

## Production for Profit: Anarchy and Plunder

# Capitalism and Global Warming

The Earth as a whole is without question heating up. According to figures released in July by the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, global land and ocean surface temperatures in June were the highest since monitoring began in 1880—the 304th consecutive month above the 20th-century average—while Arctic sea ice melted at a record-breaking pace. Undoubtedly, the heat can be attributed in good part to periodic and natural changes in ocean temperatures and surface air pressure. But there is some other factor at work behind the overall warming trend. A vast majority of climate scientists worldwide, including not only the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) but the national scientific academies of the U.S. and most other countries, identifies that factor as anthropogenic (human-caused) greenhouse gases.

In league with liberal environmentalists, reformist groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) have seized on “climate change” to beg the major capitalist powers to join hands in cutting back heat-trapping gases—a goal that significant sections of the ruling capitalist classes have laid claim to. Thus the ISO, Greenpeace et al. put great stock in the climate talks that took place last December in Copenhagen under the sponsorship of the UN, which is, simply, a den of imperialist thieves and their victims.

A new “international climate justice movement” was proclaimed after tens of thousands flocked to the Danish capital, in the main to demand that the world powers agree to curb greenhouse gas emissions and give financial support to Third World countries. The protests included a 100,000-strong demonstration in the middle of the two-week summit, during which heavily armed police squads arrested some 1,000 people. Soon after, thousands of observer delegates, including from such mainstream groups as Greenpeace, were locked out of the conference on its final days.

What some had dubbed “Hopenhagen” ended without reaching its stated goals of renewing the emissions-reduction commitments made by industrialized countries that signed on to the 1997 Kyoto Protocol (which the U.S. never ratified) and setting emissions targets for all other countries. This was a predictable outcome. For one thing, the world's capitalist classes are divided internally over this issue. More fundamentally, each capitalist govern-



Reuters

**Above: Prince Charles addresses opening session of UN climate change conference in Copenhagen, 15 December 2009. Below: May 2008 protest in Mogadishu, Somalia, was part of outpouring around the globe against sharp rise in food prices engineered by the imperialists.**



Getty

of a global economic slowdown. The main human activity contributing to the release of heat-trapping gases is also the main activity turning the wheels of the modern economy: the combustion of fossil fuels, such as oil and coal. Given the importance of cheap energy sources, imperialist competition for fossil fuels, especially oil, has played a part in sparking numerous military conflagrations in the last century. Countries with a hand on the oil spigot or access to ample coal reserves have a vested material interest in maintaining the status quo.

The example of the United States, the world's largest per capita emitter of greenhouse gases, is illustrative. Giant American companies like ExxonMobil are central to the global oil cartel, while the core European Union (EU) powers of Germany and France cannot make the same claim. Hence an increase in the world market price of oil not only enriches a dominant sector of corporate America but also increases the energy costs of rival French and German capitalists. For years, the U.S. clashed with the EU over carrying out the Kyoto Protocol, because the nominal emissions caps included in the accord would have affected the U.S. most directly.

Whatever their differences with each other, the imperialists, led by the U.S., have joined together in recent climate talks to pressure China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, largely in order to throttle its growing industrial strength. After winning EU backing to shift the burden of emissions-reduction agreements onto the more backward countries, the U.S. refused to support any deal at Copenhagen that did not include stringent monitoring of China's emissions. Behind such maneuvers lies the imperialists'

strategic goal of smashing the Chinese workers state and once again subjecting the country to untrammelled capitalist exploitation. Against the environmentalists and fake socialists who join in the China-bashing, we stand for the uncondition-

al military defense of China against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution.

For Marxists, addressing the human-derived aspect of global warming is fundamentally not a technical but a social

*continued on page 12*

## For Socialist Revolution! For an Internationally Planned Economy!

ment is charged with protecting its own “national interests.” The handful of imperialist countries that dominate the world market are in competition with each other for spheres of exploitation around the world, and have already carried out two

devastating world wars in their insatiable drive for profit.

Significant emissions shifts would almost certainly mean substantial economic costs, which few capitalist governments want to incur, especially in the face

## China: Labor Struggles in the “Socialist Market Economy”....8



# On Global Warming

Oakland, California  
27 July 2009

To the Editors,  
Workers Vanguard:

Dear Comrades,

Although it's an ongoing, general question, my interest in it was particularly sparked recently by *Wall Street, Washington Shaft Auto Workers*, WV 938, 2 June 2009: why does the SL consistently avoid applying the Transitional Program to current material conditions? Is this a static, a-historic, dare I say "dead" approach to revolutionary program? Does it involve a refusal to recognize the exploitation of nature as key, along with the exploitation of labor, in the Marxist analysis of capitalism?

The article in question offers a quick review of key points (by quoting from an earlier issue): shorter work week at no loss in pay, extending unemployment benefits, free medical care, and "a massive program of public works at union wages... to create an America that looks like a place that its inhabitants could *survive in*" (emphasis mine). And at the end of the article we read of the need to overthrow capitalism and "build a collec-

tivized, planned economy where production is based on social need, not profit." OK so far, but...

This approach is woefully incomplete: the chief omission is the fact that capitalist exploitation, besides immiserating the masses, is raping the planet to death! You *do* know that greenhouse gases, rising like a "hockey stick" for the past 250 years, now threaten humanity with unparalleled devastation. What does "production based on social need" mean, in today's context, if not—in the transportation sector—restructuring auto and related plants to build electric light rail and energy-efficient buses, as well as electric cars and batteries to run them? And what about free public transportation? ...*And*, electrified intercity high-speed rail, as well as rapid development of energy sources such as windmills, photo voltaics, and geothermal?

How is it that *none* of the above is included in your ideas for "massive public works," but rebuilding dams is? Don't you realize that most modern dams result from domestic financial and IMF/World Bank boondoggles, and are helping to destroy local communities/salmon runs/the environment/the planet? Energy-source development must be part of building a

world that people can indeed *survive in*.

Of course, reformist nationalization "solutions" (read: let's help capitalism fix things) won't do it. Our demands work in conjunction with expropriation of relevant corporations, both here and internationally, and the struggle for workers' power. The Transitional Program is the revolutionary alternative to a growing plethora of weak, neo-Malthusian prescriptions, but to be effective, *it must be applied to today's conditions*.

The SL, despite professing a respect for science, seems oblivious to the fact that, "Labor is *not the source* of all wealth. *Nature* is just as much the source of use values (and it is surely of such that material wealth consists) as labor..." (Karl

Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program*) Capitalist-caused global warming is a fact of science, and it threatens civilization with extinction. If this doesn't figure as an important part of a revolutionary program to restructure the world, we're all, well, *history*.

Comradely,  
Chris Kinder

[All ellipses are the author's.—ed.]

## WV replies:

Our take on global warming, including our Marxist stand against the petty-bourgeois environmentalist movement, is explicated in our article on the subject in this issue. ■

## New Orleans Subscriber on Student Protest



Jackson/Times-Picayune

**Campus cops pepper-sprayed and arrested students during protest against budget cuts at University of New Orleans, September 1.**

Dear Worker's Vanguard,

I am a very recent subscriber to the newspaper; I feel as though it represents my thoughts and standpoints in current events. In fact, the very day after I subscribed, a protest for the continuing budget cuts to our University of New Orleans turned worrisome when two of our very own were handled brutally by the police for occupying a building that is meant to be public and thus unrestricted to students. In addition during the scuffle before two protestors were arrested, one of them was maced and as a result of his pre-existing asthma had to be given medical attention before going into lock-up.

Here in New Orleans, as we commemorated the 5th anniversary of the devastating hurricane Katrina, we are bracing ourselves for even more disaster, namely in the form of massive budget cuts to two vulnerable areas: healthcare and education. As Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal buckles under the pressure of Tea Party approval for his potential 2012 presidential campaign, the working class citizens are paying the price. His repeal of the Stelly Tax in 2008, which lifted taxes on the 2 highest income brackets, has cost the state treasury \$358 million a year. The New Orleans Adolescent Hospital was moved across Lake Pontchartrain to the Northshore, making it incredibly difficult for children and their families of lower income to get the help that they need and deserve. Public universities across the state have also come under siege, with two universities on the brink of collapse. The University of New Orleans and Southern University of New Orleans are struggling to stay afloat while the unaffected and disengaged politicians go about their lives in the state capital of Baton Rouge. So what are the implications if these two universities, as well as other public universities, are gone? Higher education is

going to be cut off to an insurmountable number of people coming from low to middle classes. The only universities that will remain are private institutions with astronomically high tuition rates. The result of the governor's and his cronies' foolishness will be a commodification of education, available only to the most affluent citizens of the state. Same goes for healthcare, as well. Access to facilities, medical personnel, and pharmaceuticals are cut off to those who are not in the upper income brackets. This semester is the last chance for the University of New Orleans to stop the 35% increase in cuts to our school. In the meantime, students and professors, both from the university as well as alumni and those from other universities, are exchanging and discussing plans for protest, resistance, and intervention. Our situation is closely paralleled by the injustices occurring in Puerto Rico; in both cases abusers of power have cut off money and resources to students, putting our education and futures in jeopardy for the sake of their greed. Although our past efforts have resulted in police brutality and arrests, we will not succumb to pressure and instead work even harder to maintain what rightfully belongs to the people.

Shima M.

## WV replies:

We thank Shima M. for her letter and appreciate her outrage over the continuing devastation in New Orleans. The question is, how to fight it?

The oppression and impoverishment that exist under capitalism are not the result of the greed or foolishness of individual politicians, nor is this the province only of right-wing Republicans. From the Louisiana Statehouse on up to the Obama White House, both Democrats and Republicans are pushing through draconian cuts in

## Communism and Human Liberation

*In his classic work Anti-Dühring, one of the most thorough explanations of the Marxist worldview, Friedrich Engels points to increased labor productivity as the prime mover of social evolution. With his inspiring vision of the communist future, Engels shows how the socialization of the means of production will provide the material basis to liberate humanity's all-around creative potential.*



TROTSKY

In every society in which production has developed spontaneously—and our present society is of this type—the situation is

not that the producers control the means of production, but that the means of production control the producers. In such a society each new lever of production is necessarily transformed into a new means for the subjection of the producers to the means of production....

In making itself the master of all the means of production to use them in accordance with a social plan, society puts an end to the former subjection of men to their own means of production. It goes without saying that society cannot free itself unless every individual is freed. The old mode of production must therefore be revolutionised from top to bottom, and in particular the former division of labour must disappear. Its place must be taken by an organisation of production in which, on the one hand, no individual can throw on the shoulders of others his share in productive labour, this natural condition of human existence; and in which, on the other hand, productive labour, instead of being a means of subjugating men, will become a means of their emancipation, by offering each individual the opportunity to develop all his faculties, physical and mental, in all directions and exercise them to the full—in which, therefore, productive labour will become a pleasure instead of being a burden.

Today this is no longer a fantasy, no longer a pious wish. With the present development of the productive forces, the increase in production that will follow from the very fact of the socialisation of the productive forces, coupled with the abolition of the barriers and disturbances, and of the waste of products and means of production, resulting from the capitalist mode of production, will suffice, with everybody doing his share of work, to reduce the time required for labour to a point which, measured by our present conceptions, will be small indeed.

—Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (1878)



LENIN

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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# Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

## Troy Davis Appeal Turned Down

On August 24, Georgia federal judge William T. Moore rejected black inmate Troy Davis' efforts to overturn his death sentence, declaring the substantial evidence of Davis' innocence to be "smoke and mirrors." This decision gives a green light to Georgia's governor to sign a new execution warrant for Davis, who has faced three execution dates so far, coming within 90 minutes of execution in 2008.

Sentenced to death in 1991 for the killing of off-duty Savannah policeman Mark MacPhail, Davis was convicted based on questionable "eyewitness" identifications, dubious accounts that Davis confessed to the killing and testimony coerced by the cops. Seven of the prosecution's nine witnesses have since recanted. The only holdouts are one man who may be the actual killer and another who initially denied being able to identify the shooter only to pin it on Davis at trial two years later. For over a decade, state and federal courts refused to hear evidence that Davis was innocent. Last year, in response to an international campaign that included thousands of protests, with statements from the Pope and former FBI director William Sessions, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered Judge Moore to hold an evidentiary hearing.

Despite the limitations Moore placed on the defense at the two-day hearing, which took place in June, Davis was able to rip the prosecution's case to shreds. Testimony of three witnesses and an affidavit from a fourth repudiated their previous testimony implicating Davis as the shooter. Dorothy Ferrell swore that she never saw who shot MacPhail, stating that since she was on parole at the time of the trial, "I was scared that if I didn't do what the police wanted me to do, then they would try to lock me up again." Kevin McQueen, a jailhouse snitch whose story that Davis confessed to him was a key part of the prosecution's case, testified that his original statement was a lie—revenge for a jailhouse altercation with Davis. Jeffrey Sapp also recanted his trial testimony that Davis confessed to shooting the cop in self-defense, stating that it was a product of police coercion.

Moore's 172-page decision upholds as sacrosanct the stories given by the cops as against the witnesses whom they compelled to give false testimony. Moore sneered that the accounts of police/prosecution coercion, a regular feature of the capitalist justice system, were not credible...because the cops said so! Moore dismissed McQueen's recantation with the Kafkaesque rationale that his original trial testimony—the same testimony that helped send Davis to death row—wasn't credible. Moore also refused to consider the testimony and affidavits of four witnesses that another man, Sylvester "Red"

social services, speeding up the deportations of immigrants and targeting the unions. Both parties represent the interests of the capitalist ruling class and will always sacrifice the interests of working people and the oppressed in order to maintain the capitalists' class rule and profits.

In order to reorganize society on the basis of human need and, crucially, to put an end to racial oppression that is the heritage of chattel slavery, the working class must overthrow the capitalist system and organize a workers government. This requires the leadership of a revolutionary party that represents the interests of working people and the oppressed. As part of the struggle to build that party, we seek to combat the exist-

Coles, had confessed to the killing on the grounds that such evidence was merely hearsay unless Coles himself were brought into court to testify. Davis' sister, Martina Correia, noted that the lawyers had a subpoena for Coles but did not have the police powers necessary to serve the subpoena on private property. Yet the judge did not assign any police to serve the subpoena.

While dismissing key evidence that exonerates Davis, Moore sanctimoniously declared that it would violate the Eighth Amendment proscription against cruel and unusual punishment to execute someone who was innocent. The public generally accepts this as a truism. But in fact, Moore's announcement was a precedent for state and federal courts and counter to earlier pronouncements by Supreme Court justices. For example, when the Supreme Court turned down an appeal of death row inmate Leonel Herrera in 1993, Chief Justice William Rehnquist declared that the execution of an innocent man did not violate the Constitution. Here was a clear illustration of the depravity of American capitalist "justice," with all its "democratic" trappings.

As Marxists, we stand for the abolition of the death penalty on principle—for the guilty as well as the innocent—and everywhere, which means the U.S., China, Iran, Japan and all other countries. We do not accord the state the right to determine who lives and who dies. Capital punishment is a barbaric legacy of medieval torture, a system of legal murder that reinforces the brutalization of society in all respects.

In his lengthy ruling, Moore cites the plethora of state laws authorizing DNA testing of evidence, which were adopted after numerous exonerations of death row inmates who had been convicted on the basis of evidence similar to that in the Davis case. For some three decades, state legislatures, Congress and successive occupants of the White House

ing race and class privilege in education. As an elementary act of solidarity, the New York Spartacus Youth Club wrote the district attorney demanding that the charges against the two arrested University of New Orleans student protesters be dropped (see page 5). For the universities, we demand open admissions and no tuition, with a state-paid living stipend so poor and working-class students have equal access to an education. The campuses should be run by those who work and study there. We say: Abolish the administration! For student/teacher/worker control of the universities! We aim to win student activists to the side of the working class and to the struggle for socialist revolution. ■

Death row prisoner Troy Davis with visiting family members.



had acted to curtail the ability of death row inmates to challenge their sentences. Their measures drastically limited the ability of those awaiting execution to present to the courts evidence of innocence as well as proof of cop and prosecutorial misconduct. This culminated in the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act championed by Democratic president Bill Clinton, which gutted the right of *habeas corpus* for such prisoners.

The lynching of black men—by racist mobs and by the august courts—is deeply embedded in this country's history, particularly but by no means exclusively in Southern states like Georgia. In the U.S., capital punishment is rooted in black chattel slavery. It is the lynch rope made legal, with black people making up over 40 percent of the death row population. The death penalty stands at the apex of the machinery of repression wielded by the capitalist rulers to contain the poten-

tially explosive contradictions between the handful of filthy rich at the top and the many at the bottom.

Troy Davis' evidentiary hearing illustrated the smoke and mirrors that is the racist American injustice system. Barely a week goes by without yet another news story about a middle-aged black man proven innocent after decades in prison, released with fanfare about how "the system works," a pat on the back and a bit of "re-entry" money. For the poor, for fighters against racial oppression, for labor militants, there is no justice in the capitalist courts.

Among the innocent on death row is Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther Party spokesman, a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group and an award-winning journalist. Mumia was framed up on false charges of killing Police Officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981 and sentenced to death based on his political views. Court after court has refused to consider the mountain of evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed Faulkner (see the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*).

The labor movement and all fighters against racist injustice should join in demanding freedom for Troy Davis and Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolition of the racist death penalty. An injury to one is an injury to all! To put a final halt to the grisly workings of the U.S. rulers' machinery of death—from the judicial guardians of death row to the cops who operate as judge, jury and executioner in gunning down minority youth on the streets—requires sweeping away the racist capitalist system through proletarian socialist revolution. ■

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Boni and Liveright

## “The Intelligentsia and Socialism”

### By Leon Trotsky

#### FROM THE ARCHIVES OF MARXISM

There is a widespread view among liberals that the greatest obstacle to a just and equal society is ignorance, and the way forward is to win the educated middle classes, in particular and en masse, over to a kinder, gentler way of organizing human affairs. So, for example, arm-chair radical Noam Chomsky looks to “free and independent” universities where “dominant structures of power and their ideological support will be subjected to challenge and critique” (“Intellectuals and the Responsibilities of Public Life,” *Public Anthropology*, 27 May 2001). Proponents of “direct action” embrace a different version of the same idealist outlook, seeking to inspire the passive majority of the population through the actions of a few individuals, just like the advocates of the classic anarchist notion of “propaganda of the deed.” In this vein, members

the view that society is shaped primarily by the struggle of ideas, Trotsky advocated a Marxist, materialist understanding that ideas are ultimately shaped by the struggle between the two fundamental classes of capitalist society—the working class and the capitalists who exploit the workers and profit from their labor.

Trotsky links the views of Adler to those of the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs), a left-populist party whose orientation to the peasantry was shown to be bankrupt during the 1905 Revolution,

organizational practice of the Bolsheviks was based on the principle of *democratic-centralism*, combining freedom of internal debate with discipline and unity in action. Following the betrayal of the Social Democracy in World War I, Lenin concluded that a complete break with reformist and opportunist elements was necessary, not only in Russia but throughout the entire Second International. Trotsky was later won over to Lenin’s views and, in 1917, to the Bolshevik Party. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, set about forging a new, third international.

The Communist Parties of the Third International, modeled after the Bolsheviks, were not “parties of the whole class.” Lenin fought for parties that were disciplined, programmatically united organizations of revolutionaries. They were to be built as fusions of the most politically advanced sections of the working class with elements of the radical intelligentsia. This necessarily means opposing the bourgeois distinction between mental and manual labor and challenging the monopoly of petty-bourgeois-derived intellectual skills. As the youth auxiliaries to the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League, we in the Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win youth to the perspective of building such a party and to train the next generation of revolutionary fighters.

As for Max Adler and his Austro-Marxist compatriots, while they eventually came to oppose the war, they balked at the Bolshevik Revolution, seeking to occupy a middle ground between revolutionary Marxism and bourgeois reformism before eventually reconciling to the latter. Lenin wrote in 1920 of leading Austro-Marxist Otto Bauer:

“Before the war he wrote useful and learned books and articles in which he

‘theoretically’ admitted that the class struggle might attain the acuteness of a civil war. He even had a hand (if I am correctly informed) in drawing up the Basle Manifesto of 1912, which directly foretold a *proletarian revolution* in connection with that very war which actually broke out in 1914.

“But when this proletarian revolution became a reality, the soul of the pedant and philistine got the upper hand, and he grew frightened and *began to pour the oil of reformist phrase-mongering on the troubled waters of the revolution.*”  
—“A Publicist’s Notes”

The same year, in *Terrorism and Communism*, Trotsky wrote:

“While the real teaching of Marx is the theoretical formula of action, of attack, of the development of revolutionary energy, and of the carrying of the class blow to its logical conclusion, the Austrian school was transformed into an academy of passivity and evasiveness, because of a vulgar historical and conservative school, and reduced its work to explaining and justifying, not guiding and overthrowing. It lowered itself to the position of a handmaid to the current demands of parliamentarism and opportunism, replaced dialectic by swindling sophistries, and, in the end, in spite of its great play with ritual revolutionary phraseology, became transformed into the most secure buttress of the capitalist State, together with the altar and throne [the Catholic church and Austrian monarchy] that rose above it.”

We reprint below Trotsky’s 1910 polemic against Adler, as translated and annotated by Brian Pearce in 1959.

\* \* \*

Ten years ago, or even six or seven years ago, defenders of the Russian subjective school of sociology (the ‘Socialist-Revolutionaries’) might have successfully utilised for their purpose the latest pamphlet by the Austrian philosopher Max Adler.<sup>1</sup> During the last five or six years, however, we have passed through such a thorough, objective ‘school of sociology’, and its lessons are written on our bodies in such expressive scars, that the most eloquent apotheosis of the intelligentsia, even coming from the ‘Marxist’ pen of M. Adler, will not be of any help to Russian subjectivism. On the contrary, the fate of our Russian subjectivists is a most serious argument against Max Adler’s allegations and conclusions.

The subject of this pamphlet is the relation between the intelligentsia and socialism. For Adler this is not merely a matter for theoretical analysis but also a matter of conscience. He wants to convince. Adler’s pamphlet, based on a speech made to an audience of socialist students, is filled with ardent conviction. The spirit of proselytism permeates this little work, giving a special nuance to ideas which have no claim to novelty. To win the intelligentsia for *his* ideals, to conquer their support at whatever cost, this political desire utterly prevails over social analysis in Adler’s pamphlet, giving it the particular tone it has, and determining its weaknesses.

What are the intelligentsia? Adler gives this concept, of course, not a moral but a social definition: the intelligentsia are not an order bound together by a historic vow,



Thomas Good/Next Left Notes

**Students for a Democratic Society at Iraq war protest, New York City, September 2007. SDS Web site touts the role of “student power” in “electing Barack Obama president” (“Student Power for Accessible Education”).**

of the liberal (pro-Democratic Party) Students for a Democratic Society have occupied buildings and confronted military recruiters in an effort to “appeal to the positive values already commonly held in our society and demonstrate how they are antithetical to our current system” (“Who We Are, What We Are Building,” [studentsforademocraticsociety.org](http://studentsforademocraticsociety.org), 2007).

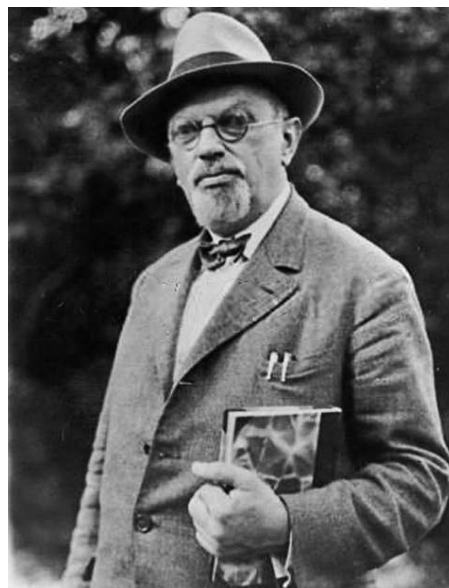
An earlier variant of this position was put forward by Max Adler, a prominent Austrian Social Democratic theoretician, in his 1910 pamphlet *Der Sozialismus und die Intellektuellen* (*Socialism and the Intellectuals*). The Social Democratic parties of the time, united in the Second International, were mass organizations of the working class, engaged in significant class struggle and advocating in some fashion the revolutionary overturn of capitalist society. Thus, Adler stood considerably to the left of today’s radical liberals. Nevertheless, his views represented a right-wing revision of Marxism that needed to be exposed and refuted—a task taken up by Leon Trotsky later that year.

In answering Adler, Trotsky embarked on a discussion of the role of the intelligentsia in modern capitalist society and the limitations of its consciousness. As he points out, the intellectual “is compelled to sell not his mere labour-power, not just the tension of his muscles, but his entire personality as a human being.” Against

when the working class shook tsarist Russia, and in the subsequent wave of repression. In his essay, which was written for the St. Petersburg review *Sovremennyy Mir*, Trotsky used veiled language to avoid the tsarist censor. At the time he was writing, Trotsky considered Adler (unlike the SRs) an errant member of a common movement. He shared the view that the road to a communist society was through Social Democratic parties that included both reformist and revolutionary tendencies. But Trotsky’s understanding would soon change.

In 1914, with the outbreak of World War I, nearly all the parties of the Second International—including the Social Democratic Workers Party of Austria to which Adler belonged—betrayed Marxist principles by supporting their respective national bourgeoisies in the war and helping pit the working classes in these countries against each other. Trotsky, like V.I. Lenin, Karl Liebknecht and others, understood that revolutionary, internationalist opposition to imperialist war was a cornerstone of the struggle to emancipate the working class.

From the turn of the century onward, Lenin had fought to build the Russian Bolsheviks (initially a faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party) as a disciplined organization based on a revolutionary political program. The



Imagno

Max Adler

but the social stratum which embraces all kinds of ‘brain-work’ occupations. However hard it may be to draw a line of demarcation between ‘manual’ and ‘brain’ work, the general social features of the intelligentsia are clear enough, without any further going into details. The intelligentsia are an entire class—Adler calls them an inter-class group, but essentially there is no difference—existing within the framework of bourgeois society. And for Adler the question is: who or what possesses the better right to the soul of this class? What ideology is inwardly obligatory upon it, as a result of the very nature of its social functions? Adler answers: the ideology of collectivism. That the European intelligentsia, in so far as they are not directly hostile to the ideas of collectivism, at best stand aloof from the life and struggle of the working masses, neither hot nor cold, is a fact to which Adler does not shut his eyes. But it shouldn’t be like that, he says, there are no adequate objective grounds for it. Adler decidedly opposes those Marxists who deny the existence of general conditions which could bring about a mass movement of the intelligentsia towards socialism.

‘There exist,’ he declares in his foreword, ‘sufficient factors—though not purely economic ones, but drawn from another sphere—which can influence the entire mass of the intelligentsia, even apart from their proletarian life-situation, as adequate motives for them to join with the socialist workers’ movement. All that is needed is that the intelligentsia be made aware of the essential nature of this movement and of their own social position.’ What are these factors? ‘Since inviolability, and above all, possibility of free development of spiritual interests,’ says Adler, ‘are among the essential conditions of life for the intelligentsia, theoretical interest is therefore fully on an equality with economic interest where the intelligentsia are concerned. Thus, if the grounds for the intelligentsia joining the socialist movement are to be sought principally outside the economic sphere, this is explicable no less by the specific ideological conditions of existence of mental labour than by the cultural content of socialism’ (page 7). Independently of the

there for a very long time; and yet there is no trace, in a single European country, of any mass move by the intelligentsia towards Social-Democracy. Adler sees this, of course, just as well as we do. But he prefers to see the reason for the estrangement of the intelligentsia from the working-class movement in the circumstance that the intelligentsia don’t understand socialism. In a certain sense that is true. But in that case what explains this persistent lack of understanding, which exists alongside their understanding many other extremely complicated



Barricades in Moscow during 1905 Russian Revolution, when the proletariat emerged as a contender for power.

matters? Clearly, it is not the weakness of their theoretical logic, but the power of irrational elements in their class psychology. Adler himself speaks about this in his chapter ‘*Bürgerliche Schranken des Verständnisses*’ (Bourgeois Limits to Understanding), which is one of the best in the pamphlet. But he thinks, he hopes, he is sure—and here the preacher gets the better of the theoretician—that European Social-Democracy will overcome the irrational elements in the mentality of the brain-workers if only it will reconstruct the logic of its relations with them. The intelligentsia don’t understand socialism because the latter appears to them from day to day in its routine shape as a political party, one of many, just like the oth-

interests of culture, the question then remains in all its force: can West-European Social Democracy offer the intelligentsia, theoretically and morally, anything more convincing or more attractive than what it has offered up to now?

Collectivism has been filling the world with the sound of its struggle for several decades already. Millions of workers have been united during this period in political, trade-union, co-operative, educational and other organisations. A whole class has raised itself from the depths of life and forced its way into the holy of holies of

politics, regarded hitherto as the private preserve of the property-owning classes. Day by day the socialist press—theoretical, political, trade-union—re-evaluates bourgeois values, great and small, from the standpoint of a new world. There is not one question of social and cultural life (marriage, the family, upbringing, the school, the church, the army, patriotism, social hygiene, prostitution) on which socialism has not counterposed its view to the view of bourgeois society. It speaks in all the languages of civilised mankind. There work and fight in the ranks of the socialist movement people of different turns of mind and various temperaments, with different pasts, social connections and habits of life. And if the intelligentsia nevertheless ‘don’t understand’ socialism, if all this together is insufficient to enable them, to compel them to grasp the cultural-historical significance of this world movement, then oughtn’t one to draw the conclusion that the causes of this fatal lack of understanding must be very profound and that attempts to overcome it by literary and theoretical means are inherently hopeless?

This idea emerges still more strikingly in the light of history. The biggest influx of intellectuals into the socialist movement—and this applies to all countries in Europe—took place in the first period of the party’s existence, when it was still in its childhood. This first wave brought with it the most outstanding theoreticians and politicians of the International. The more European Social-Democracy grew, the bigger the mass of workers that was united around it, the weaker (not only relatively but absolutely) has the influx of fresh elements into the intelligentsia become. The *Leipziger Volkszeitung*<sup>3</sup> sought for a long time in vain, through newspaper advertisements, an editorial worker with a university training. Here a conclusion forces itself upon us, a conclusion completely contrary to Adler: the more definitely socialism has revealed its content, the easier it has become for each and everyone to understand its mission in history, the more decidedly have the intelligentsia recoiled from it. While this does not mean that they fear socialism itself, it is nevertheless plain that in the capitalist countries of Europe there must have occurred some deep-going social changes which have hindered fraternization between university people and the workers, at the same time as they have facilitated the coming of the workers to the socialist movement.

What sort of changes have these been? The most intelligent individuals, groups and strata from the proletariat have joined and are joining Social-Democracy. The growth and concentration of industry and transport is merely hastening this process. A completely different type of process is going on where the intelligentsia are concerned. The tremendous capitalist development of the last two decades has unquestionably skimmed off the cream of this class. The most talented intellectual forces, those with power of initiative and flight of thought, have been irrevocably absorbed by capitalist industry, by the trusts, railway companies and banks, which pay fantastic salaries for organisational work. Only second-raters remain for the service of the state, and government offices, no less than newspaper editors of all tendencies, complain about the shortage of ‘people’. As regards the representatives of the ever-increasing semi-proletarian intelligentsia—unable to escape from their eternally dependent and materially insecure way of life—for them, carrying out as they do fragmentary, second-rate and not very attractive functions in the great mechanism of culture, the cultural interests to which Adler appeals cannot be strong enough independently to direct their political sympathies towards the socialist movement.

Added to this is the circumstance that any European intellectual for whom going over to the camp of collectivism is not psychologically out of the question has practically no hope of winning a position of personal influence for himself in the ranks of the proletarian parties. And this question is of decisive importance. A worker comes to socialism as a part of a whole, along with his class, from which he has no prospect of escaping. He is even pleased with the feeling of his moral unity with the mass, which makes him more confident and stronger. The intellectual, however, comes to socialism, breaking his class umbilical cord, as an individual, as a personality, and inevitably seeks to exert influence as an individual. But just here he comes up against obstacles—and as time passes the bigger these obstacles become. At the beginning of the social-democratic movement, every intellectual who joined, even though not above the average, won for himself a place in the working-class movement.

*continued on page 6*



Participants in SNCC’s 1964 “Freedom Summer” project. Civil rights movement inspired a generation of student activists.

class nature of the entire movement (after all, it’s only a road!), independently of its everyday party-political image (after all, it’s only a means!), socialism by its very essence, as a universal social ideal, means the liberation of all forms of mental labour from every sort of socio-historical fetter and limitation. This premise, this vision provides the ideological bridge over which the intelligentsia of Europe can and must pass into the camp of Social-Democracy.<sup>2</sup>

This is Adler’s basic standpoint, to developing which his whole pamphlet is devoted. Its radical fault, which at once leaps to the eye, is its *non-historical* nature. The social grounds for the intelligentsia to enter the camp of collectivism which Adler relies on have indeed been

ers. But if the intelligentsia can be shown the true face of socialism, as a world-wide cultural movement, they cannot but recognise in it their best hopes and aspirations. So Adler thinks.

We have come so far without examining whether in fact pure cultural requirements (development of technique, science, art) are in fact more powerful, so far as the intelligentsia as a class are concerned, than the class suggestions radiating from family, school, church and state, or than the voice of material interests. But even if we accept this for the sake of argument, if we agree to see in the intelligentsia above all a corporation of priests of culture who up to now have merely failed to grasp that the socialist break with bourgeois society is the best way to serve the

## New Orleans: Protest Cop Attack on Student Rally

*We reprint below a September 7 letter from the New York Spartacus Youth Club to the New Orleans district attorney. The two student protesters have been suspended indefinitely and one has been banned from campus.*

The Spartacus Youth Club condemns the September 1 police assault on a student protest against budget cuts at the University of New Orleans. Police outrageously arrested protesters Peter Reed and Matthew “Gideon” Smith on charges of “battering police officers” and “resisting arrest.” Video footage posted on YouTube shows UNO campus police chief Thomas Harrington choking Smith, an asthmatic who required immediate medical attention after the police pepper-sprayed him in the face.

For exercising their right to protest in defense of public higher education, Reed and Smith face up to five years in prison if convicted on these sham felony charges. The Spartacus Youth Club demands: **Drop the charges against Peter Reed and Matthew Smith!**



## Intelligentsia...

(continued from page 5)

Today every newcomer finds, in the Western European countries, the colossal structure of working-class democracy already existing. Thousands of labour leaders, who have automatically been promoted from their class, constitute a solid apparatus at the head of which stand honoured veterans, of recognised authority, figures that have already become historic. Only a man of exceptional talent would in these circumstances be able to hope to win a leading position for himself—but such a man, instead of leaping across the abyss into a camp alien to him, will naturally follow the line of least resistance into the realm of industry or state service. Thus there also stands between the intelligentsia and socialism, like a watershed, in addition to everything else, the organisational apparatus of Social-Democracy. It arouses discontent among members of the intelligentsia with socialist sympathies, from whom it demands discipline and self-restraint—sometimes in respect of their ‘opportunism’ and sometimes, contrariwise, in respect of their excessive ‘radicalism’—and dooms them to the role of querulous lookers-on who vacillate in their sympathies between anarchism and national-liberalism. *Simplicissimus*<sup>4</sup> is their highest ideological banner. With various modifications and to varying degrees, this phenomenon is repeated in all countries of Europe. These people are, more than any other group, too blasé, so to speak, too cynical, for a revelation, even the most moving, of the cultural significance of socialism to conquer their souls. Only rare ‘ideologues’—using this word in both the good sense and the bad—are capable of coming to socialist convictions under the stimulus of pure theoretical thinking, with, as their points of departure, the demands of law, as in the case of Anton Menger,<sup>5</sup> or the requirements of technique, as in that of Atlantis.<sup>6</sup> But even such as these, as we know, do not usually get as far as the actual Social-Democratic movement, and the class struggle of the proletariat in its internal connection with socialism remains for them a book sealed with seven seals.

In considering that it is impossible to win the intelligentsia to collectivism with a programme of immediate material gains

Adler is absolutely right. But this still does not signify that it is possible to win the intelligentsia by any means at all, nor that immediate material interests and class ties do not affect the intelligentsia more cogently than all the cultural-historical prospects offered by socialism.

If we exclude that stratum of the intelligentsia which directly serves the working masses, as workers’ doctors, lawyers, and so on (a stratum which, as a general rule, is composed of the less talented representatives of these professions), then we see that the most important and

in relation to the class which provides employment. In actual fact, however, this is not so. Precisely the ‘spiritual’ nature of the work that the intelligentsia do inevitably forms a spiritual tie between them and the possessing classes. Factory managers and engineers with administrative responsibilities necessarily find themselves in constant antagonism to the workers, against whom they are obliged to uphold the interests of capital. It is self-evident that the function they perform must, in the last analysis, adapt their ways of thinking and their opinions to

Though it enslaves the muscles and exhausts the body, factory work is powerless to subject to itself the worker’s mind. All the measures which have been attempted to get control of the latter, in Switzerland as in Russia, have proved uniformly fruitless. The brain worker is from the physical standpoint incomparably freer. The writer does not have to get up when the hooter sounds, behind the doctor’s back stands no supervisor, the lawyer’s pockets are not searched when he leaves the court. But, in return, he is compelled to sell not his mere labour-power, not just the tension of his muscles, but his entire personality as a human being—and not through fear but through conscientiousness. As a result, these people don’t want to see and cannot see that their professional frock-coat is nothing but a prisoner’s uniform of better cut than ordinary.

In the end, Adler himself seems to be dissatisfied with his abstract and essentially idealistic formula on the interrelation between the intelligentsia and socialism. In his own propaganda he addresses himself, really, not to the class of brain workers fulfilling definite functions in capitalist society, but to their young generation who are only at the stage of preparing for their future role—to the students. Evidence of this is provided not only by the dedication ‘To the Free Students’ Union of Vienna’ but also by the very nature of this pamphlet-speech, its impassioned agitational and sermonizing tone. It would be unthinkable to express oneself in this manner before an audience of professors, writers, lawyers, doctors. Such a speech would stick in one’s throat after the first few words. Thus, in direct dependence on the human material with which he finds himself working, Adler himself limits his task. The politician corrects the formula of the theoretician. In the end it is a question of struggle for influence over the *students*.

The university is the final stage of the state-organised education of the sons of the possessing and ruling classes, just as the barracks is the final educational institution for the young generation of the workers and peasants. The barracks fosters the psychological habits of obedience and discipline appropriate to the subordinate social functions to be fulfilled subsequently. The university, in principle, trains for management, leadership, government. From this angle even the German student societies are useful class institutions, since they create traditions which unite fathers and sons, strengthen national self-esteem, implant the habits which are needed in a bourgeois setting, and, finally, supply scars on the nose or under the ear which will serve as the stamp of one’s belonging to the ruling class. The human material which passes through the barracks is, of course, incomparably more important for Adler’s party than that which passes through the university. But in certain historical circumstances—namely, when, with rapid industrial development, the army is proletarian in its social composition, as is the case in Germany—the party can nevertheless say: ‘I won’t trouble to go into the barracks. It’s enough for me to see the young worker as far as its threshold and [the main thing] to meet him when he comes out again. He won’t leave me, he’ll stay mine.’<sup>7</sup> But where the university is concerned, the party, if it wants at all to carry out an independent struggle for influence over the intelligentsia, must say exactly the opposite: ‘Only here and only now, when the young fellow is to a certain extent freed from his family, and when he has not yet become the captive of his position in society, can I count on drawing him into our ranks. It’s now or never.’

Among the workers the difference between ‘fathers’ and ‘sons’ is purely one of age. Among the intelligentsia it is not only a difference of age but also a social difference. The student, in contrast both



Illustrierte Zeitung

**European Revolutions of 1848. Left: Uprising in Vienna in March. Below: Battle between workers and troops in Paris in June. Students supported bourgeois-democratic revolution in Vienna, sided with bourgeois reaction in Paris.**



Dietz Verlag Berlin

influential part of the intelligentsia owes its livelihood to payments out of industrial profit, rent from land or the state budget, and thus is directly or indirectly dependent on the capitalist classes or the capitalist state.

Abstractly considered, this material dependence puts out of the question only militant political activity in the anti-capitalist ranks, but not spiritual freedom

itself. Doctors and lawyers, despite the more independent nature of their work, necessarily have to be in psychological contact with their clients. While an electrician can, day after day, instal electric wiring in the offices of ministers, bankers and their mistresses, and yet remain himself in spite of this, it is a different matter for a doctor, who is obliged to find music in his soul and in his voice which will accord with the feelings and habits of these persons. This sort of contact, moreover, inevitably takes place not only at the top end of bourgeois society. The suffragettes of London engage a pro-suffragette lawyer to defend them. A doctor who treats majors’ wives in Berlin or the wives of ‘Christian-Social’ shopkeepers in Vienna, a lawyer who handles the affairs of their fathers, brothers, and husbands, can hardly allow himself the luxury of enthusiasm for the cultural prospects of collectivism. All this applies likewise to writers, artists, sculptors, entertainers—not so directly and immediately, but no less inexorably. They offer the public their work or their personalities, they depend on its approval and its money, and so, whether in an open or a hidden way, they subordinate their creative achievement to that ‘great monster’ which they hold in such contempt: the bourgeois mob. The fate of Germany’s ‘young’ school of writers—now already, by the way, getting rather thin on top—shows the truth of this as well as anything. The example of Gorky, explained by the conditions of the epoch in which he grew up, is an exception which merely proves the rule: his inability to adapt himself to the anti-revolutionary degeneration of the intelligentsia rapidly deprived him of his ‘popularity’.

Here is revealed once more the profound social difference between the conditions of brain work and manual work.

## Spartacus Youth Club Events

### BAY AREA

**Saturday, Sept. 25, 3 p.m.**

**Workers Vanguard Readers Circle  
Racist Police Terror and  
the Killing of Oscar Grant**

**The Fight for Black Freedom  
and for Socialist Revolution**

1634 Telegraph Ave., Oakland  
(near corner of 17th and Telegraph and  
19th St. BART Station; left-hand doorbell)  
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851  
sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

### CHICAGO

**Wednesday, Sept. 29, 6:30 p.m.**

**U.S. Imperialism:  
World’s Biggest Exploiter,  
World’s Biggest Terrorist!**

University of Illinois  
at Chicago  
African American Cultural Center  
Gallery Room 207  
Addams Hall  
830 S. Halsted Street  
(take Blue Line—UIC Halsted stop)  
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441  
chicagosyc@sbcglobal.net

Visit the ICL Web Site:  
**www.icl-fi.org**

### LOS ANGELES

**Thursday, Sept. 30, 6 p.m.**

**Meet the Marxists**

UCLA, Ackerman Union  
Room 3516  
For more information:  
(213) 380-8239 • slsycla@sbcglobal.net

### TORONTO

**Wednesday, Sept. 29, 6 p.m.**

**Canada: Junior Partner of  
U.S. Imperialism**

University of Toronto  
Ontario Institute  
for Studies in Education  
252 Bloor St. West  
Room 4420  
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138  
spartcan@on.aibn.com

### VANCOUVER

**Thursday, Oct. 14, 6:30 p.m.**

**Marxism vs. Anarchism on  
the State and Revolution**

University of British Columbia  
Student Union Building  
Room 212  
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353  
trotskyist\_vancouver@shawcable.com

to the young worker and to his own father, fulfils no social function, does not feel direct dependence on capital or the state, is not bound by any responsibilities, and—at least objectively, if not subjectively—is free in his judgement of right and wrong. At this period everything within him is fermenting, his class prejudices are as formless as his ideological interests, questions of conscience matter very strongly to him, his mind is opening for the first time to great scientific generalisations, the extraordinary is almost a physiological need for him. If collectiv-



Brown Brothers

**John Reed before going to report on 1917 Russian Revolution. Harvard graduate betrayed his class to side with workers.**

ism is at all capable of mastering his mind, now is the moment, and it will indeed do it through the nobly scientific character of its basis and the comprehensive cultural content of its aims, not as a prosaic ‘knife and fork’ question. On this last point Adler is absolutely right.

But here too we are again obliged to pull up short before a bald fact. It is not only Europe’s intelligentsia as a whole but its offspring, too, the students, who decidedly don’t show any attraction towards socialism. There is a wall between the workers’ party and the mass of the students. To account for this fact merely by the inadequacy of agitational work, which has not been able to approach the intelligentsia from the correct angle, which is how Adler tries to account for it, means overlooking the whole history of the relations between the students and the ‘people’, it means seeing in the students an intellectual and moral category rather than a product of social history. True, their material dependence on bourgeois society affects the students only obliquely, through their families, and is therefore weakened. But, as against this, the general social interests and needs of the classes from which the students are recruited are reflected in the feelings and opinions of the students with full force, as though in a resonator. Throughout their entire history—in its best, most heroic moments just as in periods of utter moral decay—the students of Europe have been merely the sensitive barometer of the bourgeois classes. They became ultra-revolutionary, sincerely and honourably fraternizing with the people, when bourgeois society had no way out but revolution. They took *de facto* the place of the bourgeois democratic forces when the political nullity of these prevented them from standing at the head of the revolution, as happened in Vienna in 1848. But they also fired on the workers in June of that same year, in Paris, when bourgeoisie and workers found themselves on opposite sides of the barricade. After Bismarck’s wars had united Germany and appeased the bourgeois classes, the German student hastened to become that figure, bloated with beer and conceit, who, alongside the Prussian lieutenant, is always turning up in the satirical papers. In Austria the student became the banner-bearer of national exclusiveness and militant chauvinism in proportion as the conflict grew sharper between the different nations of this country for influence over the government. And there is no doubt

that through all these historical transformations, even the most repellent, the students showed political keenness, and readiness for self-sacrifice, and militant idealism; the qualities on which Adler relies so strongly. Though the normal philistine of 30 or 40 will not risk getting his face smashed in for any hypothetical notions about ‘honour’, his son will do this, with fervour. The Ukrainian and Polish students at Lvov University recently showed us again that they not only know how to carry out any national or political tendency to the very end, but also to offer their breasts to the muzzles of revolvers. Last year the German students of Prague were ready to face all the violence of the mob in order to demonstrate in the street their right to exist as a German society. Here we have militant idealism—sometimes just like that of a fighting cock—which is characteristic not of a class or of an idea but of an age-group; on the other hand, the political content of this idealism is entirely determined by the historical spirit of those classes from which the students come and to which they return. And this is natural and inevitable.

In the last analysis, all possessing classes send their sons to university, and if students were to be, while at the university, a *tabula rasa* on which socialism could write its message, what would then become of class heredity, and of poor old historical determinism?

It remains, in conclusion, to clarify one other aspect of the question, which speaks both for Adler and against him.

The only way to attract the intelligentsia to socialism, according to Adler, is to bring to the forefront the ultimate aim of the movement, in its full scope. But Adler recognises, of course, that this ultimate aim looms clearer and more complete in proportion to the progress of the concentration of industry, the proletarianization of the middle strata and the intensification of class antagonisms. Independently of the will of political leaders and the

differences in national tactics, in Germany the ‘ultimate aim’ stands forth with incomparably greater clarity and immediacy than in Austria or Italy. But this very same social process, the intensification of the struggle between labour and capital, hinders the intelligentsia from crossing over to the camp of the party of labour. The bridges between the classes are broken down, and to cross over, one would have to leap across an abyss which gets deeper with every passing day. Thus, parallel with conditions that objectively make it easier for the intelligentsia to grasp theoretically the essence of collectivism, the social obstacles are growing greater in the way of political adhesion by the intelligentsia to the socialist army. Joining the socialist movement in any advanced country, where social life exists, is not a speculative act, but a political one, and here social will completely prevails over theorizing reason. And this finally means that it is harder to win the intelligentsia today than it was yesterday, and that it will be harder tomorrow than it is today.

In this process, too, however, there is a ‘break in gradualness’. The attitude of the intelligentsia to socialism, which we have described as one of alienation which increases with the very growth of the socialist movement, can and must change decisively as a result of an objective political change which will shift the balance of social forces in radical fashion. Among Adler’s assertions this much is true, that the intelligentsia is interested in the retention of capitalist exploitation not directly and not unconditionally, but only obliquely, through the bourgeois classes, in so far as the intelligentsia is materially dependent on these latter. The intelligentsia might go over to collectivism if it were given reason to see as probable the *immediate* victory of collectivism, if collectivism arose before it not as the ideal of a different, remote and alien class but as a near and tangible reality; finally, if—and this is not the least important condi-



George Grosz

**Drawing from George Grosz’s 1923 collection *The Day of Reckoning*, which indicted capitalist system. Image was captioned: “Please yourself in life!”**

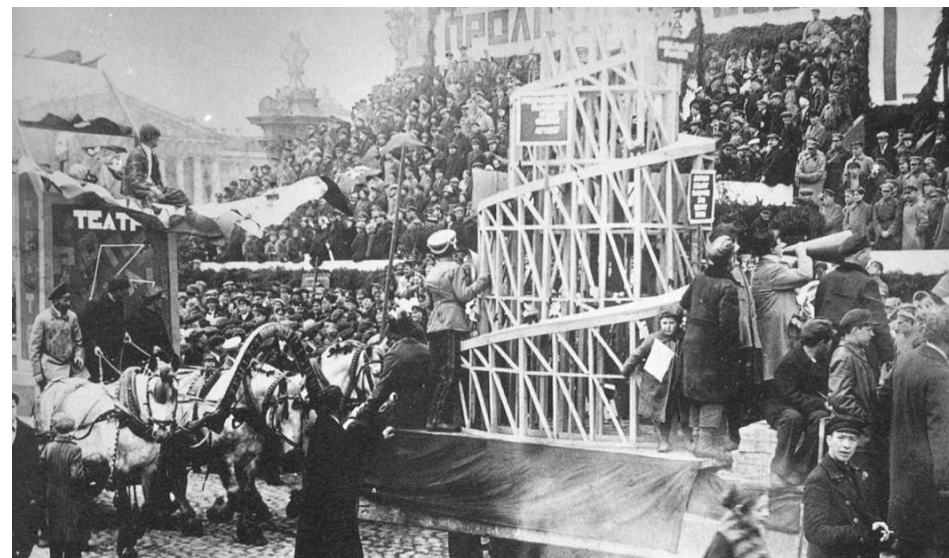
tion—a political break with the bourgeoisie did not threaten each brain-worker taken separately with grave material and moral consequences. Such conditions can be established for the intelligentsia of Europe only by the political rule of a new social class; to some extent by a period of direct and immediate struggle for this rule. Whatever may have been the alienation of the European intelligentsia from the working masses—and this alienation will increase still further, especially in the younger capitalist countries, like Austria, Italy, the Balkan countries—nevertheless, in an epoch of great social reconstruction the intelligentsia—sooner, probably, than the other intermediate classes—will go over to the side of the defenders of the new society. A big role will be played in this connection by the intelligentsia’s social qualities, which distinguish it from the commercial and industrial petty-bourgeoisie and peasantry: its occupational ties with the cultural branches of social labour, its capacity for theoretical generalization, the flexibility and mobility of its thinking; in short, its *intellectuality*. Confronted with the inescapable fact of the transfer of the entire apparatus of society into new hands, the intelligentsia of Europe will be able to convince itself that the conditions thus established not only will not cast them into the abyss but on the contrary, will open before them unlimited possibilities for the application of technical, organisational and scientific forces; and they will be able to bring forward these forces from their ranks, even in the first, most critical period, when the new regime will have to overcome enormous technical, social and political difficulties.

But if the actual conquest of the apparatus of society depended on the *previous* coming over of the intelligentsia to the party of the European proletariat, then the prospects of collectivism would be wretched indeed—because, as we have endeavoured to show above, the coming over of the intelligentsia to Social-Democracy within the framework of the bourgeois regime is getting, contrary to all Max Adler’s expectations, less and less possible as time goes by. ■



**1922 congress of Communist Youth International. Inset: 1925 poster depicts youth from around the world drawn to banner of Communism.**

BSE, A. Strakhov (inset)



GALART

**Model of Vladimir Tatlin’s sculpture *Monument to the Third International* on parade through streets of Moscow, circa 1927.**

<sup>1</sup> Editor of the *Wiener Arbeiterzeitung*, organ of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party—Trans.

<sup>2</sup> In this period, Social-Democracy refers to the Socialist political movement, without meaning those who took the path of betrayal during and after the First World War.

<sup>3</sup> German Social-Democratic newspaper—Trans.

<sup>4</sup> A satirical paper published in Munich—Trans.

<sup>5</sup> An Austrian jurist—Trans.

<sup>6</sup> Pseudonym of Karl Ballod, a Lettish-German economist—Trans.

<sup>7</sup> This attitude was that of the German Social-Democratic Party and was, of course, completely inadequate from the revolutionary standpoint.—L.T.



# China: Labor Struggles in the “Socialist Market Economy”

*This part concludes this article, Part One of which appeared in WV No. 964 (10 September).*

## PART TWO

Whatever the respectful attitude Chinese workers may have toward the country’s labor laws, the recent strike wave brought discredit to the main institution by which the bureaucracy seeks to contain and control labor unrest: the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU). Several years ago, the federation leadership announced its intention to organize workers employed in enterprises owned by Western, Japanese and offshore Chinese companies. In 2004, the notoriously anti-union American company Wal-Mart agreed to ACFTU membership and representation in its retail outlets. This was played up in the Chinese media as an important gain for labor. In an article at the time, we described the ACFTU as contradictory:

“On the one hand, as the only union body legally allowed in China, the ACFTU is an arm of the Stalinist bureaucracy, whose aim is to maintain its privileges and rule, including by policing the workers. At the same time, even the official unions have at times participated in some of the large-scale labor protests that Chinese workers have engaged in in recent years to defend their livelihoods against the bureaucracy’s ‘market reforms’.”

—“Labor: Organize Wal-Mart!”  
WV No. 851, 8 July 2005

Since then, ACFTU functionaries have generally sought, above all, to maintain labor peace by discouraging effective actions by the workers. Workers at the Honda transmission plant complained about paying union dues when union officials did nothing for them, especially in terms of negotiating with management on their behalf. We’ve noted that one of the strike demands was for new elections for



Wal-Mart workers in Kunming vote to form a union, August 2008.

local union chairman and other representatives. Workers during the Honda Lock strike went further. One of them, who insisted on anonymity, told Western journalists: “The trade union is not representing our views; we want our own union that will represent us” (*New York Times*, 10 June). Strikers staged a protest march in Zhongshan chanting their demands, among them the right to form an independent union.

We have always recognized that labor unions, factory committees and other inclusive economic organizations of the working class independent of direct bureaucratic control are key elements in the transitional program for proletarian political revolution in China and other de-

formed workers states. Even in a workers state governed by genuine workers democracy, trade unions independent of (though not opposed to) the state administration are necessary to protect against possible encroachments and abuses and to help plan production and work methods. Addressing the question of trade unions in the early Soviet workers state, V.I. Lenin insisted that communists should fight for leadership of the unions based on their program and practice on behalf of the workers state. They must be selected by the workers and not appointed by the state authorities.

### Lessons of Capitalist Counterrevolution in the Former Soviet Sphere

The fight for unions free of bureaucratic control must take as its starting point defense of the social gains of the 1949 Revolution against imperialism and capitalist restoration. The experience of the former Soviet sphere, particularly Poland, points to the possibility that independent labor organizations could come under an anti-Communist leadership that effectively exploits the workers’ hostility to the ruling bureaucratic caste. Polish Solidarność spearheaded the imperialist-backed drive for capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe in the 1980s.

Sections of the bourgeois media, especially in the U.S., have likened the demand by some Chinese workers for their own, independent unions to a potential Solidarność-type development. For its part, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime also raises the spectre of Solidarność, falsely claiming that any organized opposition to its rule must be pro-capitalist and counterrevolutionary. An

article by Willy Lam, a professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, in the *Wall Street Journal* (14 June) reported that in closed-door talks on the recent labor unrest, Chinese president Hu Jintao and other CCP Politburo members “cited late patriarch Deng Xiaoping’s warnings about how Poland’s Solidarity Movement undermined Communist Parties throughout the former Eastern bloc.”

However, the factors that gave rise to Solidarność as a counterrevolutionary movement have no parallel in China. It is an imperialist *falsification* that this “free” trade union arose as a spontaneous opposition by the mass of Polish workers to the Communist government and system. While formed in the course of a general strike in the summer of 1980, the *pre-existing political and organizational base* of Solidarność was the Roman Catholic church in league with a small group of right-wing social democrats, Jacek Kuron’s Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR).

Under the liberal Stalinist regimes of Wladyslaw Gomulka and Edward Gierek, the Catholic church had functioned as a de facto, mass political opposition to the Soviet-backed Communist government since the mid 1950s. The church was identified and identified itself with traditional Polish enmity to Russia, which had subjugated Poland as part of the tsarist empire from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries. A strong clerical-nationalist current, centered on the church hierarchy, depicted Communism as a new form of Russian domination over Poland.

In the late 1970s, under the pressure of imperialism (U.S. president Jimmy Carter’s “human rights” campaign), the Gierek regime also tolerated the activities of a coterie of social-democratic “dissidents” who collaborated with the church hierarchy and were protected by it. In 1978, the historically unprecedented elevation of a Polish prelate to the papacy further strengthened the authority of the church vis-à-vis the Stalinist regime. It was in this period that Lech Walesa and other future leaders of Solidarność received their political training in anti-Communist oppositional circles organized by the church hierarchy and KOR.

While recognizing the reactionary clerical-nationalist politics of the Solidarność leadership around Walesa, we nonetheless did not oppose its legalization. The situation of political openness, albeit short-lived and unstable, provided some space in which a Leninist-Trotskyist tendency could develop and win workers to the program of proletarian political revolution throughout the Soviet sphere. We condemned the Stalinist bureaucracy for its nationalism, economic mismanagement and decades of capitulation to the Catholic church and other pro-capitalist forces, which drove many of that generation of



National congress of CCP regime’s All-China Federation of Trade Unions, Beijing, October 2008.

## Defend the Chinese Deformed Workers State Against Imperialism, Capitalist Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Political Revolution!



the historically socialist-minded proletariat of Poland into the arms of reaction.

However, when Solidarność consolidated on a program of open counterrevolution at its first congress in September 1981, we declared that this “threat must be crushed at all costs and by any means necessary” and supported the Stalinist regime’s move to suppress it in December 1981. Solidarność had become a multi-class, anti-Communist movement. We wrote at the time: “Solidarity is no longer a trade union, but has come to include large sections of the intelligentsia, petty bureaucrats, priests, etc.” (“Stop Solidarity’s Counterrevolution!” reprinted in Spartacist pamphlet *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers* [October 1981]).

Far more relevant than Poland for potential developments in China is the experience of Soviet Russia during the terminal crisis of Stalinist rule in 1989-91. With the disintegration of the bureaucracy under Mikhail Gorbachev, the forces of counterrevolution, mainly drawn from government/party functionaries, intellectuals and petty capitalist operators, cohered around Boris Yeltsin (a former top Kremlin leader) in the so-called “democratic” camp. These forces gained influence over important workers organizations. In early 1991, the main union of coal miners in Siberia engaged in strikes that combined economic and political demands. The latter aimed to strengthen the Yeltsin-led government of the Russian republic while further weakening the beleaguered Kremlin regime of Gorbachev.

At the time, many Russian miners and other workers believed that Western-type “democracy” and “free market” capitalism would in a relatively short period raise Russia to Western levels of economic productivity and living standards. In reality, the restoration of capitalism under the Yeltsin regime in the 1990s was a catastrophe for working people in Russia. Post-Soviet Russia suffered a social and economic collapse of a historically unprecedented magnitude in an advanced industrial society. Writing in 1999, we summarized the indices of that collapse:

“Production has fallen at least 50 percent since 1991, capital investment by 90 percent. Today a third of the urban labor force in Russia is effectively unemployed; 75 percent of the population lives below or barely above subsistence level and 15 million are actually starving. Life expectancy has fallen dramatically....

“The infrastructures of production, technology, science, transportation, heating and sewage have disintegrated. Malnutrition has become the norm among school children. Some two million children have been abandoned by families who can no longer support them.... With the disintegration of the former state-run system of universal health care, diseases like tuberculosis are rampant.”

—“The Bankruptcy of ‘New Class’ Theories,” *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 55, Autumn 1999

A capitalist counterrevolution in China, which is industrially less developed than Soviet Russia and is especially marked by the backwardness of its rural areas, would, if anything, have even more catastrophic consequences, with economic degradation overlaid by imperialist subjugation.

### Han Dongfang: Agent of “Democratic” Counterrevolution

Unlike conditions in Soviet Russia under Gorbachev, Chinese workers today are acting in a situation where there appears to be no immediate prospect of significant political change. There is therefore no reason to think that the workers involved in the Honda and other strikes are aiming at anything beyond higher wages, improved social benefits and better working conditions. And they want to elect their own representatives to the local ACFTU branch or at most to form a separate factory-based union to effectively pursue these economic ends.

Insofar as worker activists sought outside support, it was from those elements of the bureaucracy, including its academic component, who were seen as sympathetic to their interests. Thus Li Xiaojuan, a young woman leader of the Foshan

Honda strike, contacted the director of the Institute of Labor Relations at Beijing’s Renmin University, Chang Kai, and asked him to advise the negotiating committee. He agreed. Predictably, he advised the workers to be flexible in demanding higher wages.

However, when the political situation opens up, anti-Communist forces, supported by the imperialists, will undoubtedly intervene in the nascent workers movement. An aspiring candidate for that role is one Han Dongfang, who runs a well-financed operation centered around the *China Labour Bulletin* (CLB), based in Hong Kong, where the CCP does not exercise a monopoly of political organization. Han is vice-chair of the World Movement for Democracy, an outfit founded and run by the National Endowment for Democracy, a notorious CIA

the ACFTU” [emphasis in original]. However, this tactical shift has in no way changed their counterrevolutionary aims. The same CLB report states: “China is now, to all intents and purposes, a market economy.” The term “market economy” is used here as a code word for capitalism. By contending that capitalism has already been restored in China, Han & Co. disguise their program for the counterrevolutionary destruction of the workers state as one of extending “democratic rights” and building a “functioning civil society.”

The CLB promotes a version of trade unionism in China very much in keeping with that of the pro-capitalist American labor bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO, to which the CLB has a link on its Web site. In response to the global capitalist downturn, the CLB stated that under conditions of genuine collective bargaining, “employ-



Sipa

**Boris Yeltsin on barricades of counterrevolution, Moscow, August 1991.**

front. Previously, he had a program on the CIA’s Radio Free Asia.

In 2008, Han made a presentation at a hearing of a U.S. Congressional commission on China. For what purpose? Following the scenario of the “human rights” dissidents in the former Soviet sphere, he appealed to American imperialism to pressure the CCP regime to permit the activities of his outfit, especially among workers. He told the political representatives of the Wall Street banks and Fortune 500 corporations: “The active support and involvement of civil rights groups in defending workers rights will be crucial in the development of a functioning civil society in China.” In the name of “defending workers rights,” Han and his cohorts are actually seeking to re-enslave the Chinese proletariat to the bloody-handed American imperialists.

In the past, Han’s outfit advocated “independent” trade unions in China. However, partly in response to the 2008 labor laws, they made a tactical shift. A March 2009 CLB report concluded that there was a “need to establish *democratically elected grassroots unions* within the ACFTU” and argued that “because independent unions are illegal in China, these grassroots unions will have to be affiliated to

ees might, for example, be quite willing to accept a temporary pay cut”! Not even ACFTU officials have suggested that workers accept a wage cut to improve the international competitiveness of the firms that employ them. It is no accident that the U.S. labor tops have embraced the CLB. For decades during the anti-Soviet Cold War, the “AFL-CIA” wielded the banner of “free trade unions” in a campaign to destroy unions associated with Communist parties and other left organizations in Europe, Latin America and elsewhere.

Acting as “left”-sounding cheerleaders for the forces of “democratic” counterrevolution in China are a number of groups that falsely claim the mantle of Trotskyism. Prominent among these is the British-centered Committee for a Workers’ International (CWI), led by one Peter Taaffe. A 12 June article on the recent strike wave on the CWI Web site ([www.socialistworld.net](http://www.socialistworld.net)) is written in the language of social-democratic anti-Communism. China is described as the “sweatshop of the world” and the CCP regime as the “ruling ‘communist’ dictatorship.” The author of this screed, Vincent Kolo, is the CWI’s leading China “expert.” A few years ago he wrote a piece titled “China’s Capitalist Counterrevolution” (*Socialism*

*Today*, December 2007-January 2008), in which he asserted: “A section of the former Maoist bureaucracy has converted itself through the ‘reform process’ into a property owning class.”

The CWI’s attempt to depict China as capitalist is but a “theoretical” rationale for a *longstanding* policy of supporting the forces of capitalist counterrevolution in the degenerated and deformed workers states. In the name of democracy, the Militant tendency, from which the CWI originated, supported imperialist-backed, anti-Communist forces such as Polish Solidarność in the 1980s. In August 1991 in Moscow, their comrades stood on the barricades with Boris Yeltsin and his counterrevolutionary rabble, including petty capitalist operators and their criminal henchmen. It didn’t matter that they formally held that these countries were workers states governed by bureaucratic Stalinist regimes. What is fundamental is that the program of the social-democratic Taaffeites is opposed to the defense of the workers states.

### Idealizing the Mao Era

The purveyors of “democratic” counterrevolution like Han Dongfang and his group are not the only current of political opposition in China today. There is also a quasi-oppositional current among elements of the bureaucracy and intelligentsia of a neo-Maoist character. Moreover, a certain nostalgia for the Mao era, with its relative egalitarianism and economic security (the “iron rice bowl”), can be found among older workers employed, and especially those formerly employed, in state-owned enterprises.

In *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China’s Rustbelt and Sunbelt* (2007), a study of labor protests in the early 2000s, Ching Kwan Lee frequently encountered this attitude in the “rustbelt” province of Liaoning. This region was the site of numerous, often militant, protests by laid-off and forcibly retired workers, mainly over unpaid wages, unemployment allowances, pensions and subsidies. In March 2002, tens of thousands marched through the streets of Liaoyang, some singing the “Internationale,” demanding the economic benefits due them and also calling for the ouster of the head of the local legislature, a notoriously corrupt former mayor.

Workers involved in such protests identified public ownership of the means of production with socialism and the 1949 Revolution. They saw themselves as having been in the vanguard of building a socialist society but were then abused and degraded by the post-Mao CCP regimes. One told Lee with deep-felt bitterness:

“I am a good citizen, a good worker, a progressive producer in the enterprise. No black spot in my background. I have always believed that as long as the Communist Party exists, they would not ignore our problems. I have been loyal to Chairman Mao from the revolution until today.... Thirty-some years of job tenure, at age fifty-three, with young and elderly dependents at home, you make me a laid-off worker.”

A technician in his 50s who had once been honored as a model worker lauded the economic security and public glorification

*continued on page 10*



Der Spiegel

**Lech Walesa, counterrevolutionary leader of Vatican-backed Polish Solidarność, prays in front of Gdansk shipyard, 1980.**

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economy. This revolutionary Marxist program and perspective is fundamentally opposed to the ideology and practice of Chinese Stalinism in both its Maoist and “market socialist” variants.

**For a Government of Workers and Peasants Councils!**

It is not only anti-Communist counter-revolutionaries like Han Dongfang who falsely identify a democratic government with the Western-type parliamentary system: contested elections based on universal and equal suffrage. In their own way, the Chinese Stalinists also promote a classless (bourgeois) concept of democracy. For many years, there have been multi-candidate (though not multi-party) elections for rural village councils in China. Of course, all candidates, even those who are not formally CCP members, must be approved by the local party apparatus, which retains tight political control regardless of which candidate wins. But the form of these elections mirrors bourgeois parliamentarism, which gives the *appearance* of equality since the vote of, say, an impoverished peasant leaseholder counts the same as that of a wealthy entrepreneur.

Parliamentary government is, in fact, a political form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In such a system, the working class is politically reduced to atomized individuals. The bourgeoisie can effectively manipulate the electorate through its control of the media, the education system and the other institutions shaping public opinion. In all capitalist “democracies,” government officials, elected and unelected, are bought and paid for by the banks and large corporations.

As Lenin explained in his classic 1918 polemic against Social Democracy, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*:

“Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the *formal* equality proclaimed by the ‘democracy’ of the capitalists and the thousands of *real* limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into *wage-slaves*....  
“Under bourgeois democracy the capitalists, by thousands of tricks—which are the more artful and effective the more ‘pure’ democracy is developed—*drive* the people away from administrative work, from freedom of the press, freedom of assem-



Peter Turnley

**May 1989: Workers contingent arriving in Tiananmen Square. Entry of proletariat into mass student protests heralded incipient political revolution.**

bly, etc.... The working people are *barred* from participation in bourgeois parliaments (they *never decide* important questions under bourgeois democracy, which are decided by the stock exchange and the banks) by thousands of obstacles.”

Under bourgeois democracy, workers merely have the illusion of some control or power over the government. But in a workers state, the question of workers democracy is not one of abstraction or illusion, but at bottom a question of power. In a workers state like China, the dictatorship of the proletariat is deformed by Stalinist misrule—the proletariat as a class is deprived of political power, which is instead monopolized by an anti-working-class bureaucratic caste whose policies ultimately threaten the very existence of the workers state. This was no less true under Mao than it is today. The working class and rural toilers can exercise real political power only through a dictatorship of the proletariat ruled by their own class-based governing institutions, the soviets (the Russian term for councils), which would be open to all parties defending the collectivized foundations of the workers state. In the work quoted above, Lenin explained:

“The Soviets are the direct organisation of the working and exploited people

themselves, which *helps* them to organise and administer their own state in every possible way. And in this it is the vanguard of the working and exploited people, the urban proletariat, that enjoys the advantage of being best united by the large enterprises; it is easier for it than for all others to elect and exercise control over those elected. The Soviet form of organisation automatically *helps* to unite all the working and exploited people around their vanguard, the proletariat. The old bourgeois apparatus—the bureaucracy, the privileges of wealth, of bourgeois education, of social connections, etc. (these real privileges are the more varied the more highly bourgeois democracy is developed)—all this disappears under the Soviet form of organisation.” [emphasis in original]

**For Proletarian Political Revolution!**

The potential for a pro-socialist workers uprising was shown in the May-June 1989 Tiananmen upheaval. Protests that began among students opposing corruption and seeking political liberalization were joined by masses of Chinese workers, who were driven into action by their own grievances against the impact of the regime’s market measures, especially high inflation. Workers’ assemblies and motorized flying squads were thrown up, pointing to

the potential for the emergence of authentic worker, soldier and peasant councils.

It was the entry into struggle of the working class that marked an incipient proletarian political revolution in May-June 1989. The terrified CCP leaders eventually unleashed fierce repression. Initially, however, the bureaucracy, including the military officer corps, began to fracture under the impact of the proletarian upsurge. The first army units that were mobilized refused to act in the face of enormous popular support for the protests among Beijing’s working people. Other, more regime-loyal army units had to be brought in to carry out the bloodletting of June 1989, which overwhelmingly targeted workers rather than students. (For more, see “The Spectre of Tiananmen and Working-Class Struggle in China Today,” WV Nos. 836 and 837, 12 and 26 November 2004.)

The crucial missing element, during the Tiananmen events as well as today, is an authentic Bolshevik—i.e., Leninist-Trotskyist—party to rally the working masses around the banner of workers democracy and communist internationalism. Championing the interests of workers in both the state-owned and private sectors and defending national and ethnic minorities against Han chauvinism, such a party would be forged in political combat against currents emerging out of the decomposing Stalinist bureaucracy and also against anti-Communist purveyors of Western-type “democracy.”

The survival and advancement of China’s revolutionary gains hinge on the fight for socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries of Japan, North America and West Europe—the only road toward the all-round modernization of China as part of an international planned economy. A proletarian political revolution creating a China of worker and peasant councils would be a beacon for the oppressed working masses of Asia and the entire world, inspiring the downtrodden masses of the former Soviet Union and East Europe and the workers in the imperialist heartlands to struggle for new October Revolutions. It is toward that goal that the International Communist League fights to reforge Trotsky’s Fourth International—world party of socialist revolution. ■

**LAPD...**

(continued from page 16)

convicted of unprovoked shootings and beatings, frame-ups, stealing, bank robbery and more throughout the late 1990s. In 2007, cops brutally attacked demonstrators, journalists and bystanders at a MacArthur Park rally to support immigrant rights.

In L.A. and throughout the country, the capitalist rulers deploy the cops as a racist occupying army on the streets of the ghettos and barrios. It is the cops’ job to terrorize black people and immigrants and bust up picket lines in defense of capitalist rule and profits. As V. I. Lenin, whose Bolshevik Party led the 1917 workers revolution in Russia, wrote in *The State and Revolution*, “The state is an organ of class *rule*, an organ for the *oppression* of one class by another.” The cops, like the prisons and prosecutors, are at the core of that organ of capitalist class domination. They are accountable only to the bourgeoisie whom they serve and protect as hired thugs—whichever capitalist party is in power, Democratic or Republican.

The killing of Manuel Jamines is part of a wave of cop terror against immigrants coming from the top. While criticizing Arizona’s notorious apartheid-style, anti-immigrant pass law, the Obama White House surpassed the Bush administration by deporting nearly 400,000 people last year. The Arizona law passed a week after hundreds of I.C.E. agents and other cop forces carried out a military-style attack on shuttle van businesses transporting immigrant workers in Phoenix, Tucson, Rio Rico and Nogales. Heralded as the biggest smuggling bust in I.C.E.’s history, these raids provide a chilling snapshot of

the Democrats’ program for “immigration reform.” The government’s onslaught against immigrants emboldened neo-Nazis to rally at L.A. City Hall in April, where, protected by the LAPD, these scum called to “Reclaim the Southwest” for the white race. This fascist provocation underscores the crucial need for the labor movement to defend immigrants and organize the unorganized. We say: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

Now, cynically wringing their hands over the depth of the anger over the killing of Jamines, the city’s rulers have charged “outsiders” with instigating the protests, taking a page from the playbook of black Democratic Oakland mayor Ron Dellums. When protests erupted in Oakland last year after transit police shot and killed Oscar Grant, a young black man and father, while he lay face-down and pleading on a BART platform, Dellums also blamed “outsiders.” It’s an old line, echoing the Southern segregationists who baited civil rights activists in the 1950s and ’60s as “outside agitators.”

In this case, the LAPD and local media have a specific target, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). LAPD Police Chief Beck went after them by name, and the *Los Angeles Times* ran the online headline “Self-Styled Communists Helped Fuel Westlake Clash with Police,” carrying similar provocations in their printed press as well. We say: Hands off the RCP! No reprisals against the protesters!

The outrage over the killing of Manuel Jamines would find powerful expression if the city’s labor movement—Latino, black, Asian and white—mobilized in protest. While L.A. has historically been an open shop town, over the past two decades Latino workers have been at the center of a revival of labor struggle, in-

cluding janitors, truckers, grocery workers and more. In 1992, after Los Angeles exploded in protest over the acquittal of the cops who brutalized black motorist Rodney King, we wrote in “L.A. Upheaval Shakes America” (WV No. 551, 15 May 1992) that the paramilitary L.A. cops “think they can get away with murder, *and do*, because they have never been on the receiving end of workers power.” The article quoted a PDC call for “powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers” to “organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the black community.”

An “L.A. Branch Statement” by the RCP raises the call to “indict and jail the killer cops,” while the Party of Socialism and Liberation’s ANSWER coalition called a September 18 protest around such demands as “community control over the police” and “no more raids, racial profiling or police violence targeting oppressed communities.” These demands reinforce the liberal lie that the cops—the guard dogs of the capitalist order—can be cleaned up and made accountable to the “will of the people.” The bitter reality is there will be no end to racist cop terror short of a socialist revolution that smashes the capitalist state and places the working class in power. When the bourgeoisie feels it has to clean up some especially egregious cop corruption or brutality, as in the 1999-2001 Rampart case, the aim is simply to refurbish the image of the capitalist state.

In sharp contrast to the RCP and PSL reformists, at the September 18 rally called to protest Jamines’ killing, the L.A. Spartacist League and Labor Black League carried signs including, “No Illusions in Civilian Review Boards! Racist Cops, Racist Courts—Enemies of Labor,

Blacks, Immigrants” and “Black, Asian, Latino, White—Mobilize Labor Power to Defend Immigrant Rights!” The social power of the multiracial working class is held in check by the pro-capitalist labor misleaders, who tie the unions to the class enemy through support to the Democratic Party and put themselves forward as advisers to the ruling class on “immigration reform”—i.e., how the capitalists can best exploit immigrant labor—while barely waging any struggle to *organize* these workers. In L.A., the labor tops are busy funneling union funds to support Democrat Jerry Brown’s run for governor while they don’t say a single word about the brutal killing of Manuel Jamines.

What’s necessary is to unite the enormous potential social power of the working class with the anger of the ghetto and barrio masses in *class struggle* against the capitalists and their system. But unleashing that power requires a political struggle to oust the labor bureaucrats and forge a new, class-struggle leadership. This task goes hand in hand with the fight to build a revolutionary workers party that acts as a tribune of the people. As a Spartacist sign at the September 18 rally stated: “Break with the Democrats, Party of Racism and War! For a Workers Party that Fights for Socialist Revolution!” ■

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Global Warming...

(continued from page 1)

problem. Marxism is opposed to environmentalist ideology, which accepts the inviolability of capitalist class rule, in which production is profit-driven and society’s wealth is monopolized by a tiny bourgeois ruling class. We fight for a society that will provide *more*, not less,

PART ONE

for the working people and the impoverished masses of the world. Our goal is to eliminate material scarcity and qualitatively advance the living standards of all. To this end, we fight for socialist revolutions in the capitalist countries to expropriate the bourgeoisie and for proletarian political revolutions in China and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states, laying the basis for the construction of a planned, collectivized world economy. With production liberated from the profit motive, humans’ creative powers will be unleashed to build a society in which poverty, malnutrition, inequality and oppression are things of the past.

When the workers of the world rule, energy will be generated and used in the most rational, efficient and safe manner possible, including by developing new energy sources. We do not rule out in advance the use of fossil fuels or any other energy source—nuclear, hydroelec-

around the surface of the Earth. The best prospect for positively influencing something as dynamic, large and complex as the climate system is to undertake coordinated global action based on the latest science and technology.

With the world economy reorganized on a socialist basis, a plan on a scale unimaginable under capitalism for minimizing greenhouse gas emissions and mitigating the impacts of warming could be worked out and implemented. If necessary, a concerted effort could be undertaken to retool entire industries and transform their operations, whether in energy production and distribution, transportation, construction, manufacturing or agriculture.

Crucially, increasing abundance also will eliminate the material factors—and backward social values, such as those expounded by religions—that fuel population growth. As we will develop in Part Two of this article, a socialist reorganization of society would lay the basis for a prolonged, mild population shrinkage, helping to ensure that there are enough resources for the well-being of all.

Climate Science and Global Warming

The climate of the Earth naturally undergoes constant change, driven by periodic shifts in the Earth’s orbital motions and axial tilt as well as variations in sunlight intensity and volcanic activity. Analysis of ice and ocean sediment cores has shown periods of prolonged ice ages and interglacial periods over the past few million years. The interglacials include times when the world was warmer than today and cold-intolerant reptiles lived



Copenhagen: Protest held to influence December 2009 UN climate talks.

cannot so easily escape back into space. The air absorbs a significant fraction of the total infrared radiation (what Fourier called “dark heat”) emitted by the Earth, and some of this thermal energy is radiated back down to the surface, helping it to stay warm. The surface of an Earth-like planet with no atmosphere would be on average roughly 59°F (33°C) colder than the Earth actually is, and the contrast in temperature between night and day and between summer and winter would be very large, as suggested by the case of the Moon.

However, not all gases in the atmosphere are equal in keeping the Earth warm. The most abundant atmospheric

tists are extremely serious. But the workings of the climate system are still only partly understood, so nobody can say that any projection is certain to happen. There is a chance that the impact of human-induced warming will not be as bad as predicted by the IPCC and others, but there also is a chance that the outcome will be worse. The range of possibilities finds its reflection in the scientific community, with a small minority criticizing the 2007 IPCC report as overstated and others disapproving of its “conservatism.”

The report predicts rising sea levels and coastal flooding as the result of melting polar ice sheets and thermal expansion of the oceans. It projects climate shifts that would cause populated areas to become arid or inundated and would bring about the extinction of many marine and terrestrial species. Already the number of “very dry areas” on the planet has more than doubled since the 1970s to about 30 percent of the total landmass. Reduction of the West Antarctic and Greenland ice sheets similar to past interglacial reductions would cause the sea level to rise ten or more meters, enough to submerge dozens of great world cities, from New York to Shanghai.

Significant warming over decades could also trigger mechanisms that would qualitatively alter the climate. The complete thawing of the Arctic permafrost could unlock gigatons of stored carbon, most of it in the form of methane, a significantly more potent greenhouse gas than carbon dioxide. An even more remote but far-reaching possibility would be the release of the colossal amounts of methane now enclosed in water-ice crystals (structures known as clathrates) found in the depths of the Arctic and other oceans.

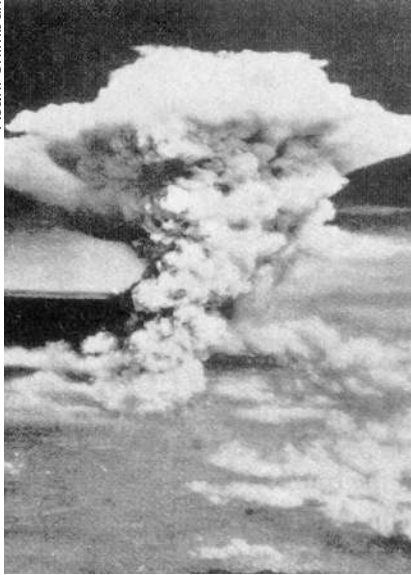
Paradoxically, the warming of the atmosphere might also plunge much of the Northern Hemisphere into a deep freeze. If a sufficient flow of freshwater from melting ice were dumped into the North Atlantic, the vast ocean conveyor known as the Gulf Stream would collapse. Originating in the Gulf of Mexico, this powerful current drags warm water northward and is responsible for heating West Europe, Canada and the Northeast U.S.

A raft of findings since 2007 has refined and altered the IPCC’s predictions—and shown the uncertainties involved with climate modeling. In one case, the latest research by MIT hurricane expert Kerry Emanuel, earlier one of the leading proponents of a link between global warming and much stronger and more frequent hurricanes, now calls into question that conclusion. Earlier this year, the IPCC acknowledged a series of scientific blunders and retracted the dramatic warning in its 2007 report that most Himalayan glaciers would be melted by 2035. Scientific rigor is further put at risk by climate researchers who refuse to publish the computer code for their models, a practice that came to light during the University of East Anglia “Climategate” e-mail scandal engineered by right-wingers.

Even the most sophisticated models



Left: French and German soldiers slaughtered on World War I battlefield, 1918. Right: Atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima by U.S., 6 August 1945. Interimperialist rivalry led to World Wars I and II.



tric, solar, wind, etc. Simply to promote modernization and all-round development in the Third World, where today billions are locked in desperate poverty, would almost certainly involve *far greater* energy production on a global scale.

It is futile to attempt to deal with climate-related problems within the boundaries of the anarchic, nationally based capitalist system. The climate is the outcome of interactions among the atmosphere, the oceans, the ice sheets, living organisms and the soils, sediments and rocks, which all affect, to a greater or lesser extent, the movement of heat

above the Arctic Circle. The geological record indicates that the transition from the last ice age, which peaked 20,000 years ago, to the warmth of today was no gentle change but rather the wildest of roller-coaster rides. The beginning and end of some climate spikes took place over mere decades.

Outside of the “climate skeptics” (including those in the pay of Big Oil), it is widely accepted that human activities are also influencing the climate. The 2007 report of the IPCC, arguably the world’s most authoritative climate body, concludes: “Warming of the climate system is unequivocal, as is now evident from observations of increases in global average air and ocean temperatures, widespread melting of snow and ice and rising global average sea level.” The report adds: “Most of the observed increase in global average temperatures since the mid-20th century is *very likely* due to the observed increase in anthropogenic GHG [greenhouse gas] concentrations.” Written and reviewed by thousands of scientists worldwide, this report draws on the latest scientific and technical data and represents a broad consensus within the scientific community.

“Anthropogenic greenhouse gases” impact the climate by enhancing what is called by inaccurate analogy the atmospheric “greenhouse effect.” As mathematical physicist Jean Baptiste Fourier first described in the 1820s, energy in the form of light from the sun mostly passes through the atmosphere to reach the surface of the Earth and heats it, but heat

constituents, diatomic nitrogen and oxygen, are almost transparent to infrared radiation, which is strongly absorbed by molecules of water vapor, carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide and ozone. Outside of water vapor, carbon dioxide is the most abundant of these “greenhouse gases,” presently constituting about 390 parts per million (ppm) by volume and amounting to a total mass of roughly 3,000 metric gigatons (three trillion tons). This concentration has risen significantly in a relatively short time from a level of 280 ppm before the Industrial Revolution, as determined by ice-core measurements. Carbon dioxide is presently accumulating at a rate of over two ppm per year.

Humans through a variety of activities contribute significantly to the atmospheric concentrations of the greenhouse gases. Burning fossil fuels and wood releases carbon dioxide; livestock, oil production and coal mining add methane; agricultural processes and the production of nitric acid contribute nitrous oxide. Other practices, such as logging, also play a role because forests absorb carbon dioxide from the air and store it. But the spotlight has fallen on fossil fuel combustion, which accounts for the vast majority of carbon dioxide emitted annually through human activity. While the oceans, topsoil and land vegetation absorb about half of these emissions, the rest accumulate in the atmosphere, where they are available to strengthen the greenhouse effect.

The possible consequences of global warming evoked by a number of scien-

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grossly oversimplify physical processes like the complex dynamics of water vapor. More fundamentally, the accompanying projections presuppose a static social reality. The predictions in the 2007 IPCC report are based on different “storylines” of growth and development. But any number of events could radically alter the story. A *Scientific American* (January 2010) article titled “Local Nuclear War, Global Suffering” concludes that in a conflict between, say, India and Pakistan, 100 nuclear bombs dropped on cities and industrial areas would produce enough smoke to blot out the sun and cripple global agriculture. This scenario pales in comparison to the threat posed by the massive nuclear arsenal in the hands of the U.S. imperialists. Just one *Ohio*-class American submarine can launch up to 192 independently targetable thermo-nuclear warheads.

**The Ravages of Imperialism**

Whatever the timetable and actual consequences of global warming, one thing is certain: in a world dominated by imperialist capitalism, the human toll—whether measured in famine, dislocation or disease—would overwhelmingly be borne by working people and the poor. The world’s least developed countries, with woeful infrastructure and with the fewest resources available to adapt to new conditions, would be especially hard hit. The real culprit is not climate change as such but rather the world capitalist system, which imposes inhuman conditions on the semicolonial countries and deprives their population of the most elementary provisions, and not only for times of calamity.

Modern imperialism, marked by the export of capital, developed at the end of the 19th century, as the boundaries of the nation-state proved too narrow and confining to satisfy the capitalists’ demand for new markets and sources of cheap labor. With blood and iron, the advanced countries essentially carved up the world into competing spheres of exploitation, a process described by V.I. Lenin in his classic work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916). The imperialist powers embarked on a series of colonial conquests and wars, culminating in World Wars I and II, as each capitalist ruling class sought to further its interests at the expense of its rivals.

Along with exploiting the working class at home, the capitalist classes of North America, Europe and Japan exploit and oppress the downtrodden masses in Asia, Africa and Latin America, arresting the all-round social and economic development of the vast majority of humanity. Environmentalists cite more than four decades of drought and erratic rainfall in sub-Saharan Africa’s Sahel region, which extends from the Atlantic Ocean to Sudan, as proof positive of the high price of climate change. Rapid desertification in the Sahel, where the popula-



Reuters

**Capitalist decay: Homeless live in shadow of GM headquarters in Detroit (left); closed GM plant in Flint, Michigan (right).**



Costantini/NY Times

tion largely consists of pastoral nomads and peasant farmers, *has* exacerbated competition for land resources among the region’s myriad ethnic groups. But the pushing of the Sahel deeper into poverty, starvation and misery is at bottom a man-made phenomenon—a byproduct of imperialist subjugation.

Out of the total land area in Africa, only a fraction is currently arable. The irrigation projects, drainage of swamps and cleaning of disease-infested areas that would be required to develop Africa’s agricultural potential are unthinkable as long as the continent is squeezed in the vise of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Africa is caught in the blind alley, inherited from colonialism, of concentrating its agriculture on tropical cash crops for sale on the world market to pay off usurious debt—accrued in large part to pay for massive quantities of food imports. The devastation of the African continent was greatly exacerbated by the destruction in 1991-92 of the Soviet degenerated workers state, removing the main counterweight to U.S. imperialism and cutting off a key source of aid for various Third World regimes.

As long as capitalism remains, it will continue to reproduce mass hunger and other scourges, such as epidemics of preventable disease resulting from the lack of sewers, clean water and other basic social infrastructure. Even if human-induced warming were somehow arrested under capitalism, imperialist depredation would continue unabated. Among other things, this renders billions of people vulnerable to “natural” climate change, variations in local weather patterns, “extreme weather events” like hurricanes, and other natural disasters. The January earthquake in Haiti is a case in point. The death toll of some 250,000 people was a product of over a century of imperialist oppression that left the desperately poor country totally exposed to the quake’s impact, as shoddily built structures in

Port-au-Prince simply collapsed. Today, some 1.5 million Haitians are still living in makeshift tents.

The struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the decaying capitalist order is a matter of human survival. One small indication of the advantages of a collectivized economy over the capitalist system of production for profit is the success the Cuban deformed workers state has had in protecting its population from devastating hurricanes. In 2008, four hurricanes battered Haiti, killing some 800 people. Two of those storms also passed over Cuba, claiming a total of four lives. Despite the bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy and the country’s relative poverty, deepened by over four decades of U.S. economic embargo, Cuba is well known for its efficient evacuation of citizens in the face of such disasters. The government provides early forecasting, educates and mobilizes the population and has arrangements in place for shelters, transport, food and medical backup.

**Profiteering and Protectionism**

Although many green radicals would describe themselves as anti-capitalist, all varieties of environmentalism are an expression of *bourgeois* ideology, offering fixes predicated on scarcity and class-divided society. Many environmentalists back market-driven “solutions” to global warming favored by capitalist governments the world over. The centerpiece is the “cap and trade” system that now covers the EU economies. Under this scheme, a generous limit is set on the amount of greenhouse gases firms can emit (the “cap”). Those that emit more than the cap must buy credits from others that emit less than they were allocated (the “trade”). At the end of the day, it is the working class that pays for this setup, in the first instance by way of higher energy and fuel costs, as it would also if a carbon tax were levied to make its “price” reflect its “social cost.”

Alternately, companies can avoid cutting their own emissions by investing in “offsets”—projects elsewhere, often in poor countries, that purport to take greenhouse gases out of the atmosphere. One such project supplies poor rural families in India with human-powered treadle pumps for irrigating farmland, while another encourages Kenyans to use dung-powered generators. Tree-planting projects in Guatemala, Ecuador and Uganda have disrupted local water supplies, resulted in the eviction of thousands of villagers from their land and cheated them out of promised payments for upkeep of the trees. Western environmentalists might “offset” their liberal guilt over their comfortable lives by pushing such programs. But in the Third World, the end result is the reinforcement of mass impoverishment.

Cap-and-trade has become a new arena of capitalist profiteering. Some chemical companies, such as DuPont, have ramped up production of a particular refrigerant in order to make a bundle of “offset” money by incinerating the waste by-product HFC-23, a highly potent greenhouse gas. Carbon trading also promises a massive new speculators’ playground for venture capi-

talists and investment banks, not unlike the one in mortgage-based securities that precipitated the implosion of the global economy. More than \$130 billion changed hands in the global carbon market in 2009.

Environmentalism also goes hand in hand with national chauvinism, as seen, for example, in its embrace of trade protectionism. If the major players had come to terms at Copenhagen, a likely result would have been renewed protectionism. As Michael Levi noted in *Foreign Affairs* (September-October 2009): “The world has few useful options for enforcing commitments to slash emissions short of punitive trade sanctions or similarly unpalatable penalties.” Indeed, environmental regulations have long served as a cover for tariffs, a practice ensconced in the rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Historically, protectionism has fueled retaliatory trade wars, which have a way of turning into shooting wars.

Last year, the president of the European Commission threatened to slap tariffs on goods from the U.S. and other non-Kyoto Protocol nations to protect European business. Buried within a House version of a cap-and-trade bill drawn up by the Democrats is a provision for imposing duties against imports from countries that have not limited emissions as of 2020. The U.S. steel industry is already calling for sanctions against Chinese steelmakers if Beijing doesn’t commit to carbon limits. Following suit, the chauvinist, anti-Communist United Steelworkers union bureaucracy has filed a case charging China with violating WTO rules by subsidizing exports of solar panels, wind turbines and other “clean energy” equipment. Promoting the lie that workers in each country are bound to their exploiters by common “national interests,” protectionism is poison to international working-class solidarity.

Protectionism directed against Brazilian sugar cane ethanol importers and others is also a component part of the Obama administration’s plan for U.S. “energy independence.” As Obama has made clear by describing U.S. reliance on Near Eastern oil as its Achilles heel, “energy independence” is a rallying cry for improving U.S. imperialism’s capacity to pursue its global military and economic ambitions through diversifying and strengthening control of energy sources.

It is no accident that groups like Greenpeace echo the call for “energy independence.” The main political organizations of the environmentalists, the Green parties, are small-time capitalist parties hostile to the proletariat. In the U.S., the Greens act as a liberal pressure group on the Democratic Party, home to such environmental evangelists as Al Gore, who as Bill Clinton’s vice president helped carry out starvation sanctions against Iraqis and the bombing of Serbia. In Germany, the Green Party was part of a capitalist coalition government with the Social Democratic Party from 1998 to 2005. During this time, German environmentalists commingled with the far right, whose anti-immigrant racism was echoed by the Greens in the name of combating overpopulation. Green foreign minister Joschka Fischer deployed the German military

*continued on page 14*



Fritz/McClatchy, Zuma/Newscom (inset)

**Former British Petroleum CEO Lord Browne portrayed company as eco-friendly while slashing safety and maintenance costs, setting stage for April 20 Deepwater Horizon oil rig explosion that killed eleven workers and poured millions of barrels of oil into Gulf of Mexico.**

France...

(continued from page16)

threatened legal action against the French government. But the current deportations of Roma from France are only the most recent, and visible, manifestations of persecution of this minority by capitalist governments throughout Europe.

As recently as April, the German government initiated a plan to deport 10,000 Roma who had been living in the country for the past ten years to Kosovo, where unemployment is currently 45 percent. In July, Denmark summarily expelled a group of persons identified by Copenhagen’s lord mayor as “criminal Roma.” In 2008 in Italy, a wave of roundups and deportations of Roma was launched by Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who claimed the country was endangered by “irregular third-country citizens and nomads” (see “Italian Trotskyists Say: Mobilize Labor Power in Defense of Roma, Immigrants!” WV No. 922, 10 October 2008).

What triggered the European commission’s expression of wrath was the recent disclosure that, contrary to government assurances that specific ethnic groups had not been targeted in France, a French Interior Ministry circular had in fact ordered evacuation of camps of Roma “as a priority.” This led EU justice commissioner Viviane Reding to liken the focus on Roma communities to ethnic cleansing and to declare that it was “a situation that I had thought that Europe would not have to witness again after the Second World War.”

Comparison of President Nicolas Sarkozy’s deportations of Roma with deportations of Jews and Gypsies from France during World War II raises a touchy subject for the French bourgeoisie, which actively collaborated with the Nazis in the persecution of Jews and Gypsies. In fact, in the “free zone” of France



Sigot/Archives de la Résistance

Gypsies in Montreuil-Bellay internment camp, 1944. Some Gypsies remained interned by French authorities until May 1946, well after end of Nazi occupation of France.

not occupied by German forces, the quivering regime of Marshal Pétain in Vichy organized deportations to the concentration camps with as much zeal as the Nazis, if not more.

In spite of the outcry and a resolution by the European Parliament demanding that France immediately suspend expulsions of Roma to Romania and Bulgaria, Paris is proceeding undeterred and keeps expelling Roma by the plane-load. Minister of Immigration Eric Besson, formerly of the Socialist Party, insisted that suspending deportations was “out of the question.” The government even plans to introduce a new draft law allowing expulsions of people guilty of “aggressive begging.”

We print below a slightly adapted translation of an article datelined August 28 that appeared in *Le Bolchévique* No. 193 (September 2010), newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, section of the International Communist League.

\* \* \*

On July 18 in Saint-Aignan [in the Loire Valley], Gypsies exploded in anger after cops killed Luigi Duquet, a youth from their community. The government

seized on the opportunity to literally declare open season on the Roma and unleash a racist campaign of unprecedented violence against the entire Gypsy, Roma and traveling population. Detachments of cops have attacked Roma encampments, violently destroying their meager possessions and deporting them massively to Romania. Every day we read of the government’s vaunted successes in “eradicating” more encampments. 9,875 Roma were already deported last year to Romania and Bulgaria (*l’Humanité*, 29 July), accounting for a third of the deportations carried out in France that year. This year, as of August 25, more than 8,000 people have been deported so far (*l’Humanité*, 26 August).

The government went after the Roma and all Gypsies because this is the most vulnerable layer of the population, living partly on the margins of urban capitalist society. The workers movement has a direct interest in defending these oppressed people against the government’s racist attacks. To accept these attacks against the Roma would directly open up the workers movement to the attempts to divide the working class itself along ethnic, racial or sexual lines,

while also reinforcing the arsenal of police measures that target workers. *An injury to one is an injury to all!*

French Capitalism, the Reformists and the Gypsy People

The response by the Socialist Party, Communist Party (PCF), Left Party and New Anti-Capitalist Party to the government’s racist campaign was to call (along with the Greens) for a demonstration on September 4. The call for the demonstration in *l’Humanité* (5 August) seized on the oppression of Roma to praise the French Republic, a capitalist-imperialist republic dripping with blood from Africa and the Near East to Indochina and, today, Afghanistan. The reformists want to refurbish France’s image after the international outcry provoked by the roundup of Roma. The signatories also wanted to reaffirm their support for the capitalist order in the fight against “crime,” implicitly echoing in passing the racist cliché that all Gypsies are thieves.

Lutte Ouvrière (LO) properly refused to sign this appeal, but they are notably close-mouthed about the expulsions carried out by the Communist Party in the towns where LO is part of a municipal majority headed by the PCF. For example, in Bagnolet [outside Paris] in July 2008, the municipal authorities demanded that Bulgarian Roma families send their children back to Bulgaria as the condition for granting housing to the adults.

The call for the September 4 demonstration declared that French president Sarkozy

“is in no way fighting crime, which is reprehensible on the part of any individual regardless of nationality or origin.... It is no longer a matter of having a legitimate debate in a democracy about how to ensure safety in the Republic. Rather, the point is to stigmatize millions of people as dangerous based on their origins or their social situation.... The boundary being crossed makes us worry about the future for all of us—associa-

Global Warming...

(continued from page 13)

outside of its borders—for the first time since Hitler’s Third Reich—to participate in U.S.-led wars against Serbia and Afghanistan.

The Rise of Green Capitalism

Environmentalism is not in the least antagonistic to production for private profit. A *New York Times* (21 April) article under the headline “At 40, Earth Day Is Now Big Business” commented: “So strong was the antibusiness sentiment for the first Earth Day in 1970 that organizers took no money from corporations and held teach-ins ‘to challenge corporate and government leaders.’ Forty years later, the day has turned into a premier

marketing platform for selling a variety of goods and services, like office products, Greek yogurt and eco-dentistry.”

There is more “green” rhetoric than ever emanating from corporate boardrooms. Reflecting competing interests in the American bourgeoisie, in 2009 a legion of big-name companies quit the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in protest over its policy of outright denial of global warming. Several major companies have opted to go “carbon neutral,” such as Internet giant Google, which prides itself on building energy-efficient data centers and investing in corporate solar installations and wind farms.

The former CEO of British Petroleum (BP), Lord Browne, helped set the fashion in the mid 1990s by restyling gains in efficiency as emissions cuts and trumpeting them in press releases. At a time when his counterparts in the U.S. were pouring millions into the coffers of the



Drudge Report

An inconvenient truth? Al Gore, user of private jet (left), lectures about cutting personal consumption.

“Global Climate Coalition,” one of the most outspoken industry groups battling reductions in emissions, Browne anticipated a cornucopia of subsidies and tax breaks flowing from the emerging Western consensus to treat carbon emissions as a problem. He renamed his company “Beyond Petroleum” and adopted a new “environmentally conscious” logo as he went about transforming BP from a regional producer of petroleum into a global oil enterprise that also dabbled in “alternative” energy. All the while, BP was slashing costs by using cheap construction materials and cutting back on safety mechanisms on oil rigs, setting the stage for numerous “accidents” such as the blowout in April that took the lives of eleven workers and dumped millions of gallons of oil into the Gulf of Mexico (see “Gulf Coast Disaster: Capitalist Profit Drive Kills,” WV No. 961, 2 July).

While liberal environmentalists and the ISO reformists wag their fingers at BP for “greenwashing” its fossil fuel operations, Browne has, in fact, been something of a trendsetter for the “go green” movement. Media attention surrounding an energy consumption calculator placed on BP’s Web site in 2005 helped popularize the notion of reducing individual “carbon footprints.” The following year, Al Gore’s

documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* instructed people to abandon allegedly wasteful lifestyles by consuming less, using less hot water, changing incandescent light bulbs to CFLs at home and properly inflating their car tires. The London *Economist* (31 May 2007), a mouthpiece of finance capital, wryly observed, “Individual economic choices are not going to make a blind bit of difference to the future of the planet. Nobody is going to save a polar bear by turning off the lights.” Gore’s lectures about cutting consumption certainly haven’t stopped him from enjoying the luxury of his Nashville mansion or his private jet.

“Doing more with less” is hardly an option for unemployed workers in the industrial wasteland of Detroit or the teeming masses housed in the enormous slums of Calcutta. Companies going “carbon neutral” will not improve conditions for workers on assembly lines, where the bosses threaten life and limb by speeding up production to extract the utmost profit. The use of “alternative” energy will not diminish the concentration of pollution in poor and working-class neighborhoods. The corporations producing energy will, however, be raking in the money.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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tions, trade unions and supporters of various political organizations—who share an attachment to the fundamental principles of the secular, democratic and social Republic. We forcefully reaffirm that Article 1 of the Constitution ‘ensures the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race or religion’ and that all attempts to violate this fundamental rule of democracy undermine civil peace.... And we call for a mass citizens’ demonstration on the 140th anniversary of the Republic, Saturday, September 4, at the Place de la République in Paris.”

Isn’t this the height of cynicism! Under the Third Republic [1870-1940], a law was passed in 1912 instituting “anthropomorphic identity booklets” for itinerants along with a collective registration booklet [enabling the authorities to keep track of their movements]; their vehicles were assigned special license plates to identify them as belonging to itinerants, the equivalent of the yellow star [that the Nazis forced Jews to wear]. (Fairground caravans



AP  
**Rome, September 9: Man leaves Gypsy camp before demolition by Italian authorities.**

and vendors’ wagons were exempted from this requirement if their operators were of French nationality.) The requirement to have one’s identity booklet or vehicle registration booklet stamped four times a year remains in force for Gypsies today.

The Third Republic continually beefed up its arsenal against Gypsies. In April 1940 (before the German occupation), the government decided to place Gypsies under house arrest, in effect interning all itinerant people in small local concentration camps throughout the war. The repression carried out by the Vichy government against Gypsies (who were for the most part French citizens) was in fact based on laws enacted by the Third Republic, which was also the case for most of the measures taken against them by French police in the [German-controlled] Occupied Zone.

After the end of the German occupation of France, the PCF was in the government with the Socialists from 1944 to 1947. But some of the Gypsies had to wait until 1946 to be freed, with the last ones leaving the detention camps only in May 1946, a full year after the war in Europe ended.

Not all itinerants in France are Gypsies and not all Gypsies are itinerants. In the past few weeks, there have been demonstrations of communities of Gypsies carrying French flags to stress that they are French citizens and voters, as opposed to the Roma from East Europe and the Balkans who are the main focus of racist hatred and prejudice. But even French Gypsies who are not itinerant continue to be victims of racist discrimination. In Strasbourg, 200 Gypsy families live in the Polygone neighborhood, in a camp that was set up in 1970 and is still in dismal condition today. An elderly woman commented: “Our children go to school like any other children. But when they start looking for a job, and say that they live on Aeropostale Street, they are systematically rejected.” And a Protestant minister added simply: “We are regarded as less than dogs” (*Dernières Nouvelles d’Alsace*, 30 July).

Under the capitalist Third Republic, at the time of the Dreyfus Affair, some Jews also looked down on East European Jews

fleeing pogroms—French Jews saw them as a threat to their own assimilation as French citizens. As it turned out, the French state sent thousands of Jews—citizens as well as foreigners—to the Nazi death camps under the Vichy regime. One of the overseers was Maurice Papon, who went on to have a long career in the capitalist state apparatus and who also happened to be the CEO of Sud-Aviation during the general strike of May 1968 [the factory where the strike started]. Workers and the oppressed have a vital interest in uniting in common struggle. The ruling class is trying to instill in immigrant workers the false consciousness that Roma threaten their own struggle for legal papers; they want French workers to think the Roma are “criminals.” Fighting this false consciousness is the task of the revolutionary party.

### The Roma: A People Without a State

Today 8 to 12 million Gypsies live in Europe; they are either itinerant or settled. Both Jews and Gypsies have a long, shared history of victimization and oppression. The Belgian Trotskyist Abram Leon, who died in Auschwitz in 1944, explained in *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation* [published posthumously in 1946] that the Jews were a “people-class.” They survived as a distinct entity, not in spite of their centuries-old oppression but because they were initially a *caste* filling a specific and necessary economic role. Under feudalism, as money-lenders and traders, they necessarily lived in urbanized communities. Later, with the rise of industrial capitalism, the Jews’ special commercial role came to an end and they assimilated into modern capitalist society. In Europe, the powerful workers movement took up the struggle against anti-Semitism. Many socialists and revolutionaries were of Jewish origin, including Karl Marx.

In the old days, Roma and Gypsies were mainly musicians, horse traders, basket makers or scissors sharpeners. Historically, they were an invaluable source of knowledge in the subsistence agriculture economy. However, as a “people-class” of itinerant craftsmen, their role in society remained more marginal than that of the Jews.

The 1917 Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks, which established the dictatorship of the proletariat for the first time in history, successfully fought chauvinism and anti-Semitic pogroms based on its truly internationalist character. It also opened the way to the emancipation of the Roma, who were recognized as a minority for the first time. The creation of Romani dictionaries and grammars was promoted along with the Roma people’s culture.

The year 1924 marked the beginning of a political counterrevolution led by the Stalinists, representing a layer of privileged bureaucrats, that would destroy the revolutionary Bolshevik Party. The poison of chauvinism was revived and nationalist tensions were used to break the workers’ internationalist spirit. The



Getty  
**Nantes, September 4: Demonstrators against French government’s racist immigration policies carry banner reading “Gypsies: Full-Fledged Citizens.”**

Romani language was soon suppressed, followed by Yiddish.

After World War II, the East European Stalinist regimes were able to partly restrain endemic prejudice but were not able to lay the basis for the elimination of chauvinism. In Romania, the particularly brutal Ceaucescu regime forced the Roma to become settled. However, today many Roma miss the Ceaucescu regime because the deformed workers state provided a job and an income for all. *Le Parisien* (23 August) quoted the typical remarks of an elderly Roma: “Before the 1989 revolution, under Ceaucescu, things were difficult but we managed. We had a place to live and a job, even if it did not pay well. And then, everything changed.”

Twenty years ago, the International Communist League fought against capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, while LO and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire supported counterrevolutionary forces like Solidarność in Poland. In the struggle against capitalist reunification of Germany in 1989-90, we threw all our resources into fighting for a proletarian political revolution in East Germany to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy and establish the rule of workers councils. All the racist prejudices against the Roma resurfaced after the capitalist counterrevolution. There were massive layoffs of Roma, who had to take to the road again to flee poverty and racist terror. Capitalist restoration was so horrible that the Roma came to France in spite of the relentless oppression they face here.

On paper, Roma from Romania and Bulgaria have the right to travel throughout the European Union, including France. Theoretically, they also have the right to work. However, in France only 150 job categories are available to them—low-paying jobs that no one else wants to do. In addition, they have to pay high fees to obtain work permits and wait for weeks, even months, to receive them. The capitalists never want to wait so long to hire workers, so in effect, Roma do

not have the right to work. Without an income, they also lose the right to stay in France longer than three months. *We demand: Lift all restrictions on employment for all those who have made it here, now! For full citizenship rights!*

The Roma’s appalling situation in the European Union exposes the capitalists’ hypocrisy regarding “freedom” and “democracy” for the oppressed in imperialist Europe. In the Czech Republic, according to Amnesty International (13 January), many Roma children are sent to special schools for “slightly mentally disabled children.” In Italy, a so-called “emergency plan for itinerants” was adopted to fight crime, and thousands of Roma live under the threat of being evicted from their encampments and relocated in large, isolated camps. In Hungary, bloody pogroms have been reported. In Ostrovany (Slovakia) and in Tarlunegeni (Romania), walls have been built to isolate Roma neighborhoods.

Racist terror is inherent to the capitalist system. The hideous oppression of the Roma people can begin to be solved only within the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe. As Abram Leon wrote in regard to the Jews in the conclusion of *The Jewish Question*:

“Clearly, the tempo of the solution of the Jewish problem depends upon the general tempo of socialist construction. The opposition between assimilation and the national solution is an entirely relative one, the latter often being nothing but the prelude to the former... Today, national-cultural and linguistic antagonisms are only manifestations of the economic antagonism created by capitalism. With the disappearance of capitalism, the national problem will lose all its acuteness. If it is premature to speak of a worldwide assimilation of peoples, it is nonetheless clear that a planned economy on a global scale will bring all the peoples of the world much closer to each other. But the hastening of this assimilation by artificial means would hardly seem to be indicated; nothing could do more harm. We still cannot foresee exactly what the ‘offspring’ of present Judaism will be; socialism will take care that the ‘birth’ will take place under the best possible conditions.”■

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**Saturday  
October 9, 5 p.m.**

322 W. 48th Street  
1st floor  
(between 8th and 9th Avenues  
take A, C or E to 42nd St.)

For more info: (212) 267-1025  
nysl@tiac.net

#### BAY AREA

**Saturday  
October 9, 2 p.m.**

Rockridge Library  
5366 College Ave., Oakland  
(5 blocks from Rockridge BART,  
near Broadway)

For more info: (510) 839-0851  
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

### For Women’s Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

### Down With Harper’s War on Women’s Rights! For Free Abortion on Demand!

#### TORONTO

**Saturday  
Sept. 25, 7 p.m.**

OISE (Ontario Institute for  
Studies in Education)  
252 Bloor St. West  
Room 5170  
(at St. George subway)

For more info: (416) 593-4138  
spartcan@on.aibn.com

#### VANCOUVER

**Saturday  
Oct. 2, 1:30 p.m.**

Roundhouse Community  
Centre, Multimedia Room  
181 Roundhouse Mews  
(at Yaletown-Roundhouse  
SkyTrain Station)

For more info: (604) 687-0353  
trotskyist\_vancouver@shawcable.com

## No Reprisals Against Protesters! Outrage Over LAPD Killing of Manuel Jamines

LOS ANGELES—On September 5 in L.A.'s Westlake area, cops from the notorious Rampart Division shot dead Manuel Jamines, a 37-year-old day laborer, point-blank in the head at six feet. The cop who fired the shots—witnesses report hearing three—is Frank Hernandez, the subject of a civil rights lawsuit pending in federal court for a previous shooting. An eyewitness said the impact of the bullets was so great that blood splattered across the street. Obscenely, the LAPD killing machine left Jamines' body handcuffed and lying in his own blood in the bustling shopping area of 6th and Union.

For several days, hundreds of Westlake residents courageously protested this killing. Chanting "Assassination! Assassination!" protesters faced down a massive show of force by the police, who subjected them and bystanders to tear gas and rubber bullets. Demonstrators, including families with children, were forced to flee down streets and into alleys. More than two dozen protesters have been arrested, some facing possible felony charges. At least two of those arrested are being held by the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (I.C.E.). The Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, sent a letter to the L.A. District Attorney demanding that "no charges be



Gauthier/L.A. Times

**Residents of heavily immigrant Westlake district express outrage over police killing of Manuel Jamines at September 8 community forum called by LAPD to contain anger.**

filed against the two dozen protesters arrested for voicing their justifiable outrage" and calling for "the immediate release of those detained by Immigration and Customs Enforcement."

L.A. Democratic Party mayor Antonio Villaraigosa immediately saluted the vicious killing as the act of police "heroes" who "acted with bravery." Police reports claimed that Jamines had threatened pas-

sersby with a knife and "lunged" at the cops. In spite of heavy cop intimidation, eyewitnesses have come forward to state that the victim had nothing in his hands when the police blew him away, only 40 seconds after encountering him. Jamines' brother-in-law, Tomas Gómez, captured the outrage of the community, "We are treated worse than animals. We are poor people and barely are bringing \$100 to our families." He noted that Jamines "didn't speak either English or Spanish; we speak K'iche'. He didn't understand what they said and in a few seconds they killed him."

Manuel Jamines was a Mayan from Guatemala; his wife and three children live in a small village in the Solalá region. Several years ago, he had come north to look for work, like many in this impoverished immigrant neighborhood. Jobs have always been hard to come by for immigrant laborers in Southern California, but now in the "Great Recession" unemployment is especially high. To eke out a living many are forced to peddle wares on the streets, only to be viciously harassed by the cops.

The population of Westlake has long been subject to the notorious violence and corruption of the Rampart Division of the LAPD. In 2001, scores of cops from the division's anti-gang unit were

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## No Deportations! For Full Citizenship Rights!

## France: Down With Racist Anti-Roma Campaign!

Since July, the French government has been carrying out a witchhunt against the *gens du voyage* (literally "traveling people," the common French name for all Gypsies) and massively deporting Roma. As citizens of the European Union (EU), these Gypsies from Central Europe (coming in particular from Romania and Bulgaria) are supposed to have a legal right to travel and work in any EU country.

### LE BOLCHEVIK

According to the French minister of the interior, the government has already destroyed 441 Gypsy encampments and expelled at least 1,000 Roma since the end of July. On September 4, at least 100,000 demonstrators rallied throughout France and some other European cities in liberal protests against this racist campaign.

These deportations are an aspect of multi-sided and brutal attacks on the working class and all the oppressed. In the framework of the worldwide economic crisis, capitalist governments throughout Europe are going after the living standards of their own working people in order to improve their competitive position against rival imperialists (see "Economic



AFP

**August 14: Roma in Montreuil, east of Paris, face riot police following expulsion from building.**

Crisis and the Capitalist State," WV Nos. 961 and 963, 2 July and 27 August 2010). At the same time, in every country the rulers offer up immigrants and minorities as scapegoats for rising unemployment, playing the old game of "divide and rule."

On September 7, three million workers all over France participated in a day of strikes and demonstrations called by trade unions against the dismantling of retirement pensions. This massive turnout showed the proletariat's will to fight to

defend its gains. But the workers are saddled with a treacherous reformist leadership that accepts the reactionary notion of a supposed "common interest" that the working class and the bosses have in safeguarding the profits of French capitalism. Such a leadership is incapable of leading a fight to defend the most oppressed sections of the population against the bourgeoisie and its government.

On September 14, the French parliament passed a law forbidding women to wear the face-covering Muslim *niqab* or *burqa* in public, and the next day it passed a law canceling subsidies to immigrant families if their children miss school. Earlier this year, a government official, lashing out at North African and African Muslims, even threatened to strip away the citizenship of any person of "foreign origin" accused of polygamy.

The singling out of the Roma as a specific ethnic group has been met with cynical protests by the United Nations and the EU. In August, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination urged France to "avoid" collective deportations. Meanwhile, the EU's justice and citizenship commission called the expulsions a "disgrace" and

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