

Taiwan: Stepping Stone for Counterrevolution

Down With U.S. Anti-China Crusade!

The fate of the People's Republic of China is a question of immense importance for the Chinese worker and peasant masses and for the proletariat of the world. Since the 1949 Chinese Revolution, when the peasant-based People's Liberation Army (PLA) led by Mao Zedong marched into Beijing, creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, the U.S. rulers have pursued one overriding goal: the restoration of capitalist exploitation and neocolonial subjugation in the most populous nation on earth.

Yet to many it must seem that the U.S. ruling class is dazed and confused over its current relations with China. One day, Clinton argues that China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) would be a decisive step toward "free market" capitalism and would bring about the demise of the "Communist Party's power." The next day, Pentagon spokesmen warn Beijing of "incalculable consequences" if it takes any military action against Taiwan, the U.S. client state a hundred miles off the Chinese coast. While it may appear that the U.S. bourgeoisie is torn between one section favoring "engagement" with Beijing and the other standing for a belligerent policy of "containment," these are *not* contradictory policies but rather are complementary, both aimed at imperialist reconquest of China.

The strategy and tactics employed in attaining that goal have shifted over the decades. In the 1950s and '60s, Washington waged an all-out Cold War (and in Korea a hot war) against "Red China": economic sanctions, diplomatic isolation, military confrontation and nu-

For Unconditional Military Defense of China Against Imperialist Attack and Internal Counterrevolution!

For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust Stalinist Bureaucracy!



Reuters



AP

Two prongs of imperialist strategy for counterrevolution: Clinton pushes China's entry into WTO, while U.S. threatens Beijing over Taiwan. Guomindang supporters protest after election defeat in Taiwan with portraits of anti-Communist butcher Chiang Kai-shek, March 20.

clear threats. In the early 1970s, the U.S., weakened by its losing imperialist war in Vietnam, shifted to a "softer" strategy. Washington struck an alliance with Mao's China against the Soviet Union which was continued and deepened under Mao's successor, Deng Xiaoping. The U.S. encouraged Deng's "market-oriented reforms" in order to promote capitalist res-

torationist forces *inside* China. At the same time, Washington never abandoned its policy of military encirclement, pressure and provocation against China.

Throughout the past half century, Taiwan has been a stepping stone for counterrevolution in China, serving as both a staging area for military attacks and a platform for capitalist penetration of

the mainland. As the PLA drove out the despised, corrupt U.S. puppet regime of Chiang Kai-shek in the late 1940s, Chiang and his Guomindang (Nationalist) cronies fled to Taiwan, where he imposed a brutal capitalist military dictatorship. On the mainland, the victory of Mao's forces ushered in a planned, collectivized

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Return Elián Now!

Gusano Frenzy in Miami

APRIL 4—Elián González's kidnaping by anti-Castro *gusano* fanatics is now in its fifth month. The ransom demanded is no less than the overthrow of the 1959 Cuban Revolution which gave birth to the bureaucratically deformed workers state and its gains—free health care, housing, racial equality and universal literacy. Abetted by the increasingly feeble efforts of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to return Elián to his father in Cuba, the *gusano*-led "Democracy

Movement" to save Elián from the "horrors" of communism has reached the point of threatened insurrection against any attempt by the Justice Department to send the 6-year-old boy home. The mayor of Miami-Dade County, Alex Penelas, has warned that his cops will refuse to cooperate with the Feds: "If their continued provocation...leads to civil unrest and violence, we are holding the federal government responsible."

This is the INS, *la migra*—led by Attorney General Janet Reno, architect of the Waco massacre—infamous for raiding factories and rounding up and deporting whole immigrant workforces

without the least concern for the rights or families of those abducted. And this is the U.S. imperialist state that is still attempting to strangle the Cuban economy with a four-decade-long embargo and has demonstrated its willingness to spare no terror—from the Bay of Pigs invasion to CIA plots to poison Castro—to overturn the Cuban Revolution. Elián must be returned to his father! Down with the imperialist starvation embargo! For the unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution!

Predictably, Elián's abductors have

made accusations of "child abuse" against his father and even his two grandmothers during their visit to the U.S. in February. The *gusanos* rant that the boy would be immediately subjected to electro-shock "therapy" if returned to Cuba. Democratic presidential candidate Al Gore has recently joined the *gusano* reactionaries in this cause, throwing support to a pending U.S. Senate bill which would accord Elián and his immediate family members in Cuba permanent residency status. Behind this transparently venal vote-grubbing is a sinister attempt to offer the "wonders" of American residency—not available to those fleeing right-wing political repression in Latin America—to Elián's family in Cuba as a reward for joining U.S.

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Defend Cuba Against U.S. Imperialism!

Defeated Counterrevolutionaries Besiege Ho Chi Minh Art Exhibit

OAKLAND—A ranting mob of as many as 2,000 anti-Communists has converged on a small art gallery here. Waving U.S. and South Vietnamese flags and carrying signs screaming "Free Vietnam and Throw Out Communism" and "Ho Chi Minh Lewd Monster and Mass Murderer," these Vietnamese *gusanos* are protesting the exhibition at Pacific Bridge Gallery of artist C. David Thomas' lithographs of Vietnamese Stalinist leader Ho Chi Minh. Mobilizing primarily from San Jose with support from Orange County, the two largest centers of Vietnamese Americans in the U.S., this reactionary throng encompasses the same political forces and many of the same people who last year spat at, punched and beat Vietnamese shopkeeper Truong Van Tran for

displaying a portrait of Ho Chi Minh in his shop in Orange County's "Little Saigon."

The Vietnamese exile communities in California are the home of the virulent anti-Communists who fled Vietnam in the wake of the defeat of their U.S. imperialist masters 25 years ago this month, when Saigon fell to the troops of the North Vietnamese deformed workers state and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF). Ho Chi Minh died in 1969, but this historic leader of Vietnamese Communism remains the symbol of the social revolution which began in the North following the expulsion of the French colonialists in the 1950s and was completed in the South with the defeat of the South Vietnamese



Ng/Oakland Tribune

Atkins/SF Examiner

Oakland, March 18: Art exhibit by C. David Thomas (left) targeted by mob of anti-Communist Vietnamese shown beating effigy of Ho Chi Minh.

puppet ruling class and American military. Among these right-wing Vietnamese exiles are CIA-trained torturers and war criminals who thirst to be restored to power in Vietnam where they can wreak their revenge on the workers and peasants. From these forces have come the right-wing political gangs who, among other crimes, in 1984 murdered Dr. Edward Cooperman in Southern California for his courageous efforts to use his scientific knowledge to aid in reconstructing war-ravaged Vietnam.

On March 18, up to 2,000 right-wingers mobbed the opening of the exhibition, where the artist had to be smuggled in the back way under police guard. According to gallery co-owner Geoff Dorn, the expected attendance of 200 at the opening dwindled to 50. The reactionary mob set up three lifesize bronze statues of American and South Vietnamese soldiers, beat Ho Chi Minh in effigy and trampled on his picture. The following day, the Vietnamese *gusanos* besieged a panel discussion on "Ho Chi Minh: The Forbidden Icon" held at the Oakland Museum. One speaker, a Vietnamese teacher, had already been pressured into withdrawing from the panel, and the right-wingers turned it into a festival of anti-Communism. On March 27, someone entered the gallery and tore a lithograph from the wall. The anti-Communists have threatened daily demonstrations at the gallery until the exhibit ends on April 22, and have mobilized an international campaign of e-mails, letters and faxes demanding that the Oakland city government close down the exhibit.

The bourgeois press has joined in the anti-Communist frenzy, featuring lurid horror stories from the defeated counter-revolutionaries. Certainly the U.S. ruling class wants to disappear the *real* atrocities committed by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam—the My Lai massacre, the napalming of villages, massive B-52 bombing, Agent Orange, the "Operation Phoenix" assassination program—as more than three million Vietnamese were slaughtered and the countryside devastated.

Artist David Thomas is himself a Viet-

nam War vet who "toasted [Ho's] death" in 1969. Later, he "began to re-examine that whole period of my life" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 19 March). In 1993, Thomas organized an art show on the Vietnam War at the San Jose Museum of Art which was canceled by officials after protests from Vietnamese reactionaries. In 1996, another show organized by Thomas showcasing Vietnamese artists was picketed. He sees his artwork as an attempt to "bring dialogue about Ho Chi Minh...and why he chose the path he chose." One lithograph pairs Ho with George Washington because, says Thomas, "he threw out the French the same way that Washington threw out the British." According to the gallery owners, the artist may add more works pairing Ho with Lenin and Marx.

The Vietnam War marked a decisive turning point in U.S. history. The so-called "American Century" died in the rice paddies and jungles of Vietnam. For many young soldiers, their anti-Communist prejudices were shattered as they discovered they had been sent to fight an entire people armed and united in a revolutionary war. While the reformist left cries "No more Vietnams"—echoing the title of imperialist war criminal Richard Nixon's memoirs—the Spartacist League proclaims that for the working class and oppressed the world over, "Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

The anti-Communist bigots trying to censor this art show share the racist outlook of their U.S. imperialist masters: one sign read "G--k Ho" over a viciously racist anti-Asian caricature. As a candidate for the imperial presidency, Republican John McCain, a fighter pilot in Vietnam, spouted this racist epithet which sums up all the hatred of the American ruling class for the enemy that defeated them. This racist slur also harks back to the first American imperialist adventure in Asia, the conquest of the Philippines in 1898. One *gusano* leader tried to claim that Ho Chi Minh's portrait is the Vietnamese equivalent of the Confederate flag—what a filthy lie! It's the South

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China and the World Socialist Revolution

The 1949 Chinese Revolution which smashed landlord/capitalist rule was deformed from its inception under a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy which excluded the proletariat from political power. A key factor conditioning this outcome was the bloody defeat of the Chinese proletariat in the 1925-27 Revolution, prepared by the liquidation of the Chinese Communist Party under Stalin's orders into the bourgeois-



TROTSKY



LENIN

nationalist Guomindang (Kuomintang). Fighting against the Stalinist betrayal, Leon Trotsky insisted that national and social emancipation could only be achieved through the dictatorship of the proletariat, standing at the head of the peasant masses, and the extension of socialist revolution internationally. This is the perspective of permanent revolution, which was confirmed by the Russian October Revolution of 1917.

For centuries the history of China has been one of formidable uprisings of a destitute and hungry peasantry. Not less than five times in the last two thousand years the Chinese peasants succeeded in effecting a complete redivision of landed property. Each time the process of concentration began anew and continued until the growth of the population again produced a partial or general explosion. This vicious cycle was an expression of economic and social stagnation.

Only the inclusion of China in the world economy opened up new possibilities. Capitalism invaded China from abroad. The backward Chinese bourgeoisie became the intermediary between foreign capital and the mercilessly exploited masses of their own country. The foreign imperialists and the Chinese bourgeoisie combine the methods of capitalist exploitation with the methods of feudal oppression and enslavement through usury.

The fundamental idea of the Stalinists was to transform the Chinese bourgeoisie into a leader of the national revolution against feudalism and imperialism. The results of this political strategy ruined the revolution. The Chinese proletariat paid a heavy price for knowledge of the truth that their bourgeoisie cannot, does not want to, and never will fight either against so-called feudalism, which constitutes the most important part of its own system of exploitation, or against imperialism, whose agent it is and under whose military protection it operates....

From the beginning, we, the representatives of the International Left Opposition, the Bolshevik-Leninists, were against entering the Kuomintang and for an independent proletarian policy. From the very beginning of the revolutionary upsurge, we urged that the organization of workers', soldiers', and peasants' soviets be initiated; we urged that the workers take their place at the head of the peasant insurrection and carry through the agrarian revolution to its conclusion....

The fate of China, like that of the USSR, is bound up with the fate of the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat. This is the source of greatest hope and the justification of highest revolutionary courage.

—Leon Trotsky, "Manifesto on China of the International Left Opposition" (September 1930)

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La Révolution russe et l'effondrement du stalinisme

La faillite des théories sur une « nouvelle classe »

Tony Cliff et Max Shachtman : complices pro-impérialistes de la contre-révolution

Le Thermidor stalinien, l'Opposition de gauche et l'Armée rouge

La conception chez Trotsky d'une « fraction Reiss » dans la bureaucratie soviétique

À bas l'occupation impérialiste du Kosovo ! Toutes les forces US/ONU/OTAN hors des Balkans, immédiatement !

Déclaration de la Ligue communiste internationale (avril 1999) Défaite de l'impérialisme par la révolution ouvrière ! Défense de la Serbie !

Women and Revolution et les perspectives de la LCI Libération des femmes par la révolution socialiste !

Il faut forger un parti trotskyste ! Pour la révolution ouvrière ! Leçons d'Indonésie - 1965

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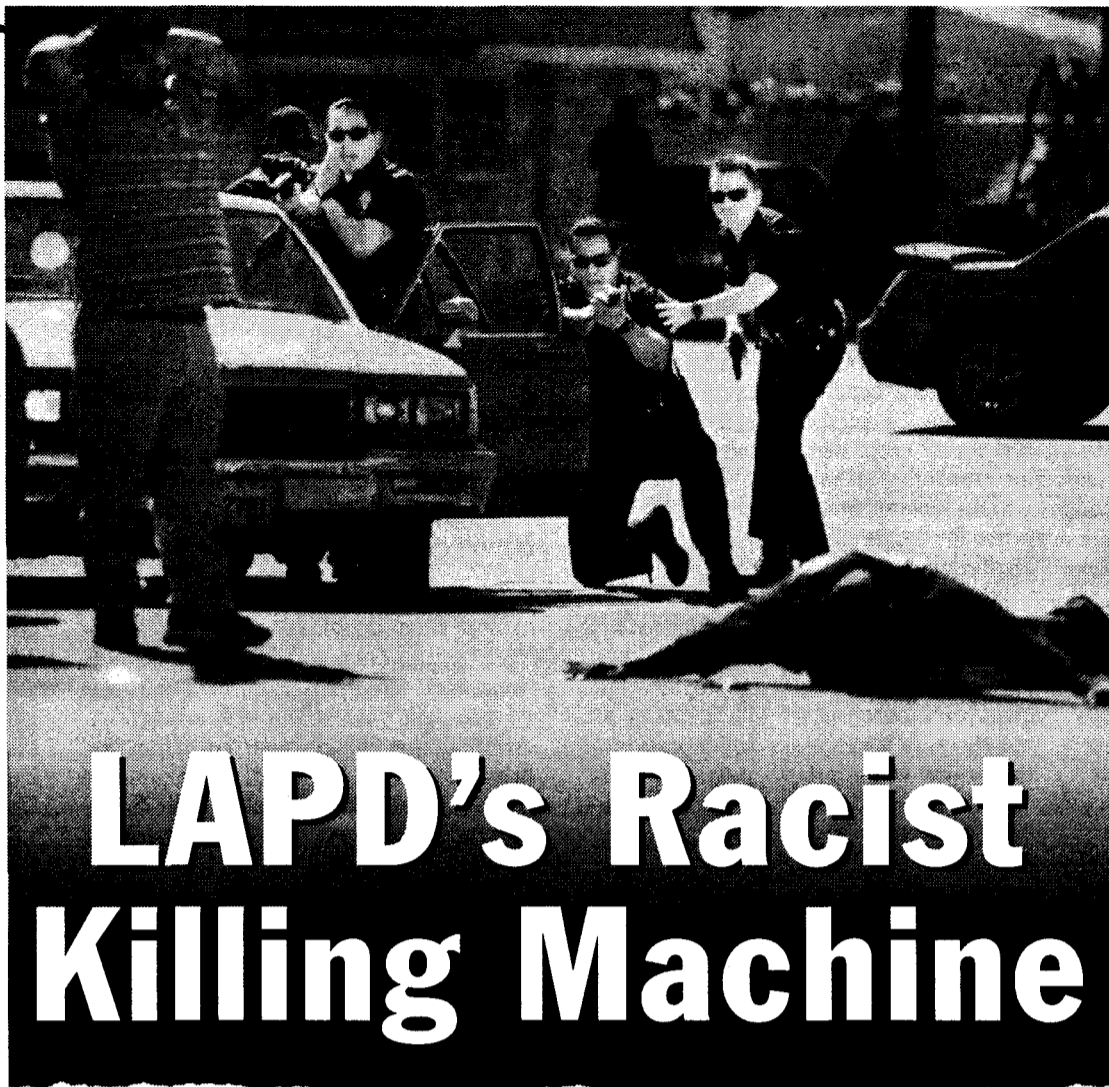
ALGERIE, SAO, BELGIQUE, BRÉSIL, CANADA, ÉCOSSE, FRANCE, GRÈCE, HONGRIE, JAPON, TURQUIE, URSS, USA, LIBAN

In late 1996, four Los Angeles cops cornered 21-year-old Juan Saldana in the hallway of a Mid-city apartment building and shot him. As the unarmed young Latino man lay bleeding to death, the cops planted a gun next to him and conferred with their supervisor—nicknamed “Quarterback” for orchestrating so many cover-ups. Not long after, 19-year-old Javier Francisco Ovando was shot by L.A. cops, who planted a gun next to him and sent him to prison for 23 years on “attempted murder.” Permanently crippled, the wheelchair-bound Ovando was finally released last September after three years behind bars.

These are but two among the countless killings, maimings, tortures and frame-up convictions which have come to light since early last September, when a former member of the LAPD Rampart Division CRASH Unit (Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums) agreed to “tell all” after he was caught stealing cocaine from a police locker. The cop, Rafael Perez, admitted to having been personally involved in framing up 99 people, including Ovando, over a three-year period. Perez got five years on a plea bargain. Since then, more than 20 cops have been discharged, 70 more are under investigation and 50 convictions have already been overturned.

With estimates of the number of “tainted” prosecutions running into the thousands, Republican mayor Richard Riordan plans to allocate over \$300 million to pay off the expected mountain of legal suits against the LAPD. Meanwhile, the capitalist press and politicians predictably talk of “rogue” cops and feign shock over the extent of the exposures. But in the ghettos and barrios of this deeply segregated city, the “news” that the LAPD is a racist killing machine is no news at all. One black woman in Hollywood said bluntly, “The people who are shocked by this have been living in the dark” (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 March).

The LAPD operation emerged amid a whole series of exposures of cop brutality and frame-ups in major cities around the country. A few years ago, the spotlight was on systematic police frame-ups and D.A. jury-rigging in Philadelphia. Then came Chicago, where a cascade of exposures of police torture and forced “confessions”—many in death penalty cases—ultimately led the Illinois governor to declare a moratorium on executions in the state in January. And New York City has been seething with anger since the sadistic sexual torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in 1997 and a



LAPD's Racist Killing Machine

Skali/Daily Breeze

series of cold-blooded killings exemplified by the death-squad-style execution of black African Amadou Diallo a year ago and, most recently, Patrick Dorismond.

In every case, the liberals and fake leftists scream for police “reform” and federal investigations. But if ever there was a city that exposed the bankruptcy of such appeals, L.A. is it. Los Angeles has been a veritable laboratory for police “reform” schemes, beginning after the ghetto rebellion in Watts in 1965 and again in the wake of the multiracial plebeian upheaval in South-Central in 1992 following the acquittal of the cops who beat black motorist Rodney King. The 1992 federal Christopher Commission was specifically devoted to the question of reforming the LAPD. Black and Latino cops were added to the force, a black man was installed as police chief, “community policing” was instituted. Now the U.S. Attorney’s office has announced yet another federal investigation into the LAPD. But from the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the Feds are up to their necks in the LAPD’s Murder, Inc.

The LAPD openly revels in its bloodlust. The Rampart cops, who police a heavily Latino and immigrant area, sport as their insignia a skull on top of the

“dead man’s hand” of aces and eights. The “Shootin’ Newton” and 77th Street Divisions, which cover black and Latino South-Central, have as their emblems a cigar-smoking skull in an army helmet and a skull and crossbones with the motto, “77th Street Eat Their Dead.” When Perez crippled Ovando, he was awarded a plaque by his fellow CRASH thugs at one of the “shooting parties” they traditionally held after such killing operations. The plaque was in the form of a red playing card with a heart and two bullets in it. When the victim was killed, the playing card would be black. Capturing a sense of how the LAPD marauders operate, a television report on British ITN News (21 March) concluded: “You wonder whether one of the most dangerous gangs in a modern American city could be riding around in police cars in uniform.”

This street gang with state power is one of the more blatant examples of the police bonapartism which is increasingly the trend throughout the U.S. As the gap between haves and have-nots increasingly widens, more cops are poured onto the streets to keep the lid on the seething cauldron of discontent and given increasing power to act as a law unto themselves. That is what is behind the bipartisan “war on drugs” and, particularly in the case of L.A., on “street gangs.” In Louisville, Kentucky recently, the cops staged a virtual mutiny against the mayor when he fired the police chief for giving awards to two white cops who had killed an unarmed black teenager.

From top to bottom, the American “justice” system is predicated on frame-up. Deployed on the streets of the inner cities as a racist occupying army, the cops treat everyone as a criminal. Defending the LAPD frame-up operation, one former

L.A. cop said: “We’re talking about people who belonged in prison, just not for those reasons.”

LAPD/Feds’ Murder, Inc.

In 1991, millions of television viewers around the world got a glimpse of the racist sadism of the L.A. cops in the videotaped beating of Rodney King. As we wrote then: “Videotape Shows...What Happens All the Time.” When South-Central exploded the following year over the acquittal of King’s cop tormentors by an all-white Simi Valley jury, an army of cops and National Guardsmen poured into the ghetto to bloodily suppress the upheaval, killing 45 people. The mayor who presided over this police reign of terror was black Democrat Tom Bradley, an ex-cop. Bradley’s police chief was the notorious Daryl Gates, a stone racist who “explained” a wave of LAPD chokehold killings by saying that black people were more prone to die from the chokehold because their circulatory system was not the same as that of “normal people.”

For his part, Bradley owed his election in 1973 as L.A.’s first black mayor to the reaction of L.A.’s rulers to the 1965 Watts upheaval, when the black population in that South-Central ghetto

erupted in outrage against their systematic brutalization by the police, temporarily driving the cops out. It took a murderous invasion by 15,000 National Guard troops to put down that rebellion. In its wake, the moneyed liberal establishment decided it was time for a black face in City Hall to more effectively quell the discontent of the ghetto masses. But while Democrat Bradley’s election was hailed by a host of reformists, most notably the Communist Party, one black resident of South-Central summed up bitterly during the 1992 upheaval, “Having a black mayor didn’t make any difference. Everything was the same.”

Among the “reforms” implemented after ’92 was the naming of a black police chief, Willie Williams. Williams, in turn, was succeeded by Bernard Parks. This black protégé of Gates was honored at the NAACP’s Freedom Fund Dinner last November for doing “a lot to clean up the police department” and for his “remarkable record of integrating the force with women and minorities” (*Los Angeles Sentinel*, 11 November 1999). Indeed, of the 21 Rampart cops against whom some action has been taken, 12 are Latino, black or Asian—a real “equal opportunity” for participating in racist terror!

Seeking to defuse the anger of the inner-city population over cop terror, black liberals like Jesse Jackson and NYC Democrat Al Sharpton push the call for “federal oversight” of the police. The LAPD has had plenty of “federal oversight”—not least working hand in glove with the FBI in its COINTELPRO terror operation in the 1960s. Hundreds of Black Panther Party militants were assassinated or framed up, including L.A. Panther spokesman Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt),

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Victory to L.A. Janitors Strike!

LOS ANGELES, April 3—In a nearly unanimous vote, a mass meeting of over a thousand janitors this afternoon launched rolling strikes against cleaning contractors throughout Los Angeles County. The strikers are members of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 1877—formerly Local 399 “Justice for Janitors”—which represents more than 8,000 overwhelmingly Latino janitors who labor on poverty wages cleaning high-rises of big business. Chanting “Huelga! Huelga!” the janitors booted down the bosses’ latest contract offer, which would have raised the pay of some workers by a miserly 50 cents an hour while freezing the wages of others with the aim of pitting one section of the union against another.

An official from Teamsters Local 396, representing downtown garbage collectors and some UPS workers, pledged at the meeting to honor the

janitors’ picket lines. It is necessary for all of L.A. labor to rally in support of SEIU Local 1877. An all-out strike and a resounding victory by the janitors would be a big boost to all workers in the city, many of whom are now facing their own contract battles, including teachers, county government and public transit workers. And it would be a blow against the city rulers whose cops have been carrying out a rampage of killings and frame-ups in the ghettos and barrios.

The janitors know only too well the realities of racist cop terror. In the midst of the murderous 1992 LAPD/National Guard occupation which suppressed the upheaval over the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King, hundreds of these janitors courageously marched through the heavily immigrant Pico/Union area to protest mass deportations. *Victory to SEIU Local 1877!*



Seib/L.A. Times

LAPD arrested dozens of workers at 1995 “Justice for Janitors” mass labor protest.

Reinstate Expelled Bay Area Carpenter John Reimann!

No to Court Intervention into the Unions!

SAN FRANCISCO—Last May, hundreds of angry carpenters staged a wildcat strike in the Bay Area, shutting down the biggest construction job in California, at the San Francisco airport, for two days as thousands honored their picket lines. Some six months later, officials of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters (UBC) announced that they had expelled from the union one of the strike's leaders, John Reimann. The retaliatory expulsion of this 30-year union member for the "crime" of not being "obedient to authority"—i.e., the UBC bureaucracy's no-strike agreements with the employers—has been carried out by a trade-union bureaucracy whose conscious role is to act as police for the capitalists within the labor movement. Expelling a union member for participating in a strike is an outrage and must be fought. Reinstate Reimann!

At the same time, in opposing the entrenched UBC International officers, Reimann is pushing a strategy which itself seriously threatens both the Carpenters union and the entire labor movement: dragging the unions into the courts, which opens the unions up to control by the agents of the capitalists, the class enemy of the workers. Suing the union is an act of class betrayal, no less than the class-collaborationist deals imposed by the current union tops. No court intervention—Labor must clean its own house!

Reimann, until his expulsion the recording secretary of UBC Local 713 in Hayward, California and a leader of Working Carpenters for a Stronger Union (WCSU), an oppositional grouping in the union, is also a well-known supporter of *Labor's Militant Voice*, published by a small pseudo-Trotskyist group around Reimann and Richard Mellor, an official of AFSCME Local 444 in Oakland. In their Winter 1999 issue, these social democrats published an article titled "Taking Your Union to Court," advising how to carry out this act of class betrayal in a "militant" fashion.

Reimann and the WCSU were centrally involved in leading the wildcat strike after the incumbent bureaucracy under UBC International general president Doug McCarron engineered an especially rotten regional contract and denied carpenters the opportunity to vote it down. The strike's main demand—the right to vote on the contract—was completely legitimate. The wildcat brought howls from the UBC tops because it threatened the crippling no-strike pledges in the general contract and in the so-called Project Labor Agreements. In these treacherous deals, the union bureaucracy guarantees no strikes in exchange for the bosses hiring only unionized labor.

However, the strike's leaders wanted only to pressure the union tops, never taking on the larger issue of smashing these anti-labor provisions. Had they done so, the strike would have confronted the forces of the state—the courts and cops—mobilized to break it. Workers have taken on the state and won—in fact, that's how the unions were built. But that means mobilizing labor's social power in massive shows of strength, in defiance of and against the capitalist state. Instead, Reimann and the WCSU turned to that same strikebreaking state. When the bosses threatened to dump the Project Labor Agreement at the airport, the WCSU pulled down the picket lines. At the meeting which ended the strike, Reimann announced plans to hire a lawyer to take the union to court.

And hire one they did, although plans for court action were dropped after McCarron ordered a July 31 re-vote on the contract by the UBC's Northern Cali-

fornia Regional Council, which approved the sellout a second time. *Labor's Militant Voice* (Spring/Summer 1999) crowed that the re-vote "came about as a result of the uprising among the membership, which, among other things, led to three different locals jointly hiring a lawyer to challenge the voting in court."

Now Reimann and *Labor's Militant Voice* have made clear their plans to fight his expulsion not by mobilizing carpenters in a political struggle against the class collaboration of McCarron et al., but through some class collaboration of their own. In an Internet posting, WCSU declares that "if John's expulsion is upheld then we will be launching a court



Carpenters rally in San Jose as union delegates hold second vote approving sellout contract, 31 July 1999. WV Photo

battle with Doug McCarron," and *Labor's Militant Voice* (Winter 1999) chimes in: "We will launch a campaign to defend John Reimann to help him with any legal challenge that may arise from [the expulsion] and to help him retain membership in his union."

Capitalist Courts: Enemy of the Workers

Reimann and *Labor's Militant Voice* are not just catering opportunistically to widespread illusions among the workers, but are actively promoting illusions in the courts. *Suing the unions flows directly from their program*: these social democrats view the existing state as something that can be put to use for the benefit of the workers. This is completely false: the capitalist state is and can only be a machine for suppressing the workers and oppressed. The American capitalist state has historically used the most bloody and vicious means—Red Squads, anti-syndicalist laws, deportation of foreign workers, bloody massacres of strikers, etc.—to repress even the most rudimentary union organization.

Throughout the history of class society, the state has always been "the state of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploiting the oppressed masses," as Friedrich Engels wrote in his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* in the late 19th century. Drawing on Engels, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin wrote in his 1917 work *The State and Revolution*: "If the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms, if it is a power standing above society and 'alienating itself more and more from it,' it is obvious that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also

without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which is the embodiment of this 'alienation'."

In this society, the state enforces the rule of the capitalist class against the working class. The purpose of state intervention into the unions is not to "democratize" the unions, but to destroy their potential to fight in the workers' interests against their exploiters. When the New York City Transport Workers Union threatened to strike last December, the government pushed through injunctions criminalizing not only strike action but even advocacy of a strike, threatening to destroy the union and bankrupt the members with crippling fines. The working

demobilizes any kind of class struggle—and that is the whole point of Reimann's threatened lawsuit. Their "recognition" that the courts are not "neutral" is only a lying fig leaf.

Reimann and *Labor's Militant Voice* typify a new breed of counterrevolutionary "socialists" who aspire to take leadership of the unions by using the capitalist state to oust the current bureaucrats. The WCSU is part and parcel of the slimy crowd of "sue the unions" types, including the Bay Area Workers Democracy Network, Laborers for Justice and Democracy, and the TDU cheerleaders of the International Socialist Organization.

The national Workers Democracy Network's Statement of Agreement says: "We will confront union corruption by whatever means necessary." "Union corruption" has long been the pretext for government union-busting, especially as carried out by the capitalist Democratic Party. It was liberal icon Robert F. Kennedy, fresh from serving as an aide to the McCarthyite witchhunt which aimed to purge the unions of reds and other militants, who acted as the attack dog for the anti-labor Kefauver Committee against the Teamsters in the late 1950s.

That self-proclaimed socialists could fall all over themselves to openly embrace the vicious enemies of the workers speaks volumes about the sharp shift to the right of these "death of communism" pseudo-socialists, who embraced the capitalist rulers' Cold War II against the Soviet Union, cheered the destruction of the gains of the Russian Revolution and have long since given up any pretense of being for workers revolution.

Leon Trotsky wrote in 1940 that "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"). The UBC tops' expulsion of John Reimann starkly illustrates the union bureaucracy's role as the capitalists' labor lieutenants. But far from opposing their class collaboration, fake socialists like Reimann, *Labor's Militant Voice* and the rest are class traitors who act as instruments for the intervention of the class enemy into the labor movement. Labor must clean its own house through political struggle inside the unions, part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party that can lead the workers to power. ■

class can go forward only through the struggle for the complete and unconditional independence of the unions from the capitalists and their state.

A prime example of what state intervention means can be seen in the case of the government's decades-long vendetta against the Teamsters, a union the ruling class rightly feared as having the power to shut down the country. In large part thanks to the services of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which brain-trusted the Justice Department's intervention, the Teamsters union has been under the direct thumb of the Feds for over a decade. Following the 1997 UPS strike, the government went after TDU-supported president Ron Carey (who had been installed under government sponsorship), ousting him from the Teamsters in an attack on the union as a whole.

On the picket lines and at rallies during the carpenters wildcat, *Workers Vanguard* supporters warned against appealing to the state to enforce union democracy, pointing to the glaring example of what happened to the Teamsters. Now *Labor's Militant Voice* (Winter 1999) explains that unlike the TDU they are not going to "depend mainly" on the courts:

"We must recognize that the courts, as a wing of the government, do represent the employers; they are not 'neutral.' However, the judges are subject to political pressure like any other politicians. In considering whether or not to support the legal challenge, we feel the most important question to keep in mind was this: 'Will this step increase the members' willingness to fight, to be active in the union or will it lower it?'"

"From this point of view, the answer was clear: There is no way that McCarron would have thrown the vote out if he had not known they would probably have lost in court."

Inviting the strikebreaking courts to dictate the internal affairs of the union does not inspire the workers to fight. Rather, it

A Spartacist Pamphlet

Imperialism, the "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

Imperialist Rivalries Heat Up... 3
The "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism... 13

\$2 (32 pages)

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



Reuters

10 December 1999: Protest in Havana as over two million Cubans demonstrated around the island for the return of Elián González.

Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

imperialism's drive to overthrow the gains of the 1959 Revolution. Meanwhile, the INS deports desperate black Haitians by the thousands, tearing parents away from their U.S.-born children as a matter of routine.

Pandering to the "save our children" hysteria has become the polestar of America's bourgeois media. Elián recently appeared in a three-part series on ABC's *Good Morning America*, speaking through a cousin from Miami. Co-host Diane Sawyer motivated this spectacular by noting that "the U.S. government is now increasing a drumbeat of talk about his immediate return and yet no one in the U.S. government has met with the child" (*New York Times*, 28 March). Elián has been showered with a mountain of goodies by his *gusano* "guardians" and their financial backers to convince him of the evils of returning to Cuba; they've even enlisted the Virgin Mary, who they claim has appeared in Elián's bedroom mirror!

A visa has now been granted for his father, Juan Miguel González, to come to the U.S., but not yet for some of Elián's schoolmates as well as psychiatric and medical personnel he wishes to accompany him. The *gusanos*, who have for months brayed about the father's understandable reluctance to visit Batistaville U.S.A., now promise to block any reunion with the father, absurdly claiming that the Cuban medical team will drug and bundle the kid back to Cuba. Let them enter! Certainly Cuban psychiatrists and psychologists are to be preferred over their U.S. counterparts, who are prone to find "child molesters"—usu-

ally working in concert with aliens from outer space—in every day-care center and school they investigate.

Elián's abduction has rekindled fervor against U.S. imperialism and support for the Revolution among millions of Cubans. Over a quarter of the island's population of eleven million have been involved in demonstrations, forums and meetings to demand the child's return. Even the anti-communist social democrats of *In These Times* (3 April) are forced to acknowledge that the movement's "explosive growth, breadth and fervent nature belie the attempt of some foreign critics to dismiss it as a product of official manipulation and coercion."

The Revolution must be defended against the rapacious U.S. imperialists and against the forces in Cuba, such as the Catholic church, seeking to overthrow it. But the program of the Castroled bureaucratic caste has placed the Revolution in mortal danger. Based on the nationalist perversion of Marxism, the dogma of "socialism in one country," Cuba's regime has consistently worked to block the spread of revolutions that could have ended Cuba's isolation as the only workers state in the Americas. The defense of the Cuban Revolution requires the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the Americas, especially in the U.S., and a proletarian political revolution in Cuba to oust the nationalist Castroite bureaucracy.

With the overthrow of the October Revolution in the USSR in 1991-92, the Castroite bureaucracy has fostered increasing imperialist penetration of Cuba. The legalization of the dollar in 1993 opened up a huge gap in Cuban society, with greenbacks available to only

Free Mexican Militants!

Donate Now to Help Jailed Student Strikers!

April 20 marks the one-year anniversary of the massive student strike at Mexico City's National Autonomous University (UNAM) and high schools around the country, which was brutally suppressed in the government's crackdown in February when up to a thousand students and others were arrested. A mass protest is to be held in Mexico City on April 11 to demand the release of the student strikers who are still imprisoned and the hundreds who face serious, trumped-up charges for the "crime" of fighting to defend public education. The International Communist League demands: Free all the UNAM strikers now!

The workers movement and the left internationally must demonstrate that the victimized UNAM strikers do not stand alone. The ICL is raising funds for legal defense of the imprisoned student militants. As well, the Partisan Defense Committee has added imprisoned strike leaders Alejandro Echevarria Zarco ("El Mosh") and Alberto Pacheco Guizar ("El Diablo") to its class-war prisoners stipend program. The monthly stipend of US\$25 alleviates some of the hardships of imprisonment and represents a living link between imprisoned activists and the international workers movement which champions the struggle for their release.

The ten-month UNAM strike, provoked by the administration's attempt

to purge poor and working-class youth through tuition hikes, grew into a wider social struggle, spreading from Mexico City around the country. The tens of thousands of courageous students and workers who participated in the strike and in huge support rallies were fighting for all those oppressed and dispossessed by capitalism, and it is our revolutionary internationalist duty to raise funds to help get them out of Mexico's dungeons. Every dollar you send could make a difference! Send contributions, earmarked "UNAM strikers," to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.



Grupo Espartaquista de México issued special *Espartaco* supplement on lessons of the UNAM student strike. Available for 25¢. Order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

the few while the masses of the population scrape by on pitiful rations. While Clinton's current policy is that of a wing of America's rulers who favor a less belligerent road to capitalist restoration, Elián's abduction underscores the powerful support that the *gusano* scum still have among sections of the U.S. ruling class. But fake socialists like the Workers World Party, which has organized demonstrations in Miami and elsewhere for Elián's return, portray this tactical difference over how best to overthrow the Cuban Revolution as a conflict between "good" Democrats and "bad" *gusanos*.

Grotesquely appealing to the "family values" of Janet Reno, they call on her to "do the right thing," chanting "Bill Clinton/Janet Reno—You know better!"

In contrast, the Spartacist League, as the U.S. section of the International Communist League, is committed to building the Leninist vanguard party needed to lead the multiracial U.S. proletariat in the overthrow of the world's most powerful and blood-soaked imperialist power through socialist revolution. This is the only way to end imperialist domination and replace hunger and oppression with equality, opportunity and justice for all. ■

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

International Center: Box 7429 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

Spartacist League of Australia	Spartacist League, GPO Box 3473 Sydney, NSW, 2001, Australia
Spartacist League/Britain	Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041 London NW5 3EU, England
Trotskyist League of Canada/ Ligue trotskyste du Canada	Trotskyist League, Box 7198, Station A Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1X8, Canada
Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands	SpAD, Postfach 5 55 10127 Berlin, Germany
Dublin Spartacist Group	PO Box 2944, Dublin 1 Republic of Ireland
Ligue trotskyste de France	Le Bolchévick, B.P. 135-10 75463 Paris Cedex 10, France
Spartacist Group India/Lanka	write to ICL, New York, USA
Lega trotskista d'Italia	Walter Fidacaro C.P. 1591, 20101 Milano, Italy
Spartacist Group Japan	Spartacist Group Japan PO Box 49, Akabane Yubinkyoku Kita-ku, Tokyo 115, Japan
Grupo Espartaquista de México	J. Vega, Apdo. Postal 1251 Admon. Palacio Postal 1 C.P. 06002, México D.F., Mexico
Spartacist/Moscow	write to Le Bolchévick, Paris
Spartakusowska Grupa Polski	Platforma Spartakusowców Skrytka Poczтовая 148 02-588 Warszawa 48, Poland
Spartacist/South Africa	Spartacist, PostNet Suite 248 Private Bag X2226 Johannesburg 2000, South Africa
Spartacist League/U.S.	Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116, USA

Art Exhibit...

(continued from page 2)

Vietnamese flag that parallels the Confederate rag—both are the banners of a reactionary ruling class defeated in a social revolution. Many black GIs in particular, hating the racist treatment they received in the U.S. military and impressed by the fighting spirit of the NLF, were radicalized by the war and came back sympathetic to the cause of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The social revolution which began in North Vietnam was extended to the South with the defeat of the U.S. and South Vietnamese forces, and a planned, collectivized economy was established in a unified country. Although a great gain for the oppressed Vietnamese masses and an inspiration for anti-imperialists everywhere, the revolution was deformed from its inception, with the workers and peasants ruled by a bureaucratic caste following the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." The Spartacist League stands for the unconditional military defense of the Vietnamese deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We call for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist bureaucracy which opens the door to the threat of capitalist

counterrevolution.

From 1975 on, Vietnam faced a U.S. embargo on trade and travel designed to economically strangle the already impoverished country. But since the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, the imperialists have sought to foment counterrevolution through economic penetration. The Vietnamese Stalinist regime has increasingly opened the economy to foreign capitalist exploitation. Today, imperialist economic penetration threatens to win back for the United States what it lost on the battlefield.

In Vietnam today, protests by peasants and unemployed workers displaced by the regime's market "reforms" show that the masses will not lightly give up the revolution they won through so much blood. What's needed is the forging of an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party to link this struggle for political revolution to the parallel struggle against capitalist restoration in China as well as to the fight for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries. The American workers revolution will finally settle accounts with the imperialist butchers of the Vietnamese people, and will liberate the needed industrial resources on behalf of those who have long suffered under the yoke of backwardness and poverty, the legacy of imperialist world domination. ■

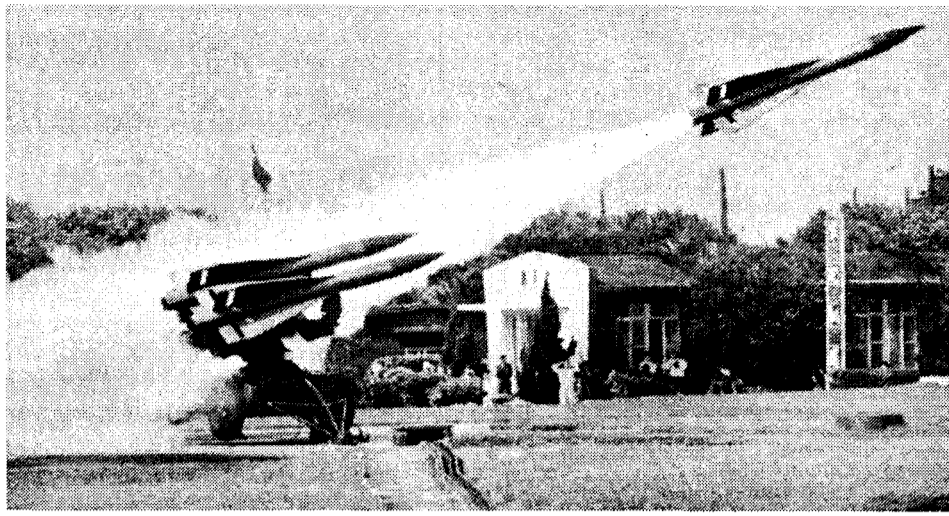
China...

(continued from page 1)

economy—albeit under the rule of a nationalist bureaucracy which deprived the working class of political power—which meant enormous gains for the Chinese masses.

Intent on reversing this social revolution, Washington proclaimed the Guomindang regime to be the sole legitimate government of *all* China—the diplomatic stance of a state of war with China. The Seventh Fleet occupied the Taiwan Strait in 1950 shortly after the U.S. launched its imperialist war against North Korea, which aimed to smash social revolution there and to target Mao's regime as well. Since then, Taiwan has served as America's "unsinkable aircraft carrier."

In the late 1970s, the U.S. finally recognized the Beijing regime as the sole government of China. Nevertheless, the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act pledged that the U.S. would provide the country with "such defense articles and defense services in such quantity as may be necessary." When the Beijing regime held military exercises in the Taiwan Strait in 1996 to show its opposition to Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui during his election campaign, the Pentagon sent two air-



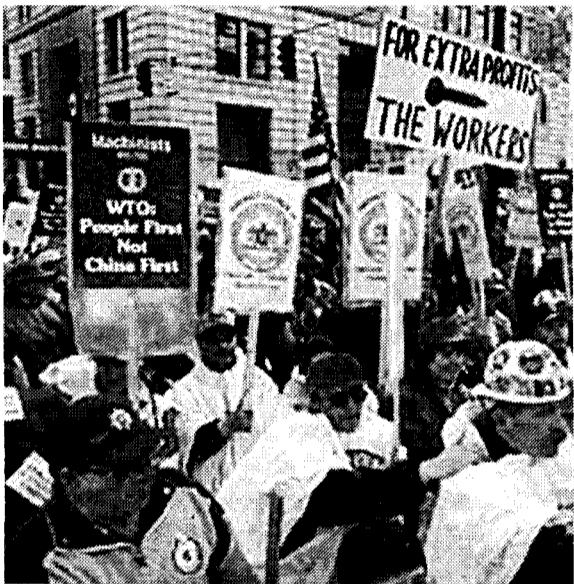
U.S.-made missiles being tested off Taiwan's northwest coast. U.S. client state is a platform for imperialist military provocations against China.

moves by Washington to further shore up Taiwan's military. The Clinton administration is now considering the sale of large numbers of Patriot missiles, four sophisticated Aegis destroyers and long-range radar. Taiwan is also important in Clinton's plans for an East Asian "theater missile defense" system, which would in the first instance target North Korea and China.

Against U.S. imperialism and its Taiwanese client regime, the international

massive inroads into the Chinese economy. Western and Japanese industrialists and financiers, along with Chinese capitalists in Hong Kong, Taiwan and elsewhere, have poured hundreds of billions of dollars into the country. The Chinese executives of such foreign subsidiaries and joint ventures are typically the sons of high-level government and Communist Party (CCP) officials.

If China enters the WTO, foreign firms would be permitted to own up to 50 per-



AFL-CIO tops spearhead anti-Communist crusade against China at Seattle WTO protests with chauvinist signs reading "People First Not China First." SL denounced pro-imperialist mobilization.



craft carrier groups into the Strait, the biggest show of U.S. military force there since the 1950s. Another element in the imperialists' pincer operation against China is the "Free Tibet" crusade. The CIA inspired, armed and financed the 1959 Tibet rebellion, and the imperialists have kept the reactionary "Free Tibet" cause alive to this day, aided by assorted "radicals" and dim Hollywood luminaries like Richard Gere.

The "Taiwan issue" was again brought to the fore with the presidential elections last month, as Chen Shui-bian of the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) unseated the long-ruling Guomindang. In the run-up to the election, Beijing waged a strident campaign against Chen, warning that if the Taiwan government refuses the "peaceful settlement of cross-straits reunification through negotiations, then the Chinese government will only be forced to adopt all drastic measures possible, including the use of force."

This bellicose posture has helped spur

working class must stand for the *unconditional military defense of China* and for the defense of all the remaining deformed workers states—Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. There must be a proletarian political revolution in China to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy which is leading the drive toward capitalist restoration. The International Communist League seeks to build a Chinese Trotskyist party to lead the combative working class in this fight. The Spartacist League/U.S. fights to forge an American workers party which will sweep away bloody U.S. imperialism through proletarian revolution.

Divisions Over WTO Entry in Washington and Beijing

At present, dominant sections of the American ruling class, represented by the Clinton White House, want to avoid a military confrontation with China as this would derail its entry into the WTO. Over the past two decades, capitalism has made

cent of such strategic sectors as telecommunications, while tariffs now protecting state-owned enterprises would be drastically cut. Millions of workers have already been thrown out of their jobs as state-owned factories and other enterprises shut down or retrench. Lower agricultural prices would drive even more peasants into the huge destitute and desperate army of migrant laborers, adding to the tens of millions who have already flooded into cities and towns looking for work.

WTO entry would mean eliminating what remains of the state monopoly of foreign trade, further subjecting the economy to the pressures of the world capitalist market. It would thus act as a battering ram to force through the CCP's 1997 decision to privatize the bulk of state-owned industry. Presaging what awaits other state workers, the main Chinese state oil company, China National Petroleum, recently set up a separate company, PetroChina, which "went public" on the Hong Kong stock exchange on March 30.

The new capitalist enterprise was given the most valuable company assets, while most of the one million workers remaining in the state company are faced with layoffs.

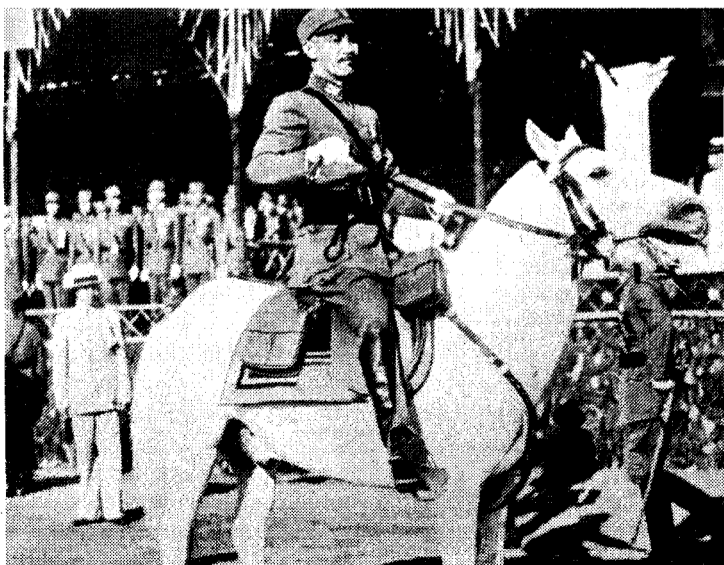
But the attempt to implement such privatizations would further fuel struggle by the Chinese proletariat against the immiseration brought on by 20-plus years of "market reforms." Eleven years ago, mounting anger over inflation and corruption helped spur the entry of the Chinese working class into the Tiananmen student protests. This marked the beginning of a political revolution against the hated Deng regime, until the workers were brutally suppressed by the bureaucracy. In the years since, workers have fought to defend their livelihoods through strikes, sit-ins and marches, while localized rebellions against tax collectors and other officials have taken place in the countryside. Workers' protests have increased every year over the past decade, even by Beijing's own admission. In February, 20,000 laid-off miners staged an angry protest in the economically depressed northeast.

The fear of social unrest has fed into sharp differences within the Stalinist bureaucracy over entry into the WTO. The *Washington Post* (13 March) reports: "China's security services, its military and certain ministries and economic interests, such as the Information Ministry, China Telecom, steel conglomerates and some agricultural firms, oppose the agreement." While some enterprise directors and ministry officials worry about protecting their bailiwicks from foreign competition, the bureaucracy's greatest problem is how to maintain social stability as it tries to ram through further attacks on the worker and peasant masses. The so-called "hardliners" in the Chinese leadership like Li Peng are *not* fundamentally opposed to the restoration of capitalism, but want simply to ensure terms more favorable to different sections of the bureaucracy and less subject to the vagaries of the world market and international financial manipulations.

There exists one and only one social force in China capable of halting the accelerated drive toward capitalist counterrevolution: the proletariat. As we wrote in *WV* No. 725 (10 December 1999) when the agreement opening the way for China's entry into the WTO was announced late last year:

"The choices are increasingly stark: *proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution*. The raw social material for a proletarian political revolution certainly exists. What does not exist and must be built is a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to direct spontaneous and localized labor struggles and protests toward the overthrow of the Stalinist regime and its replacement by a government of democratically elected workers, soldiers and peasant councils."

A political revolution in China would come to the aid of the beleaguered North Korean and Vietnamese deformed workers states against the imperialist vultures and would inspire the workers of those countries to overthrow their Stalinist bureaucracies. Above all, a Chinese workers political revolution must be linked to the class struggles of the militant South Korean workers and beyond—to Japan and the U.S.—to end the threat of



Storia Illustrata photos

Defeated in 1949 Revolution, Chiang Kai-shek (left) and his Nationalist butchers fled to Taiwan. Communist executed by Chiang's troops in Shanghai, March 1949.

capitalist re-enslavement and imperialist subjugation once and for all.

Workers and minorities in the U.S. have a direct interest in opposing the imperialist depredations of the American capitalist exploiters. But the class-collaborationist AFL-CIO bureaucracy seeks to chain U.S. workers to the class enemy, particularly through the Democratic Party, while acting abroad as labor lieutenants of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. labor tops launched protests against PetroChina's stock offering, advising capitalist moneybags that this would be a bad investment in a company that violates "human rights."

This was just the latest installment in the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO tops' campaign against China's entry into the WTO, in which they have joined up with liberal Democrats and right-wing Republicans, denouncing Clinton for "appeasing" Beijing and demanding an all-out offensive against China. AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney lashed out at the Clinton administration, saying that it "prostrates itself for a deal with China that treats human rights as a disposable nuisance." Teamsters president James Hoffa Jr. has praised incipient clerical-fascist Pat Buchanan as "the only candidate that is speaking out about the issues of world trade, of China...almost a rogue state that is threatening Taiwan." The labor tops' next China-bashing venture is the April 12 march in Washington, D.C., aiming to pressure Congress to vote against the "normalization" of U.S.-China trade relations.

The "AFL-CIA" campaign against China follows naturally from the labor tops' decades of work on behalf of U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, which included smashing Communist-led and other militant unions in Europe and Latin America and supporting the imperialist wars in Korea and Vietnam. Despite the often fevered rhetoric in the debate over China's admission to the WTO, the differences between Sweeney and Clinton/Gore, or between Pat Buchanan and George W. Bush, are over *means not ends*. All share the same goals of capitalist counterrevolution in China and American imperialist dominance in the Far East, and indeed throughout the world.

Today, much of the so-called left, which previously enlisted in the anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, has lined up behind the AFL-CIO tops against China, as witnessed by their participation in and enthusing over the anti-WTO protests in Seattle late last year. These protests were an orgy of flag-waving American chauvinism—directed above



Mao's People's Liberation Army enters Beijing, January 1949. Revolution which smashed landlord/capitalist rule was deformed from inception by nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy.

all against China—which upheld the most rapacious capitalist power in the world as the standard-bearer for labor rights.

Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan and American Imperialism

The 1949 Revolution unified a China which in the 19th century was divided into colonies and "spheres of influence" by the Western imperialist powers and, later, Japan. Following a war of conquest against China in 1895, Japan took Taiwan—then known as Formosa—as part of the spoils. In Taiwan, as elsewhere, colonial rule sharpened the internal class divisions in that society. The mass of toilers opposed Japanese colonial subjugation while the propertied classes generally collaborated with the colonizers. Wealthy Taiwanese landowners, merchants and moneylenders became fluent in Japanese; most spoke Mandarin Chinese (the principal language of the mainland) poorly or not at all. In the 1930s, the native Taiwanese elite were integrated into Japan's "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" even as Japan carried out its brutal occupation of much of China.

The Second World War in the Pacific between the United States and Japan was fought primarily to determine which imperialist power would exploit and subjugate China. When Japan surrendered in August 1945 after the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the American rulers believed they had at last "won" China under the U.S. puppet Chiang Kai-shek. The U.S. turned Taiwan over to the tender mercies of the Guomindang regime, which treated it like a conquered province, acting with even greater brutality and rapacity than the Japanese colonialists. To this day, many older Taiwanese regard the Japanese occupation as having been more benign than the Guomindang's blood-drenched rule.

When a Guomindang policeman killed an old woman street vendor, this triggered an island-wide uprising on 28 February 1947. As a thousand people marched on a police station and occupied it, Chiang dispatched troops from the mainland to quell the revolt, slaughtering an estimated 20,000 Taiwanese in the course of the "2-28 incident." What happened when Chiang's forces entered Taipei was vividly described by the American left-wing

publicist Jack Belden in his account of the Chinese Revolution, *China Shakes the World* (1949):

"They immediately dragged many Formosan youths into the street and shot them. Soldiers threw stones through windows, climbed inside and ransacked houses before the eyes of terrified occupants. They went into the house of a woman primary school teacher, raped her, shot her father, who was a school principal, and her brother...."

"On March 11, 12 and 13, the killings became more systematic as soldiers and gendarmes, acting on grudge lists supplied by mainland Chinese, searched out personal enemies, particularly newspapermen, schoolteachers, committeemen and businessmen. Often such men were shot on the spot. Others were taken away and never heard of again."

Thus was inaugurated the Guomindang rule which a few years later was to become a bastion of the "free world" in the Cold War against Communism. In the late 1940s, in flight from Mao's peasant army, Chiang's forces, numbering with their families some two million, moved en masse to Taiwan, which then had a population of six million (overwhelmingly the descendants of mainland Han Chinese who had moved there in the 17th century, along with a small remnant of the original indigenous Austro-nesian people). Martial law was imposed and remained in force for the next four decades. Even advocating independence for Taiwan was enough to get you jailed, tortured and/or executed by Chiang's regime, which brooked no opposition to its vow to "reconquer the mainland." Chiang was fully encouraged by U.S. imperialism, and a whole slew of American politicians—the "China lobby"—got fat off Taiwan's generous payroll.

In 1958, tensions over Taiwan led to a major military confrontation between the U.S. and China. The Guomindang domain extended to a few small islands right off the Chinese coast which were well within Chinese artillery range. In a move to expel Chiang's forces, the PLA bombarded the largest of the islands, Quemoy. The Pentagon then moved seven aircraft carriers and accompanying warships into the Taiwan Strait, while the U.S. Seventh Fleet ferried weapons and supplies to Guomindang troops on Quemoy. The Eisenhower administration threatened to use nuclear weapons against China unless the shelling was stopped.

Mao, Deng and the Anti-Soviet Alliance

In the 1960s, the hot spot of the Cold War in Asia shifted to Vietnam. The

continued on page 8

Spartacist Forums

25th Anniversary of the Defeat of U.S. Imperialism by Heroic Vietnamese Workers and Peasants

Defeat U.S. Imperialism! For Workers Revolution!

Wednesday, April 26, 7:30 p.m.

Columbia University, Hamilton Hall, Rm. 602, 116th and Broadway (take 1 or 9 to 116th St.)

NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, May 6, 3 p.m.

The St. Clair Restaurant, 93 Smith St., Brooklyn (at Atlantic Ave., take A, C, or F to Borough Hall)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

The Fight Against Capitalism in Racist North America

Saturday, April 15, 7:30 p.m.

Trinity St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor St. W. (west of Spadina station)

For more information: (416) 593-4138

TORONTO

Friday, April 7, 7 p.m.

Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier Street (off Commercial Drive)

For more information: (604) 687-0353

VANCOUVER

Down With Neo-Apartheid Capitalism! ANC Government Escalates War on South African Workers

Saturday, April 8, 7 p.m.

CHICAGO

University of Illinois at Chicago, CCC Building, Room 613, 750 S. Halsted

For more information: (312) 454-4930

Defend China Against Imperialism and Capitalist Counterrevolution!

Friday, April 7, 7 p.m.

City College of San Francisco, Science Building Room 200, 50 Phelan Avenue (510) 839-0851 or (415) 395-9520

BAY AREA

Saturday, April 8, 4 p.m.

Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church, 4607 Prospect Avenue, Hollywood (one block east of Vermont)

For more information: (213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES

Break with the Democratic Party of Racism and War—We Need a Workers Party!

Saturday, April 29, 3 p.m.

BOSTON

Harvard University, Science Center, Room 109. For more information: (617) 666-9453. Event not sponsored by the Science Center of Harvard University.

China...

(continued from page 7)

heroic resistance of the Vietnamese workers and peasants led to the defeat of U.S. imperialism on the battlefield and the reunification of Vietnam as a deformed workers state. The American ruling class then adopted a more oblique Cold War strategy by exploiting the intense antagonisms between the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and China, which fought a brief border war in 1969.

Many Chinese leftists today uphold Maoism as an alternative to the current, openly pro-capitalist bureaucracy in Beijing. But Deng, Zhu Rongji & Co. are the direct descendants of Mao's regime, which was based on the nationalist Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." Years before his reactionary embrace of U.S. imperialism, Mao sought alliances with a number of bourgeois-nationalist "Third World" regimes and opposed proletarian revolutions internationally. In 1965, the Mao bureaucracy instructed the Indonesian Communist Party to maintain a political bloc with the nationalist Sukarno, an ally of Beijing, directly paving the way for Suharto's coup which ushered in a horrific slaughter of well over half a million Communists, ethnic Chinese and others.

At the height of the "Cultural Revolution," when radical leftists around the world were hailing Mao as an alternative to the stodgy Kremlin bureaucrats, the Spartacist League insisted that given his regime's hostility toward the Soviet Union, "the danger of an imperialist alliance with China against the Russians cannot be dismissed" ("Chinese Menshevism," *Spartacist* No. 15-16, April/May 1970). This prediction was borne out with the official rapprochement between the U.S. and China signaled by war criminal Nixon's visit to China in 1972 while American bombs were raining on Indochina.

By the late 1970s, the American bourgeois order had been restabilized after the humiliating defeat in Vietnam and the mass antiwar and black struggles of the 1960s. The U.S. ruling class launched a new offensive against the Soviet Union combining military, political and economic pressure. Cold War II involved a deepening of the Washington-Beijing alliance, which acquired a direct military character.

In early 1979, Mao's successor, Deng Xiaoping, became the first leader of the People's Republic to make a state visit to the U.S. A few weeks later, the PLA invaded Vietnam, the USSR's principal ally in the region, on the pretext of "punishing" Vietnam for its military intervention in Cambodia, which ousted the mur-



Peter Turnley

Tiananmen Square, 1989: Proletariat's entry into student protests signaled incipient political revolution in China (left). "Market reforms" have thrown millions into desperate poverty: rural migrants pour into Beijing looking for work.



AP

derous Chinese client regime of Pol Pot. As it turned out, it was the Vietnamese army which punished the Chinese invaders. Some months later, China joined with the U.S. in supplying arms and funds to the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* fighting the Soviet Army in Afghanistan and provided the CIA with listening posts in China's far western Xinjiang province.

In the mid-1980s, the Beijing regime adopted a "softer" approach toward Taiwan, now under the command of Chiang Kai-shek's son, Chiang Ching-kuo. Deng proposed reunification under the formula "one country, two systems"—subsequently implemented in Hong Kong when the British colonialists finally left in 1997 and in the former Portuguese colony of Macao last year. Deng guaranteed the continued existence of capitalism on Taiwan as well as the continued rule of the Guomintang. Taiwanese capitalists were invited to invest in the mainland and given advantages (such as guaranteed profits) not available to Western and Japanese interests.

Increased economic ties between mainland China and Taiwan served only to strengthen the offshore bourgeois state. Lucrative profits from business dealings in China were used to purchase modern weaponry for the Taiwanese army and to buy political support within Western and Japanese ruling circles.

Rise of a Taiwanese Bourgeois Nationalist Opposition

At the same time, by the 1980s the Guomintang regime had become a historical anachronism. Its pretension to be the government of China was not taken seriously by anyone, including its American protectors. The surviving elements of the Guomintang old guard were in an advanced-state of physical and mental decay. A majority of the members of Taiwan's "parliament" were in their 80s and spent most of the time in "napping

rooms." Among the populace, they were derisively called the "delegates of ten thousand years" and the "old thieves."

Even in its decrepitude, the Guomintang police state was able to suppress the emergence of an independent workers movement and left-wing organizations. But it was not able to suppress the deep divisions within the island's bourgeoisie, centrally between the "mainlanders"—the Guomintang gang which invaded the island after 1945 and their progeny—and the "Taiwanese." The "mainlanders" controlled the state apparatus, making up the senior officers in Taiwan's armed forces and the top echelons of the ruling party.

ington and Beijing has also strengthened the pro-independence wing of Taiwan's bourgeoisie. A leading member of the DPP argued in 1995:

"As mainland China's economy and military modernize over the next 10 years, this will threaten U.S. interests. So the U.S. will have to protect itself and check these threats. One way is to use Taiwan. So U.S. policy towards Taiwan will absolutely have to be adjusted."

—quoted in Xiaobing Li et al., eds., *Interpreting U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations* (1998)

In fact, U.S. policy toward Taiwan was already being adjusted. In 1992, President George Bush approved the sale of 150



Morris/Far Eastern Economic Review

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

Among the "Taiwanese" an opposition emerged demanding formal and complete independence from China, coalescing in 1987 into the Democratic Progressive Party.

The call for independence was no less anathema to the Guomintang old guard than it was to the Beijing Stalinist regime, for both parties are deeply committed to Chinese "great power" nationalism. Beijing has always manifestly favored the Guomintang over the Taiwanese nationalist opposition. Even Mao Zedong said he preferred Chiang Kai-shek to those who would sever Taiwan from China permanently.

When Chiang Ching-kuo died in 1988, he was succeeded by his vice president, Lee Teng-hui, whose father had been a wealthy landowner and active collaborator with the Japanese colonial administration. The first Taiwan-born president of the island, Lee speaks Japanese better than Mandarin. As president, Lee sought to balance between the old guard and the Taiwanese nationalist opposition under the slogan of "no reunification and no independence." But developments in the post-Soviet world have increasingly tilted the balance in favor of the forces of Taiwanese independence.

The destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 through capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the basis for the strategic alliance between American imperialism and Stalinist-ruled China and greatly intensified imperialist pressures against the remaining gains of the Chinese Revolution. Increasing tension between Wash-

high-performance F-16 warplanes to Taipei, the first major move to beef up Taiwan's military capacity in over a decade.

As part of its elaborate diplomatic dance with Beijing, Washington agreed not to allow officials from the self-styled "Republic of China"—i.e., Taiwan—into the U.S. Yet in 1995, the Clinton White House provocatively broke that agreement by issuing a visa to Lee Teng-hui for a "private" visit to his alma mater,

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Cornell University. Lee reportedly bought the visa for \$10 million—distributed in strictly bipartisan fashion, with half going to Republican Congressional leaders and half to Clinton's re-election campaign (Willem van Kemenade, *China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Inc.* [1997]).

China/Taiwan: For Revolutionary Reunification!

Such calculated humiliations have fed the deep wellsprings of national sentiment in the mainland population. The Stalinist regime extols the most retrograde nationalism as the highest of political virtues, as in a recent CCP statement that "the renaissance of the Chinese race can only be accomplished under the Communist Party's leadership" (*South China Morning Post* [Hong Kong], 30 March). Wielding such bourgeois nationalism, the Stalinist bureaucracy is inviting the Chinese bourgeoisie back into the country they were tossed out of in 1949 in the name of forging a "greater China."

Beijing's recent verbal belligerence over Taiwan is designed in large part to divert the working class from struggling against increased exploitation by Western and Japanese imperialism and by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie. The Chinese government projects that five million workers will be laid off from state-owned firms this year. But according to the World Bank, as the London *Financial Times* (8 March) reports, WTO entry would mean "that up to 35 per cent of 140m workers in the state-owned and collective sectors may be surplus"—that's nearly 50 million workers.

Well aware that it is sitting atop a time bomb, the Stalinist bureaucracy can ill afford to allow any kind of social protest, even in support of its own initiatives. The *South China Morning Post* (29 March) reported that after students from dozens of universities in Beijing and other cities applied to hold street demonstrations against the election of Taiwan independence candidate Chen Shui-bian, the CCP Politburo took immediate action to rein in the students. One Beijing insider said, "The leadership fears things will get out of control if the protests were to spread to the workers and become a nationwide movement." While the Beijing Stalinists acted to promote the Guomindang and independent candidates running against Chen, all three of these capitalist politicians represent the bloody Taiwan rulers who are the class enemy of both the Chinese workers state and the proletariat on Taiwan.

In opposition to the Stalinist program of "one country, two systems," we stand for the revolutionary reunification of China: for a collectivized economy, under a government based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism, which can open the road to socialism.



Ming Pao

Telecommunications workers in Taiwan demonstrate recently against privatization plans.

What distinguishes Taiwan from China is not a national divide but a class divide. We fight for a proletarian socialist revolution on Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie and a proletarian political revolution on the mainland to oust the Beijing Stalinist regime which is thrusting China headlong toward capitalist restoration. The International Communist League fights to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party in China, extending to the relatively large and technically advanced working class of Taiwan, where deep fissures in the capitalist ruling class have resulted in a certain political openness.

Those who call themselves or are viewed as Trotskyists in China—the Hong Kong-based groups which publish *October Review* and *Pioneer*—are in fact supporters of imperialist world domination under the banner of "democracy" and "human rights." These were battle cries in the counterrevolutions which swept East Europe and the former Soviet Union, and they were trumpeted at the time by the associates of *October Review* and *Pioneer* in the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. Today such calls are directed at fomenting counterrevolution in China.

An article on Taiwan in *October Review* (5 August 1999) reads like a position paper by the U.S. State Department or the former Guomindang regime in Taipei:

"If the Beijing leadership wants to facilitate the reunification of the two sides and make the Taiwanese people willingly want to become a part of China, [Beijing] must first stop all military threats and high-pressure talk and behavior, and, more fundamentally, implement thorough democratic reform on the mainland, lift the ban on other parties, open the press, let the mainland compatriots enjoy real democratic rights and freedom."

An article in *Pioneer* (November 1999) on the possibility of war between Taiwan and China argues with evident approval that the Taiwanese would "defend their

democracy and freedom." Should China take over the island, *Pioneer* calls for resistance in the name of Taiwanese bourgeois nationalism: "Taiwanese people are rich in the tradition of rebellion. They've waged long-lasting and fierce resistance against both the Japanese government and the Guomindang.... They will never tamely accept the new violent conqueror." The Chinese deformed workers state is here equated with Japanese imperialism and the reactionary Chinese bourgeois

bourgeois democracy) to China but bloody terror, economic immiseration and imperialist subjugation. To get a sense of what this would mean, it is enough to recall the horrendous 1947 Taiwan massacre or the Guomindang's slaughter of the Shanghai proletariat 20 years earlier, which drowned in blood the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27. The 1927 defeat was prepared by the liquidationist policy of Stalin, who ordered the CCP to subordinate itself to the national bourgeoisie represented by Chiang, politically and physically disarming the cream of the Chinese proletariat.

The spoils of capitalist restoration would become a focus of conflict among the major capitalist powers. In fact, access to the Chinese market is already a major factor in increasing inter-imperialist rivalries. Clinton argues that if the U.S. Congress votes down China's admittance to the WTO, this "will cost America jobs as our competitors in Europe, Asia and elsewhere capture Chinese markets." Meanwhile, the European Union is pressing Beijing to accede to its terms for entry into the WTO. Capitalist counterrevolution in China would greatly intensify such economic conflicts, increasing the danger of World War III.

The Chinese proletariat has the power to defeat those who would subject it to capitalist re-enslavement. To utilize that power, it is necessary not only to see



WV Photo

SL protest against China's 1979 invasion of Vietnam, perpetrated as part of Beijing bureaucracy's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism.

puppets of American imperialism!

The American International Socialist Organization (ISO) and its British parent group, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party, have long been marked by virulent hatred of the degenerated and deformed workers states. When U.S. warships plied the Taiwan Strait in 1996, the Cliffites stood with the imperialists, proclaiming: "We would oppose any Chinese invasion of Taiwan as an act of imperialist aggression" (*Socialist Review* [Britain], April 1996). In contrast, the Spartacist League upheld the defense of the Chinese workers state and denounced U.S. moves as "classic gunboat diplomacy intended to show China—as well as America's imperialist rivals—that the U.S. is the cop of the world" (WV No. 642, 29 March 1996).

Capitalist counterrevolution will not bring freedom and democracy (even

through illusions of bourgeois "democracy" but also to reject the Chinese nationalism preached by the Stalinists. In "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), we wrote:

"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 a socialist future. Above all, China's workers must be won to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu, which for decades has been trampled on by Stalinism. For a Trotskyist Party in China, section of a reborn Fourth International!" ■

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LAPD...

(continued from page 3)

who was imprisoned for 27 years for a crime the government knew he did not commit, until the courts finally released him three years ago.

The FBI has played an integral part in the LAPD "anti-gang" offensive centered on CRASH. The L.A. Metropolitan Task Force on Violent Crime includes the U.S. Marshals Service, the BATF and the Drug Enforcement Administration, among other agencies. The Rampart Division, which covers one of the state's highest concentrations of Latino immigrants, has a database of 15,000 people supposedly "claiming gang membership," while an additional 8,000 "known and suspected gang members" are listed on an INS index. Meanwhile, the state government lists 250,000 "gang members" in its database.

Those non-citizens not killed outright or framed up and imprisoned in this operation are fingered to the INS for deportation, in violation of the city's own laws. Tony Alvarado, a 28-year-old worker who has lived in the U.S. since he was 18 months old, was arrested last August and pumped for "information" about gang activity. Alvarado was thrown into jail for four months when he told the cops he knew nothing. Released on bail in December, he was immediately nabbed by *la migra* and remains in an INS detention center, threatened with deportation.

Reformists Push Bogus Police "Reform"

The bourgeoisie in L.A. is wringing its hands, worrying about how the burgeoning exposures of its rotten and corrupt forces of repression could obstruct their efforts to maintain racist "law and order" and secure convictions in the courts. An emergency meeting of the Police Commission ordered Parks to cooperate with the U.S. Attorney's office. Parks has lashed out at L.A. District Attorney Gil Garcetti for failing thus far to prosecute any of the "rogue" cops. Meanwhile,



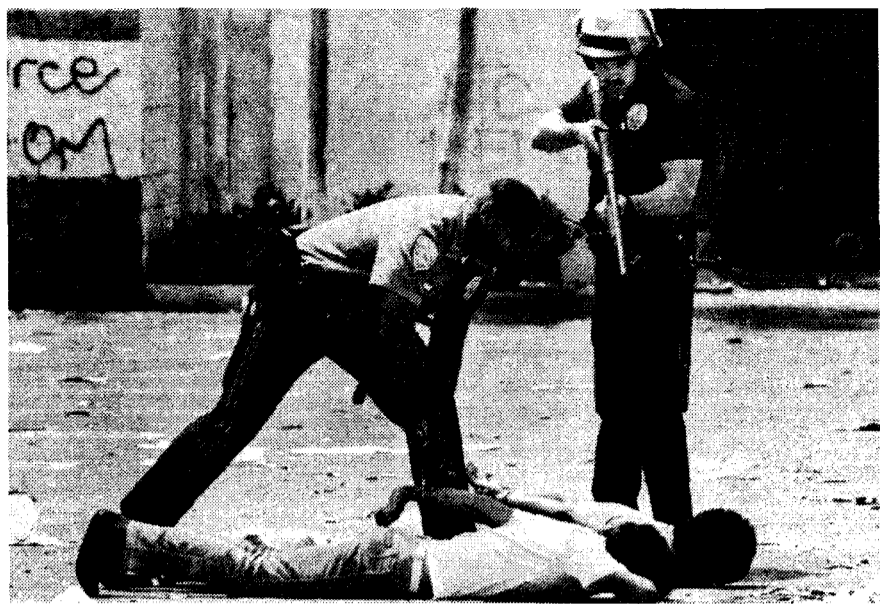
Downs/L.A. Times

L.A. mayor Tom Bradley at 1993 press conference with LAPD chief Willie Williams, installed amid police "reforms" after 1992 South-Central upheaval was suppressed by murderous cop occupation.

Garcetti has denounced Parks for denying county prosecutors access to information on the Rampart investigation, screaming, "We have a department out of control." Even the L.A. cop "union" is calling for an "independent citizens' panel" to investigate the department.

Faced with the prospect of shelling out several hundred million dollars to settle lawsuits, the bourgeois establishment talks of "cleaning up" the LAPD in hopes of cutting future losses. More fundamentally, the capitalist rulers fear the erosion of public confidence in the cops. Democratic Party mayoral hopeful and state assembly speaker Antonio Villaraigosa said: "Only an independent, outside investigator will restore the public's confidence in our law enforcement." And Democratic City Council member Jackie Goldberg complains: "15 years of people convincing immigrants that they can call the police will be destroyed overnight. And if that happens, part of the city will become unpoliceable" (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 March).

Joining the liberal Democrats in seeking to "restore public confidence" in the cops are black nationalist Michael Zinzun's Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA) and the social democrats of the International Socialist Organization



AP

(ISO). A CAPA leaflet for a March 15 protest, signed by the ISO, echoed Villaraigosa in one of its two main demands: "Independent Investigation of all CRASH Arrests!" The second demand—"Dismantle All LAPD CRASH Units City-Wide!"—has been adopted by top cop Parks himself, who vows to disband all CRASH units by mid-April.

The CAPA/ISO leaflet insists: "There can't be any effective community-based policing until there is some real community control of the police!" Effective community-based policing is what you saw when "community" cops last May shot dead Margaret Mitchell, a 55-year-old black homeless woman, for the "crime" of having a shopping cart!

Demands for police "reform" and "accountability" are a fraud through and through. The cops are accountable only to the bourgeoisie whom they serve and protect as hired thugs. It is their job to terrorize the ghettos and barrios, to bust up picket lines, to keep the working people in line. As V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 workers revolution in Russia, wrote in *The State and Revolution*, "The state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another." And the cops, like the prisons and prosecutors, are at the core of that organ of capitalist

class domination. There will be no end to racist cop terror short of a socialist revolution that smashes the capitalist state and places the working class in power.

Cop Terror and the "Open Shop"

With an arsenal of tanks and other advanced weaponry, the LAPD is one of the best-armed police forces in the country. Police helicopters armed with machine guns thunder over the inner-city areas as a nightly fact of life, shining high-intensity spotlights down on the population. That the LAPD rivals the military in some Third World dictatorship is because they have never felt the mobilized power of an organized labor movement.

"Open shop" L.A. was built up at the turn of the century as a haven of "economic freedom" from organized labor, as the city's rulers waged a war of savage terror against union organizers. Although the waterfront had been unionized, the first years of the stormy CIO organizing drives, which established industrial unions in the Midwest auto, steel and rubber centers in the 1930s, passed L.A. by. Unions were finally organized in the auto and aircraft plants, particularly around World War II when many black workers were hired on. At the same time, the city

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The first Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people in militant integrated struggle against

the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.



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If You Stand For—

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 Fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting, keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops and prison guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on

demand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all

the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge is \$3/year unemployed; \$10/year employed. For more information, write:

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Spartacist Speaker at Haitian Protest Meeting

“We Need a Party That Fights in Our Interests!”

We print below a translation of a speech made in French by a supporter of the Spartacist League at a community meeting on the police killing of Patrick Dorismond held March 26 at Bethany Baptist Church in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.

The coldblooded killing of Patrick Dorismond, the cop provocation and siege of the funeral and the arrests yesterday reveal the true face of racist capitalist America.

Giuliani paints the victim as the criminal and the NYPD killer as a hero. But this despicable lie shows that in the eyes of the capitalist rulers, black people, Hispanic people and immigrants are criminals to be shot down or imprisoned by the capitalists' cops in order to keep all working people “in their place,” to keep them from rising up against this system of wage slavery.

Hillary Clinton too comes to the defense of the NYPD killer cops, arguing against a “rush to judgment.” The judgment is clear: *the cops killed Patrick Dorismond the way they killed Amadou Diallo, the way they killed Malcolm Ferguson, the way they killed Gidone Busch and countless others.* Not to mention the horrible torture inflicted on Abner Louima.

Al Sharpton calls for the federal government to step in. This federal government which imprisons thousands of Haitian immigrants in concentration camps while carrying out provocations against Cuba, which has sent murderous occupation forces to repress the people of Haiti itself and long propped up the bloody Tontons Macoutes there, and which unleashes the blue-suited Tontons Macoutes here.

The Democrats and Republicans are *both* enemies of black and working people—they are *both parties of the exploiters!* Both are busy *reinforcing* cops, prison guards, and other servants of the capitalist state as part of the machinery of repression and terror that includes the prisons and death rows; forbidding transit workers even to say the word “strike” in order to defend the interests of Wall Street (when they are not busy bombing the houses of workers around the world like they did in Serbia last year).

We need a *workers party* that fights for *our* interests, for the interests of the working class, for the interests of blacks, immigrants and all minorities. Not the kind of party that collaborates with the capitalists to preserve their system—for example, those who limit themselves to asking *only* for Giuliani's head and do not say a word about the Democrats—but the kind of party that was seen in the powerful labor/black mobilization, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, that stopped the KKK last October 23. This march here today gives us a taste of the power that needs to be mobilized. The Haitian people are working people. As part of the multiracial working class here and around the country they have the power to do away with this system which kills our young men in the streets. We need a party of socialist revolution. We say: *Drop the charges—Free all the arrested! Those who labor must rule!*

The only way to make sure there will be no more Patrick Dorismonds killed is for the workers to take power. Then and only then will justice be served.



WV Photo

Protesters outside Patrick Dorismond's funeral in Flatbush, March 25, recall other victims of NYPD terror. SL placard in French reads: “There is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!”

was—and is—rigidly segregated. And with the destruction of large-scale manufacturing in L.A. during the 1970s and '80s, black people were mostly driven out of unionized jobs.

In the 25 years following the 1965 Watts rebellion, the city's population went from 85 percent white to 37 percent white, swelling the surrounding suburbs. Meanwhile, Latinos became 40 percent of the population, as hundreds of thousands of Mexican and Central American immigrants, many of them refugees from U.S.-sponsored death squad terror, moved into South-Central and other minority neighborhoods. Forced into low-wage sweatshop jobs, immigrants are targeted for racist repression and attacks like California Prop. 187 denying undocumented immigrants access to education or health care, which was overturned by the

courts. At the same time, many of these workers bring with them the experience of militant class battles. This underscores the need for labor to demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Over the past decade, Latino workers have been at the center of a series of labor struggles in L.A., including by janitors, truckers, building workers, hotel workers and others. A recent organizing drive, mainly among home health care workers, recruited 91,000 new union members, largely immigrants and blacks. On March 28, some 8,000 workers joined in the largest labor rally in the city in recent memory, in preparation for upcoming contract battles by janitors, hotel workers, county government workers and teachers. Yet while the city is rocked by the exposure of systematic killings and frame-ups by the racist L.A.

cops, the labor bureaucrats invited a contingent of sheriff's deputies into this labor rally! These thugs have no business in a labor rally. Cops out of the unions!

The pro-capitalist union tops' all-sided program of class collaboration is expressed chiefly through their support to the racist capitalist Democratic Party. With L.A. the site of the Democratic Party convention this summer, the labor bureaucrats are scrambling to ensure the class peace demanded by the Democrats. An SEIU Local 660 bureaucrat declared: “We have an interest in helping to elect Al Gore and we would be careful not to take actions that would hurt his candidacy.” This only underlines that the working class must be broken from the capitalist Democratic Party if it is to fight for its own class interests.

It is necessary to fight for a new, class-

struggle leadership of the labor movement as part of the fight for a workers party which will champion the cause of black freedom and the rights of all the oppressed. In a WV supplement (4 May 1992) issued amid the upheaval in South-Central L.A., which called on the L.A. unions to organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to defend the black community against the murderous cop occupation, we wrote:

“The Rodney King verdict has illuminated the whole *system* of American capitalism, built on a bedrock of racist oppression. It cannot be reformed, it must be smashed. The question is how. The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, to organize the social power of labor and unite behind it all the oppressed in a struggle for state power that gets rid of the whole rotten racist capitalist system and opens the road for genuine emancipation for all.” ■

NYPD...

(continued from page 12)

drugs” which was initiated by the Feds! And Haitian immigrants in particular have plenty of their own experience with “federal oversight.” The Feds run the concentration camps in which Haitians are locked up by the thousands before being deported back to misery and death squad terror. As Florida attorney general, Reno personally presided over mass deportations of Haitians after locking them up in Miami's notorious Krome Avenue detention center. For generations, the U.S. has armed and trained the sadistic Haitian army and police, including former dictator Duvalier's Tontons Macoutes killers, and the imperialist occupation of Haiti for the past six years has only deepened the misery of that country's impoverished masses.

As noted in the 25 February statement issued by the New York Labor Black League and the Spartacist League in response to the acquittal of the cops who killed Diallo (see WV No. 731, 10 March):

“The cops can't be reformed. Their job is to operate as the armed enforcers for the rule of racist American capitalism. The Feds aren't going to help you—they are the central executive committee of this whole *system* of cop terror. Nor are the cops going to be ‘controlled by the community’ for the simple reason that they

are servants of a ruling class whose profits are derived from the exploitation of labor and the racist oppression of blacks, immigrants and all minorities.”

Sharpton's appeals for “justice” from the agencies of capitalist injustice are designed to stupefy black people, the working class and all opponents of cop terror. Like the trade-union bureaucrats, his intent is to *prevent* any social struggle. Thus, those like Sharpton and the Civil Liberties Union's Norm Siegel who today appeal for federal intervention to “control” the NYPD were in the forefront of trying to stop the October 23 labor/black mobilization that rode the Klan out of New York City. Working on behalf of the *entire* Democratic Party establishment in New York, Siegel was the Klan's lawyer while Sharpton filed a “friend of the court” brief in defense of the Klan's “rights.” Why? Because their biggest concern was to prevent a mobilization based on labor which would give the working class a sense of its social power as well as the consciousness that this power must be mobilized in the fight for black freedom and the defense of all the oppressed.

At the Dorismond funeral march, many protesters sang songs and chanted slogans from the mass plebeian upsurge that in 1986 brought down the hated Duvalier dictatorship—one slogan (“*rache man-yòk*”) called for driving Giuliani from office. To be sure, Giuliani has all the

attributes of an out-of-control tinpot dictator who revels in cop terror. But he is simply a representative of the class dictatorship of capital in America. Although cloaked in “democracy,” that dictatorship is far more powerful and brutal than Duvalier's could have ever hoped to be and it is represented equally by *both* the Democratic and Republican parties of American capitalism.

As the Spartacist League speaker said at our March 1 New York forum on the lessons of the Diallo trial:

“The answer to racist cop terror is the dictatorship of the millions of workers, with black workers in leading positions,

over the few thousand capitalists, seizing the forces of production and building a socialist society—a society which will wipe out poverty, exploitation, hunger, homelessness, racial oppression and racist terror. The working class is the force that can establish such a society. But in order for it to do this, it must be transformed from a class *in* itself to a class *for* itself. This can happen only by means of a revolutionary party utilizing all available methods to raise the class consciousness of the workers by increasing their trust in their own forces, by destroying their illusions, by reinforcing their revolutionary will and self-confidence, and by organizing the overthrow of all the forces standing in the way of the conquest of power.” ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

CHICAGO

Saturday, April 15, 3 p.m.
The Trotskyist Program for Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution versus Reformism and Black Nationalism
 328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904
 (near Clinton stop on Blue Line)
 Information and readings: (312) 454-4930

NEW YORK

Tuesday, April 11, 7 p.m.
For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
 NYU, Thompson Center, Basement
 238 Thompson St. (near W. 3rd St.)
 Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

BAY AREA

Thursday, April 20, 7 p.m.
For a Leninist Party to Fight for New October Revolutions!
 UC Berkeley, Dwinelle, Room 179
 Information and readings:
 (510) 839-0851 or (415) 395-9520

Visit the ICL Web Site!

www.icl-fi.org

At Funeral of Victim of NYPD Racist Terror

Cops Riot Against Haitian Community

Two More Killed by "Operation Condor" Death Squad

Nine days after an "Operation Condor" undercover narc squad gunned down Patrick Dorismond in cold blood, their fellow NYPD killers launched a savage attack on those who had come out to honor the 26-year-old black man and protest his execution. As the funeral service for Dorismond came to an end on March 25, hundreds of riot cops charged into the largely Haitian crowd of over 5,000 people gathered outside the Holy Cross Roman Catholic Church in Brooklyn's Flatbush neighborhood, clubbing anyone within reach and arresting 27 people. Among them was a black radio reporter who was beaten to the ground by cops screaming "f--- him up" and an 80-year-old Jamaican man who was dragged off when he stepped out of his apartment building.

In a protest letter sent that night to Mayor Giuliani and D.A. Robert Morgenthau demanding the immediate release of all those arrested and the dropping of all charges, the Partisan Defense Committee denounced this latest cop atrocity: "The message is clear. In the 21st century analog to the Dred Scott decision, the black population in the occupied ghettos has no rights that the state is bound to respect." That message was again written in blood five days later when another "Operation Condor" death squad in Brooklyn's Bushwick area fired close to two dozen slugs at pointblank range at 17-year-old Andre Fields and 19-year-old Tysheen Bourne. The two young black men were killed for allegedly threatening the plainclothes cops with toy guns.

The cop rampage on March 25 came after an entire day of racist provocations, beginning when a wall of cops moved in front of the funeral cortège well before it even arrived at the church. As the infuriated mourners shouted, "Police out!" the cops were forced to back off. When the cortège arrived at the church, demonstrators pushed away the steel police barricades blocking their way. An American flag draping the coffin was ripped away and burned. Later, as riot cops waded in, the crowd fought back with rocks and bottles.

What was seen on the streets of Flatbush gave a taste of the pent-up outrage against the daily humiliation, depredations and terror meted out by the racist cops, particularly targeting the black and Hispanic population of New York. Since January, "Operation Condor" units alone have made over 21,000 arrests. An article in the *New York Times* (1 April) interviewed people from a Brooklyn neighborhood that has been targeted by these "war on drugs" hit squads:

"They describe officers swooping into the neighborhood like urban warriors, watching residents from rooftops, cir-



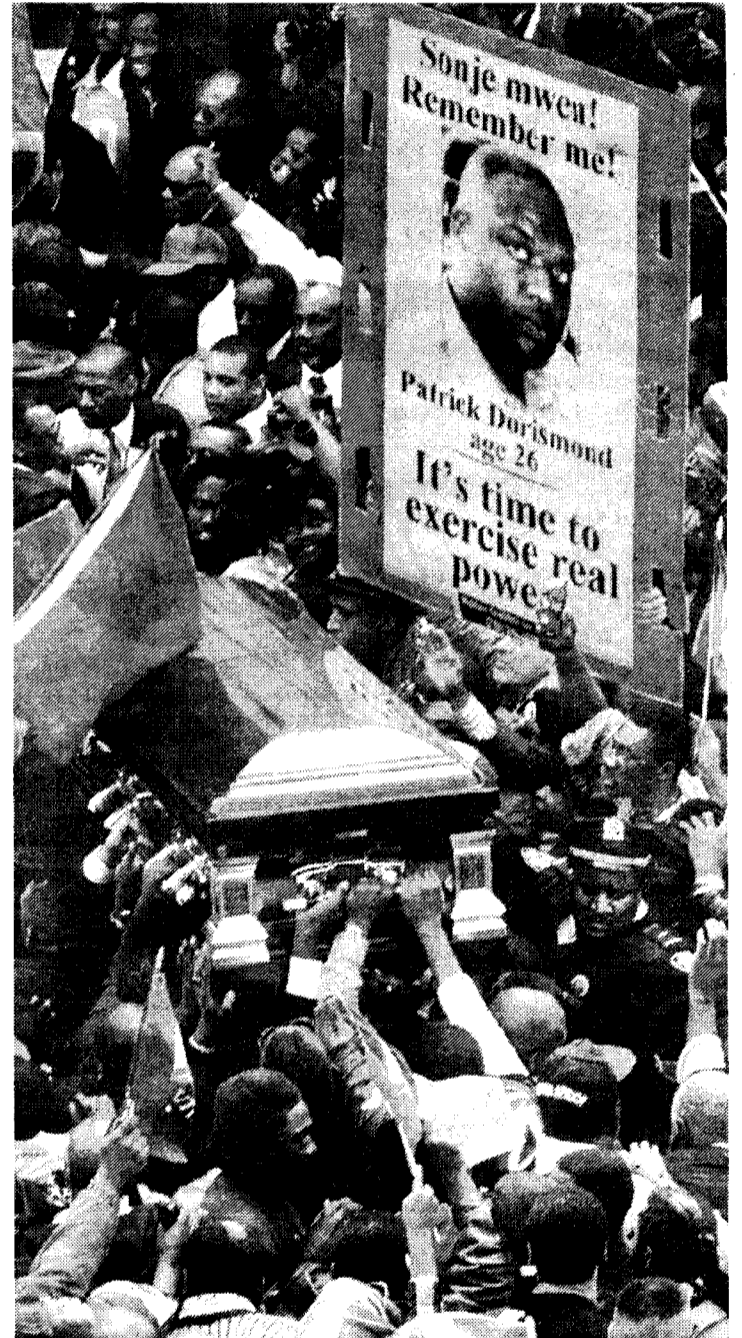
AP

cling in unmarked cars and surveillance vans.... Almost every black or Hispanic teenager on the street has a story of being stopped and frisked, often several times a month, sometimes in the lobbies of their own apartment buildings."

As one white woman who lives in the neighborhood noted, "I'm glad I'm not a 20-year-old African American." Polls taken in the aftermath of the killing of Patrick Dorismond show that three out of four New Yorkers think that the cops are out of control.

Acknowledging a "tinder-box atmosphere" in New York City, Central Labor Council (CLC) head Brian McLaughlin announced plans to form a special commission to "diminish the fear and skepticism that working families have toward police policy" (*Newsday*, 30 March). Flexing the muscle of organized labor in protest against racist cop terror could do something to address the fear of working people and minorities—by striking some fear into the hearts of the cops and their capitalist masters.

A couple of years ago, the cops were constrained when confronted with a demonstration of 40,000 construction workers who faced down riot police and took over Midtown Manhattan, chanting "Whose city? *Our* city!" Last October 23, the cops didn't dare wade into the crowd of some 10,000 protesters who rode the Klan off the streets of New York because at the core of that action were organized contingents of trade unionists who came out in response to the Partisan Defense Committee's call for a mass labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK nightriders. Many of the Haitians on the streets of Flatbush on March 25 were undoubtedly members of the city's hospital, garment and construction unions. Their social weight was evident a decade ago when over 70,000 staged what was effectively a general strike of Haitian workers in New York City, marching to protest the U.S. government's racist policy preventing Haitians from donating blood because they were possible "AIDS carriers." It is



Roca/NY Daily News

Brooklyn, March 25: Riot cops attack crowd of over 5,000 outside funeral for Patrick Dorismond.

as part of the multiracial labor movement that Haitian workers have the power to fight against racist discrimination and state repression.

While cop brutality and terror will not be stopped short of eliminating this entire system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression that they "serve and protect," a powerful mobilization which linked the social power of labor to the rage of the masses in the ghettos and barrios could make them think twice before they randomly engage in more street executions. But such a mobilization is hardly what McLaughlin and the CLC tops have in mind.

The purpose of the trade-union bureaucrats is not to unleash the power of labor but to keep it chained to the capitalist order. In his statement warning of "fear" of the police, McLaughlin, who himself is a Democratic Party state assemblyman, made clear his support for the racist, strikebreaking cops, while the president of the carpenters union declared: "The carpenters union—the biggest in the construction trade—is for Hillary." And that's the name of the game, trying to

contain the outrage over the cops and channel it into the electoral shell game which portrays the Democrats as the "friend" of labor and black people.

An article in the British *Guardian Weekly* (2 March) headlined "Cold Rage Engulfs Black New Yorkers" had some insight in addressing why the acquittal of the cops who killed Amadou Diallo had not provoked the kind of upheaval that the 1992 acquittal of the L.A. cops who were videotaped brutally beating black motorist Rodney King did: "The reason was simple: this anger has been carefully channeled throughout the year since Diallo's death, and remains so." At the forefront in seeking to divert the wrath of the inner-city masses has been Al Sharpton and his fellow Democrats. Last year it was a ten-point program calling to "reform" the cops. Now Sharpton et al. are calling on the Clinton White House and Janet Reno's Justice Department to exercise "federal oversight" of the NYPD.

The federal government already "oversees" and funds the NYPD's "Operation Condor" squads as part of the "war on

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