead expenses like pensions and schools for workers' children. The result is that state industries are faced with massive "restructuring"—i.e., layoffs and cutbacks in social programs—while foreign investment is skyrocketing. Japanese investment grew by 250 percent in 1992 alone, and American firms from the Big Three automakers to AT&T have been piling into the Chinese market.

Today, centrally controlled state-run industries account for no more than 50 percent of all economic activity, and their share is shrinking fast. Regionally and locally run enterprises make up one-third of output; the rest comes from privately held capitalist concerns. The "socialist market economy" has been

enshrined in the constitution, and government spokesmen now talk of moving to a full-fledged market economy by the year 2000 (when Beijing hopes to host the Olympic Games). The old Chinese bourgeois, their mainland holdings expropriated in the wake of the 1949 Revolution but allowed to move operations to Taiwan and elsewhere, is returning with a vengeance. This year, Beijing held its first official talks with representatives of the offshore Nationalist regime. Symbolizing the new rapprochement, the general who commanded Chiang Kai-shek's last stand in Shanghai in 1949 was recently welcomed back to oversee a Taiwanese investment project.

Despite the fact that its rate of privatization of industry is far higher than that of Russia, China remains a deformed workers state. The Stalinist bureaucracy and the Communist Party remain firmly entrenched in power, while the People's Liberation Army remains intact and has embarked on a modernization drive centered on massive arms purchases of sophisticated weaponry from Russia. However, it is clear that the abandonment of central economic planning, the selling of large chunks of coastal China to the imperialists, and other market measures generating vast disparities in wealth have enormously strengthened the forces for capitalist counterrevolution. The contradictions of the "socialist market economy" will be resolved either by the intervention of the working class to stop capitalist restoration and extend socialist revolution to the rest of Asia, or by the destruction of the workers state and the transformation of China into a superexploited neocolony completely subordinated to world imperialism.

The Masses Raise Their Heads

Following Deng's 1992 Guangdong tour, authorities called on state factories to "crack the three irons"—inflexible wages, permanent jobs for officials and lifetime jobs for ordinary laborers. A leading official in the Labor Ministry recently called for dismantling the "traditional labor employment system" in favor of "market-oriented employment mechanisms." The National Coal Corporation has already laid off 100,000 workers and plans to get rid of another 300,000 in the next two years. The giant Wuhan Iron and Steel works has announced plans to lay off two-thirds of its 120,000 employees.

Adding insult to injury, millions of workers recently had up to a month's wages docked to "buy" government bonds whose interest rate was too low to attract investors. A new burden on the working class is the destruction of the *dang wei* (work units) in the factories, schools and countryside. A worker who is laid off now loses not only his job but the health care, housing and other social benefits that came with it. Women workers, who have made tremendous gains since 1949, are being especially targeted for dismissal by managers who don't



"Huddled messes" unwelcome in U.S. Desperate Chinese immigrants, whose ship ran aground off New York, arrested by INS. Spertecist League and Partisan Defense Committee protested at federal building in Manhattan, June 8.



want to pay for maternity leave.

Politically atomized, the working class is lashing back in any way it can. In late March, 300 workers at the Canon copier plant in the Zhuhai SEZ in Guangdong struck for three days to win pay increases, though the company finally granted a raise far below the inflation rate. When a state ball-bearing plant in Harbin was turned into a joint venture with a Hong Kong firm, workers demanded early retirement by getting certificates of mental illness! Since the State Council authorized state enterprises to decide their own wages and work rules last July, there has been a steady stream of strikes, sit-ins, protests, disruptions of production, and attacks by dismissed workers against managers and equipment. One Wuhan factory manager was killed by laid-off employees, another at a Liaoning province oil refinery was stabbed by a worker, the head of a Shanxi province factory was shot, etc.

The workers' outrage has reportedly led the authorities to stop promoting the slogan of "cracking the three irons." Cities like Shanghai are now implementing special funds to help offset inflation, and a new regulation orders state factories to place laid-off workers in new jobs. As the deputy secretary general of the Wuhan municipal government remarked, "We can't just throw people into the streets.... If they can't move from one iron rice bowl to another, we have to at least give them a rice bowl made of mud" (*New York Times*, 11 May). At the same time, the bureaucracy has reportedly made "secret plans to quell worker unrest," issuing a directive that "security work should be strengthened at factories, oilfields, mines and other key state projects to prevent people with ulterior motives from stirring up workers to riot" (*Chicago Tribune*, 15 October 1992).

Reported widespread peasant unrest adds a powerful mix to the seething anger in the working class. Even Deng has warned that the peasants' "burden has already surpassed the limits of their endurance." Due to government investment policy, which since the mid-1980s has been directed away from rural areas and toward the cities to develop industries attractive to foreign capital, as many as 80 million peasants have flooded into the cities to get jobs as low-paid day laborers.

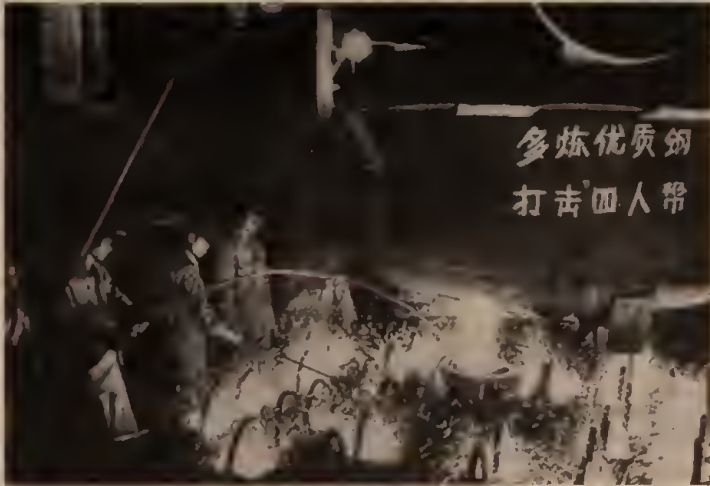
Peasant incomes average half of urban incomes and continue to drop. While most city residents pay no taxes, peasants are subject to arbitrary levies by local officials to finance pet projects or simply to add to their personal wealth. So now tax collectors are being attacked throughout the country. The Renshou county riots erupted after the local government tried to collect taxes to finance a road construction project. Peasants in central Henan disrupted traffic on a new rail line to protest building costs, while in Guangdong several thousand peasants blocked a highway with their trucks in



Vice Premier Zhu Rongji, known as "China's Gorbachev."



Gerhard Joren



Der Spiegel

Antiquated state-owned industry, such as steel mill (below), starved of investment, as bureaucracy turns to capitalist "joint ventures" such as VW plant (above).

June to demand more compensation for land taken from them along the road.

Along with unemployment and a growing gap between haves and have-nots, "market reforms" have brought a whole range of social scourges which had been wiped out after the 1949 Revolution. Corruption has become a way of life particularly among the despised *taizidang* children of the bureaucracy. Crime is booming in coastal areas, where police get their take from smuggling consumer items. The suicide rate is on the rise, while the number of mental patients has doubled in the last decade. The slave trade in women has been revived, as 19,000 young women were reportedly kidnapped last year and sold to peasants as "wives." A *Boston Globe* (16 May) article on "The Great Boom of China" noted:

"Corruption is at levels inconceivable in the days when true believers in communism and socialism dominated the country, and it is spreading wildly. So are financial and real estate speculation, prostitution and begging in the streets."



Der Spiegel

Stalinist attempt at rapid industrialization: "Great Leap Forward" of late 1950s (here building canal) led to economic breakdown.

Also tearing at the fabric of the Chinese deformed workers state is the regionalism spawned by a decentralized economy. It was the "market socialism" introduced by Tito in multinational Yugoslavia that spurred secessionist appetites in the economically more advanced regions of Slovenia and Croatia, touching off the nationalist bloodletting which destroyed the deformed workers state. In China, the main threat may be from regional "economic warlords" who could care less what directives Beijing issues. Local officials take part in joint ventures with foreign capitalists, and some are building up their fiefdoms by selling state property outright. Cantonese-speaking Guangdong, home to 50 percent of foreign capital investment in China, is economically and culturally bound to capitalist Hong Kong. To the north, Fujian province is dominated by Taiwanese capital. At the same time, the old clans have been making a comeback. A political crisis in Beijing could tear these areas away from the center.

The lure of private enterprise has also infected the People's Liberation Army (PLA), which "now amounts to a highly diversified corporate conglomerate with ventures ranging from hotels to motor works to herbal medicines" (*Boston Globe*, 17 May). A recent article in Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post* (7 July) pointed to the growing rift between army commanders busily enriching themselves and demoralized rank-and-file soldiers who are on the outside looking in. On the occasion of the PLA's 66th anniversary in late July, its two top commanders warned in a major article in the *People's Daily* of "a growing tide of corruption, money worshipping and hedonism." While the PLA may be the last centralized component of the Chinese state, its command structure is divided regionally. The headline in the 3 July *Liberation Army Daily*, "Strictly Control the Army," shows Beijing's fear of these centrifugal forces.

There are also genuine national questions among the Mongol, Tibetan, Turkic

and other minorities, whose rights to autonomy are acknowledged by the constitution but have never been fully honored. In May, Tibet was wracked by protests against inflation that quickly took on political demands against the central government, as 4,000 Tibetans attacked police and Han Chinese businessmen who have flocked to this remote mountain area in search of quick riches. North of Tibet, the Muslim Uighurs of Xinjiang are closely related to the peoples of the former Soviet Central Asian republics, now facing rising Islamic fundamentalist forces.

There is yet time for an aroused proletariat to enter the political field and pose a socialist alternative to the chaos that lies ahead. A revolutionary workers and peasants government would expropriate foreign capital and reverse the disintegrating effects of the decentralized economy by establishing genuine workers democracy as the basis for reviving the planned economy. It would grant full rights of self-determination to the country's national minorities and would come to the aid of beleaguered Vietnam, making amends for the criminal invasion launched by China in 1979 as a cat's paw for U.S. imperialism.

Most importantly, it would promote the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the region, from the capitalist statelets of Hong Kong and Taiwan to Russia, South Korea and the imperialist industrial powerhouse of Japan. Only through integration into a socialist Asia can real modernization for both the cities and the countryside be achieved, and living standards raised to the highest level.

Lessons of the Tiananmen Uprising

China's working class showed its capacity for militant struggle during the 1989 Tiananmen events. As we noted at the time, it was the entry of the workers into the student democracy protests that threw the Stalinist regime into crisis, opening up the possibility of proletarian political revolution. This was despite the hostility of student leaders who sought to har workers' delegations from the main protest area in Tiananmen Square. We noted that the repression following the suppression of the protests, including the mowing out of dozens of death sentences, was aimed particularly at worker militants:

"The Western media usually describes the oppositional forces in China as 'the student movement for democracy.' But it was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature. Organized workers' contingents started to participate in the marches, and it was the threat of a general strike which led Li Peng to order martial law in mid-May."
— "Defend Chinese Workers!",
WV No. 480, 23 June 1989

Now a new book confirms that it was the mobilization of the proletariat which drove the regime into a frenzy and led to the crackdown:

"There was no massacre in Tiananmen Square on the night of June 3. But on the western approach roads... there was a bloodbath that claimed hundreds of lives when the People's Liberation Army found its path blocked by a popular uprising that was being fueled by despair and rage.... What took place was the slaughter not of students but of ordinary workers and residents—precisely the target that the Chinese government had intended."

—George Black and Robin Munro, *Black Hands of Beijing* (John Wiley & Sons, 1993)

Pro-socialist workers often carried placards with portraits of Mao Tse-tung. The meaning was clear: while things got pretty crazy in Mao's time, at least they had jobs, rice and housing, and everybody wasn't out to get rich by screwing the next guy. Even today, a Beijing resident viewing an exhibit honoring the 100th anniversary of Mao's birth commented: "Mao is still revered by the

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China...

(continued from page 13)

ordinary people. But most of his ideas have been abandoned—class struggle, egalitarianism and a collective life and economic and diplomatic self-reliance."

Actually, Mao's policy was always based on class collaboration and nationalist autarky. But just as the Russian yuppies who flocked to Yeltsin's counter-revolution were the heirs to Brezhnev, so too Mao's China led to Deng's "open door" to imperialism, spawning the *taiziding* would-be exploiters of the Chinese masses. Despite the enormous gains of the 1949 Revolution, the Chinese workers state was deformed from its inception, ruled by a nationalist bureaucracy that prevented the worker and peasant masses from exercising political power. After it took power, the CCP initially banned strikes and for several years maintained a "coalition government of four classes" including representatives of the bourgeoisie.

For many years, "Communist China" was the *bête noir* of American imperialism. Pentagon hardliners urged nuking the "Chicom" during the Korean War. During the 1960s, as nationalist antagonisms between the Stalinist regimes in Moscow and Beijing grew, Khrushchev's Kremlin sought to ingratiate itself with Washington in the name of "peaceful coexistence," while Mao struck a more militant posture. But as we noted then, Maoism was "Khrushchevism under the gun," and in the historic long run, the Soviet Union was the fundamental obstacle to imperialist designs to reconquer all the deformed workers states.

Based on the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," Mao's rule blocked the socialist development of China by aligning with so-called "progressive" capitalist regimes, ultimately embracing an alliance with U.S. imperialism. Even as American B-52s rained death on the Vietnamese people, Mao toasted war criminal Nixon in the Great Hall of the People. In this criminal alliance with the U.S., Mao allowed the CIA to establish "listening posts" along the Soviet border. Deng was simply following in Mao's footsteps when China invaded Vietnam in 1979, only to be ignominiously defeated. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Beijing played a key supporting role in the biggest CIA operation in history, supporting the reactionary *mujahedin* cut-throats against the Soviet-backed Kabul government.

On the economic front, Mao's attempt to achieve rapid industrialization of this backward peasant country on its own through the "Great Leap Forward" led directly to economic collapse and the starvation of millions of peasants in the



Joint Publishing Co

In 1922 Communists launched seamen's strike against British colonial rulers of Hong Kong. In contrast, after taking power in 1949, Mao-Stalinist regime maintained Hong Kong as capitalist enclave.

early 1960s. The misnamed "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—in reality a faction fight by Mao and the PLA leadership under Lin Biao to regain supremacy in the party—wreaked havoc from 1966 to 1976, shutting down high schools and universities and greatly depoliticizing the population. Today foreign corporations are setting up special programs to train technicians and managers among the "lost generation" of barely educated people in their mid-30s to mid-40s.

A truly revolutionary communist party will look nothing like Mao's party. Socialist militants can look instead to the early years of the Chinese CP, founded in 1921 by revolutionary intellectuals and workers inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. From a handful of militants, the party grew by tens of thousands as class struggle broke out, for example the 1922 Hong Kong seamen's strike and general strike, the first labor strikes against imperialist exploitation in China. In 1925, a strike against the foreign concessions in Canton immediately spread to Hong Kong, shutting down the finance center and signaling the beginning of the Second Chinese Revolution. In contrast, today the CCP acts as compradors for British, U.S. and Japanese capital, promising to maintain capitalism after Britain's lease on the Hong Kong colony runs out in 1997.

Mao's party was the product of the defeat of the Chinese proletariat in 1927, prepared by Stalin's policy of subordinating the CCP to the bourgeois Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek, who turned on the Communist workers and butch-

ered tens of thousands in Shanghai. Its proletarian base shattered, the CCP under Mao was rebuilt in the countryside as a peasant-nationalist party and guerrilla army. But some dozens of party cadres, including former CCP general secretary Chen Tu-hsiu, were won to the Left Opposition of Leon Trotsky, which alone fought Stalin's disastrous policies. In 1952, the Mao regime rounded up the

earlier benign and supportive attitude to China's regional "great power" ambitions. At the height of Mao and Deng's despicable anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism, we warned that Washington would quickly go after the far weaker Chinese deformed workers state if the Soviet Union was defeated. That is now happening. The ASEAN countries, Southeast Asia's analogue to NATO's European Community, have been clamoring about an increased military threat posed by China. Japan's foreign minister recently mooted the possibility of developing a nuclear arsenal.

Now sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie, like the *New York Times*, scream for punitive measures against China, putatively in the guise of "humanitarian" concern over its use of prison labor for producing exports. The provocative sale of advanced F-16 fighter jets to Taiwan last year "reflected the Pentagon's belief that the United States needs to do something to confront and rein in China's growing military power. U.S. defense sources say that over the past two years, since the breakup of the Soviet Union, there has been a growing tendency among some Pentagon officials to treat China as a potential enemy" (*Los Angeles Times*, 15 June).

The only road forward for China lies in internationalist revolutionary struggle. A workers political revolution really would send peals of thunder out of China. It would electrify the massive Japanese working class, which for the first time in postwar history is confronted with the threat of serious unemployment, and provide a beacon to the



WV Photo

"Free market" misery threatens childcare and education.

Chinese Trotskyists, many of whom had led strikes against capitalist employers in defiance of the Stalinists' policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie (see Wang Fan-hsi, *Chinese Revolutionary* [1957]).

For an Internationalist Communist Vanguard!

During the Tiananmen events, student protesters erected a "goddess of democracy" and showed evidence of considerable illusions in the West. Today many of these privileged student veterans of Tiananmen have made their peace with the Deng regime. As one told the *Washington Post* (23 June): "My friends and I don't even talk about politics anymore. There's no use. Money, that's what we want." Like their earlier Russian counterparts, these would-be yuppie ex-"dissidents" entertain illusions that full integration into the imperialist world market will provide them a life of luxury and turn their country into an advanced economic power. But as the fate of the ex-USSR demonstrates, what the imperialists have in mind in fomenting counter-revolution is not the development of new capitalist competitors but the creation of low-wage neocolonies to expand their own arenas for exploitation.

Now that the former Soviet Union has been destroyed, the imperialists have begun shifting away from their

proletarian masses throughout capitalist Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim, who chafe under the stranglehold of robber-baron police-state regimes. For years, the Stalinist regime tolerated Hong Kong—which controls 60 percent of China's foreign trade—as a capitalist enclave on its periphery, a staging ground for the revanchist ambitions of the Chinese bourgeoisie. But this gateway for imperialist expansion into China can also be an avenue for bringing revolutionary propaganda to the Chinese working class.

While the Chinese proletariat suffered a defeat at Tiananmen, it was not crushed. What the International Communist League said in June 1989 holds every bit as true today: "The central lesson of the Beijing spring and the urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard." ■



Reuters

Beijing, May 1989: Chinese workers defended student protesters and opposed Deng's pro-capitalist "reforms."

NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August.

Our next issue will be dated September 10.

World Trade Center...

(continued from page 16)

theory, it turns out the CIA station chief in the Sudan signed off on Rahman's entry visa.

Still appreciative for Rahman's efforts on behalf of the cutthroat mujahedin, the Afghan warlord and crazed fascist "prime minister" Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (who received more than two-thirds of the billions pumped into Afghanistan by the CIA) offered the sheik sanctuary if the U.S. deports him.

In fact, about the only one involved in the NYC bomb plots who doesn't have an Afghan connection is one Emad



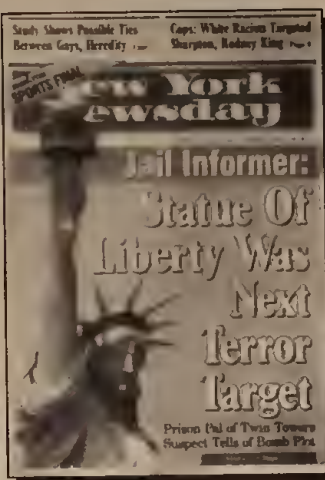
FBI fink Emad Salem.

Jacobson/Sipa

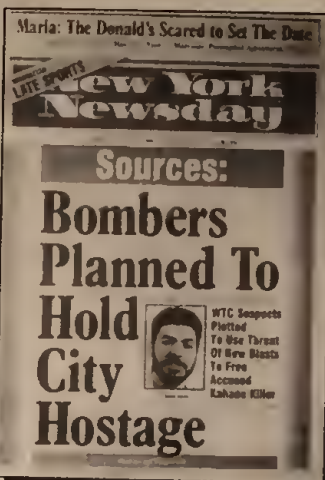
Salem, a shadowy former Egyptian army officer who was the feds' key informant and the agent provocateur who played a major role in instigating the whole business. For months, U.S. authorities were spewing out self-congratulations about the feds preventing a massive terrorist attack, while whipping up anti-Arab terrorism hysteria. But rather than an eagle-eyed investigator spotting a fragment of a license plate from a rental truck that carried the explosives to the WTC (the government's initial story), it turns out that the FBI has been monitoring the alleged plotters at least since 1990.

And while federal prosecutors and the FBI are publicly sweating over the obvious question of why they didn't stop the Trade Center bombing, a new revelation surfaced that informant-provocateur Salem made over 40 hours of his own tapes of meetings with his FBI handlers. "Prosecutors concede that the conversations may become a potent weapon for defense attorneys—damaging the informant's [Salem's] credibility and strengthening the defense theory that the FBI instigated the plot," *Newsday* (3 August) reported. As one investigator put it, "those conversations are definitely not the kind of thing you want a jury to hear." Salem, a trained bomb expert, was the guy who rented the safe house, bought guns and equipment for making bombs, and solicited these Afghan war vets and fervent anti-Communists for combat training to join their "brother Muslim" fighters in Bosnia.

To the classic Watergate questions of what the feds knew and when they knew it, the answers are clearly: "everything" and "before it happened." We don't pretend to know what was being cooked up in Jersey City storefronts, Queens garages and CIA offices from Langley,



Liberal Newsday pushes "terrorism" scare.



Virginia to the World Trade Center. Some of the accused may have been entrapped into thinking that they were preparing for another jihad in the Balkans. Ex-Mossad agent Victor Ostrovsky has speculated that possibly some of Rahman's disciples were recruited to a "false flag operation" run by the Israeli intelligence service. In any case, it turns out that "informant" Salem was also in communication with the fascist followers of Meir Kahane, meeting with them several times offering to sell information linking the murder of Kahane to a broader Arab conspiracy.

While denouncing the orchestrated anti-Arab terrorism scare, we have been reticent in commenting on the murky WTC bombing until the fumes cleared. But in Afghanistan, where there was a clear side for social progress, unlike

most of the left the Spartacist League took an unambiguous stand for the Red Army in defense of the Soviet Union and against the CIA- and Saudi-backed Islamic reactionaries who sought to enslave women and turn back the clock to the 7th century. "Better to fight counterrevolution in Afghanistan than to have to fight it inside the Soviet Union," we said. But Gorbachev & Co. followed the opposite course of consistently appeasing imperialism, abandoning Afghanistan and caving in to capitalist counterrevolution throughout East Europe and the USSR itself. Today the few women who dare to walk in the streets of the devastated Afghan "capital" of Kabul are covered in the head-to-toe veil. And in the "New World Order" of Bush and Clinton, the CIA's vultures have come "home" to roost in the Twin Towers. ■

Racist Cops...

(continued from page 16)

completely legal, including every baton blow to the head and face. Only the last 19 seconds of the beating, according to Davies, was considered questionable.

"It couldn't be better," crowed cop Powell's lawyer, Michael Stone. "The arguments the court made were a complete vindication of our case." In an additional judicial farce, this same judge is presiding over King's civil suit against the city for compensation!

The March 1991 beating of the defenseless black motorist by a cop lynch mob became the symbol of racist police brutality in America. Only the presence of an amateur videotaper observing from a balcony window kept this atrocity from being blacked out like thousands of others like it. It only reached a courtroom after a state-ordered change of venue to

the lily-white cop haven of Simi Valley, where the police were acquitted as scripted.

And only after a massive social upheaval by plebeian black and Hispanic L.A. did the authorities make the empty promise of a federal civil rights trial, which ended in a slap on the wrist verdict for two participants in the racist cop mob. Finally, the judge essentially threw out even the jury's watered-down guilty verdict in ignoring stiffer federal sentencing guidelines.

On August 7, five jurors in the second trial publicly criticized the sentence. One stated, with tears in his eyes, that "Each of us gave so much of our time, our lives, and I felt like we were undermined.... It was a whitewash."

At 7 a.m. on August 4, the morning of the sentencing, the LAPD went on full tactical alert to force this travesty down the throats of anyone justly outraged by this latest injustice. As we wrote



Spartacists at 9 March 1991 L.A. demo protesting cop beating of Rodney King.

WV Photo

in April when the verdicts were reached, "The fact that the strutting, swaggering racist pig Koon and the sadistic baton-wielding thug Powell may spend a few months in protective custody at Club Fed doesn't change one iota the brutal reality of racist American capitalism.... At best the cops may spend a couple of years behind bars, if that long" ("Slap on the Wrist Verdict for Racist L.A. Cops," *WV* No. 574, 23 April). Some small satisfaction might be gained if Koon and Powell were ever released into the general prison population, where cops and snitches have about the same popularity and longevity.

Now the spotlight in L.A. is focused on the ongoing trial of two of the four black youths accused of beating white truck driver Reginald Denny in the early stages of the L.A. riots. That Denny was beaten because of the color of his skin is a disgusting indefensible act that deserves punishment; but what is also very evident is the dual system of justice exposed by this trial. The prosecution has so far excluded five blacks from the jury, both on peremptory challenges and for "cause," such as prospective jurors' "concerns about the fairness of the judicial system" (*New York Times*, 8 August). Moreover, unlike the cops, who were given until September 27 to report to

"Club Fed" (and don't count on it then either), the accused black youths, who were arrested by ex-L.A. police chief Daryl Gates and an army of cops, have been in custody ever since and face a maximum of life sentences if convicted.

There won't be justice for black people and other oppressed minorities until the working class has state power and the most notorious armed thugs of the racist capitalist state face tribunals of their intended victims. ■

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The CIA's Afghanistan Connection

The Feds and the World Trade Center Bombing



February bombing of New York City's World Trade Center. Sheehan/Newsday

Media Whip Up Anti-Arab Hysteria

A powerful explosion last winter at the World Trade Center, headquarters for scores of Fortune 500 companies and financial institutions, caused hundreds of millions of dollars in damage and killed six people. Tabloid headlines screamed, "Terrorists On the Loose!" Within a week after the February 26 explosion in lower Manhattan, the FBI and police rounded up three men—two Palestinians, Mohammed Salameh and Nidal Ayyad, and Egyptian-born Ibrahim Elgabrowni. Three more arrests followed, including Mahmud Abouhalima, who was returned to the U.S. after "confessing" to the Twin Towers bombings during a week of torture by the Egyptian police.

Then on June 24 the FBI snatched five more Arab men in a Queens warehouse as they mixed vats of chemicals allegedly for bomb preparation. According to the feds, these men were part of a larger conspiracy connected to the WTC bombing. The government says they were about to unleash a wave of bombings in New York City on the Fourth of July, targeting sites from the Holland Tunnel to the UN in retaliation for U.S. support to governments like Egypt that repress Islamic fundamentalists. They also reputedly aimed to free El-Sayyid Nosair, now serving a 22-year prison sentence on weapons charges despite his acquittal in the 1990 murder of Rabbi Meir Kahane, the fascist founder of the Jewish Defense League and

the Israeli Kach party. A dozen men have been charged in the second conspiracy case.

As the anti-Arab scare swung into high gear, the media focused on the connections of the arrested men to an Egyptian-born Islamic cleric, Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and his Jersey City, New Jersey storefront mosque. What they played down was the common denominator among all of the arrested, namely their connection with the CIA's decade-long covert war against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. Sheik Rahman recruited Islamic fundamentalist "volunteers" for the anti-Communist *jihad* (holy war) bankrolled and supplied by the American "Great Satan." Many of the men who worshipped at his mosque had fought in Afghanistan. Among those charged in the NYC bomb plots, the sheik's part-time driver Abouhalima, Ahmad Ajaj and American black Muslim Clement Hampton-El are all former Afghan mercenaries.

Last month, Sheik Rahman was arrested on visa violation charges of polygamy (allowed by Islam) and check forgery (a neat trick for a blind man). According to Washington, the blind sheik would never have been allowed in the U.S. except for a bureaucratic foul-up. His name is on a State Department list of nearly *three million* (!) people barred from U.S. entry. But Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak stated in May that "the Sheik has been a CIA agent since his days in Afghanistan.... He still earns a salary. The visa he got was not issued by mistake. It is because of the services he did." The next day, after intense pressure from the U.S. (which gives Egypt \$2 billion a year), Mubarak had a spokesman retract the statement. But giving the lie to the "bureaucratic snafu"

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Kid Glove Treatment for Racist Cops Who Beat Rodney King

LOS ANGELES—On August 4, U.S. District Court Judge John Davies handed out token two and a half year sentences to the two racist LAPD thugs, Stacey Koon and Laurence Powell, who were convicted last April of violating Rodney King's civil rights by beating him nearly to death. Once again, as in the pre-Civil War Dred Scott decision, it is demonstrated that in capitalist America blacks have "no rights the court is bound to respect."

Judge Davies used the dais to essentially reverse the "guilty" verdict, praising the convicted cops and accepting their lying argument that Rodney King was a convicted felon who had fled from the police (i.e., he was charged with speeding) and thus provoked his own beating! This Reagan-appointed dispenser of capitalist injustice obscenely stated that the first 55 seconds of the videotape showing the beating of King was all

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L.A. cops beat Rodney King almost to death, March 1991. Sergeant Stacey Koon (right) gloats after hearing sentence.



George Holliday Video



AP