

For Workers Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Restoration!

What Next for China?



Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms" are pushing China toward capitalist restoration: while millions of impoverished peasant laborers flock to the cities looking for work, stock exchange in Shanghai exemplifies growing strength of capitalist forces.

Last October, central Beijing saw the gala opening of the Chang An Club. For an annual membership fee of \$9,000, top government officials, Hong Kong tycoons, mainland Chinese businessmen and resident foreign executives can enjoy tennis courts, bowling alleys, a swimming pool, an electronic golf simulator, a sauna and the use of corporate boardrooms. Two traffic lights away, an old man in his seventies and his grandson were begging in the streets for their next meal. This is a good example of what China's "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping, who died two weeks ago, called "socialism with Chinese characteristics."

The eulogies for Deng by the leaders of Western and Japanese imperialism have hailed him as the "architect of modern China." Yet there was also a note of nervous apprehension that Deng's death has removed a central pillar in the fragile internal stability of the most populous nation on earth. The Beijing bureaucrats are themselves keenly aware that they are sitting atop a volcano of popular unrest—fueled by the "market reforms" which marked Deng's reign. Even unofficial expressions of mourning were suppressed through a massive mobilization of security forces, for fear they could turn into political protests.

Conventional wisdom in the West is that what used to be called "Red China" has become capitalist or has gone so far down that road that it will automatically become capitalist in the near future. Deng "Chose Capitalism," declared the front-page headline of the *New York Times* in reporting his death. Yet even the *Times* recognizes that matters are not so simple and straightforward. Its editorial commentary praised Deng for "the dynamism of his reforms" but also worried "how incomplete and therefore tenuous those reforms remain." The term "reforms" is, of course, a code word for those policies—e.g., opening China to foreign investment, the privatization of small and medium-sized industrial

Deng's Death and the Crisis of Stalinism



Funeral of "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping was accompanied by massive security crackdown out of fear of social instability.

enterprises—which have undermined the collectivized economy and brought China to the brink of capitalist restoration.

Through threats of economic sanctions and other measures, Washington has been pushing hard for the Beijing bureaucracy to escalate the drive toward full-fledged capitalism. Currently, the U.S. and other imperialist powers are demanding that China slash investment in state-owned industries as a condition for joining the World Trade Organization and "to speed the opening of the country's economy" (*New York Times*, 2 March). Looming over all this is the rivalry between the U.S. and Japan over economic domination of the region, as they scramble for the "right" to untrammelled exploitation of China's huge proletariat and race for resource-rich Siberia, reopened to imperialist plunder as a result of the destruction of the Soviet Union. Recall that World War II in the Pacific was fought primarily for control

over China. However, that prize was ripped out of the hands of American imperialism by the 1949 Revolution. As Trotskyists, we have always called for unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism, including upholding its right to a nuclear arsenal.

From its inception, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has undermined the gains of the revolution through its nationalist hostility to the extension of socialist revolution internationally, seeking instead an accommodation with imperialism. Today China is approaching a decisive turning point. Whether the increasingly assertive forces for capitalist restoration succeed in destroying the gains of China's social revolution or are defeated through a proletarian political revolution which sweeps away the venal Stalinist bureaucracy will not only determine the fate of the Chinese people, but will leave

a huge imprint on the countries of all East Asia and beyond.

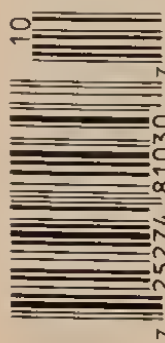
China on the Brink

The political heirs of Mao Zedong have brought the Chinese Revolution to the abyss. The 1949 seizure of power by Mao's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its peasant-guerrilla army from the Guomindang (Kuomintang) Nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek shattered capitalist rule and liberated the country from its subservience to Japanese and Western imperialism. The revolutionary overturn created the conditions for enormous gains for workers, peasants and women. The Chinese Revolution was a huge defeat for the U.S. and other imperialist powers. This was brought home by the intervention of China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) in the Korean War of 1950-53, which saved North Korea from being overrun by U.S. imperialism and its South Korean puppet regime.

But what issued out of the 1949 Revolution was a *bureaucratically deformed* workers state, ruled by a parasitic caste headed by the CCP and PLA leadership. A key factor conditioning this outcome was the atomized state of the Chinese proletariat after years of Stalinist betrayal (most notably in the defeat of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution), Guomindang terror, Japanese imperialist occupation and severe economic decline related to the world depression of the 1930s. Modeled on Stalin's USSR, Maoist rule was based on the anti-Marxist dogma of building "socialism" in a single country. Denying the fundamental Marxist understanding that socialism can only be built at the highest level of technology and economy—necessitating international socialist planning—this nationalist schema expressed the privileged interests of the bureaucratic caste which usurped power in the Soviet Union in 1923-24 and of its counterpart in China which has ruled from the inception of the People's Republic.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 after decades of military and especially economic pressure from world imperialism demonstrated the fallacy of this Stalinist schema. But if "socialism in one country" was utopian

continued on page 10



Temple University Cancels Mumia's Radio Commentaries

Let Mumia Abu-Jamal Be Heard!

MARCH 3—Attorneys for Mumia Abu-Jamal were notified today of two new Pennsylvania Supreme Court rulings which severely damage Mumia's appeal and indicate the Court's intention to uphold the frame-up conviction that sent Jamal to death row in 1982. The first decision denies Mumia's defense the opportunity to present oral argument in his appeal before the Court. This move is clearly aimed at preventing the kind of courtroom exposure of Jamal's frame-up which helped gain worldwide publicity for his cause during his 1995 PCRA appeal hearings.

Even more dangerously, in an

almost unheard of procedure the Court is allowing prosecutors to file additional legal papers against Mumia—on top of the standard briefs that both sides have already submitted—while denying the defense the right to reply. This means that the District Attorney's office will have the final word on Mumia's appeal papers, allowing prosecutors to rehash their lying case against him and their misrepresentation of what has happened to date in the appeal process. These rulings underscore the futility of any reliance on the capitalist courts and the need for mass protest and pressure to demand Mumia's freedom now.



TROTSKY

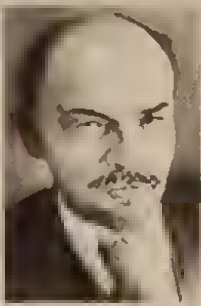
For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

International Women's Day, March 8, originated in 1908 in the struggles of women garment workers in New York City. While feminists look to the capitalist state—and particularly Clinton's Democratic Party—to defend abortion rights which are increasingly under threat and to achieve equality for women, as Marxists we understand that the oppression of women today is rooted in capitalist class society, particularly in the institution of the family. We fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution, led by a proletarian vanguard party which acts as a tribune of all the oppressed. Our journal *Women and Revolution* stands in the tradition of the Russian Bolsheviks' *Rabotnitsa* (*Working Woman*), which fought to draw women into the communist movement as active fighters in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. The following excerpt is translated from the first issue of *Rabotnitsa*, which appeared on International Women's Day, 1914.

Bourgeois women advocate their special "women's" rights; they always oppose themselves to men and demand their rights from men. For them, contemporary society is divided into two main categories: men and women. Men possess everything, hold all the rights. The question is one of achieving equal rights.

For the working woman, the woman question becomes quite different. The conscious working woman sees that contemporary society is divided into classes. Each class has its special interests. The bourgeoisie one, the working class another. Their interests are opposed. The division between men and women does not have great importance in the eyes of the working woman. That which unites the working woman with the working man is much stronger than that which divides them. They are united by their common lack of rights, their common need, their common conditions, which are the exploitation of their labor, their common struggle and their common goals. "All for one, one for all!" This "all" means the members of the working class—men and women alike. The "woman" question for working men and working women is a question of how to organize the backward masses of working women, how best to explain to them their interests, how to make them comrades sooner in the common struggle. Solidarity between working men and working women, common activity, common goals, a common path to these goals—such is the solution of the "woman" question among workers. The struggle for women's rights against those antagonistic to women's rights—men—is the solution to the "woman" question among the bourgeoisie. The journal *Rabotnitsa* will seek to explain to the insufficiently conscious working women what their interests are, to indicate the communality of their interests with the interests of the entire working class. For this every incident in the life of working women will be used to make a close connection with the general conditions of capitalist production, with the general conditions of the entire country. *Rabotnitsa* will elucidate everything occurring in the country from the point of view of the interests of the working class. It will awaken in working women the consciousness of the great liberating task of the workers movement and will call for a struggle for these great goals.

—Nadezhda Krupskaya, *Rabotnitsa* (1914)



LENIN

On February 24, moments before a well-publicized scheduled airing of commentaries by death row political prisoner and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal, Temple University's WRTI-FM radio pulled the plug on the *Democracy Now* program. These may well be the last audio recordings of Jamal allowed by jail authorities, yet WRTI shamelessly capitulated to the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) and the state that wants to silence him forever. WRTI's cowardly cancellation of Amy Goodman's popular show deprived not only Philadelphia from hearing Mumia's eloquent voice, but eleven other area stations lost their broadcast relays.

This muzzling of Jamal is literally the policing of the airwaves, as WRTI jumps to the command of the F.O.P. For the trigger-happy cops and the politicians and prosecutors who push the racist death penalty, it's unthinkable to let the public hear Mumia's powerful, incisive voice. His innocence in the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner is clear to anyone who looks at the farce of a trial conducted by notorious "hanging judge" Albert Sabo. The F.O.P. and their media allies know and fear that those who hear Jamal's searing indictments of this hypocritical injustice system will be moved to fight the racist and barbaric death penalty.

Mumia's censorship by WRTI comes on the heels of an ominous court ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court that granted the Philly D.A.'s motion to strike Jamal's "Supplemental Reply Brief," which challenged the prosecution's false rendering of last October's testimony by Veronica Jones, a key eyewitness for Jamal. This signals that the state Supreme Court may be close to deciding Mumia's appeal without giving his defense team any notice. Mumia and his supporters have also been subjected to a new round of harassment by prison authorities, who recently barred a visit to Jamal from attorney Jere Krakoff, who is handling Mumia's civil suit against prison authorities.

On February 11, Krakoff filed an important appeal to overturn restrictions and loopholes contained in the 1996 ruling by U.S. Magistrate Kenneth Benson on Mumia's motion to enjoin prison officials from policies undermining his constitutional rights. The ruling established that Mumia was punitively denied media access by prison officials because of the publication of his book, *Live from Death Row*. However, Benson's decision still allows prison authorities a pretext to open Jamal's legal correspondence and denies him visits from his attorney's designated paralegals. The latest appeal also challenges the state's claim that it has the right to punish Jamal for running a "busi-

ness," when in fact he was merely exercising his First Amendment right to publish his articles, columns and books. The state's claim that publishing constitutes a "business" was left standing by Benson. This could provide a basis for prison authorities to punish Mumia.

This appeal is an important component in Mumia's fight for effective legal defense as well as against harassment by prison authorities for his writing, including his just-released book, *Death Blossoms*. Officials have also threatened to force the cutting of Mumia's hair in violation of his religious beliefs. And once again, Mumia's mail has been tampered with: recent confidential legal correspondence from Jamal's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, was torn open and "cop killer" scrawled next to Mumia's name!

To speed up the machinery of death, the F.O.P. and the pro-death politicians and prosecutors demonize Jamal as a violent, crazed cop killer who must be prevented from being read or heard at any cost. As Jamal co-counsel and PDC staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein noted, "Temple's censorship of Mumia's broadcasts recalls the gag order by National Public Radio in 1994 on the eve of a similar series of broadcasts by Mumia. We are again fighting to stop the silencing of Jamal which is nothing but a transparent attempt to make it easier to execute this compassionate and articulate man who continues to be the 'voice of the voiceless' even from death row."

The PDC adds its voice to the many thousands in Philadelphia and throughout the nation who demand: Let Mumia Abu-Jamal be heard! The entire history of persecution of Jamal, a courageous fighter on behalf of the oppressed, underscores the fact that the cops, courts, prisons and government are joined together in a system of racist injustice. Key to staying the executioner's hand after a death warrant was signed by Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge in 1995 was the wave of international protests. We look to the power of social protest centered on the labor movement in alliance with all the many victims of racist capitalism. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

To join the fight to free Mumia, contact the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. ■

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Exchange on Workers Communist Party of Iran Permanent Revolution vs. "Stagism"

We print below the translation of a letter to our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) on the article "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!" (WV No. 651, 13 September 1996), which polemized against the Workers Communist Party of Iran (WCPI). The International Communist League's reply, published here, was sent by the SpAD to Dr. Heinrich.

9 December 1996

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

In *Spartakist* No. 125 (November-December 1996) I found an article, translated from *Workers Vanguard*, on Kurdistan. You refer to the WCPI. Reading this article, I was surprised because you made assertions about the WCPI which are completely contrary to what I have heard and read until now about this party. Particularly after rereading basic documents of the WCPI, I could find no indication that they follow the Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution." To my knowledge, the WCPI rejects the concept of a bourgeois-democratic revolution for national independence as a first step toward proletarian revolution. Also they do not consider themselves at all a Kurdish organization; rather, according to their own description of themselves they split from the CPI precisely because they accused them of being Kurdish nationalist. They also do not orient (at least in theory) to any bourgeois, ostensibly progressive, regime.

It is known, after all, that they view all the world's countries, including the USSR since the late 1920s, as capitalist.

For that reason, I questioned how reliable the other information in WV on the WCPI is, particularly the quotes from leaflets. One member of the WCPI, for example, vehemently denied that there exist any letters by his party to the UN.

Now, since we know that political organizations by no means always do in practice what they stand for in theory, I do not want to assume without proof that the assertions in your article are simply invented. I would like to ask you to send me copies of the quoted documents. I will close by saying that I write for various publications about this region and also intend to make an issue of this case....

Many thanks for your help and with kind regards,

Dr. Lothar A. Heinrich

WV Replies

It is true that neither the Workers Communist Party of Iran (WCPI) nor its affiliated party in Iraq openly claims to adhere to the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of two-stage revolution—first the "democratic" revolution, then socialism. More-

over, proclamations issued by the WCPI, particularly those translated into Western languages, are filled with abstract rhetoric in favor of "worker-communism" and denunciations of bourgeois nationalism. However, an examination of the actual practice of the WCPI as well as its formal programmatic statements demonstrates that it has never transcended the two-stage framework.

A good example is the attitude to Khomeini. Today the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Iran is widely hated for its brutal crimes against leftists, women, national minorities and workers. However, in 1978-79, under the guise of supporting the "mass movement against the shah," the entire Iranian left backed Khomeini. Khomeini was falsely hailed as an "anti-imperialist," and his accession to

ary movement and the workers' nationwide strikes were the most radical blows struck at the Shah's regime. The slogan "Our oilworkers are our staunch leaders" which then became the universal slogan of the revolutionary masses, reflected this vanguard and decisive role played by the workers. Although, in general, workers were not able to free themselves from the domination of the bourgeois-religious opposition, they put forward their own independent demands. For example, through the oilworkers they demanded to be present in the 'Revolutionary Council' which was formed in the wake of the Shah's downfall....

"The revolutionary period 78-81 was the period of the richest experiences for workers and their direct intervention—in their millions—in the fate of society, leaving its stamp on the consciousness of the whole working class. But this period ended in 1981 with the Islamic regime's massacring of the workers' councils, the

formed in 1983 as a lash-up of the state-capitalist Unity of Communist Militants and the larger, ex-Maoist Kurdish group Komala. This was an unstable fusion, reflecting its heterogeneous composition. Despite its claimed perspective of proletarian revolution, the CPI through its Komala forces pursued a strategy of peasant-based guerrillaism in Kurdistan. Its propaganda was a mish-mash of contradictory slogans. It claimed to be for a "workers state" while simultaneously calling for a "revolutionary democratic republic" (a classic "left" version of two-stage revolution). Meanwhile the economist wing of the party, including such elements as Mansoor Hekmat, now the central leader of the WCPI, sought to address the working class, but with a program more akin to social democracy than



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Execution of Kurds by Khomeinist forces, 1979. Mullahs' rise to power, hailed as "revolution" by Iranian left, signaled massive defeat for workers, women, national minorities. We warned against political support to Khomeini's movement.

power was supported as a "people's revolution." The International Communist League (then the international Spartacist tendency) was virtually unique for our opposition to Khomeini at the time. We said, "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution!"

Neither the WCPI nor its predecessor organization, the Communist Party of Iran (CPI), existed in 1979. However, in writing about this period, the WCPI tries to draw a nonexistent distinction between the "revolution" that overthrew the shah and the accession to power of the mullahs. Thus a political resolution of the CPI referred to the "experience of the suppression of the 1979 revolution by the Islamic regime" (*Bolshevik Message*, February 1989). An even more explicit statement along these lines is contained in "A Brief Look at the Situation of the Working Class in Iran," a pamphlet by Mostafa Saber published by the CPI in 1990 and still circulated by the WCPI:

"In the 1979 revolution the working class was the backbone of the revolution-

crushing of the political organisations and the establishment of an unprecedented repression."

Workers strikes were indeed instrumental in bringing down the shah. However, the proletariat did not play an independent class role but was politically subordinated by its misleadership to the Khomeinists. To claim that the workers played the "vanguard role" among the "revolutionary masses" in 1979 is wishful thinking in the service of de facto capitulation to the Islamicists. Minimizing the counterrevolutionary role of the Islamic opposition, the CPI talks about a broad "revolutionary movement," glorifies the pro-regime *shoras* as workers' councils, reports positively the oilworkers' demand to join the Revolutionary Council, and claims there was a "revolutionary period" right up to 1981. This account accepts in practice a two-stage schema, implying that the workers had their big chance *after* the victory of the mullahs.

The Communist Party of Iran was

to Lenin's Third International. Thus, in the fashion of the Second International, Hekmat and the CPI elaborated a "minimum program" and sought to win other tendencies to unite around slogans like a 40-hour week, unemployment benefits, the right to strike, and even in drafting a "democratic labour law" (see "Interview with Comrade Mansoor Hekmat," *Bolshevik Message*, February 1988). The disparate groupings within the CPI eventually fell out, and Hekmat announced a split to form the Workers Communist Party of Iran in 1991. Their sister group, the WCP-Iraq, which was founded in 1993, is based almost exclusively in Iraqi Kurdistan.

WCPI Appeals to UN Imperialists

The split with Komala simply accentuated the social-democratic component of the WCPI. While denouncing Kurdish nationalism, the WCPI in practice draws no distinction between imperialist powers and semicolonial countries, or more generally between oppressor and oppressed nations. Thus, not only did the WCPI refuse to call for military defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism during the war in the Persian Gulf, but on several occasions has made appeals for the intervention of the United Nations (whose predecessor, the League of Nations, Lenin labeled a "den of thieves"). Thus, as we noted in our article in *Spartakist*, reprinted from the Spartacist League/U.S. paper *Workers Vanguard*, the WCP-Iraq exile group in Australia demanded "the immediate withdrawal of the Ba'ath regime's forces" and called "to impose these demands on the UN." Similarly, a statement issued in London on 6 September 1996 by both the WCP-Iran and the WCP-Iraq, while condemning the U.S. military attack on Iraq, simultaneously pleaded with the UN to "put an end to the

continued on page 8



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Der Spiegel

Iranian president Rafsanjani (far left) with Turkish prime minister Erbakan, who presides over genocidal war against Kurds in Turkey. WCPI calls for independence for Kurds in Iraq, but not in Iran and Turkey.

Potemkin Village Idiocy

In order to impress Tsarina Catherine with his self-promoting efforts at developing the barren Russian steppes in the 18th century, Prince Potemkin supposedly constructed elaborate façades of artificial villages for her to see when her carriage passed through the region. A "Potemkin village" is what came to mind when we saw the first issue of the *Internationalist* (January-February 1997), a 64-page, two-color journal recently published by a handful of defectors from our organization who call themselves the "Internationalist Group" (IG).

Former *Workers Vanguard* editor Jan Norden, his companion Marjorie Stamberg and his longtime protégé Negrete provoked their expulsion from our organization last June rather than wage an open struggle over their political differences. Norden's organizational pathology, we wrote at the time, reflected "an increasingly desperate search for, and accommodation to, social forces other than the proletariat and vehicles other than a Leninist vanguard party to advance the cause of the struggle for human emancipation" ("A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism," WV No. 648, 5 July 1996). We described this as "Pabloism of the second mobilization," referring to the liquidationist current which destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1950s.

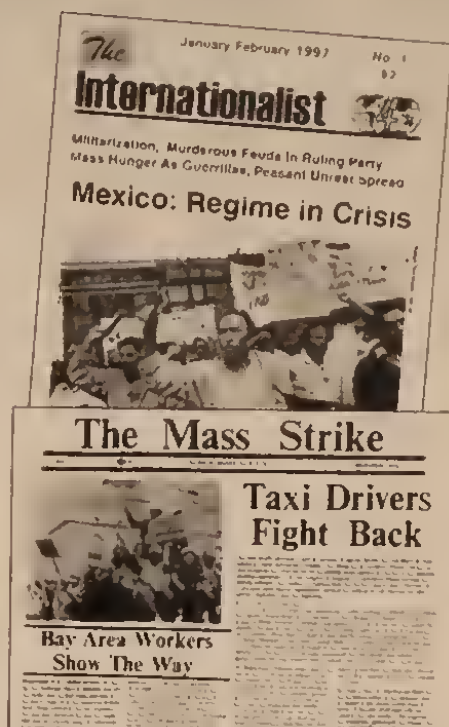
Faced with the onset of imperialist Cold War and the creation of Stalinist-ruled deformed workers states in East Europe, the Pabloites denied the need to construct Trotskyist parties and instead sought to pressure the Stalinists and social democrats to outline a "roughly" revolutionary course. Norden's latter-day Pabloism, in turn, reflects despair over the destruction of the Soviet Union and imperialist gloating about the "death of communism." As we noted in our article:

"For Norden the disproportion between what we strive for and the current consciousness of the working class had become a yawning, unbridgeable abyss. 'He and Stamberg evidenced a deep-

ening pessimism about the ability of our party and its revolutionary program to have any impact in the 'New World Order,' expressed in their ever more frequent broadsides against the ICL's supposed 'abstract' or 'passive' propagandism."

Norden and his small coterie increasingly came to see the struggle for programmatic clarity and revolutionary leadership as obstacles to their own accommodationist, tailist appetites. Our Leninist understanding of the need to fight to bring revolutionary consciousness to the defensive struggles of the working class became increasingly alien to the Nordenites, who looked to adapt to various non-revolutionary forces, from ossified remnants of the former East German Stalinist bureaucracy to trade-union opportunists in Brazil. The first issue of the *Internationalist*, with its glorification of a ubiquitous "fightback" against the "New World Order" and its disdain for polemical struggle, is more than testament to that.

The early issues of our journal *Spartacist* offer a point of comparison. The Revolutionary Tendency (RT), forebear of the International Communist League, was bureaucratically expelled from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1963 for waging a fight against the SWP majority's embrace of Pabloism, expressed particularly in its adaptation to Castroism and its capitulation to liberals and black nationalists in the civil rights movement. The first issue of *Spartacist* (February-March 1964) was devoted to our fight to get back into the SWP so that we could continue the internal struggle to win SWP cadre back to a revolutionary perspective. The front-page article was titled "Witch Hunt in the SWP." Another was headlined "Rescind the Suspensions!" Other articles included an analysis of the Castro regime and polemics against the SWP and other ostensibly revolutionary organizations on key political issues.



Norden's *Internationalist* recalls the phony "mass" paper that he edited in the early 1970s before joining the Spartacist League.

We continued to emphasize polemics documenting the SWP's rightward degeneration even as it definitively went over to reformism in 1965, manifested in its capitulation to the bourgeois-pacifist call to "Stop the War in Vietnam!" As a result, several groupings of leftward-moving elements from the SWP were won over to our party over the next decade.

Norden's "Mass Paper"

Contrast this with the Nordenites. Weeks after their departure, they declared that the ICL had undergone a "centrist turn." In August, they issued an "initial section of the founding statement of the Internationalist Group"—now reprinted in the *Internationalist* (evidently they never came up with a concluding section)—which proclaimed: "We have fought against this turn, and would be doing so today in the ranks of the ICL were it not for our expulsion, which had the character of a preemptive strike to forestall a factional struggle."

The assertion that they would still be fighting within the ICL is laughable. Our origins as a minority tendency which was bureaucratically expelled burned into our consciousness the fact that minorities *can* also be right. Thus, in contrast to other left groups, our organizational rules provide for the right of minority factions and tendencies—a right we continually urged Norden and his cothinkers to exercise in order to pursue a political debate according to democratic-centralist norms, rather than hurting the party by continuing his permanent underground factionalism. Less than a month before his defection, Norden wrote a document titled "On the Invention of 'Undeclared Factions'" (10 May 1996), in which he categorically insisted: "There is no 'undeclared faction of four' in the ICL." And on June 7, the evening before the party trial which they boycotted, Norden and Stamberg sent in a document in which they continued to complain that we were "trying to prematurely provoke the formation of factional groupings where there is insufficient political basis for them."

Since defecting, the Nordenites have attempted to put the greatest distance possible between themselves and our organization. Instead of seeking to win over our members by documenting our supposed "centrist turn" through polemics against

us on key issues of the day, they have directed their appeals to a small pool of the most rightist and demoralized elements around the Spartacist League's periphery, fishing for people who are looking to justify their own prior departure from our organization. To the extent the *Internationalist* deals with the ICL, it is overwhelmingly in the form of reprints of earlier IG statements, which seek simply to alibi their defection.

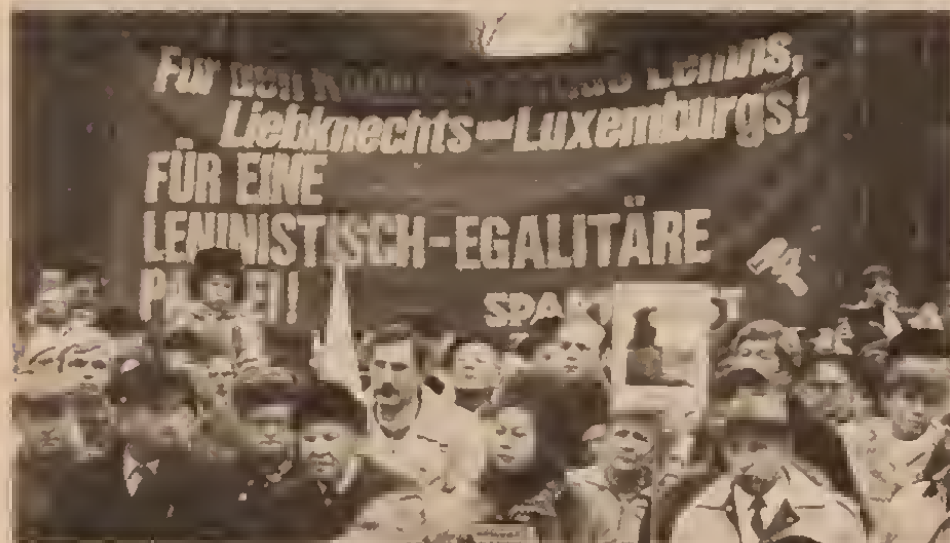
The death of polemics in the *Internationalist* reveals the IG's centrist rejection of the struggle for a Leninist vanguard party. Mainly, the *Internationalist* is filled with long-winded, descriptive, journalistic articles, from the front page ("Mexico: Regime in Crisis") to the back ("Racist NYC Cop Terror Sets Off Angry Protests"). In appearance and content, it is designed to give the impression of larger forces and is addressed to an undifferentiated "mass" audience. We are reminded of what Leon Trotsky wrote in his 1935 article, "What Is a 'Mass Paper'?" When the French Molinier group launched a fake "mass paper" which promised to "speak the language of the factories and the fields," to "tell of the misery which reigns there," to "express its passions and rouse to revolt," Trotsky had the following scathing comment:

"This is a very laudable intention, although the masses know perfectly well their own misery and their feelings of revolt (stifled by the patriotic apparatuses with the aid of the [centrist] Pivertists). What the masses can demand of a newspaper is a clear program and a correct orientation."

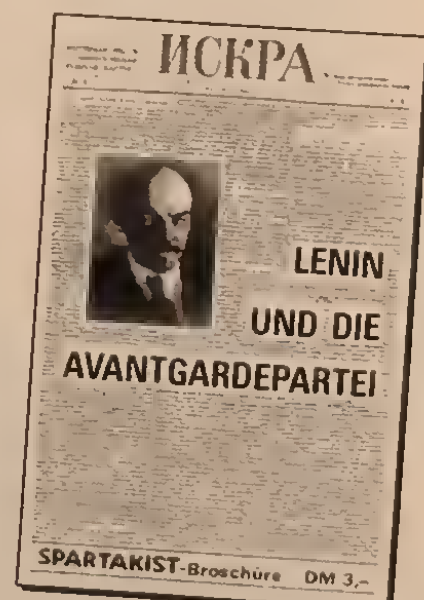
Cut of the same cloth is the notable absence of any attempt by the Internationalist Group to define itself as opposed to other organizations and tendencies which claim the mantle of Trotskyism. A Leninist party strives to recruit into its ranks the most advanced workers and revolutionary-minded intellectuals. To do so it must politically expose the pretensions of other tendencies in the workers movement, particularly the centrists who posture as revolutionaries. Thus the overwhelming preponderance of Lenin's *Collected Works* consists not of descriptions of how the working masses are oppressed but of polemical articles that sharply delineate the Leninist vanguard from Menshevism and centrism.

Alibi for a Shameful Defection

Since the Nordenites cannot point to a single programmatic departure to back their claim that the ICL "is moving



ICL fought for Leninist-egalitarian party in East Germany, 1989-90, initiated mass anti-fascist protest in Berlin's Treptow Park (below), where Spartacist spokesman denounced Stalinists, called for workers to power.



Just out! German edition of Spartacist pamphlet *Lenin and the Vanguard Party* (price: 3 DM). Order from: SpAD, c/o Verlag Avantgarde, Postfach 5 55, 10127 Berlin, Germany.

toward centrism," they must invent a construct that we "abandoned" the class struggle in Brazil by breaking fraternal relations with Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB). The idea that fraternal relations are a testing process for solid programmatic agreement, requiring ongoing political struggle, is completely alien to centrists, as it was to the Nordenites when they were in the party. If anything, we can be accused of being *overly* patient with LM over the nearly two years during which we maintained fraternal relations. But Norden & Co. tried to undermine our struggle with LM for programmatic clarity from start to finish: from the September 1994 "Declaration of Fraternal Relations"—wholly written by Norden and Negrete to indicate a range and depth of programmatic agreement that did not exist—to their constant attempts to obstruct political fights, to their ultimate bloc with LM's amorphous centrism against the ICL.

For more than a year after we initiated fraternal relations with LM, there was no sign of progress toward a programmatically based fusion. We then invited a leading representative of LM to an authoritative January 1996 meeting of our International Executive Committee. The comrade fully accepted our political characterization that LM was a trade-union fraction without a party. He stated that he agreed on the need to transform LM into a Trotskyist propaganda group, the nucleus of a Leninist vanguard party in Brazil, through an agenda of common work—publishing a party propaganda organ, extending LM's presence to a major metropolitan center and seeking to win new recruits from the younger generation. At this gathering, we learned that a municipal workers union whose leadership was braintrustered by LM included a substantial proportion of cops. We fought with LM to wage a campaign to get the cops out of the union and invested significant resources to maintain an ICL representative in Brazil in order to assist in this and in transforming LM into a Trotskyist vanguard nucleus.

After six months of intensive political discussion, with an ICL representative on the spot and through repeated letters from our International Secretariat, it became clear that what LM/LQB wanted was a Potemkin village "International" which would finance and otherwise support their unprincipled trade-union maneuvers, including an LM leader's position as an unelected "adviser" to this cop-ridden union. In an 11 June 1996 letter to LM, we warned that to continue "subordinating the question of principle to the quotidian struggle for influence in the union's leadership can only lead to continued provocations by the police, the political forces who run the police and the 'leftists' who do their bidding.... The trustworthy base for revolutionary Marxists is to be found, and fought for, at the *base* of the union—among the actual workers."

Macho Posturing and Lies

But if LM wanted a Potemkin village "International," the Nordenites were equally committed to having a Potemkin village Brazilian "section." Posturing as oh-so-macho "class struggle" warriors, they repeatedly assert that an ICL representative told LM at a 16 June 1996 meeting that we must "pull our hands out of the boiling water." Norden's protégé Negrete is a renowned master at quoting half-sentences out of context, which when quoted in full are the opposite of what this mighty Wurlitzer of lying propaganda asserts. Norden and Negrete's LM/LQB allies have a tape of that meeting, so they know what was actually said. Our comrade explained to LM that their trade-union policy "is more like the politics of all the left in Brazil and Latin America, which consists of trying to control many unions to compete with their rivals." Citing LM leader Cerezo's view that the ICL didn't "want to get involved in real union work, where real struggles exist," the ICL representative responded



First Issue of James P. Cannon's *Militant* (1928) sought to break CPers from Stalinism to Trotskyism. Likewise, first *Spartacist* fought our bureaucratic expulsion from SWP in struggle to win cadre.



that this was exactly the line of the centrist LBI group, which was hacking the pro-cop faction of Artur Fernandes in the municipal workers union. Our comrade continued:

"I believe that you are giving in to the pressure and to their game. The bourgeois state, Artur, the LBI and all these organizations want to put us in a cauldron of boiling water. That is the situation now...and we are telling you, let's take our hands out of this boiling water and dedicate our attention, our time to building a revolutionary party! So our

Trotskyist vanguard, but the physical safety, possible arrest, and imprisonment (or worse) of LM/LQB comrades, as well as ICL representatives, and also threaten the very existence of the union itself. It is the height of political irresponsibility to maintain Cerezo's maneuvered post as a higher 'conquest' for the workers than their union or the party that is the necessary instrument for the victory of the proletariat within and beyond Brazil. This reflects a fatuous light-mindedness toward the bourgeois state. The opportunist maneuvering of LM/LQB at the top of the union is indeed



New York memorial meeting for Trotsky, 1940. ICL fights to reforge a Fourth International that Trotsky would recognize as his own.

organization's proposal is that we work toward a conscious transformation of the Brazilian organization into a Trotskyist party that gives priority to the publication of a newspaper, that gives priority to the recruitment of young workers within the steel industry, that begins to organize the possibility that...we can do work in an industrial city where we can begin to get in touch with the proletariat and with the youth who are looking for a revolutionary orientation....

"Lenin decided to leave Russia in his youth, go to England and from England put out a newspaper, *Iskra*, not because he was 'afraid' to do work in the unions—everybody was doing work within the unions. In 1903, he wrote *What Is To Be Done?*—a very important book where he says: You, the trade unionists, are not going to make the revolution—we need a party of professional revolutionaries. And we can't accuse Lenin of being afraid, of leaving Russia, of leaving the trade-union work, because thanks to that the Russian October Revolution was made."

In a new "joint statement" with LM/LQB and elsewhere in the *Internationalist*, the IGlets repeatedly "chicken bait" the ICL—which initiated the fight to get the cops out of the union—for supposedly "claiming that association with the LQB/LM in this work posed 'unacceptable risks for the vanguard.'" Here is what the ICL wrote in our 17 June 1996 letter breaking fraternal relations, which was hand-delivered to LM:

"Indeed, the provocations have continued and have now escalated to a campaign of dirty tricks and violence which threaten not only the perspectives for a

counterposed to the task of forging a revolutionary Trotskyist party.

"To step down from the post you were never elected to does not mean that you should run away from the political fight to mobilize the base of the union against encroachments by the capitalist state and its armed men. We have made every effort to assist in producing a Trotskyist newspaper in Brazil, not least to propagandize and agitate over the urgent questions posed in the union struggles today. The LM/LQB has continually delayed production of party propaganda and polemics against the fake-left witchhunters who must be exposed and discredited before the workers. The ICL has also

politically and financially taken responsibility to assist in your legal defense....

"The evidently ingrained practices of LM/LQB in the unions reflect an incomplete separation from the popular front and a continuation of the practices of the Brazilian fake Trotskyists who similarly maneuver their way in the unions as a power base and evasion of Leninist party building. Do you know where you are going?"

"As the LM/LQB is evidently adamant on its opportunist course, we therefore dissolve fraternal relations and separate our organizations. We look forward to opportunities for common struggle."

As we wrote in an earlier article, "The real story is that given their own centrist appetites, the Nordenites find it incredible that we would break with a group of trade-union militants on something as unimportant to them as the party question" (WV No. 651, 13 September 1996). In fact, what the IG prefers are the tepid waters of amorphous centrist combinationism which mindlessly exalts the "struggle" of the masses and eschews the difficult struggle for revolutionary leadership.

IG "Disappears" Permanent Revolution

In our article, "A Break in Fraternal Relations with Luta Metalúrgica" (WV No. 648, 5 July 1996), we criticized the glaring omission of the program of permanent revolution in the 1994 Declaration of Fraternal Relations. In their own current joint statement, the IG and LQB simply proclaim "the continued validity of the fundamental points of agreement" in the earlier declaration, again conspicuously refusing to raise permanent revolution. Yet this is a central question of proletarian class strategy in semicolonial countries—that to accomplish even the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the proletariat, standing at the head of the peasantry, must seize power from the local bourgeoisie and fight to extend socialist revolution to the imperialist countries. Those who reject this perspective necessarily end up promoting or apologizing for cross-class blocs—popular fronts—with sections of the "national" bourgeoisie in the name of an "anti-imperialist united front."

The theory of permanent revolution is premised on the understanding that because of the arrested development of the colonial and semicolonial countries as a result of imperialist domination, the weak local bourgeoisies are tied to their imperialist masters. At the same time, this gives the semicolonial bourgeoisies a certain latitude to occasionally mobilize the masses against imperialist encroachments. As Trotsky pointed out in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940), "The national government, to the extent that it tries to show resistance to foreign capital, is compelled to a greater or lesser degree to lean on the proletariat." But the "anti-imperialist united front" leads to often bloody defeat for the workers as the native bourgeoisie, fearing a challenge to its class rule, moves in league with the imperialists against the mobilized proletariat. As Chiang Kai-shek's bloody

continued on page 6

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Potemkin Village...

(continued from page 5)

suppression of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution showed, the second stage of "two-stage revolution" is mass murder of communists! This only underscores the central emphasis of permanent revolution, for the political independence of the proletariat from the semicolonial bourgeoisie.

The IG's failure to raise permanent revolution in its joint statement with the Brazilian group is not an isolated omission. Two articles on Mexico, making up almost 20 percent of the *Internationalist*, contain neither the words nor program of permanent revolution. (We await Norden's usual lawyer's argument that their main article on Mexico, nine pages long, is only the first of two parts!) In one of the *Internationalist's* rare polemical sallies, their lead Mexico article also takes us to task for asserting, "in a polemic directed against the Internationalist Group...that Latin American peasants are subjected to the remnants of feudalism." The article they refer to is in fact an introduction to a first-ever translation into Spanish of key writings by Trotskyist

Bodles of poor peasants gunned down by murderous Brazilian military police. We fought with LM to wage struggle to oust cops from union whose leadership LM braintruster.



AP

Indian peasant population to peasant-guerrilla populists like the Zapatistas.

Pabloism of the Second Mobilization

It is notable that, since its formation, the IG has largely steered clear of writing anything on Germany. Yet it was over Germany that the internal political struggle with Norden was joined. Norden's

nism of Lenin and Trotsky!" *Spartacist* No. 47-48, Winter 1992-93).

The political battle between the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution and the treachery of the Stalinists was seen in the quarter-million-strong demonstration in January 1990 which we initiated against the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial in East Berlin's Treptow Park. Now, in reprinting a July 1996 document by Norden which seeks to justify his opportunist orientation to the Communist Platform, the *Internationalist* carries the photo of our spokesman on the platform at the Treptow demonstration with the caption: "If they [the SED] 'led' the counterrevolution, what was ICL doing on the platform with them at Treptow?" The real question was, why was a Trotskyist leader allowed to speak at a Stalinist-dominated rally? The SED-PDS—nervous about losing any remaining authority in the face of the growing restlessness of the working class and strongly pressured by the support our program was gaining, especially in factories in the Berlin area—moved in heavily to take over this demonstration after our initial call.

Where the Social Democrats (SPD) had been openly promoting capitalist counterrevolution, the SED carried on a pretense of defending the DDR. As part of our united-front effort, we sought to expose the SED's role before the working masses. Evidently, Norden cannot conceive of a united front as anything but a non-aggression pact. At Treptow, as in any genuine united front, the political struggle between the contending forces—the Trotskyist ICL and the Stalinist SED-PDS—was heightened. In the first public Trotskyist speech in a deformed workers state since the 1920s, our spokesman warned that "West German imperialism, aided by the SPD—can turn this political revolution into a social counterrevolution" and argued that "the SED party dictatorship has shown that it is incompetent to fight this." She concluded by calling

for the forging of a Leninist-egalitarian party and for "workers and soldiers Soviets to power!" For their part, the SED hacks at the front of the demonstration repeatedly jeered our comrade and tried to silence her.

Treptow was the turning point. The mass, pro-Soviet turnout at Treptow, and the presence on the platform of Trotskyists who denounced the SPD—the favored instrument of West German imperialism—as a "Trojan horse for counterrevolution," provoked howls of outrage from the bourgeoisie and its lackeys. Within a couple of days, under pressure from the parties of West German imperialism then sitting at the interim DDR governing "round table," the SED repudiated the Treptow demonstration. Days later, Soviet president Gorbachev gave a green light for capitalist reunification, the East German elections were precipitously moved up to suppress any potential opposition and the SED openly enlisted in the cause of counterrevolution. Their position as the rulers of the deformed workers state gave them the unique capacity to put themselves at the head of the betrayal of the DDR to the well-financed forces of Fourth Reich-inspired capitalist Anschluss.

In August 1917, Lenin's Bolsheviks led the fight on the battlefield against the reactionary General Kornilov's attack on the vacillating bourgeois Kerensky government, which had made its own counterrevolutionary role amply clear only a month before by its suppression of the Bolsheviks in the "July days." A few months later, the Bolsheviks led the October Revolution which overthrew Kerensky's regime and established the first workers state in history. If one were to apply the IGlets' methodology of looking through a telescope backwards to the Russian Revolution, then the next issue of the *Internationalist* (should one appear) might run a photo caption asking, "If they [Kerensky's government] 'led' the counterrevolution, what were the Bolsheviks doing on the battlefield with them against Kornilov?"

In response to Norden's fuming that to say the SED led the counterrevolution is to deny Trotsky's position on the dual nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy—as a nationalist parasitic caste which acted as a transmission belt for imperialism while sitting atop a collectivized economy—we previously observed that Norden here "takes a page from Pablo, who saw in the bureaucracy an inherently progressive side coexisting with a more reactionary side." The *Internationalist* does not even attempt to reply to this. In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky emphasized that the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy had an organic tendency to transform itself into a capitalist ruling class and that "a bourgeois restoration would probably have to

During December 1995 strike wave in France, our comrades of the LTF emphasized need to forge a revolutionary party to lead workers' struggles to victory.



AFP

leader James P. Cannon, published under the title "The Fight for a Revolutionary Party" in the latest Spanish-language *Spartacist* (No. 27, December 1996).

Citing our call for "the destruction of feudal peonage in the countryside" and our reference to "the inheritance of Spanish feudal colonialism" in Latin America, the *Internationalist* goes on to declaim: "The myth of Latin American 'feudalism,' now repeated by the Spartacist League, was invented by the Stalinized Communist parties to justify their stagist politics." Is the IG arguing that there are no remnants of pre-industrial society in Mexico and other Latin American countries? In his 1934 "War and the Fourth International," Trotsky wrote:

"In South America, where belated and already decaying capitalism is supporting the conditions of semifeudal, that is, semislavish existence, the world antagonisms create a sharp struggle of comprador cliques, continual overturns within the states and protracted armed conflicts between the states."

If the IG denies that Latin America remains saddled with an inheritance of Spanish feudal colonialism, then it is theoretically dismissing the program of permanent revolution for that region outright. Indeed, the IG's article on Mexico does not even mention the question of agrarian revolution. In practice, this can only mean that the revolutionary proletariat and its vanguard party cede leadership of the struggle around this and issues such as debt peonage and racism against the

opportunist appetites were given flagrant public expression in a January 1995 talk he gave at Berlin's Humboldt University, as part of his "regroupment" orientation toward the geriatric remnants of the former East German Stalinist ruling party, the SED, now found in the "Communist Platform" wing of the SED's social-democratic successor, the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). To this end Norden disappeared the central purpose and intent of the intervention of the ICL in East Germany during the tumultuous events of 1989-90: to organize for a political revolution against the Stalinist regime and the threat of capitalist counterrevolution.

In his talk, Norden repeatedly denied the ICL's role as the conscious revolutionary vanguard, which despite the disproportion in forces, was engaged in a political battle with the abdicating Stalinists. Instead, he tried to amnesty the SED by claiming it had been "paralyzed" in the face of counterrevolution. In the political struggle against this revisionism in our organization, we argued that far from being "paralyzed," the Stalinists had led the counterrevolution. Recognizing that they would be its target, the SED tops did everything in their power to prevent a political revolution—like demobilizing army units that had formed soldiers councils and dissolving the armed factory militias that could have become the organized political/military locus of such a revolution (see "For the Commu-



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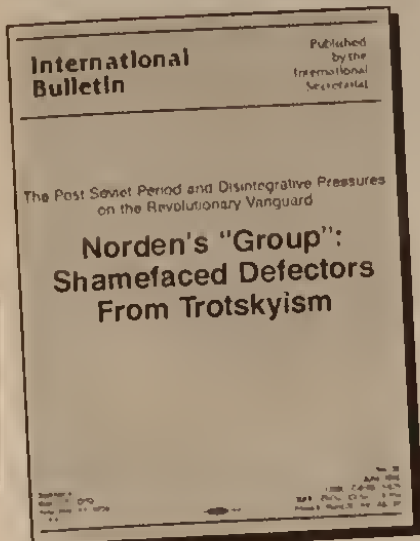
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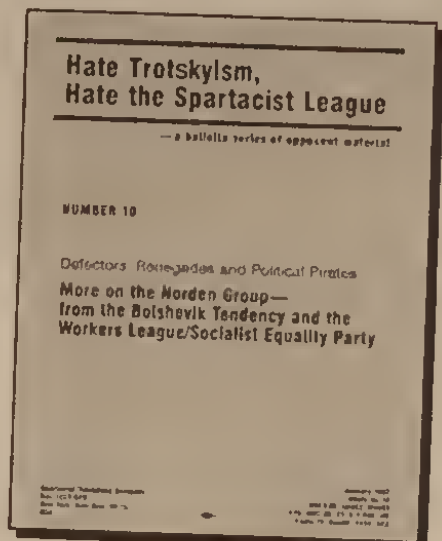
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clean out fewer people than a revolutionary party" would in the event of a proletarian political revolution.

And if to say that the Stalinists led the counterrevolution represents a revision of Trotsky, as Norden would have it, then Trotsky, too, is guilty of this "revision" in his writings on the Spanish Revolution of the 1930s. The SED represented a parasitic caste sitting atop the East German deformed workers state, while in capitalist Spain the Kremlin and its henchmen promoted the suppression of a proletarian revolution in the name of "anti-fascist unity." Yet Trotsky's characterization of the Stalinists' role in the popular-front Republican government is quite to the point. In his August 1940 article, "The Class, the Party, and the Leadership," Trotsky wrote:

"The most consistent policy in the ruling bloc was pursued by the Stalinists. They were the fighting vanguard of the bourgeois-republican counterrevolution."

Norden is certainly not ignorant of Trotsky's writings on Spain. But he has renounced its key lessons. This was clear when, in his Humholdt speech to a crowd of Stalinist has-beens, he deep-sixed the Kremlin's bloody suppression of the Spanish workers revolution and reduced Stalin's crimes there to a matter of sending "only limited amounts of munitions" to the bourgeois Republican government.

IG: Ever Onward with Economist "Fightback"

While flourishes about the need for a revolutionary party are sprinkled throughout the *Internationalist*, at bottom the Nordenites glorify the existing economist struggles (and consciousness) of the working class. A clear example of this is their article on last December's truckers strike in France, which exults: "While European workers' struggles in recent years have been overwhelmingly defensive in character...the truckers' action was an offensive strike by a relatively lower-paid sector seeking to win new gains." In a letter on the IG article to our French section, International Secretariat member Liz Gordon pointed to the purpose behind the Nordenites' talk of an "offensive strike":

"They are trying to deny the vast implications of the demise of the USSR in shaping the New World Disorder by painting a picture of a seething world of workers' struggles, a kind of universal 'fightback.' This serves their denial of the role of consciousness, and the indispensable necessity of a Leninist vanguard party in fighting for that consciousness in the proletariat. They glorify trade-union militancy in order to obscure the role of the vanguard which brings revolutionary consciousness to the class from outside—in order to suggest that the working class will acquire revolutionary consciousness 'spontaneously' in the course of its economic struggles, as those struggles 'inevitably' get bigger and bigger and more and more militant."

What the Nordenites expound is Pabloism: the denial of the Leninist understanding that, in the absence of intervention by the revolutionary party, the spontaneous economic struggles of the

proletariat dissipate or are diverted by the reformist leadership from reaching revolutionary fruition in the struggle for power. This view of things, of course, also conveniently overlooks the fact that endless militant struggles which never reach the consciousness of the need to fight for proletarian power against the whole of the ruling class and its state will eventually lead, not to "spontaneous" revolution but to a hard and usually bloody response on the part of the capitalists, who in extremis will even turn to the fascists if necessary to break the back of the proletariat and re-establish "order."

The IG's definition of "offensive" struggles as those which are aimed at new economic gains, as opposed to defending gains previously won, is very convenient for those who want to paint the economic struggles of the proletariat as more than they are. In her letter, comrade Gordon observed:

"It is perhaps useful to consider the example of Samuel Gompers, the long-time leader of the American craft unions prior to the rise of the CIO industrial unions. He was famous for his one-word slogan: 'More!' In this slogan he expressed his unashamedly pro-capitalist outlook—explicitly hostile to those (i.e., socialists) who thought the workers should fight for a different kind of social order, he insisted that the only purpose of unions was to fight for more material goodies under capitalism."

Yet by the IG's terms, the craven Gompers would be a paragon of "offensive"-minded trade unionism!

Norden Rediscovered His Roots

The IG's sneering dismissal of our supposed "passive propagandism"—a well-worn charge against Leninist-Trotskyists purveyed by all manner of centrists—is simply a cover for their own abandonment of the fight for a revolutionary party. It is noteworthy that in their tiny article calling to "Drop Charges Against Chicago Anti-Klan Protesters!" the IG makes no attempt to square our leadership of the June 29 united-front protest—which routed a violent KKK provocation—with their claims of Spartacist "abstentionism." When Norden had some say in the work of our German section, he pushed for our comrades to run around promoting economist "struggles" and photo-op "anti-fascist actions" with little political content, like a tokenistic defense of a Berlin immigrant hostel in January 1993. That episode stands in sharp contrast to the militant February 15 protest in Berlin which sent the Nazis packing from their attempted rally site in Hellersdorf. Our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party—not least through sharp polemics against illusions fostered by the PDS in reliance on the capitalist state—provided revolutionary leadership to those hundreds who wanted to stop the Nazis. And the same PDS whose counterrevolutionary role in 1990 Norden seeks to whitewash today leads the pack in a violence-baiting witchhunt against those leftists who spiked the Nazi rally.

The "Internationalist" Group seeks to

be yet another "left" cheerleader for the existing struggles of the working class and oppressed, adapting to the false consciousness of the workers who see the capitalist order as permanent. In contrast, we Marxists fight to instill in the proletariat the consciousness of the need for new October Revolutions, to transform it from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself." We chose *Workers Vanguard* as the name of our paper in 1971 as an expression of our aspirations. For Norden, the *Internationalist*, with its lack of polemics or any kind of programmatic angularity, is a step back to his pre-Spartacist roots. A comrade who worked with Norden in the Boston Mass Strike Organizing Committee before they joined the SL in 1971-72 noted recently that Norden criticized the early issues of *Workers Vanguard* for spending far too much time on polemics with other left groups and not enough on "workers struggles." Our comrade recalled:

"The *Mass Strike* newspaper started out without any polemics whatsoever. But even toward the end, when it began to print articles critical of reformist outfits like the SWP and CP, it stayed away from politically attacking the 'organizations of the oppressed,' especially when they were under the guns of the imperialist state. This trait Norden has demonstrated in a pronounced fashion more recently, over the witchhunted DDR Stalinists, as well as Luta Metalúrgica."

Norden's political line during the Mass Strike days was an adaptation to the New Left politics pervasive among young

radicals in that period. His current retrogression, driven by despair over world-historic defeats for the proletariat, is marked by classic centrist functioning: his desire not to swim against the stream; his infatuation with fake "mass work" and a "mass press" at the expense of hard Bolshevik polemics and party building; his preference for organizational maneuvering over principled struggle for program.

Where we fight to reforge a Fourth International Trotsky would recognize as his own, Norden and his circle prefer to rub elbows with centrist and reformist poseurs. In this regard it is notable that two of the three points of agreement in the "Joint Statement of Commitment to Fight to Reforge the Fourth International" between the IG and the LQB consist of denunciations of the ICL for breaking fraternal relations with LM and for the supposed "bureaucratic purge" of Norden & Co. Talk of "revolutionary regroupment" is all the rage among the centrist swamp internationally: the one common denominator for the many politically heterogenous rotten blocs flirting with each other is hatred for the authentic Leninism represented by the ICL. In their uncritical non-polemical new journal, the IG declares as its "aim to work toward an early fusion of our forces in a common Fourth-Internationalist tendency." Thus the IG has posted its big "for sale" sign. *Caveat emptor*—Let the buyer beware! ■

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

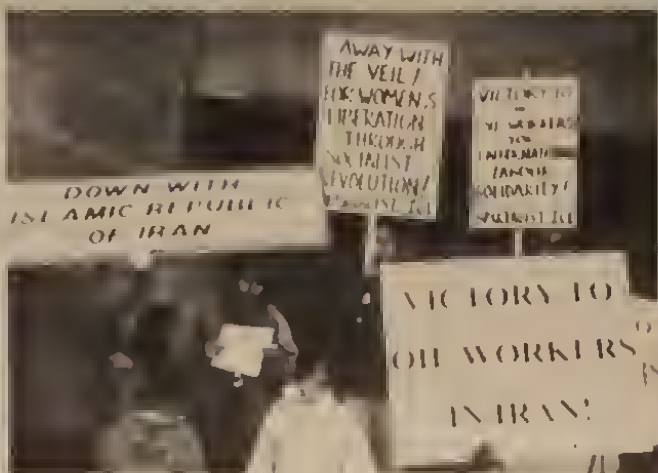
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Lega trotskista d'Italia	Walter Fidacaro C.P. 1591, 20101 Milano, Italy
Spartacist Group Japan	Spartacist Group Japan PO Box 49, Akabane Yubinkyoku Kita-ku, Tokyo 115, Japan
Grupo Espartaquista de México	H. Herrera, Apdo. Postal 453 06002 México 1, D.F., Mexico
Spartacist/Moscow	write to Le Bolchévik, Paris
Spartakusowska Grupa Polski	Platforma Spartakusowców Skrytka Poczтовая 148 02-588 Warszawa 48, Poland
Spartacist/South Africa	Spartacist, PostNet Suite 248 Carlton Center Level 100, Shop 140 Commissioner Street Johannesburg 2001, South Africa
Spartacist League/U.S.	Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116, USA

International Rallies Demand:



Spartacist Canada



Workers Hammer



Australian Spartacist

Support Iranian Oil Workers' Struggle!

On February 20, demonstrations were held in several cities around the world in solidarity with oil workers in Iran who have been waging a struggle for basic trade-union rights which began with a two-day strike in December. On February 16, the theocratic Iranian regime unleashed its "Revolutionary Guards" against more than 2,000 oil workers and supporters who were staging a protest picket outside the Oil Ministry building in Teheran. Hundreds were arrested and the union has been banned.

Supporters of the International Communist League joined in the solidarity demonstrations in London and Vancouver,

which were initiated by the Workers Communist Party of Iran (WCPI) and supported by its cothinkers of the WCP of Iraq. The ICL also participated in earlier demonstrations on January 11 in Toronto, London and Sydney, Australia (see photo above) as well as in Tokyo and Vancouver. ICL signs called for support to the oil workers' struggle and for full citizenship rights for Afghan workers threatened with deportation. Our comrades also championed the national rights of the Kurdish people. Other ICL signs read: "Down

With the Veil! For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

A January 10 ICL statement declared: "Working people throughout the world must support the courageous actions by a key sector of the Iranian proletariat, which together with women, the Kurds and other national minorities has suffered nearly two decades of bloody repression under the theocratic Islamic Republic.... Back in 1978, amid the massive social turmoil directed against the hated shah, 37,000 Iranian oil work-

ers staged a powerful sitdown strike which was initially independent of the reactionary forces around Ayatollah

Khomeini. But the Iranian left subordinated the workers' struggles to the fundamentalists, helping to usher in an unparalleled disaster when Khomeini took power and unleashed his reign of savage terror. At the time, the ICL (then the international Spartacist tendency) said: 'Down with the shah, Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!' Today, we continue our fight to build Leninist-Trotskyist revolutionary parties to lead workers revolution in Iran and throughout the world." ■

WCPI Exchange...

(continued from page 3)

arrogance of the United States." We are enclosing these two statements along with this reply.

As we stressed in our article, the various imperialist powers—today, first and foremost, U.S. imperialism—are the chief enemies of Kurdish independence. But it is precisely to the imperialists that the WCPI looks in the first instance. Moreover, they call for a UN-organized referendum, which is linked to a position for an independent Iraqi Kurdistan. This is elaborated in an article by Hekmat, "In Defense of the Demand for Independence for Iraqi Kurdistan," in the Farsi-language *International* (June 1995). Their schema is clearly premised on a big-power guarantor keeping Saddam Hussein's grubby hands out of Kurdistan. In short, this is implicitly a stages schema, in which the initial "democratic" stage is supposedly guaranteed by the UN, an instrument of imperialism.

The WCPI's appeals to the UN over Iraqi Kurdistan are no isolated aberration. Their main programmatic document, "A Better World," states: "The WCPI is in favor of an immediate solution to the Kurdish question in Iran through a free referendum in the Kurdish-occupied regions in western Iran under the oversight of formal international organizations" (our emphasis and translation). At the same time, even while acknowledging the national oppression of the Kurds and their right of self-determination, the WCPI makes clear that they presently oppose independence for the Kurds in Iran. And to the best of our knowledge the WCPI does not give *unilateral* support to the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in the genocidal war being waged by NATO Turkey, nor does it call for defense of the PKK against its suppression by the German state. In short, in Iraq where it has a significant Kurdish base, the WCPI is for independence. But it is opposed to Kurd-

ish independence in Iran and Turkey, two neighboring states which are regional rivals of Iraq.

We of the ICL call for a socialist republic of united Kurdistan. In doing so, we apply Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, the understanding that in regions which have been kept backward by imperialism the basic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution can only be achieved through an internationalist struggle for proletarian power which sweeps away all the reactionary bourgeois regimes in the region. This view is in sharp contrast to the methodology of appealing to one or another imperialist power, or conciliating the bourgeois rivals of one's immediate oppressor, which characterizes the practices of the various Kurdish nationalist groupings. The WCPI does not transcend that framework.

"Socialism in One Country"—Nationalist Dogma

As you note, the WCPI claims that the Soviet Union became "state capitalist" by the late 1920s. This is the same operational conclusion drawn by Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain. This boils down to the assertion that capitalism was restored precisely at a time when the five-year plans were instituted and the USSR made a huge leap forward, developing an industrial society. This is a profoundly revisionist conclusion, at bottom crediting the bourgeoisie of a mainly peasant society with a progressive mission, that of qualitatively revolutionizing the material forces of production.

The WCPI claims that there was no qualitative political distinction between the Trotskyists and the Stalinists in the 1920s. In fact, however, they accept the false and profoundly nationalist ideology of building "socialism in one country" peddled by the Stalinist bureaucracy: "Firstly, in our opinion, theoretically and irrespective of the question of the Soviet Union, the establishment of socialism in one country, i.e., the establishment of relations based on common ownership, the abolition of wage-labour, i.e. what

Marx envisaged to be the outlines of the lower stage of communism, is quite possible, and not only that, it is vital for the fate of workers' revolution" ("The Experience of Workers Revolution in the Soviet Union," by Mansoor Hekmat and Iraj Azarin).

Socialism (the lower phase of communism, in which the productivity of labor has been developed so immensely that classes cease to exist) necessarily requires the extension of proletarian property forms to the most advanced industrialized societies of the world. Those who posit the possibility of building socialism within the borders of a single state—in contradiction to Marx and Lenin—thereby deny the material necessity of extending the proletarian revolution worldwide and necessarily end up seeking or justifying "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist bourgeoisies in the name of preserving "real, existing socialism." "Socialism in one country" meant betraying proletarian revolution everywhere else. In upholding this bogus schema, the WCPI rejects the decisive fights waged by Trotsky's Left Opposition, including for example its struggle against Stalin and Bukharin's betrayal of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, which was subordinated to the Guomindang and the butcher Chiang Kai-shek. As Trotsky pointed out in generalizing his theory of permanent revolution, the bloody massacre of communists and workers in China was the direct legacy of Stalin's resurrection of the theory of "two-stage revolution" pushed by the Mensheviks in tsarist Russia.

The WCPI's "state capitalist" viewpoint had other important consequences. Trotskyists unconditionally defended the Soviet degenerated workers state against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack, while calling for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. When the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan in 1979, we said "Hail Red Army" and called for extending the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples. While warning that the Krem-

lin bureaucracy was capable of selling out to the imperialists, we pointed out that the Red Army intervention was objectively in defense of the Soviet Union and a blow against the CIA-backed *mujahedin* who threatened to return women to virtual slavery, duplicating the horrors of Khomeini's Iran. But the CPI/WCPI viewed Soviet "imperialism" as equally reactionary as the *mujahedin*.

The events in Afghanistan expose yet again that "state capitalist" theory is worthless as a guide to understanding and intervening in the world. The Kremlin's withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan led to the victory of the *mujahedin*, with today's hideous consequences for Afghan women, and gave a giant impulse to the forces of capitalist restoration which triumphed in the Soviet Union. Concerning the latter, the WCPI—unlike most "state capitalist" formations, such as the Cliffite tendency—did not cheer for Yeltsinite counterrevolution, and even predicted that the events in the Soviet Union and East Europe would have had consequences for the workers of the world. But according to the WCPI's own theory that the USSR had been state capitalist since at least the late 1920s, the rise to power of Yeltsin should have been an unimportant shift from one gang of "capitalists" to another.

Today the WCPI rightly opposes the deportation of Afghan refugees from Iran. But all those who joined the imperialist chorus demanding the defeat of Soviet forces bear responsibility here for the horrors of Taliban-ruled Afghanistan, where women are denied the right to work and to be educated, and in which medieval tortures have been reinstituted. We of the International Communist League seek to expose the betrayals that led to the victory of reactionary and counterrevolutionary forces in Iran, Afghanistan and the former Soviet Union, in order to educate a new generation of Marxist fighters who will forge Trotskyist parties that can lead the working masses forward to new October Revolutions. ■

Germany...

(continued from page 12)

the fascists today are still relatively small, they are emboldened by the capitalist counterrevolution in East Germany (DDR) in 1990 and by the Fourth Reich's escalating assault on immigrants. Nor is the symbolic significance of this race-hate rally in Munich lost on anybody. It was there, in 1923, that Hitler staged his abortive "Beer Hall Putsch." But Munich was also the center of a militant and victorious strike by 30,000 metal workers only two years ago. It is necessary to mobilize that proletarian power to crush the fascists *now*, before they grow.

The debacle in Munich stood in sharp contrast to the successful rout of Nazi skinheads in Berlin's Hellersdorf district two weeks earlier (see "Berlin: Militant Protest Spikes Nazi Rally," WV No. 662, 21 February). There our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) provided the revolutionary leadership which was critical in organizing the hundreds of militants who wanted to stop the fascists and in countering the diversionary "peaceful, legal" efforts led in that instance by the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). In Munich, demonstrators snapped up a special *Spartakist* supplement on the Berlin victory sold by an SpAD sales team. Even *Der Spiegel* (24 February), Germany's principal news-weekly, made clear the significance of the victory over the fascists in Hellersdorf: "This defeat, together with the TV shots and press photos of skinheads quivering in fear, were considered deeply humiliating in the right-wing milieu."

The state's show of force in Munich was calculated to prevent a repeat of the successful anti-fascist action in Berlin. And only four days after the Nazis' rout in Hellersdorf, on February 19 a humiliated fascist stormed into a PDS bookstore in Berlin's Marzahn area and leveled three shotgun blasts directly at the PDS member, Klaus Baltruschat, who was working there. Left for dead, Baltruschat barely survived. He remains in the hospital after having his left forearm amputated. In a statement issued the day of the attack (translated in slightly abridged form below), the SpAD underscored the urgent need for *united-front defense based on mobilizing the social power of the trade unions* against the murderous fascist threat.

* * *

For years, the Nazi scum have gotten away with burning down the homes of and murdering dark-skinned immigrant men, women and children. Indeed these attacks have become so common that they go unreported unless there's a mortality. Today, in broad daylight, a bookseller in the PDS building in Marzahn was the victim of a near-fatal bloody attack by a fascist in a leather bomber



Above: Cops in Munich drag off anti-fascist demonstrator as they protect ominous Nazi mobilization, March 1. Right: Nazi skinheads in Berlin, February 15, cower in face of united-front action led by Spartakists.



OPA

jacket and jackboots, who fired a shotgun three times into the PDS member's back. *This underlines the urgency of united workers defense actions to crush these vermin—now—in the egg!*

Today's murderous attack was the Nazis' criminal act of revenge for the successful mass action which foiled a Nazi provocation in the streets of Hellersdorf, Berlin on Saturday, 15 February. Despite massive police protection for the Nazi killers, courageous *Autonome* youth, Spartakists, unionists, Jusos [SPD youth] and others stopped the Nazis. For this, the police brutally beat the leftist protesters and arrested 104 anti-fascists. *We hail the successful action against the Nazis on 15 February in Hellersdorf and warn: if the Nazis had been able to march through Berlin unimpeded last Saturday then the number of terrorist attacks on workers, immigrants, leftists and minorities would increase by a hundredfold.* Their criminal assault on the PDS bookshop keeper in Berlin, like the assassination of 17-year-old Frank Böttcher in Magdeburg, are the cowardly attacks of race-hate terrorists who fear the mobilizations that defeat them when they try to crawl out of their sewers.

Criminally, the PDS—which itself has become a victim of the Nazis' revenge for Hellersdorf—has joined the chorus against "left-wing violence" led by Berlin interior minister Schönbohm of the CDU/SPD Senate after his massive show of police force in defense of the fascists was foiled on 15 February. While the leftist bookshop keeper lies in the hospital after this terrorist attack, which took place in the same building which houses [PDS leader] Gregor Gysi's own campaign office, Gysi has outrageously denounced "violent attacks by leftist *Autonome*" and appealed for "debate" with the fascists and for the cops to "de-escalate" violence.

Gregor Gysi, as well as every trade-union official, every leftist, every member of a workers organization, every minority, ought to recall the haunting words of Lutheran pastor Martin Niemöller, who said in 1945:

"First they came for the communists, but since I was not a communist I did not protest. Then they came for the Jews, but since I was not a Jew I did not protest. Then they came for the Catholics, but since I was not a Catholic I did not protest. When they came for me, there was no one left to protest."

The grotesque attempt by Gregor Gysi of the PDS to equate "left" and "right" extremists is a deadly syllogism which can only strengthen the bloody capitalist state, which the PDS serves and which is emboldening the fascists with its mass deportations of immigrants and vicious attacks on labor, women, minorities and the left. While the PDS beseeches the Fourth Reich to curb the excesses of "extremists," its sellout of the DDR and tepid appeals to "reform" the capitalist system all serve to breed the misery on which the fascists feed. The shameful condemnation by the PDS of the bold leftist action which spiked the Nazi provocation in Hellersdorf and suicidal appeals to the state to curb its own fascist dogs of war recall the role of the PDS' Stalinist and Social Democratic forebears [in allowing Hitler to come to power].

Hitler's victory was a fork in the road. With the desperate crisis of capitalism, the choice in Germany was international proletarian socialist revolution or fascist barbarism. History spoke its verdict clearly. The consequences of reformist accommodation to the capitalist order should not be forgotten or repeated.

Make no mistake: as the German

bourgeoisie throws hundreds of thousands of workers out of their jobs, its anti-immigrant campaigns are directed against the labor movement. They hope to whip up German nationalism against "foreigners" to divide the workers at a time when maximum unity—especially with the significant Turkish and Kurdish components of the industrial proletariat—is required to resist the attacks on the living standards of the proletariat and to defend against the Nazi murder squads that have been incited by the government's policies.

Fascism is aimed first and foremost at the organized workers movement. The Nazis were able to carry out the Holocaust only *after* the workers movement had been crushed and atomized. The skinhead Nazis make no distinction between the reformists of the PDS and all other leftist parties. When they go after the PDS they are going after the workers movement. It is imperative that the social power of the German workers movement with its integrated industrial unions be organized to meet this brazen and murderous challenge by the Nazis.

We Trotskyists of the Spartakist Workers Party call on all opponents of Nazi terror to join together in *united-front defense*. While welcoming and encouraging open political debate with other organizations on the left, such as the PDS, Jusos, *Autonome*, etc., we believe that we must unite—march separately and strike together—and, based on the power of the trade unions, crush the Nazi murder gangs. For worker/immigrant defense patrols of immigrant centers, hostels, leftist offices, youth clubs, synagogues, mosques and other targets of the Nazis! *Organize, stop the Nazis!* ■

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Alternate Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m. Next class, March 19: *Marxism and Special Oppression: The Woman Question*; Boston University, School of Education, Room 206
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Alternate Thursdays, 6:00 p.m. Next class, March 13: *The Marxist Understanding of the State*; University of Chicago, Cobb Hall, Room 207
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ

Saturdays, 3:00 p.m. Next classes, March 8: *The Marxist Program*; March 29: *The State*; Rutgers University, College Avenue Campus, Scott Hall, Room 102
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, March 20: *The State*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street)
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SAN FRANCISCO

Alternate Thursdays, 5:30 p.m. Next class, March 13: *How the Working Class Took Power—The Bolshevik Revolution*; San Francisco State University, Student Union, Room C116
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VANCOUVER

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For more information: (202) 872-8240

Stamp Union, Room 1102
University of Maryland, College Park

BOSTON

Police Attack Leftists, Protect Fascists Berlin: Militant Protest Spikes Nazi Rally! — Eyewitness Report —

Monday, March 10, 8:00 p.m.
For more information: (617) 666-9453

Emerson 305, Harvard Yard
Harvard University

China...

(continued from page 1)

and reactionary under Soviet conditions, it was all the more so in backward China, which groaned under the weight of an impoverished peasantry making up three-fourths of its population. Now, in the "post-Soviet" world, imperialist pressures on China and on the other remaining deformed workers states—North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam—have increased qualitatively. In response to these pressures, the Beijing Stalinists have tied China even more closely to world capitalism, expanding market "reforms" while maintaining rigid control over the restive population. In 1992, Deng staged a well-publicized tour of southern China's capitalist "Special Economic Zones" (SEZs), where he called for extending "free market" enterprise throughout the country.

Unlike the October Revolution of 1917, which destroyed the Russian bourgeoisie as a class, the Chinese Revolution essentially chased the Guomindang out of the mainland to Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere, allowing the Chinese bourgeoisie to retain cohesion as a class. Indeed, overseas Chinese capital has recently displaced Japan as the main source of investment finance in East Asia, and has penetrated mainland China through investments in the SEZs.

This danger is now about to be greatly exacerbated. On July 1, Hong Kong will revert to China after 150 years as a British colony, with the Beijing regime declaring—under the rubric of "one country, two systems"—that it will not lay a finger on Hong Kong's capitalist magnates. The takeover of Hong Kong is intended by Beijing as a signal of its aim to reunify with Taiwan on a capitalist basis. As our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain declared in an article headlined "Britain Out of Hong Kong!" (*Workers Hammer* No. 109, September 1989), we are for "One country, one system—under workers rule!"

The dreams of the bureaucrats and bankers of a peaceful, bountiful restoration of capitalism are illusory. The state the Stalinists administer is based on the revolution which expelled the Chinese bourgeoisie and created a nationalized economy. The aims of China's would-be exploiters—centrally to secure the right to buy and sell property and hand it down to their offspring—can only be achieved through the destruction of the existing state apparatus by one means or another and its replacement by a new one based on the principle of private ownership of the means of production.

The London *Economist* (22 February)—house organ of international financiers—pointed out that "China is seething with jealousies and ambitions unleashed by Mr. Deng," while a political-legal structure for defending property rights "is entirely absent." The wholesale privatization of China's state-owned industries would necessarily entail a fierce struggle among the various factions, cliques and extended families that make up the bureaucracy over who would get what share of the country's productive assets.

Such property-grabbing would almost certainly draw in the military as the final arbiter. The PLA, formed during the civil war against Chiang's forces and the anti-Japanese resistance of the 1930s and '40s,



Departing British colonial overseer of Hong Kong, Chris Patten, with Beijing-anointed replacement, Tung Chee-hwa. Chinese Stalinists have pledged to maintain capitalism in Hong Kong.

McCurry/Magnum

still retains its basically regional structure and has, moreover, become heavily engaged in money-making operations of its own. A power struggle in Beijing could easily escalate into a civil war among PLA units fought on a regional basis. Capitalist counterrevolution would bring not only economic collapse and immiseration but the danger of a return to warlordism and bloody political chaos.

The Spectre of Tiananmen

The one force which can stop the drive toward capitalist restoration is the Chinese proletariat. The discredited Stalinist bureaucracy lives in fear of the spectre of the mass upheaval in May-June 1989. Beginning with student protests in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, the working people of Beijing, later joined by their class brothers and sisters throughout the country, threw themselves into battle against the despised Deng regime. For two weeks, the government could not enforce its declaration of martial law in the face of mass resistance by the *laobaixing* (common people) in the streets leading to Tiananmen. We wrote at the time, "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" (*WV* No. 480, 23 June 1989). A political revolution was emerging. Eventually, the regime was able to find loyal army detachments which drowned the uprising in blood. This was followed by a vicious wave of repression throughout China, overwhelmingly directed against the working class.

While the proletariat was bloodied by the repression, it was not crushed. And today all of the factors that led to the Tiananmen upheaval eight years ago are present in magnified form: flagrant official corruption, inflation, massive peasant discontent. As the regime aims to "smash the iron rice bowl" of guaranteed lifetime employment and social benefits, there is growing economic insecurity. Popular hostility to the millionaire sons of top

CCP leaders (dubbed the "princelings") is all the greater because the regime derives from the Chinese Revolution, with its proclaimed ideology of egalitarianism. The day Deng's death was announced, a retired worker in Beijing who repairs bicycles by the roadside exclaimed bitterly to a Western journalist: "In the past everyone was equal. Now even college graduates can't get a job."

Every year since 1991, the number of strikes and protests by workers in both state-owned and private capitalist industries has increased. Unlike the workers of Poland, East Germany and the Soviet Union, who after decades of Stalinist lies were largely lulled into believing Western propaganda that "free market" capitalism would give them a life of plenty, Chinese workers have already experienced the "magic of the marketplace," and know they will not be among its winners.

Some Tiananmen-era dissidents have been engaged in efforts to organize trade unions opposed to the regime's corporatist All-China Federation of Trade Unions, particularly in the capitalist SEZs. Such activists can be quite heroic, battling for workers rights against both the bosses and Chinese police forces. However, as Marxists, we warn against those, like Han Dongfang, who are tied to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy in Hong Kong and to the American AFL-CIO, whose leaders have for decades acted as labor agents for U.S. imperialism.

The increase in labor struggles inside China indicates that the working class is not about to see its rights taken away without a fight. But militancy on the economic plane is not enough to stop the counterrevolutionary tide. To do that requires that the working class enter the political arena. As Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in his analysis of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalinism, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), the question is: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?" The Trotskyists fought for a program of proletarian political revolution, led by a Bolshevik party, to sweep out the bureaucracy, establish the rule of workers soviets (councils) and return the Soviet Union to its role as the headquarters of world socialist revolution.

This is the program needed in China today if the workers and impoverished peasant masses are to emerge victorious in the class battles that lie ahead. As part of our fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution, the International Communist League seeks to build an egalitarian-communist party in China based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. Such a party would link the struggle against the Beijing bureaucracy with the class struggles of the militant Indo-

nesian and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers, and with those in the imperialist centers such as Japan. Only through the extension of socialist revolution to these countries will the threat of capitalist re-enslavement be eliminated once and for all and the basis laid for the development of China in a socialist Asia.

Chinese Stalinism from Mao to Deng

Revulsion at the official corruption rampant in today's China has helped spur a certain wistfulness for the time of Mao Zedong. But while Mao called on the CCP to "serve the people" and Deng pronounced, "To get rich is glorious," the two represent no more than different poles of the same anti-proletarian bureaucracy.

Maoist rule was marked by extreme voluntarism and adventurism. Following the collectivization of agriculture, in 1958 Mao unleashed the "Great Leap Forward"—a utopian effort to catapult China to the status of an industrialized country through mobilizing mass peasant labor. The campaign led to extreme economic dislocations and one of the worst famines in history. In the aftermath, Mao lost leadership of the central bureaucracy to a more pragmatic faction led by Liu Shaoqi and Deng. In 1966, Mao launched the "Cultural Revolution"—in essence a giant faction fight inside the bureaucracy. In the course of "the lost ten years," as this period came to be known, universities and some factories were shut down and scientists were sent to the countryside to "learn from the peasants."

While the purged Liu died in prison, Deng survived and was brought back into the CCP leadership in 1973 by Mao and his lieutenant, Premier Zhou Enlai. In 1978, two years after Mao's death and the purge of the rabidly pro-Mao "Gang of Four," Deng took over the party leadership. Over the next several years, a cascade of measures was enacted opening up the country to foreign investment, breaking up collectivized agriculture and encouraging private businesses.

Despite the claims of Mao-loyalists like the U.S. Revolutionary Communist Party that the defeat of the "Gang of Four" and Deng's ascent to power marked China's return to capitalist rule, Deng was in many ways Mao's logical successor. The aim of Deng's market "reforms" was the same as that of Mao's autarkic economic adventurism: to turn China not only into a modern nation-state but into a world power. Modernizing China remains a key revolutionary task. But all wings of the Stalinist bureaucracy were and are diehard enemies of the only perspective capable of realizing this task: the extension of socialist revolution to advanced capitalist countries like Japan, which in the framework of international planning can provide the technical resources necessary to modernize China.

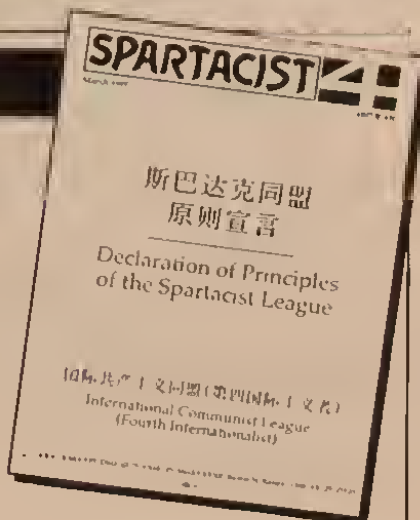
The introduction of capitalist measures under Deng follows a pattern inherent in Stalinist bureaucratic rule. To function effectively, the centrally planned economy which is a prerequisite for socialist development must be administered by a government of democratically elected workers councils. But the Stalinist misrulers are hostile to any expression of workers democracy, substituting arbitrary

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Anti-Klan Three...

(continued from page 12)

America as an anti-immigrant, anti-minority and anti-working-class bastion in the interests of a racist ruling class whose outrageous and increasing wealth and profits are dependent on the increasing impoverishment and misery of the working class and oppressed. And the trade-union bureaucrats did their bit in the service of the ruling class, expressed through their ties to the Democratic Party, by refusing to mobilize one man against the Klan racist murderers.

This is not a uniquely American phenomenon, as graphically illustrated by the attempted February 15 Nazi rally in Berlin—which was successfully dispersed by 2,000 working-class and anti-fascist militants, effectively led by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany—where the ruling class and their social-democratic trade-union misleaders combined to minimize the fascist threat while the cops tried to beat the crap out of and arrest those who fought Hitler's children. The stage for those attacks on the working class, for racist anti-immigrant attacks, and for the revival of the fascist threat was set by the overturn of the workers state in the Soviet Union. These attacks are now occurring in virtually every major industrial society while the Third World is left to simply starve. That historic defeat for the working class, which the International Communist League uniquely opposed, was supported in one guise or another by every other left group.



PDC initiated January 1994 labor/black mobilization in Springfield, Illinois against Klan race-hate provocation.

These assaults on the very ability of most people to live in anything but misery, or simply to live, require repression and, even more, silence—lest the spark of social protest ignite a conflagration of discontent and social struggle. The cops, who in the interests of the ruling class defend the vast chasm between the rich and others, accrue certain privileges; the privilege to exercise their own racist prerogatives—not different from those of the Klan and at times expressed in actual Klan membership—while profiting in those fields in which they have great expertise: graft, corruption and crime. The frame-up of Rolando Cruz, the cop murder of Jorge Guillen, the drug-dealing in Austin are simply the price the cops extort for maintaining "order" in

this rotting system, an order enforced by terror and by the courts of the bourgeoisie.

We are here to defend the very right to protest oppression by defending those who did protest, militant fighters against Klan terror. The church burnings, the repeated and more frequent Klan rallies throughout the Midwest, the recent defacement of Lincoln's Tomb in Springfield demonstrate, if further demonstration was necessary, that in America the road to reaction is through black oppression, through an attack on the signal progressive event of American history, the Civil War.

A victory for the Anti-Klan Three would be a critical victory for the right to protest injustice and oppression. But

there is only one ultimate defense, and that is to transform the struggle against oppression into a struggle that overturns the American imperialist order which produces racism and social decay. What is needed is a socialist revolution, and that requires the mobilization of the working class as the only social force with the power and consistent interest to overthrow the bosses. To accomplish this, the ties of the working class to the bourgeois order through the agency of the trade-union bureaucracy must be severed, and this task necessitates the formation of a revolutionary working-class party as the tribune of all the oppressed, a party which recognizes that the fight for black equality and against racist oppression is, in America, critical to uniting the working class and the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution. This is at the core of the revolutionary program of the Spartacist League. Finish the Civil War! For socialist revolution!

* * *

Join this crucial fight! Send protest statements demanding that the charges against the Anti-Klan Three be dropped to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602. Send donations for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") and copies of protest statements to the Partisan Defense Committee. Contact the PDC in Chicago at P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931; or in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252. ■



Chinese leader Jiang Zemin (center, above) with Li Peng and Deng, butchers of 1989 Tiananmen upheaval. Tiananmen student protests led to incipient political revolution as Beijing workers (left) entered the struggle.

administrative fiat in its place. Faced with the inevitable imbalances of a bureaucratically run planned economy, Stalinist regimes are impelled to introduce capitalist market measures: loosening economic planning, forcing plants to produce for the market, and encouraging the growth of private businesses and foreign investment.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

Linking the regimes of Mao, Deng and current Chinese leader Jiang Zemin is the nationalism inherent in Stalinism, which in Mao's case was colored by a xenophobic glorification of Chinese peasant culture. In its early years, the CCP regime was allied with the Soviet Union. But in the late 1950s, Beijing's complaints over inadequate Soviet aid and the Maoists' own "great power" ambitions led to a split with Moscow. Within a few years, Mao was proclaiming that "Soviet social-imperialism" was an even greater danger than the U.S., a position neatly dovetailing the American rulers' strategic goal of destroying the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The criminal fruits of the clash between the rival Stalinist bureaucracies

in Moscow and Beijing were seen in the Vietnam War, when Mao's China blocked Soviet military aid to the North Vietnamese Army and the National Liberation Front in the South as they fought against U.S. imperialism and its South Vietnamese capitalist henchmen. At the height of the Cultural Revolution, when radicals around the world were hailing Mao's China as a revolutionary alternative to the stodgy Kremlin bureaucrats, the Spartacist League declared that given the Mao regime's hostility to the Soviet Union, "the danger of an imperialist alliance with China against the Russians cannot be dismissed" ("Chinese Menshevism," *Spartacist* No. 15-16, April-May 1970). This prediction was borne out with the official rapprochement between China and the U.S. signaled by war criminal Richard Nixon's welcome in Beijing in 1972, as U.S. warplanes were bombing Vietnam.

The U.S.-China alliance was deepened under Deng. Its main target was again Vietnam, following the defeat of the U.S. imperialists in 1975 and the reunification of the South with the deformed workers state in the North. In 1979, following Hanoi's ouster of genocidal Cambodian leader and Beijing ally Pol Pot,

China invaded Vietnam with the tacit support and encouragement of Washington, declaring it would "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson." Denouncing Beijing's treachery, the Spartacist League declared, "China: Don't Be a Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism!" In the upshot, it was the battle-hardened Vietnamese army which taught Beijing a lesson.

Today, the Beijing rulers increasingly promote Chinese nationalism—including reactionary "traditional" Confucian values—as a sort of ideological glue to maintain their control. For China's working masses, this is a poisonous false consciousness, serving to identify their interests with their would-be exploiters in the Chinese bourgeoisie.

The reactionary nationalism common to both Mao and Deng is also expressed within China in the bureaucracy's Han-chauvinist oppression of national and ethnic minorities. This has been highlighted in recent weeks as Beijing's troops brutally suppressed protests by the Turkic-speaking, traditionally Muslim Uighurs in the far western province of Xinjiang. For decades, the imperialists have used the demand for independence for Tibet as a battering ram against the Chinese deformed workers state. A Trot-

skyist party in China would seek to mobilize the proletariat to defend the rights of national minorities against Han chauvinism. While opposing imperialist-sponsored "independence" movements, we defend the right of independence for a Tibetan soviet republic.

For a Trotskyist Party in China!

China's alliance with the U.S., initiated under Mao, helped set the stage for Deng's "open door" to imperialist exploitation. Today, Mao's heirs don't even give lip service to the goals of socialism, instead openly offering themselves as compradors (resident agents) of imperialism. But there are also many signs pointing to tumultuous social struggle in the near future against immiseration and "free market" exploitation. The fight for proletarian political revolution—for a China of workers and peasants councils—must be linked to the defense of all those—women, ethnic and national minorities, the rural poor—under attack in the drive toward capitalist restoration.

There must be special measures to organize the more than 100 million poverty-stricken migrant workers from the countryside, who form a potentially powerful link between the urban working class and the peasant masses. The "socialist market economy" has also increasingly eroded the enormous gains achieved by women as a result of the 1949 Revolution, as many urban women are forced out of their jobs and age-old horrors like the sale of "brides" and female infanticide re-emerge in rural areas. As we wrote in "China: 'Free Market' Misery Targets Women" (*Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996): "As the 'tribune of the people,' a vanguard party would fight tooth and nail against the attempt to drive women from their hard-won positions in the workplace and would mobilize working people to defend women set upon by the purveyors of sexual enslavement."

To smash the threat of capitalist re-enslavement and open the road to a socialist future, China's workers need above all to be won to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu, which for decades has been trampled on by Stalinism. For a Trotskyist party in China, section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Cops and Klan, Hand in Hand

Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

Trial Date Set for May 5

CHICAGO, February 28—Cook County Circuit Court judge Marvin Luckman today denied a defense motion to dismiss vindictive charges against three participants in an anti-Klan protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Chicago Labor Black Struggle League last June 29 in Daley Plaza. PDC Labor Coordinator Gene Herson, Jeffrey Lyons of Refuse & Resist and Dennis Glass, a young black worker—who face from one to two years in prison on bogus charges of assault and battery against police—will now have to stand trial on May 5. Outside the court before the hearing, protesters demanded: “Drop the charges now!”

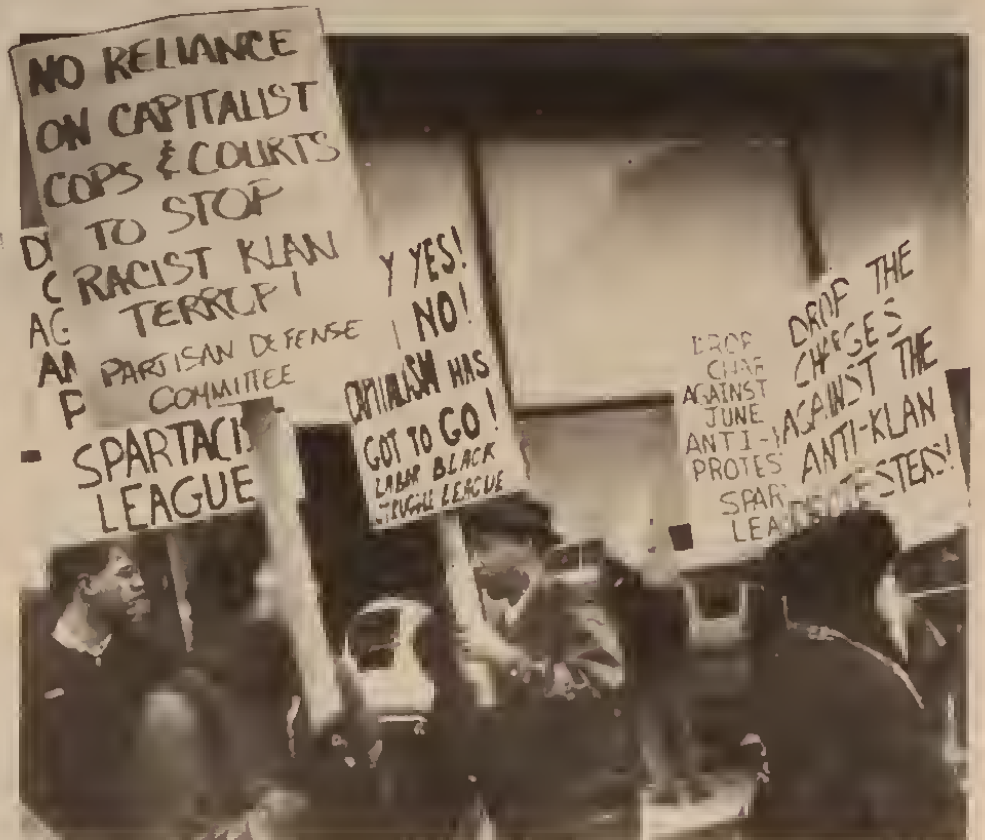
The June 29 united-front protest—organized on 24 hours’ notice and in the face of a news blackout of the KKK’s plans—spiked a violent racist provocation by Klansmen armed with bolt-studded shields and long flagpoles. Today in court, Mark Kerman of the PDC testified that when the protesters moved to defend themselves as the Klansmen marched toward them in military formation, the Klan wielded their flagpoles as lances and chillingly taunted one black protester to “come and get it, boy.” After the protesters had successfully stopped the potentially lethal assault by the lynch-rope murderers of the KKK, the cops intervened to protect the Klan and to exact revenge against the anti-Klan protesters. Herson was pepper-sprayed directly in the face by Commander Patrick McNulty, the top police official on the spot.

As the defense motion documents, the

prosecution of the three anti-racist activists is a blatantly malicious act aimed at justifying the vindictive and brutal assault by Chicago police that day against the anti-Klan protest. Moreover, as the motion points out, “Police approached the June 29 demonstrations as a ‘test run’ of their tactical methods of suppressing and controlling political expression in the context of the Democratic Convention” (DNC) last August. Yesterday, a Cook County state’s attorney argued that the “DNC 5”—arrested for protests around the convention—must stand trial *despite* a ruling that there was no evidence showing that these protesters were even involved in the incidents for which the cops brought charges!

Sam Willis, a volunteer in the AFL-CIO’s “Union Summer” program, testified today that even after the Klan had been escorted away by the police, a phalanx of cops swinging nightsticks waded into the anti-Klan protest. Willis described how Glass was simply snatched by the cops for no reason and how Lyons was spread-eagled on a car after protesting the arrest of another “Union Summer” participant. Relentlessly badgered by the state’s attorney over why he participated in the anti-Klan protest, Willis replied: “My father was a union organizer and when I was about five years old he was brutally beaten by people that were suspected of being KKK members.”

Today’s Chicago *Sun-Times* reported on the rise in anti-Semitic attacks in Illinois. Only last week, Lincoln’s Tomb in Springfield was defaced with swastikas, the symbol of the Nazi Holocaust. Also spotlighting the escalation in fascist terror was the conviction yesterday of an 82nd Airborne paratrooper—who openly paraded around in skinhead regalia—for the cold-blooded racist execution of a



Chicago, February 28: United-front protest outside court in support of Anti-Klan Three.

black couple in Fayetteville, North Carolina in December 1995.

The call to “Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three” has been taken up by a wide range of labor unions and officials, including Steelworkers Local 1010 and Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308 in Chicago. As Gene Herson declared: “The Klan are the sworn and deadly enemies of blacks, immigrants, gays and all of the oppressed. If the cops get away with framing up those of us who took a stand against Klan terror, it will further embolden these nightriding fascists in their genocidal aim of a ‘racially pure’ America where trade

unions don’t exist.” We print below, in slightly edited form, a speech at today’s protest by an SL spokesman.

* * *

Richard Daley, the Democratic Party—black and white—and the media did not combine to suppress news of the June 29 Klan demonstration as an “act of civic sanitation” or to avenge the 1968 DNC fiasco, although there was an element of that. Primarily their aim was to assure the re-election of Bill Clinton, the “New South” Democrat who has done more than Ronald Reagan could to shape

continued on page 11

Cops Mobilize to Protect Nazi March in Munich, Leftist Shot in Berlin

Germany: For Workers Defense Against Fascist Terror!

MARCH 3—In an ominous threat to minorities, immigrants and the entire workers movement in Germany, some 5,000 Nazis from around the country marched through downtown Munich on Saturday under the protection of an army of 2,000 police. Munich was turned into a police state for the day to provide the brown-shirt stormtroopers a platform for their genocidal filth. Moreover, this fascist provocation was effectively condoned at the highest levels of the state government, as the Christian Social Union (CSU), Bavarian sister party of Chancellor Helmut Kohl’s Christian Democrats (CDU), joined in condemning an exhibit which was the target of the Nazi rally—on the war crimes of Hitler’s Wehrmacht

forces during the Holocaust.

That the Nazis could march essentially unimpeded through this proletarian city—with its substantial Turkish and Kurdish population—is a serious defeat for the working class as a whole. Responsibility for this defeat rests squarely at the feet of the reformist misleaders—the Social Democrats (SPD) and the DGB trade-union federation tops—and the various centrists who tail them. Widespread sentiment to stop the Nazis was evident: up to 15,000 workers and anti-fascist youth turned out to protest in Munich, and in Berlin bus drivers refused to transport contingents of fascists to the rally.

Yet absolutely nothing was done to mobilize the heavy battalions of labor—and behind them the immigrants, women, gays and many others who are potential victims of fascist terror—in a powerful action which could have neutralized the forces of the state and driven the Nazis back into their sewers.

Three separate counterdemonstrations were organized by the SPD/DGB, Greens joined by various centrists and reformists, and the *Autonoms* of “Anti-Fascist Action.” But these were more than a mile from the Nazis’ planned rally site at Marienplatz near the exhibit, and the first two were dispersed by their organiz-

ers an hour before the fascists appeared. This was deliberate—aimed at demobilizing the anti-fascist forces—because the reformists relied instead on appeals to the capitalist state to “ban the fascists.” About a thousand courageous youth, leftists and others defied the “official” leaders and turned out at Marienplatz, and some later engaged in running street battles with the Nazis. But leaderless and disorganized, these youth were cordoned off by the cops, who then attacked them, arresting nearly 60. We say: Drop the charges against the arrested anti-fascists!

Thanks to the reformists and centrists, the Nazis were allowed to stage their largest action in Germany in decades. While

continued on page 9