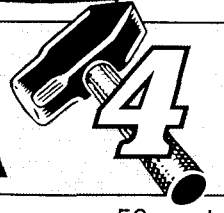


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SPARTACIST CANADA



No. 121

Summer 1999

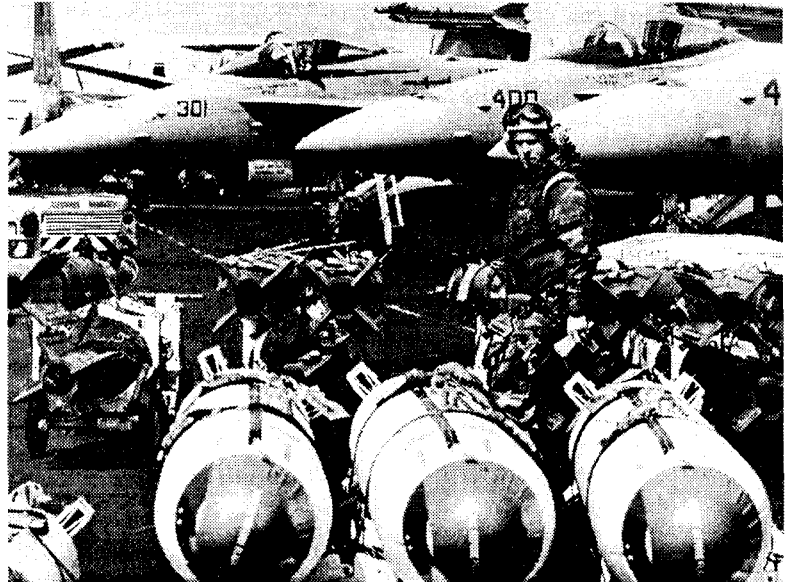
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All NATO/UN Troops Out of the Balkans!

Down With NATO Terror War on Serbia!



Win McNamee/Reuters



Reuters

NATO leaders (above left) are conducting murderous air war against Yugoslavia. At right, American aircraft carrier *Theodore Roosevelt* in Adriatic Sea. Defend Serbia against imperialist attack!

MAY 29—The massive NATO bombing campaign against Serbia has killed over 1,300 civilians and is destroying the entire infrastructure of the country—factories and office buildings, roads and transportation networks. Attacks on electrical transformers throughout Serbia, knocking out power supplies and water pumping stations, have already reduced Belgrade's water reserves by 90 percent. This threatens

to plunge the Serbian population into epidemics of dysentery and other diseases. NATO bombers have also hit numerous hospitals. After four people were killed in an attack on a hospital in Belgrade, one rescue worker remarked bitterly: "This is of course a military target if you just take the longer view. In 20 years or so, these babies will be soldiers."

Defeat U.S./Canadian Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

Despite ritual "regrets" about "collateral damage"—Pentagon-speak for murder of civilians—the imperialists no longer even seek to obscure the indisputable fact that the whole aim of the onslaught is to inflict mass terror

against the Serb population. In a step toward a possible ground invasion, the NATO powers have now announced plans to almost double their military forces on Serbia's bor-

ders to a total of 50,000 troops.

The U.S.-led bombardment is no "humanitarian" mission to defend the Albanians of Kosovo, as the imperialists cynically claim. The American rulers are waging a war of aggression against a tiny country to project their military

(continued on page 11)

Letter

On Nationalism and Native Rights

The following letter was received by Workers Vanguard (WV), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S. Since the article it discusses was originally published in Spartacist Canada ("Labor Must Defend Native Rights," SC No. 118, Fall 1998) we are replying to it here.

* * *

Feb. 2, 1999

Dear WV,

I was pleased to see that the oppression of Native peoples was addressed in your Dec. 25th edition: finally some coverage of the important question of aboriginals in North America! It seems this focus is all too absent from even the Left periodicals. In fact, in Canada itself, in a poll last year, only 4 percent of Canadians thought that land claims by Native groups was an important issue for them. This shows to what extent the bourgeoisie has marginalised Native peoples from the consciousness of the populace: how the Canadian government continues to ravage Native populations across the country is not even worthy of concern! (As an aside, I suggest that WV commit to periodical coverage of various aboriginal peoples, and not only when an Oka or Ipperwash flares up.)

I would like to question the position raised in relation to the Quebec National Question. You write: "several Native leaders in Quebec have called for Canadian army intervention in the event of Quebec's secession, something which we would adamantly oppose." This is unfortunately the only reference to "taking a side," if Quebec separates, in the rather long article. Does this statement not ally you squarely with Bouchard and his ultra-nationalist supporters? Does this not feed into all the racist backwardness which you deplore? In short, is this surely not the "wrong side" in the battle between an oppressed group and an oppressor? Since Bouchard has explicitly said that Quebec's territory is 100 percent integral, and that any move by Natives to separate from Quebec would be met with force, this question will inevitably come to the fore.

I look forward to reading a clarified position on this question.

Internationally yours,
Sandra L.



Komulainen/Canapress

Canadian army was sent to suppress Mohawk Warriors at Oka, Quebec in 1990.

SC replies:

It is impossible to address the brutal oppression of Native people in Canada without confronting the fundamental fact of Canadian capitalism: the national oppression of the minority French-speaking Québécois by the dominant English-speaking ruling class. The existence of these two different and increasingly divergent nations, one oppressing the other within a unitary state, has deeply undermined the prospects for anti-capitalist class struggle. We raise the call for Quebec independence centrally in order to fight against the pervasive Anglo chauvinism within the majority nation. At the same time, support for independence provides a crucial wedge to help break the grip of nationalism on Quebec workers.

The Canadian capitalist state, of which the army is a core component, is the historic instrument of the oppression of both the Québécois nation and the Native peoples. For example, in 1970 the Canadian army occupied Quebec and placed the province under martial law, as the federal government in Ottawa moved to clamp down on broad social unrest. Two decades later, the same army laid siege to Mohawk Warriors defending an historic burial ground at Oka, near Montreal, from "development" as a private golf course. Cynical bourgeois pretexts aside, military intervention in the event of Quebec secession would be aimed at forcibly

(continued on page 15)

SPARTACIST CANADA

Newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste
Canadian section of the International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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Campaign to Aid Yugoslav Workers

Donate Now!

On the night of April 9, NATO forces bombed the Zastava car factory in Kragujevac, Yugoslavia, *knowing that the plant was protected by a "live shield" of workers*. Tens of workers were killed, scores were injured, many of them seriously, and the power plant supplying heat to the city's hospital, schools and residences was also bombed to bits. The Zastava plant employed some 20,000 workers. They and another 60,000 from 200 companies linked to the plant are now out of work.

In response to this deliberate act of imperialist murder, workers at the Alfa Romeo plant in Milano, Italy downed tools in protest, and the Alfa Romeo COBAS (Rank-and-File Committee) launched a fund drive for Yugoslav workers.

Strikes and workers demonstrations against the war have been steadily escalating in Italy, now ruled by the coalition government headed by Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema's Party of the Democratic Left. On May 13, COBAS led a political general strike around the slogan "Not a lira for this war!"

Sections of the International Communist League around the world have actively joined in the COBAS-initiated campaign of material aid, which aims to raise a billion lire (about Cdn \$850,000) for the workers of Zastava and other factories. Despite our political differences with many of the participants in this campaign, including the syndicalist-influenced COBAS, the ICL has participated in the spirit of the united front—march separately, strike together!

In doing so, we have been able to make the fund drive an international effort, providing a way for workers throughout the world to express class solidarity with Yugoslav workers and opposition to the death and destruction that the NATO imperialists have been raining down on the people of Serbia. Indeed, the imperialists' murderous attack on the Zastava plant epitomizes the nature of the U.S.-led NATO war, which is clearly aimed at terrorizing the Serbian population.

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



Spartakist

Zastava auto plant after April 9 NATO bombing. Above: ICL comrades collect donations in Berlin in fund drive for Yugoslav workers.



no credit

May 24 protest statement by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD):

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

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

The SpAD statement pointed to the Zastava workers' history of class struggle, including a bitter strike two and a half years ago against the bourgeois-nationalist Milosevic regime, which had fired more than half of the workforce in the wake of capitalist restoration. The statement declared that the "murderous act of NATO terror against them—like the bombing of other key factories that has so far destroyed the workplaces of a half million workers—was intended as a warning to the proletariat throughout the Balkans."

In Canada, Trotskyist League supporters have raised funds for the Zastava workers at antiwar protests, union meetings (continued on page 14)

New Democrats Beat Drums for NATO's Balkan War

Down With Ottawa's "Human Rights" Imperialism!



Andrew Wallace/Canapress

NDP's Alexa McDonough, Svend Robinson (above) cheered terror bombing of Serbia, demand occupation of Kosovo.



We reprint below a Spartacist Canada supplement first issued on April 28.

* * *

The Canadian capitalist ruling class is at war against Serbia, at the side of its senior partner in Washington. In this bloody Balkan adventure, Ottawa has the enthusiastic support of its lieutenants, the NDP and the CLC labor bureaucrats. These social democrats have been in the forefront of those demanding a ground invasion, threatening a wider war. Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin denounced the social democrats who supported their own bourgeois rulers in World War I as "social imperialists." Today, once again, the accuracy of Lenin's characterization is clear.

Every opponent of capitalist exploitation and oppression, every class-conscious worker in this country must take a stand against the predatory war aims of the Bay Street bosses and their political tools. In a 26 March leaflet, issued just after Canadian CF-18 fighter-bombers began attacking Serbian targets, we stated:

"The capitalist rulers who are waging war on Serbia also suck the lifeblood out of workers here at home through ever more grinding exploitation and brutal oppression enforced through racist state terror. Any military blows against U.S. and Canadian imperialism are in the direct and immediate interest of working people and minorities in this country and internationally. As proletarian revolutionaries fighting to build a party to lead the working class to power against the capitalist exploiters and oppressors, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League, declares forthrightly: **Defend Serbia against U.S./Canadian/NATO attack! Down with United Nations economic sanc-**

tions! All U.S./Canadian/UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans! Defeat U.S. and Canadian imperialism through workers revolution!"

Marxist internationalists fight to bring to the proletariat the understanding that imperialist terror abroad goes hand in hand with union-busting, anti-immigrant racism and Anglo bigotry. The Liberal government in Ottawa authorized the war on Serbia one day after moving to break a strike of PSAC federal workers, while its NDP counterpart in Saskatchewan outlawed a widely popular strike by more than 8,000 nurses. The rulers who weep crocodile tears over the plight of the Kosovars are daily deporting Kurds, Iranians, Tamils and other refugees from right-wing terror. And the bourgeoisie which prates about the rights of oppressed peoples in the Balkans attacks these very rights on the home front, whipping up a chauvinist "national unity" crusade against the oppressed Québécois.

Far from promoting "human rights" in the Balkans, the imperialists *instigated* the all-sided bloodbath in the region in their drive to destroy the former Yugoslav deformed workers state. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was created after Tito's Communist Partisans defeated the Nazi German occupiers as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks during the Second interimperialist World War. But the gains of this revolution were undermined from the start by bureaucratic deformations and the inherent limits of Stalinism, with its reactionary-utopian, nationalist program of building "socialism in one country."

Tito's "market socialist" policies opened the country to

imperialist economic penetration and heightened disparities among the regions. After his death, the bureaucracy fractured on national lines. Slobodan Milosevic, who pushed “market reforms” as head of the central bank, launched his political career by appealing to Serb chauvinism, particularly against the Kosovo Albanians. But chauvinist bigotry has been fomented by *all* the nationalist leaders in the region. Milosevic’s Croatian counterpart, Franjo Tudjman, idolizes the fascist Ustasha of WWII. Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegovic is a rabid nationalist and Islamic reactionary.

When right-wing nationalist governments in Croatia and Slovenia declared secession in 1991, Germany steamrolled its European allies into recognizing their independence. The U.S. then joined Germany in endorsing an independent Bosnia under the leadership of Muslim nationalists. The U.S. and Germany provided the fascistic Tudjman regime in Croatia with large quantities of arms and high-level military training and advisers. This allowed the Croatian army, aided by a NATO air assault, to rout the Bosnian Serb military forces in mid-1995. The expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Serb civilians by Croatian forces was the biggest single act of “ethnic cleansing” in the war.

We Trotskyists oppose every manifestation of the reactionary ideology of nationalism. Even as we defend Serbia against NATO attack, we give absolutely no political support to the Milosevic regime or any of the other nationalist rulers (or would-be rulers) in the region. We declare: Down with all the nationalist regimes! For a socialist federation of the Balkans!

Imperialist Rivalries and “Human Rights” Hypocrisy

This war is *not* being fought for the Albanians of Kosovo. Chrétien’s cynical prattle about “human rights” is meant to disguise its real purpose. Like the U.S.-led 1990-91 blitzkrieg against Iraq, the assault on Serbia is an assertion of

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union—a bureaucratically degenerated workers state which embodied the remaining gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution—has brought untold misery to the region. It has also greatly intensified the struggle among the imperialist powers over markets and spheres of influence, a struggle which was earlier subordinated to the need for bourgeois “unity” against the Soviet Union. Today, the U.S. intends to use its vast military preponderance to enforce its global hegemony over foreign rivals.

At the same time, the major capitalist powers are squaring off into mutually hostile trade blocs—NAFTA, the European Union, and an Asian sphere dominated by Japan. The far-flung commercial and financial interests of these imperialist states are ultimately protected and extended by armed means. Canadian imperialism, a power of the third rank, has necessarily aligned itself with U.S. military interests. As *Toronto Star* (28 March) columnist Richard Gwyn put it, Ottawa’s aggressive role in the war against Serbia is at bottom “the military equivalent of Canada-U.S. free trade.”

NDP and Union Bureaucrats in the Camp of War

The New Democrats and their allies in the labor bureaucracy have thrown their full weight behind the NATO attack, while bemoaning the lack of a United Nations imprimatur. Significantly, the most aggressive of these warmongers have been reputed NDP “lefts” like B.C. MP Svend Robinson and labor “militants” like CAW leader Buzz Hargrove.

Robinson, the New Democrats’ foreign affairs spokesman, stole a march on the Liberals in a March 31 news release by demanding the dispatch of ground forces. “Canada,” he declared, “should raise within the NATO Council and the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe] the possibility of creating ‘safe havens’ on the ground in Kosovo, enforced by ground troops, to stop the senseless slaughter and flow of Kosovar Albanians out of Kosovo.” Hargrove foamed that the UN should have occupied Kosovo in the first place, “with the proper air support to ensure the safety of the troops.” At the same time, he ran the *Maple Leaf* up the flagpole, saying: “It’s time for Canada to re-establish its traditional role as a peacekeeping nation with a humanitarian and independent international agenda.”

Canada’s “traditional role” of “humanitarian peacekeeping” is a reactionary fraud. Former Liberal prime minister Lester Pearson invented the idea of dispatching UN troops in blue helmets to global trouble spots to act as “neutral mediators,” winning a Nobel peace prize in the process. But the role of these “peacekeepers” was *always* to police the imperialist status quo in places where the direct introduction of U.S. Marines might have been counterproductive—e.g., Cyprus, the Congo, Sinai.

For decades, such “peacekeeping missions” lay at the heart of what the capitalist rulers and their social-democratic agents trumpeted as “Canadian values.” But the brutal reality of this myth was exposed by the fascist-infested Canadian Airborne’s torture and murder mission in Somalia. In fact, following the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Canadian rulers have increasingly dropped the mask of Pearsonite Liberalism. With the Balkans war, they have dispensed altogether with the usual fig leaf of “UN sanction” in order to join in naked imperialist aggression against a smaller, weaker country.

(continued on page 6)



Militant

As bombs rained on Belgrade, Saskatchewan nurses strike was broken by NDP government. For a revolutionary workers party!

global domination by Washington, seconded by its junior ally in Ottawa. The U.S. rulers mean to underline their role as the world’s gendarme. This deadly message is aimed not only at vastly smaller and weaker states like Iraq and Serbia, but also at Washington’s European NATO “partners,” and Japan.

Ottawa's "Human Rights" ...

(continued from page 5)

Today Canadian judge Louise Arbour presides over the imperialists' "war crimes tribunal" in The Hague, seeking to try Serbian leaders for "crimes against humanity." But the biggest war criminals the world has ever seen are the imperialist ruling classes of North America and their allies/rivals in London, Paris, Berlin and Tokyo. These are the barbarous, profit-driven mass murderers of the Somme and Passchendaele, Dresden and Hiroshima, Auschwitz and Nanking, Korea, Vietnam, Iraq. Justice for their crimes and vengeance for their countless victims will only come through world socialist revolution.

Pro-Imperialist NDP and the Reformist Left

NDP spokesman Robinson's gung-ho support for the Canadian rulers' Balkan war was a stunning blow to the New Democrats' loyal followers on the reformist left. *Socialist Worker* (31 March), newspaper of the International Socialists (I.S.), absurdly claimed that "The NDP leadership has swallowed the propaganda about this war, hook line and sinker." What a pathetic alibi for the NDP. Far from being bamboozled by smooth-talking Liberal con artists, the New Democrats have always been committed to upholding the racist imperialist order—*especially in time of war*. In 1939 the NDP's predecessor, the CCF, demanded the internment of 24,000 Japanese Canadians in British Columbia, part of the rulers' preparation for "total war" in the Pacific. In 1990, on the eve of the Gulf War, Alberta NDP MLA Ross Harvey—like Robinson a reputed "leftist"—called for the arrest and prosecution of any Arab Canadian who fought with Iraq against the U.S.-led UN slaughter.

Socialist Worker protests that "The parties which are supposed to be mobilizing anti-war sentiment, are frantically stoking it." The idea of the NDP or any other social-democratic party mobilizing against a war conducted by its own ruling class is ludicrous. The political roots of these parties lie in the betrayal of August 1914, when the social



Paul Ferguson

Canadian UN "peacekeepers" during Somalia murder mission in 1992-93.

democrats in West Europe supported their own imperialist bourgeoisies in World War I. The NDP merely reprises that traitor's role as best it can. Its social-democratic cothinkers in government—Britain's Labour Party, Germany's SPD, the French Socialists—not only support NATO's Balkan war, *they are prosecuting it!*

While linked to the proletariat through its base in the English Canadian labor bureaucracy, the NDP's policies are pro-capitalist through and through. Its role is to tie the working class to the interests of Canadian capitalism. Ferocious anti-Communists, the New Democrats backed to the hilt their imperialist masters' decades-long crusade to destroy the Soviet Union. In this, they were willingly followed by a host of self-styled "revolutionary socialist" organizations. The I.S., in particular, supported every cutthroat nationalist outfit that aimed at the destruction of the Soviet Union. They backed Solidarność, a counterrevolutionary tool of the Vatican and Western bankers which led

the restoration of capitalism in Poland. They hailed the CIA-backed Islamic *mujahedeen* against the Soviet army, which fought in support of a modernizing regime in Afghanistan. And they cheered the triumph of Boris Yeltsin's capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet deformed workers state in 1991-92. At every step, these small-time reformist hustlers assisted the NDP in infusing workers and youth with the "democratic" pretensions of Canadian imperialism.

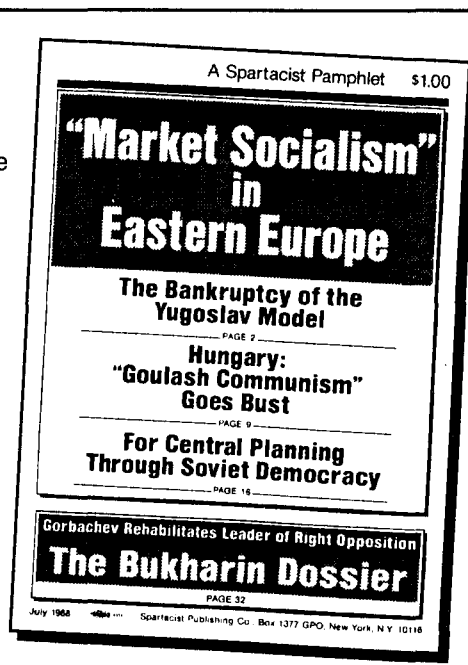
Today, the NDP's role as a pillar of the capitalist order centrally entails fostering anti-Quebec chauvinism as well as "Canada first" economic nationalism. The same NDP MPs and provincial premiers who support NATO bombing in the name of "human rights" for the

Spartacist pamphlet

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state in 1991—instigated by the same imperialist powers now carrying out a war of terror against Serbia—was prepared by the former Stalinist regime's pro-capitalist market "reforms." This 1988 collection of *Workers Vanguard* articles analyzes how "market socialism" widened social inequalities and intensified ethnic and national divisions, enormously strengthening the internal forces of capitalist counterrevolution.

\$1 (32 pages)

Order from/make checks payable to:
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Box 6867, Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6



Kosovar Albanians are at the forefront of Ottawa's rabid crusade against the national rights of Quebec. Such Maple Leaf chauvinism, which also stokes the fires of anti-immigrant racism, is poison to the class unity necessary for proletarian struggle against imperialist war and oppression. We Trotskyists call for independence for Quebec in order to cut against this national chauvinism and lay a basis for united struggle by the workers of English Canada and Quebec against the capitalist rulers.

"Independence for Kosovo": Pro-Imperialist Rallying Cry

Several of the reformist left groups who tail after the NDP are today raising the call for "independence for Kosovo." Before NATO began its war preparations, Trotskyists upheld the right of the Kosovo Albanians to separate from Serbia and form an independent state. Today, however, the slogan of self-determination for Kosovo contradicts the basic duty of working-class internationalists, which is to defend Serbia against NATO attack.

The bourgeois-nationalist Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) has become a willing pawn of NATO, and its struggle has been entirely subordinated to the reactionary imperialist war. Raising the call for Kosovar independence in this context offers an ideological justification for the war aims of the U.S. and Canadian rulers. Not least, such a call portrays Milosevic's Serbian nationalist regime as the main enemy, rather than the vastly more powerful and lethal imperialist NATO cabal arrayed against it.

The tiny grouping which styles itself the International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT) has joined the clamor for "independence for Kosovo," even as it stridently *opposes* the call for independence for Quebec! Both of these positions represent a straight capitulation to the chauvinist rulers in Ottawa. Apparently the only national struggles which the IBT deems worthy of support are those which have the sponsorship of one or another imperialist bourgeoisie.

The organizations adhering to the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) have made the connection between support for the UCK and faith in imperialism shamelessly explicit. Gauche Socialiste (GS), whose members are

immersed in Quebec's social-democratic nationalist Parti de la Démocratie Socialiste, is circulating a PDS statement which openly appeals to *both* the Canadian rulers and the bourgeois-nationalist PQ government in Quebec:

"The Canadian government, always proud to distinguish itself from the American government, has a chance to do it here by demanding an immediate halt to the bombing and by withdrawing its warplanes. And what is to be said of the Quebec government, more than ever careful to demarcate itself from Ottawa in international forums, which should be denouncing the warmongering policy of Ottawa—all the more because it concerns the right of self-determination."

This statement calls to "isolate the Belgrade regime and give the people of Kosovo all the means, including military, to defend their existence and impose their liberation." The USec's flagship section, the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, has taken this a step further, writing that "A multinational force under UN control must guarantee and oversee on the ground the application of such an accord [with Serbia]" (*Rouge*, 8 April). Following the logic of its prostration before "human rights" imperialism, the USec is openly calling for imperialist military intervention in Kosovo under the auspices of the UN or the European-dominated OSCE military alliance.

The Socialist Action (SA) group, which claims to oppose the pro-UN line of the USec majority, attended a *pro-war* demonstration in Toronto on April 10—until they were thrown out for their lip-service opposition to NATO. In a rally of ethnic Albanians which featured placards and speeches saying "Thanks for your support, NATO," SA's leaflet called for "unconditional defense of the right to national self-determination of the Albanian people of Kosovo."

For Marxists, support for the right to self-determination is never unconditional. For instance, during the First imperialist World War, the question of Polish independence became subordinated to the war aims of German imperialism. In this context, Lenin argued against calling for Polish independence, pointing out that "To be in favour of an all-European war merely for the sake of restoring Poland is to be a nationalist

(continued on page 8)

ICL Declaration Against NATO War

In late April, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) issued a major statement against the war titled "Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution—Defend Serbia!" First published in *Workers Vanguard* No. 712 (30 April) and translated into seven languages, this statement was distributed by ICL comrades at May Day demonstrations and other events in cities from Tokyo to Berlin and Mexico City, as well as at antiwar protests in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal.

We urge all our readers to get a copy of this declaration. It is available in English or French for 50¢ from: Spartacist Canada Publishing, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6.

"BOLCHEVIKS"

Déclaration de la Ligue communiste internationale

Défaite de l'impérialisme par la révolution ouvrière - Défense de la Serbie!

Toutes les troupes de ROTAN/ONU/USA, hors des Balkans!

POUR UNE EUROPE OUVRIÈRE!

Le parti impérialiste contre la Serbie est déjà le candidat le plus impopulaire en Europe depuis la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Après avoir affaibli la Serbie, les alliés ont cherché à exploiter les certitudes de monde entier pour mener à bien leurs projets - progrès - humanitaires.

WORKERS VANGUARD 50¢

No. 712 30 April 1999

Declaration of the International Communist League

Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution—Defend Serbia!

On Wednesday April 21, statements by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) were read at May Day demonstrations and other events in cities from Tokyo to Berlin and Mexico City, as well as at antiwar protests in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal.

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All U.S./UN/NATO Troops Out of the Balkans! For a Workers Europe!

Ottawa's "Human Rights" ...

(continued from page 7)

of the worst sort, and to place the interests of a small number of Poles above those of the hundreds of millions of people who suffer from war" ("The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," 1916). Socialist Action's call for the Canadian government to give "political and material support" to the UCK—which has carried out bloody terror attacks of its own against Serbian civilians—is unvarnished bourgeois nationalism "of the worst sort."

For Class War Against Imperialist War!

The reformist left groups who today call to "Stop the bombing" all capitulate, in one way or another, to the Maple Leaf nationalism which is the stock in trade of the NDP and the CLC bureaucracy. Such opportunism—based on the acceptance of the interests of their "own" bourgeoisie,



Novosti

Bolshevik soldiers march through Moscow under banner of Communism, 1917. Only workers revolution can end war.

though sometimes couched in "internationalist" language—accepts the framework of the imperialist system, and prettifies the place of the Canadian rulers within it.

Take the slogan "Canada out of NATO" pushed by the USec groups, the Communist Party and the I.S., among others. A March 26 leaflet by the Vancouver USec group Socialist Challenge, which calls for a "peaceful solution to the Kosovo question," ends by claiming that the war "highlights the need to campaign for Canada's withdrawal from NATO and NORAD." The Communist Party says in a March 24 statement that Canada should "remove itself" from NATO and "press instead for a political resolution to the Kosovo dispute under the auspices of the United Nations." And the April 14 issue of the I.S.'s *Socialist Worker* hails a resolution by the Canadian Federation of Students which calls on the government in Ottawa to "seek an immediate end to the war" and "take a leadership role in finding a peaceful resolution to the dispute." Thus, under the watchword "Canada out of NATO," these organizations sell the lie that a Canadian foreign policy "independent" of NATO could somehow be more progressive.

Such nationalist, social-pacifist appeals by the reformist

left point the finger of blame at the imperialist eagle to the south. This amounts to a political amnesty for our "own" rapacious imperialist rulers. Moreover, contrary to the reformists' daydreams, imperialism is not simply a reactionary policy of right-wing governments that can be changed through democratic pressure. Oppression, exploitation and war are inherent to the irrational, profit-driven capitalist system. We Trotskyists call to smash the counterrevolutionary NATO alliance through international workers revolution!

The anti-revolutionary politics of the reformist left are exemplified by the International Socialists' utopian-reformist vision of a "butter, not guns" policy for Canadian imperialism. The I.S. complains bitterly that the government "will waste billions on killing people. Why not use that money to wipe away all the Third World debt?" The solution, says the I.S., is "struggle from below." Imperialist war, they say, "will only be stopped by a mass movement of enraged workers and students who demand bread not bombs, jobs not war" (*Socialist Worker*, 31 March). But no "peace movement," no matter how militant, has ever stopped a war.

It took the Russian workers revolution of October 1917, led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, to pull the peoples of the tsarist empire out of the slaughter of World War I. The Bolsheviks fought to extend the October Revolution internationally, understanding that without the destruction of capitalism around the world there could be no possibility of putting an end to imperialist war.

The I.S. calls for building the "anti-war socialist tradition." For genuine Marxists, this could only mean the Leninist understanding that imperialism must be overthrown through workers revolution. However, the I.S.'s opportunist calls to "Stop the war" or "Stop the bombing" are *counterposed* to a proletarian revolutionary perspective against imperialist war. Their impotent pacifist babble exemplifies all of the fake-lefts' conscious rejection of the need to rouse the working class in struggle against the capitalist rulers. At the same time, it serves to obscure the fact that the oppressed have a side in this war, in defense of Serbia.

Marxist internationalists seek to channel antiwar sentiment in struggle against the whole system of capitalist imperialism. Our perspective is Lenin's:

"If the present war arouses among the reactionary Christian socialists, among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie, *only* horror and fright, only aversion to the use of all arms, to bloodshed, death, etc., then we must say: Capitalist society is and has always been *horror without end*. And if this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing for that society an *end in horror*, we have no reason to fall into despair. But the disarmament 'demand,' or more correctly, the dream of disarmament, is, objectively, nothing but an expression of despair at a time when, as everyone can see, the bourgeoisie itself is paving the way for the only legitimate and revolutionary war—civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie."

—"The 'Disarmament' Slogan" (1916)

The key lies in forging a revolutionary workers party on the model of Lenin's Bolsheviks. Such a party can only be built in sharp political struggle against the NDP social democrats and all their fake-left tails. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste is dedicated to this task. We say: Down with "human rights" imperialism—For class war against the war-mongers at home! Defend Serbia against Canada/U.S./NATO attack! For the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



Serbian Demonstration Bombing

"[US Secretary of State, Robert] Lansing strongly objected to any introduction of the concept of 'laws of humanity' and to trials of foreign leaders before any foreign or international court. International law, he contended, regulated relations among nations; it had no jurisdiction over what a state chooses to do to its own people."

—Christopher Simpson, *The Splendid Blond Beast* (1995), p. 25

As a deadly rain of high-tech bombs fall on Serbia, a deadening rain of propaganda falls on Americans, media-manufactured lies designed to prime the populace into supporting harsher military measures against a sovereign nation, in the name of protecting human rights.

NATO is but a fig leaf for American "interests," and the bombing of the Serbian state is but a global demonstration of the ruthlessness of the American empire. A demonstration? The monstrous atomic bombing of Japan, after it was virtually beaten in WWII, was not a military necessity, but a political one, designed to demonstrate to the Russians that the U.S. was, and would ever be, boss. It was a massive, deadly demonstration.

So too, the Serbian bombing treats Serbs as the U.S. treated Japanese during the War—as props to demonstrate the power of the empire. Let us consider the claims that the U.S. is concerned about "human rights" or about the "rights of ethnic minorities" as the corporate press projects hourly: What of America's largest national minority—African-Americans? The world-respected Amnesty International group, speaking through its Secretary General, Pierre Sané, announced just days before the bombing, "Human-rights violations in the United States of America are persistent, widespread and appear to disproportionately affect people of racial or ethnic minority backgrounds." Sané was critical of police violence and executions in the U.S.

Further, internationally, let's see how the U.S. responds to "liberation movements" of the oppressed. When fighters for Puerto Rican independence began to raise their voices the U.S. didn't support this "ethnic minority," they sought (and continue) to crush, incarcerate and silence them. Consider the case of the Palestinians, the Kurds, the Tamils, the East Timorese, the Colombian rebels—who has the U.S. consistently supported, the oppressed, or the U.S.-armed governments?

This isn't about "human rights." It isn't about "ethnic minorities." And it also isn't about "genocide." It's about establishing who's "boss" in the next century. It's about keeping Russia in its place. It's about keeping the EU under the thumb of Wall St. The bombing of Serbia is an echo of the bombing of three other countries in the past six months—of Iraq, Sudan and Afghanistan. And for precisely the same reason—to show that it can be done, no matter what so-called "international law" states. It is to instill terror throughout the world, in order for U.S. capital to institute

what former president George Bush tried to do, but failed: to establish a New World Order.

Days before the bombing, NATO signed up Poland, Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic) as its newest members, thereby virtually isolating Russia. Only Serbia, and the Yugoslav states, have refused to join NATO—their bombing is their punishment.

Our brilliant, revered nationalist leader, Malcolm X, taught us to examine history. If we look at history, the bombing of Yugoslavia becomes clear.

Empires are maintained, not by reason, but by ruthless terror. It was so in Rome. It is so in the U.S. The brilliant revolutionary, Dr. Huey P. Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, explained "the United States was no longer a nation... We called it an empire.... *An empire is a nation-state that has transformed itself into a power controlling all the world's lands and people*" (1973). Huey was right then, and our response then was to oppose the empire. We must do that now! *Down with Imperialism! Stop the Bombing! NATO/US out of Yugoslavia!*

8 April 1999

© 1999 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

* * *

All fighters against racist repression must join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! For information, contact the Partisan Defense Committee. In Toronto: PDC, Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON M5T 2W1; phone (416) 593-4138. In Vancouver: PDC, Box 4932, Main P.O., Vancouver BC V6B 4A6; phone (604) 687-0353.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense should be made payable to the PDC, earmarked "Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Toronto address above. These funds will be forwarded in full to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal in New York. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg PA 15370, USA. ■

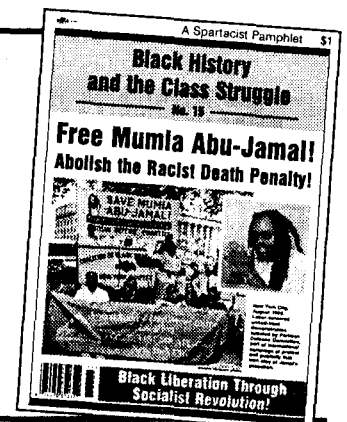
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LO Covers for Imperialism's War in the Balkans

Protest Gangsterism Against ICL Trotskyists!

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

* * *

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

Violence is the recourse of political cowards. Unable to defend its political support to the capitalist Jospin/Gayssot

government—a government of imperialist war in the Balkans, racist deportations and strikebreaking on the domestic front—LO substituted the fist for the brain as an “answer” to the revolutionary program of the ICL.

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

In sharp counterposition to LO, ICL comrades motivated the attitude of proletarian revolutionary internationalists: *Defeat imperialism through workers' revolution! Defend Serbia against imperialist attack!* At this time, the right of independence for Kosovo is necessarily subordinated to the fight against NATO imperialism. Against the social-chauvinism and opportunism of LO and the LCR, ICL comrades argued that you can't fight imperialist war without fighting for socialist revolution to overturn the capitalist system which breeds war. LO-LCR's accommodation to the capitalist order is seen in the LCR's explicit call for ground troops to the Balkans and in the platform of the LO-LCR slate for the European Parliament, which doesn't even mention the word “socialism.” With “Euro-Socialists” like LO-LCR, who needs the stinking corpse of social democracy which currently rules most of capitalist Europe!

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

That's why those looking for a genuine Trotskyist party were interested in the ICL at the LO fête. Immediately prior to LO's despicable thuggery, an Italian ICL comrade urged

(continued on page 13)

Trotskyist League Forums

Defeat U.S./Canada/NATO Imperialism Through Workers Revolution! Defend Serbia!

7:30 p.m., Saturday, 5 June
International Student Centre,
33 St. George St. (n. of College)
For more information call (416) 593-4138.

Stop Capitalist Counterrevolution in China!

7:30 p.m., Saturday, 12 June
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor St. W. (one block w. of Spadina subway)
For more information call (416) 593-4138.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Imperialism, the State and Revolution
Saturday, 5 June

For a Leninist Vanguard Party!
Saturday, 19 June

Classes at 5:00 p.m., Cafe Artistico, 1938 Commercial
Drive (corner of 4th)
For more information call (604) 687-0353

TORONTO

VANCOUVER

Serbia...

(continued from page 1)

power in the Balkans while maintaining their position as top dog against their imperialist rivals. Ottawa's down-the-line support to Washington's war aims—including sending CF-18 warplanes to join the terror bombing—highlights Canadian capitalism's status as a loyal, junior imperialist partner of the U.S.

We Trotskyists seek the *defeat of U.S. and Canadian imperialism* through the revolutionary mobilization of the North American working class. We stand for military defense of Serbia against U.S./Canadian/NATO attack and demand the withdrawal of all imperialist troops from the Balkans. At the same time, we give no political support to Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic or any of the other capitalist regimes and would-be despots in the region. Our perspective is *for a socialist federation of the Balkans*, forged through proletarian revolutions throughout the peninsula.

Divisions in the NATO Camp

As the bombing enters its third month, divisions among and within the NATO powers have become increasingly open. The U.S. House of Representatives voted that President Clinton must seek Congressional approval before sending ground troops into Kosovo and, on a tie vote, rejected a resolution supporting the air strikes. Meanwhile, Democratic Party liberals in particular are increasingly calling to prepare an invasion of Kosovo.

British Labour prime minister Tony Blair has campaigned aggressively for sending ground troops into Kosovo. In contrast, German Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder declared that “sending in ground troops is unthinkable. This is our position and it won't change in the future.” Schröder was reportedly furious that, as a result of the U.S. bombing of the Chinese embassy, his trip to Beijing as new chairman of the European Union became an occasion for apologies. A conference of Schröder's coalition partners, the Greens, narrowly rejected a motion calling for an unconditional end to the bombings, which would have forced them to quit the government. Greece and Italy have defied Washington by calling for a pause in the bombing. Meanwhile, Russia and China insist on a halt to the bombing as a precondition for any UN Security Council vote on an imperialist “peace” deal.

Like their British Labour cousins, Canada's NDP social democrats were initially among the most strident warmongers (see our statement “Down With Ottawa's ‘Human Rights’ Imperialism,” page 4). Six weeks into the terror campaign, the New Democrats changed tack, suggesting a temporary suspension of air strikes, emphasizing that the bombing should resume if Milosevic refused to bow to NATO's diktat. And NDP leaders continue to push for an imperialist invasion of Kosovo under the aegis of the United Nations or the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). The NDP has decided to take its distance from the U.S. as tensions among the NATO partners flare over the question of who would lead a ground invasion. Germany and France, for instance, have pushed for an occupation force under the UN or the European-dominated OSCE as a way of undercutting U.S. influence in the region.

The NDP's slavish loyalty to the war aims of NATO imperialism against Serbia is matched by the bourgeois



Srdjan Suki/AFP

Serbian youths in Belgrade burn Canadian flag to protest NATO terror bombing.

nationalists of the sovereignist Bloc Québécois, which has supported Ottawa's Balkan adventure from day one. Bloc leader Gilles Duceppe demanded a parliamentary vote to authorize the dispatch of ground troops, declaring that the Bloc would support such a motion in order to “show Canadian ‘national unity’” (*Globe and Mail*, 13 April)! This declaration was met with cries of dismay from the nationalist left. The May issue of *L'aut' journal*, a weathervane of the *indépendantiste* Québécois union bureaucracy, denounced the Bloc's stance as “distressing, aberrant and indefensible.” But with another sovereignty referendum looming, perhaps as early as next spring, the bourgeois nationalists of the Bloc and Parti Québécois are anxious to show that an independent Quebec under their auspices would not threaten the interests of U.S. imperialism in any way.

Popular opposition to NATO's terror bombing has been higher in Quebec than the rest of the country. This reflects more than two centuries of national oppression of the French-speaking Québécois within the Anglo-dominated state, resistance to which has historically been expressed in reluctance to support wars “for the English.” Imperialist wars can only be successfully opposed by the working people through a revolutionary internationalist fight for power. Trotskyists advocate Quebec independence to undercut Anglo chauvinism and the Quebec nationalism which it fosters, both of which have poisoned the prospects for united anti-capitalist class struggle.

The Reformist Left and the War

Despite the New Democrats' warmongering, most of the English Canadian left still seeks to pressure the NDP to place itself at the head of an “antiwar movement.” Groups like the International Socialists (I.S.) and Socialist Action harken back to the peace crawls in the U.S. against

(continued on page 12)

Serbia...

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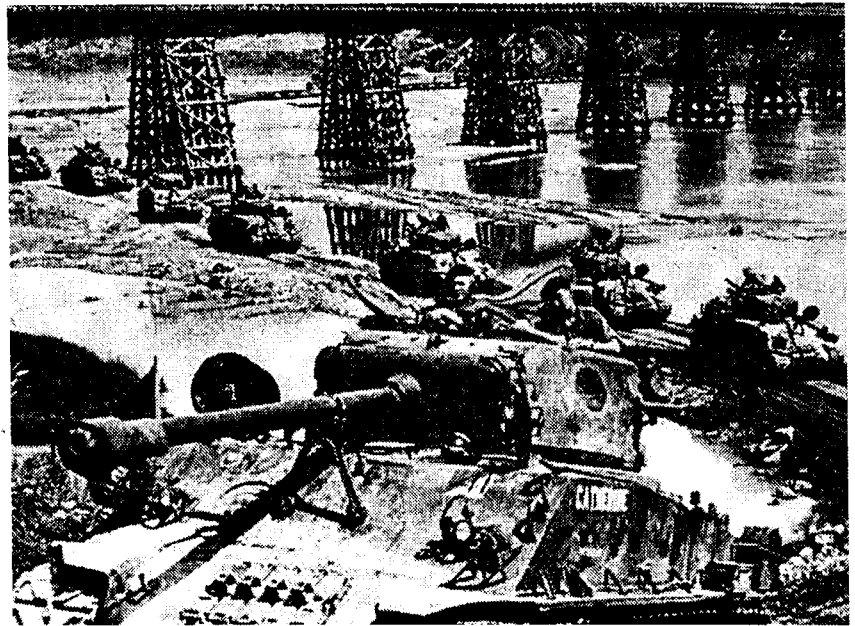
the Vietnam War during the '60s and '70s. These events were politically dominated by the craven reformists of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). While tens of thousands repeatedly marched against the U.S. rulers' bloody colonial war against Communism, the SWP kept the demonstrations limited to pressure on Democratic Party liberals with "single-issue" slogans like "Out Now!"

That demand was an undisguised appeal to imperialist "doves," exemplified by Democratic Senator Vance Hartke, who sat on the steering committee of the SWP-dominated National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). A wing of the capitalist ruling class increasingly realized that, especially after the Sino-Soviet split and the 1965 crushing of the Indonesian Communist Party, an anti-Communist reestablishment of Southeast Asia was possible without pursuing the losing Vietnam adventure.

The I.S. and Socialist Action today aim to build a new version of NPAC by appealing to liberal bourgeois sentiment. But the imperialists today are not, as they were in the '60s, engaged in a losing war to crush a social revolution. In fact, the liberals and social democrats are among the chief war hawks. Consequently, these reformist left groups refuse to call for the defense of Serbia and the defeat of NATO. Lenin described as "social-chauvinism" just such support to the imperialist aims of the capitalist rulers under a smokescreen of "socialist" phrasemongering.

The policy of Trotskyists during the Vietnam War was very different. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. alone fought for a program aimed at mobilizing the *working class* in struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers. We called for the military victory of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front while at the same time warning against the nationalist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Hanoi. Our resolute class solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants and our calls for working-class action—including political strikes—in the U.S. against the war provided the objective bases for uniting radical students, trade unionists and the black population around opposition to U.S. imperialism. In the unions, among antiwar activists, on the campuses, among soldiers, the small forces of the Spartacist League fought for the principled program of class struggle which, if it had become rooted in the working masses, would have given powerful assistance to the Vietnamese Revolution and laid the basis for creating a revolutionary workers party in America.

Mobilization of the working class and oppressed in anti-capitalist struggle remains our perspective today. For communists, the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam was a victory. In contrast, the reformist I.S. says "We don't want another Vietnam." Panting after a grand coalition with everyone nominally to the left of Attila the Hun, they propose to build an "antiwar movement" which can "unite the widest number of people, of all nationalities, of all political stripes." In pursuit of this end, the I.S. is tailing something called the "Ad-Hoc Committee to Stop Canada's Participation in the War on Yugoslavia," a potpourri of pacifist liber-



Korean War Veterans Association of Canada

Canadian armored column during 1950-53 Korean War. UN "police action" killed and maimed millions.

als, right-wing isolationists and Maple Leaf nationalists.

One of the Committee's leading spokesmen, University of Toronto academic Michael Bliss, explicitly supports earlier imperialist wars waged under UN auspices, such as the 1950-53 Korean War aimed at "defeating Communism" and the 1990-91 Gulf War massacre of Iraq. Bliss also praises NATO's role as a "defensive alliance for mutual protection against Communist aggression" which "did help protect us through the remainder of the Cold War."

Another Committee spokesman, David Orchard, is a right-wing populist who recently ran for the leadership of the federal Conservatives. Commenting that Yugoslavia "is fighting to preserve its territorial integrity against an armed secessionist movement," Orchard writes approvingly that "Every other nation would do the same":

"Has not Britain waged a decades long war against the Irish Republican Army? Was it not a Canadian government in Ottawa that invoked the War Measures Act and moved troops into Quebec when faced with 'apprehended insurrection'?"

A rabid Anglo chauvinist, Orchard thus opposes Ottawa's war explicitly on the basis of "national unity," i.e., the forcible repression of minority peoples. In the case of the Balkans, we Trotskyists upheld the right of the Kosovar Albanians to self-determination until, with war looming, the Kosovo Liberation Army offered itself as a tool of NATO aggression. For revolutionary internationalists, the question of Kosovo self-determination is today decisively subordinated to the need to defend Serbia against NATO's war.

The Bliss/Orchard "antiwar movement" is based on openly reactionary politics. Yet the I.S.'s interventions into and reportage of it have been almost totally uncritical. And they are even more fulsome in their praise for pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats like the CAW's Buzz Hargrove. The I.S. paper *Socialist Worker* (May 12) salutes the "anti-war position" of the CAW, "which passed a resolution against the bombing within days of its start." From reading *Socialist Worker*, you would not know that this same CAW statement calls for "a multi-national peacekeeping ground force with the proper air support" and demands that the federal

government "commit Canadian troops as peacekeepers"!

Hargrove repeated these demands at a May 2 Toronto teach-in on the war. Intervening from the floor, a Trotskyist League comrade responded:

"The NDP and their allies in the labor bureaucracy fully support Canadian capitalism in this war. We just heard Buzz Hargrove demand the United Nations send in ground troops. UN intervention has *always* meant imperialist terror—just look at what has been done to Iraq over the past eight years under the UN flag.

"And whether wearing blue helmets or not, the U.S. capitalists and their Canadian junior partners are the biggest terrorists in the world today. And this war is about establishing the U.S. as the world's top cop, with Canada's support.

"Therefore, any military blows against U.S. and Canadian imperialism are in the direct and immediate interests of working people and minorities in this country and internationally."

Later in the discussion, leading I.S.er Paul Kellogg offered no criticism of Hargrove's pro-imperialist stance. Significantly, since the war began *Socialist Worker* has not once explicitly opposed UN military intervention in the Balkans. Indeed in Britain, Alex Callinicos, a senior spokesman for the I.S.'s patron, the Socialist Workers Party, recently joined Noam Chomsky and other liberal academics in signing a statement in the *New Statesman* (10 May) which declares in part:

"Nato is not the only or above all the best fulcrum for an agreement. One could find the elements of a multinational police force (embracing notably Serbs and Albanians) in the ranks of the OSCE to enforce a transitional agreement."

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

The political terrain of the reformist I.S. is fundamentally

the same as that of pro-capitalist labor tops like Hargrove *and* bourgeois "antiwar" spokesmen like Orchard and Bliss. The question which exercises them is: What policy is in the best long-term interests of Canadian imperialism? Such Canadian nationalists and pseudo-socialists peddle the illusion that the exploiters can be pressured into acting as "peacekeepers." Against this dangerous lie, we Trotskyists emphasize that the Canadian capitalists are not potential allies—they are deadly enemies of working people and the oppressed, at home and abroad. Imperialism is not a policy that can be "reformed" by pressuring a wing of the ruling class. It is a worldwide system of exploitation and oppression—capitalism in its highest stage of development—which must be overthrown through international socialist revolution.

The imperialist hue and cry over "ethnic cleansing" of Kosovar Albanians is grotesque hypocrisy. Slobodan Milosevic could never dream of equaling the horrors the imperialist ruling classes have inflicted on the world—from Japan's bloody rape of Nanking to the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; from Hitler's death camps to the British/Canadian firebombing of Dresden; from the devastation of the U.S./UN's Korean War to "roll back Communism" to their ongoing murder and starvation of well over a million Iraqis. The capitalist system, based on the exploitation of the mass of the world's population for the benefit of a handful of filthy rich, necessarily breeds poverty, racism and war. The imperialists' tug-of-war over influence in the Balkans contains the germ of a future world war in which all sides will be armed with nuclear weapons. We seek to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties as part of a reformed Fourth International to lead the socialist revolutions which alone can put an end to this inhuman system. ■

Gangsterism...

(continued from page 10)

fête participants to support the campaign of material aid to the workers of the Zastava car plant and other factories bombed by imperialism, a campaign which was initiated by Italian syndicalists. Many participants welcomed the opportunity to concretely express their opposition to their own bourgeoisie and their solidarity with the victims of the U.S./NATO bombing. The last thing NATO wants to see is a revolutionary class struggle by Yugoslav workers against the capitalist butcher Milosevic (indeed the Zastava workers have a history of militant strikes). That, and our proletarian internationalist fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans to put an end to the ethnic bloodletting which capitalist counterrevolution has wrought, are things the imperialists seek to impede. LO howled with the imperialist wolves against the Soviet degenerated workers state and cheered the forces of capitalist counterrevolution across East Europe, which set the stage for the all-sided communalist bloodletting and imperialist war in the Balkans today. Still riding the coattails of its own bourgeoisie, now LO tries to silence the ICL's revolutionary opposition to the war and to the capitalist governments waging the war.

We will not be silenced by LO's goons. The entire workers movement and especially LO members themselves must protest this outrage. At bottom, this violence is a desperate attempt to shield LO members from open political debate

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

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

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(604) 687-0353

E-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

Yugoslav Workers...

(continued from page 3)

and other events. More than \$200 was collected at a May 22 antiwar protest in Toronto. At a May 19 meeting of the ILWU longshore union in Vancouver, two workers of Yugoslav descent put money in the Zastava bucket. One quipped that he wished NATO would "accidentally" bomb the Aviano air base in Italy, from which U.S. and Canadian planes take off for their daily murder missions.

In the U.S., our comrades have collected funds from trade unionists outside workplaces and union meetings, including among the heavily black and immigrant New York City transit workforce. In Britain, where Tony Blair's Labour government has distinguished itself as the most bellicose of the NATO powers, shop stewards from the Cowley car plant, workers at Ford Dagenham near London and London Underground workers have contributed. So, too, have immigrant workers—in Britain and elsewhere in Europe—who are on the receiving end of racist state repression and the fascist terror it spawns and have not bought into the cynical "humanitarian" pretext for NATO's Balkans war.

In Mexico, subjected to U.S. imperialist plunder, the Grupo Espartaquista was invited to address and pass the hat among 600 delegates of the workers committee at the National Autonomous University in Mexico City, which has been rocked by militant protests against the imposition of tuition. In Japan, at a 50,000-strong protest against revisions to the Japan-U.S. security treaty on May 22, metal workers, medical workers and rail workers reached into their pockets to give to the campaign—as did youth supporters of the Communist Party, despite their leaders' attempts to exclude and silence us. And students from the Chinese deformed workers state studying in Canada, the U.S. and Australia have donated to the fund drive, including at protests against NATO's bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade.



SC photo

Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Club supporters at March 26 Toronto antiwar protest. TL and SYC fight for perspective of workers revolution to overthrow imperialist warmongers.

While anger and revulsion against the NATO slaughter is widespread, the capitulation of an array of so-called "socialist" outfits to their "own" bourgeoisies, presently served by social-democratic governments in many cases, is apparently without limit. The British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Tony Cliff and its international cothinkers like Canada's International Socialists (I.S.) are a case in point. When our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain first collected for the fund drive at a May 8 London antiwar protest, a number of SWPers contributed. But the SWP leadership soon brought a halt to this. At a subsequent protest on May 18, SWP spokesman Julie Waterson became so rabid in trying to thwart the efforts of our comrades that she grabbed a big handful of leaflets out of a collection bucket. At a May 15 Vancouver antiwar demo, I.S. spokesman Sean Purdy refused even to take a leaflet about the campaign. When asked by a TL comrade if he wanted to aid Yugoslav workers, Purdy replied, "not if you're doing it."

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

* * *

We urge our readers to donate generously to the Zastava campaign—truly a cause in the interest of the whole of the working people. Contributions can be made out to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked "For Yugoslav Workers") and sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON M5T 2W1. ■

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Native Rights...

(continued from page 2)

maintaining the Anglo-dominated status quo. And it would not relieve the grinding racist oppression of the aboriginal peoples one bit.

In rejecting calls for army intervention, our article expressed the basic Marxist opposition to one's "own" ruling class. This has prompted Sandra L. to accuse us of siding with the oppressor against the oppressed. Certainly, Quebec nationalism, like all nationalism, is based on the racist premise that one's own people is more important than any other. However, Sandra L.'s letter accepts without demur the oppressive Anglo-chauvinist framework of the unitary Canadian state.

This social-democratic outlook is rooted in the false Canadian mythology of multicultural "tolerance" and "diversity," which the Anglo rulers endlessly promote against the "xenophobic" nationalism espoused by Quebec sovereignists like Premier Lucien Bouchard. Sandra L. implicitly endorses the federal government's vicious counterposition of "us" against "them." From her liberal starting point, she buys into the current, cynical "support" for Native rights by the English Canadian ruling class in its chauvinist contest with the Québécois bourgeoisie.

Northern Quebec, where the question of army intervention has been posed, is seen as key by both Ottawa and Quebec City because the North's hydroelectric infrastructure powers Quebec industry. Sparsely populated, the area has been occupied for centuries by Native peoples living in tiny scat-

tered communities. Inevitably, they have got caught in the crossfire of chauvinism and nationalism between English Canada and Quebec.

We defend these peoples' democratic right to determine their own fate. However, as our article noted, "In addressing the concrete 'choice' between being part of an independent Quebec or remaining in a rump Canada, our main point of departure is that within the framework of racist capitalism, this simply means the right of the aboriginal populations to determine by whom they will be oppressed and brutalized."

Only an egalitarian-socialist society under workers rule will be able to redress three centuries of abuse and degradation of the aboriginal peoples. However, workers revolution can only be achieved by a proletariat consciously fighting to throw off all forms of racial and national prejudice. Through the fight to forge a Leninist revolutionary workers party, the proletariat will grasp the common objective interest of the workers and oppressed of all nations in the overthrow of capitalism. The unremitting proletarian defense of Native people's lives and rights as equal citizens is one vital component in that struggle. Nevertheless, the fundamental obstacle to revolutionary working-class consciousness is the poisonous national chauvinism fueled by the oppression of the Québécois.

An independent Quebec would lay the basis for the workers of each nation to realize that it is their "own" capitalists which are the enemy, not each other. Without that internationalist understanding, there can be no successful revolutionary struggle—and no future for the Native peoples, or anyone else. ■

China...

(continued from page 24)

the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which denied the possibility of workers revolution in Japan and the West.

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

China on the Brink

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

But today Mao's heirs are pursuing a drive toward capitalist restoration full speed ahead which would destroy the social gains of that revolution, which are already in fact

massively eroded. So after 20-plus years of "market reforms," the same Guomintang bourgeoisie, the same imperialists that were kicked out in 1949 are today exploiting workers in large sections, and growing sections, of China.

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

To understand what is happening in China today, you have to understand the nature of what happened in 1949. That social revolution, while massively popular, was bureaucratically deformed from its inception. Unlike the October Revolution in Russia, it was not a revolution made by the working class. Instead, it was Mao's peasant-guerrilla army which took power, excluding the proletariat from political power.

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

(continued on page 16)

China...

(continued from page 15)

been virulently opposed to the Bolshevik program of world socialist revolution, instead seeking alliances with one or another imperialist bourgeoisie.

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

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

Now about the stuff about missiles and spies. Let's give an example from history. As communists, we honor the memory of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg—heroic people who were executed in 1953 as Soviet "A-bomb spies." We say it was a good thing that the USSR developed its atom bomb, or the U.S. might well have launched further nuclear attacks after 1945—against the Soviet Union, against China and later against Vietnam and Cuba. Despite the nationalist, conciliatory policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union acted to constrain the bloody American imperialist rulers.

Conversely, the destruction of the USSR through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 has made the world a much more dangerous place. The war against Serbia, the biggest war in Europe since World War II, has brought us all a step



Burke/Life

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

closer toward a World War III. Like the continued bombings of Iraq, it's all about extension of U.S. power, projecting its military might not only against small, dependent countries like Iraq and Serbia but against America's main imperialist rivals, especially Germany and Japan.

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

"Market Reforms": Road to Counterrevolution

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

mechanisms by which American imperialism is working to further capitalist restoration there.

Kissinger wrote an interesting piece in the *Washington Post* (27 April) that kind of gives you both sides of American policy. Contrasting China with the Soviet Union, he said: "Beijing, which until 1978 was ideologically even more rigid than Moscow, has since reversed its course. Moving toward a market economy, it is, by classical Marxist standards, hardly a communist country at all but an authoritarian state with a governing party that chooses to call itself communist." And he warns: "A Sino-American Cold War would, in fact, produce a classic no-win situation for both sides." Kissinger was a trailblazer in the U.S.-China "rapprochement," going there in 1970 to cut a deal with the Mao regime directed against the Soviet Union. Kissinger wants to keep the Chinese regime on a pro-Western course moving toward capitalist restoration. And to that end, he is quite prepared to brandish military threats: "A serious American policy will hold China to that undertaking. The American record in two world wars, as well as in the Korean and Gulf wars, should leave no doubt about our seriousness in this regard."

Imperialist spokesmen like Kissinger look to the Stalinist regime to carry out a cold restoration of capitalism—and that's precisely the program of the Stalinists themselves. It's pretty clear that the protests outside the American embassy in Beijing were orchestrated by the Chinese government. In so doing, they tried to present themselves as "anti-imperialist." This is the most enormous hypocrisy. When Chinese premier Zhu Rongji came to the United States in April, he didn't make a peep of protest about U.S. aggression against Serbia, even though that's the official Chinese position. He had more important things on his mind: to strike a deal with Clinton for China's entry into the World Trade Organization. What that would mean, and they're still working at it, is throwing China's domestic market wide open to foreign profiteers.

Clinton backed off from a deal with Zhu, bowing to the anti-China lobby in which the American anti-communist labor bureaucracy is in the forefront. But business leaders started screaming, because they saw a lost opportunity to extend their enormous inroads on the Chinese mainland during the past 20 years. It was really quite a spectacle. You had the *Wall Street Journal* coming out and hailing the premier of what used to be called Red China and denouncing the American president.

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

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

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

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

In his 1936 book *The Revolution Betrayed*, which I



Magnum

Mao shakes hands with American president Nixon in 1972, even as U.S. imperialists waged war of terror in Vietnam.

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

China is much further down the road to capitalist counterrevolution than was the Soviet Union in Trotsky's time. But that does *not* have to be the fate of the Chinese masses. Last year, we published the International Communist League's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program." We wrote: "The essence of 'market reforms' counterrevolution in China is the bureaucracy seeking to become partners in exploitation with capitalist forces and especially the Chinese capitalists who were not destroyed as a class (as were their Russian counterparts after October 1917) but continued to function in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and

(continued on page 18)

China...

(continued from page 17)

elsewhere." "This course," we wrote, "cannot be accomplished without breaking the resistance of the militant working class."

And that's the critical question. Capitalist restoration in China would require the consolidation of a new, counterrevolutionary state apparatus, one that is committed to defending private ownership of the means of production. But the force standing in the way of that happening is the Chinese working class. Today, even Chinese government spokesmen admit that strikes, sit-ins, marches and other forms of labor protest have broken out daily throughout the country. The anger of the workers is captured in this statement by a woman who lost her job in a state-owned textile factory in Shanghai: "It's the laid-off workers who are the poor ones, not the factory leaders—their pockets are full." It's become common for protesting workers to carry signs reading simply, "We want to eat." The countryside is also wracked with unrest. In January, thousands of peasants in Hunan province demonstrated against the corruption of government officials. Hundreds of police were called out, killing one protester.

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

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

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

Workers Join Tiananmen Protests

If you were politically conscious in 1989 or have read about the Tiananmen events, you know at least that it had something to do with mass student protests, and that eventually the regime led by Deng Xiaoping moved in troops to crush those protests. At the time, the capitalist media and governments around the world harped on how students had erected a replica of the Statue of Liberty and described these as mass student protests for "democracy." By "democracy," they meant the bourgeois democracy practiced in the U.S. and West Europe. We know this better as murderous police terror in the ghettos, strikebreaking, destruction of social welfare programs. Lenin described bourgeois democracy as a "democratic" mask for the naked dictatorship of the capitalists over the working class.

The Chinese Stalinist regime put out the very same lie as



Morris/Far Eastern Economic Review

Taiwanese-owned electronics factory in Guangdong province, part of recent massive capitalist incursions in China.

the bourgeois propagandists. They called the protests "counterrevolutionary" and pro-capitalist. Talk about hypocrisy: Deng Xiaoping was the man who engineered the destruction of collectivized agriculture in China, who opened up "special economic zones" for exploitation by foreign capital, whose entire program revolved around making a deal with the U.S. and Japan to further imperialist penetration of China. And he accused the protesters of wanting to bring back capitalism?

So what happened? In mid-April 1989, a group of students bicycled out from a university in Beijing in the middle of the night to Tiananmen Square. At a monument to heroes of the Chinese Revolution in the center of the square, they laid a wreath in honor of a Communist Party official named Hu Yaobang, who had just died. He was regarded as one of the only officials who was not corrupt. The next day, thousands of students came out to the square.

Tiananmen Square is the political center of China. It's where Mao in 1949 declared the foundation of the People's Republic. It's where lots of mass demonstrations have happened. By the time of Hu's funeral a week later, the protests had expanded, not only in Tiananmen but to several other cities. What were the students demanding? For one thing, they were on a fixed income and they didn't like the fact there was rampant inflation in China for the first time since 1949 because of "market reforms." They didn't like the fact that they were assigned jobs after graduation and couldn't choose their own careers. In general, they were protesting the Stalinists' stultification of social and political life. By and large, these were pretty privileged people, sons and daughters of the bureaucracy. It's true that during the course of the protests they showed plenty of illusions in the U.S. and in bourgeois democracy. At the same time, the student protesters sang the "Internationale," the international workers anthem. That's not exactly counterrevolutionary.

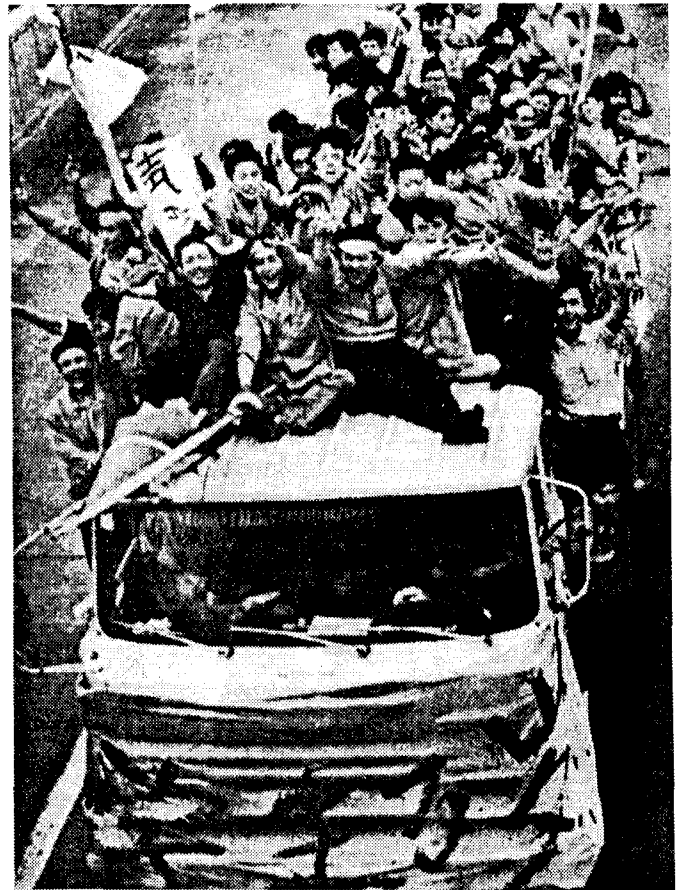
But something else happened with the protests. After Hu's funeral, students from 21 universities in Beijing called for a strike, and they began to leaflet working-class neighborhoods. And then the working class began to respond, at first very timidly. They started coming out to Tiananmen Square. Now, a lot of the students had petty-bourgeois contempt for the workers. They looked down on them as ruffians who were going to cause trouble, and they kept them segregated to one part of the square. But as the days went on, it was the working-class component that grew. And the workers began to raise their own demands, mostly against corruption, inflation, economic insecurity. You have to understand that prior to the 1989 protests, the effects of "market reforms" had led to a real explosion of the kind of strikes and protests we've seen on the increase in the last several years in China.

May 4 was a very important date: the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement of 1919, which was a mass anti-imperialist protest movement out of which emerged the Communist Party as well as the trade-union movement in China. On the day of the anniversary, there was a massive demonstration of 300,000 people in Beijing. There was another huge demonstration two weeks later, and then the regime decided it had had enough and declared martial law. The students called a hunger strike.

The workers had different ideas. They started setting up defense guards. You might have seen pictures of them in newspapers and books. They set up what were called "dare to die" teams after martial law was declared whose specific purpose was to defend student protesters against police crackdowns. One of those was called the "Black Panthers," interestingly enough. Workers were putting out their own leaflets, they set up a loudspeaker in Tiananmen Square that they turned into an impromptu radio station. Every night, workers coming in from the factories would read their complaints over the air, etc. A very high level of organization, and it showed some political consciousness. When the martial law edict came down, one of those motorcycle groups drove through the Capital Iron and Steel Works—a massive steel facility right in Beijing—calling for a general strike. And you also had organizations springing up in the working-class neighborhoods.

For two solid weeks, the regime could not enforce its martial law decree. Even the police were joining the demonstrations—that's quite a clear reflection of the difference between a deformed workers state and a capitalist state. One very good book on these events is called *The Legacy of Tiananmen—China in Disarray* by a BBC reporter named James Miles, who was there at the time. He tried for days to call the foreign ministry and other government offices and couldn't get them to even answer the phone. They were not there.

Most importantly, the workers' actions were beginning to polarize the armed forces, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) itself. The first major army unit called in to crush the protesters would not move on them when workers in the neighborhoods came out to meet them. Seven retired senior PLA officers wrote a letter to Deng to protest the use of the People's Army against the people. Eventually, Deng was able to get loyal army units to move on the protesters, and there was a massacre on the night of June 3-4. Now, the bourgeois media lies about this, too. They say it was the students who were slaughtered. That's wrong. The students were allowed to leave Tiananmen Square peacefully. What happened was that before the army units got to Tiananmen



Reuters

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

Square, they were again met by mass outbursts in the neighborhoods. They turned their guns on the working-class population of Beijing. It was the workers who bore the brunt of repression that night. There's really no way to tell how many people were killed; the estimates vary wildly.

But it's important to understand that it still took weeks for the regime to regain its hold over that society. The June 4 massacre was answered with mass strikes throughout China. There was a display at a military museum after it all died down that pinpointed where the protests had taken place—at least 80 cities were caught up in the turmoil.

Lessons of Tiananmen

As we wrote at the time of the Tiananmen events: "It was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature" ("Defend Chinese Workers!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 480, 23 June 1989). Through its repression directed against the working class, the bureaucracy in its own way showed that it realized that. The Stalinists televised frame-up trials of workers and marched workers through the streets with signs charging things like "instigating social unrest" and "spreading rumors." For that, you could be executed. And they did execute dozens of workers, but not students.

This reveals something critically important to understand about the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is not a possessing class, it is a parasitic caste sitting atop collectivized

(continued on page 20)

China...

(continued from page 19)

property forms. Its rule is extremely brittle. Ruling in the name of "the masses" while in fact politically fearing and suppressing the proletariat, the bureaucracy cannot stand the least bit of independent working-class organization.

The events in Tiananmen bear resemblance to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, when workers rose up against the Stalinist regime there and fraternized with the first wave of Soviet troops that were called out to crush the uprising. The pro-socialist Hungarian workers created workers councils, like the soviets that arose in Russia in 1917 and took power there under Bolshevik leadership. Under the impact of the workers revolt in Hungary, the bureaucracy shattered. Many of its elements joined the side of the working class. The Stalinist bureaucrats were finally able to muster fresh Soviet troops to put down the rebellion.

What was missing in both Hungary '56 and China '89 was a revolutionary leadership of the proletariat. Even a tiny Bolshevik organization could have had a decisive effect in those events.

I wanted to raise one point that's kind of a postscript on Tiananmen. I've heard from Chinese students who don't like that China is so clearly moving toward capitalism that it was right for the government to suppress the Tiananmen protests because they would have developed into a counterrevolution. They point to some of the student leaders at the time, who have since become open spokesmen for U.S. imperialism. One of them is a big stockbroker in Taiwan right now.

In fact, there is no evidence of any significant number of openly pro-imperialist elements in the Tiananmen protests. In any case, a Trotskyist group would have sought to expose and politically defeat those tendencies which promoted illusions in parliamentary (i.e., bourgeois) "democracy." Our program is a regime of *workers democracy*, the rule of workers, soldiers and peasants soviets based on defense of collectivized property.

Many Western academics claim that the Chinese workers were trying to emulate Polish Solidarność. This is a lie. Solidarność, which arose in 1980, was a counterrevolutionary fake union totally backed by the CIA and the Vatican. It was the spearhead of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe. The workers in Tiananmen had no truck with such forces. Where Solidarność carried photos of Pilsudski—the nationalist dictator of pre-World War II Poland—the workers at Tiananmen carried posters not of prerevolutionary Chinese dictator Chiang Kai-shek but of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, founders of the People's Republic.

That's not to say that the Chinese workers face no danger from anti-Communist reactionaries opposing the Beijing regime. One such is Han Dongfang, a Tiananmen student leader who went on to set up shop in Hong Kong as an organizer of so-called "free trade unions," particularly targeting Southern China. This guy is so openly pro-U.S. he even has a show on the CIA's Radio Free Asia. People like Han are deadly enemies of the proletariat. They want to take full advantage of the unrest in China today to foment a Solidarność-type counterrevolution.

Predictably, Han is sponsored by the American AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, who we call the "labor lieutenants" of the capitalist class. The AFL-CIO tops worked hand in glove with the CIA throughout the anti-Soviet Cold War, setting up

anti-Communist "labor" fronts under the same slogan of "free trade unions" in order to smash leftist-led and other militant unions in U.S.-backed police states from South Korea to South America and to foment capitalist counterrevolution inside the Soviet bloc. Their support to U.S. imperialism abroad goes hand in hand with chaining workers to their own exploiters at home, mainly through support to the capitalist Democratic Party.

The Collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the USSR

It is important to look at the Tiananmen events in an international context, particularly the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the Soviet Union. Five months after the Tiananmen protests were crushed, the Stalinist regime in East Germany began to collapse, signalled by the opening of the Berlin Wall. East Germany at that time was engulfed in a developing political revolution. The impulses of the workers were directed not toward capitalist restoration and reunification with imperialist West Germany but toward building what they considered a decent socialist society on the foundations of East Germany's nationalized economy. That situation created an exceptional opportunity for Trotskyist intervention, and the International Communist League undertook the biggest sustained mobilization in our tendency's history.

We unconditionally opposed the capitalist reunification of Germany. We fought for political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West, for a red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe. The impact of our program was seen in January 1990 when 250,000 turned out in a demonstration initiated by our German comrades and joined by the East German ruling party to protest the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial in Berlin's Treptow park. At Treptow, for the first time since Trotsky and his followers were expelled from the Soviet Union in the late 1920s, Trotskyists were able to address masses of workers under Stalinist rule. Our comrades denounced the Stalinist bureaucracy and put forward a revolutionary-internationalist program.

The spectre of organized proletarian resistance to capitalist reunification alarmed the West German rulers and their front men of the Social Democratic Party, and they accelerated the drive for capitalist counterrevolution. The Stalinists in the Kremlin and in East Germany gave the green light for reunification. There was a contest between our program of political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution. While we were calling for a government of workers councils, the Stalinists were consciously acting to prevent a workers insurrection. That included demobilizing army units which had formed soldier councils, in large part as a result of our propaganda.

And in the Soviet Union, when Boris Yeltsin made his power grab in August 1991, we put out a call titled "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" This was the first statement widely distributed throughout the Soviet Union opposing Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary power bid. It advanced a program for political revolution against capitalist restoration—for genuine workers soviets as organs of a new proletarian political power.

The Soviet proletariat did not act to stop the counterrevolution. It is important to understand why. More than anything, this had to do with how their consciousness had been poisoned by decades of Stalinist misrule, of Stalinist lies and distortions of revolutionary Marxism. We wrote in our pamphlet "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled": "Who

is guilty for the catastrophe? First and foremost it is the Stalinists who bear responsibility." We noted that it was Gorbachev's "'market reforms' and acquiescence to capitalist restoration throughout East Europe which opened wide the floodgates to a direct counterrevolutionary onslaught by Yeltsin & Co." In the end, it was the Stalinists who led the counterrevolution.

From Mao to Deng

Now, the question of "market socialism" has particular relevance to China. In the former USSR and Yugoslavia, "market reforms" gave enormous impetus to capitalist counterrevolutionary forces which tore those societies apart. This is an important question. We defend the planned economy as the necessary starting point for socialist development. But to operate effectively, a centrally planned economy must be administered by a government of democratically elected workers councils. Or else you have what occurred in the USSR and in China. The Stalinist regimes there are hostile to any expression of workers democracy, and they are diehard enemies of the program of world socialist revolution. This is the only road to advancing toward socialist society, which requires overcoming scarcity. What the Stalinists do instead is simply decide bureaucratically how everything gets produced and planned. In turn, that creates tremendous imbalances and distortions.

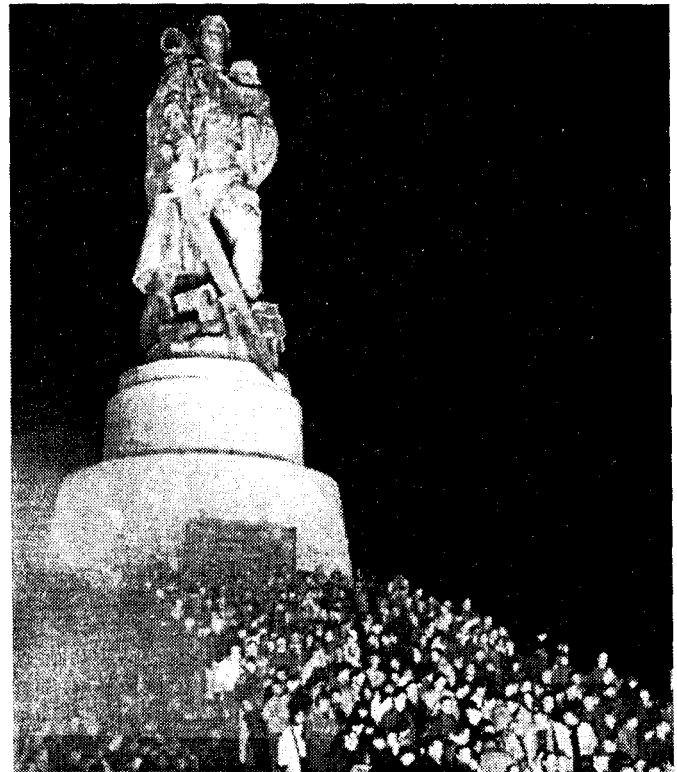
In China, one thinks immediately of the 1950s "Great Leap Forward" under Mao—a harebrained idea that backward China could somehow leap to the status of an advanced industrial power by building "backyard steel furnaces" and getting the worker and peasant masses to work harder and harder. That ended in total disaster. The population was exhausted after a couple of years. The result was, among other things, a horrible famine, one of the worst in history, costing at least 20 million lives.

The only alternative the Stalinists have to such bureaucratic commandism is to introduce capitalist market measures, forcing factories to produce for the market, encouraging private businesses and foreign investment. That's exactly what happened in China under Deng. The prelude to Deng's coming to power was the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—Mao's bid to strike back at his bureaucratic rivals after he almost lost power following the Great Leap Forward. Starting in 1966, for about ten years China was in total turmoil: universities and schools were closed down, factories were disrupted by Mao's bands of young Red Guards storming in and attacking workers.

Deng was brought back into office in 1978, two years after Mao's death, to restore some order. His program of "building socialism with capitalist methods"—"market socialism"—was accelerated after Stalinist rule collapsed in East Europe and the USSR. And it has continued to pick up steam since Deng died in 1997. At its 15th National Congress that October, the Chinese Communist Party announced a plan to privatize the bulk of state industry—some 300,000 industrial concerns. An article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (18 February) describes what this has meant:

"No one knows exactly how many companies have been sold so far—local governments have under-reported sales lest they be accused of selling too much, too cheaply. But clearly it has been the largest transfer of industrial property since Mao Zedong nationalized industry in the 1950s."

Just this March, the National People's Congress, the putative parliament, amended China's constitution to declare private



Spartakist

East Berlin, January 1990: Mass protest initiated by German Spartakists against fascist desecration of Soviet Army memorial.

business "an important component of the socialist market economy." The bourgeois media cheered that such measures were "creating the most favorable environment in the 50 years since the Communist Party came to power" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 25 February). Another amendment changed the criminal category that used to be called "counterrevolutionary activities." No longer. Now it's "criminal activities that endanger state security." None of this means that the Chinese state is now capitalist. But it certainly shows the Stalinists' intentions.

"Market socialism" in China, just like in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, has spawned forces inside the bureaucracy, inside the society, who long to be a bourgeois ruling class. In Russia, in fact, a lot of what you can call the new mafia-bourgeois ruling class came straight out of particularly the younger layers of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

However, the Beijing bureaucracy understands that its measures have created tremendous turmoil and that it is sitting atop a social powderkeg. How do they deal with that? On the one hand, there's brutal repression. For instance, the death penalty, which the Chinese government uses more than any other country. Dropping even the pretense of "socialism," the regime increasingly appeals to Chinese "great power" nationalism. We saw this with the protests over the U.S./NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. There's a story about how someone showed up outside the U.S. embassy in Beijing with a portrait of Mao, and all of a sudden protesters are screaming, "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao!" A journalist interviewed one these people and asked, Why are you saying that? They said, Ah! Because under Mao China was strong, nobody would have messed with us back then. No

(continued on page 22)

China...

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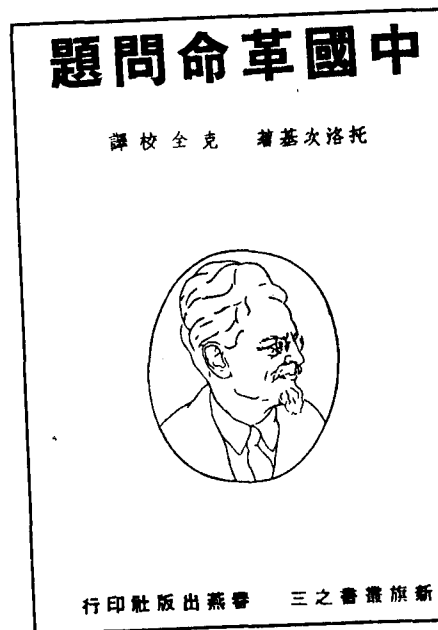
reference to socialism, nothing like that. Just China as a great power.

Nationalism is a bourgeois ideology. It acts to subordinate the Chinese working class to the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie and encourages all sorts of social reaction inside China. The bureaucracy today is very busy promoting what it calls "traditional Chinese values." Last month, we saw what that means: 10,000 people outside the Chinese leadership compound in Beijing organized by a reactionary Buddhist society which thinks you can harness supernatural powers through your navel. Newspapers wondered why the bureaucracy didn't clamp down on the protest. Well, the *Wall Street Journal* gave a hint as to why. It wrote that there were a lot of former members of the Stalinist regime in that reactionary Buddhist society.

Speaking of "traditional values," along with the "market economy" you have a market in women in China today: the re-emergence of the age-old practice of buying and selling "wives," mainly in the countryside. This vile practice is a direct product of the reversion of farming back to family-operated plots and of other pro-capitalist measures. Women have been among the biggest losers of "market reforms" in China. They have been disproportionately laid off by factory managers in state industry who want to avoid paying maternity benefits. Among the key tasks of a Trotskyist party in China today would be the defense of the specially oppressed: a workers and peasants government would make short shrift of the scum who traffic in women and would enshrine defense of the rights of homosexuals.

Given what has happened in China, most of the left has written off the country as any kind of workers state, claiming that either it was always a capitalist state or has recently become so. A prime example of the first is the International Socialist Organization [U.S. co-thinkers of Canada's International Socialists], which has always been viscerally hostile to the Chinese Revolution. The founder of that tendency, a man named Tony Cliff, was expelled from the Trotskyist Fourth International because when the Korean War broke out he refused to defend China, North Korea and the Soviet Union against U.S. and British imperialism. For all their talk of a "third camp," they in fact embrace imperialist "democracy." They supported every counterrevolutionary movement against the Soviet Union: Afghan reactionaries, Solidarność, the pro-imperialist Yeltsin forces.

The Socialist Equality Party of David North, a tendency which likewise supported every reactionary force against the Soviet Union during the Cold War of the 1980s, claims that "the Chinese state is not, even in the most distorted sense, an instrument for the defense of the working class" (*Fourth International*, Winter-Spring 1994). Elsewhere, they write: "Under Deng the bureaucracy has largely completed its transformation into a property-owning bourgeois ruling class" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 17 March 1997). While the Beijing bureaucracy has gone much further along



Humanities Press

Leon Trotsky's *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*. Right, Chen Duxiu, founding leader of Chinese Trotskyism, in 1937.

that road than even the Soviet Stalinists under Gorbachev, it can't be a "property-owning class" when it cannot legally buy and sell property, when there is no right of inheritance, which is a fundamental mechanism in transmitting property in a capitalist society. And that can only be secured through a counterrevolution establishing a new, bourgeois state apparatus.

Reforge the Fourth International!

Now, there are other leftists who defend "socialism" in China. In its newspaper *Workers World* (1 April), the Workers World Party (WWP) writes: "The commanding heights of the economy are still centrally guided by the Communist Party of China and the People's Liberation Army. Although weakened in their communist elan and their connection to the masses by the market reforms, they still stand as barriers to full-scale counterrevolution and imperialist takeover." Consistent with this position, the WWP denounced the Tiananmen protests, echoing the bureaucracy's line that they were "counterrevolutionary." But through its control of the "commanding heights" of the nationalized economy, the Stalinist bureaucracy is selling it off as fast as it can as it pursues its capitalist-restorationist program.

The notion that somehow the bureaucracy will necessarily defend state property feeds what is probably the deepest illusion among Chinese workers, who look back to Mao as an alternative to today's openly corrupt, openly pro-capitalist regime. Mao's rule in fact led directly to that of Deng. While Mao was prone to engage in verbal militancy during the early years of the revolution in response to imperialist hostility, he always sought alliances with bourgeois-nationalist regimes in the "Third World," as well as with imperialist powers—the corollary to the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." In Indonesia in the 1960s, the Maoist Communist Party—the largest in the capitalist world—told the workers to support the bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno and even joined his government. That disarmed the Indonesian workers and prepared the way for the horrendous bloodbath

in 1965 that was ushered in with the CIA-backed military coup by Suharto.

But above all, look at Mao's traitorous anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism. In 1969, at a time when Maoism was enormously popular among American radicals, we wrote: "We must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal *with China*." And that's exactly what happened. Those who look to Mao as an alternative to people like Zhu Rongji should consider the following: it was pretty grotesque that when Zhu Rongji was in the U.S., he was at banquets toasting Clinton as U.S. bombs were raining down on Serbia. We have another memory: when U.S. president Nixon went to China in 1972, Mao clinked champagne glasses with him while the U.S. was carpet-bombing Vietnam. And Mao's action was far more reprehensible. Where Milosevic's Serbia is a small capitalist country, Mao was stabbing in the back a *social revolution* in Vietnam. Deng simply took up where Mao left off, invading Vietnam in 1978, three years after the U.S. was driven out by the heroic workers and peasants. Deng's China then supported the Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats who were bankrolled by the CIA to kill Soviet soldiers in the civil war there in the 1980s.

Mao's party was Communist in name only. His peasant-based Stalinism was the product of a historic *defeat* of the Chinese proletariat; the failed revolution of 1925-27 and the Shanghai massacre of April '27. That's the point I want to end on. Mao's party was radically different from the early Communist Party. Under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia, a couple of dozen intellectuals who came out of the ferment of the May 4th Movement were won to the proletarian and internationalist program of the Bolsheviks, of world socialist revolution. That's how they fought to liberate China from feudalist bondage, imperialist exploitation, landlord tyranny, all-sided backwardness. By 1924, they had grown to be the mass party of the Chinese proletariat, which though numerically small was strategically placed to carry out a socialist revolution and liberate China from the yoke of imperialism.

But under Stalin's direct orders, the Chinese Communists surrendered their independence, gave up their weapons and

membership lists to the Guomindang of Chiang Kai-shek. The result was the beheading of the Chinese proletariat when Chiang turned on the Communists beginning in 1926. Mao took over the CCP after that, when the party abandoned the cities, took to the hills and severed its ties to the proletariat. Mao's party became a peasant-nationalist party with a peasant-nationalist program.

But that's not the whole story. Leon Trotsky fought Stalin's betrayal of the Chinese Revolution. Drawing the lessons of this betrayal and pointing to the Russian Revolution, he generalized his program of permanent revolution: that in the epoch of imperialism the only road to achieving tasks like agrarian revolution and national emancipation lies in the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat and the extension of socialist revolution to the imperialist centers. Some of the best Communists who survived the horrors of 1927 went on to form a Chinese Trotskyist party. They fought to maintain revolutionary Marxism in the cities, suffering imprisonment under Chiang Kai-shek and later under Mao.

The Chinese Trotskyists were inspired by the internationalism that has to be at the core of any revolutionary perspective for China today. What happens in China is going to have a huge effect beyond its borders. Immediately you can look to Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia, countries which are wracked by crisis but where a militant young proletariat has emerged. Or South Korea, where militant workers are heroically fighting against the police-state repression of the U.S.-backed Kim Dae Jung, a former "human rights" hero. The outcome in China will also have an enormous effect on the remaining deformed workers states—Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba.

At the same time, a political revolution in China today would be the target of tremendous imperialist hostility. As part of our struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party in the U.S., we stand for unconditional military defense of China against the U.S. imperialist rulers. We seek the overthrow of U.S. imperialism through proletarian revolution. All of this highlights that the struggle to forge a Chinese Trotskyist party must be part of a fight for a world party of socialist revolution—the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

斯巴达克思 SPARTACIST

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国际共产主义同盟
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1. 世界社会主义革命和俄国无产阶级专政 (国际共产主义同盟) 3
2. 无产阶级专政的实质 4
3. 我们所需要的国家 5
4. 国际共产主义同盟 (第四国际主义者) 的组织和任务 9
5. 社会主义革命的国际性 11
6. 工人阶级在无产阶级专政的斗争中的领导作用 12
7. 世界社会主义革命中的中国 13
8. 国际共产主义同盟的斗争 14
9. 国际共产主义同盟的总任务 15
10. 国际共产主义同盟的口号 16
11. 人民战争, 不是一个战术, 而是巨大的战略 17
12. 革命战争, 它的性质, 组织和任务 17
13. 我们加入国际共产主义同盟 17

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Stop Capitalist Restoration in China!



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Beijing bureaucracy's drive toward capitalist restoration has created mass poverty. Right, Chinese premier Zhu Rongji in U.S.



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

For Workers Political Revolution! For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

We print below in edited and abridged form a presentation by Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee member Ray Bishop at an SL/U.S. forum in Chicago on May 15.

* * *

In the past year, just about every major newspaper has had articles about the approach on June 4 of the tenth anniversary of the Tiananmen massacre—the Chinese government's bloody crackdown on mass protests. Beginning with students but increasingly drawing in workers chafing under the impact of pro-capitalist "market reforms," this upheaval threatened the rule of the Beijing regime. The mass outpouring of defiance heralded the beginnings of a proletarian political revolution which would have swept away the corrupt and despised Stalinist bureaucracy in Beijing.

Western bourgeois propaganda has falsely portrayed these protests as outbursts of anti-Communism and of fervor for Western-style "democracy." And the imperialists were hoping that the anniversary would be marked by anti-Communist protests. As you've seen on TV, there certainly have been

protests recently—four straight days of students and working people coming out in Beijing, throwing rocks at the U.S. embassy and shouting, "Down with U.S. imperialism!" Not quite what the U.S. had bargained for.

Now, we're not in a position to know, so we can't tell you if the American bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, which is what these people were demonstrating about, was a deliberate provocation or not. The student-centered demonstrations outside U.S. embassies and consulates certainly expressed the outrage of the Chinese people, historically oppressed by Western and Japanese imperialism. At the same time, the Beijing regime was careful to restrict these protests. Reportedly, they banned factory contingents for fear that the workers might voice their own grievances against the regime's drive toward a capitalist market economy.

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

(continued on page 15)