

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

China Defeat Imperialist Drive for Counterrevolution!

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

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

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

In particular, China's alliance with American imperialism *against* the Soviet Union, begun under Mao in the early 1970s and continued by his successor, Deng Xiaoping, contributed to the even-

Migrant construction workers in Beijing set up barricade to protest unpaid wages in January. Below: Chinese president Hu Jintao (then vice president) visits Wall Street in April 2002.



AP photos

tual destruction of the USSR through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. This was a historic defeat for the international working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world. The post-Soviet period has seen the increased pressure of world, especially American, imperialism—economic, political and military—on China. Thus the Pentagon has been actively pursuing plans for an effective nuclear first-strike capacity against China's small nuclear arsenal, a strategy openly proclaimed by the Bush gang in Washington.

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

and directing the spontaneous and localized struggles of the workers toward the seizure of political power.

Is the CCP Restoring Capitalism in China?

Ever since the Deng regime introduced market-oriented economic “reforms” in the early 1980s, an increasingly influential current of Western bourgeois opinion has maintained that the Communist Party itself is gradually restoring capitalism in China while keeping a tight grip on political power. This position was widely and loudly trumpeted late last year when the

16th Congress of the CCP legitimized party membership for capitalist entrepreneurs. “China Turns Its Back on Communism to Join Long March of the Capitalists” was a typical headline in the Western press, in this case that of the London *Guardian* (9 November 2002).

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

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“The Cause That Passes Through a Prison”

18th Annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

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Palestinian Activist Amer Jubran Driven Out of U.S.

BOSTON—On November 6, racist immigration courts and federal agents forced Palestinian activist Amer Jubran into dropping his challenge to government proceedings to deport him to Jordan. He is set to leave in March 2004.

Last November, FBI and INS agents arrested Jubran two days after he led a march for Palestinian rights through downtown Boston. The Feds held him for over two weeks, as government agents tried to dig up enough dirt to expel him from the country. Just under a year later, the government hit Jubran with over 50 pages of new charges only a week before his hearing—based on the prying of a team of at least 12 federal snoops. These charges had next to nothing to do with the original, equally bogus, set that he had initially been arrested on, demonstrating the extent to which Jubran is a victim of a political witchhunt.

After the November 6 hearing, where Jubran was ordered to testify without any legal representation, the Amer Jubran Defense Committee issued a press release stating: “Faced with this nightmare logic, coupled with the prospect of an endless, boundless investigation that would threaten the vulnerable, Amer felt that his only choice was to request voluntary departure.”

The relentless persecution of Jubran, his family and associates is part of a broad government assault against anyone who protests the “war on terror” or the depredations of U.S. imperialism—especially those who speak up in defense of the beleaguered Palestinian people against Zionist state terror. Facing possible deportation, Palestinian activist Farouk Abdel-Muhti still languishes in a Bergen County jail in New Jersey, well over a year after he was detained in a Gestapo-style raid on his home in Queens. His deportation could result in his being handed over to the Israeli state, which would almost surely mean torture or worse. Meanwhile, recent reports indicate that the government is now using the Patriot Act in renewed efforts to deport two of the Los Angeles Eight, Palestinian activists who have been in the state’s cross hairs for 16 years for defending Palestinian rights. *Free Farouk Abdel-Muhti now! Hands off the L.A. Eight!*

Speaking to a crowd of 60 supporters outside Government Center on November 6, Jubran said he would continue his fight for Palestinian freedom when he returned to Jordan. He said that while he expected that some people there would say all Americans simply want to bomb and exploit them, he would say he knew some very decent people here, like

the ones he was addressing. He told the crowd:

“This is all about speaking on behalf of Palestine, an oppressed people for 55 years who have been pounded by the U.S. government. And we come and live in this country, and we open our mouths, thinking that the rights protect us, thinking that we have due process, that we have the fairness of the justice system to protect our rights. But at the end it turns out that there is no protection, and there is a double standard—clearly because I am an Arab and Muslim and am critical of the U.S. government.

“They are using technicalities like immigration to go after people I said hello to 12 years ago, and dig dirt over their head. They are making my presence—if I decided to fight them—a liability for others who are weak and vulnerable....

“I decided in light of seeing that there were no checks and balances, of seeing and understanding that there is no legal system that could protect me and ensure me that there is a due process, then I feel



Amer Jubran Defense Committee

very vulnerable and I feel that this is a place where I cannot live safe, where my staying and my determination to speak justice for Palestine will become punishment for other immigrants, for poor people who are on welfare, for others who cannot deal with the system and its manipulation.”

We need to mobilize the integrated labor movement in defense of immigrant rights and the democratic rights of the entire population. *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Defend the Palestinian people! Stop the deportations! Let Amer Jubran stay!* ■

Letter

On Dave Lindorff and Mumia Abu-Jamal

New York City
16 November 2003

To the Editor:

In the Partisan Defense Committee statement “Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!” (WV No. 812, 24 October), author Dave Lindorff was cited, along with filmmaker Michael Moore, as one of those liberals who “ignore the overwhelming evidence that Mumia is innocent and instead speak of his supposed ‘guilt.’” It was inexact to equate the views of Moore—who says Mumia “probably killed” the police officer for whose 1981 murder he was framed—with those of Lindorff, whose recent article in *CounterPunch* (17 October) criticized Moore for this. In fact, Lindorff has played a far more pernicious role than Moore.

When Arnold Beverly’s confession that he, not Mumia, killed Officer Faulkner was finally presented in court after being suppressed for two years by Mumia’s former lawyers, Daniel Williams and Leonard Weinglass, Lindorff was an early and loud voice trashing this clear evidence of Mumia’s innocence. His book *Killing*

Time (2003) excoriates Mumia for firing the traitors Williams and Weinglass, attacks the competence of his subsequent legal team for seeking to present the Beverly confession and calls Mumia “to some extent—as his nemesis, prosecutor McGill, puts it—also ‘the architect of his own destruction.’” In an afterword coyly titled “So...Did He Do It or Not?” Lindorff says, “I don’t think the evidence has ever been there that Mumia Abu-Jamal was a first-degree murderer,” then concludes: “But did he actually shoot Faulkner? The answer has to be maybe.” No! Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man! In racist America, Moore’s and Lindorff’s hairsplitting over “probably” versus “maybe” can only serve to alibi the U.S. injustice system; exposing such lies is crucial as we seek to mobilize the broadest possible forces, centered on the power of the labor movement, to save Mumia from execution and free him from prison hell.

Sincerely,
Paul Cooperstein
for the Partisan Defense Committee



TROTSKY

Soviet Power and the Rights of Immigrants

Anti-immigrant hysteria has been on the rise in both the United States and Europe, wielded by the bourgeoisie as a club against the working class and the oppressed as a whole. The fight for citizenship rights for immigrants is part of the struggle for the unity of the international proletariat. This was underlined by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, adopted in

1918, explicitly granted full rights of citizenship to all toilers in its territory.

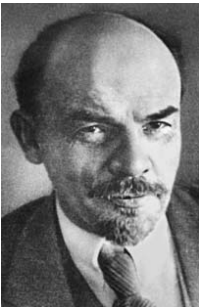
20. Proceeding from the principle of solidarity of the working people of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic grants full political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners residing in the territory of the Russian Republic for purposes of employment, and belonging to the working class or to the peasantry not employing the labour of others: and it empowers the local Soviets to grant to such foreigners, without any cumbersome formalities, Russian citizenship rights.

21. The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic grants the right of asylum to all foreigners subjected to persecution for political and religious crimes.

22. The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, recognizing the equality of rights of all citizens, irrespective of their race or nationality, declares the establishment or toleration on this basis of any privileges or advantages, or any oppression of national minorities or restriction of their equality, to be contraventions of the fundamental laws of the Republic.

23. Guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic deprives individuals and groups of rights which they utilize to the detriment of the socialist revolution.

—“Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the RSFSR,” printed in Yuri Akhupkin, ed., *First Decrees of Soviet Power* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1970)



LENIN

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No. 814

21 November 2003

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA

Alternate Mondays, 5 p.m.

November 24: **Women’s Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

San Francisco State University
Rm. C-116, Cesar Chavez Student Ctr.
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: slbayarea@compuserve.com

CHICAGO

Wednesday, 6:30 p.m.

December 3: **The Break with the Communist International and the Struggle for the 4th International**

U of C, Cobb Hall, Room 107
5811 S. Ellis Ave.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: spartacist@iname.com

LOS ANGELES

Alternate Saturdays, 2 p.m.

November 22: **The Marxist View of the State**

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@cs.com

BOSTON

Tuesday, 6 p.m.

December 2: **Workers Revolution Needs a Bolshevik Party!**

BU Coll. of Arts and Sciences, Rm. B25A
725 Commonwealth Avenue
(BU East/Central on Green Line B)
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

NEW YORK CITY

Tuesday, 8 p.m.

November 25: **Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed—Defend China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam!**

Columbia University
Kent Hall, Room 405
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

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

We print below a translation of an article which appeared in *Spartacist Japan* (No. 28, October 2003), newspaper of the *Spartacist Group Japan*, section of the *International Communist League* (Fourth Internationalist).

スパルタシスト

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

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

The hysterical accusations of "nuclear ambitions" and "spying, smuggling and illegal cash transfers" on the part of North Korea are pretexts by both Japanese and American imperialism to place a new generation of missiles in East Asia, the so-called "theater missile defense" system, directed primarily against the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states. North Korea's announcement in the fall of 2002 that it had nuclear weapons followed Tokyo governor Ishihara's demand that Japan declare war on North Korea and statements by several leading Japanese politicians that Japan could and would go nuclear. In fact, Japan's inventory of 55 tons of separated plutonium is enough to manufacture 10,000 nuclear warheads.

North Korea was created by the trouncing of the Japanese imperial army when the Soviet Red Army swept down the Korean peninsula in the closing days of World War II. This brought liberation to the Korean peninsula after 40 years of brutal Japanese colonial oppression. For more than 50 years, the Korean peninsula has been split between the bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North and the capitalist South. Since the 1950-53 Korean War, North Korea has been subjected to military encirclement and more recently an economic embargo imposed by the imperialists. The presence

of almost 80,000 U.S. military troops in South Korea and Japan is a dagger aimed at the heart of the North Korean, Chinese and Vietnamese deformed workers states, and a threat to militant workers and toilers throughout Asia. The Japanese government's recent Defense White Paper targets North Korea, and the government is now threatening sanctions and

even greater poverty in that country; it would also be a dagger aimed at the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, putting the forces of capitalist restoration on the border of China's heartland of nationalized industry.

The North Korean Stalinist bureaucracy's current policy—to use the threat of nuclear arms to demand a "non-

deformed workers state, ruled through primogeniture by Kim Il Sung's son Kim Jong Il, is a defense of the overturn and expropriation of capitalism. As Leon Trotsky pointed out in *The Revolution Betrayed*, the Stalinist bureaucracies are the main internal obstacle to defending the gains of the social revolutions. These gains include the right to a job, housing, education, childcare, social insurance and medical care. These gains are being undermined by the introduction of capitalist "market reforms" in China, North Korea and Vietnam, and millions of workers and peasants are being thrown out of work. The survival and extension of these gains require proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries and eventually on a worldwide scale. To abandon defense of these workers states is to abandon the historic purpose of proletarian revolution. That purpose and the defense of the workers states form the cornerstone of the program of the International Communist League, as they must for anyone who stands for world socialist revolution.

The Stalinist bureaucracies that rule these workers states oppose the perspective of international socialist revolution and seek both military and economic appeasement of the imperialists. These bureaucracies must be ousted through proletarian political revolution. What is needed is not a new form of class rule, but a change in the political character of the regime which exercises the dictatorship of the proletariat. To accomplish this, Leninist-Trotskyist parties must be built which would coordinate and lead the workers fight for political revolution in these countries and link those struggles with those of their class brothers and sisters in Japan for a socialist revolution. This would lay the basis for the development of a socialist federation of Asia.

Remilitarization and Domestic Repression

In tandem with increasing militarism, the Japanese ruling class is attacking the living standards of the working class, minorities, women and youth. The ruling class that is carrying out threats and provocations against North Korea is the same ruling class that endorsed the slaughter of Iraqis in the U.S./British war against Iraq, and is preparing its military to participate in the colonial occupation of that country. This is the same government that

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Japanese state mobilized thousands of police, coast guard and other security forces to raid and detain North Korean ferry, Mangyongbong-92, in port of Niigata.



Kyodo photos

pressuring UN aid agencies to stop food shipments in an attempt to starve the country into submission. Smash the counterrevolutionary alliance between Japanese and U.S. imperialism! Down with the embargo!

Behind the campaign of Japanese and U.S. imperialism lies a broader strategy of encircling the Chinese deformed workers state, an encirclement that extends militarily from Central Asia through the Philippines and the possibility of stationing U.S. Marines in northern Australia. We stand for the unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state—and of China, Cuba and Vietnam where capitalism has also been eliminated—against imperialism and internal capitalist counterrevolution. This defense includes the right of these countries to produce and test nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the nuclear-armed imperialist madmen.

"Peace in Northeast Asia" will never be realized as long as Japanese imperialism exists. The fight to bring down Japanese imperialism through workers revolution at home is integrally linked to the defense of the remaining deformed workers states against the return of the imperialists, either through military or economic means. A counterrevolutionary overturn of collectivized property forms in North Korea would mean not only

aggression pact" with U.S. imperialism—is simply militant begging, and utopian. If such a deal were ever made it would open the door to the return of United Nations "nuclear inspectors" to North Korea. Their only purpose would be to ensure that the country is incapable of defending itself against an attack—just as the UN inspectors did in Iraq. Beijing's willingness to betray its North Korean counterparts by brokering a disarmament deal between North Korea and the imperialists is a danger to the Chinese deformed workers state itself.

Our defense of the North Korean

February 2002: U.S. president Bush at "demilitarized zone" separating North and South Korea. U.S. troops in South Korea pose mortal threat to North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states.



AP

Defend Korean Minority in Japan!

Defend North Korea's Right to Nuclear Weapons!

“The Cause That Passes Through a Prison”

18th Annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

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

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

The Partisan Defense Committee initiated this program in 1986, reviving a tradition of the early International Labor Defense (ILD) under its secretary, James P. Cannon (1925-28). As Cannon described:

“The procession that goes in and out of the prison doors is not a new one. It is the result of an old struggle under new forms and under new conditions. All through history those who have fought against oppression have constantly been faced with the dungeons of a ruling class.... No cause is a great one which has not produced fighters in its ranks who have dared to face arrest and trial and imprisonment.”

—James P. Cannon, “The Cause That Passes Through a Prison,” *Labor Defender* (September 1926)

This year's Holiday Appeal takes on special significance, not only because a recent Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling pushes death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal a step closer to the death chamber, or that most of the class-war prisoners we honor have spent at least a quarter century behind bars. Using the September 11 attack on the World Trade



James Cannon with William “Big Bill” Haywood in Moscow, 1922. Formed in 1925, ILD launched mass campaign to save victimized anarchist militants Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, both executed in 1927.

Labor Defender



Center as a pretext the government, with the Democrats in near-unanimous agreement, rammed through the Patriot Act and other edicts which mark a qualitative diminution of democratic rights. The government's secret police have vastly expanded authority to tap your phone, search your home, scour your financial records, interrogate your librarian and place you under arrest without probable cause that a crime has been committed.

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

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

prisoners is to stand up to Washington's police-state designs and to strike a blow for tomorrow's fighters against the ravages of capitalist oppression.

While initially largely directed at immigrants from predominantly Islamic countries, the new repressive measures are ultimately to be used against the labor movement, blacks and opponents of U.S. imperialism. When New York transit workers voted to go on strike last year, the media screamed they were launching a “jihad” and the strikebreaking Taylor Law was invoked. On April 7, based on so-called intelligence information, riot-equipped cops at the Oakland docks fired on longshoremen and antiwar protesters, including supporters of the Spartacist League, with wooden bullets and concussion grenades. Had the Patriot Act been in force at the time, class-war prisoner Jerry

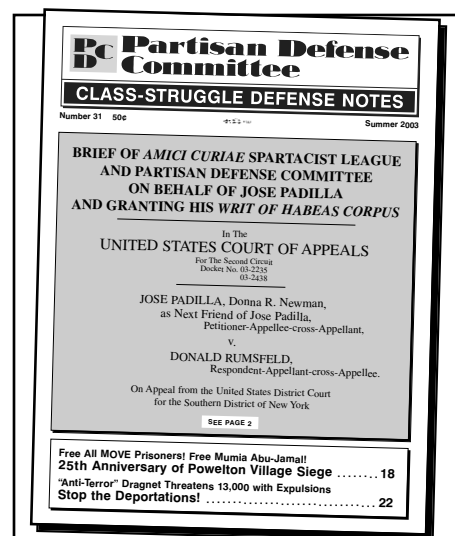
Dale Lowe, the West Virginia miner sentenced to eleven years for defending his union during a 1993 strike, could have been declared a “terrorist” and whisked off to a prison indefinitely without even the semblance of a trial.

For Class-Struggle Non-Sectarian Defense!

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We stand unconditionally on the side of working people and their allies in struggle against their exploiters and oppressors. We defend, in Cannon's words, “any member of the workers movement, regardless of his views, who suffered persecution by the capitalist courts because of his activities or his opinion” (*First Ten Years of American Communism* [1962]).

Initiated in 1974, the PDC cut its teeth on organizing successful international defense campaigns for Latin American leftists in the grip of bloody military dictatorships. We launched fund-raising campaigns for striking British miners in the mid 1980s as well as for the people of the Afghan city of Jalalabad when it was besieged by CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries following the Soviet withdrawal in 1989. We have initiated mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the KKK from marching in cities across the country, including the 10,000-strong mobilization in New York City four years ago. In Oakland, in February 2002 the PDC and Labor Black League for Social Defense initiated a united-front demonstration of 300, centered on the powerful longshore union, in defense of immigrants and in opposition to the Patriot and Maritime Security acts.

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



Class-Struggle Defense Notes
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50¢ (24 pages)

Order from/make checks payable to:
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013-0099



New York City: Partisan Defense Committee rally on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal, June 1990.

WV Photo

An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!

The 16 class-war prisoners described below receive monthly stipends from the PDC.

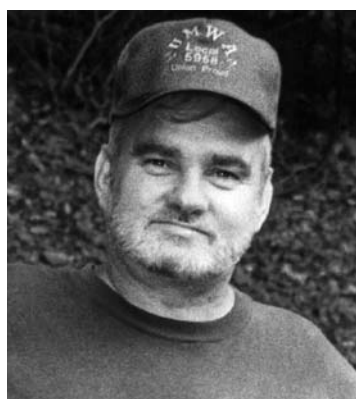
Mumia Abu-Jamal: Former Black Panther Party spokesman, well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and award-winning journalist known as the “voice of the voiceless,” Jamal was framed up for the 1981 killing of police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. December 9 marks 22 years on death row for a killing the cops know he did not commit. Over two years ago, Jamal’s attorneys submitted to the courts the sworn confession of professional hitman Arnold Beverly that he, not Jamal, shot and killed officer Faulkner. But to the racists in black robes of both the Pennsylvania and federal judiciaries, a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of a fighter for the oppressed like Jamal.

Jamal’s case is a textbook example of a racist frame-up. He was saddled with a lawyer he didn’t want—and who didn’t want Jamal’s case—a judge, Albert Sabo, known as the “king of death row,” an overwhelmingly white jury, a prosecutor’s office that concealed and fabricated evidence and a parade of witnesses who were coerced by the notorious Philadelphia police into giving lying testimony against Mumia. In December 2001, a federal court in Pennsylvania overturned the death sentence while at the same time affirming the frame-up conviction. Both the prosecution (seeking to reinstate the sentence of death) and Mumia (seeking to overturn the conviction) appealed. Those appeals were placed on hold pending a ruling on Jamal’s appeal before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, which finally ruled last month to again bar Beverly’s testimony and uphold Jamal’s conviction. Still on death row, Mumia remains just a short walk and maybe a few months from the death chamber. Workers, minorities and all opponents of racist capitalist repression must now redouble their efforts. **Free Mumia Now!**

Jerry Dale Lowe: A West Virginia United Mine Workers union militant and chairman of the local UMWA safety com-

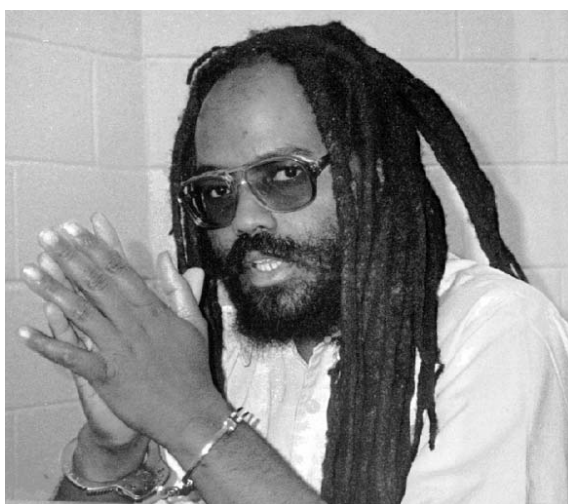
mittee, Lowe was framed up for the shooting death of a scab contractor at Arch Mineral’s Ruffner mine during a seven-month strike in 1993 and sentenced the following year to eleven years with no possibility of parole.

The bullet which killed the scab had come from an area where armed company thugs from Elite Security had been positioned. When it became clear that prosecutors had no evidence to convict



WV Photos

Above: Victimized mine worker Jerry Dale Lowe. Right: Mumia Abu-Jamal.



Lowe under state law, the Clinton Justice Department stepped in to railroad Lowe to prison on charges of “interfering with interstate commerce.”

We have urged the UMWA and other militants everywhere to take up Lowe’s cause. The leadership of the UMWA, along with the rest of the union bureaucracy, abandoned Lowe to face the wrath of the labor-hating government alone. And though his sentence is winding up, the fight for his freedom is as pressing as ever.

Eight MOVE members, **Chuck Africa, Michael Davis Africa, Debbie Sims Africa, Janet Holloway Africa, Janine Africa, Delbert Orr Africa, Edward Goodman Africa and William Phillips Africa**, are in their 26th year in prison. They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 8 August 1978 siege on their Philadelphia home by over 600 heavily armed cops, having been falsely convicted of killing a police officer who died in the cops’ own crossfire. Convicted of the same charges, Merle Africa

died in prison in 1998.

Jaan Laaman and Ray Luc Levasseur have spent almost two decades behind bars. These leftist activists were part of the Ohio 7, who were convicted for their role in a radical group that took credit for bank “expropriations” and bombings in the late 1970s and ’80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism such as military and corporate offices. Before their arrests in Ohio and Virginia in 1984 and

1985, they were targets of massive man-hunts throughout the East Coast and Midwest. Their children were kidnapped at gunpoint by the Feds and interrogated. The government piled one sentence atop another, intent on keeping the Ohio 7 imprisoned until the day they die.

Already imprisoned on multiple charges, in 1989 Levasseur, his wife, Pat, and Richard Williams were charged under sedition laws dusted off by the Feds and tried again for the same alleged crimes for which they had been jailed. After the longest “seditious conspiracy” trial in American history, all three were acquitted, an important setback to the government’s attempt to make all leftist political opponents into outlaws.

The politics of the Ohio 7 were once held by thousands of radicals during the heyday of the Vietnam antiwar movement and the New Left, who wrote off the possibility of winning the working class to a revolutionary program and saw themselves as an auxiliary to “Third

World” liberation movements. But, like the Weathermen before them, the Ohio 7 were spurned by the “respectable” left. From the standpoint of the proletariat, the actions of Levasseur and his comrades against imperialism and racist injustice are not a crime. As the PDC has said from the time the Ohio 7 were first persecuted by the capitalist state, these courageous fighters should not have served a day in prison and should be free now.

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

Ed Poindexter and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa are former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. They were victims of a racist FBI COINTELPRO operation, framed up for an explosion in 1970 which killed a cop. Both were convicted on the basis of perjured testimony, sentenced to life and have now spent more than 30 years apiece in jail. The Nebraska Board of Pardons refuses to lessen their sentences so that they can be considered for parole.

Jamal Hart, Mumia’s son, was sentenced in 1998 to 15½ years on bogus firearms possession charges, targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although initially charged under Pennsylvania laws, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton’s Justice Department intervened to have Hart thrown in prison. He is not eligible for parole. Hart is at Fairton, New Jersey where he is subject to abuse by brutal and racist prison guards. In July, Hart was thrown into solitary.

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1923 insurrection. The ILD together with MOPR rallied millions from Shanghai to San Francisco—for anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti framed up on murder charges and ultimately executed in 1927; for revolutionaries subjected to counter-revolutionary terror in East Europe; for besieged Nicaragua when the U.S. Marines went in in the late 1920s.

The ILD was born out of discussions that took place in Moscow in 1925 between Cannon and the great labor leader Big Bill Haywood. It was founded especially to take up the plight of class-war prisoners in the United States. It fused the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) tradition of militant class-struggle non-sectarian defense and their slogan, “An injury to one is an injury to all,” with the great internationalism of the Bolshevik Revolution, a revolution made not merely for the workers of Russia but for the workers and oppressed of the world. As a resolution from the ILD’s first conference in 1925 declared:

“The labor movement must be awakened from its slumber and must be roused to the menacing significance of the attempt of the capitalists to break the morale of the working-class by imprisoning its best fighters. The workers must not be allowed to forget those who lie in prison for them, but must be stirred into action in their defense.”

The U.S.’ emergence as an imperialist

power at the close of the 19th century was accompanied by brutal racist terror—the 1890s saw an average of two lynchings a week. It was also a period of intense labor struggle, with militant strikes more numerous than any time since. The IWW led union organizing drives and anti-lynching campaigns; their fight against the arrests of thousands of members for soapboxing and distributing IWW leaflets, known as the free speech campaign, laid the basis for what rights under the First Amendment are in existence today.

The rise of labor struggle was met with brutal state repression. There is the case of the Haymarket martyrs, mostly immigrant working-class leaders, largely anarchists, who without a shred of evidence were framed up for a bombing during a workers rally in Chicago on 4 May 1886. A 1902 anti-anarchist law in New York became the model for state and federal “criminal syndicalism” laws which targeted organizations and individuals seeking “a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change.” In 1903 Congress passed the first legislation barring immigrants who “believe in or advocate the overthrow by force and violence” of the U.S. government, the first such law criminalizing political beliefs since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798.

With the beginning of World War I and

preparation for U.S. involvement, the government stepped up its attacks on labor and the left. Well-known California labor leaders Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, opponents of U.S. entry into World War I, were framed up for a bombing at a Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco in 1916, and spent 22 years in prison. Under the 1917 Espionage Act and 1918 Sedition Act thousands of labor agitators, opponents of U.S. entry into the war, anarchists and “reds” were imprisoned. Among them was Ricardo Flores Magón, a leading Mexican anarchist who was imprisoned in

1918 and who died of diabetes in Leavenworth prison in 1922. Another was Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs, for a speech containing the “incendiary” message to workers: “You need to know that you are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder.” Haywood himself fled to Moscow while his appeal was pending from his conviction under those same laws for calling for a strike during wartime.

The ILD was launched in the midst of a decade of rampant reaction. In the

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Hong Kong

Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!

This summer, Hong Kong was the site of a series of mass, anti-Communist mobilizations openly, indeed flagrantly, backed by American and British imperialism. The pretext for the protests was new “security” legislation introduced (and since withdrawn) by the Beijing-appointed and directed executive of this capitalist enclave within the People’s Republic of China (PRC). These events clearly illuminate certain basic truths that have been obscured by the widespread notion that China has become or is fast becoming capitalist under the government of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

Despite more than two decades of market-oriented “reforms” by the Beijing Stalinist regime, the core elements of China’s economy remain collectivized. The 1949 Revolution, although bureaucratically deformed from the outset, liberated mainland China from the capitalists and landlords and their American imperialist masters. And they want to get China back. The conciliatory policies of the CCP regime, from Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping to Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, have allowed Hong Kong to become a bridgehead for the forces of capitalist counterrevolution within the PRC. A proletarian political revolution in China ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy would necessarily expropriate the Chinese capitalist class in Hong Kong, the imperialist-backed enemy within of China’s workers and rural toilers.

When Mao’s peasant-based Red Army marched into Beijing in 1949, a large body of China’s capitalists fled to the offshore island of Taiwan where they have been protected ever since by American military power. A lesser though still significant number of China’s capitalists decamped to the British island colony of Hong Kong. The Mao regime, for all its strident Chinese nationalist rhetoric and pretensions to revolutionary socialism, never challenged British sovereignty over Hong Kong.

After years-long negotiations, Hong Kong was transferred to the sovereignty of the People’s Republic in 1997. Under



Hong Kong Trader
Beijing-appointed Hong Kong chief executive Tung Chee-hwa.

the formula “one country, two systems,” the Jiang Zemin regime ensured there would be no infringement of the property rights of Hong Kong’s wealthy financiers and other businessmen. We wrote at the time:

“The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) joined in cheering as the rotted British Empire finally lost its last major colonial holding with the lowering of the bloody Union Jack and the raising of the five-starred red flag of the People’s Republic. But we warn that in the hands of the venal Stalinist bureaucracy, which has pledged to maintain Hong Kong’s capitalist system, the takeover of the territory is a dagger

aimed at the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution.”

—WV No. 671, 11 July 1997

Throughout their occupation of Hong Kong, the British imperialists larded it over the island as the racist and repressive overseers. It was only in the years leading up to reunification that the British imperialists started to install some trappings of “democracy” in Hong Kong. The last British colonial governor, Christopher Patten, actively promoted the formation of a militantly anti-Communist,



Hong Kong, July 1: Anti-Communist protest by 500,000 against proposed “security” law. Right: Demonstrators burn communist flag.

pro-Western party, the Democratic Party. Supported by a section of the Hong Kong bourgeoisie, the Democratic Party acquired a mass constituency among the city’s large petty-bourgeois population—e.g., the managerial and technical personnel of its banks, trading houses, industrial corporations, etc.

The political liberalization of the early 1990s also allowed the formation of a left-wing, pro-Beijing party, the Democratic Association for the Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB). Its founding leader was a self-described Marxist. Many of its leading figures were former Maoist “Red Guards” who had made much trouble for the British colonial authorities in the late 1960s. More importantly, from its inception the DAB has been largely based on a section of the working class through its close ties to the Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (FTU), which with a combined membership of almost 300,000 in 2000 is the city’s largest. Many DAB leaders are former union officials.

As the transfer of sovereignty to the PRC approached, the main body of the Hong Kong bourgeoisie decided it was tactically smarter to collaborate with the Beijing regime than to adopt a confrontational stance à la the Democratic Party. These “patriotic” financiers and industrialists did not join the leftist DAB but instead formed their own parties, most prominently the Liberal Party, with an explicitly “free market” capitalist ideology and program. Following the July 1 anti-Communist mobilization, which drew some 500,000, it was Liberal Party leader James Tien who reportedly convinced Hong Kong chief executive Tung Chee-hwa—and behind him the powers that be in Beijing—to drop the new “security” legislation.

The preservation of Hong Kong as a capitalist enclave within the PRC is in keeping with the more than two-decade-long policy of the Beijing regime of encouraging investment in the mainland

by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie. But the British, strongly backed by the Americans, also demanded that there should be no curbs on the activities of the political parties of the Hong Kong propertied classes, including especially the Democratic Party. This was not at all to the liking of Jiang Zemin and his cohorts.

As it was, a compromise was reached. Beijing appointed a “strong” executive in Hong Kong headed by a former ship-ping magnate, Tung Chee-hwa. The city’s legislative body was given quite limited



Reuters photos

powers, and elections to it were structured in such a way that the Democratic Party could not gain control even if it garnered a majority of the votes.

Since 1997, Hong Kong has experienced a certain shift in its social composition which also affects the local political balance of forces. Hong Kong’s capitalists have increasingly concentrated industrial investment on the mainland where labor is much cheaper. One consequence has been an increase in the relative social weight of the petty bourgeoisie, which benefits the Democratic and Liberal parties as against the mainly working-class-based DAB.

The Crisis over Article 23

The crisis last summer was set off when the Tung executive, certainly acting under the directions of Beijing, proposed new “security” legislation in the form of implementing Article 23 of Hong Kong’s separate constitution (the Basic Law). This would have broadened the powers of the Hong Kong executive to suppress “seditious” groups and individuals. Had the new “security” law been enacted, it would more likely have been used against militant workers and leftists, including dissident elements of the DAB/FTU, rather than against anti-Communist rightists. As revolutionary Trotskyists, we opposed this legislation, and we place no confidence in the bureaucracy to carry out genuine defense of the Chinese deformed workers state. Concretely, the Beijing bureaucracy has no intention of cleaning out the bourgeois counterrevolutionaries in Hong Kong because it is intent on maintaining Hong Kong as a capitalist enclave.

The July 1 protest had nothing to do with maintaining the legal status quo in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. The Democratic Party has made no secret that its goal is to take political power in Hong Kong and transform it into an anti-Communist bastion from which to

launch a “pro-democracy” movement on the mainland. On the eve of the protest, British foreign office minister Bill Rammell issued a statement denouncing the proposed “security” legislation as a violation of Hong Kong’s “independent” legal system. Afterward, writing in no less an authoritative organ of American capital than the *Wall Street Journal* (10 July), James A. Kelly, Bush’s assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, lauded the Hong Kong protesters for sending a “powerful message that freedom matters deeply to them.” Needless to say, the only “freedom” that matters to the men represented by the *Wall Street Journal* is freedom to exploit the workers and rural toilers of China as well as those in the rest of the world.

Initially, the DAB/FTU leadership supported the proposed legislation out of loyalty to Beijing. In fact, the DAB and FTU staged counterdemonstrations, reportedly drawing 40,000, against the anti-Communists in July under the slogans “National security is the responsibility of everyone” and “Without the state, we don’t have a home.” In late August, however, the DAB leaders did an about-face and proposed that any new “security” legislation be postponed for at least a year. In contrast to the DAB/FTU leaders, a Trotskyist organization in Hong Kong would have opposed Article 23, seeking rather to expand the available democratic rights in order to mobilize the working class, especially supporters of the DAB/FTU, against the city’s capitalist class in both its openly anti-Communist and “patriotic” wings.

The two organizations in Hong Kong misidentified with Trotskyism—the *October Review* and Pioneer groups—are in substance anti-Communist social democrats. The former actively mobilized for the July protest, calling for a “return of government to the people” (*October Review*, 31 May). The Pioneer group actually joined with the right-wing bourgeois nationalists of the Guomindang to protest *against* restoring Hong Kong to the People’s Republic of China in 1997. This summer Pioneer was part of the “Civil Human Rights Front” that organized the July 1 anti-Communist demonstration, which Pioneer hailed as an “initial victory of people’s power.”

Although not now possible, the American imperialists would like to use Hong Kong as a staging point to replay in mainland China the same political strategy they used in East Europe and the former Soviet Union in the 1980s and early ’90s: promoting a capitalist counterrevolutionary movement in the name of Western-style “democracy.” Behind the facade of parliamentary democracy in the West and elsewhere is the reality of the political as well as economic dominance of the capitalist class—i.e., racial oppression, persecution of immigrants, brutal exploitation, etc.

As part of our struggle to defend and extend the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, we call for the expropriation of the Hong Kong bourgeoisie, including their holdings on the Chinese mainland. But to carry out this task poses the need to sweep away the Beijing bureaucracy, which by its policies is undermining the defense of the Chinese workers state, through workers political revolution. We fight for a government of workers and peasants councils (soviets) such as was created by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky. Such a government in China would seize the wealth of Hong Kong’s financiers and other capitalists and use these resources in the interests of China’s workers and rural toilers. ■

(continued from page 1)

Some groups that falsely claim to be Trotskyist have embraced the now-conventional wisdom in Western bourgeois circles that “capitalist roadism” has decisively triumphed among those governing China. Commenting on the 16th CCP Congress, the British-centered tendency led by Peter Taaffe wrote: “China is on the road to complete capitalist restoration, but the ruling clique are attempting to do this gradually and by maintaining their repressive authoritarian grip” (*Socialist*, 22 November 2002). By labeling China’s government an “authoritarian” capitalist-restorationist regime, the Taaffites and their ilk can justify supporting imperialist-backed anti-Communist forces in China in the name of promoting “democracy,” just as they supported Boris Yeltsin’s “democratic” counterrevolution in the USSR in 1991.

A black and white photograph of Chinese astronaut Yang Liwei in his Zvezda spacesuit, waving to the crowd. He is standing next to a control panel with Chinese text.

AP

deny or minimize the growing social weight in China of both the newly fledged capitalist entrepreneurs on the mainland and the old, established offshore Chinese bourgeoisie in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Many a top government and/or party official has a son, younger brother, nephew—or, as in the case of Chinese president Hu Jintao, son-in-law—who's a private businessman.

A capitalist counterrevolution in China (as in East Europe and the former USSR) would be accompanied by the collapse of Stalinist bonapartism and the political fracturing of the ruling Communist Party. The economic policies of the Beijing Stalinist regime that encourage capitalist enterprise (and the corresponding right-

Sujian Guo, a right-wing Chinese émigré intellectual in the U.S., published an interesting article in the *Journal of Contemporary China* (August 2003) dissenting from the view that China has already become or is fast becoming capitalist (“The Ownership Reform in China: What Direction and How Far?”). According to a brief biographical sketch, Guo was a “former policy analyst at the Party Central Committee in China.” Given his present ideological bias, Guo minimizes the growth of capitalist elements in China’s economy and ascribes to the top CCP leaders a continuing belief in socialism, at any rate in the historical long run. But this anti-Communist advocate of “free market” capitalism understands a basic truth which most leftists, including self-described Marxists, do not:

The leaders of the CCP, too, looked at what had happened in the East European “People’s Democracies” and the former USSR in the late 1980s and early 1990s, drew their own lessons and acted accordingly. They also drew some lessons from the 1989 Tiananmen revolt that threatened their own downfall. They were determined there would be no political liberalization even at the academic/intellectual level. The regime of Jiang Zemin, who succeeded Deng when the latter died in 1997, was able to prevent any organized factional opposition in what historically has been a quite fractious ruling Stalinist party. There appears to be no significant dissident movement or milieu on the mainland either to the right or left of the central CCP leadership.

China's high rate of economic growth in recent years—moreover, amid a generalized world capitalist recession—has produced a certain triumphalist mood among the CCP leadership and cadre and affiliated intelligentsia. One would certainly encounter a very different mood among the millions of workers laid off from state-owned enterprises, impoverished migrants from the countryside and poor peasants barely eking out a living toiling on tiny plots with rudimentary equipment. But among Chinese intellectuals of mainstream political views one increasingly hears the notion that their country has somehow found a middle way between the anarchy of “free market” capitalism and the rigidities of the old-style Stalinist “command economy.”

The present CCP leaders believe that they can modernize China, transforming it into a great world power—indeed, the

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

To be sure, the ruling Chinese Stalinists are not simply supine in the face of U.S. military encirclement: witness their vigorous response to Washington's spy plane provocation two years ago. The CCP regime has also resisted American demands to impose an economic embargo against the North Korean deformed workers state. But the Stalinists' pipe dream that there can be "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism can only lull the vigilance of the Chinese masses and undermine the defense of their workers state.

The alternative to a bloody, imperialist-backed counterrevolution is proletarian political revolution. For the past several years, there have been large-scale and widespread popular protests and labor

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Imbued with Stalinist preachings of “socialism in one country,” even the most leftist Chinese workers may view the prospect for socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries as remote or utopian. But a proletarian political revolution in China would shatter the “death of communism” ideological climate propagated by the bourgeoisie since the destruction of the Soviet Union. It would radicalize the proletariat of Japan, the industrial powerhouse of East Asia. It would spark a fight for the revolutionary reunification of Korea—through political revolution in the beleaguered North and socialist revolution in the South—and reverberate among the masses of South Asia, Indonesia and the Philippines bled white by imperialist austerity. It would revive the working people of Russia who have been ground down by a decade of capitalist immiseration.

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

The Core Collectivist Elements of China’s Economy

The CCP leadership officially describes China as a “socialist market economy.” It is the “socialist” (i.e., collectivist) aspects which are responsible for the *positive* economic developments in China in recent years: the vast expansion of investment in infrastructure (e.g., urban construction, canals, railroads and the giant Three Gorges Dam project), the ability of China to have navigated successfully through the 1997-98 East Asian financial/economic crisis and then a generalized world capitalist recession. And it is the market aspects of China’s economy which are responsible for the *negative* developments—the ever-widening gap between rich and poor, the immiseration of a large and growing fraction of the populace, tens of millions of workers laid off from state-owned enterprises, the army of impoverished migrants in the cities who can no longer make a living in the countryside.

In China today, it is the core collectivized elements of the economy which continue to be dominant, though not in a stable, coherent manner due to an ever-shifting interaction between contradictory institutional arrangements and government policies. In 2001, state-owned and partly state-owned enterprises (shareholding corporations) accounted for 57 percent of the gross value of China’s industrial output (*China Statistical Yearbook* [2002]). But this simple statistical figure obscures the *strategic centrality* of state-owned industry. The private (including foreign-owned) sector consists for the most part of factories producing light manufactures by labor-intensive methods. Heavy industry, the high-tech sectors, modern armaments production are overwhelmingly concentrated in state-owned enterprises. It is these enterprises that have enabled China to put a man in space. Far more importantly, it is state-owned industry that has enabled China to build an arsenal of nuclear weapons and long-range missiles to ward off the American imperialists’ threat of a nuclear first strike.

All major banks in China are state-owned. Almost the entirety of household savings—estimated at *one trillion dollars*—is deposited in the four main state-owned commercial banks. Government control of the financial system has been key to maintaining and expanding production in state-owned industry and to the overall expansion of the state sector.

Between 1998 and 2001, government spending in China increased from *12 to 20 percent* of the country’s gross domestic

product. The largest and fastest-growing component of government expenditure has been investment in infrastructure, which increased by *81 percent* over these three years. Moreover, this has been happening at a time when the entire capitalist world—including the wealthiest countries in North America and West Europe—has been pursuing *fiscal austerity*. Total planned expenditure to construct a network of canals for irrigation purposes from the Yangtze River to the Yellow River in the north is \$59 billion. Another \$42 billion is to be spent on expanding the lines of China’s state-owned railroad system. By comparison, last year direct foreign investment in China from all sources totaled \$53 billion.

Continued state ownership of the financial system has enabled the Beijing regime up to now to effectively (though not totally) control the flow of money-capital in and out of mainland China. China’s currency, the yuan (also called the renminbi) is not freely convertible; it is not traded (legally) in international currency markets. The restricted convertibility of the yuan has kept China insulated from the volatile movements of short-term capital (“hot money”) which periodically wreak havoc on the economies of Third World neocolonial countries from Latin America to East Asia.

Furthermore, over the past year the Beijing regime has maintained an increasing undervaluation of the yuan (in “free market” terms), much to the displeasure of American, European and Japanese capitalists. A second-level capitalist-imperialist country like Britain could not have controlled the exchange rate of its



Apo Leong

Chinese women workers toil in shoe factory in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone.

currency in world markets as China has done. Within months if not weeks, speculative money-capital would have flooded into the City of London, forcing an upward revaluation of the pound regardless of what the Blair government wanted or did.

It is precisely the core collectivist elements of China’s economy described above which the forces of world imperialism want to eliminate and dismantle. Their ultimate goal is to reduce China to a giant sweatshop under neocolonial subjugation. Jonathan Anderson, the China “expert” for the Wall Street investment bank Goldman Sachs, asserts: “The bottom line is that China is becoming a manufacturing hub for the rest of the world in low-end, labour-intensive goods. Contrary to current fears, the rest of the world is becoming a manufacturing hub for China in high-end, capital-intensive goods” (London *Financial Times*, 25 February). The man from Goldman Sachs is here projecting onto China’s present economic reality Wall Street’s plans for that country’s future.

The Beijing bureaucracy’s abandonment of the strict state monopoly of foreign trade serves, however, to facilitate Wall Street’s plans. Despite its rapid growth in recent years, the Chinese economy is backward relative to even the lesser capitalist-imperialist powers. There is a dramatic amount of new construction currently underway in Beijing, with cranes visible virtually everywhere. But as a comrade who recently visited China told *Workers Vanguard*: “The construction crews are always very large, with not much in the way of earth-moving equipment other than wheelbarrows and picks. Once at the edge of Beijing, I saw about 30 guys working to put up a three-foot

brick wall with two horse-drawn carts full of bricks.”

While China’s exports to the U.S. and other Western countries continue to increase at record levels, these largely consist of low-wage, low-value light manufacture and consumer goods like clothing, toys and household appliances. As Jonathan Anderson points out, China’s increase in gross industrial output between 1993 and 2002—from \$480 billion to \$1,300 billion—was nearly completely offset by the increase in its gross purchases of industrial products, i.e., machinery and capital equipment.

Against the economies of the U.S., Japan and West Europe, Chinese industry, with its relatively low productivity of labor, cannot compete on the world market. What Trotsky wrote in refuting the Stalinist doctrine of “socialism in one country” in the Soviet Union applies with full force to China today:

“The capitalist world shows us by its export and import figures that it has other instruments of persuasion than those of military intervention. To the extent that productivity of labor and the productivity of a social system as a whole are measured on the market by the correlation of prices, it is not so much military intervention as the intervention of cheaper capitalist commodities that constitutes perhaps the greatest immediate menace to Soviet economy.”

—*The Third International After Lenin* (1928)

The main weapon available to a nationally isolated and relatively economically backward workers state against the intervention of cheaper goods is the state monopoly of foreign trade—i.e., the strict control of imports and exports by the gov-

ernment (for a fuller treatment of this question, see “Workers Protests Shake China,” Part Two, WV No. 782, 31 May 2002). But the ultimate answer to China’s economic backwardness and the only road to a socialist—i.e., classless, egalitarian—society lies in world socialist revolution and China’s integration into an *internationally planned economy*.

Imperialists’ Economic Strategy for Capitalist Restoration

Let us look at the program of further economic “reforms” in China put forward by the representatives and spokesmen for world, centrally American, imperialism. That program was summed up in a report on China a few years ago by the Washington-based World Bank: “The most important recommendation is a change in the role of government from controller and producer to architect of a more self-regulating and self-adjusting type of system.”

First and foremost is the “recommendation” that the state-owned banks cut off credit to loss-making state-owned enterprises and impose higher interest rates and stiffer repayment terms on profit-making enterprises. Such a “tight money” policy on the part of China’s banks would throw millions more workers onto the streets. And it would permanently dismantle a large part of China’s modern, capital-intensive producer goods industry (e.g., machine tools, heavy electrical equipment, agricultural machinery, construction equipment).

At a more fundamental level, Western and Japanese capitalists want to replace China’s state-owned banks with their own. Opening up China’s financial system to foreign banks would lead to a massive

outflow of funds since China’s banks cannot offer the higher rates of return available in international money markets. A large fraction of the economic surplus generated in China would be rechanneled into the banks of Wall Street, the City of London, Frankfurt and Tokyo. This money would then be used to purchase corporate and also government securities in the American, European and Japanese imperialist states. The savings of China’s workers and rural toilers would literally help to pay for the Pentagon’s nuclear missiles aimed at China! As it is, the treacherous Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy—and this is a real crime against the Chinese people—is now purchasing U.S. Treasury bills with its large foreign-exchange reserves and has promised to purchase more.

In the past few years, the agencies of imperialist finance capital such as the International Monetary Fund have “advised” the Chinese government to reduce its budget deficit by cutting back especially on investment in infrastructure. Such a move toward fiscal austerity would destroy the livelihood of many of the poorest, most downtrodden of China’s toilers. Urban construction in Shanghai, Beijing, etc. mainly employs migrants from the countryside. The big interior projects (canal building, laying railway track) employ impoverished peasants and rural villagers. Furthermore, cutting back such projects would *retard and reverse* China’s economic development. The extension of the railway system, for example, is absolutely essential to economically link the wealthier coastal provinces with the more backward regions of central and western China.

In recent months the main economic demand made by American, European and Japanese ruling circles on the Chinese government has been to revalue the yuan upward. By increasing the price of China’s manufactured goods in world markets, such a move would sharply reduce China’s export earnings and volume. Many private as well as state-owned enterprises would be forced to lay off workers, reduce production and in some cases suffer bankruptcy.

Behind the current pressure from the American, West European and Japanese bourgeoisies is a more basic assault on China’s state-owned financial system. The imperialists want to force the Beijing regime to make the yuan fully convertible in order to open China to unrestricted financial penetration by the banks of Wall Street, Frankfurt and Tokyo.

Privatization: Appearance and Reality

Over the past two decades a large fraction of state-owned industry—whether measured by number of enterprises, labor force or volume of production—has been privatized. Most small enterprises were simply sold off to individuals, typically the managers who had been running them. The larger enterprises, however, were “privatized” through a shareholding scheme. When, a decade or so ago, China opened its first stock market, much of the Western bourgeois media hailed this as proof positive that “Communist” China had taken a decisive step on the road to capitalism. But what has actually happened?

Of the 1,240 companies listed on China’s two main stock exchanges, in some cases the government holds a majority of shares, in others a substantial minority. But even the latter remain effectively government-controlled because the CCP has retained a monopoly of political power. There is no workers democracy in China—but neither is there shareholders’ democracy. A disgruntled shareholder brash enough to organize a revolt to oust the incumbent management, typically politically well-connected CCP cadre, would likely find himself in a very bad place very rapidly.

Shareholders in China’s corporations do *not* have ownership rights in the Western capitalist sense. They have the right to income from their financial assets and they can sell their shares, if they are smart

or lucky enough, for a net gain over the purchase price. But they cannot determine or even influence the management and corporate policies. These are determined by various and often conflicting political as well as economic pressures.

A clear example of this is Golden Summit, a cement-making enterprise in Leshan in the far western province of Sichuan. Formed in the late 1980s, Golden Summit was listed on the Shanghai stock exchange in the early 1990s. It turned out to be quite a profitable operation. In 1997, the company’s general manager, Gu Song, also served (in a fairly common arrangement) as deputy secretary of the Leshan CCP. In that dual capacity he arranged for Golden Summit to take over Dadu River Steel, a state-owned enterprise in the city which, however, was losing money. Obviously, this acquisition made no economic sense. Why then was it done? Because the workers at Dadu River Steel had staged violent protests over unpaid wages. So the local CCP leadership utilized the ample cash reserves of Golden Summit to damp down labor unrest in its bailiwick. Thus a managerial decision affecting the company’s financial condition was made on political, not economic grounds.

A recent book on China’s financial

structure by two academic economists in Australia describes the real character of the shareholding corporations:

“The key problem in the case of China’s stock markets is that the high ownership concentration actually reflects the continuing dominance of state ownership in many listed companies.... Thus, a market for corporate control is nonexistent for the overwhelming majority of listed companies and it can be concluded that managers face only a limited threat of punishment for poor decision making from either ‘insiders’ or ‘outsiders.’ It should also be noted that the influence of the state runs even deeper than their dominant ownership position.”

—James Laurenceson and Joseph C.H. Chai, *Financial Reform and Economic Development in China* (2003)

The authors then cite a study showing that “the state’s representation on the board of directors of many listed companies far outweighed that which could be justified even on the basis of their sizeable ownership stake.”

Furthermore, China’s stock and also corporate bond markets still account for a very small fraction of total financial assets, which remain overwhelmingly concentrated in the state-owned banks. Thus shareholding corporations depend on bank loans for the bulk of their external financing. In short, the companies listed on the two major stock exchanges

typically have the same management and similar financial arrangements as they did when they were wholly state-owned enterprises.

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

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

What would happen if UBS and other foreign banks were disappointed with the return on their investment in Baoshan? They probably would simply sell their shares, perhaps at a loss. But let us say that instead a group of Western banks bribed Chinese economic officials to support the ouster of Baoshan’s incumbent management and replace them with new

managers favored by these banks. Such an attempt by Western financiers to effectively take over China’s largest steel maker would be a direct challenge to the political authority of the CCP regime. To maintain its authority, the Chinese government would have to prosecute the corrupted officials and take some kind of punitive measures against the foreign banks. If not, many managers of state-owned enterprises and banks would become paid agents of imperialist financiers and industrialists, the government would begin to lose its ability to carry out its own economic policies and the CCP would begin to disintegrate into an orgy of factionalism such as took place in the Soviet Communist Party during the Gorbachev era (1985-91).

But the factional disintegration of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy would also open up the political situation to the intervention of social forces *from below*, centrally the working class. One would likely see the formation of independent trade unions and factory committees, of left-wing groups and parties. In the end, Western, Japanese and offshore Chinese capitalists could find their present foothold in the People’s Republic of China destroyed by a proletarian political revolution.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Holiday Appeal...

(continued from page 5)

wake of the Bolshevik-led Russian Revolution, the U.S. government and many states adopted a new wave of criminal syndicalism laws. The Palmer raids of early 1920 led to the arrests and deportations of thousands of leftists. Unions shrank almost to nonexistence and labor suffered nothing but defeats. In 1925, 25,000 KKK members felt free to parade fully robed down the streets of Washington, D.C. The 1920s saw widespread lynchings and racist pogroms. It was in this period that the American capitalist state constructed the deadly apparatus of political repression—with its vast army of spies and informers, local police “red squads,” wiretaps and mail interceptions—that was later deployed by J. Edgar Hoover’s FBI in the 1960s.

Upon its founding the ILD adopted 106 prisoners, instituting the policy of financially assisting these prisoners and their families. Representative of them were Mooney and Billings; Sacco and Vanzetti; Paul Crouch and Walter Trumbull, imprisoned for carrying on anti-militarist struggle while in the army; and IWW lumberjack John Burns, sentenced to four years for being caught with a sack of IWW literature. The number grew rapidly: Zeigler miners in Illinois whose fights over wages and working conditions pitted them head-on against the KKK; striking textile workers in Passaic, New Jersey. The ILD monthly, *Labor Defender*, educated tens of thousands of workers to the struggles of their class brothers, and carried letters from the prisoners describing their cases and the importance of ILD support.

The PDC revived the tradition of monthly stipends during the Reagan years, a period of rampant reaction marked by vicious racist repression, brutal union-busting, anti-immigrant hysteria, dismantling of fetters on the racist death penalty and malicious cutbacks in social services for the predominantly black and Hispanic poor. This was the era of the Cold War II anti-Soviet war drive, and behind this all-sided reaction was the capitalist rulers’ efforts to regiment the population for war against the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state.

These policies fueled the rise of KKK, Nazi and skinhead terror. The PDC raised funds for the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000, many of whom were black trade unionists, which ran the Klan off the streets of D.C. on 27 November 1982. When the *Washington Times* slandered the SL as “provoking violence” against the cops, the PDC raised funds

for the SL libel lawsuit which won a retraction.

Central to Reagan reaction was the criminalization of political opposition to the government’s policies. FBI guidelines adopted in 1983 equated leftist political activities with “terrorism,” RICO racketeering laws purportedly adopted to prosecute organized crime were used to break strikes and place unions under the control of government trustees. The PDC supported the SL suit against the FBI guidelines. As a result the FBI withdrew its witchhunting “definition” of the SL, thereby conceding that Marxist political principles cannot be equated with violence or terrorism. This was a victory for the entire left.

The opening salvo of the Reagan years was the firing of the entire PATCO air traffic controllers union during the 1981 strike, using plans drafted by Democrat Jimmy Carter. The Reagan years’ defining event was the 13 May 1985 bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune, killing eleven black people, five of them children, and turning an entire city block to rubble and ash. This was a message to anyone—particularly black people—of what was in store for those who dared get out of line in capitalist America. While virtually all the rest of the left distanced themselves from the MOVE martyrs, so as not to embarrass black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode who ordered the assault, the SL immediately held a rally in New York City in support of MOVE. Among the first of our stipend recipients was Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the MOVE bombing, and 12 other imprisoned MOVE members, eight of whom remain behind bars.

Class-struggle defense is a broad category. We are a small organization and must pick and choose those cases which exemplify key aspects of our Marxist program—e.g., trade-union militants, the fight against black oppression, defense of the former Soviet Union and other deformed workers states. Since initiating the stipends program, we have provided support to 33 prisoners on three continents. In the U.S., where black oppression forms the bedrock of American capitalism, a large proportion of the class-war prisoners have been black activists, including those thrown in prison hells for decades under the FBI’s deadly COINTELPRO vendetta of the 1960s and ’70s. Foremost among them was Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), former leader of the Black Panther Party in L.A., who until his release in 1997 was imprisoned 27 years for a murder the cops and FBI knew he didn’t commit. FBI wiretaps, disappeared by the Feds, revealed that Geronimo was in San Francisco, 400 miles from the kill-

ing for which he was framed.

In 1987 the MOVE prisoners alerted us to the case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, and we threw ourselves into his defense at a time when he was virtually unknown. The PDC, and our fraternal defense organizations abroad, sought to win support for Jamal’s fight against the racist death penalty from those of all political walks of life. We have emphasized that this is a political death penalty case which illustrates the racism endemic in this country in its cruelest, most vicious form and lays bare the essence of the capitalist state. Beginning in 1989 we held rallies in cities across the country—and internationally—and did succeed in getting broader forces to take up his case.



Yoram Peretz

Mordechai Vanunu protesting for Palestinian rights one year before his 1986 arrest for revealing extent of Israeli nuclear arsenal.

Overseas, we sent stipends to Eddie McClelland and Mordechai Vanunu. McClelland, a supporter of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, was framed on charges related to the killing of three members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Northern Ireland, despite the fact he was nowhere near the scene and was never charged with the shootings. For exposing that Israel had an arsenal of some 200 nuclear weapons—sixth largest in the world—in 1986 Vanunu was kidnapped in Italy by Mossad agents and railroaded to prison for 18 years, most of them in solitary. As we uniquely noted, the Israeli nuclear arsenal, more than enough to destroy every Arab capital several times over, targeted the Soviet Union as well.

Our initiation of the stipends program came on the heels of the bitter 1984-85 British miners strike. The courageous miners held out for nearly a year against the vicious right-wing Thatcher govern-

ment, which seized the miners union’s funds, and the betrayals of the TUC trade-union tops. While the AFL-CIO tops gave not one penny to help the British miners, the PDC launched an international fundraising campaign, raising over \$23,000 for the Miners Solidarity Fund. Following the strike, the five miners who remained imprisoned—Terry French, Dean Hancock, Russell Shankland, Chris Tazey and Clive Thompson—were among the first of our stipend recipients.

In the U.S. we provided support to labor militants Amador Betancourt, framed up on felony charges for defending a strike by Teamsters Local 912 frozen food workers in Watsonville, California, and Bob Buck, member of Steelworkers Local 5668 in Ravenswood, West Virginia, who was slapped with a nearly three-year sentence for defending his union from scabs and thugs during a 1990-91 strike.

We hailed the Soviet troops who intervened on the side of the Afghan government against the CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries. After the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, the Afghan army and heroic people of Jalalabad fought to preserve the most elementary social gains—the right to be educated, freedom from the veil for Afghan women, freedom from the yoke of a theocratic state. Our 1989 Jalalabad campaign raised over \$44,000. But our side lost. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan ceded the country to woman-hating Islamic reactionaries funded, armed and trained by Washington. As we said at the time, better to fight counterrevolution in Afghanistan than in Moscow. And in short order, capitalist counterrevolution triumphed in the land of the October Revolution in 1991-92. For more than a decade the triumphalist imperialists, first and foremost the U.S., have acted as if they can do anything they want to the world’s exploited and oppressed and get away with it. The Islamic reactionaries hailed by Reagan as “freedom fighters” provided the biggest Christmas gift of all to this country’s bloody rulers when they flew two airplanes into the World Trade Center, providing the rationale long sought by Bush and his predecessors, Democrat Clinton included, to clamp down on dissent.

As Cannon taught, the labor defense work of the ILD was a “school for the class struggle.” The lessons of that school were that the struggles of all the oppressed were inextricably linked and that the capitalist state—cops, courts and prisons—is an instrument of repression that cannot be pressured to serve the interests of the working class. What’s called for is a socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist system and replace it with a society where those who labor rule. ■

North Korea...
(continued from page 3)

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

Fearful of social unrest, the ruling class has increased its arsenal of repression, arresting youth who protest against the remilitarization of Japanese imperialism and the accompanying repressive domestic laws. The juki-net [new computerized registry] system strengthens the government’s powers to spy on the population. Chinese immigrants have been targeted for mass deportation, and one government official advocated publicly beheading the parents of youth who commit crimes. Every prison is at more than 100 percent capacity, and the recent stories coming out of Nagoya and other prisons of the harassment, systematic torture and murder of prisoners underline that the capitalist state is composed of armed bodies of men and rests on the brutal exploitation of the working class.

Throughout the world, each capitalist government is enhancing police-state measures with the aim of regimenting the entire population, driving down wages, slashing social gains which were won through decades of class struggle, and whipping up hysteria over minorities and immigrants as an alleged “enemy within.” As we wrote in Spartacist Japan (No. 26, September 2002):

“The rise of racist demagoguery, government attacks on immigrants and the threat of fascist terror bands can only be eradicated through a victorious struggle against the capitalist system. This perspective is the fundamental point of departure separating the ICL from all of our competitors in the workers movement.... It’s not enough to protest, it’s necessary to have a perspective to fight to transform society, to topple the rapacious imperialist system and create a workers state as the necessary first step on the road to a global classless society.”
—“Capitalist Europe’s War on All Immigrants Is a War on All Workers—Statement by the International Communist League” [see WV No. 784, 12 July 2002]

The fight to get rid of this arrogant, racist, capitalist government and in its place establish a government of the working class and its allies requires not just a struggle to beat back the attacks against the working class, women and youth. It also requires an uncompromising fight against the poisonous chauvinism and racism that divides the working class. Indifference to national oppression flows directly from a program of class collaboration with one’s own bourgeoisie.

As the tribune of the people, we fight all manifestations of racism and discrimination as an integral part of building a Leninist-Trotskyist party which will lead all the working people in this country to state power. To achieve this task, the working class must be broken from the reformist left and trade-union leadership

of all three union federations—which refuse to organize zainichi [ethnic Koreans] and immigrant workers into common unions with their Japanese class brothers and sisters. These misleaders transmit the chauvinism of the bourgeoisie into the proletariat, and are obstacles to the fight for a workers government.

The only way to eradicate unemployment, to provide decent housing, medical services and education for all, and to eliminate the danger of new imperialist wars is to expropriate the bourgeoisie. The potential power of the working class, whose role in production makes it the only force in society with the power and consistent interest to overthrow the bourgeoisie, has been held in check by the union bureaucrats who are politically tied to the [reformist] Communist and Social Democratic parties. These misleaders are prostrate before the owners of the means of production, refusing to wage any struggle against restructuring [downsizing and layoffs], much less against the capitalist economic system as a whole. We Trotskyists fight for a new revolutionary leadership of the working class—a proletarian, internationalist Leninist party.

Defense of Chosen Soren Is a Defense of All Working-Class Organizations

Since Koizumi’s trip to North Korea in September 2002, there have been more than 300 deadly terrorist attacks nation-



Robert Hunt Library

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

wide against zainichi Chosenjin [ethnic Koreans sympathetic to North Korea] and their representative organizations. Korean children can’t wear their school uniforms in public without fear of attack; those that attend public school are beaten up and humiliated on playgrounds. The offices and facilities of Chosen Soren and the banks and credit unions which service the Korean community have been systematically targeted by right-wing organizations throwing incendiary devices and shooting bullets.

In September 2003, Ishihara initiated procedures to seize the property of Chosen Soren headquarters on the pretext of up to 43 million yen in unpaid taxes, a reversal of previous policy that Chosen Soren functioned as a diplomatic mis-



Yomiuri Shimbun

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

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

On the morning of June 27, the “Koku-zoku Seibatsutai” (“Patriotic Forces Detached Squad to Punish Traitors”) opened fire on the Hiroshima office of the Nikkyoso teachers union [political union affiliated with the Social Democratic Party], and has threatened to do so again.

ferry docked was augmented by some 79 right-wing militarist groups, with more than a hundred sound trucks blaring their reactionary filth circling the port in an attempt to intimidate the more than 100 people who gathered to welcome the ferry. There were an equal number of protesters from the association of the families of the abducted and their supporters screaming for the ship to turn around. This ferry provides the only direct passenger link between Japan and North Korea. It also ships to North Korea tons of daily necessities and electrical appliances needed by a population living under siege by imperialism. Let the Mangyongbong-92 ferry travel unhindered!

Full Citizenship Rights for Everyone in This Country!

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

In the leadup to the government’s decision, hundreds of leading academics along with Chosen Soren have protested the decision by the education ministry, which is a good thing. They correctly note that this decision is based on the fact that the presence of Chinese and Korean students “serves as a reminder of Japan’s legacy of colonial rule and wartime military aggression” (Appeal to Ministry of Education, 2 March). However, their solution is to either appeal to the Japanese government, the very institution that imposed the decision, or to the United Nations. The majority of the people who make up today’s ruling class are literally the grandchildren of those who ruled pre-war Japan, who attempted to colonize all of Asia, raped Nanjing, enslaved hundreds of thousands of women as ianfu [“comfort

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women”], and brought millions of Chinese and Korean men to Japan to work as forced laborers. It was under the UN flag that three million Koreans were killed during the Korean War of 1950-53.

Education should be a right and not a privilege. We stand for free, quality, integrated education for all. Everyone who lives in this country should have the right to attend whatever school they want, and should receive a stipend while they study. We oppose the elitist tracking system whereby the kindergarten one attends determines the university that one can enter. We oppose the cozy relationship between the junior and senior high schools and companies which determine which student gets a job, and what that job will be. The administration of the schools should be abolished and the schools should be run by those who work and study there.

We fight for full citizenship rights for everyone who lives in this country, regardless of ethnic or national origin. We call for full access to housing, hospitalization, social services and welfare. We stand for the right of everyone to vote and run for public office at all levels. We fight to end the exclusion of minorities from employment at major corporations, and for integrated industrial unions. We demand that the *gaijin* [foreign resident] cards and *koseki* [family registry] system be ripped up. The *koseki* system is not just an affront to non-Japanese, but targets Burakumin [descendants of feudal-era outcasts] for second-class citizenship and denies the right of people who have changed their sex to register that information. We oppose all forced assimilation policies, and defend the right of minorities to retain any and all vestiges of their culture, language and customs—including the right to use their given family name.

North Korea and the Japanese Left

While the reformist left denounces the bourgeoisie’s open revanchism, ideologically they accept many of its premises, including its class hatred toward North Korea. Historically, leftist organizations, reflecting the chauvinism of their “own” ruling class, have been virtually silent in response to the attacks on minorities. The Communist Party’s constitution states that “only Japanese people over the age of 18” can be members of their organization (Chapter 1, Article 5). However, the attacks against ethnic Koreans have become so pervasive that even the left can’t ignore them, and have headlined in their newspapers, “Don’t Permit

Attacks Against Koreans.” But, as we wrote in our leaflet denouncing the racist, anti-communist murder of Chosen Soren leader Ra Hun in 1998, “The complete prostration of the Japanese left and trade-union bureaucracy before their own bourgeoisie has helped create the social climate where these acts of fascistic terror occur unanswered.” Articles written by the Communist Party, Kakumaru and the “Kakehashi” group in 1998 when North Korea launched a missile over Japan—and again in 1999 when the Japanese coast guard attempted to sink North Korean ships in the Sea of Japan—sided with the Japanese government in their campaign to demonize North Korea.

Those of you who have read our newspaper over the years know that we frequently polemicize against “Kakehashi” [which is politically affiliated with the Mandelite United Secretariat]. However, it is difficult to polemicize against an organization that has become so wretched that its positions on some questions are to the right of the government. It was the revelation that two small groups of Japanese people were kidnapped by North Korea two decades ago that tore the last thin veil of socialist coloring off “Kakehashi” and exposed their true nationalist sentiments.

As we wrote in *Spartacist Japan* No. 26 (September 2002):

“The endless stories about abducted Japanese and demands that North Korea open its country for nuclear inspections are propaganda campaigns designed to erase Japanese imperialism’s crimes before and during World War II and are intended to portray Japan—the second most powerful imperialist country in the world—as the victim....

“It is precisely because the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy in Pyongyang does not see the world proletariat as its ally

against imperialism that it carries out bizarre and idiotic acts such as abductions of what appear to be just regular people. Despite the bureaucratic deformations, our defense of North Korea against the class enemy is unconditional; that means it does not depend on the prior overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy, nor on the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict.”

“Kakehashi” calls on both the Japanese and North Korean governments to fulfill all the demands of the association of families who were kidnapped. These demands include the dispatch of Japanese police to North Korea to search for more Japanese people that supposedly have been kidnapped. “Kakehashi” members participated in a July 20 meeting held in Tokyo by the group supporting the families of the abductees. This is the same organization that was welcomed by U.S. arms control chief John Bolton on September 13, where they agreed that a “regime change” was necessary in Pyongyang. At the meeting in Tokyo, the leader of the group called for economic sanctions against North Korea. “Kakehashi” demands that the children of the abducted be returned—to Japan! These children have been born, raised and educated in North Korea, and have never set foot on Japanese soil! Last year, when the children’s parents, the five abducted, stated that they wanted to go “home,” i.e., to North Korea, they were told that they were brainwashed. Cabinet secretary Fukuda made it very clear that the government had every intention of keeping them here for propaganda purposes when he said that the five would not be allowed back to North Korea “regardless of their intentions” (*New Left Review*, November-December 2002).

Chukaku characterizes China and North Korea as “Stalinist states,” and the docu-

ment for their sixth conference calls for the overthrow of these states: “There is no other way to stop the process of a third world war than to overthrow imperialism and the remaining Stalinism” (*Zenshin*, 12 August 2002). Recently they have upheld the position that “the Korean people should decide the fate of the Korean peninsula.” What “Korean people”? Roh Moo Hyun, the current president of South Korea who has unleashed the South Korean military against striking workers and arrested pro-unification students? Or maybe the Hyundai *chaebol*, one of the biggest exploiters of labor in the world, which spearheaded together with Kim Dae Jung the “Sunshine Policy” that seeks to unite Korea on a capitalist basis?

For a Multiethnic Revolutionary Workers Party in Japan!

The Korean peninsula is divided by a class line, and South Korea is a class-divided society. The only way forward for the Korean working masses is through revolutionary reunification of the Korean peninsula. This means workers socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution in the North. A workers Korea would be a tremendous inspiration to the working people in this country. It would also immediately face imperialist encirclement, similar to what the North Korean deformed workers state faces today. The Korean population in Japan, most of whose ancestors were forcibly brought here, is a living link to the struggles on the peninsula.

A revolutionary party in Japan will have a heavy component of Koreans, Burakumin, Ainus and the numerous minorities that now make up the working class. This party, in coordination with the American workers party, will do its utmost to ensure the safety of the Korean proletarian dictatorship by overthrowing the two most powerful imperialist ruling classes in history, thereby laying the basis for an international socialist world order.

The conquest of state power by the proletariat requires political consciousness. Such consciousness must be brought to the workers by a revolutionary, internationalist party which will unify the class across the national and sectional boundaries which divide it and coordinate the interdependent struggles of the workers in every country. To accomplish this historic task, the working class must be broken from its reformist, pro-capitalist trade-union and leftist misleaders and won to a Marxist leadership. This is the perspective of the Spartacist Group Japan. ■



31 December 2002: Tokyo protest against U.S. troops in Korea. Spartacist Group Japan sign on left reads: “Smash the Counterrevolutionary Alliance Between Japanese and American Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!”

L.A. Strike...

(continued from page 12)

undocumented immigrant workers at the giant non-union Wal-Mart chain underscored that the defense of immigrant rights is also critical to revitalizing the labor movement through organizing the unorganized.

The labor movement must oppose the “national unity” barrage pushed by the bosses and echoed by their labor lieutenants, which is used to justify the imperialist rape and occupation of Iraq abroad and a domestic “war on terror” that is in fact a war against immigrants, black people and all of labor. The same ruling class that is slaughtering Iraqis is also bent on destroying the hard-won gains of working people and minorities in America.

For Class Unity in Struggle!

Another leftist group besides the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club that has been active in supporting the transit and supermarket strikes is the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), which publishes *Challenge*. PLP has promoted rank-and-file rallies outside MTA headquarters, which have drawn upwards of a hundred workers. In an undated leaflet to transit strikers titled, “Rely on Rulers’ Laws or on Workers’ Power?” PLP rightly attacked Silver’s call for

binding arbitration and declared: “We are not alone! Thousands of supermarket workers are also on strike. They and millions of other workers, millions of students and soldiers who have everything to lose and nothing to gain in a war for oil profits and a capitalist war economy, make up a potential army against the bosses’ attacks.”

Yet only a few lines above, this same PLP leaflet moaned, “Even if we don’t win this current battle, it’s because the correlation of forces doesn’t seem to favor us now.” As PLP itself makes clear, the correlation of forces is potentially very much in favor of the strikers. Yet PLP accepted in advance that the labor bureaucracy’s losing strategy could not be overcome and would lead to defeat, and proposed nothing more than to mount “wildcat strikes” behind the backs of the bureaucrats *after the strike loses*. PLP talks a fine line about storming the citadel of the American imperialist state, but the truth is it can’t even offer a perspective for a political struggle against the sellout policies of the capitalists’ lieutenants within the labor movement.

Much rides on a victory in these strikes. Defense of health benefits, a key issue in both the transit and supermarket strikes, has been a central question facing all of labor in recent years as the bourgeoisie seeks to shift the soaring cost of health care onto the working class. We Marxists

say: Free, quality health care for all!

We fight for a workers party built in the crucible of big class battles out of which will emerge a new, class-struggle leadership of the unions. Such a leadership must be based on a program of mili-

tant struggle against the entire capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. Break with the Democrats—for a workers party that fights for a socialist revolution to expropriate the bourgeoisie and place the workers in power! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For a Fighting Workers Party!

Bureaucrats, Democrats Knife L.A. Transit Workers

LOS ANGELES, November 18—Only ten days after his membership voted by a resounding 93 percent to reject the L.A. transit bosses' insulting "last, best, final" offer, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1277 president Neil Silver yesterday instructed 2,000 striking mechanics and maintenance workers to dismantle their picket lines and go back to work. Standing with Silver as he announced this betrayal on TV was Democratic county supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky, head of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) board, and Democratic city councilman Antonio Villaraigosa (as well as L.A. mayor Jim Hahn), key architects of the sellout deal. After five bitter weeks on the picket lines, ATU members are being told to go back to work before they have even had a chance to vote on the MTA's rotten new contract and with the central issue of the strike—the future of their union health benefits—left in the hands of a pro-company "mediation" committee.

As ATU members meet tomorrow morning for a ratification vote, they should throw this sellout back in the faces of the ATU misleaders and their Democratic Party patrons and demand a mass meeting of *all* transit unions to hammer out a strategy *to continue, extend and win the strike*. The bus and train drivers in the United Transportation Union (UTU) and clerks and custodians in the Transportation Communications International Union (TCU) are now left hanging high and dry, ordered back to work without a contract. As we wrote at the start of the current strikes ("L.A. Strike City," WV No. 812, 24 October):

"No one should go back to work until everyone has a contract! All UTU drivers, Teamster transit workers and TCU members should be out on the picket lines alongside the ATU. *All* the regional buses and Metrolink rail lines which bring in the suburban business commuters should be shut down. What's needed is a single industrial transit union from Santa Monica to Foothill, San Fernando Valley to Long Beach."

But instead of fighting, Silver had earlier proposed to take down the picket lines and commit the workers to "binding arbitration" (a scheme rejected by the MTA), following the lead of Villaraigosa and fellow Democrat Martin Ludlow. Silver also trumpeted a court decision allowing Villaraigosa, Ludlow, Hahn and another Democrat to participate in the negotiations. Showing mistaken illusions in the Democrats as "friends of labor," many workers applauded this announcement. In fact, Villaraigosa and Ludlow *are members of the MTA board, i.e., on the bosses' side of the strike*. The Democratic Party is a capitalist party, no less an enemy of working people than the Republican Party.

The central lesson workers must understand to win this and future class battles is the need for a policy of class struggle based on unconditional independence from the bosses' state and political parties. This is critical not least for the fate of the 70,000 members of the United

Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) who have been pitted in battle for five weeks against three giant supermarket chains—Albertsons, Ralphs (owned by Kroger) and Vons (owned by Safeway). UFCW leaders have turned strike support rallies into platforms for Democratic Party politicians feigning sympathy for the supermarket workers only in order to stab them in the back.

On November 10, 4,000 UFCW strikers and other trade unionists, including longshoremen, Teamsters and teachers, joined in a spirited strike support rally in San Pedro. Instead of simply turning out for rallies, the Teamsters union should instruct all its members to stop deliveries to the markets and to *shut down the distribution centers operated by UFCW and Teamster members, which is the key to victory*. With thousands of UFCW members already on strike in Kentucky, West Virginia and Ohio and thousands more working without a contract in Arizona and Indiana, the supermarket strike should be extended within California and against the struck supermarket chains nationally.

Writing at the advent of the modern labor movement more than 150 years ago, Karl Marx said in *Wage Labour and Capital* (1849): "The interests of capital and the interests of wage labour are diametrically opposed to each other." The labor bureaucrats, from the national AFL-CIO tops on down, reject this elementary understanding. Wedded to the capitalist system, the labor tops are driven to increasingly subordinate the unions to the capitalist state—whether through binding arbitration, support to the bosses' parties

or acquiescence to direct government intervention. Their entire strategy rests on a program of class collaboration, a purely electoral and legalistic strategy of lobbying for pro-labor legislation and voting Democrat.

The bureaucrats' reliance on "binding arbitration" or government "mediation" is premised on the lie that the capitalist state is a neutral arbiter rather than an apparatus of repression aimed at defending the power and profits of the exploiting class against the working class and oppressed minorities. Strikes are won or lost on the picket lines. When picket lines are taken down, the union throws away its main weapon, the ability to withhold labor. Echoed by Yaroslavsky, the L.A. bourgeoisie's mouthpiece, the *Los Angeles Times* (18 November), now demands that this sellout lay the basis for effectively stripping transit workers of the right to strike ever again, insisting: "Now the trick is to extend the arbitration deal to head off future strikes."

The only road to victory lies in mobilizing labor's power independently of and in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. The working people need a party that fights for *their* class interests, a workers party committed to overturning this whole system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

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



November 17: Democratic councilman Antonio Villaraigosa (left) and L.A. mayor Jim Hahn stand behind ATU president Neil Silver as he announces sellout of transit strike.

union reaction everywhere.

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

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

This is what a fighting labor movement led by a class-struggle workers party would do, championing the cause of all the oppressed, combatting every manifestation of anti-black racism and demanding full citizenship rights for all immigrants. The recent roundups of

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Victory to UFCW Supermarket Strike!



Picket line outside Vons supermarket in Pasadena on first day of UFCW strike, October 12. Key to victory lies in spreading strike, shutting down distribution centers.