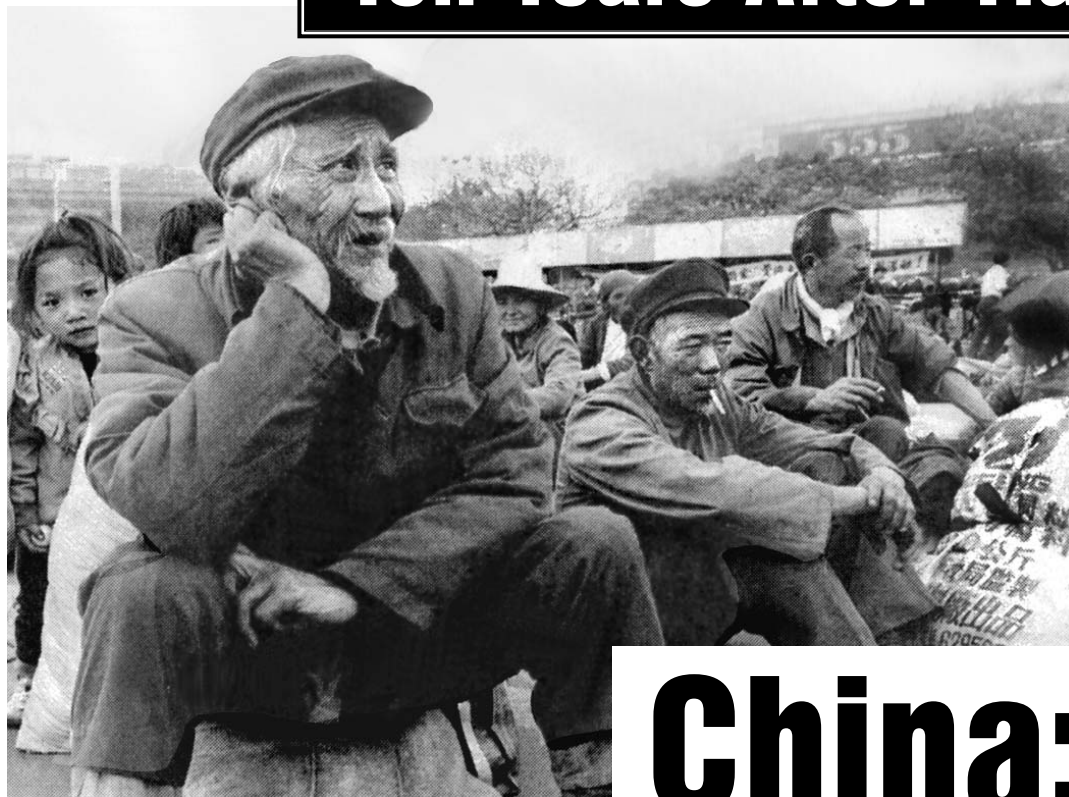


Ten Years After Tiananmen



AP



Harry/U.S. News & World Report

China:

Fight Capitalist Restoration! For Workers Political Revolution!

We print below in edited form the first part of a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Ray Bishop at an SL forum in Chicago on May 15.

In the past year, just about every major newspaper has had articles about the approach on June 4 of the tenth anniversary of the Tiananmen massacre—the Chinese government's bloody crackdown on mass protests. Beginning with students but increasingly drawing in workers chafing under the impact of pro-capitalist "market reforms," this upheaval

Beijing bureaucracy's drive toward capitalist restoration has created massive unemployment, deepening poverty. In April U.S. visit, Chinese premier Zhu Rongji sought entry into imperialist-dominated World Trade Organization.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

threatened the rule of the Beijing regime. The mass outpouring of defiance heralded the beginnings of a proletarian political revolution which would have swept away the corrupt and despised Stalinist bureaucracy in Beijing.

Western bourgeois propaganda has falsely portrayed these protests as outbursts of anti-Communism and of fervor for Western-style "democracy." And the imperialists were hoping that the anniversary would be marked by anti-

Communist protests. As you've seen on TV, there certainly have been protests recently—four straight days of students and working people coming out in Beijing, throwing rocks at the U.S. embassy and shouting, "Down with U.S. imperialism!" Not quite what the U.S. had bargained for.

Now, we're not in a position to know, so we can't tell you if the American bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, which is what these people were demonstrating about, was a deliberate

continued on page 6

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution! Down With U.S./NATO Terror War Against Serbia!

MAY 25—In a step toward a possible ground invasion, the Clinton administration last week pressed its European partners to almost double the U.S./NATO military force on Serbia's borders to a total of 50,000 troops. At the same time, NATO has stepped up the massive bombing campaign against Serbia, which has killed over 1,300 civilians and is destroying the entire

infrastructure of the country—factories and office buildings, roads and transportation networks, water and power distribution systems. Despite NATO's ritual "regrets" about "collateral damage"—Pentagon-speak for murder of civilians—the imperialists no longer even seek to obscure the indisputable fact that the whole aim of the onslaught is to inflict mass terror against the Serb population.

Yesterday, NATO planes again attacked electrical transformers throughout Serbia, knocking out power supplies and water pumping stations. With Belgrade's water reserves already reduced

continued on page 10



Belgrade hospital destroyed by U.S./NATO terror bombing, May 20, killing four people.

AP



As New Shipyard Strike Breaks Out in Mississippi

Newport News: Shut It Down Tight!

MAY 24—Newport News Shipbuilding and United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8888 are meeting today for the first time since the strike against this major military contractor in the Virginia Tidewater area began almost two months ago. But the company has continued to hardline it against the union's demands for higher wages and improved pensions and medical benefits. The strikers remain determined, but their battle against the racist, profit-bloated Newport News management has been seriously undermined by the union tops, leading to a number of hourly workers scabbing.

Last week, over 7,000 shipyard workers also went out in a strike against Ingalls Shipbuilding in Pascagoula, Mississippi, which is owned by Litton Industries and is the largest private employer in that state. Worker protests are also continuing at Louisiana's Avondale shipyard, where the union is fighting for its first contract. Since Litton wants to buy out both Newport News and Avondale to become the largest shipbuilder in the U.S.,

the Newport News strike will have a major impact on these labor struggles.

In fact, the Newport News strike poses a battle against the entire racist, "open shop" edifice of the South, where entrenched racist oppression of black workers is used to prevent unionization and drive down the living standards of all workers. Until a few years ago, many white workers at Newport News were not in the union. A black union committee-woman told a *Workers Vanguard* team how one white worker explained to her: "White guys didn't join the union because it was mostly blacks in it. But then the situation got bad, so the only way to protect themselves was to join the union."

A victory in this strike could pave the way for union organizing throughout the South and strike a blow against racial oppression, the cornerstone of American capitalist exploitation of the entire working class. But instead of seeking to mobilize workers from throughout the region—including the ranks of the integrated unions—to join the Newport

News picket lines, the pro-capitalist USWA International bureaucracy has pushed reliance on capitalist politicians and the agencies of the capitalist government, from lobbying Congress at a rally in Washington, D.C. last month to recent appeals for intervention by the National Labor Relations Board.

It is significant that in the midst of the U.S. capitalist rulers' war against Serbia, 16,000 shipyard workers in Virginia and Mississippi are striking two major military contractors. As we have warned throughout the Newport News strike, flag-waving appeals by the Steelworkers union tops for support from capitalist politicians based on the "national interest" and "national defense" will backfire when the capitalists use the war as an excuse to break the strike. In ordering the Newport News talks, a spokesman for the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service stated that the strike has "national defense implications" and that the navy "needs their boats back."

The way that this strike will be won is with mass picket lines that *stop all scabbing*. Although the workers who are out remain dedicated to the strike, shipyard gates have stayed open throughout the strike and the lines are becoming smaller because of the bureaucrats' treachery. Emboldened cops are intimidating pickets and laughing about their "stick time in '79," when they rampaged against picketers during the three-month strike that established Local 8888. Hundreds upon hundreds of strikers stand in lines at the Freemarket Mall three miles away, seeking promised union financial assistance, while only 20 strikers—and in some cases as few as three—man the picket lines at the gates. The chaos and confu-

sion in how the USWA International tops have been dispensing the meager strike benefits has led to growing bitterness. One grim-faced striker told WV, "The company is playing with us and the union is playing with us."

A strike depends on the strength of the workers; it is won or lost on the picket lines. That means solid, mass picket lines outside all the gates which no one dares cross, drawing on the thousands of Tidewater unionists, from ILA longshoremen to Teamsters. This can be done if the union makes it clear that it is fighting a battle on behalf of *all* working people in the area—against the "right-to-work" laws, against the "open shop" and also against racist discrimination on and off the job. Newport News management is itself notorious for its racist practices, like discriminatory "merit pay raises" and playing favorites for promotions and apprentice programs.

The experience of WV sales teams in the Tidewater area demonstrated the potential for mobilizing other sections of unionized workers: UPS Teamsters, ILA longshoremen and workers at the nearby Norshipco shipyard snapped up copies of WV covering the Newport News strike. A black Newport News bus driver in the Amalgamated Transit Union immediately bought WV and told us that bus drivers were tooting their horns as they passed the picket lines to support the strikers. The bus company ordered a halt to such displays of solidarity at the demand of Newport News management. One woman bus driver reportedly slammed the door in a scab's face rather than allow such vermin on the bus.

But mobilizing the power of the multi-racial working class is sabotaged by the AFL-CIO misleaders who bind the unions to the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. What's needed is a political fight inside the unions to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and replace it with a class-struggle leadership—one which recognizes that the interests of labor are counterposed to those of the employers. For a workers party that fights for a workers government!■



The Stalinist Bureaucracy and Capitalist Counterrevolution

The Chinese bureaucracy's open drive toward capitalist restoration threatens the working masses with a level of devastation and misery that may well surpass what has befallen the working people of the former Soviet Union in the aftermath of counterrevolution there. In 1937, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky insisted that despite the crimes of the Stalin regime, the USSR remained a workers state—albeit degenerated—as long

TROTSKY

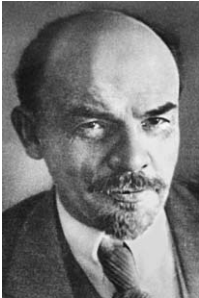
as it was based on collectivized property. At the same time, he warned that unless the bureaucracy was overthrown through proletarian political revolution, its continued rule would necessarily lead to the final undoing of the gains of the October Revolution.

If the workers' state loses its bureaucratization and gradually falls away, this means that its development marches along the road of socialism. On the contrary, if the bureaucracy becomes ever more powerful, authoritative, privileged, and conservative, this means that in the workers' state the bourgeois tendencies grow at the expense of the socialist; in other words, that inner contradiction which *to a certain degree* is lodged in the workers' state from the first days of its rise does not diminish, as the "norm" demands, but increases. However, so long as that contradiction has not passed from the sphere of distribution into the sphere of production, and has not blown up nationalized property and planned economy, the state remains a workers' state....

This degeneration, as the present orgy of Bonapartist terror shows, has approached a crucial point. That which was a "bureaucratic deformation" is at the present moment preparing to devour the workers' state, without leaving any remains, and on the ruins of nationalized property to spawn a new propertied class. Such a possibility has drawn extremely near. But all this is only a possibility and we do not intend beforehand to bow before it....

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

—Leon Trotsky, "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937)



LENIN



WV Photos

Union tops refuse to build mass pickets to shut down shipyard. Meanwhile, miles away strikers stand in long lines for meager strike assistance from the union.



WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.



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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is May 25.

No. 714

28 May 1999

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German Spartacists Detained by Berlin Cops

Support Fund Drive for Yugoslav Workers Under U.S./NATO Attack!

24 MAY—Following the U.S./NATO bombing of the Zastava car factory in Kragujevac, Yugoslavia on April 9, workers at the Alfa Romeo plant in Milano, Italy downed tools in protest and the Alfa Romeo COBAS (Rank-and-File Committee) launched a fund drive for Yugoslav workers. Strikes and workers demonstrations against the war have been steadily escalating in Italy, now ruled by the coalition government headed by Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema's Party of the Democratic Left. On May 13, COBAS led a political general strike around the slogan "Not a life, not a lira for this war!"

Sections of the International Communist League around the world have actively joined in the COBAS-initiated campaign of material aid, which aims to raise a billion lire (some \$560,000) for the workers of Zastava and other factories. Despite our political differences with many of the participants in this campaign, including the syndicalist-influenced COBAS, the ICL has participated in the spirit of the united front—march separately, strike together! In doing so, we have been able to make the fund drive an *international* effort, providing a way for workers throughout the world to express class solidarity with Yugoslav workers and opposition to the death and destruction that the U.S./NATO imperialists have been raining down on the people of Serbia for two months now. Indeed, the imperialists' murderous attack on the Zastava plant—killing tens of workers, injuring scores and putting tens of thousands out of work—epitomizes the nature of the U.S./NATO war, which is clearly aimed at terrorizing the Serbian population.

German imperialism, which instigated the counterrevolutionary breakup of the Yugoslav deformed workers state, is now engaged in its first direct military combat since the defeat of the Nazi regime. The coalition government headed by Social Democratic (SPD) chancellor Gerhard Schröder has sought to quell growing popular opposition to the war against Serbia, which suffered under Nazi occupation during World War II. On May 18, police detained two *Spartakist* salesmen in front of a Berlin Daimler-Chrysler plant to stop them from collecting for the fund drive. As described in a May 24 protest statement by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD):

"Our supporters were packed into a police van and held against their will for 45 minutes while astonished Mercedes workers and apprentices streamed out of the factory gate. Worker donations collected before the cops arrived were immediately confiscated along with the collection bucket under the pretext of 'suspicion of fraud.' At the same time, of course, thousands of buckets are being passed for the Kosovo refugees, and that is allowed because it enhances the pretext for this murderous war (while the borders of racist Germany remain tightly shut to the refugees). *This attack by the SPD-led German capitalist state on basic working-class solidarity is meant to intimidate and regiment all workers who dare to demonstrate their opposition to the war of U.S. and German imperialism in the Balkans and must be vigorously fought....*

"It is not an accident that the police were apparently called by the *Werkschutz* [company cops] of Daimler, which as arms manufacturer and pillar of both the Third and Fourth Reichs of German imperialism has its strategic interests in the Balkans, too."

The SpAD statement pointed to the Zastava workers' history of class struggle, including a bitter strike two and a half years ago against the bourgeois-nationalist Milosevic regime, which had fired more than half of the workforce in

Zastava auto plant following U.S./NATO terror bombing on April 9. Below: Spartakist Workers Party comrades collect donations at Berlin's Humboldt University in fund drive for Yugoslav workers.



Spartakist



no credit

the wake of capitalist restoration. The statement declared that the "murderous act of NATO terror against them—like the bombing of other key factories that have so far destroyed the workplaces of a half million workers—was intended as a warning to the proletariat throughout the Balkans."

In the imperialist "belly of the beast" in the U.S., our comrades have collected funds from trade unionists outside workplaces and union meetings, including among the heavily black and immigrant New York City transit workforce. In Britain, where Tony Blair's Labour government has distinguished itself as the most

bellicose of the NATO powers, shop stewards from the Cowley car plant, workers at Ford Dagenham near London and London Underground transit workers have contributed. So, too, have immigrant workers—in Britain and elsewhere in Europe—who are on the receiving end of racist state repression and the fascist terror it spawns and have not bought into the cynical "humanitarian" pretext for NATO's Balkans war.

In Mexico, subjected to U.S. imperialist plunder, the Grupo Espartaquista was invited to address and pass the hat among 600 delegates of the workers committee at the National Autonomous

University in Mexico City, which has been rocked by militant protests against the imposition of tuition. In Japan, at a 50,000-strong protest against revisions to the Japan-U.S. security treaty on May 22, metal workers, medical workers and rail workers reached into their pockets to give to the campaign—as did youth supporters of the Communist Party, despite their leaders' attempts to exclude and silence us. And students from the Chinese deformed workers state studying in the U.S., Canada and Australia have donated to the fund drive, including at protests against NATO's bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade.

While anger and revulsion against the NATO slaughter is widespread, the capitulation of an array of so-called "socialist" outfits to their "own" bourgeoisies, presently served by social-democratic governments in many cases, is apparently without limit. The British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Tony Cliff and its international cothinkers are a case in point. When our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain first collected for the fund drive at a May 8 London antiwar protest, a number of SWPers contributed. But the SWP leadership soon brought a halt to this. At a subsequent protest on May 18, SWP spokesman Julie Waterson became so rabid in trying to thwart the efforts of our comrades that she grabbed a big handful of leaflets out of a collection bucket.

Our participation in the campaign for aid to the workers under NATO's guns necessarily entails a political struggle against the reformists and centrists who have given aid and comfort to their respective bourgeoisies. As Leninists, we understand that opposition to imperialism abroad means class struggle at home—that socialist revolution, requiring the instrumentality of a revolutionary party to lead it, is the only way to put an end to the capitalist system which breeds war.

We urge our readers to donate generously to the Zastava campaign—truly a cause in the interest of the whole of the working people. Contributions can be made out to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked "For Yugoslav Workers") and sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

LO Covers for Imperialism's War in the Balkans

Protest LO Gangsterism Against ICL Trotskyists!

We print below a protest statement issued on May 25 by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France.

This year's Lutte Ouvrière (LO) fête concluded on 24 May with a violent physical assault. Around 6:30 p.m., a 20-man goon squad decked out in leather jackets, black leather gloves and Lutte Ouvrière security squad armbands surrounded International Communist League comrades engaged in political discussion. Our comrades were grabbed by the throat and choked, jumped and brutally dragged out of the fête while being punched by this gang of thugs. Our comrade Xavier Brunoy, editor of our French paper *Le Bolchévik*, was seized and his arm deliberately broken in four places by a leading LO gangster. He was taken from the scene by ambulance and required surgery. ICL comrades quickly regrouped and went back to the many shocked witnesses to mobilize political opposition to this atrocity.

Violence is the recourse of political cowards. Unable to defend its political support to the capitalist Jospin/Gayssot government—a government of imperialist war in the Balkans, racist deportations and strikebreaking on the domestic front—LO substituted the fist for the brain as an "answer" to the revolutionary program of the ICL.

The immediate precedent to LO's violent assault was the ICL's exposure of LO's social-chauvinist support to its own ruling class in the Balkans war. Aping the ruling PS/PCF [Socialist Party/Communist Party] government, which has of course quashed antiwar demonstrations while they bomb Serbia back to the Stone Age, LO too tried to conduct a "Marxist" fête while ignoring that a war is going on! At the LO-LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] debate, no discussion on the war by the public or even LO members was allowed. Finally, the troublesome topic was opened for discussion only on the final day, in the final forum, when most participants had already left. Despite a veneer of opposition to the bombing, LO joins in the imperialists' war cry over "poor little Kosovo" which is the pretext for a terror war against the Yugoslav people and for moving in a massive imperialist army of ground troops disguised as "peacekeepers."

In sharp counterposition to LO, ICL comrades motivated the attitude of proletarian revolutionary internationalists: *Defeat imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against imperialist attack!* At this time, the right of independence for Kosovo is necessarily subordinated to the fight against NATO imperialism. Against the social-

chauvinism and opportunism of LO and the LCR, ICL comrades argued that you can't fight imperialist war without fighting for socialist revolution to overturn the capitalist system which breeds war. LO-LCR's accommodation to the capitalist order is seen in the LCR's explicit call for ground troops to the Balkans and in the platform of the LO-LCR slate for the European Parliament, which doesn't even mention the word "socialism." With "Euro-Socialists" like LO-LCR, who needs the stinking corpse of social democracy which currently rules most of capitalist Europe!

LO is in trouble, and no amount of gangsterism can cover up its political crisis. Recent polls predict the LO-LCR slate won't muster the necessary votes to make it into the European Parliament. For a group which has given up on proletarian revolution in favor of bourgeois parliamentarism, including feeding at the financial trough of the bourgeois state, electoral defeat spells disaster. Thus LO is lurching even further to the right in a desperate scramble for votes. LO has stooped to the campaign style of American bourgeois politicians, trashing even the pretense to political program, hustling caps and T-shirts with no message except "Vote LO-LCR."

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We reprint the following letter as we received it via the Internet.

7 May 1999

Dear Editor,

Your hit piece hypocritically titled “Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!” (WV 16 April, 1999) in anticipation of the powerful April 24 West Coast longshore workers’ shutdown in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal reflects a continuing political degeneration of the Spartacist League, exemplified by your abstention from and open hostility to class struggle. The International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), despite opposition from reactionary elements, took this action in order to mobilize our membership for the April 24 demonstration for Mumia in San Francisco. Your sectarian opposition to the April 24 Mumia mobilization was based on the grounds that one of its demands was for a new trial. The ILWU and other union contingents carried banners calling for freedom for Mumia, implementing the united front slogan: “March separately, strike together”.

April 24 was the most significant step to date in the struggle to free Mumia, not so much because it was the largest demonstration, but because longshore workers utilized their power to shutdown all ports on the West Coast to demand 1) Stop the Execution and 2) Free Mumia! Our union resolution specifically states that Mumia can’t get a fair trial and demands his freedom. Yet, WV intentionally tries to obfuscate this point by simply disappearing it and minimizes the impact of our work stoppage by falsely reporting it as only two hours. WV must have confused the “two hours” with the work stoppage of the teachers’ union in the state of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil on April 23. Both labor actions called for freedom for Mumia and both actions were the result of resolutions presented by critics of your tendency, the International Communist League, ergo your jaundiced reporting.

To not participate now in the April 24 protest in defense of self-proclaimed revolutionary and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, for whom the Partisan Defense Committee had done important, early groundbreaking defense work, is to abstain from the class struggle at a critical time. If Philadelphia

longshoremen were to raise a resolution in their union demanding a new trial and shutting down the port to send a strong message to Governor Ridge, the logical extension of the SL’s position would be to oppose such a motion for bold labor action because it held illusions in the state. Union militants would warn against illusions of justice in the capitalist courts while critically supporting the motion and trying to build mass mobilizations and spreading that class struggle action to other sections of the working class, especially the heavily black transportation unions in Philadelphia.

Larry Wright and I, both ILWU Local 10 stewards and organizers of the 1984 San Francisco longshore anti-apartheid action, participated in the March 6 University of California, Berkeley Conference to build for the April 24 mobilization. In the first labor workshop at the end of the panelists’ presentations, as chair, I asked those who wanted to speak to identify themselves, their union or organization and what they or their supporters had done in the unions to defend Mumia. One SL supporter said he had helped raise money in his union for Mumia’s legal defense. Later, another SL supporter made a hypocritical speech calling on longshoremen to shutdown the Coast, but didn’t say what action SL supporters in their transportation unions had

called for. It would be gratifying to know that they fought for work stoppages in defense of Mumia, but, alas, their silence speaks loudly.

During the 1984 longshore anti-apartheid action the SL at first refused to support it, then in the midst of the 11 day action switched their position to critical support without publicly acknowledging their change. Both Larry Wright and I (amongst others) organized in 1984 to defy the injunction against the anti-apartheid action and had for several years been organizing longshore workers—through the Stewards’ Council, the Executive Board, international dockers conferences, membership meetings and finally at the ’99 Longshore Caucus for labor action to defend Mumia. The coastwise shutdown to free Mumia didn’t just fall from the sky. To organize a successful workers’ struggle the sense of isolation must be eliminated and the spirit of solidarity reinforced. That is why I requested in the January 22, 1999 letter from the Rank and File ILWU Committee to Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal to the SL-initiated Partisan Defense Committee, “a list of trade unions which have supported Mumia’s defense in one way or another, endorsements, letters, resolutions, donations etc.” We were attempting to organize solidarity for labor action for Mumia, not knowing in advance the outcome.

Your sectarian refusal was compounded further by WV’s absurd and scurrilous charge that my aim was “to go after the reds, in the service of the labor bureaucracy”. What is the name of that leading union bureaucrat? ILWU International President Brian McWilliams who spoke at the Longshore Caucus in favor of the resolution to shutdown the Coast for Mumia? Who is prominently pictured in the same WV article speaking at a 1995 PDC rally to stop the execution of Mumia? Who called for Mumia’s freedom at the April 24 San Francisco rally? Who, last year, gave instrumental support to union militants organizing to shut down Bay Area ports to fend off a legal witchhunting attack by the employers’ association? It is instructive that again, as in the ’84 anti-apartheid action, the SL abstained from supporting the international solidarity picket line of labor activists for the Liverpool dockworkers in this Neptune Jade struggle, but begrudgingly backed our legal defense case.

With this kind of slander against class struggle militants who have actually organized workers to take concrete action to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, a step toward freeing the whole of the international working class from the shackles of capitalism, the SL has descended into a deeper, darker political abyss.

For labor action to free Mumia,
Jack Heyman

WV Replies

Jack Heyman’s letter, like the letter from the International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT) and the polemic by the Internationalist Group (IG) in the April-May issue of its *Internationalist* (see page 5), is intended to cover for the class-collaborationist character of the April 24 “Millions for Mumia” demonstration he supported and built. Our attitude toward that mobilization was informed by the same criteria on which we have based our years-long efforts to free Mumia. We have stressed that the fight to save the life of this outspoken black journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman is part and parcel of the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty. We have sought to win workers to the understanding that the bourgeois state, with its cops and courts, is not some “neutral” agency which serves society as a whole but rather exists to defend the class rule and profits of the capitalists against those they exploit. We have aimed at infusing the multiracial proletariat with the consciousness that the fight against black oppression is central to the struggle for the emancipation of labor itself.

From the time the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee first took up Jamal’s cause 12 years ago, we have fought for a class-struggle defense strategy centered on mobilizing the social power of the integrated labor movement, requiring its political inde-

pendence from the capitalist parties. We have publicized Jamal’s cause, raised critically important funds for his legal battles and fought to mobilize the broadest range of social forces in his defense. We recognized from the outset that larger forces than our own would have to be brought into the struggle to free Jamal. And largely as a result of our efforts, larger numbers of liberals and reformists did finally get involved when Mumia was threatened with execution in the summer of 1995. But we also knew that these other forces would be far removed from our Marxist perspective.

The April 24 demonstrations were dedicated to something we support—the defense of Jamal—but with slogans consciously formulated to spell out something we don’t support: the notion that Jamal will get justice in a capitalist society. With the central focus the call for a new trial, the demonstrations were aimed at a bloc with the liberal Democrats who want to clean up the more grotesque and embarrassing aspects of the frame-up trial. They were politically organized along the lines of a classic *popular front*—a class-collaborationist bloc in which the working class is subordinated to the program of a wing of the capitalist ruling class, represented by the Democratic Party.

The social power of the integrated longshore union lies in the ability to shut down the docks, stop the movement of goods and thereby halt the flow of capitalist profit. Although undermined by

Heyman’s treachery, the ILWU stop-work on April 24 posed the possibility of a major disruption of shipping that would be a giant blow against the capitalist frame-up system. Such a political strike would be more effective in the fight to free Mumia than a thousand demonstrations. It would advance the struggle of longshoremen and all workers against the capitalist employers and be a powerful blow for black freedom—a cause which must be actively championed by labor as part of the fight for workers revolution to

sweep away the entire racist, capitalist system in which black oppression is rooted.

When the workers at UPS and GM went on strike, the withdrawal of their labor economically paralyzed two of the biggest corporations in the U.S., costing them billions in lost profits. These are examples—albeit expressed solely on the economic plane—of what we mean by the social power of labor, when we call to “Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!” To be really effective, a political strike must be conducted with



WV Photo

San Francisco: PDC and Spartacist League intervened with class-struggle program against pro-Democratic Party reformism at April 24 “Millions for Mumia” rallies.

From the IG, IBT Lawyers for Liberalism

We publish below excerpts from an article headlined "WV Blames Victims, Distorts April 24 Shutdown for Mumia" in the *Internationalist Group's* *Internationalist* (April-May 1999).

...The SL is in fact pursuing a completely unprincipled vendetta. This is underscored by its response to the ILWU's decision to shut down all West Coast ports on April 24 to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal—the first such *political work stoppage* in the U.S. in defense of Jamal (see article in this issue). In a long back-page article titled "Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 711 (16 April 1999) makes a passing reference to the work stoppage, grudgingly admitting that "to pull the thousands of longshoremen coastwide off the job, even if only for a few hours, would be a powerful statement of the social power that can and must be mobilized in broader actions—from mass labor-centered protests to political strikes—for Jamal's freedom."

Meanwhile, the WV article willfully misrepresents the ILWU action. It focuses on denouncing calls by Workers World, Socialist Action and others for a "new trial." There can be no "fair trial" for Mumia in the racist capitalist courts that have relentlessly hounded black radicals and him in particular. We demand that Mumia be freed, now! In the middle of its article, WV charges the initiators of the ILWU work stoppage with "concealing the true nature of the capitalist state." An unaware reader would deduce that the action or its initiators are calling for a new trial. Not so. WV deliberately omits the fact that the motion voted by the delegates to the union's Longshore Caucus on March 26 does *not* call for a new trial—in fact it states that "the organized labor movement has the power through action to ensure justice for this principled and courageous freedom fighter, which he can't get in the courts." And the ILWU work stoppage is explicitly to demand **"Stop the Execution! Free Mumia!"**

The WV article never cites that motion and never explains how the ILWU work stoppage came about. Moreover, it misinforms its readers that the action consists of "two-hour stop work meetings," when the union has officially called for shutting down work on all ships "from 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. from Bellingham, Wash. to San Diego, Calif." as spelled out in the ILWU newspaper (*The Dispatcher*, March 1999). So WV cynically misrepresents both the *demands* and the *nature* of the union action for Mumia, and it uses the classic technique of the *amalgam* to carry out this lying sleight-of-hand....

The WV article goes so far as to charge ILWU Local 10 executive board member Jack Heyman, who presented the motion for the stoppage which was approved by the local and the Coast Caucus, with seeking to "go after the reds"! What is the evidence for this outrageous charge of witchhunting? That Heyman asked the Partisan Defense Committee (the defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, which has played a very important role in Mumia's defense for over 12 years) for help in putting together a list of unions and labor officials who have publicly come out in Mumia's defense....

There is a connection here. The SL and International Communist League (ICL) have regularly solicited Heyman in the past for endorsement of various demonstrations. But while not a supporter of the IG/LFI, Heyman won union support (from the ILWU and International Dockers' Conference) for the Brazilian Trotskyist workers facing bourgeois state repression. And he had the gumption to speak out against the ICL's betrayal of

the struggle by the LQB to expel cops from the unions in Brazil....

* * *

The following excerpts are from an April 25 letter by the *International Bolshevik Tendency*.

Comrades:

As we have occasionally pointed out in the past, the Spartacist League/Partisan Defense Committee (SL/PDC) deserves credit for its pioneering work in publicizing the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal and organizing for his freedom. Since 1995 Mumia's case has won ever broader support within the left and labor movement internationally. Regrettably you have not seen this as an opportunity to engage in common work and political struggle with activists from other organizations. Instead you have tended to allow petty sectarian organizational considerations to take precedence over principled united-front activity to free Mumia.

The 16 April *Workers Vanguard* (WV) commentary on recent events in Mumia's defense campaign is a case in point. The article, headlined "Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!," treats in an extremely cursory manner the exceptionally important work-stoppage by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) on 24 April. *Every port from San Diego to Bellingham Washington was shut down for the day in solidarity with Mumia!*... You claim that it was organized so as "to minimize the cost to the company," but Saturday can be one of the busiest days on the docks. You also mistakenly report that the work stoppage was only for two hours, rather than for the entire day shift.

You grudgingly admit that it was, "a powerful statement of the social power" of labor to win Mumia's freedom....

You reported that "the ILWU" had called for the action, but did not inform your readers that it had been initiated by Jack Heyman, a former SL supporter, who is currently on the executive board of the ILWU's San Francisco local, and is also active in the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia (LAC), along with IBT comrades, former SL trade-union supporters and others....

Brother Heyman is introduced in the WV article as someone "who postures as the left wing of the ILWU Local 10 executive Board" and roundly denounced for having the temerity to ask the "non-sectarian" PDC for a list of union endorsements gathered in the past for Mumia....

You prefer the call to "Free Mumia!" So do we. Nonetheless we do not see this as a reason to abstain from participating in national events that are many times larger than any rallies the SL/PDC has been able to organize....

The ILWU contingent, which headed the 24 April demonstration in San Francisco, raised the call to "Free Mumia!" It did not, to my knowledge, call for a "New Trial."

WV approvingly quoted the remarks of a participant in an SL meeting last February who asked:

"How about somebody telling the truth, that there's no way that Mumia's going to get justice in the courts. It's going to be exactly the same frame-up bullshit that happened the first time."

It is not impossible that a new trial could result in an acquittal. To assert otherwise is fake ultra-leftism. Fake, because the SL doesn't truly believe it. If a new trial can *only* result in "exactly the same frame-up bullshit," why is the PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein still participating in Mumia's defense team which has been pursuing every possible legal avenue, including trying to win a retrial?...

Samuel T. for the
International Bolshevik Tendency



WV Photo

Labor Organizations Calling for a New Trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal on the occasion of the Millions for Mumia marches, April 24, 1999 (partial list)

[Labor organizations representing more
than 3,500,000 workers]

Internat'l Longshore & Warehouse Union
(ILWU)

1199 National Health & Welfare Workers, SEIU

Union/SEIU

San Francisco Labor

California Local 711 (North Carolina)

Steel

Mailhand

Jack Heyman, Executive Board, ILWU #10

Bob Mandel, Oakland Education Association

Martin del Campo, Calif. Exec. P.

ILWU presence at April 24 rally was labor façade for class-collaborationist appeals to Democratic Party. ILWU Local 10 bureaucrat Jack Heyman, joined by longtime IBT supporter, explicitly endorsed call for "new trial," sowing illusions in racist capitalist courts.

complete independence from the bourgeoisie and all its institutions.

Window Dressing for Class Collaboration

Heyman worked on two levels inside and outside the ILWU to create the illusion that this Democratic Party-centered rally was a "labor mobilization" to defend Mumia. As an exec board member of S.F. longshore Local 10, he helped create the impression that the ILWU was engaging in a political strike to shut down the West Coast ports, when in fact what was done was to shift the regular monthly union meetings to coincide with April 24, touting these as "work stoppages." Outside the union, he worked with the IBT, with whom he has a long association, to set up a fake organization called the "Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal" (LAC), whose purpose was to pretend that they were the coordinators of "labor support" to the April 24 demonstration. As we wrote in our article, the LAC "obscures the class nature of the capitalist state, deep-sixes any mention of the Democratic Party and completely obviates the centrality of the fight for black liberation to the cause of the emancipation of all of labor" ("No Illusions in Capitalist Courts! Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!" WV No. 711, 16 April).

It is a measure of the fundamental dishonesty of Jack Heyman and the centrist IG of Jan Norden that in nearly identical language they both blatantly attempt to deny what every endorser and most participants knew: that the explicit basis for the April 24 mobilizations was the call for a "new trial." Apparently assuming no one will bother to read union resolutions, Heyman writes: "Our union resolution specifically states that Mumia can't get a fair trial and demands his freedom." Similarly, his apologists in the *Internationalist* write of the ILWU action, "An unaware reader would deduce that the action or its initiators are calling for a new trial. Not so." Thus, these people attempt to conceal the simple fact that, like similar motions passed by dozens of other unions, the ILWU resolution endorsed the April 24 rally and its call for a new trial. Here is what the main part of the resolution actually says, including the key sections omit-

ted by Heyman, the IG and the IBT:

"WHEREAS: On April 24, 1999, there will be national demonstrations to demand a stop to the execution of and a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal—on the East Coast in Philadelphia and on the West Coast in San Francisco, as well as international demonstrations; and

"WHEREAS: The organized labor movement has the power through action to ensure justice for this principled and courageous freedom fighter, which he can't get in the courts; THEREFORE BE IT "RESOLVED: That the ILWU go on record to:

"1) Support the San Francisco demonstration and mobilize our membership on the coast to participate by coordinating our April stop-work meetings for the 24th to demand: 'Stop the Execution! Free Mumia!'"

So Jack Heyman and his lawyer Jan Norden "disappear" the first WHEREAS above, the ILWU's endorsement of the call for a new trial, in their clumsy attempts to provide a cover for the pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy. Heyman shamelessly continues his charade, declaring: "Union militants would warn against illusions of justice in the capitalist courts while critically supporting" a hypothetical motion calling for a new trial in the Philadelphia longshore union. What Heyman doesn't say is that *he was the author* of just such a motion, in which he included as window dressing the counterposed statement that Mumia cannot get justice in the bourgeois courts. We learned of Heyman's central role in this bit of deception from the letter by his friends in the IBT, who inform us that the ILWU motion "had been initiated by Jack Heyman, a former SL supporter."

The complete text of the ILWU resolution authored by Heyman is contained in a bulletin-type brochure published by the LAC, along with copies of other union resolutions endorsing the call for a new trial. At the end of this collection of resolutions, the LAC conveniently prints a "partial list" of "Labor Organizations Calling for a New Trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal" which includes 83 national and international union endorsers and 74 "individual labor endorsements" for April 24. At the top of the list—no surprise whatsoever—is the ILWU. Among the individual endorsers of the call for a new trial we find...Jack Heyman and longtime

continued on page 8

China...

(continued from page 1)

provocation or not. The student-centered demonstrations outside U.S. embassies and consulates certainly expressed the outrage of the Chinese people, historically oppressed by Western and Japanese imperialism. At the same time, the Beijing regime was careful to restrict these protests. Reportedly, they banned factory contingents for fear that the workers might voice their own grievances against the regime's drive toward a capitalist market economy.

In the United States, students from China staged their own protests. The Spartacist League participated in these, carrying placards in Chinese reading: "For Workers Revolution to Defeat U.S. Imperialism!", "Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!" and "For Workers Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Counterrevolution in China!" Many of the Chinese students were shocked to find communists in the U.S.—the heartland of world capitalism. Underlying this response is the nationalist outlook historically fostered by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which denied the possibility of workers revolution in Japan and the West.

The Spartacist League fights for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and all the imperialist powers raining terror on the Serbs. We do this in the tradition of the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky—the party which led the multinational proletariat of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917. We fight for mobilizing the multiracial American working class in socialist revolution. And from that standpoint, we defend Serbia militarily.

China on the Brink

When we talk about China, it is from the same standpoint of communists fighting for a socialist society—for new October Revolutions internationally. The 1949 Chinese Revolution led by Mao Zedong expelled Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang bourgeoisie—as well as the imperialists his regime served—from the Chinese mainland. It created a planned economy which laid the basis for huge strides for workers, peasants, women and minorities like the Tibetans. And on that



May 8: Thousands of students in Beijing protest U.S. bombing of Chinese embassy in Belgrade.

basis we have always, as Trotskyists, given unconditional military defense to China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.

But today Mao's heirs are pursuing a drive toward capitalist restoration full speed ahead which would destroy the social gains of that revolution, which are already in fact massively eroded. So after 20-plus years of "market reforms," the same Guomindang bourgeoisie, the same imperialists that were kicked out in 1949 are today exploiting workers in large sections, and growing sections, of China.

The Communist Party regime has now brought China to the brink. Whether the drive toward capitalist counterrevolution succeeds there, or whether the Chinese proletariat acts to stop that disaster by ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy and imposing its own political rule, is a centrally important question for working people and opponents of capitalist exploitation and imperialist depredation everywhere.

To understand what is happening in China today, you have to understand the nature of what happened in 1949. That social revolution, while massively popular, was bureaucratically deformed from its inception. Unlike the October Revolution in Russia, it was not a revolution

made by the working class. Instead, it was Mao's peasant-guerrilla army which took power, excluding the proletariat from political power.

China is what we call a bureaucratically deformed workers state, akin to the Soviet Union under Stalin, who stood at the head of a bureaucratic caste which rose to power there in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. The conservative, nationalist outlook of both the Moscow and Beijing bureaucracies was expressed in the dogma of "socialism in one country"—a complete perversion of Marxism. Socialism—the early stage of a classless communist society—requires material abundance. It can only be achieved through a series of proletarian revolutions, especially in the advanced industrial countries. The Stalinists have always and everywhere been virulently opposed to the Bolshevik program of world socialist revolution, instead seeking alliances with one or another imperialist bourgeoisie.

Stalinist rule blocks any development toward a socialist society. In China today, it means a galloping drive toward the outright restoration of capitalist enslavement. What is posed in China, very urgently, is what Trotsky called for as early as the 1930s in the Soviet Union: a proletarian political revolution, which means replacing the rule of the parasitic nationalist bureaucracy with the rule of workers soviets—workers councils—committed to reviving and defending the planned economy and committed to the internationalist principles of Lenin and Trotsky's communism.

As Trotskyists, we militarily defended to the last the former Soviet Union—a degenerated workers state—and the deformed workers states of East Europe based on their nationalized and planned economies. We defended them against capitalist counterrevolution—against the imperialists and internal counterrevolutionary forces. Our unconditional military defense of China against imperialism includes, for instance, upholding its right to nuclear weapons. That, in short, is our position on the brouhaha that's still being whipped up over the supposed theft of nuclear secrets in the Los Alamos laboratory. It is the United States which not only has the world's largest nuclear arsenal but is the only country ever to use it, with the incineration of 200,000 Japanese and Koreans living in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The U.S. has threatened repeatedly to unleash nuclear terror against China, for instance during the Korean War of 1950-53. And even as Washington was screaming bloody murder over the so-called spy at Los Alamos, Clinton was proposing an East Asian missile defense system which would tie in Japan, South Korea and possibly Taiwan. That was a direct threat to China.

Now about the stuff about missiles and spies. Let's give an example from history. As communists, we honor the memory of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg—heroic people who were executed in 1953 as

Soviet "A-bomb spies." We say it was a good thing that the USSR developed its atom bomb, or the U.S. might well have launched further nuclear attacks after 1945—against the Soviet Union, against China and later against Vietnam and Cuba. Despite the nationalist, conciliationist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union acted to constrain the bloody American imperialist rulers.

Conversely, the destruction of the USSR through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 has made the world a much more dangerous place. The war against Serbia, the biggest war in Europe since World War II, has brought us all a step closer toward a World War III. Like the continued bombings of Iraq, it's all about extension of U.S. power, projecting its military might not only against small, dependent countries like Iraq and Serbia but against America's main imperialist rivals, especially Germany and Japan.

There's a weapon of a different kind in the imperialists' arsenal, especially when they try to promote capitalist counterrevolution. I'll refer you to our sign here: "1950: Hail Chinese PLA in Tibet! 1979: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" That's our position. We vehemently oppose movements like the so-called "Free Tibet" movement, which is simply a creature of the American CIA, which financed, armed and organized the 1959 uprising in Tibet led by the Dalai Lama. This doesn't mean we give Beijing an "A" for interethnic harmony. Not by a long shot. The Beijing bureaucracy, like all Stalinist regimes, is nationalist and chauvinist. In China, that means the chauvinism of the dominant Han people, who make up 90 percent of the population. A China run by workers and peasants councils would defend the rights of all national and ethnic minorities. But as the current war against Serbia all too starkly shows, when the imperialists brandish "human rights," you better watch your head. And in China, the U.S. sponsors a whole range of reactionary movements and so-called "human rights" dissidents and "democrats" who are nothing but tools of imperialism.

"Market Reforms": Road to Counterrevolution

Increased U.S. belligerence toward China is just one facet of American policy. The other is usually called "engagement." These are not really counterposed but complementary policies. They have one goal: to overturn the 1949 Revolution. Now, the best spokesman for this policy lately has been Henry Kissinger. He's been on TV since the bombing of the embassy, really trying to chill things out. He's worried that the tensions between the U.S. and China will upset all the mechanisms by which American imperialism is working to further capitalist restoration there.

Kissinger wrote an interesting piece in the *Washington Post* (27 April) that kind of gives you both sides of American policy. Contrasting China with the Soviet Union, he said: "Beijing, which until 1978 was ideologically even more rigid than Moscow, has since reversed its course. Moving toward a market economy, it is, by classical Marxist standards, hardly a communist country at all but an



WV Photo

ICL sign in Chinese reads: "For Workers Revolution to Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!"

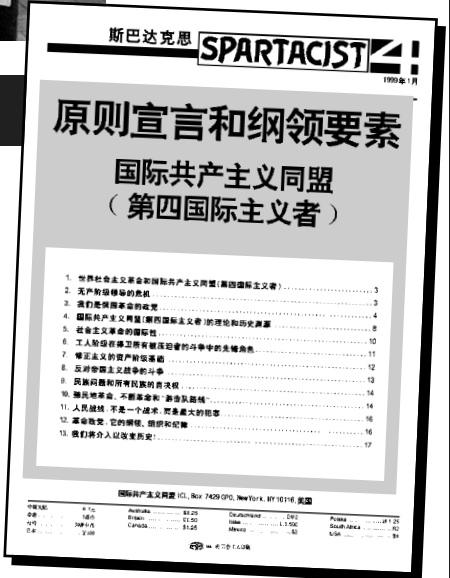
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Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL.

\$1 (20 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



authoritarian state with a governing party that chooses to call itself communist.” And he warns: “A Sino-American Cold War would, in fact, produce a classic no-win situation for both sides.” Kissinger was a trailblazer in the U.S.-China “rap-prochement,” going there in 1970 to cut a deal with the Mao regime directed against the Soviet Union. Kissinger wants to keep the Chinese regime on a pro-Western course moving toward capitalist restoration. And to that end, he is quite prepared to brandish military threats: “A serious American policy will hold China to that undertaking. The American record in two world wars, as well as in the Korean and Gulf wars, should leave no doubt about our seriousness in this regard.”

Imperialist spokesmen like Kissinger look to the Stalinist regime to carry out a cold restoration of capitalism—and that’s precisely the program of the Stalinists themselves. It’s pretty clear that the protests outside the American embassy in Beijing were orchestrated by the Chinese government. In so doing, they tried to present themselves as “anti-imperialist.” This is the most enormous hypocrisy. When Chinese premier Zhu Rongji came

Street Journal coming out and hailing the premier of what used to be called Red China and denouncing the American president.

The Beijing bureaucracy right now preaches that through free-market measures they can catapult China to become the next century’s first new superpower. This is a utopian and reactionary notion. A capitalist China would be an arena of intense imperialist rivalry, with the U.S., Japan and other imperialist powers fighting for the spoils, for who would be the main exploiter of that country. It is worth remembering that the Pacific War between the U.S. and Japan in World War II was fought largely over which imperialist power would control China.

A capitalist China would mean untold misery for the vast working-class and peasant masses. Already, the “iron rice bowl” system of guaranteed jobs, housing and benefits has been shattered. With state industries being privatized, every year several million workers are being thrown out of work, told to fend for themselves in the growing private sector. So side by side with yuppies making money in Shanghai, Beijing and other



Victorious People’s Liberation Army enters Beijing, 1949. Mao Zedong’s heirs in Stalinist bureaucracy threaten destruction of remaining gains of the Chinese Revolution.

to the United States in April, he didn’t make a peep of protest about U.S. aggression against Serbia, even though that’s the official Chinese position. He had more important things on his mind: to strike a deal with Clinton for China’s entry into the World Trade Organization. What that would mean, and they’re still working at it, is throwing China’s domestic market wide open to foreign profiteers.

Clinton backed off from a deal with Zhu, bowing to the anti-China lobby in which the American anti-communist labor bureaucracy is in the forefront. But business leaders started screaming, because they saw a lost opportunity to extend their enormous inroads on the Chinese mainland during the past 20 years. It was really quite a spectacle. You had the *Wall*

cities, you have tens of millions of unemployed workers. In the hinterland, it’s even grimmer. In 1997, a World Bank study reported that most Chinese peasants live on an income of about \$1 per day. With the return of private farming, some 100 million or more people from the countryside have flocked to cities and towns looking for work.

Adding to that situation is the collapse in trade with the capitalist countries of Southeast Asia, because of the economic crisis that still wracks that area. Those taken with the myth of the free market should look at what happened in countries like Indonesia in the last couple of years. With the economic collapse there, you have mass unemployment, starvation, horrific interethnic bloodshed. And that’s



Morris/Far Eastern Economic Review

Taiwanese-owned electronics factory in Guangdong province, part of massive capitalist incursions in China over last two decades.

28 MAY 1999



Peter Turnley

May 1989: Workers contingent arrives in Tiananmen Square. Entry of proletariat into mass student protests heralded incipient political revolution.

the kind of future facing the Chinese masses if counterrevolution succeeds.

In his 1936 book *The Revolution Betrayed*, which I encourage everybody here to read, Leon Trotsky posed point-blank: “Will the bureaucrat devour the workers’ state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat? Thus stands the question upon whose decision hangs the fate of the Soviet Union.” Trotsky’s point was confirmed in the negative in the USSR, where after decades of Stalinist misrule, capitalist counterrevolution triumphed. This was a historic defeat for the working class internationally. It threw the working people of the former USSR back to conditions of miserable poverty and hopelessness. It has unleashed nationalist bloodletting throughout the region.

China is much further down the road to capitalist counterrevolution than was the Soviet Union in Trotsky’s time. But that does *not* have to be the fate of the Chinese masses. Last year, we published the International Communist League’s “Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program.” We wrote: “The essence of ‘market reforms’ counterrevolution in China is the bureaucracy seeking to become partners in exploitation with capitalist forces and especially the Chinese capitalists who were not destroyed as a class (as were their Russian counterparts after October 1917) but continued to function in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and elsewhere.” “This course,” we wrote, “cannot be accomplished without breaking the resistance of the militant working class.”

And that’s the critical question. Capitalist restoration in China would require the consolidation of a new, counterrevolutionary state apparatus, one that is committed to defending private ownership of the means of production. But the force standing in the way of that happening is the Chinese working class. Today, even Chinese government spokesmen admit that strikes, sit-ins, marches and other forms of labor protest have broken

out daily throughout the country. The anger of the workers is captured in this statement by a woman who lost her job in a state-owned textile factory in Shanghai: “It’s the laid-off workers who are the poor ones, not the factory leaders—their pockets are full.” It’s become common for protesting workers to carry signs reading simply, “We want to eat.” The countryside is also wracked with unrest. In January, thousands of peasants in Hunan province demonstrated against the corruption of government officials. Hundreds of police were called out, killing one protester.

What is needed is the mobilization of the proletariat—at the head of the poor peasants, women and all the oppressed—in a fight for political power to get rid of the venal Stalinist bureaucracy. The beginnings of just such a struggle were seen with the entry of the working class into the Tiananmen protests in May-June 1989. As was underscored by that incipient political revolution, for the proletariat to successfully fight for political power, it needs revolutionary leadership. We seek to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, recruited from the most advanced workers and left-wing intellectuals. To that end, we’ve translated our documents like the ICL’s “Declaration of Principles” into Chinese.

Against both the nationalism fostered by the Stalinist bureaucracy and illusions in Western-style bourgeois democracy, we stress the need for a proletarian-internationalist perspective. As we wrote in “China on the Brink” (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997):

“To smash the threat of capitalist enslavement and open the road to a socialist future, Chinese workers must look to the international class struggle. It is by linking their fight for political revolution with the struggle to smash capitalist rule from Indonesia and South Korea to Japan and the U.S. that the Chinese proletariat will form the bridge to the socialist future.”

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Spartacist

(English Edition)

No. 53
Summer 1997
(56 pages)
\$1.50

Spartacist is sent to all WV subscribers.

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 53
ENGLISH EDITION
SUMMER 1997

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

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7

Opportunism...

(continued from page 5)

IBT supporters Bob Mandel and Andrew (“Drew”) Bonthius, organizers along with Heyman of the LAC. Here we have the truth of the matter: Heyman endorses the call for a new trial while trying to conceal this fact from longshoremen and the readers of WV. Thus he and his centrist apologists are revealed as the most despicable swindlers of the working class whose lies only prove that they are not to be trusted.

Despite their long list of endorsements, the only union contingent at the April 24 march was the small ILWU contingent. Marching at the head with its “Free Mumia” banner, this contingent was cynically conceived as camouflage for the rally’s real purpose. And the “Labor Contingent” organized by the IBT—which organized virtually no one other than themselves—was their fake-labor façade for this bourgeois-liberal mobilization that obscenely made Mumia a poster boy for the inherent justice of capitalist “democracy.”

Tacking the slogan “Free Mumia” onto the call for a “new trial” is not warning the workers about illusions of justice in the capitalist courts, it is *deceiving the workers* with such illusions in the service of the Democratic Party. It is just a cover for endorsing a demonstration organized on the basis of *deliberately opposing* calls to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty, instead substituting the appeal for a “new trial” in an expression of *political confidence in the capitalist courts*.

April 24: Reformists Tail Democratic Party

Heyman would have ILWU members and other WV readers believe that the rally’s call for a “new trial” was simply “one of its demands.” In fact, it was the central political focus of the demonstration. This was made clear in an Internet “Report on the Emergency Leadership Summit Meeting for the Mumia Movement,” held in New York City on January 23, whose participants included Mandel, Solidarity’s Steve Bloom and San Francisco Socialist Action leader Jeff Mackler. A section of that report reads:

“During the day, there had been a running discussion over what the slogans for Millions for Mumia should be. Some had questioned why Free Mumia or End the Death Penalty wasn’t on the call. Clark [Kissinger, Refuse & Resist] had called for uniting all those who had opposed an execution. Both Robert Meeropol and Charlene Mitchell had argued for the importance of ‘new trial.’ Steve Bloom from Solidarity suggested that the slogan should be ‘Justice for Mumia.’ Pam [Africa] said that her position as a member of MOVE is that Mumia is innocent and should be freed, but that we also have to look strategically at how to unite with many people. Some people are not yet prepared to say that Mumia is innocent, but they will unite with a call that says ‘Stop the Execution, New Trial.’... “Another issue that Pam spoke to was whether opposition to the death penalty should be a demand of the movement to save Mumia. She said that while she and MOVE were totally against the death penalty and the International Concerned Family & Friends is primarily anti-death penalty, we cannot require the whole movement to save Mumia to be anti-death penalty.”



WV Photos

San Francisco, April 24: Jack Heyman (left) mouths not one iota of criticism of Democratic Party or “new trial” slogan. IG’s Jan Norden at rally, peddling centrist apologies for Heyman and class collaboration.

This was the program behind the April 24 mobilization and this is what Heyman, the IBT and the IG are trying to conceal: unity with people who think that Mumia is guilty and who have no problem with his being executed so long as he first gets a “fair trial.” This was made disgustingly clear in a column called “What We Can Do to Build the Struggle” accompanying an article by Steve Bloom in *Against the Current* (January/February 1999) which appealed: “Demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal and that no execution take place until after a new trial is held”!

That this program was consciously crafted in pursuit of a bloc with Democratic Party notables like Jesse Jackson and, in the Bay Area, John Burton, Tom Ammiano and San Francisco mayor Willie Brown—all endorsers of the demonstration—was again made crystal clear by one of the chief organizers of the Philadelphia rally, the reformist Workers World Party (WWP). In an interview in *Workers World* (29 April), WWP leader Larry Holmes, after acknowledging that Mumia was framed up and that there should be “no need” for a new trial, continued:

“Of course, not everyone shares these revolutionary principles. And so we solicit the support of those whose interest in Mumia is based on opposition to the death penalty or the recognition that he simply didn’t get a fair trial. “It’s very significant that many elected officials in New York have spoken out against the police massacre of Amadou Diallo. This has been helpful in turning the tide against Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who’s infamous for his racist, police-state strategy when it comes to dealing with oppressed communities. “Mumia’s case is about police brutality. But it’s more difficult for elected officials and liberals to embrace. In Mumia’s case, a cop ended up dead. It takes more courage, more resolute resistance to the police, to rise to Mumia’s defense.”

There you have it in a nutshell. What all this talk of “courage” really means is: since we reformists can’t expect respectable liberal Democratic officeholders to openly call for the freedom of a black man convicted of killing a cop, to get them to endorse our rallies and spare them any test of their courage we will simply sacrifice the fact of Mumia’s inno-

cence and disappear any call to free him.

In New York, these Democratic Party liberals tried to put themselves at the front of the outrage over the Diallo killing in order to contain it and to preserve the authority of the racist cops and “clean up” their image. In San Francisco, Brown was elected mayor with the support and endorsement of the Police Officers Association, the local equivalent of the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) which howls for Jamal’s execution. Democrat Bill Clinton made a point of appearing alongside Maureen Faulkner, the widow of the cop whose killing was used by the Philly police to frame up Jamal, at the June 1995 F.O.P. gathering in Washington, D.C.—at the very time when the governor of Pennsylvania was issuing a warrant for Jamal’s execution. And Clinton pushed through the 1996 “Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act” vastly expanding the legal domain of capital punishment and gutting the right to federal *habeas corpus* appeals, which has made it easier for the state to kill Mumia.

Heyman (echoed by his IBT collaborators) denounces us for “sectarian opposition” to the April 24 demonstration and declares that “to not participate...is to abstain from the class struggle at a critical time.” In the mouths of opportunists, “sectarian” is an epithet hurled at the revolutionaries who uphold the Marxist principles of the class struggle. April 24 was not class struggle but its opposite. What Heyman really means is that we did not endorse the program of class collaboration on which the protest was organized—i.e., we will not abandon our Marxist principles and deliberately deceive the working class by endorsing the lie that the road to black freedom and the emancipation of the proletariat from capitalist exploitation lies through support to the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. We are revolutionists, not reformists. We seek to *advance* the consciousness of the proletariat. Hitching the ILWU work stoppage to the April 24 demonstration, as Heyman openly admits he did, served to reinforce backward consciousness—which is expressed chiefly through political subordination to the Democratic Party—on the most fundamental questions: the class independence of the proletariat and the class nature of the capitalist state.

Heyman dishonestly claims that support to the April 24 rally was based on “implementing the united front slogan: ‘March separately, strike together’”—i.e., organizing united working-class action while explaining and warning against the betrayals of the reformists. Heyman marched not separately but in lockstep with the reformist organizers on April 24. In fact, he was one of the organizers and a featured speaker. Yet Heyman uttered *not one single word of criticism* of either the call for a “new trial” or the Democratic Party politicians who addressed the crowd as he strutted around the speakers platform. At a “Millions for Mumia” press conference the week before, it was

Heyman who sycophantically proclaimed San Francisco Labor Council head Walter Johnson—a pillar of the Democratic Party in the city and a staunch supporter of Willie Brown’s re-election as mayor—“our secret weapon.” It was Heyman, the IBT and the rest of the LAC who, at the March 6 “Millions for Mumia” conference in Berkeley, led the charge against our revolutionary criticism precisely on the question of the call for a “new trial.”

Who “Minimized” ILWU Action for Mumia?

Anyone reading Heyman, the IBT and the IG would think the ILWU ranks had been genuinely mobilized for a political strike on Jamal’s behalf. They all squawk over our statement that:

“Despite the obvious efforts of the ILWU bureaucrats to minimize the cost to the company, to pull the thousands of longshoremen coastwide off the job, even if only for a few hours, would be a powerful statement of the social power that can and must be mobilized in broader actions—from mass labor-centered protests to political strikes—for Jamal’s freedom.”

The tremendous potential impact of the longshore work stoppage was indeed minimized in every way. It was consciously organized to avoid violating the contract, under which the ILWU bureaucrats have for many years agreed to a no-strike clause for the life of the contract. The bureaucrats are politically dedicated to playing by the bosses’ rules—the straitjacket of anti-labor laws that tie the unions to the capitalist state—and the ex-leftist Heyman provides the “militant” cover. Here’s how the *San Francisco Chronicle* (24 April) reported the action:

“The longshore workers’ protest isn’t an actual strike. Instead, the ILWU rescheduled a regular monthly union meeting provided for in its contract. Normally, the ports stop work on a Thursday evening to accommodate the union meeting, but this month, they will stop work today.

“Port officials said the work stoppage would have little effect on their business. They said that shipping companies had managed to schedule their arrivals around the action.”

And the *San Francisco Examiner* (20 April) reported that a spokesman for the bosses’ Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) “said the protest was organized about a month ago, giving the shipping companies time to plan ahead.”

More importantly, there was no real attempt either before or at the union meetings that day to politically mobilize the membership in Jamal’s behalf. At the Local 10 hall that morning, several of the lower seniority “B-men”—whose second-class status denies them a vote in their own union and who met separately from the “A-men”—told WV salesmen as they emerged from their meeting that there was nothing said in the meeting about the rally or Jamal’s case, only that they couldn’t go to work. Far from the “class-struggle action” he claimed, Heyman “organized” what was to a large extent only a symbolic presence meant to express labor’s ties to the Democratic Party, a deception perpetrated first of all on the longshoremen who want to defend Mumia.

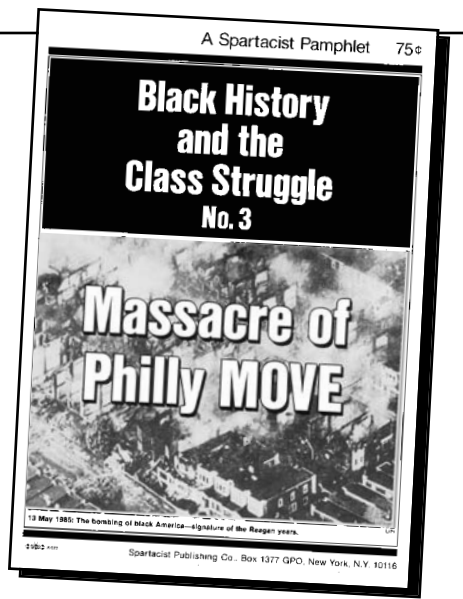
To facilitate this deception, Heyman went after the PDC which for years has publicized Jamal’s case among ILWU members and in the broader labor movement. Heyman, the IBT and the IG all scream bloody murder over our statement that his whole purpose in asking the PDC to hand over the names of union officials who endorsed our previous efforts on Jamal’s behalf was to “go after the reds.” In its February 10 reply to Heyman, the PDC wrote: “We cannot comply with your request because the names of unions and union officials that have supported Jamal’s case (or any other case over the many years of the PDC’s existence) are simply not ours to ‘give’ to anyone.... Surely you must know that each endorsement we have requested and received is for a specific purpose and specific

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slogans.... These endorsements are not seen either by the PDC or by the union or union official as a standing endorsement for subsequent events and certainly not as a blank check or part of a 'list' to be passed around to any organization upon request."

As shown by the long list of "labor endorsements" pushed by the LAC, Heyman & Co. clearly didn't need the PDC for names of union officials. Heyman's request, made in the name of something called "The Rank-and-File ILWU Committee to Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal," was never intended as anything other than a club to bad-mouth the PDC as "sectarian." (Les Friedman had earlier made the same demand to the PDC on behalf of the IBT's "Labor Action Committee.") And that's the only use to which this phony request has ever been put—first at the March 6 Berkeley conference "labor workshop," where Heyman and his friends used it to slander the PDC as an obstacle to Mumia's defense, and in the current contributions by Heyman and his twin tails.

Heyman then tries to cause trouble between the PDC and ILWU International president Brian McWilliams by putting words in our mouths when he challenges in his letter, "What is the name of that leading bureaucrat? ILWU International President Brian McWilliams." No, his name is Jack Heyman. In our eyes, Heyman is a lot worse than McWilliams, because he pretends to be something different, a left-talking friend of the workers who is more radical than McWilliams. McWilliams makes no bones about his politics. He is a Democrat and proud of it. In this he is no worse than the rest of the American labor bureaucracy, and—when it comes to Mumia's defense—better than many others who did not raise their voices against Jamal's threatened execution in 1995, as McWilliams did at a PDC-initiated protest.

For his part, Heyman said nothing on April 24 when McWilliams lauded the ILWU's refusal to load scrap iron to Japan in 1938—a chauvinist act of support for the U.S. bourgeoisie's mobilization for interimperialist war over domination of the Pacific. On the contrary, in building for April 24, Heyman repeatedly invoked the ILWU's "long history of taking stands for social justice" and the image of "progressive unionism" cultivated by the ILWU leadership, explicitly harking back to the days of Harry Bridges. What this means is talking "progressive" as you sell out the workers. During World War II, Bridges, in line with the politics of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), enforced a no-strike pledge as part of his ardent support for U.S. imperialism—painting this imperialist war for plunder and profits as a "war against fascism." The Stalinists also opposed any struggle for black equality during the war.

The "progressive" Bridges continued his services to the capitalists and the shipping companies in later years. He imposed a no-strike clause in the ILWU contract. He enforced speed-up through the "Modernization and Mechanization" contracts—which he called a "beautiful piece of class collaboration"—that eliminated tens of thousands of jobs. He institutionalized the discriminatory division between A-men and B-men, as well as the obstacles that keep thousands of casuals out of the union. This is the tradition Heyman embraces. We oppose the B-list category, which ghettoizes a large segment of the ILWU membership, and fight for full union rights for all longshoremen. Heyman did, too, when he was still animated by the Trotskyist program. But now his loyalties lie elsewhere.

Heyman represents a type familiar in the labor movement since the 1930s: the ex-radical who, because of his own pessimism regarding the revolutionary capacity of the working class, abandons the struggle for workers revolution in favor of a career in the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. He knows how to talk the

talk and is thus very useful to the bureaucracy in deceiving the workers. Many in Local 10's heavily black membership identify with Jamal's cause and want the union to take action in his defense. As the house "leftist" in the leadership of Local 10, Heyman makes it his job to keep this impulse within bounds acceptable to the bourgeoisie.

Heyman is well-practiced at this job. When the ILWU leadership wants to do something that will make it look good to its members without violating the no-strike clause or other legal restraints, Heyman and his "leftist" buddies like the IBT will come in and set up an "unofficial picket line"—like with the *Neptune Jade* in September 1997 in solidarity with locked-out dockers in Liverpool, England. Such stunts just reinforce the line foisted on the workers by the pro-capitalist bureaucracy that the union can't break the law—i.e., its no-strike commitment to the bosses. The ILWU leader-



August 1995 labor-centered Oakland protest for Mumia Abu-Jamal initiated by PDC was part of international campaign which stayed Jamal's execution. Marxists look to social power of integrated labor movement, not to capitalist "justice" system.

ship's refusal to mobilize union power to picket out the *Neptune Jade* emboldened the PMA bosses, who responded with a sinister witchhunt aimed at the union and its officers (see "Bay Area Longshore Union Under Attack—Defend Supporters of Liverpool Dockers!" [WV No. 681, 2 January 1998]).

A Short Syphilitic Chain

While Heyman openly supports the pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy and endorses the call for a "new trial," the IBT and IG cover for Heyman—not a very long edition of what Trotsky referred to as the "syphilitic chain" in which centrists and reformists are key links in tying the working class to the racist, capitalist order. The IBT says it "prefers" the call to free Mumia—as though it were simply a matter of taste—while echoing Heyman's denunciation of our "sectarian opposition" to the "new trial" mobilizations. Norden, in his typically slimy manner, portrays the ILWU work stoppage as independent from the April 24 demonstration by simply "disappearing" the demonstration in the pages of his *Internationalist*. But Norden certainly knew of the demonstration: in San Francisco, he marched shoulder to shoulder with Heyman in this mobilization for capitalist "justice," though he didn't bother to sell the *Internationalist* at the longshore stop-work meetings which he claimed we denigrated.

For years, the IBT refused to get anywhere near Mumia's case, taking it up only when the international campaign which stayed Jamal's execution in 1995 made Mumia's cause popular among the reformists and liberals. The IBT's hostility to the fight against black oppression was evident from this group's inception in the early 1980s. After the SL initiated a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped a KKK march in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, the IBT's forerunner, the External Tendency, sneered that our black-centered proletarian perspective was a retreat from "the working class" in favor

of "community organizing." One of our last fights with ILWU Local 10 member Howard Keylor, before he broke politically with the SL and became a supporter of the External Tendency, was over his association with racist Portland ILWU officials who had for years kept blacks out of their longshore local. This group also denounced the SL for honoring the victims of the 1985 government bombing of the MOVE home in Philadelphia.

Now the IBT's missive comes right out and argues that Mumia *can* get justice from the capitalist courts, stating that "it is not impossible that a new trial could result in an acquittal." They denounce the statement by a spokesman for the Labor Black League quoted in our article that a new trial is "going to be exactly the same frame-up bullshit that happened the first time." Why then is the PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein involved in Mumia's legal defense, they demand. Because while the IBT treated Mumia and MOVE as pari-

equal. In 1984, Keylor, then on the Local 10 exec board, helped the bureaucrats scuttle a union boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, a ship carrying South African cargo, which had been called in solidarity with embattled black workers fighting the hated apartheid regime. As editor of *Workers Vanguard*, Norden edited an article on that betrayal headlined: "ILWU Anti-Apartheid Action Sabotaged—Labor Traitors and Their Lackeys" (WV No. 374, 8 March 1985). Last year, the IG raised a criticism of the *Neptune Jade* "picket" similar to ours. But now Norden hails this as a "legitimate action of labor solidarity" as he cynically rallies to defend Heyman's "honor" against the SL, praising this labor opportunist for having the "gumption to speak out" against us on Brazil.

In Heyman, Norden sees a kindred spirit. Norden and his clot broke with us when we moved to break fraternal relations with a group in Brazil which proved to be more interested in holding onto union office in a cop-riddled union than in building the revolutionary party. Why shouldn't the IG alibi appeals by trade-union opportunists to the justice of the capitalist courts? The IG has spent much of the last three years trying to cover up for the fact that this Brazilian group which is now its affiliate, the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB), has dragged the SFPMBR municipal workers union in Volta Redonda through the capitalist courts three times as part of a squalid fight for control of the union against an equally unprincipled bureaucratic faction. Norden's group has never answered our challenge to publish the documentation of these court suits (court case numbers 30.831, 30.832, 30.833).

Brazil is far enough away that Norden can deny anything because no one except us will take the trouble to go there to prove him a liar, as we have done (see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits: IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed" and "IG's Brazil Cover-up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies," WV Nos. 669 and 671, 30 May and 11 July 1997). But now he has shown his true colors here by making common cause against the revolutionary Spartacist League and the PDC with this labor bureaucrat in leftist clothing, Jack Heyman, who uses the ILWU to further his career as a deceiver of the workers.

Through our propaganda and our labor-centered united-front mobilizations, our class-struggle defense work aims to bring to the proletariat the necessary consciousness of the nature of the capitalist state and of the centrality of the fight for black freedom to socialist revolution in this country. We aim to break illusions in the Democrats and bring home the understanding that the working people need their own class party, a revolutionary workers party. What Heyman and his "left" lawyers do is reinforce the obstacles to mobilizing the social power of the working class on Jamal's behalf, and in every cause of the exploited and oppressed. Their road serves the capitalist masters; ours the fight for a socialist future. ■

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(continued from page 1)

For all the boasting about “precision bombing,” NATO bombs last week damaged the official residences of the ambassadors to Belgrade from Sweden, Switzerland, India and several other countries, as well as the Libyan and Israeli embassies. A few days later, warplanes blasted a base of the Kosovo Liberation Army auxiliaries of the NATO imperialist forces.

As the bombing enters its third month, the *New York Times* (21 May) reports that NATO leaders “feel they have to have a military breakthrough or a diplomatic breakthrough. Everyone is tired of this.” Divisions within the capitalist ruling class in this country and among the NATO powers have become increasingly open. In Washington, the House voted early this month that Clinton must seek Congressional approval before sending ground troops into Kosovo and, on a tie vote, rejected a resolution supporting the air strikes against Serbia. At the same time, Democratic Party liberals in particular are increasingly calling to prepare an invasion of Kosovo. A recent editorial in the



Tensions among the NATO partners have also flared over the question of who would lead an occupation force. Germany and France had earlier pushed for occupation under the banner of the United Nations or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), a European-dominated alliance, as a way of undercutting U.S. influence in the region. The Clinton administration responded by angrily insisting that any military force in Kosovo must be under NATO command. When UN secretary



Behind the U.S. bourgeoisie's dread of getting into a "quagmire" in the Balkans is the "Vietnam syndrome," the ever-

"Nato is not the only or above all the best fulcrum for an agreement. One could find the elements of a multinational police force (embracing nota-

(continued from page 3)

We will not be silenced by LO's goons. The entire workers movement and especially LO members themselves must protest this outrage. At bottom, this violence is a desperate attempt to shield LO members from open political debate and a clash of views which is vital to politically clarify differences within the workers movement. Every year, LO's goons create a new scandal which reveals the disgusting values of these French social-chauvinists. In 1992, the homophobic LO chauvinists denied ACT-UP a stand. For offering our stand to ACT-UP, the ICL has been forever banned from having a stand of our own at the LO fête. In recent years, LO's goons have repeatedly beaten up second-generation youth of North African origin and immigrants who sought admission to the fête. Last year, LO censored the Basque nationalist organization Herri Batasuna. The ICL has exposed and protested each and every one of these atrocities. Don't wait to find out who will be next on LO's hit list. Act now! Stop LO's political gangsterism and thuggery! We urge all workers organizations to publicly condemn this cowardly and despicable violence! ■

bly Serbs and Albanians) in the ranks of the OSCE to enforce a transitional agreement.”

This is an open call for military intervention under the auspices of the OSCE, reflecting the particular interests of the West European imperialist powers.

Meanwhile, the WWP has issued a call for a June 5 “Stop Bombing Yugoslavia” demonstration in Washington, D.C. that doesn’t even mention the word imperialism. WWP even chose as its starting point for the march the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the bourgeoisie’s monument to its dirty, counterrevolutionary war! The featured speaker will be none other than Ramsey Clark, who was attorney general for Democratic president Lyndon Johnson as his administration rained down napalm on the Vietnamese people. As head of the Justice Department, Clark was the boss of J. Edgar Hoover’s FBI as it was carrying out its murderous COINTELPRO operation against black radicals.

Logically, the ISO and WWP should find themselves on opposite sides of the war in Kosovo. WWP wallows in Serb chauvinism; its “antiwar” protests feature Serbian monarchist flags and chants of “Kosovo is Serbia.” The ISO, although it has retreated from its patently pro-imperialist call of “independence for Kosovo,” still presents Milosevic as the greatest evil in the Balkans and echoes NATO war propaganda over the plight of the Kosovo Albanians. Yet the WWP and the ISO share a common policy of pressuring U.S. imperialism, as seen in their amicable coexistence at a May 19 antiwar “teach-in” at the New School in New York City. After an ISO speaker there claimed to “condemn” those on the left who “parrot” the ruling class, a Spartacist League member shot back from the floor:

“Will you condemn the British Socialist Workers Party which called for a vote for the Labour Party, that was ‘over the moon’ when Tony Blair was elected prime minister of Britain? And finally, will the ISO condemn the parroting of the imperialists that has been the hallmark of the International Socialist Organization and the Socialist Workers Party, which sided with imperialism for the 50 years of the anti-Soviet Cold War drive that has resulted in counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, which has created this nationalist bloodletting?”

Workers Power: Lawyers for NATO’s Albanian Pawns

Our principled Marxist opposition to U.S./NATO imperialism in the Balkans



Spartacist League fights to forge revolutionary workers party. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!

occupy,” according to a British WP statement distributed at a March 30 London meeting. But their support to the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), which is simply a pawn of NATO, is nothing but *support to the imperialists’ war aims in the Balkans*.

The Australian WP pamphlet cites our statement in “Balkans Trip Wire” (WV No. 710, 2 April) that as early as 1976—when Yugoslavia and Albania were still deformed workers states—we had defended the national rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo and Macedonia to secede and join Albania. WP says: “And yet today, when ethnic hatreds and nationalism are an even greater threat to proletarian unity in the Balkans, the Spartacists will have no truck with this principle.” It is revealing that the pamphlet never cites what we say about this in our article, namely: “With direct U.S./NATO intervention on the side of the Kosovo Albanians in recent months, the question of national self-determination has be-

come subordinated to the defense of Serbia against imperialist attack.”

Our position toward Kosovo today is analogous to that of Lenin’s Bolsheviks toward self-determination for Poland during the First World War. The right of Poland and other oppressed nations to secede from the Russian tsarist empire had been a central element of the Bolshevik program. However, with the outbreak of the war in 1914, the Polish left petty-bourgeois nationalist Josef Pilsudski organized military units which fought with the Austrian army against Russia under the banner of restoring “Polish independence.” In the context of interimperialist war, Lenin rightly argued that calls for Poland’s independence only served as a “democratic” cover for German imperialism.

The Workers Power pamphlet asserts in complete seriousness that “under the pressure of opposing imperialist aggression the Spartacist League have abandoned the Kosovars to their fate.” WP certainly hasn’t given in to the “pressure” of opposing imperialism!

The UCK, continues the pamphlet, “is not yet reduced to merely ‘an instrument of NATO’.” This is self-evident hogwash. UCK leaders have repeatedly bragged to Western journalists that they are serving in Kosovo as spotters, guiding U.S./NATO warplanes to their targets. Dozens of British and American special forces are fighting alongside the small UCK forces. And the UCK recently named as its leader a former brigadier general in the Croatian army who helped plan—with the support and collusion of Washington—the 1995 “ethnic cleansing” of Serbs in the Krajina region.

WP is well aware that the UCK is today an instrument of NATO. A few weeks ago they co-sponsored a “Peace in the Balkans Committee” meeting in London which featured a Kosovar Albanian spokesman who vociferously proclaimed that “we” support NATO because they are the only ones helping the Albanians. Serbia is the only imperialism I see, she declared to the assembled “anti-imperialists,” and if this is contrary to your beliefs, please stay home.

WP’s support to the UCK goes to the heart of its centrist politics, which are defined by tailism toward the Labourite social democrats who are today the most rabid war hawks in Europe. In every conflict between opposing petty-bourgeois or bourgeois nationalist forces, Workers Power always searches for a so-called

“progressive” side—for example, supporting the imperialist-backed Bosnian Muslim forces in the three-sided communalist fratricide between Croats, Muslims and Serbs in Bosnia. At bottom, WP’s methodology is social-democratic, based not on the historic class interests of the proletariat but on “classless” considerations (which camp is more or less “democratic” or “genocidal,” which best embodies a mythical “anti-imperialist dynamic,” etc.). This was prepared and exemplified by years of support to social-democratic anti-Sovietism.

While nominally abandoning its erstwhile Cliffite “third camp” anti-Soviet line, during the Cold War of the 1980s WP joined with the Cliffites in supporting such reactionary anti-Communist forces as Solidarność in Poland, a movement of rabid nationalists and anti-Semites masquerading as a trade union. And in 1991-92, they cheered on the “democratic” counterrevolution led by Boris Yeltsin and supported by Washington which destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state.

For all the “ethnic cleansing” of Albanians that Milosevic has carried out in Kosovo, he could never dream of equaling the horrors the American ruling class has inflicted on the world—from the bloody rape of the Philippines a century ago to the mass slaughter of Haitians in 1915, from the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the devastation that was wreaked on Vietnam and North Korea in Washington’s counterrevolutionary wars to “roll back Communism,” from the genocidal massacre of workers and peasants in Central America in the 1980s to the ongoing murder and starvation of well over a million Iraqis. And, as the current trial of the New York City cops who hideously tortured Haitian immigrant Abner Louima testifies, this is the same ruling class that wages a racist war—the so-called “war on crime”—against blacks and other minorities in this country.

The capitalist system, based on the exploitation of the mass of the world’s population for the benefit of a handful of filthy rich, necessarily breeds poverty, racism and war. The imperialists’ tug-of-war over influence in the Balkans contains the germ of a future world war in which all sides will be armed with nuclear weapons. We seek to build revolutionary workers parties as part of a reformed Fourth International to lead the socialist revolutions which alone can put an end to this inhuman system. ■

NYC Labor...

(continued from page 12)

and enhance their credibility. Thus, Rivera and black Democrat Al Sharpton were key architects of a 10-point program for “police reform” which includes the demand for a pay raise for the cops. Supporting better pay and “working conditions” for the police—echoing the PBA’s demand for “No More Zeros” in the next contract—simply emboldens these thugs.

The political character of the May 12 rally was made amply clear by the reformist Communist Party (CP), which waxed ecstatic that it was a continuation of the “all-people’s fight to defeat Sen. Alfonse D’Amato and elect Chuck Schumer,” an aggressively pro-cop “law and order” Democrat (*People’s Weekly World*, 8 May). The CP has been pushing the Democrats as “friends of labor” for more than six decades. But the Democrats are no less a party of capitalism and racism than the Republicans. Former NYC mayor David Dinkins laid off thousands of city workers while putting more cops on the streets. And Clinton has presided over the devastation of welfare, a vast expansion of the death penalty and one after another imperialist military intervention overseas. Demonstrating their craven fealty to the bloody capitalist order, not one of the labor tops at the May 12 rally uttered a peep of criticism of

Clinton’s imperialist war against Serbia.

The social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO) enthused over the May 12 demonstration. Its *Socialist Worker* (21 May) article had not a word about the presence of Democratic Party pols or the cops. This is no surprise. The ISO supports “organizing” prison guards and backs “rank-and-file” outfits like Teamsters for a Democratic Union and the DC 37 “Committee for Real Change,” whose stock in trade is dragging the unions into the bosses courts. Meanwhile, the ISO tails the police whitewash efforts of Sharpton/Rivera by pushing a “Citywide Network Against Police Violence” with its own “10-point program” whose main difference is that it does not call for more pay for the cops.

The police cannot be reformed; they must be swept away through a socialist revolution which smashes the capitalist state and installs a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie and place the means of production in the hands of the working class. The Spartacist League fights to break workers and minorities from the Democratic Party in order to build the revolutionary workers party needed to lead the proletariat to the seizure of state power. Working people create the wealth on which the Wall Street moguls gorge. Only when those who labor rule will that wealth be used to provide decent jobs, housing, education and medical care for all. ■

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Stop Capitalist Counterrevolution in China!
For Proletarian Political Revolution!**

TORONTO

Saturday, June 12, 7:30 p.m.

Trinity—St. Paul’s Centre
427 Bloor St. West (1 blk. w. of Spadina Stn.)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

NEW YORK

Thursday, June 10, 7:30 p.m.

322 W. 48th St., Club Room
(bet. 8th & 9th Aves., take E or C to 50th St.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

WORKERS VANGUARD

NYC Labor Rally: Angry Ranks, Sellout Bureaucrats

NEW YORK—On May 12, up to 50,000 members of New York City trade unions flooded the streets of downtown Manhattan in the biggest labor demonstration seen here in decades. The turnout was fueled by anger over years of wage freezes imposed on municipal workers, over union-busting “workfare” which has meant slashing over 20,000 city jobs and forcing desperate welfare recipients to do the work, over rampant cop terror exemplified by the recent death-squad-style execution of black African Amadou Diallo. But the union bureaucrats organized this rally not as a display of labor’s social power against the city rulers but as a political mobilization for the capitalist Democratic Party.

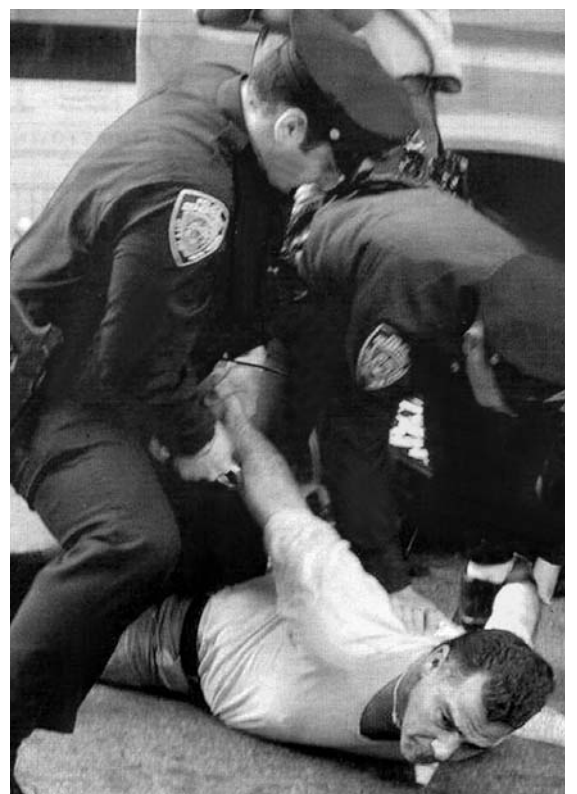
The class-collaborationist aims of the union tops were reflected not only in the presence of numerous Democratic Party mayoral hopefuls on the speaker’s platform but in the invitation to the police “unions” to be an official part of this labor rally. This was a slap in the face to every unionist who has seen the business end of a billy club while picketing, and especially to the black and Hispanic workers who make up the bulk of the municipal unions’ membership and know that any one of them could have been in Amadou Diallo’s shoes when he was gunned down in a hail of 41 bullets. Especially coming amid the trial of the five cops who brutalized Haitian immigrant Abner Louima two years ago, the labor tops’ embrace of the police as “union brothers” is aimed at deflecting outrage over cop terror. While Patrolmen’s Benevolent Association (PBA) chief James Savage was presented as part of the “team,” groups of protesters jeered when he spoke. “I know his team. His team are killers,” yelled one Teamsters member.

Welcoming the capitalist rulers’ hired thugs into this demonstration was an obscene display of the union misleaders’ class loyalties. For years, they have been in the hip pocket of Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani, positively bragging at the rally how they had shoved through a wage freeze, not to mention massive job cuts, “workfare” and other attacks on living standards and union conditions. Willie James, head of Transport Workers Union Local 100, whose 35,000 members keep the city running, imposed a “workfare” provision in the union con-

Cops, Courts Out of the Unions!



Gibbon/Chief-Leader



Erwitt/NY Daily News

Racist, strikebreaking cops were invited by labor tops to join May 12 rally, where police manhandled union protesters.

tract. Virtually every major union official in New York supported Giuliani’s re-election in 1997; even Service Employees (SEIU) Local 1199 head Dennis Rivera, a former leader of the state Democratic Party machine, remained formally “neutral” in the election while appearing alongside Giuliani at a press conference. With Wall Street booming and thanks to the sellout contracts enforced by the union tops, the city and state governments are rolling in a \$5 billion surplus. But when the bureaucrats, with contract talks coming up, asked for “A Fair Share for Working Families” after years of enforcing “sacrifice,” Giuliani told them to drop dead.

In the last year, a spate of government anti-union “corruption” investigations has led to the ouster of a layer of Giuliani allies from the NYC labor officialdom. SEIU Local 32B-32J janitors’ head Gus Bevana, AFSCME District Council 37

chief Stanley Hill and school cafeteria workers’ union president Charles Hughes were plenty crooked—and arch-sellouts—but the aim of government intervention is not to “clean up” the unions but to weaken them and place them even more firmly under the thumb of the capitalist state. We say: Labor must clean its own house! Government hands off the unions! Cops out of the labor movement!

Now with the despised Giuliani’s term in City Hall coming to an end, the labor tops are out to refurbish their image, and the pro-Democratic Party wing of the NYC labor bureaucracy is intent on reasserting the whip hand. The chief organizers of the May 12 rally were Rivera, the AFSCME International bureaucracy which has taken control of DC 37 and the teachers union; in fact, it was United Federation of Teachers president Randi Weingarten who was instrumental in bringing the cops in.

There was a palpable divide at the rally between predominantly minority unions like DC 37 and Local 1199 hospital workers, who mobilized heavily, and the largely white skilled trades. Even before the demonstration, representatives of the building trades unions like current Central Labor Council chief Brian McLaughlin argued against any explicit criticism of Giuliani and Republican governor George Pataki. But Giuliani’s police-state methods—attacking everyone from cab drivers to sidewalk hot dog vendors—have infuriated even many white New Yorkers, especially when cops started confiscating the cars of drivers who have had as little as one drink.

Even as cop spokesmen addressed the rally, the police engaged in repeated provocations against union members, penning them in and sealing off entire streets to pedestrians, including those trying to join the demonstration. When the cops waded into the crowd at the corner of Warren and Broadway, shoving and manhandling protesters, the labor bureaucrats’ cozy unity with the police “unions” was almost shattered amid outrage by minority and white workers alike. As workers shoved back, shouting “Union! Union!” in the face of the police, it brought to mind the 40,000-strong construction workers march last year which erupted in running battles between trade unionists and retreating cops. **The cops are not workers** but an integral part of the capitalist state apparatus which exists to repress the working class. The role of the police “unions” is to further their bonapartist appetites against any constraints on their murderous terror. How this plays out was seen in the violent, racist cop riot against former mayor David Dinkins in 1992, which catapulted Giuliani into City Hall.

Rivera and other liberal union officials marched at the head of an April 15 protest against police brutality in the wake of the Diallo killing. There is no contradiction here with their joining with the cop “unions” on May 12. As we warned throughout the wave of Diallo protests, the role of the Democratic Party liberals and their labor bureaucrat allies was to place themselves at the head of the outrage in order to deflect it into schemes to “clean up” the cops’ image

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1199 News

Local 1199 chief Dennis Rivera (far left) joins with Hillary Clinton in election rally for Democratic Senatorial candidate Charles Schumer last year.

Break with the Democrats! For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!