



— Hands Off China! —

**Down With U.S. Tariffs,
Military Provocations!**



Xinhua



U.S. Navy

Defend Gains of 1949 Chinese Revolution

The Trump administration has launched a wide-ranging offensive against China centered on an aggressive trade war combined with military provocations. It escalated this summer with a series of increasingly harsh tariffs on Chinese exports. However, this reactionary campaign goes well beyond pressuring Beijing to grant trade concessions. The U.S. bourgeoisie is determined to deliver a severe blow to China. In this, President Trump is implementing policies that Democratic Party pols have championed for years.

In early July, Trump slapped a 25 percent tariff on \$34 billion worth of Chinese imports. That was followed last month with a 10 percent tariff on \$200 billion worth of goods (slated to increase to 25 percent at the beginning of next year so as to limit the effect on the price of holiday purchases). Trump is threatening to impose yet another round that would hit essentially all remaining \$267 billion of Chinese exports to the U.S. China has retaliated with punitive tariffs on \$110 billion in U.S. products, but Trump boasts in his usual blowhard fashion that the stronger American economy makes it the sure winner in the conflict.

The current campaign is part of an unrelenting counterrevolutionary offensive against the Chinese deformed workers state by the U.S. and other imperialist powers. The 1949 Chinese Revolution was a historic gain for the working class internationally. The revolution, carried out by a peasant-guerrilla army under the leadership of Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party (CCP), overturned the rule of the capitalists and landlords and created a workers state, with an economy centrally based on collectivized property forms. However, the workers state was deformed from its inception by the rule of a parasitic bureaucracy fundamentally similar to the one that came to power in the Soviet Union in a political counterrevolution led by Stalin beginning in 1923-24.

The collectivized economy freed China from imperialist domination, lifted hundreds of millions of people out of dire poverty and laid the basis for significant advances in industry. Despite several decades of "market reforms," China remains a deformed workers state. As Trotskyists, we stress that just as workers in the U.S. must defend their unions against the bosses despite the sellout labor leadership, the international working class, especially in the U.S., must stand for unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. We are for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with the rule of workers and peasants councils committed to the fight for world socialism.

Dems, Union Tops Back Trump's Trade War

From the start of this trade war, Trump has had the support of the Democrats.

Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer declared: "President Trump is right on target" because "China is our real trade enemy." Bernie Sanders, darling of the reformist left, has repeatedly declared his support for tariffs on Chinese imports.

That stance has also been embraced by the top leaders of the trade-union bureaucracy. Acknowledging that tariffs would hurt some U.S. industries and their workers, as well as consumers, AFL-CIO president Richard Trumka declared, "In the long term, if it's good for the country it's going to be good for everybody." Just as during the Cold War era the AFL-CIO tops were among the most rabid supporters of American imperialism against the Soviet Union, today these labor misleaders are helping the imperialists mobilize for their ultimate objective, the restoration of capitalist rule in China.

Protectionism is poison for the U.S. workers movement. It means blaming foreign workers for the loss of jobs in the U.S. instead of fighting the capitalists at home and forging bonds of class solidarity with workers overseas. The necessary class-struggle fight has been undermined and gutted by the union bureaucrats. They have been active accomplices in the capitalists' one-sided class war, selling multi-tier wage schemes and other givebacks to defend the profitability of U.S. capitalism against its rivals.

The union tops promote the lie that labor and capital have a common interest. A case in point is the tariff on steel imports, enthusiastically pushed by the heads of the United Steelworkers (USW). Guaranteed higher prices, the steel bosses are raking in even more billions in profit. The wretched USW tops expected that the workers would also be rewarded. On the contrary. With union contracts having expired, U.S. Steel and ArcelorMittal have hard-lined it with the USW, demanding that it accept concessions.

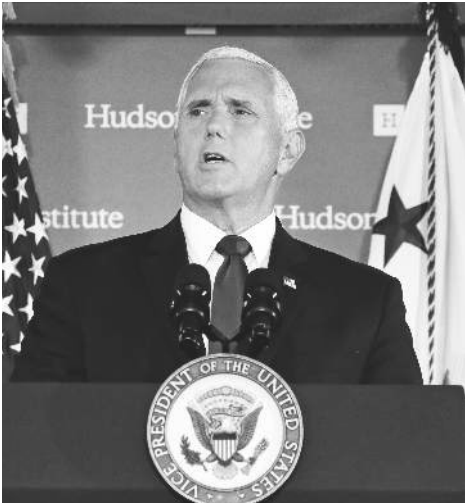
Trump is essentially implementing the "pivot to Asia" that Barack Obama announced but only partially implemented as U.S. forces remained bogged down in the Near East and Afghanistan. Ramping up what started under Obama, the Trump administration has been conducting aggressive military operations in the South China Sea and elsewhere near China's east coast. U.S. destroyers have repeatedly entered territorial waters around the Spratly Islands, as have British and French warships at times. Recently, a U.S. warship came within 45 yards of colliding with a Chinese destroyer.

Meanwhile, U.S. B-52 long-range bombers have conducted overflights of the region, including joint drills with Japanese fighter jets. Japan staged a further provocation with a drill involving a submarine, two destroyers and a helicopter carrier. U.S. Navy and Marine forces have also staged "live-fire" drills in the area. Additionally, the U.S. infuriated Beijing last month by imposing sanctions on the Chinese military's Equipment Development Department for buying Russian combat aircraft and a surface-to-air missile system.

Left: Shanghai's Yangshan Deep Water Port, world's largest automated container terminal. Right: U.S.-Japan joint naval exercise in South China Sea, August 30, as imperialists ramp up military provocations against China.

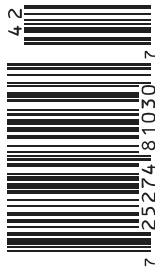


C-SPAN



AP

Bipartisan anti-China drive: Democratic Senator Schumer hails Trump's trade war in March; Vice President Pence denounces China at Hudson Institute in D.C., October 4.



China...

(continued from page 1)

Last month, Washington approved a \$330 million arms sale to capitalist Taiwan to bolster its air and combat capabilities. The Pentagon is reportedly considering a vast military operation in November involving U.S. warships, combat aircraft and troop deployments. The proposed show of force would take place near China’s territorial waters, not only in the South China Sea but also in the Taiwan Strait. Control of the Strait would be crucial in the event of war between the People’s Republic of China and the U.S. over Taiwan, which since the late 17th century has been part of China. As a key part of our unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state, we stand for the revolutionary reunification of China, through socialist revolution in Taiwan and political revolution on the mainland.

In an October 4 tirade, Vice President Mike Pence denounced China for not only engaging in military “aggression” but also unfairly subsidizing state-owned companies and seeking dominance in the high-tech field with its “Made in China 2025” plan. Meanwhile, the U.S. has sought to line up its allies in the economic war



Pictorial Press

Chinese Communist forces enter Beijing in 1949. Chinese Revolution expropriated capitalists and landlords, liberated country from imperialist domination.

against China. At Washington’s insistence, a clause was inserted in the new version of NAFTA—a treaty of imperialist depredation against Mexico—essentially giving the U.S. veto power over any trade accord

that Mexico or Canada might negotiate with China. That clause is being touted as a model for future trade deals, with the aim of quashing attempts by Beijing to offset U.S. tariffs by shifting trade to the European Union, Japan and Canada.

The U.S. demands that Beijing reduce the role of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) in the Chinese economy and that American firms be allowed to get majority stakes in businesses in China. This is tantamount to demanding that China abandon collectivized property relations! In addition, Washington demands that Beijing end its requirement that American companies investing in China establish joint ventures that share their technological know-how with their Chinese counterparts. But even the *Wall Street Journal* (26 September) acknowledged: “American companies initially brought the idea of joint ventures to China as a way to get access to a market of 1.4 billion people and tap a low-cost workforce. The bargain included helping Chinese firms become more technologically advanced.” Reportedly, the arrangement was first proposed by U.S. auto bosses in the late 1970s as Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping was turning to a program of “market reforms.”

A major aim of the U.S. tariffs is to boost the cost of Chinese-made goods imported into the U.S. and thereby encourage foreign companies to start shifting investments out of China. Foreign-owned private companies and joint ventures account for all but 10 percent of exports to the U.S. It is these companies, not SOEs, that will bear the brunt of Washington’s tariffs. Since the tariffs were announced, a number of foreign companies producing hi-tech products such as electronic components or machine tools in China for export to the U.S. have announced plans to move operations to Japan, South Korea, Thailand or other locations in Asia.

China Is Not Capitalist

Contrary to the claims of most bourgeois pundits that China has become a new capitalist power—a claim repeated by the International Socialist Organiza-

tion, Socialist Alternative and many other reformist leftists—the Chinese economy operates in a way that is fundamentally different from capitalism. The core of the economy is collectivized, not privately owned by capitalist exploiters. State-owned enterprises dominate strategic industrial sectors as well as the banking system. The SOEs today maintain exclusive ownership or absolute control in strategic sectors such as the defense industry, power generation and distribution, telecommunications, civil aviation, shipping, coal, petroleum and petrochemicals. In other key sectors, SOEs have been granted powers of administrative oversight, personnel appointment, etc., giving them a high degree of control.

Testifying to the superiority of a collectivized economy, China’s output continued to grow while the capitalist world was plunged into economic meltdown following the 2007-08 collapse fueled by Wall Street financial speculation. In the U.S., millions of jobs were wiped out while trillions of dollars went to bail out the banks, insurance companies and auto bosses. In contrast, China channeled massive investment into developing infrastructure and productive capacity.

Those who argue that China represents a form of state capitalism point to the growth of an extensive private sector since the market-oriented reforms initiated by Deng. Those measures were an attempt to tackle the imbalances and incompetence inherent in the administration of the planned economy by the Stalinist regime, which excludes the working class from political power. As we wrote in the 1980s:

“Within the framework of Stalinism, there is thus an inherent tendency to replace centralized planning and management with market mechanisms. Since managers and workers cannot be subject to the discipline of soviet democracy (workers councils), increasingly the bureaucracy sees subjecting the economic actors to the discipline of market competition as the only answer to economic inefficiency.” —“For Central Planning Through Soviet Democracy” (*Market Socialism in Eastern Europe*, Spartacist pamphlet, July 1988)

The Stalinist bureaucracy opened China to imperialist investment, privatized many (non-strategic) state-owned companies and replaced the state monopoly of foreign trade with a hodgepodge of ad hoc state controls. “Market reforms” led to a more rapid and broader development of the economy relative to the earlier period under Mao, when bureaucratic commandism marked the operation of the planned economy. But inequality has vastly increased along with the strengthening of the forces of counter-revolution, particularly the newly fledged capitalist entrepreneurs on the mainland and the old, established offshore Chinese bourgeoisie in Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere.

Especially since the world financial crisis of 2008, there has been a concerted push by Beijing to reinforce the SOEs and reassert state dominance over the economy. SOEs are increasingly taking over private companies or forcing them into joint ventures. More broadly, the CCP has made it clear that it expects to dictate business decisions

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TROTSKY

Labor Misleaders and Class Collaboration

In 1946, Max Shachtman, then the leader of the centrist Workers Party, explained that the labor bureaucracy’s appeasement of the bosses is rooted in its support to the capitalist system, posing the need for a new, class-struggle leadership of the unions. While Shachtman had broken from Trotskyism in 1940 with his refusal to defend the Soviet Union at the outset of World War II, for a while he continued to espouse basic

Marxist concepts on some questions. Moving sharply to the right during the Cold War, Shachtman went on to join the anti-Communist social democracy and eventually became an open supporter of U.S. imperialism.

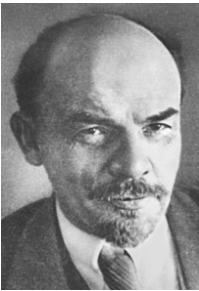
The labor leaders will readily admit that there is a conflict between capital and labor. But, they say, this conflict need not exist. The conflicting interests can be composed and settled satisfactorily if both sides take a “reasonable attitude.” If there is a struggle, it can be moderated and eventually eliminated....

The conclusion, says labor officialdom, is that labor must pursue not the path of class struggle but the path of *class collaboration*. That is why it promotes such schemes as labor-management committees, joint production committees, standards of production, efficiency minimums, and in general follows a policy of bringing labor and capital together on the basis of recognizing “the rights of capital” and “the rights of labor.” The main job of the labor movement thereby becomes not the elimination of capitalism, but “making capitalism work.”

Fundamentally, these ideas of the labor officialdom are capitalist ideas. It is entirely true that the capitalists do not see eye to eye with the labor leaders on every question, and often come into bitter conflict with them. But that is due primarily to the fact that the labor leaders, in order to hold their special position in society, strive to keep the labor unions alive and even to strengthen them. Without labor unions behind them, these leaders would be nobodies, without power, without influences, without privileges, without social position. In this sense, they are *labor* leaders. For this reason, they and the organizations they lead must have the support of every worker whenever they come into conflict with the capitalist class and its government.

But there is another aspect to the part played by the present labor officialdom. It leads the workers along the path of collaboration with the capitalists. It instills in the workers the idea that no matter how bad this or that capitalist may be, the capitalist system (which it usually calls the system of “free enterprise”) is fundamentally sound and must not be attacked. When workers do develop to the point of militant struggle against capitalism, the labor leaders intervene to restrain them or thwart their aims. In this sense, they are *capitalistic* labor leaders. For this reason, the workers must oppose their ideas at all times and seek to replace them with leaders who understand what capitalism is and who know how to fight it consciously in the interests of the working class.

—Max Shachtman, *The Fight For Socialism: The Principles and Program of the Workers Party* (1946)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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2017年5月

托洛茨基主义关于中国“市场改革”的分析

保卫中国畸形工人国家！
为无产阶级政治革命而斗争！

——第一页——

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原则宣言和纲领要素

国际共产主义同盟 (第四国际主义者)

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

Adopted in 1998 at the
ICL Third International Conference

\$1 (20 pages)

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WORKERS VANGUARD

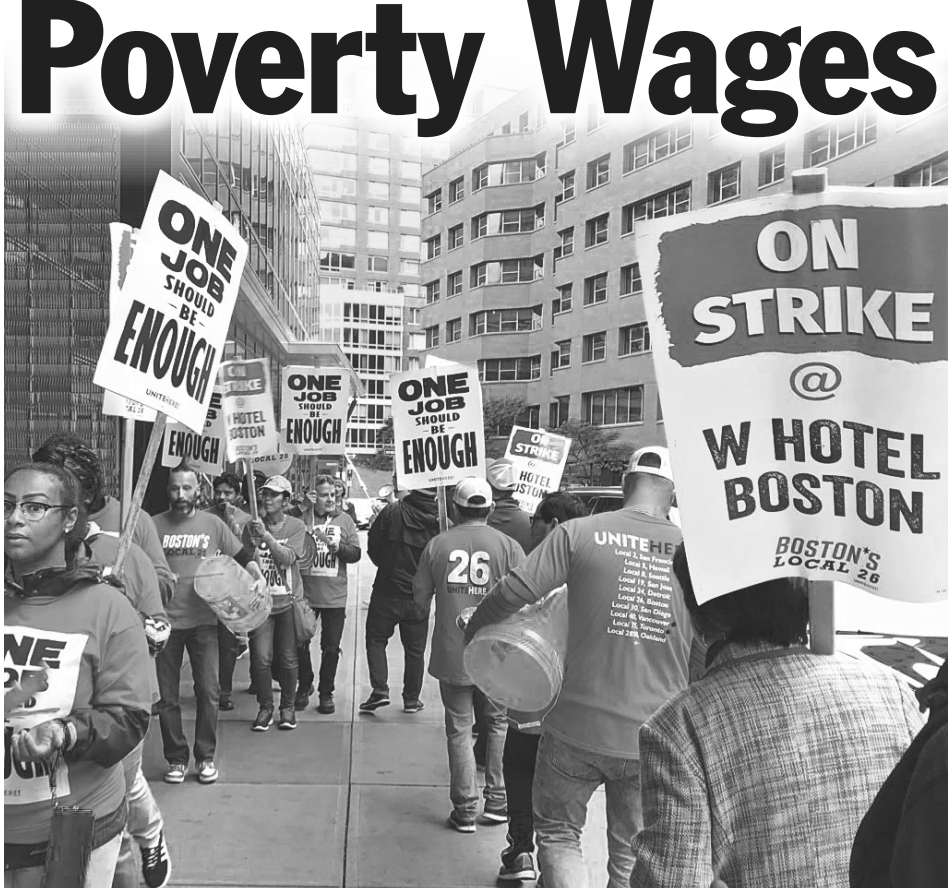
Marriott Hotel Strikers Fight Poverty Wages

OAKLAND, October 14—Some 8,000 hotel and restaurant workers organized by UNITE HERE have been on strike for over a week, from Boston and Detroit to California and Hawaii, against more than 20 hotels run by Marriott International. The picket lines of this majority female workforce are a snapshot of the multiracial working class: black and white, Latino and Asian, and foreign-born workers from China to the Near East to the Caribbean. With strikers fighting for the very right to make a living wage, their central slogan, “One Job Should Be Enough,” resonates with workers across the country who are forced to work multiple jobs in a desperate scramble simply to survive. The strikes, which follow a recent hotel strike in Chicago, have struck a chord among poor, working-class and immigrant youth like the Asian-Pacific Islander, Latino and black high school students who have joined the picket lines in Oakland.

Marriott International, the largest and wealthiest hotel chain in the world, is out to squeeze even more profits out of its workers by cutting back hours, slashing health care benefits, eliminating jobs through automation and increasing back-breaking workloads. Meanwhile, Marriott has used “eco-friendly” scams to allow hotel guests to opt out of room cleaning in the name of saving water and other resources. The bosses then cut back working hours and shifts while allowing housekeepers no extra time to clean the now-dirtier rooms. This has meant increased exploitation of, and injury to, the heavily immigrant women housekeepers. These workers are also often subject to sexual assault by those who feel entitled to abuse and harass their female “servants.”

With guests complaining of dirty rooms and closed restaurant facilities and others canceling their events, Marriott is beginning to feel the effects of the strike. Now it is reported that the company has sent out a scabherding email asking for “3,500 volunteers across the company” to cross the picket lines and replace the striking workers. In Hawaii, some struck hotels have offered scabs bonuses of \$300 and hourly wages above what many Marriott workers make. This must be fought by building picket lines that no one would dare cross!

Although unions like the Teamsters in San Francisco are honoring the lines, Marriott’s operations are still running, and the UNITE HERE leadership has



WV Photo

October 9: UNITE HERE Local 26 on strike at Marriott’s W Hotel in Boston.

made no effort to stop anyone from scabbing. This has emboldened the company to make its open strikebreaking bribes. Powerful unions like the Teamsters, longshoremen in the Bay Area and Hawaii and other labor battalions from Boston to Detroit need to mobilize their muscle in active solidarity on the picket lines. Not only would such action quickly shut down Marriott’s operations, but it would also strike a blow against the anti-black, anti-immigrant racism and anti-woman sexism that the bosses wield to divide and conquer the working class and defeat its struggles.

Following the arrest of 41 UNITE HERE members during a civil disobedience protest outside a Marriott hotel in San Francisco on October 12, the city’s black Democratic mayor, London Breed, voiced her support for the strike and invited union representatives to meet “to discuss potential paths forward.” Any striker who believes they’ll get a fair shake from the Democrats should look at what they’ve done for more than 50 years in presiding over the transformation of SF from a

labor town to a city where only the rich can afford to live.

Breed rode into office with the funding of tech multimillionaires who backed her calls for sweeping the homeless encampments from the streets and adding 200 more cops to the racist SFPD to do the job. Now, in the lead-up to the midterm elections, Breed and other Democratic Party politicians from Boston to Hawaii have declared their support to the hotel workers strike. This is little more than a cynical bid for votes. At the same time, it’s some easy payback to the UNITE HERE bureaucrats and fellow labor misleaders for their longtime support. But should the strike ignite some genuine labor solidarity in struggle, it will be a different story. Then these politicians will take a page from Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein, who during her time as SF mayor sent a SWAT-style team of cops to escort

Letter

On John Brown and T.W. Higginson

26 September 2018

Editor, WV:

Two minor inaccuracies crept into the first part of “In Honor of John Brown” (in WV 1139):

1) “The organization was called the United States League of Gileadites, named after Gideon, a figure in the Old Testament who repelled the attacks of enemies who far outnumbered his forces.”

The League was named after Mount Gilead, the *site* of Gideon’s victory against the Midianites in the Biblical book of Judges 7.

2) “Owen [Brown] subscribed to abolitionist papers like *The Liberator*, which John grew up reading.”

John Brown was past his 30th birthday when the *The Liberator* started publishing on Jan. 1, 1831.

I was glad to see mention of T.W. Higginson in the second part (WV 1140). Higginson played not only a courageous role in opposing Southern slavery, he was honest about the history of slavery’s barbarism in the North as well, a history that has not been generally appreciated until very recently. In a speech at the 1880 250th anniversary celebration of the settling of Cambridge, MA, he referred to

scabs across the picket lines of a militant hotel strike in 1980.

The last contracts the union negotiated with Marriott were in the wake of the devastation of the 2007-08 economic crash brought on by the financial swindlers on Wall Street. The UNITE HERE misleaders boast that they were the first union to support Barack Obama’s bid for the presidency. It was Obama who bailed out the banks and the auto bosses while he and his fellow Democrats preached that the workers needed to sacrifice to keep American capitalism afloat. Wage increases for unionized hotel workers were held down for several years. While the workers got robbed and were increasingly reduced to poverty, the Marriott bosses made out like bandits. Marriott International raked in \$3.2 billion last year alone!

Now the UNITE HERE leadership argues that their members who shared the pain in bad times should share the gain. But it doesn’t work that way. Capitalism is defined by the brutal exploitation of labor for profit. It is only through hard-fought struggle mobilizing the power of their class that workers can begin to change that equation and win some amelioration of their condition. But there will be no end to this system of wage slavery short of its destruction by working-class socialist revolution and the establishment of a workers government. When the workers rule, the vast wealth and resources of this society will be wielded for the benefit of the many and not the profits of the few.

The Marriott strikes pose vital issues for the working class as a whole if it is to struggle against and prevail over the capitalist masters. Labor’s muscle must be used to fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants, for black equality and women’s liberation. In struggling even for basic necessities like decent wages and quality housing, medical care and education, the working class runs up against the capitalist profit system. What is needed is a new leadership of the unions that breaks labor’s ties to the Democrats and all other capitalist parties and will fight it out class against class. Out of such struggles, a mass, multi-racial revolutionary workers party will be forged that can lead the fight for the liberation of the working class and oppressed.■

Jim H.

WV replies:

We thank Jim for his letter. The story of the Old Testament hero Gideon, who obeyed a sign from God to form an army to save the Israelites from their oppressors, was the inspiration for John Brown’s League of Gileadites. Brown viewed the Fugitive Slave Act as his sign from God to gather a small army to protect escaped slaves from the slave catchers. Jim is correct that William Lloyd Garrison’s newspaper, *The Liberator*, began publication when Brown was already in his thirties.■

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Greece: Chauvinist Frenzy over Macedonia

WORKERS VANGUARD

the working class, to weaken and divide it and to derail its struggles.

Nationalism is poison for the proletariat and directly counterposed to what is so urgently needed today—internationalist solidarity and common class struggle by workers against their bosses throughout the EU. It is not only in poorer countries like Greece and Ireland that workers have suffered from EU austerity. In the most powerful European country, Germany, workers’ living standards have also been ground down to boost the bosses’ profits. It is in the direct interest of Greek workers to oppose the attempts of the capitalists and their hangers-on to whip up chauvinism against their Macedonian, Turkish or German class brothers and sisters.

The working class in Greece will not be able to fight for its own interests and for a victorious proletarian revolution unless it breaks with nationalism—a bourgeois ideology which acts to chain the working people to their exploiters in the so-called “national” interest. Workers have no interests in common with the bosses. It is the



June 17: Greek prime minister Alexis Tsipras (left) and Macedonian counterpart Zoran Zaev at signing of preliminary agreement on changing Macedonia’s name.

task of Leninists to combat Greek chauvinism among the workers and to educate them in the spirit of genuine internationalism, just as our German comrades combat the EU’s crushing of Greek working people at the behest of the German and other imperialist monopolies. A party capable of leading the working class to power at the head of all the oppressed, to expropriate the capitalists and rebuild society in the interests of the working people, must act as “*the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects” (V.I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* [1902]). In the Balkans, national antagonisms have repeatedly produced rivers of blood but, led by a party modeled on Lenin’s Bolsheviks, the struggle against national oppression can also act as a motor force for proletarian revolution.

It was the chauvinist agitation around

Macedonia in 1992—in which Syriza’s predecessors in Synaspismos played a full role—that enabled the fascists of Golden Dawn to emerge from their rat holes. Today, in the absence of a working-class leadership that offers a revolutionary way out of the impasse in the country, the despair engendered by the capitalist economic crisis is providing fertile ground for the fascists to grow. That Golden Dawn was able to march unhindered at the head of more than 100,000 reactionaries in Athens is due to the treachery of the reformist leadership of the working class, especially of the KKE [Communist Party of Greece], which has the numbers and influence in the working class to lead a counteroffensive but instead issues liberal calls to “isolate” the fascists and preaches reliance on the capitalist state. It is urgently necessary to build united-front mobilizations, centered on the social power of the organized working class, to stop Golden Dawn and their ilk before it is too late.

KKE: Once Again in the Service of the Bourgeoisie

The reaction of the Stalinist KKE to the renewed bourgeois campaign over Macedonia has been its customary capitulation to Greek nationalism. In a February 5 statement “regarding the developments with FYROM [!],” the KKE distances itself from the right-wing “Macedonia is Greece” crowd, calling “upon the people to isolate those nationalist, fascist powers that exploit their legitimate concern in order to sow the poison of nationalism and homeland mongering” and claims that in 1992 the party “stood against the dominant nationalist trend that all the other political parties were cultivating” (kke.gr). But this is just window-dressing for the KKE’s own brand of nationalist populism.

In an article in its theoretical journal *Kommounistiki Epitheorisi* (No. 2, 2018), the KKE tries to outdo even the chauvinism of [Greek prime minister] Tsipras: “A real solution means guarantees of the elimination of irredentism, nationalism, [territorial] claims, ensuring the inviolability of the borders, which means changes now, not in the near future, to the Constitution of the FYROM.” The KKE insists that any name adopted by the Republic “must have a strictly geographical definition.”

In the same article, parroting the worst Greek chauvinists, the KKE declares baldly that: “A historically formed ‘Macedonian’ nation, ‘Macedonian’ ethnicity, ‘Macedonian’ language, which form the basis of irredentism and raise questions of the existence of a minority, claims and defense of its rights etc., do not exist.” The Macedonian people, however, have fought long and hard to exist as a nation with their own language and culture, regardless of the opinions of chauvinist Greek Stalinists. The KKE would never question the pedigree of the *Greek* nation. One could observe that for centuries under the Byzantines and the Ottomans, Greeks mainly referred to themselves as

“Romans” and the development of a national consciousness in Greece, as elsewhere in the Balkans, began only in the late 18th century amid the decay of the Ottoman empire.

The borders of capitalist Greece, which the KKE regards as sacrosanct and inviolable, largely reflect the amount of land that the Greek bourgeoisie was able to grab in the Second Balkan War in 1913 as Greece and Serbia fought Bulgaria to divide up the strategic province of Macedonia. At that time, the peasant population of the territories seized by Greece was mainly Macedonian-speaking, while in Thessaloniki, the largest ethnic group was the Ladino-speaking Jewish population. The founding cadre of what was to become Greek Communism emerged from this rich, cosmopolitan environment.

Today’s KKE upholds imperialist treaties such as that of Bucharest in 1913, which ended the Second Balkan War and put the seal on Greece’s annexations in Epirus and Macedonia (including Thessaloniki). But especially in the Balkans, with its patchwork of nationalities, state boundaries do not at all correspond to the geographical extent of the various nations. The annexations by the bourgeois powers are inevitably followed by mass expulsions (“ethnic cleansing”) and/or forcible assimilation of national minorities. The KKE’s defense of the status quo in the Balkans is a flat denial of the right of self-determination.

Our program on the national question is that of Lenin’s Bolshevik Party. In tsarist Russia—that “prison house of peoples”—the Bolsheviks were champions of the national rights of all the peoples oppressed by the dominant Great Russian chauvinism. Lenin’s party fought for the equality of all nations and for the right of all nations to self-determination, i.e., *their right to separate*. By demonstrating in practice, not just in words, that they would wage a fight to the death against Great Russian chauvinism, the Bolsheviks were able to mobilize the yearning of the oppressed peoples for national freedom as a mighty force for the October Revolution, winning the proletariat and peasant masses to the fight, alongside their Great Russian class brothers, for the overthrow of *all* the bourgeois and landlord exploiters.

While the KKE’s groveling to its “own” bourgeoisie is amply demonstrated in its



Spartacist Map adapted from Dreamstime

grotesque appeals to 100-year-old imperialist treaties in order to defend the territorial integrity of capitalist Greece, Lenin was quite explicit what the position of genuine communists should be:

“In the internationalist education of the workers of the oppressor countries, emphasis must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and their fighting for it. Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat [i.e., communist] of an oppressor nation who *fails* to conduct such propaganda as a scoundrel and an imperialist. This is an absolute demand, even where the *chance* of secession being possible and ‘practicable’ before the introduction of socialism is only one in a thousand.

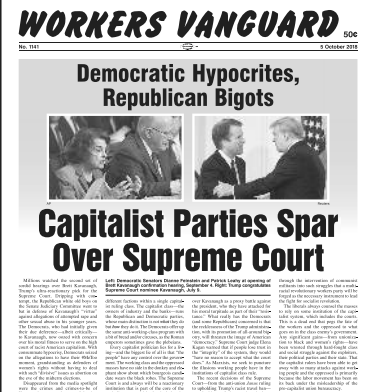
“It is our duty to teach the workers to be ‘indifferent’ to national distinctions [*not* ‘discriminations’ as the KKE translates it]. There is no doubt about that. But it must not be the indifference of the *annexationists*. A member of an oppressor nation must be ‘indifferent’ to whether small nations belong to *his* state *or to a neighbouring* state or to themselves, according to where their sympathies lie: without such ‘indifference’ he is *not* a Social-Democrat. To be an internationalist Social-Democrat one must *not* think only of one’s own nation, but place *above it* the interests of all nations, their common liberty and equality. Everyone accepts this in ‘theory’ but displays an annexationist indifference in practice. There is the root of the evil.”

— “The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up” (July 1916)

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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China...

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at private companies as well as at joint ventures with foreign partners. The CCP is increasingly establishing party cells in such companies, playing a key role in management decisions.

A major factor behind these moves is the Stalinist regime's fear of the toiling masses, who are rightly resentful of bureaucratic corruption, mounting inequality, inadequate health care and paltry pensions as well as the vicious abuse of workers, particularly in the private sector. In 2005, the Chinese government acknowledged some 87,000 "mass incidents" of protest, mainly by workers and peasants. Since that time, Beijing has simply stopped publishing the numbers. Meanwhile, wealthy Chinese seek to invest their money abroad, draining resources from the country.

A proletarian political revolution would oust the Stalinist parasitic caste and establish soviet democracy, based on workers and peasants councils. Such a government would expropriate the domestic Chinese capitalists and Hong Kong tycoons and renegotiate the terms of foreign investment in China to the benefit of the toilers. A proletarian internationalist leadership would defend the collectivized property relations in China through pursuit of world socialist revolution.

Stalinism Undermines the Workers State

Washington's 2017 *National Security Strategy* document laid out that for decades U.S. policy was rooted in the belief that China's economic development and integration into the international order would "liberalize China." But China did not "liberalize," that is, become a new member of the capitalist order. The document concluded that it was necessary "to rethink the policies of the past two decades."

The U.S. imperialists have been trumpeting their position as the "world's only superpower" since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92. They figured that they would replicate their victory over the Soviet Union in China through the destruction of the workers state that issued from the 1949 Revolution. In the years leading up to the destruction of the USSR, the main social base of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika (market-oriented reforms), which turned out to be the precursor of capitalist counterrevolution, was the privileged younger generation of functionaries, technocrats and intellectuals. The U.S. rulers believed that with China's increasing economic integration into the world market, a growing "middle class" whose personal economic interests were aligned with Western and Japanese capital would pressure the CCP regime to open up political life, thereby allowing the emergence

of anti-Communist oppositional currents.

However, the Chinese Stalinists, concerned above all with preserving their privileged position atop the workers state, were not blind to the events that led to the destruction of the Soviet Union. They were determined that there would be no political liberalization, even at the academic/intellectual level. While there has been a significant growth of capitalist elements in China, they remain politically atomized. At the same time, the Stalinist bureaucrats continue to vigorously repress any independent political expression by Chinese workers and peasants.

The CCP leaders falsely believe that they can turn China into the global superpower of the 21st century in the face of the imperialists' more powerful military forces, advanced technology and labor productivity. This illusory vision is an expression of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." For Marxists,

socialism—the first stage of communism—is a classless society that stands higher in economic development than the most advanced capitalism. The precondition for this is the abolition of capitalism on a world scale through proletarian revolution and the establishment of a society of material abundance based on an *international division of labor*. The productive forces have long outgrown the limitations of national borders. To seek to achieve "socialism" on a national basis is the antithesis of Marxism.

Reforge the Fourth International!

Washington's current ratcheting-up of protectionist measures and military threats demonstrates that the imperialists seek ultimately to destroy the Chinese deformed workers state. This cannot be countered by the CCP bureaucracy's chimerical quest for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism but only through the struggle to extend workers rule throughout the world.

U.S. trade protectionism, a mechanism to compensate for weakened competitiveness, points to the continued relative economic decline of American capitalism. The consequences of the drive by America's rulers to reverse their declining economic weight have been manifest under the rule of both Democrats and Republicans—the decades-long war against labor; the increased immiseration of the poor and the aged; desperation in the ghettos and barrios, where there is not even a dim hope of decent industrial jobs.

By fighting for their own class interests against the U.S. imperialist predators, the U.S. proletariat also strikes a blow for the liberation of the exploited and oppressed the world over. The purpose of the International Communist League is to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, which will bring to the fore the principle of working-class unity in the struggle for a socialist world. ■



Workers protest closure of steel plant in Tangshan, northern China, 2016. AFP

Chicago...

(continued from page 8)

well as physical abuse, was just one example of how generations of minority youth have been cast out and criminalized by this country's capitalist rulers. Like the vigilante George Zimmerman who executed Trayvon Martin in cold blood in 2012, Van Dyke claimed he feared for his life because of a black male in a hoodie. The cop had every intention of executing his victim, telling his partner while driving to the scene, "We're going to have to shoot the guy."

One day before Van Dyke's trial began, Democratic mayor Rahm Emanuel announced that he would not seek a third term, thus avoiding even more heat over the "16 shots and a cover-up" that led to a political crisis in 2015. Already widely reviled for destroying public schools, cutting social services and attacking the unions, Emanuel notoriously buried the explosive Van Dyke footage to ensure his re-election bid that year. The former hatchet man for the Obama White House channels all the arrogance of this country's capitalist rulers with his open contempt for

workers, black people and Latinos.

It's not surprising that many black Chicagoans hark back to the days of Mayor Harold Washington, who postured as a defender of black and minority rights when he ran Chicago in the 1980s. A product of the Democratic Party machine, Washington was one of many black front men for racist capitalist rule who kept a lid on the inner cities as the bourgeoisie took an ax to welfare, jobs, education and housing. Washington was mayor during part of the two-decade reign of infamous police commander Jon Burge, who tortured black suspects to extract confessions. No matter which Democrat is at the helm, rampant cop terror against black people has always been a trademark of "Segregation City."

Today, the Democratic Party administration bandies about an array of police "reforms" meant to divert discontent and to co-opt critics. A proposed federal consent decree, which grew out of a Justice Department investigation of the Chicago PD, pushes community policing, increased "oversight," the tackling of corruption and other timeworn fantasies. Such shams are designed to whitewash the cops while promoting the illusion of police "accountability" to the public. The cops will never be

accountable to anyone other than the capitalist masters they serve. Police "reform" schemes are meant to restore the cops' credibility so they can better carry out their murderous work.

Many activists around Black Lives Matter and Black Youth Project 100 seek to tweak laws in order to clean up the police. Likewise, the Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression promotes the campaign for a Civilian Police Accountability Council, or CPAC, to investigate "police misconduct" and increase "transparency." For its part, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) directs outrage over cop terror into the same dead-end liberal appeals to reform the capitalist state.

On September 5, the ISO's socialist-worker.org ran an article, "The Movement That Brought Laquan's Killer to Trial," asserting that a conviction for Van Dyke "would be a major victory" because it might make cops "think twice before pulling the trigger." They should try that one on the South and West Sides. Black people know that any encounter with a cop is a potential death sentence. Following Van Dyke's conviction, on October 8 the ISO intoned, "We should celebrate this verdict as an opportunity to build the movement and push harder for even more ambitious changes," like "community control" of the police and getting pledges from the cops to stop racial profiling. Virtually every U.S. city has seen a version of such things, and the cop terror goes on. The notion that the capitalist state can be forced through popular pressure to serve the interests of the working class and oppressed is a social-democratic pipe dream.

Black activists and others coming to social consciousness through the struggle against cop terror must be won to the understanding that the only force in society with the potential power to root out the entire system of capitalist injustice is the multiracial working class. The labor movement in this country, not least in Chicago, was built through hard-fought strikes in which workers went head-to-head with scabherding cops. Doubly oppressed black

workers are an integral part of Chicago's unionized proletariat. With ties to the ghetto masses, they are a key link between the struggle against wage slavery and the fight for black freedom.

To unleash labor/black struggle requires a fight inside the unions against their misleaders, who have undermined union strength with their loyalty to the capitalist profit system and ties to the Democratic Party. The crisis Emanuel faced at the end of 2015 was a golden opportunity for militant class struggle that could have galvanized the black and Latino masses as well as the city's workers. By January 2016, both the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) and the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) were working without contracts, with the teachers having voted overwhelmingly to strike. Transit workers know that their own union brothers and sisters have been in the police crosshairs. In 2009, ATU member Ricardo Mendoza was assaulted on his own bus by an off-duty cop. By refusing to fight when Emanuel was on the ropes, the labor tops, including then CTU vice president Jesse Sharkey, who is supported by the ISO, gave the hated mayor a new lease on life and sold out their own members.

We said it straight at the time in our article, "We Need a Multiracial Workers Party! Chicago: Emanuel Must Go! Enough with the Democrats!" (WV No. 1081, 15 January 2016). We wrote: "The point isn't to replace this strutting bully with a 'nice guy' face of Democratic Party rule in a city lorded over by this capitalist party for over 80 years." The article went on: "Our purpose is to fight to translate the mounting anger and discontent into a conscious understanding that the working class needs its own party—not an electoral vehicle vying to be the administrators of the capitalist state and its cops, courts and jails—but a party that would play a leading role in a broad fight against the ravages of capitalism." We are committed to building a vanguard workers party that champions all the exploited and oppressed, uniting them in the struggle for workers rule. ■



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Teamsters...

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over 90 percent to authorize a strike. The 12,000 workers at the UPS Freight subsidiary have also rejected their contract proposal, seeking to protect their jobs from outsourcing to non-union contractors. The UPS workforce has substantial potential power, as do longshoremen and other workers involved in the movement of goods. UPS workers handled more than 6 percent of this country’s GDP last year as the company amassed billions in profits.

Teamsters officials justified ramming through the contract by citing a provision in the union constitution that requires a two-thirds vote to reject a final offer if less than half the membership casts a ballot. This time, some 45 percent of eligible members participated, far more than the previous contract vote five years ago. The “no” vote prevailed in the face of company intimidation and massive pressure from the union tops to accept the rotten deal.

The Teamsters leadership blocked a potentially powerful strike with a blatant violation of union democracy. This is just the latest illustration that the fundamental loyalty of the Teamsters bureaucracy, like the rest of the labor officialdom, is to the profitability of American capitalism, not to their members. This class-collaborationist crew is long overdue for replacement, but the current crop of out-bureaucrats and would-be reformers in Teamsters United and Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) is no real alternative. Whatever the differences between Teamsters United/TDU and the James Hoffa Jr. leadership, they all share a program of reliance on the capitalist Democratic Party and state agencies like the courts and Justice Department. Workers need a leadership that would mobilize labor against the capitalist exploiters, breaking the political chains binding workers to their class enemy and helping to build a class-struggle workers party.

For Union Independence from the Capitalist State!

There is some bitter irony in the fact that Hoffa was re-elected Teamsters president in 2016 by a smaller margin and with a far lower turnout rate than the contract rejection vote. His main opponent was Fred Zuckerman, president of the giant Louisville Local 89, who today heads the Teamsters United slate along with Sean O’Brien. (Zuckerman and O’Brien had earlier been stalwarts of the Hoffa regime.) In recent months, both Teamsters United and the TDU, which acted as waterboys for Zuckerman in 2016, lobbied heavily for a “no” vote and denounced the contract outcome. But they were just as fearful of a strike as the Hoffa bunch, as shown by a September 11 statement publicized by both outfits titled “Why a No Vote Does Not Mean a UPS Strike.” Now these self-declared militants simply demand the resumption of contract negotiations, minus Denis Taylor.

The TDU’s claims to be for “rank-and-file control” of the union are based on a lie. The whole purpose of union democracy is so that the membership can hammer out how best to fight for its interests against the bosses. But ever since its



AP

Teamsters pickets in Massachusetts confront cops during 1997 UPS strike.

founding over four decades ago, the TDU has acted to bring the bosses’ government and courts into union affairs, through lawsuits and other means. The *only* reason these capitalist agencies intervene into the unions is to bring them to heel. The TDU union-suers have shown that they are as hostile to actual union democracy as Hoffa, Taylor and Co.

If the government pulls the plug on one corrupt union leader, it will only be to install another traitor to labor’s cause. In the meantime, the state authorities will tighten their grip on what are the only mass organizations of the working class. Workers must oppose any and every intervention by the capitalist government into the union. It’s up to labor to clean its own house.

Shortly after the Hoffa team invoked the “two-thirds rule” over the contract, TDU national organizer Ken Paff trumpeted how three decades ago the group “won a big victory in partially ridding our union of ‘minority rule on contracts’” (tdu.org, 9 October). That “victory” was actually a dagger aimed at the union. In the 1980s, the “two-thirds rule” applied to all contract votes, irrespective of turnout. The TDU challenged this in court, as part of a series of lawsuits that helped open up the union to government intervention. These efforts culminated in the TDU drawing up the blueprint for the Justice Department to reorganize the Teamsters, who were targeted under the RICO “racketeering” law, the weapon of choice for government intervention into the unions. The Feds have been running Teamsters elections ever since, as well as installing regulators and putting locals in receivership.

The real crime was perpetrated by the TDU. And in this case crime certainly didn’t pay. The TDU was an early and enthusiastic supporter of former Teamsters president Ron Carey, who had filed his own legal actions against the “two-thirds rule” and other union practices. In 1991, Carey was elected Teamsters president. But the Feds turned on their onetime accomplice after he led the 1997 UPS strike, suddenly discovering “political contribution violations.” Carey was banned from office and eventually expelled altogether from the union.

The TDU did its part to further a decades-long government effort to cripple one of the most powerful unions in the country on the grounds of “corruption.”

This included Democratic attorney general Robert F. Kennedy’s vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa, who was convicted in 1964, the very year Hoffa signed the first nationwide master freight agreement in the trucking industry. Over the years, the TDU was cheered on by a range of reformists, in particular *Labor Notes* and the International Socialist Organization. Support to government intervention into the union was an expression of their anti-Marxist embrace of the “democratic” capitalist state, which they portray not as a mechanism of class repression but as a neutral body that can be pressured to act in the interests of workers and the oppressed.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

“Hybrid” drivers, low pay for part-timers, slicing and dicing of jobs won in the 1997 strike: the UPS workforce toils under conditions that increasingly resemble those at other shipping and logistics companies. The difference, though, is that UPS workers are one of the few unionized workforces in the vast, just-in-time cargo supply chain. The Teamsters could bring their power to bear not only to advance their own members’ interests but to spark the organizing of unorganized workers up

nationwide industrial powerhouse. These socialists, who drew inspiration from the October 1917 workers revolution in Russia, proceeded from the standpoint of class war. Against the scabs, company goons and cops, they deployed roving pickets dispatched from the union hall. To counter the lies of the capitalist media, they produced a daily strike newspaper. To strengthen bonds of support more broadly from working people and the poor, they formed alliances with farmers and organized unemployed workers as well as a women’s auxiliary that engaged in vital strike support. (For more on this and other strikes of 1934, see our July 2015 pamphlet *Then and Now*.)

These militants placed no faith in any capitalist government official or state institution, including the Farmer-Labor Party governor and federal mediators sent by Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt. Above all, workers were prepared for the inevitable confrontations with the capitalist state. In a speech on “The Great Minneapolis Strikes” given some years later, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon observed:

“In practically all the other strikes the militancy of the rank-and-file workers was restrained from the top. The leaders were overawed by the government, the newspapers, the clergy and one thing or another. They tried to shift the conflict from the streets and the picket lines to the conference chambers. In Minneapolis the militancy of the rank and file was not restrained but organized and directed from the top.”

—*The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

Cannon continued:

“The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions....

“Our people didn’t believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity.”

The Trotskyist militants went on to help organize over-the-road truckers throughout the Midwest. But the Teamsters national leadership under Daniel Tobin,



Getty

Amazon warehouse in Romeoville, Illinois. Non-union corporation is infamous for brutal working conditions, miserable pay.

and down that chain, crucially including FedEx and Amazon. A union that takes the fight to the bosses would be a beacon to the entire multiracial working class, which is ground down by the capitalists’ relentless drive for greater profits.

The crucial issue is leadership. In response to attempts to divide the union, a class-struggle union leadership would demand: No tiers! Equal pay for equal work! Wage raises to close the gap between warehouse workers and drivers! It would launch a struggle for full-time jobs at good wages for all part-timers who want them and combat the company’s notorious racist harassment of black and Latino workers. To stop the brutal pace, it would fight for more jobs to spread the work around at no loss in pay. A militant leadership would also insist that any introduction of labor-saving technology be used to make jobs easier, not for more speed-up and layoffs.

The Teamsters own history provides an example of such leadership: the Trotskyist union militants who organized and led a series of strikes by Minneapolis truckers in 1934 that won union recognition and began the transformation of the Teamsters from a fragmented craft union into a

a key labor operative for FDR, launched its own campaign, to drive the Trotskyists out of the union. In 1941, the federal government, spurred on by Tobin and cheered by the Stalinist Communist Party, prosecuted leading Trotskyists and Minneapolis Teamsters for their opposition to U.S. imperialism in World War II. Eighteen went to prison.

Today, workers face a daunting situation given the weakening of the unions as a result of decades of betrayals by the labor tops. But the ruling class cannot extinguish the class struggle born of the irreconcilable conflict of interests between workers and their exploiters. The conditions that grind the workers down can and will propel them into struggle, together with their allies among the black and Latino masses and others oppressed by the capitalist system. For the workers to prevail against the class enemy, they must be won to a Marxist political program that links labor’s fight to the building of a multiracial workers party committed to doing away with the whole system of capitalist wage slavery through socialist revolution. The Spartacist League aims to win workers to this perspective. ■

A Spartacist Pamphlet

1934 Strikes

Class-Struggle Leadership Made a Key Difference

Then and Now

Minneapolis, May 1934: At the Battle of Dupes Run, thousands of strikers and supporters routed cops and strikebreaking special deputies.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Chicago: Killer Cop Convicted, Racist Cop Terror Continues



October 5: Chicago cops mobilized to contain protests over trial of cop Jason Van Dyke for brutal 2014 murder of black teenager Laquan McDonald (inset). Law Offices of Jeffrey J. Neslund (inset); AP

No Illusions in Capitalist Justice!

Like the recorded killings of Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, Walter Scott, Philando Castile and countless others, the dash cam footage of Chicago police officer Jason Van Dyke pumping 16 bullets into the body of 17-year-old Laquan McDonald in October 2014 showed what happens all the time in capitalist America. The cops routinely get away with murder because their job is to enforce racist law and order. So this month's conviction of Van Dyke for second-degree murder was as rare as lightning striking the same place twice. The first Chicago cop to be found guilty of an on-duty killing in half a century, Van Dyke will be sentenced later this

month. We and many others would find satisfaction in seeing Laquan McDonald's executioner rot in prison. But as one woman from the city's South Side said after the verdict, "Just because we got this one victory doesn't mean we're free."

Chicago's political bosses are seizing on the conviction to promote the lie that the cops can be made accountable to "the people" and the system can provide "justice for all." But all this talk is really about refurbishing the cops' image so they can get on with business as usual, i.e., the violent repression of the segregated black masses and the rest of the city's working people, poor and oppressed. A week

after the conviction, a Chicago cop was cleared in the killing of black 15-year-old Dakota Bright, who was shot in the back of the head in 2012. Racist cop brutality is endemic to American capitalism, an economic system founded on chattel slavery and built on the bedrock of black oppression. It will come to an end only when the multiracial working class sweeps away the capitalist order and its killer cops through socialist revolution.

The whole city was on edge before the verdict. Chicago's rulers mobilized their armed thugs for a massive crackdown on any unrest, and the bourgeois media whipped up a hefty dose of fearmonger-

ing about "dangerous" protesters. City Hall drew up a 150-page plan to contain a potential explosion, ready to transport cops on city buses. Businesses in the downtown Loop were shuttered, and preachers polished their appeals for peace and healing.

During the trial, the defense spewed racist venom against Laquan McDonald, depicting him as a "monster," a "deranged" youth on PCP with eyes "bugging out." This is exactly how the cops view black ghetto youth. Laquan McDonald, who had shuttled between numerous foster homes and juvenile detention and coped with mental illness and learning disabilities as

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Giveback Contract Rammed Through Teamsters Bureaucrats Sell Out UPS Workers

When the votes were counted on October 5, a 54 percent majority of UPS Teamsters had given the thumbs down to a tentative national contract chock-full of concessions to the shipping giant. Teamsters especially hated the new job category of lower-paid "hybrid" delivery drivers, a scheme cooked up by the union bureaucracy under which workers both load and drive the trucks. The deal also offered only paltry wage raises for part-timers and included no protection for employees against the ratcheting up of high-tech surveillance and other forms of harassment and speedup. But the Teamsters leadership, dead set on avoiding a strike, tossed the vote out the window. The union's chief negotiator, Denis Taylor, simply declared the contract ratified.

Having spat on its own membership,

the Teamsters negotiating committee then said it intended to return to the bargaining table in order to "address a number of member concerns"! Their way of addressing longstanding driver concerns over forced overtime and the push by UPS to start Sunday deliveries was the "hybrid" driver scam. Those filling these positions will have to work unlimited forced overtime and work weekends with no premium, while their pay will top out well under what traditional drivers make. As is the case

throughout the labor movement, introducing such tiers at UPS is corrosive to the unity of the union and gives a huge gift to the bosses. The company now has an opening to phase out higher paid union drivers as it competes with Amazon's growing fleet of cheap, non-union contractors.

The Teamsters sellouts also packaged the "hybrid" position as a way to provide full-time jobs in a company heavily reliant on part-timers. In fact, the union bureaucracy has long helped the com-

pany expand its part-time workforce at bottom-level wages. A strike at UPS in 1997, which was cheered by workers across the country, won wage increases for part-timers, but the difference in pay with full-time workers has increased ever since. Many of the 10,000 full-time jobs the company promised in settling the strike have since been lost through layoffs or changed into split shifts. Other jobs have been moved to new locations with no notification to the union.

Every warehouse worker and package driver knows that the three-month holiday rush season is the perfect time to strike. There are over a quarter million UPS Teamsters, the largest private-sector collective bargaining unit in North America. They had voted by

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No Means No!