

## China: WTO Entry Means Mass Unemployment, Imperialist Plunder

In the lead-up to the Seattle summit of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the U.S. and China signed an agreement last month, capping 13 years of diplomatic jockeying, which paves the way for China's entry into the WTO. U.S. president Clinton proclaimed this one of his greatest foreign policy achievements. In China and internationally, the deal is seen as a major political victory for the "pro-reform" wing of the Beijing regime led by President and Communist Party (CCP) chief Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji.

China's entry into the WTO would mean eliminating what remains of the state monopoly of foreign trade, a key component of the collectivized economy created by the 1949 Chinese Revolution. The WTO deal follows on a 1997 decision by the CCP to sell off the bulk of state-owned industry, as Jiang, Zhu & Co. aim to utilize the pressure of intensified foreign competition to ram through widespread privatization. Foreign firms would be permitted to own up to 50 percent of such strategic sectors of the economy as telecommunications. Tariffs now protecting state-owned industrial enterprises would be drastically cut, leading to the loss of an estimated half million jobs in auto and fully one-third of all jobs in steel as "uncompetitive" enterprises are shut down. Lower agricultural

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**Defend Chinese Deformed Workers State Against  
Imperialism, Internal Counterrevolution!**

**For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust Stalinist Bureaucracy!**



*Harrity/U.S. News & World Report*

**Chinese premier Zhu Rongji with Clinton during April U.S. visit. Migrant laborers at Shanghai construction site. Chinese proletariat must wage fight for political power to defeat threat of capitalist enslavement.**



*Go De Kruijff*

**Seattle: National Guard, Cops Attack WTO Protesters**

## AFL-CIO Tops Push Anti-Communism, Protectionist Poison

As the meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO) opened on November 30, the feel-good, P.C., laid-back veneer of the Northwest showcase city of Seattle was shattered. On the streets of Capitol Hill, tens of thousands of protesters were attacked by police in riot gear lobbing tear gas, assaulting them with pepper spray and firing rubber bullets and flash grenades. The city's mayor, Paul Schell, declared a state of emergency, ominously calling in the National Guard and setting a 7 p.m. curfew. Nearly 600 protesters were arrested. We demand: *Free the jailed protesters and drop the charges!*

The pretext for the brutal crackdown was a rampage by a handful of anarchoid youth who smashed windows of Nike-town, the Gap, Starbucks, McDonald's and other stores—ostensibly targeted for use of sweatshop labor overseas and hormone-fed beef. But like the WTO protests as a whole, this had nothing to do with fighting against capitalist exploitation but was rather the streetfighting, "radical" veneer for American chauvinist protectionism. Unlike anarchists and syndicalists of another era who allied with working-class struggles, these mainly middle-class white kids attacked Seattle bus drivers and excluded the homeless from a warehouse seized as an anarchist "squat."

The last time the National Guard was deployed to quell a "civil disturbance" of any magnitude in this country was in 1992, after Los Angeles erupted against

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**Police launch tear gas and fire rubber bullets, arresting hundreds of protesters against WTO meeting in Seattle.**



# Seattle...

(continued from page 1)

the acquittal of the cops who beat black motorist Rodney King. The National Guard/police rampage against mainly white protesters in Seattle pales before the murderous 1992 siege of L.A.'s South Central ghetto and barrio, when 45 blacks and Latinos were killed. Unleashing the National Guard now sets a dangerous precedent for labor and black struggle in America's cities. New York City officials have already announced plans to call out the National Guard against transit workers if they strike when their contract expires later this month.

## Orgy of Anti-Communism and Racist Protectionism

After three days, the WTO meeting of representatives of 135 countries collapsed amid the conflicting demands of

the competing imperialist powers and the underdeveloped countries they exploit. Most of the protesters exulted in their "victory." But with or without the WTO, masses of working people around the world will continue to work in slave-labor conditions for the superprofits of a handful of greedy capitalists, while in the belly of this imperialist beast U.S. capitalists swimming in record profits continue to attack the living standards of the working class, while carrying out a full-scale war on blacks, immigrants and the poor.

At bottom, the protests were nothing more than a grotesque nationalist festival which held up "democratic" American imperialism, the most rapacious exploiter of labor on the planet, as the model for the world. Foreseeing the reactionary nature of the protests, the Spartacist League/U.S. Political Bureau passed a motion on November 4 not to "participate in, or sell at, the protests against

Seattle, November 30: AFL-CIO tops spearhead anti-Communist crusade against China with chauvinist signs reading, "People First Not China First."



the World Trade Organization in Seattle on November 30 which are a circus—including ecology types, those battling 'genetically modified' food, the Reform Party and others—all dominated by national chauvinism, racist protectionism and counterrevolutionary attacks on the Chinese deformed workers state."

What transpired validated our political opposition. From the AFL-CIO tops in the forefront of organizing the demonstrations to their reformist left tails and motley liberals, the Seattle protests were overwhelmingly a mobilization of the Democratic Party. One banner concisely captured it: "Clinton, Say No to the WTO," and Clinton himself "sided with the cause of many of the peaceful demonstrators" (*New York Times*, 2 December). A trade-union march which grew to some 40,000 people snaked through Seattle with chauvinist slogans like "People First Not China First," and the unions held a "Seattle Tea Party," dumping Chinese-made steel into the harbor. The highlight of the protests was the December 1 union rally featuring Teamsters president James Hoffa Jr., who has been leading a campaign to ban Mexican trucks from U.S. highways. Hoffa whipped up an anti-Communist fervor against "slave labor" in "undemocratic regimes" like China and Vietnam. The rally also featured Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng, Washington's poster boy for capitalist counterrevolution in China, and AFL-CIO head John Sweeney, who in the guise of fighting sweatshop labor in the Third World promotes racist American protectionism.

The U.S. imperialists, who at home spend billions of dollars a year to bust unions, are not in the business of defending the rights of workers anywhere. To appeal to them means sowing illusions in the "human rights" pretensions of the greatest enemy of workers and oppressed throughout the world. America is "beautiful" only for the savagely greedy handful of capitalists who own the means of production and who have bought out in a thousand ways the labor leaders who shamelessly collaborate with the bosses to drive down the standard of living of union members.

The U.S. has the largest prison population in the world, largely black and Hispanic; eleven-year-olds are treated by the racist criminal injustice system as "adults" to be warehoused in prison for life; the assault on women's rights has forced many women, especially teenagers, to back alleys for abortions; even the existing starvation-level welfare benefits are rapidly being eliminated altogether; the abundance of food that all the middle-class protesters take for granted is produced by backbreaking, near-slave labor in California's Central Valley and similar areas by desperately oppressed Mexican and other immigrants; the wages and living standards of the American working class, once the highest paid in the world, have been driven so low that German auto companies build assembly plants in the non-union South to take advantage of the cheap (and highly productive) labor.

Attempting to drum up labor support for the Democratic Party's presidential bid with Al Gore, Clinton cynically pandered to the AFL-CIO protesters and mouthed off about sanctions to enforce minimal child labor standards overseas. This produced howls of protest by other WTO members. Meanwhile, the U.S. had refused to sign an earlier and tougher International Labor Organization measure banning child labor "because it would overturn some clauses of American minimum-age laws" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 December). Indeed, while there are real conflicts of interest among the thieving heads of state and corporations represented in the WTO, upholding the rights of working people is not one of them!

## "Free Trade" = Front for Imperialist Exploitation

The protesters target the WTO as the embodiment of "globalization," a supposedly new phenomenon by which a few multinational corporations dominate the world. Rather than a new phenomenon, this feature of the highest stage of moribund capitalism was already well established more than 80 years ago, when Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, following on Marx, explained that the productive

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## Monopoly Capital and Imperialist States

Labor bureaucrats and reformist leftists contend that we now live in a new kind of global economy dominated by multinational corporations through agencies like the World Trade Organization and International Monetary Fund. Such views are used to justify chauvinist protectionism and to bind the workers of each country to their "own" capitalist exploiters. In reality, world capitalism has been dominated since the late 19th century



TROTSKY

by industrial monopolies and big banks, represented by their respective imperialist states whose conflicting interests lead to trade wars and ultimately shooting wars. Amid the carnage of the first interimperialist world war in 1914-18, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin stressed that only world socialist revolution could sweep away the imperialist system. In a December 1915 introduction to a work by Nikolai Bukharin, Lenin outlined the development of imperialism as the final stage of capitalism.

There had been an epoch of a comparatively "peaceful capitalism," when it had overcome feudalism in the advanced countries of Europe and was in a position to develop comparatively tranquilly and harmoniously, "peacefully" spreading over tremendous areas of still unoccupied lands, and of countries not yet finally drawn into the capitalist vortex. Of course, even in that epoch, marked approximately by the years 1871 and 1914, "peaceful" capitalism created conditions of life that were very far from being really peaceful both in the military and in a general class sense. For nine-tenths of the population of the advanced countries, for hundreds of millions of peoples in the colonies and in the backward countries this epoch was not one of "peace" but of oppression, tortures, horrors that seemed the more terrifying since they appeared to be without end. This epoch has gone forever. It has been followed by a new epoch, comparatively more impetuous, full of abrupt changes, catastrophes, conflicts, an epoch that no longer appears to the toiling masses as horror without end but is an end full of horrors.

It is highly important to have in mind that this change was caused by nothing but the direct development, growth, continuation of the deep-seated and fundamental tendencies of capitalism and production of commodities in general. The growth of commodity exchange, the growth of large-scale production are fundamental tendencies observable for centuries throughout the whole world. At a certain stage in the development of exchange, at a certain stage in the growth of large-scale production, namely, at the stage that was reached approximately at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, commodity exchange had created such an internationalisation of economic relations, and such an internationalisation of capital, accompanied by such a vast increase in large-scale production, that free competition began to be replaced by monopoly. The prevailing types were no longer enterprises freely competing inside the country and through intercourse between countries, but monopoly alliances of entrepreneurs, trusts. The typical ruler of the world became finance capital, a power that is peculiarly mobile and flexible, peculiarly intertwined at home and internationally, peculiarly devoid of individuality and divorced from the immediate processes of production, peculiarly easy to concentrate, a power that has already made peculiarly large strides on the road of concentration, so that literally several hundred billionaires and millionaires hold in their hands the fate of the whole world.

—V.I. Lenin, Introduction to Nikolai Bukharin's *Imperialism and World Economy* (1916)



LENIN

# WORKERS VANGUARD

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This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

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A Spartacist Pamphlet

**Imperialism, the "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism**

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# Young Spartacus

## What We Fight For

The following program was adopted by the New York Spartacus Youth Club on December 4 in the wake of the successful anti-Klan mobilization of October 23.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs intervene into social struggles as the student/youth auxiliary of the Spartacist League, armed with a working-class program based on the politics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. A powerful example of our communist program was seen in the massive labor/black demonstration that drove the KKK fascists out of New York City on October 23, 1999. The SYCs worked alongside the Partisan Defense Committee, the Labor Black League and the Spartacist League to mobilize students and youth behind the social power of the pro-

letariat. The SYCs have participated in and built mobilizations against Nazi and Klan terror such as Washington D.C. in 1982 and Philadelphia in 1988, campus speakouts and demonstrations against U.S. imperialist plunder, united-front actions in defense of abortion clinics, and labor/black mobilizations to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. This is part of our Marxist program of mobilizing labor in defense of all the oppressed. We fight to win youth to the perspective of building the revolutionary, multiracial workers party essential for the struggle for socialist revolution. If you agree with our program below and want to fight for a socialist future free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter, join the SYC!

### Join the SYC!

**1** Mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Down with union-busting "workfare" schemes! Jobs for all at union wages! Organize the unorganized—unionize the South! Down with multi-tier wages, which pit younger and older workers against each other! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Keep the bosses' government and courts out of the unions!

**2** Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! For mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists and race terrorists! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defense! No reliance on the capitalist courts or politicians! Fascist terror is not a question of "free speech." Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

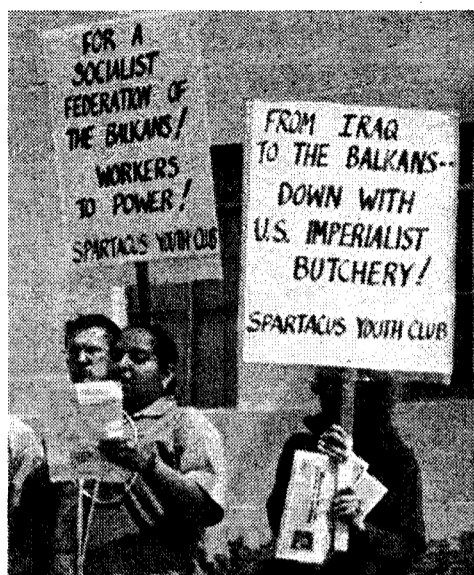
**3** For free, quality, integrated public education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Defeat the racist assaults on affirmative action! For an end to tracking! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who

work and study there! Down with police occupation of public schools! Cops off campus!

**4** For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For mass, labor-backed mobilizations to defend abortion clinics! Down with parental consent laws and "squeal rules"! For free abortion on demand! For free, quality 24-hour child-care! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with anti-gay laws! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! Down with all laws against crimes without victims—prostitution, consensual sex, drugs!

**5** Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Organize foreign-born workers into the unions! No deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry!

**6** Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Defend victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! No illusions in



Young Spartacus

Berkeley protest in March against U.S./NATO terror bombing of Serbia; defense of California abortion clinic against Operation Rescue bigots, 1993. Build the revolutionary youth organization!



WV Photo

civilian review boards or "community control" of the police! For labor mobilizations against racist cop terror! Down with the "war on drugs," a racist war by the ruling class against black and Hispanic youth! The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organized violence by the capitalists against the workers and the oppressed. It must be smashed through workers revolution!

**7** Defend separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Keep religion out of the schools! No prayer in the schools! Down with the teaching of creationism! For the teaching of evolution! No government funding for religious, private or "charter" schools!

**8** Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! The UN is a den of imperialist thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, East Timor, the Persian Gulf! Down with U.S. terror bombing of Iraq! Down with the UN starvation blockade! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean! U.S. imperialist butchers: hands

off the world! No to the draft! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military! Drive ROTC, CIA and police recruiters off the campuses!

**9** For international working-class solidarity! Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! Workers of the world, unite! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy, based on the power of workers councils, and revolutionary internationalism!

**10** Break with the racist, war-mongering Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism! For a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League of the U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). ■

### Celebrate NYC Victory Over Klan Benefit for Class-War Prisoners Organize for Jamal's Freedom

The labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out of New York City on October 23 was an important victory for all workers and the oppressed, not least those imprisoned for fighting against racist capitalist oppression. Join the PDC in the 14th annual Holiday Appeal fund drive to celebrate the anti-Klan victory and help build a powerful movement for freedom for Mumia Abu-

Jamal and all class-war prisoners.

The Holiday Appeal helps sustain the PDC's monthly stipend program for 16 class-war prisoners and provides extra funds for holiday gifts for them and their loved ones, a tradition dating back to the International Labor Defense of the 1920s. This is not charity but an act of solidarity with those behind bars—their fight is our fight!

#### New York City

Friday, December 10, 6 to 9 p.m.  
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# For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!



NYC hospital workers rally against layoffs and cutbacks, 1996. SL/SYC contingent at 1992 Bay Area abortion rights demonstration. Leninist vanguard party is needed to mobilize proletariat in struggle against women's oppression.

We publish below edited excerpts from a Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club presentation at New York University earlier this year, in which comrade Carla Norris laid out the Marxist analysis of women's oppression under capitalism and the communist program for women's emancipation.

\* \* \*

The question of women's liberation and women's rights—which is often referred to in the Marxist movement as the “woman question”—is both one of the oldest social issues and one of the most immediate. It goes back to way before the rise of capitalism and stems from the oldest social division in society, based on the biological division between men and women. In an observation which has often been repeated, French utopian socialist Charles Fourier stated that you could gauge where a society was at, and the level which it had attained, by the position and status of women within that society. So, looking around, where do women stand in 1999?

I wanted to give a few examples of the kind of oppression women are faced with today—except it becomes a very long list. Right now, under “workfare,” many thousands of mothers are being forced to leave their children to go work for nothing in order to receive welfare benefits, while others seeking benefits and shelter are simply turned away and told to go live off their equally poor relatives or sleep in the streets. Our perspective is to fight against the threat to unionized labor posed by slave-labor “workfare” by calling for jobs for all at union wages and for free, quality health care for everyone. We also call for the unions to organize the unorganized. That way you can cut across the divisions between employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled, and between unionized and unorganized labor.

Another example of where we're at socially in this country is the murders of gay people like Matthew Shepard in Wyoming and Billy Jack Gaither in Alabama, killed because they were deemed to violate what religions preach is god's order. In another major battleground, women's right to abortion continues to be under attack, in the courts, in the legislatures and in assassinations and terror

bombings against abortion clinics and doctors. And with the Clinton impeachment scandal, the term “adultery” is back in common usage.

Then you have the reactionary “age of consent” laws—the idea that young women (and men) are children who can't make their own decisions, and of course children are pure and don't have anything to do with sex. Or the “squeal rules” denying abortions to teens. Or the varied and scattered signs of growing social regimentation particularly of young people. For example, girls are being forced to wear skirts to school again. I remember it was a big fight in the '70s to get the right to wear jeans to school!

If you look beyond the United States, things have similarly gone from bad to worse. In Europe, you have “enlightened” secular capitalist states expelling Muslim schoolgirls for wearing headscarves to school; you have “virginity checks” of women seeking to immigrate; you have women in Germany, where the right to abortion is being increasingly slashed, subjected to humiliating gynecological searches upon returning from abroad to determine if they've had abortions.

In Mexico, women are slaving in *maquiladora* factories under the terms of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Throughout much of Africa, you have women being subjected to the hor-

ror of female genital mutilation, while millions die from AIDS because those countries are too poor to afford medications which can slow down the disease. In South Africa recently, the murder of a woman AIDS activist reflects the widespread bigotry against AIDS victims that's been engendered by reactionary superstitions.

In Afghanistan, where for years the U.S. poured in massive military backing to the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* cutthroats as part of its anti-Soviet campaign, the ruling Taliban terrorizes and stones women and executes homosexuals. And the coming to power of such anti-woman reactionaries was actually cheered by a number of so-called left groups in this country, such as the International Socialist Organization (ISO).

In the former Soviet Union, you had hogwash about how with capitalist counterrevolution Russia would join the advanced capitalist nations; well, it's become much more like Mexico or Indonesia. Despite the rule of a conservative, Stalinist bureaucratic caste, the Soviet Union had a planned, collectivized economy, which meant that all women were able to work and be integrated into the productive life of the society, and everyone had access to education, housing, health care and childcare. As throughout East Europe, no woman had to be depen-

dent on a husband for her daily bread. Now, with the capitalist counterrevolutions there, abortion rights have been taken away, childcare facilities have been shut down and women have been the chief targets of mass layoffs.

And in China today, women are the first victims of the capitalist “market reforms” being pushed by the Stalinist bureaucracy; they're being thrown out of work, they're working 15-hour days in these Special Economic Zones, and female infanticide is making a comeback. We stand for unconditional military defense of China—as well as Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, as we did in regard to the Soviet degenerated workers state and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe. At the same time, we call for proletarian political revolution to throw out the Stalinist bureaucracies which open the door to capitalist restoration.

What all of this shows is the link between raw capitalist exploitation and women's special oppression.

## What Marxists Mean by “Special Oppression”

The special needs of women as an oppressed group in capitalist society have to be addressed by anyone who wants to change that society. A Leninist vanguard party that seeks to lead the working class to power must win women to its banner. That's something the socialist movement has sought to address from its origins, going back to the Second International and noted Communist leaders like Clara Zetkin, who organized transitional organizations and newspapers and journals addressed to women's specific problems and to help bring them into revolutionary politics.

Later, Lenin's Bolshevics in Russia, after they made the October Revolution in 1917, immediately took all laws off the books referring to “illegitimate” children, got rid of all laws against homosexuality and shortly after the revolution gave women the right to free abortion on demand—at a time when U.S. women didn't even have the right to vote. To the extent they could, they set up communal kitchens and laundries and day-care centers—even under conditions of great



Homeless family in Los Angeles. Deepening misery and racist oppression are endemic to capitalist profit system.

Shames/Focus

poverty and economic dislocation, after being invaded by 14 capitalist armies. The Bolsheviks set up special organizations to help women in the Muslim East fight to throw off the veil. Of course, many of these policies were later reversed under the rule of Stalin's nationalist bureaucratic caste, which usurped political power in 1923-1924, ultimately paving the way for the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-1992.

It is in the Bolsheviks' tradition of communist work among women that the Spartacist League published for many years the journal *Women and Revolution*, a tradition that the International Communist League continues today with "Women and Revolution" pages in the ICL journal *Spartacist* and in our international sectional presses. The Spartacist League is committed to building transitional organizations for women, to bring them into political life despite the obstacles they face.

I thought there was a really good quote we ran this year in *Workers Vanguard* from Lenin, "International Working Women's Day" (March 1921), and I just wanted to briefly quote from it:

"But you cannot draw the masses into politics without drawing in the women as well. For under capitalism the female half of the human race is doubly oppressed. The working woman and the peasant woman are oppressed by capital, but over and above that, even in the most democratic of the bourgeois republics, they remain, firstly, deprived of some rights because the law does not give them equality with men; and secondly—and this is the main thing—they remain in 'household bondage,' they continue to be 'household slaves,' for they are overburdened with the drudgery of the most squalid, backbreaking and stultifying toil in the kitchen and the family household.

"No party or revolution in the world has ever dreamed of striking so deep at the roots of the oppression and inequality of women as the Soviet, Bolshevik revolution is doing. Over here, in Soviet Russia, no trace is left of any inequality between men and women under the law. The Soviet power has eliminated all there was of the especially disgusting, base and hypocritical inequality in the laws on marriage and the family and inequality in respect of children.

"This is only the first step in the liberation of woman. But none of the bourgeois republics, including the most democratic, has dared to take even this first step. The reason is awe of 'sacrosanct private property.'

"The second and most important step is the abolition of the private ownership of land and the factories. This and this alone opens up the way towards a complete and actual emancipation of woman, her liberation from 'household bondage' through transition from petty individual housekeeping to large-scale socialized domestic services."

## Race, Sex and Class

Now, here in this country, the fundamental question is the race question. Black working women suffer triple oppression: as women, as members of an oppressed race/color caste and as working-class women. Working women are squeezed in the contradiction between being told day care is a "satanic plot" and being told that welfare mothers must leave their children in some nonexistent day-care center they can't afford.

The racist hue and cry over "welfare mothers" was fueled by the likes of Daniel Moynihan (currently a New York Democratic Party Senator), who in a 1964 work described black families as a "tangle of pathology." This blaming of the victims is intended to disguise a system of exploitation and oppression, and it is echoed today by black demagogues like Louis Farrakhan, who calls on *black people* to "atone." Naturally, Clinton—who axed welfare—saluted Farrakhan's 1995 reactionary Million Man March for its emphasis on "personal responsibility."

The so-called "crisis of the family" (especially the black family) is directly related to the destruction of well-paid union jobs. You can't have a stable family life without a stable income. Married black women have historically gone to



Franklin/Magnum

**1989: Afghan women join fight against CIA-backed mujahedin cutthroats. PDC campaigned in defense of city of Jalalabad, besieged by Islamic fundamentalists after Kremlin bureaucracy withdrew Soviet Army.**



WV Photo

work at five times the rate of white women—they've had to, in order to survive. Meanwhile, one-third of young black men are in prison or on parole or otherwise ensnared in the "criminal justice" system.

A very stark example of racist cop terror is the killing of black African Amadou Diallo by the New York Police Department in February. A man has 41 bullets fired at him because of his skin color. And nearly every black man and woman knows that it could have been them. They've been stopped and searched, or beaten, or arrested, or worse, because they "fit the description" or because their neighborhood is a "drug location." As we've said many times before in *Workers Vanguard*, this "war on drugs" is nothing but a war on black people, and both the

union movement are an obstacle to this. We need class-struggle leadership, a new leadership in the unions and a Leninist party—a multiracial workers party—capable of leading all the exploited and oppressed against the capitalist bosses and their state. Black oppression is part of the legacy of slavery in this country. That's why the Spartacist League calls to "Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution!"

## Material Basis of Women's Oppression

Where does women's oppression come from? A central tenet of non-Marxist, academic studies about women is that women's oppression has always existed, that it stems from some innate characteristic distinguishing men and women, such

conditions that shape us.

Social institutions and conventions—like marriage and the family—are part of the way the ruling class maintains power and regiments society. Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx's comrade-in-arms, wrote *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* in 1884, and even over 100 years later, there's still nothing better you can read on the roots of the subjugation of women in class society and private property. Now, what Marxists mean by "private property" is, basically, the ownership of large tracts of land and, under capitalism, the large manufacturing plants, the means of production through which workers produce the wealth which is appropriated by the capitalists.

Engels' book drew heavily from the work of Lewis Henry Morgan, who studied the Iroquois Indians of North America, and he examined how the forms of human social organization corresponded to certain material conditions of life. For instance, in primitive communal hunter-gatherer society, the division of labor between men and women was based not on female dependency but on the biological reality of childbirth and childcare. Nobody had anything much, and social equality existed. This is sometimes referred to as "primitive communism." This is not, however, our goal.

Later, the development of agriculture and better tools led to the production for the first time of a social surplus—that little bit extra which enables a society to go beyond simple survival and which eventually produced the wealth that could be passed down to heirs. The new social surplus happened to originate in the traditionally male sphere of human activity. And the advent of a social surplus led to the division of society into antagonistic classes. These antagonistic classes brought about the need for a state, or as Lenin defined it, "special bodies of armed men that defend the rule of a particular class."

With this division of society, the monogamous family and patrilineal descent came into existence. Engels called this "the world historical defeat of the female sex." Ever since, the biological

*continued on page 6*



VAAP

**Banner at March 1917 demonstration in Petrograd reads: "As Long as the Woman Is a Slave There Can't Be Freedom. Long Live Women's Equality!" October Revolution ushered in collectivized economy which laid basis for women's emancipation.**

Democrats and Republicans are behind it.

But the angry protests, over the Diallo killing were dominated by Democratic Party politicians like Al Sharpton. In recent years, Sharpton—who during the 1980s worked as a fink for the FBI and then-federal prosecutor Rudy Giuliani—has masqueraded as an opponent of police brutality. Sharpton's purpose is to divert social protest into appeals to the very racist capitalist government which carries out such killings. Calling for more "oversight" from the federal government, which after all is the executive committee of the capitalist class; calling for the FBI, which aided the KKK during the civil rights movement, to investigate the NYPD; calling for the courts to indict the cops—all these demands breed illusions that the armed thugs of the capitalist state can be reformed. But they can't. They have to be swept away through socialist revolution.

The labor movement is really where the power is, and women are an important part of that. For labor to begin the fight toward power, though, the workers movement has to take a stand against racism, and also raise demands like equal pay for equal work, and free, quality child care. But the pro-capitalist "leaders" of the

as body size, brain size (this is out of favor currently), ability to bear children, etc. And what goes along with such views is the idea that anti-woman ideology, like racism, is just bad thinking, and what's needed is to propagate "correct ideas." One reflection of this is the anti-pornography censorship being pushed by both feminists and the religious right. We oppose censorship. Not only does it set a dangerous precedent of letting this racist, anti-woman capitalist state decide what people can and can't read or look at, but images of women's bodies are not the cause, or even a cause, of women's oppression.

Marxists are materialists—we observe our subject in motion, as it occurs, and we analyze it and probe its origins and how it got that way. And just because something is currently the case doesn't mean it's necessarily been that way for all time. Women's oppression has a material basis. The material conditions of your existence have a lot to do with your consciousness. A lot of the differences that people make much of between the way men and women think—like in that idiotic but popular book, *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus*—are determined by the very different external

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## For Women's Liberation...

(continued from page 5)

fact of childbearing and child rearing was tied to the social oppression of women. Society split into classes, and the ruling or property-owning class governed society through the state. The means for accumulating wealth was outside the home, and "women's work" accordingly came to be regarded as worthless. As a means of consolidating wealth in the hands of a tiny minority, the patriarchal family decreed monogamy for women to determine inheritance of property. You've all heard jokes about knights going off on crusades and leaving their wives in chastity belts. Well, how else do you make sure?

Explaining how the institution of the family oppresses women, Engels noted:

"With the patriarchal family and still more with the single monogamous family, a change came. Household management lost its public character. It no longer concerned society. It became a *private service*; the wife became the head servant, excluded from all participation in social production. Not until the coming of modern large-scale industry was the road to social production opened to her again—and then only to the proletarian wife. But it was opened in such a manner that, if she carries out her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and unable to earn; and if she wants to take part in public production and earn independently, she cannot carry out family duties. And the wife's position in the factory is the position of women in all branches of business, right up to medicine and the law. The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules."

So "family values" based on religion, chastity and the like constitute a conservatizing ideology to regiment the population and prop up bourgeois "law and order," aimed at justifying and reinforcing the family, the key institution for the



Spartakist Workers Party at 1992 East Berlin march against reactionary West German abortion law. ICL fought against capitalist reunification which overturned gains for women such as abortion rights, free childcare and full employment.

olutionary Marxism: it sees the world via a gender-based as opposed to a class-based analysis of society. Now, things have changed a lot. In the late '60s, there was a huge upsurge of women wanting to fight discrimination and sexism, buoyed by the civil rights movement and anti-Vietnam War protests. Today there's really no mass feminist organizations. There's NOW (the National Organization for Women), of course, which in the recent period has been heard from mostly defending Clinton against his detractors. When the Spartacus Youth Club here at NYU held a speakout after the murder of Dr. Barnett Slepian by an anti-abortion bigot near Buffalo, New York in October 1998, we invited NOW to speak, and they sent a woman who maybe mentioned abortion a couple of times but spent basically the whole speech urging people to get out and vote for Democrat Charles Schumer for Senator. So an anti-welfare, "tough on crime" Democrat is their answer to the attacks on abortion.

What may confuse people is that there are many so-called socialist groups which have christened themselves "socialist-

the fatuous belief that things are getting better for women—see how many Congresswomen and Senators there are; see how Janet Reno is going to prosecute anti-abortion protesters; see how the process of pushing for reforms via voting for the Democrats has helped women's rights...except that it hasn't. Poor women effectively lost the right to abortion only a few years after the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion nationally, when Southern Democratic president Jimmy Carter enacted the Hyde Amendment ending Medicaid funding for abortion. And working people are earning less than they were 20 years ago.

There's always been a current among bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women in advanced capitalist countries that has advanced reforms and fought to grant women formal legal "personhood"—opening the way for certain women of the ruling class to "emancipate" themselves. However, this doesn't really change the lot of working and especially black women in this society. I came across a nice quote from Nadezhda Krupskaya, a Bolshevik leader who was Lenin's wife, which goes:

"Bourgeois women advocate their special 'women's' rights. They always oppose themselves to men and demand their rights from men. For them, contemporary society is divided into two main categories: men and women. Men possess everything, hold all the rights. The question is one of achieving equal rights. "For the working woman, the woman question becomes quite different. The conscious working woman sees that contemporary society is divided into classes. Each class has its special interests. The bourgeois one, the working class another. Their interests are opposed. The division between men and women does not have great importance in the eyes of the working woman."

### Cops, Courts, Churches Out of the Bedroom!

It's the duty of Marxists to defend the democratic rights of the most vulnerable social groups, which are often the first targets of increasing state repression and campaigns to regiment society. One example is the "pedophilia" hysteria and attacks on one particular group, NAMBLA (the North American Man-Boy Love Association), simply for advocating the right of men and boys to have consensual sexual relations. These people have been totally victimized by the government and the media and have been attacked up and down, losing their jobs and being thrown in jail. This opens the door to attacks on many other varieties of sexual expression that are considered "deviant." We say: Government out of the bedroom!

Much as the family serves as not only a useful social institution but also as the only social "safety net" and comfort that many people have, religion also doubles as both a means and a justification for oppression and as a sort of consolation for material oppression and degradation. People are probably familiar with Marx's remark about religion being the "opium

of the people." He didn't mean it in any narrow anti-drug sense but in the sense that it was an illusory relief for the real pain beyond man's control. But Marxism has a whole different worldview.

Of course, I'm talking here about *real* Marxists. There are some groups which call themselves socialist, like the aforementioned ISO, whose "Campaign to End the Death Penalty" put out this leaflet about "The Execution of Jesus Christ and the Death Penalty Today." It says, "Come participate in a political service and experience the power of Good Friday in helping to end the death penalty"! (We did call and make sure this wasn't an April Fool's joke, didn't we?) This is a crystal-clear example of what's called opportunism, but it's not out of character for a group which hailed the Islamic fundamentalist Khomeini in Iran and Solidarność Catholic reactionaries in Poland (see "ISO and Religion," WV No. 724, 26 November).

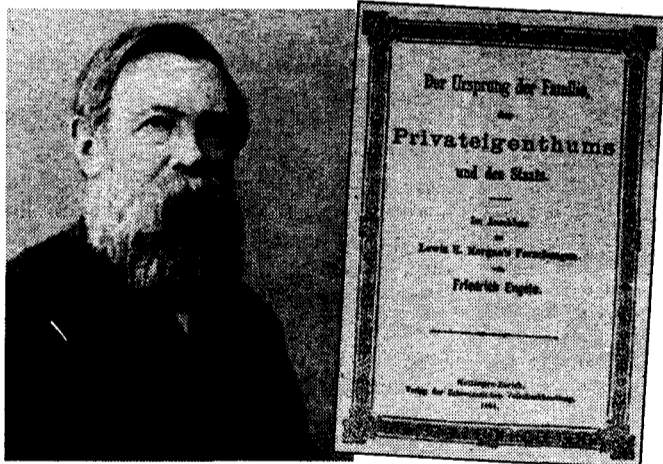
Capitalism is not evolving in a progressive direction but toward economic trade rivalries, trade wars and imperialist shooting wars—like the U.S./NATO war against Serbia in the Balkans. Consequently, the bourgeoisie has turned its back on the ideology of the Enlightenment, of the French Revolution of 1789, and is busily bringing back all the old crap in order to regiment and stupefy the population, finding a useful tool to this end in all sorts of religion and mysticism—creationism, UFO sightings, various "new age" fads like "crop circles."

And, of course, racism is of tremendous importance to the capitalist rulers in trying to prevent united action by black and white workers. It was just that kind of united class struggle that led to the founding of the United Auto Workers union in the late 1930s, for instance, and a taste of it could be seen in the strikes against GM Flint in 1998 and against UPS by the Teamsters the year before, where workers hung together and won limited victories. We also point to the labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee over the last 20 years to stop the Klan and the Nazis in cities from San Francisco to Chicago to Washington, D.C. and to the labor-centered mobilizations initiated by the PDC to fight for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The International Communist League is in the business of raising the consciousness of the working class. We fight for free abortion on demand, free 24-hour childcare, free quality health care, jobs for all, open admissions to education with no tuition and a living stipend. Such demands are absolutely necessary, but they won't be achieved under capitalism. Marxism is a guide to action, the only way to fundamentally *change* society. Unlike philosophers who sought only to interpret the world, Marx and Engels fought to change society, and Lenin put their teachings into practice in their most complete form by building the Bolshevik Party, the only party to lead a successful workers revolution, the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia. As the Russian Revolution showed, women workers will be among the best fighters for their class.

Real human dignity and equality can only come about through the collective ownership of the means of production—the steel mills, the railroads, etc.—where allocation of resources will be according to human need and not Wall Street profits. To liberate women means that the family as an institution has to be replaced with collective childcare and housework, in order to bring women fully into society.

The struggle for women's liberation requires a proletarian vanguard party—that's what the Spartacist League and the International Communist League are here for. And as we fight for new October Revolutions, the International Communist League reaffirms that the struggle against women's oppression is integral to the emancipation of labor itself. **For women's liberation through socialist revolution!** ■



W.E. Debenham

Friedrich Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884) laid foundation for Marxist understanding of women's oppression.

oppression of women in class society. For the bourgeoisie, the family is of value in ensuring that property is transmitted from one generation to the next through "legitimate" heirs. The proletariat, which has nothing to leave to the next generation, is meant to produce future generations of workers to be used as fodder for capitalist exploitation, while the working-class family is meant to provide for the care of the young and the aged and all the other social services the capitalists don't want to pay for.

This entails glaring hypocrisy: mothers are supposed to stay home and care for their kids—unless they're on welfare, in which case they're supposed to leave their kids at home with no babysitter and go out to work. And when the capitalists need to draw women into the workplace, as in times of war, they adjust their ideology, only to reverse it later when they again seek to drive women back to "hearth and home."

### Society Is Divided into Classes

I want to address the differences between feminism and Marxism. Feminism is a worldview counterposed to rev-

feminist" and have tried to bridge the chasm separating feminism and Marxism. That's because they are at bottom interested in reforming capitalism in alliance with bourgeois liberals. For example, at an International Women's Day (IWD) event in Toronto, Canada last year, a couple of propaganda booths were being staffed by representatives of the Canadian Army and the woman-hating Islamic fundamentalist regime in Iran. And the Trotskyist League, the Canadian section of the International Communist League, and various other leftists, including from the Worker-communist Party of Iran, got together to express their outrage and drive these class enemies out of the IWD fair. However, other so-called leftists, such as the Canadian affiliates of the International Socialist Organization and Jack Barnes's Socialist Workers Party, denounced us for doing our internationalist duty. So there's an example of the sort of "cross-class" sisterhood that's pushed by feminists. You can be "sisters" with Hillary Clinton...or Madeleine Albright—god!

What is especially pernicious about bourgeois feminism is that it perpetuates

# China...

(continued from page 1)

tariffs could throw as many as ten million more peasants into the already huge army of migrant laborers.

But this outcome is not at all predetermined by the WTO agreement. Rather, what is urgently posed is struggle by the Chinese proletariat to defend the already greatly attenuated gains of the 1949 Revolution.

Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post* (1 December) wrote that in the space of one week shortly after the WTO agreement, "sit-ins, demonstrations, and disruptions to railway lines have been reported in cities including Xian, Chongqing, Hengyang, Beijing, and Changsha." Even retired army officers have been protesting, demanding the jobs they were supposed to get after leaving the army. In May-June 1989, working people rebelled against the effects of Deng Xiaoping's "market socialism," transforming the student protests at Tiananmen Square into an incipient proletarian political revolution against the Beijing bureaucracy.

Ten years later, the choices for China are increasingly stark: *proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution*. The raw social material for a



Beijing, 1999: Rural migrants pour into cities seeking work as pro-capitalist "market reforms" throw tens of millions into desperate poverty.

Meanwhile in the U.S., the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy joins with right-wing bourgeois politicians in railing that Clinton "betrayed" American interests with the China/WTO deal. A focal point of the anti-WTO protests in Seattle was the AFL-CIO tops' anti-Communist campaign against China, as the chauvinist United Steelworkers leadership staged a "dumping" of Chinese steel in the harbor while Teamsters chief Jimmy Hoffa Jr. shared a platform with CIA-sponsored Chinese "dissident" Wei Jingsheng.

Washington promotes anti-Communist dissidents like Wei and Hong Kong-based "labor organizer" Han Dongfang while brandishing American military might against China, most recently through the proposed Asian "theater missile defense" system which may include capitalist Taiwan. This is in no way counterposed to the policy of "engagement" with the CCP regime. All wings of the American capitalist class are united around their goal for China: to overturn the 1949 Revolution and recapture the "right" of untrammelled exploitation of the country's working masses.

The Chinese Revolution was a world-historic event, destroying the rule of the murderous warlords and bloodsucking moneylenders, the rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been cruelly exploited since time immemorial. Barbaric practices rooted in the old Confucian order, such as the binding of women's feet, were wiped out. A nation which had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation. Landlord/capitalist rule was replaced by a centrally planned, collectivized economy. It is the duty of the proletariat internationally to stand for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

However, the People's Republic of China was from the outset a *bureaucratically deformed* workers state. Issuing out of the victory of Mao Zedong's peasant-based People's Liberation Army (PLA), the 1949 Revolution resulted in the rule of a materially privileged bureaucratic caste which modeled its regime on the Soviet Union under Stalin, governing the country with an iron hand and completely depriving the proletariat of political power. Pursuing the reactionary Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," the Maoist bureaucracy paid lip service to "Marxism-Leninism" while selling out revolutionary struggles internationally and promoting the nationalist project of transforming China into a great world power on a par with the U.S. Chasing the same nationalist chimera, Mao's bureaucratic heirs continue to deepen capitalist "market reforms" initiated more than 20 years ago, bringing the country to the brink of capitalist restoration.

Adding to the pressure exerted by foreign imperialist capital is the existence of a powerful offshore Chinese bourgeoisie, centered in Hong Kong and Taiwan but present throughout Southeast Asia. Where the Russian bourgeoisie was destroyed as a class by the October Revolu-

tion of 1917, the Chinese capitalists were able to flee the mainland in the late 1940s, maintaining their cohesion as a class and retaining kinship links inside China. The Chinese bourgeoisie has a powerful bastion in Hong Kong, which provides a conduit for CCP officials and their "princeling" offspring to enrich themselves, often linking up with Hong Kong tycoons. Meanwhile, capitalist Taiwan remains a dagger aimed at the Chinese deformed workers state, serving as a base for imperialist military pressure and a principal source for the massive incursion of Chinese capital into the mainland.

To defeat the powerful forces of capitalist counterrevolution now threatening the Chinese working class, it is necessary to adhere to the principles of *proletarian internationalism* which governed the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky and the early Chinese Communist Party, born out of the May Fourth Movement protests against the degradation of China before Japanese and Western imperialism. A political revolution in China must be linked to the class struggles of the militant Indonesian and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers, and with those in the U.S., Japan and other imperialist centers. Only through socialist revolution in these countries will the threat of capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation be eliminated once and for all and the basis laid for the development of China in a socialist Asia.

## Chinese Stalinism in Power: From Mao to Jiang

In a piece on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (7 October) hailed Deng Xiaoping and his "market-based reforms" for having "rescued China from the political nightmare of the Mao years and eased the backwardness of Stalinist economics." On the other side, many left-leaning Chinese intellectuals, fearful and hostile toward Western and Japanese imperialism, now idealize the Mao era when China practiced economic "self-reliance." Dovetailing with this nostalgia for Mao is the

deep sense of national feeling against the imperialist powers, who bullied and oppressed China for over a century before being expelled by the 1949 Revolution. Nationalist sentiment was evident in the outpouring of protest in Beijing and other cities over the U.S. bombing of the Chinese consulate in Belgrade in May during NATO's terror war against Serbia.

Superficially, the privatization and "free trade" program of Jiang and Zhu, and Deng before his death in 1997, may seem to be a total repudiation of Maoism. In reality, the course of developments from Mao to Jiang expresses an organic evolution of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy in power. The political and in many cases biological heirs of the commanders of the PLA which marched into Beijing in 1949 are today in the forefront of the drive to restore capitalism.

The Maoist regime's initial economic policies, modeled on the early Soviet five-year plans, produced substantial all-round growth and industrial development. But such gains were not nearly enough to lift the condition of the Chinese masses to that of the advanced industrialized world, much less to the level of socialism, which requires eliminating scarcity. Nor did those gains satisfy the grandiose national ambitions of Mao and his colleagues. In the late 1950s, Mao launched the Great Leap Forward, a campaign of insane economic adventurism marked by the proliferation of primitive backyard steel furnaces.

The resulting economic catastrophe and terrible famine set the stage for the violent factional turmoil of the 1960s, grotesquely called by Mao the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." The Chinese economy was further weakened by the Sino-Soviet split beginning in the late 1950s, with the nationalist bureaucracies in Beijing and Moscow falling out as they each pursued "socialism" in their own single country, accompanied by the futile quest for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. By the time Mao died in 1976, Chinese Stalinism had reached an impasse.

The modernization of China remains a key revolutionary task. But such development of backward countries is possible only within the framework of an *internationally planned socialist economy* based on proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan. As Leon Trotsky insisted in his political struggle against the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, there can be no nationally isolated socialist development:

"Socialism is the organization of a planned and harmonious social production for the satisfaction of human wants. Collective ownership of the means of production is not yet socialism, but only its legal premise. The problem of a socialist society cannot be abstracted from the problem of the productive forces, which at the present stage of human development are world-wide in their very essence. The separate state, having become too narrow

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Beijing regime's "open door" means ever more massive imperialist encroachments. Shanghai Volkswagen plant.

proletarian political revolution certainly exists. What does not now exist and must be built is a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to direct spontaneous and localized labor strikes and protests toward the overthrow of the Stalinist regime and its replacement by a government of democratically elected workers, soldiers and peasant councils.

In their own way, the imperialist bourgeoisie and their spokesmen understand that restoring capitalism in China would first require *breaking the resistance of the Chinese working class*. Shawn Xu, head of research at a joint venture between the China Construction Bank and the Wall Street giant Morgan Stanley, calls China's entry into the WTO "the most significant move since the start of economic reforms themselves 20 years ago." But the celebratory mood among international financiers and their Chinese agents is tempered by fears of social, especially labor, unrest. In a *New York Times* piece which ran a few days after the trade deal was announced, a worker in a Beijing textile factory stated bitterly that now "even more workers will be laid off." "Such fears and angers, shared by millions across the country," warns the *Times*, "add up to one of China's greatest challenges."

**Available in Chinese**

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

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# China...

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for capitalism, is so much less capable of becoming the arena of a finished socialist society. The backwardness of a revolutionary country, moreover, increases for it the danger of being thrown back to capitalism." [our emphasis]

—“Socialism in a Separate Country?” appendix to *The History of the Russian Revolution* (1932-33)

We look to the early period of Chinese Communism, before the liquidationist line of the Stalinized Communist International—which ordered the CCP to bury itself in the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang—led to the beheading of the 1925-27 Revolution. In 1922, the CCP was in the leadership of a strike of 100,000 Hong Kong seamen. Three years later, the Communist-led Hong Kong Strike Committee carried out a 16-month strike following the murder of anti-imperialist protesters by British troops in Shanghai. Those communists fought to liberate China through mobilizing the working class at the head of the battle for national liberation, agrarian revolution and social modernization.

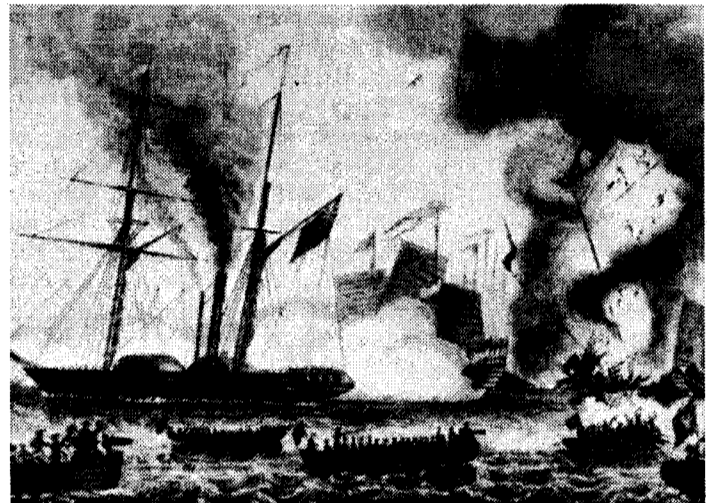
The Chinese Stalinists, like their Soviet counterparts, actively opposed the genuinely Marxist and Leninist program of international proletarian revolution. Instead, the Beijing bureaucracy placed its hopes on securing Western, Japanese and offshore Chinese capitalist investment. At the political level, this meant an

employment and social benefits was rusted out.

By the late 1980s, sharply rising economic inequalities, rampant corruption and inflation had generated a climate of popular discontent. In May-June 1989, protests initiated by student youth gained widespread support among the working masses. Groups of young workers, some of them carrying posters with Mao's picture, joined the huge demonstrations in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, which spread throughout the country. We wrote at the time: “It was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of ‘building socialism with capitalist methods’ which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature” (WV No. 480, 23 June 1989). Initially, both rank-and-file soldiers and some senior military commanders refused to carry out orders to suppress the protests. Deng was finally able to find military units willing to carry out a massacre, which was directed at working-class neighborhoods in Beijing and other cities, not at the student protesters.

## “Market Reform” Misery

Fearful of popular unrest, for the next few years the Beijing regime put further market-based “reforms” on hold. But the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe spurred the Beijing bureaucracy to plunge even deeper into the “free market” sea while maintaining an iron grip on the



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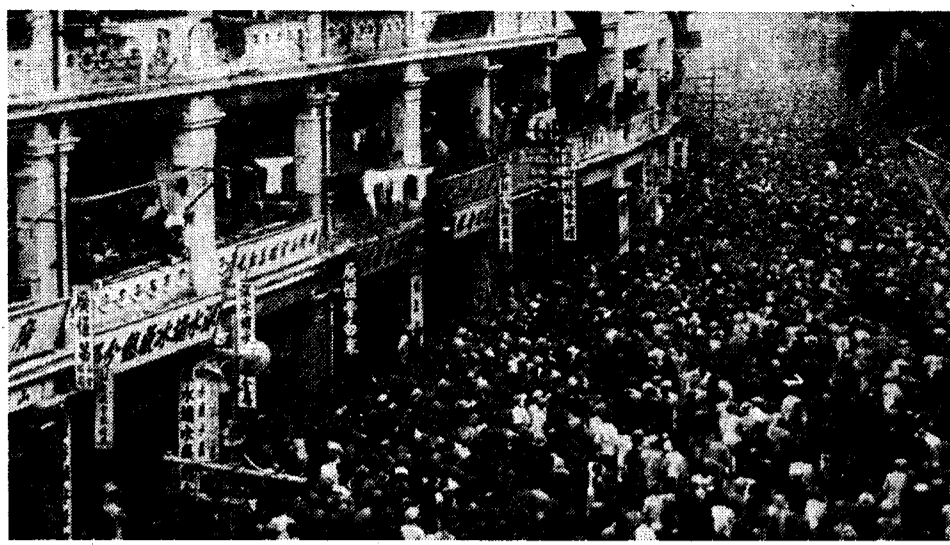
**1839: British Navy destroys Chinese vessels at start of Opium War. Defeat of decrepit Qing Dynasty opened the door to colonialist plunder of China.**

alliance with American imperialism against the Soviet Union. Mao embraced Richard Nixon in Beijing in 1972 at the very moment that American bombs were raining down on Vietnam, as U.S. imperialism waged its counterrevolutionary war of terror against the Indochinese workers and peasants.

At the economic level, China's doors were opened wide to foreign investment. Under the rubric of the “four modernizations,” Deng launched the drive for a “socialist market economy.” Agriculture was decollectivized, allowing the rural economy to be governed by atomized competition among peasant households. Centralized planning was attenuated by the introduction of “market adjustment,” with managers of state enterprises instructed to maximize returns in selling their products. State enterprises were allowed to hire new workers on a contract basis for a limited time period. The “iron rice bowl” of guaranteed lifetime

working people and impoverished peasantry. Recommencing in 1992, moves toward capitalist restoration have now greatly accelerated with China's imminent entry into the WTO. After 1997, key state industries have been converted to shareholding companies, with a majority stake held by the government. Now, the regime is allowing government shareholders to sell part of their stakes to private interests. And the *South China Morning Post* (24 November) notes that “Beijing is about to introduce a stiff inheritance tax partly with a view to containing the economic—and political— influence of the rising class of private entrepreneurs.” The imposition of an inheritance tax is an expression of just how far down the road the capitalist “reforms” have gone.

CCP head Jiang's son is one of China's most successful capitalist entrepreneurs, while Zhu's son is an executive of a Morgan Stanley joint-venture investment



Labor Defender

**1922 Hong Kong seamen's strike against British colonial rulers. Early Chinese Communist Party played leading role in proletarian struggle against imperialist subjugation.**

bank. The Chinese Stalinists hope to place themselves and their offspring among China's new exploiters. This development was analyzed by Leon Trotsky in his decisive 1936 analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, *The Revolution Betrayed*:

“Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class. On the other hand, the victory of the proletariat over the bureaucracy would insure a revival of the socialist revolution.”

Trotsky posed the stark choice for Soviet society—and this applies with immediacy to China today: “Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?” The Soviet proletariat, whose consciousness had been poisoned by decades of Stalinist nationalism, betrayals and lies, failed to act to stop the counterrevolution unleashed by Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 seizure of power, which culminated over the following year in the final undoing of the October Revolution.

Despite the Chinese bureaucracy's stated intention to impose a full-fledged market economy, the state-owned sector still accounts for over 40 percent of China's economy. Writing shortly before the trade deal with the U.S., the Hong Kong-based *Far Eastern Economic Review* (7 October) explained: “It's precisely because state-owned enterprises have traditionally performed such critical employment and social-welfare roles that Beijing is reluctant to dismantle the system too quickly.... It fears that throwing millions of people out of work could result in political and social instability.” As Trotsky wrote of Stalin's regime, the bureaucracy “continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat.”

Certainly, the Beijing Stalinists have gone much further toward capitalist restoration than had the Soviet bureaucracy in the late 1980s, condemning increasing sections of Chinese society to abject poverty. Tens of millions of peasants who have gone bankrupt and rural youth deprived of a livelihood in the countryside have flooded into the cities looking for work. But with urban jobs hard to find, many of these migrants—an estimated two million in Beijing alone—are homeless, forced to become beggars and prostitutes to survive. Even official Chinese sources project that by 2006, those without jobs or “not fully employed” will be nearly 20 percent of the working-age population, while some estimate that effective unemployment has already reached 20 percent. With the loss of a job goes the housing, medical, education and retirement benefits tied to employment in state-owned industries.

Among those hardest hit by the attacks on the “iron rice bowl” are women and the aged. Nearly two-thirds of those laid off from state firms are women, who as a result end up with smaller pensions. Today in the impoverished countryside, rural families who can't afford tuition

commonly keep their daughters out of school; with the return to family farming and its attendant reactionary social attitudes, girls are deemed worthless to educate. Meanwhile, the pre-revolutionary scourge of the kidnapping of women to be sold as “wives” has revived. Older workers are in increasingly desperate straits as their formerly guaranteed retirement and health benefits are torn up.

A Chinese Trotskyist party would undertake special measures to organize the superexploited migrant workers, who form a potentially powerful link between the urban working class and the vast peasant interior. It would advance the rights of women, from defending their jobs to fighting their re-enslavement by bride-procurers and household tyrants.

## AFL-CIO Tops Spearhead Anti-China Campaign

Successor to the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, the WTO is a pillar of the post-Soviet “New World Order,” prescribing “neoliberal” policies designed for the untrammeled exploitation of Third World countries by American, West European and Japanese industrialists and financiers. Right-wing proponents of economic nationalism in the U.S., and even more so various leftists, often view the WTO and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as all-powerful global agencies laying down the law to member states. In reality, the WTO, IMF, World Bank, et al. are based on agreements between the American, West European and Japanese imperialist states and represent a series of compromises between their divergent national interests. And such agreements are broken when those national interests so dictate, as the imperialist powers compete for spheres of exploitation, among which a capitalist China ranks as the golden fleece. Counterrevolution in China would not lead to a flowering of economic development courtesy of imperialist investment, but would rather turn the country into a battleground for cutthroat rivalries among the major capitalist powers.

While the imperialists aim at a “cold” capitalist restoration from above carried out by leading elements of the Beijing bureaucracy, sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie are pushing for a combination of economic warfare and military pressure, replicating the Cold War II offensive against the Soviet Union in the 1980s. The main advocates of a Cold War offensive against China today include both the pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy and the Republican right.

AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney told the National Press Club last month that the Clinton administration “prostrates itself for a deal with China that treats human rights as a disposable nuisance.” The AFL-CIO bureaucracy combines anti-Communist hostility to China with flag-waving trade protectionism about “saving American jobs.” Agitation against imports from China (or Japan) invariably has a strong undertone of “yellow peril” racism. The anti-Asian hysteria fanned by the United Auto Workers tops during their campaign against Japanese cars in the 1970s led directly to the heinous

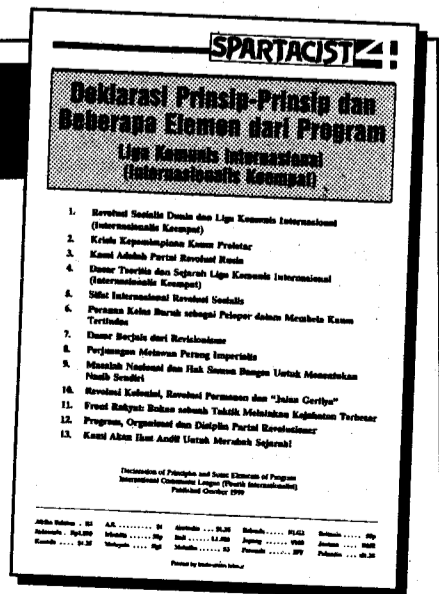
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murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin outside a Detroit nightclub in 1982 by two racists, one of them a Chrysler foreman. Today, the labor tops' anti-Communist, protectionist tirades against China feed straight into the vicious anti-Chinese racism stirred up by the witch-hunt of Taiwanese-born Los Alamos scientist Wen Ho Lee, framed up earlier this year over absurd charges of spying for China (see "Chinese Spy" Hysteria Whips Up Anti-Asian Racism," WV No. 719, 17 September).

At the same time, these labor lieutenants of American imperialism pretend a touching concern for Chinese workers. China is a country, Sweeney declaimed to the Press Club, "where anyone attempting to organize a union is immediately arrested and imprisoned." The American labor bureaucrats don't give a damn about the rights and interests of workers in China or elsewhere. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy collaborated closely with the U.S. government to install and maintain anti-labor military juntas throughout Latin America and Asia and played a critical role in promoting capitalist counter-revolution in East Europe and the ex-USSR, especially through its support to Polish Solidarność. The AFL-CIO officialdom was among the fiercest "hawks" on behalf of U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary wars in Korea in the early 1950s and Vietnam in the 1960s-early

'70s. Throughout much of the Third World, the U.S. labor federation is known as the "AFL-CIA."

Through their anti-Communism and chauvinist protectionism, the AFL-CIO tops serve to chain American workers to their capitalist class enemy. Politically, this class-collaborationist program is served through the labor bureaucracy's support to the Democratic Party. We fight to forge a class-struggle opposition within the unions to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. We fight for a new leadership of labor based on the understanding that the interests of the working class are irreconcilably counterposed to those of the capitalist class enemy and that workers in all countries must be united in class-struggle solidarity. We fight to break the working class from the capitalist Democratic Party and to forge a workers party as the necessary instrument in the struggle for socialist revolution against the entire system of racist capitalism.

### For International Proletarian Revolution!

What capitalist restoration has meant for working people in the former Soviet bloc was powerfully described by a Bulgarian writer, Blagovesta Doncheva. In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (11 November) titled "In Bulgaria, 10 Years of Misery," she writes:

"The International Monetary Fund and World Bank are successfully devouring Bulgarian industry. They have insisted on the privatization of Bulgaria's plants and factories. In many cases, the Bulgarian government, which diligently follows the I.M.F.'s advice, sold these factories to powerful foreign corporations....

"What is the result? Hordes of unemployed workers, beggars in the streets, old people digging in rubbish containers for some rag or moldy piece of bread.

"Our social fabric is falling apart. Before 1989, Bulgaria was a socialist state: free medical care and education for everyone. Mothers and the elderly received other aid and privileges."

After describing the terrible conditions of youth and the aged in Bulgaria today, Doncheva goes on:

"From 1989 to 1993, I was a democratic activist. That was before I understood the true work of the I.M.F. or the World Bank or the transnational corporations and their policy of expansion. We fell for the seductive talk about democracy and openness. Now 10 years later, I wish we hadn't."

Throughout the world, a host of reformist "socialists," chief among them the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and its British patron, Tony Cliff's



KI HO PARK/Keystone

**South Korean Hyundai workers during 1998 strike. Struggle for proletarian political revolution in China must be linked to fight for a socialist Asia.**

Socialist Workers Party, joined in supporting the drive toward capitalist counter-revolution and cheering its victory. They continue to do so even in the face of the bitter experience of the working masses of East Europe and the former Soviet Union. From their inception as a tendency in 1950—when Cliff and his followers refused to defend China, North Korea and the USSR against U.S. and British imperialism during the Korean War—the Cliffites have been defined by the rejection of the perspective of workers revolution and embrace of imperialist "democracy." Writing off the Chinese deformed workers state from its origins as a "state capitalist regime," the Cliffites refuse to defend China against imperialism and capitalist counter-revolution.

This conclusion is shared by the journal *October Review*, based in Hong Kong and published by Chinese supporters of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. The *October Review* group supports all manner of pro-imperialist "dissidents" and limits its program for China to the call for (bourgeois) democracy.

Unlike the workers of East Europe and the USSR before counter-revolution, many Chinese workers have already seen the brutal effects of the capitalist market. This development necessarily affects the dynamics of social struggle within China and the political consciousness of its working class. Widespread labor strikes will in part target foreign-owned firms and joint ventures. This is not to say that Chinese workers are immune from illusions in Western-style "democracy." But they have far fewer illusions in "free market" capitalism and the supposed benefits of integrating into the imperialist-dominated global economy. In the 1980s, Lech Walesa's Solidarność demanded that Poland join the IMF, whereas virtu-

ally all reports indicate that Chinese workers are fearful toward entry into the WTO. Even those who sacrifice a lifetime's savings to be smuggled into "free world" America find themselves, if they manage to evade racist immigration prison hellholes, consigned to decades of servitude, toiling in sweatshops under 19th-century conditions.

The danger that China will be thrown back into capitalist slavery is ever more acute. It is urgently necessary to mobilize the Chinese proletariat to defend the collectivized economy and other social gains of the Chinese Revolution. But this struggle can only be brought to victory with the program and perspective of international proletarian revolution. In "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), we wrote:

"A proletarian political revolution in China would immediately face virulently hostile imperialist reaction. It would also send shock waves around the world and decisively encourage the international proletariat which has been politically and economically *thrown back* by the bourgeois onslaught and triumphalism over the so-called 'death of communism' since the 1991 capitalist counter-revolution in the former Soviet Union....

"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!" ■



Constantini/SF Examiner

**San Francisco, 1996: CIA-sponsored "Free Tibet" cause and AFL-CIO tops' anti-Communist protectionism serve imperialists' counter-revolutionary drive against China.**

## Seattle...

(continued from page 2)

forces of capitalism had outgrown the nation-state. As Lenin described in his 1916 work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*:

"Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

The small number of imperialist powers are engaged in a ruthless struggle to improve their relative competitive position by increasing the rate of exploitation of their domestic working class, by plundering the colonial and semicolonial world and by seizing markets at the expense of their rivals. Thus the basis is laid for new wars to redivide the world in accord with the changing relative strengths of the imperialists. Particularly since the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counter-revolution in 1991-92, there is a sharp escalation of inter-imperialist rivalries, as evidenced in the Seattle talks and the growth of bourgeois militarism in the U.S., Europe and Japan.

In this context, the pro-capitalist labor tops line up with their own imperialist rulers in the escalating trade wars which

ultimately lead to shooting wars and threaten a third world war with nuclear weapons. In his work on imperialism, Lenin explained the material basis for the opportunism of the labor bureaucracy:

"The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this urge. And so there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism."

History has shown that there can be no "democratic" regulation of international economic warfare except by force of arms. The major powers, which will eventually combine into competing blocs, now jockey for advantage using mutual agreements or, if necessary, tariffs and sanctions. But the capital being exported is *national* capital, and the protesters in Seattle are, whether they realize it or not, demonstrating for *their* imperialism to be *über alles*. Similarly, the fake left in Europe lines up behind "their" ruling class and in so doing follows in the footsteps of the social democrats who led the working class into the slaughterhouse of World War I. The fake Trotskyists of the United Secretariat's French section, for example, champion "la belle France" and

cheer chauvinist peasant protests against McDonald's.

Even while noting the reactionary aspects of the protests, virtually the entire reformist American left supported the chauvinist protests in Seattle. In an article before the WTO protests, *Socialist Worker* (19 November), newspaper of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), criticized AFL-CIO top Sweeney for "endorsing the Clinton administration's WTO agenda" and singled out the Teamsters under James Hoffa Jr. for anti-Mexican chauvinism. Yet the ISO said not a word about the anti-Communist and protectionist vilification of the Chinese deformed workers state which was a prominent theme of the protests. This is not surprising for these social democrats who cheered capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union. Now, in a leaflet distributed in New York City, the ISO hails the Seattle "revolt" as showing "the potential to build a fight against years of increasing poverty and escalating attacks on our health and the environment."

Even more craven was the Communist Party (CP), whose *People's Weekly World* (27 November) asked, "Shouldn't the UN and the International Labor Organization, much more democratically constituted than the WTO, handle trade issues?" It was under the UN flag that U.S. imperialism led the massive bombing of Iraq and imposed imperialist sanctions that have murdered well over one million, mostly children. Gearing up to support

the capitalist Democratic Party yet again, the CP asks rhetorically, "Shouldn't we come away from this historic demonstration determined to defeat the ultra-rightists in Congress in 2000?"

In Seattle, the labor face of the Democratic Party was a *war* party. One union speaker noted bluntly, "We are at war." In NYC on October 23, the Democratic Party and its Central Labor Council affiliates organized *against* the multiracial working class mobilized by the Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization allied with the Spartacist League—by defending the "democratic rights" of the KKK racist killers. In this they were abetted by Workers World Party, the ISO, the CP et al. But on October 23, the vanguard of the working class in New York *broke* from the Democrats and their fake-left auxiliaries and, with the revolutionary leadership of the Spartacist League and PDC, successfully *drove the KKK out of New York City*.

The labor-centered anti-KKK mobilization on October 23 was an example on a small scale of a workers party in action. The threat of a new imperialist war represented by the Democratic Party and the pro-Democratic AFL-CIO labor aristocracy in Seattle shows the urgent need for the working class to *break* from the pro-capitalist misleadership. *For a class-struggle leadership of the unions! Break with the Democrats! For a workers party to fight for a workers government!* ■

The labor/black mobilization of at least 8,000 that rode the KKK out of New York City on October 23 demonstrated labor's power when organized independently of and counterposed to the capitalist government and the Democratic and Republican parties. This united-front mobilization, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, allowed for the expression of many diverse political viewpoints by those who shared a commitment to the urgent need to stop the Klan.

The Klan's entire history is one of lynch mob terror against black people, as well as against union organizers, leftists, immigrants, Jews and Catholics. Born out of the bloody reaction in the South following the defeat of the slavocracy in the American Civil War, today the KKK is the lowlife terrorist bunch held in reserve by the American capitalist ruling class, to be deployed to crush the organizations of the working class when the masses can no longer be lulled by the lie that their interests are represented by capitalist "democracy."

The KKK fascists are America's homegrown Nazis. Below we reprint short extracts from three articles written by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky in the 1930s on the fight against fascism. Trotsky's writings on the rise of Nazism in Germany provide a broad Marxist analysis of fascism, under what conditions it arises, its class base, and the program required to mobilize the working class to smash it. Where liberals portray fascism as basically an extreme and violent form of racist ideology, in reality fascism as a mass movement represents the reactionary mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie when capitalist society is thrown into a profound political and social crisis. Such was the situation in Italy in 1921 when Mussolini's Fascists came to power, and in Germany in the early 1930s.

The Great Depression, triggered by the 1929 Wall Street stock market crash, collapsed the fragile social and political structure of the parliamentary Weimar Republic in post-World War I Germany. Mass unemployment was aggravated by government austerity policies. The economic crisis devastated not only the working class but also the middle classes, who were simultaneously resentful of the big capitalists and fearful of being plunged into the proletariat. Tens of thousands of small farmers and shopkeepers were driven into bankruptcy; civil servants and other white-collar employees were laid off for the first time in their lives; university students were deprived of any economic prospects.

Under these conditions, the Nazis emerged as a mass fascist party channeling the desperation of the petty bourgeoisie against the workers movement. Adolf Hitler and his cohorts combined demagogic attacks on Jewish bankers, who they claimed were the principal authors of Germany's economic ruin, with murderous violence against the mass Social Democratic and Communist parties and the trade unions. In early 1933, decisive sections of German capital turned governmental power over to the Nazis as a means of stabilizing the unsettled bourgeois order.

The growth and eventual triumph of fascism was facilitated in different ways by the two major parties of the German working class. The Social Democratic Party—which had been the political mainstay of the Weimar Republic from its inception, when it suppressed a revolutionary rising of the proletariat in 1918-19—abandoned even lip service to social and economic reforms and instead supported government policies which further immiserated the masses. More radical sections of the German working class, inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, adhered to the Communist Party. However, the Communists, under the direction of Stalin, who had usurped political power in the Soviet

## Trotsky on the Fight Against Fascism

Union at the head of a conservative bureaucratic caste in 1924, adopted an ultraleft posture of equating the Social Democrats and the Nazis, calling the former "social fascists." By doing so, they repelled those Social Democratic workers who wanted to struggle against the Nazis but were as yet unwilling to break with their party and its leaders.

Trotsky and the Left Opposition agitated for a united front of the Social Democrats and Communists for the military defense of the workers movement against the Nazi stormtroopers. Trotsky's tactical

ers be calculated beforehand? It cannot. In the light of the events of the past year, this strength seems to be gigantic. But the truth is that what helped most of all to weld together social democracy was the wrong policy of the Communist Party, which found its highest generalization in the absurd theory of social fascism. To measure the real resistance of the social democratic ranks, a different measuring instrument is required, that is, a correct Communist tactic. With this condition—and it is not a small condition—the degree of internal unity of the



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perspective was grounded in the understanding that what was directly posed in Germany was the struggle for socialist revolution, for the seizure of state power by the proletariat. As Trotsky emphasized, this program, leading to a Socialist United States of Europe, pointed the only way forward to eradicating the scourge of fascism for good. Trotsky's Left Opposition was then still oriented toward winning the Communist International back to the program of authentic Bolshevism. When no section of the Comintern opposed the Stalinist policies which allowed Hitler's Nazis to come to power, Trotsky declared it dead as a revolutionary organization and called for a Fourth International.

\* \* \*

### "The Turn in the Communist International and the Situation in Germany" (September 1930)

The gigantic growth of National Socialism is an expression of two factors: a deep social crisis, throwing the petty bourgeois masses off balance, and the lack of a revolutionary party that would be regarded by the masses of the people as an acknowledged revolutionary leader. If the Communist Party is the *party of revolutionary hope*, then fascism, as a mass movement, is the *party of counter-revolutionary despair*. When revolutionary hope embraces the whole proletarian mass, it inevitably pulls behind it on the road of revolution considerable and growing sections of the petty bourgeoisie. Precisely in this sphere the election revealed the opposite picture: counterrevolutionary despair embraced the petty bourgeois mass with such a force that it drew behind it many sections of the proletariat....

*Fascism in Germany has become a real danger*, as an acute expression of the helpless position of the bourgeois regime, the conservative role of the social democracy in this regime, and the accumulated powerlessness of the Communist Party to abolish it. Whoever denies this is either blind or a braggart....

Can the strength of the conservative resistance of the social-democratic work-



Leon Trotsky and German Left Opposition agitated for workers united front to defeat Nazi threat as part of struggle for proletarian revolution.

social democracy can be revealed in a comparatively brief period....

If the Communist Party, in spite of the exceptionally favorable circumstances, has proved powerless seriously to shake the structure of the social democracy with the aid of the formula of "social fascism," then real fascism now threatens this structure, no longer with wordy formulas of so-called radicalism, but with the chemical formulas of explosives. No matter how true it is that the social democracy by its whole policy prepared the blossoming of fascism, it is no less true that fascism comes forward as a deadly threat primarily to that same social democracy, all of whose magnificence is inextricably bound with parliamentary-democratic-pacifist forms and methods of government....

The policy of a united front of the workers against fascism flows from this situation. It opens up tremendous possibilities to the Communist Party. A condition for success, however, is the rejection of the theory and practice of "social fascism," the harm of which becomes a positive menace under the present circumstances.

The social crisis will inevitably produce deep cleavages within the social democracy. The radicalization of the masses will affect the social democrats. We will inevitably have to make agree-

ments with the various social-democratic organizations and factions against fascism, putting definite conditions in this connection to the leaders, before the eyes of the masses.... We must return from the empty official phrase about the united front to the policy of the united front as it was formulated by Lenin and always applied by the Bolsheviks in 1917.

\* \* \*

### Whither France? (1934)

After the war a series of brilliantly victorious revolutions occurred in Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and later in Spain. But it was only in Russia that the proletariat took full power into its hands, expropriated its exploiters, and knew how to create and maintain a workers' state. Everywhere else the proletariat, despite its victory, stopped halfway because of the mistakes of its leadership. As a result, power slipped from its hands, shifted from left to right, and fell prey to fascism. In a series of other countries power passed into the hands of a military dictatorship. Nowhere were the parliaments capable of reconciling class contradictions and assuring the peaceful development of events. Conflicts were solved arms in hand.

The French people for a long time thought that fascism had nothing whatever to do with them. They had a republic in which all questions were dealt with by the sovereign people through the exercise of universal suffrage. But on February 6, 1934, several thousand fascists and royalists, armed with revolvers, clubs, and razors, imposed upon the country the reactionary government of Doumergue, under whose protection the fascist bands continue to grow and arm themselves. What does tomorrow hold?

Of course in France, as in certain other European countries (England, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries), there still exist parliaments, elections, democratic liberties, or their remnants. But in all these countries the class struggle is sharpening, just as it did previously in Italy and Germany. Whoever consoles himself with the phrase, "France is not Germany," is hopeless. In all countries the same historic laws operate, the laws of capitalist decline. If the means of production remain in the hands of a small number of capitalists, there is no way out for society. It is condemned to go from crisis to crisis, from need to misery, from bad to worse. In the various countries the decrepitude and disintegration of capitalism are expressed in diverse forms and at unequal rhythms. But the basic features of the process are the same everywhere. The bourgeoisie is leading its society to complete bankruptcy. It is capable of assuring the people neither bread nor peace. This is precisely why it cannot any longer tolerate the democratic order. It is forced to smash the workers by the use of physical violence. The discontent of the workers

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# Democrats...

(continued from page 12)

share their microphone with those racist killers of the KKK; and in collaboration with the bourgeois media, they spread the lie on the eve of the mobilization that the Klan had called off its rally.

Any number of black people have said to our *Workers Vanguard* salesmen since that time, "What's wrong with Sharpton?" By that they mean, "Doesn't Sharpton understand that the Klan is not on a speaking tour, they're killers, and he as a black man is in their cross hairs." Sharpton's commitment, however, is to the Democratic Party—a party of capitalism—and to the capitalist order which needs the fascists as reserve troops when the masses discard their illusions in the "democracy" of the ruling class, when the working class takes up the fight for its interests in opposition to the capitalist order. That is why Sharpton and the Democrats became the supporters of the "rights" of the KKK on October 23.

Second, the trade-union bureaucracy. The very top levels did nothing at all. Or like Dennis Rivera, head of the powerful Local 1199, endorsed the Democratic Party diversion called by Stringer/Sharpton. Because the Klan is despised by almost all New Yorkers, who are virtually all on its hit list, the trade-union leaders were split and could not mobilize an all-out countermobilization against what we organized on the 23rd. Indeed, we received substantial support from SSEU Local 371, which was a key part of the labor core of our demonstration.

Now, we have in all our mobilizations—for Mumia Abu-Jamal and against the death penalty, against the fascists—received substantial labor endorsements. But as we have pointed out in *Workers Vanguard*, these supporters have not normally mobilized their union members. Mumia's life is currently on the line. If labor does nothing, he is left to the mercies of Supreme Court reactionaries Scalia, Rehnquist and Clarence Thomas. Anybody want to appear before that court? Fascist killers stalk the land—Benjamin Smith, who went gunning after blacks, Jews and Asians in the Midwest this summer; the scum in Elkhart, Indiana who murdered Sasezley Richardson—and yet labor has not mobilized to smash the organizations that spawn this vermin. That should have been done in Decatur last month.

Even in the successful UPS and GM strikes which had widespread public support, the trade-union tops allowed scabbing, refused to mobilize mass picket lines that no one would cross. Their servility in the face of the bosses' cops and

courts is testament to their commitment to the capitalist order. Some of these trade-union leaders have supported our mobilizations, so there is some contradiction; they're not all of one sort. Yet they still fear more a call from union headquarters accusing them of working with the reds, that is, accusing them of class-struggle methods. What do the trade-union tops mobilize for? Primarily for the Democrats at the polls.

In Seattle, we've seen large demonstrations at the meeting of the World Trade Organization, which exists to negotiate trade among the imperialist powers and to extract superprofits from what used to be called the Third World. But a chief aim of the demonstrations, particularly on the part of the labor tops, was to join with the imperialists in their campaign to destroy the Chinese deformed workers state, which is a product of the overthrow of capitalism by the Chinese Revolution. We are opposed to this imperialist overthrow of the gains of the 1949 Revolution, and we are opposed to the bureaucratic caste which rules China and is seeking entry into the WTO in the service of domestic capitalist counterrevolution. We are for the defense of the Chinese workers state against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. We are for the overthrow of the bureaucracy by proletarian political revolution.

But that is not why the trade-union tops have mobilized their members. They have mobilized to beg Bill Clinton and the American imperialist bosses to protect them from Japanese steel workers, from Mexican workers in the *maquiladoras*, from the workers in sweatshops in other countries. That is to say, they mobilize their forces to place faith in "their" American bosses who are bent on destroying union militancy. These misleaders place no faith in the international struggle of the working class. We are committed to building a class-struggle opposition in the trade unions based on the fundamental proposition that the world working class shares no interests with their bosses.

Third, the reformist left, by which we mean those whose commitment is to reforming capitalism, not to overthrowing it. Specifically in New York City on October 23, that meant the International Socialist Organization and the Communist Party, which endorsed the Democrats' demonstration of "tolerance" for the KKK. These groups simply provided a left cover for the Klan's "right" to mobilize. Those who think that all socialists should get together and bury their differences need to appreciate that there is a fundamental divide between those who seek to reform capitalism and those who seek to overthrow it, as does the Spartacist League.

and peasants, however, cannot be brought to an end by the police alone. Moreover, it is often impossible to make the army march against the people. It begins by disintegrating and ends with the passage of a large section of the soldiers over to the people's side. That is why finance capital is obliged to create special armed bands, trained to fight the workers just as certain breeds of dog are trained to hunt game. The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery.

The fascists find their human material mainly in the petty bourgeoisie. The latter has been entirely ruined by big capital. There is no way out for it in the present social order, but it knows of no other. Its dissatisfaction, indignation and despair are diverted by the fascists away from big capital and against the workers. It may be said that fascism is the act of placing the petty bourgeoisie at the disposal of its most bitter enemies. In this way big capital ruins the middle classes and then, with the help of hired fascist

demagogues, incites the despairing petty bourgeois against the worker. The bourgeois regime can be preserved only by such murderous means as these. For how long? Until it is overthrown by proletarian revolution.

## "Some Questions on American Problems" (Fourth International, October 1940)

The backwardness of the United States working class is only a relative term. In many very important respects it is the most progressive working class of the world, technically and in its standard of living....

The American workers are very combative—as we have seen during the strikes. They have had the most rebellious strikes in the world. What the American worker misses is a spirit of generalization, or analysis, of his class position in society as a whole. This lack of social thinking has its origin in the country's whole history....

About fascism. In all the countries where fascism became victorious, we had, before the growth of fascism and its

## Self-Defense Against Racist Terror Is No Crime

# Free Joshua Edwards!

We publish below a December 3 letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to Lancaster, Pennsylvania Assistant District Attorney Kenneth Brown demanding the immediate release of Joshua Edwards. Edwards was sentenced to up to two years in prison last August for defending himself against two gun-toting racist thugs. Having repeatedly abused Edwards and Maria Bare, an interracial couple, Phillip Jones and Carl Walton came after them in their apartment building in the early morning hours of 26 September 1998. After Edwards sent his girlfriend to her aunt's house for safety, Jones and Walton pulled shotguns on him. Jones died from a stomach wound from Edwards' .38 calibre pistol. Walton, who carried with him a card for the Adolph Hitler Free Corps and literature about a local KKK group, was wounded. Edwards was charged with murder!

While the Pennsylvania NAACP came to Edwards' defense against this outrageous frame-up, the NAACP nationally has recently campaigned for tougher gun control legislation. Joshua Edwards is alive today only because he had the means to defend himself. Gun control kills blacks—For the right of armed self-defense!

\* \* \*

The conviction and imprisonment last August of Joshua Edwards on bogus manslaughter charges is an out-

rage. We demand that all charges be dropped and Mr. Edwards be released immediately.

This was a racist attack on a 20-year-old black man known to be in an interracial relationship. Mr. Edwards was the victim of a vicious assault by two racist punks, Phillip Jones and Carl Walton, at least one of them a known Hitler-lover and KKK supporter. When the shotgun-wielding thugs threatened him, Mr. Edwards exercised the fundamental right of self-defense. Mr. Edwards survived; Jones didn't. For successfully defending himself from this murderous racist attack, Mr. Edwards was assaulted by the racist justice system—charged with murder and ultimately forced to plead guilty to manslaughter, and sentenced to one to two years' imprisonment with ten years' probation.

Over the past ten years, Pennsylvania has been one of the fastest growing centers of KKK, skinhead and Nazi terror. Had he not defended himself, Mr. Edwards would have suffered the same fate as James Byrd Jr., dragged to his death by his KKK assailants in Texas last year, and countless victims of lynch rope terror. Maybe these thugs will think twice next time. To blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, trade unionists and all those targeted by the KKK and Nazis, Joshua Edwards is a hero.

Free Joshua Edwards! Drop all the charges!

Fourth, the revolutionary working-class party. One anecdote: During the course of mobilizing for October 23, one of our leafleters was asked if she was a communist. When she responded, "Of course," the person who asked her said, "It figures, only communists would do something like this." Damned right! This person approved of what we were doing and simultaneously expressed a profound truth. Only the communists will rally the working class and the oppressed to the defense of their interests and for the struggle to forever change the conditions of exploitation and oppression.

There is a quickening of pace in this society that was reflected on October 23, an indication that things have changed somewhat in this country after decades of intense attacks on the working people

and minorities. There is a stirring toward resistance. All of what I have said hopefully leads you to the conclusion that if the stirrings against decay and degradation are to be given direction, it's important to build a revolutionary working-class party. The Spartacist League and its affiliated organizations, the Spartacus Youth Clubs and the Labor/Black Leagues, have the program and revolutionary will to end the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation. And those who have been thinking of such things should join us in the struggle for a world free of oppression and exploitation, for a world free of injustice, for a world in which the only concern is the full realization of the potential of each and every one of its inhabitants, for the ultimate freedom of mankind. For world socialist revolution! ■

victory, a wave of radicalism of the masses—of the workers and the poorer peasants and farmers, and of the petty bourgeois class. In Italy, after the war and before 1922, we had a revolutionary wave of tremendous dimensions; the state was paralyzed, the police did not exist, the trade unions could do anything they wanted—but there was no party capable of taking the power. As a reaction came fascism.

In Germany the same. We had a revolutionary situation in 1918; the bourgeois class did not even ask to participate in the power. The social democrats paralyzed the revolution. Then the workers tried again in 1922-23-24. This was the time of the bankruptcy of the Communist Party—all of which we have gone into before. Then in 1929-30-31 the German workers began again a new revolutionary wave. There was a tremendous power in the Communists and in the trade unions, but then came the famous policy (on the part of the Stalinist movement) of social fascism, a policy invented to paralyze the working class. Only after these three tremendous waves did fascism become a big movement. There are no exceptions to this rule—fascism comes only when

the working class shows complete incapacity to take into its own hands the fate of society.

In the United States you will have the same thing. Already there are fascist elements, and they have, of course, the examples of Italy and Germany. They will, therefore, work in a more rapid tempo. But you also have the examples of other countries. The next historic wave in the United States will be a wave of radicalism of the masses, not fascism. Of course the war can hinder the radicalization for some time, but then it will give to the radicalization a more tremendous tempo and swing.

We must not identify war dictatorship—the dictatorship of the military machine, of the staff, of finance capital—with a fascist dictatorship. For the latter, there is first necessary a feeling of desperation of large masses of the people. When the revolutionary parties betray them, when the vanguard of workers shows its incapacity to lead the people to victory—then the farmers, the small business men, the unemployed, the soldiers, etc., become capable of supporting a fascist movement, but only then. ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

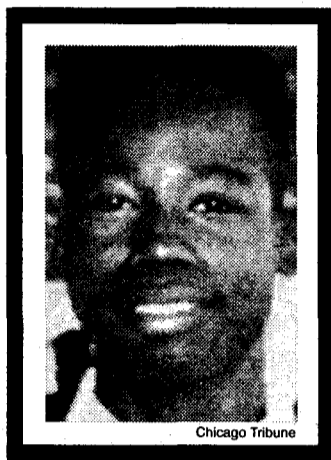
## Fascists' "Free Speech" = Racist Murder

# Nazis Kill Black Youth in Indiana

Sasezley Richardson was walking home from a store in Elkhart, Indiana on November 17 after buying diapers for his girlfriend's baby when he was gunned down in cold blood. The 19-year-old Richardson was murdered because he was black. One of the two killers openly bragged that he had carried out the murder in order to gain entry into the fascist Aryan Brotherhood. This fascist had already spent a year in prison for attempting to kill a black high-school student who had been dating a white woman.

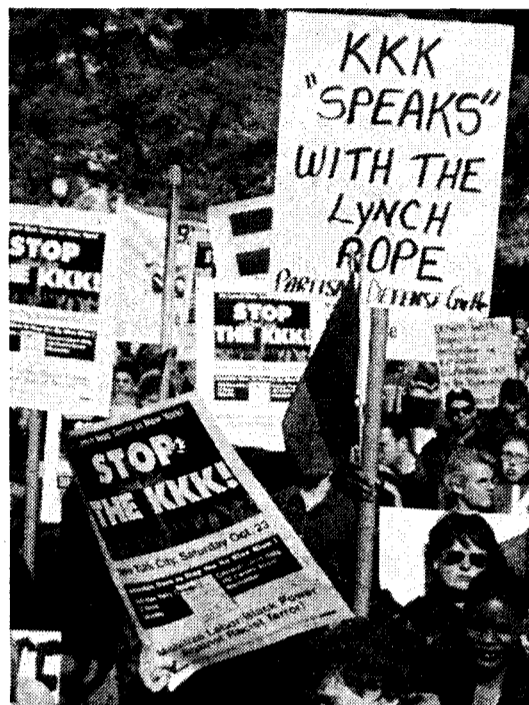
The murder of Sasezley Richardson came only a few months after the killing of a black basketball coach and a Korean student in the Midwest by a member of the fascist World Church of the Creator. This is exactly how the fascists carry out their "free speech." This is what the New York Civil Liberties Union, black demagogue Al Sharpton and the whole New York State Democratic Party establishment were defending when they upheld the KKK's "right to free speech" in New York City and went all out to stop the October 23 labor/black mobilization that rode the Klan out of town.

As the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in the call initiating this powerful mobilization against racist terror: "The KKK and Nazis 'speak' with the lynch rope. Their 'words' are fired out of the barrel of a gun" (reprinted in WV No. 722, 29 October). The murders of Sasezley Richardson and countless other victims of KKK and Nazi terror in America condemns the Democratic Party and their



Chicago Tribune

Sasezley Richardson, murdered by Aryan Brotherhood Nazis. October 23 NYC anti-Klan mobilization was opposed by Democratic Party in name of "free speech" for fascist killers.



WV Photo

lackeys as enemies of working people, blacks, immigrants and all the oppressed.

Racist murder is how the KKK recruits and Indiana has long been a Klan stronghold. As Wyn Craig Wade wrote of the KKK in the 1920s in his book, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (1987), "In the Hoosier State, kluxdom spread 'like a prairie fire.' It was the only state where Klaverns were chartered in every one of its ninety-two counties. It was the only state where the Klan elected the gov-

ernor and both U.S. senators." In 1923, the Indiana KKK organized an ominous show of strength by staging a July 4 rally in Kokomo of 200,000 white-robed racists.

More recently, four White Brotherhood racist killers gunned down black mother Cathy Long in South Bend in 1993. In April 1998, the KKK rallied outside Elkhart City Hall to protest a city ordinance against wearing hoods. And only three days before the murder of Sasezley Richardson, the American Knights of the

KKK—the same outfit which had tried to rally in New York—staged a race-hate provocation in Decatur, Illinois. Five miles away, Jesse Jackson was leading a protest of some 3,000 people against the expulsions of seven black high-school students. As we wrote last issue (WV No. 724, 26 November): "It is a telling indictment of the black Democrats that the Klan and their supporters were able to mobilize for racist genocide while thousands of black working people marched only five miles away."

In New York City on October 23, the KKK terrorists were defeated through the mass mobilization of the power of the multiracial working class leading behind it the Klan's intended victims. This mobilization showed that labor has the power to fight racist terror, but to mobilize that power requires a break with the Democratic Party of war and racism. As the PDC call stated:

"To defend its own interests and the interests of all the oppressed, labor must stand independent of all the agencies and parties of the capitalist class enemy.... There must be no illusions in the Democratic Party which has joined with the Republicans in destroying welfare, pushing the racist death penalty and flooding the streets of the ghettos and barrios with more cops. A mass labor/black rally to clear the KKK racist terrorists off the streets would be a big step toward building the kind of party that working people need—a multiracial revolutionary workers party that fights for their interests and those of all the oppressed against this entire system of capitalist exploitation and racist reaction." ■

# Democratic Party: Friend of KKK, Enemy of Labor and Blacks

We publish below an edited speech by Spartacist League spokesman Ed Clarkson at the Partisan Defense Committee Holiday Appeal benefit in Chicago on December 5. These annual benefits for class-war prisoners had an additional significance this year: a celebration of the victory in New York City on October 23, when at least 8,000 came out behind the PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization that rode the KKK out.

## For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

If we are to begin to fight the all-out attacks by the bosses of America's racist decaying imperialist order on working people, their living standards and their

very ability to survive—attacks which are most savagely felt in this country by the black population, who as an oppressed race-color caste lie at the bottom of soci-

ety—then we must forge a revolutionary working-class party which undertakes the fight for black freedom and for the overthrow of capitalism through socialist revolution. The main obstacle to forging such a party is the allegiance of working people in this country to the Democratic Party. This allegiance is maintained in the ghettos by the black Democrats and most importantly in the labor movement by the top strata of the trade-union bureaucracy, who are committed to this decaying imperialist order. I want to examine what this means in light of the October 23 labor/black mobilization against the Klan in New York City, which you've rightly heard a great deal about tonight.

First, the Democrats. Their program—put into effect by the liberals Scott Stringer and Al Sharpton, who at that moment were representing the whole of the Democratic Party establishment in New York—was to allow the Klan to march. The smokescreen of "free speech" was used to attempt to get the Klan's intended victims to stay home. The main danger from the perspective of the Democrats was the working-class mobilization itself, not the Klan. To that end, they conspired with the cops to hide the true site of the KKK rally; they arranged to

continued on page 11



Reuters



WV Photo

October 23: Klansmen with liberal lawyer Norman Siegel. New York Senator Charles Schumer at Dems' "tolerance" diversion. Defense of racist lynchers' "rights" by Rev. Al Sharpton and *Amsterdam News* was scandalized in Britain's black *Voice*. Democrats tried to give KKK free ride in NYC. Labor/black mobilization made sure they failed!

