

“War on Terror” Witchhunt

Protest FBI Raids on Leftists, Union Activists!

OCTOBER 5—In a series of dawn raids on September 24, FBI agents in Minneapolis and Chicago invaded seven homes and an office of leftists and labor activists. The Feds spent hours ransacking their homes, seizing cell phones and passports and carting away vanloads of boxes filled with personal papers, address books and computer disks. The activists were slapped with subpoenas to testify this month before a witchhunting grand jury. Subpoenas have also been served against individuals in North Carolina and Michigan. The government seeks to pin charges of “material support to terrorism” on the activists and others associated with them based on their political activities in solidarity with the oppressed in the Near East and Latin America. Today, an attorney for the activists announced that all 14 of those hit with subpoenas in the Midwest will refuse to testify before the grand jury in Chicago.

Most of the victims of the raids are well-known leftists. Jessica Sundin is a longtime antiwar activist in Minneapolis, a supporter of the Freedom Road Socialist Organization (FRSO) and member of the Anti-War Committee, whose office was also raided. Joe Iosbaker is a chief steward and executive board member of Service Employees International Union Local 73 at the University of Illinois at Chicago, where he acts as an adviser to the Students for a Democratic Society. Mick Kelly is the editor of the FRSO’s newspaper, *Fight Back!* Hatem Abudayyeh, a Palestinian American antiwar activist, is executive director of the Arab American Action Network.

It is vitally necessary for the labor movement to come to the defense of these activists and demand an end to the witch-hunt. For decades, the capitalist rulers have sought to tar leftists as “terrorists”—i.e., people with no rights the state is bound to respect and to whom the government can do anything. The recent FBI raids open a sinister new front in that effort. Paving the Feds’ way, a June 21 Supreme Court decision expanded what can legally be considered “material support to terrorism” to include a wide range of activities deemed as somehow aiding proscribed foreign organizations.

In a protest letter issued the day after the raids, the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, denounced the Feds’ attempt to chill the political activities of those who protest government policies at home and wars abroad. The letter stated: “From its inception under the Bush administra-



Velasquez/Chicago Tribune

FBI agents load possessions confiscated from home of antiwar activists in Chicago, September 24. Below: September 27 Minneapolis protest against FBI raids.



AP

tion, the ‘war on terror,’ which initially victimized Arab and Muslim immigrants, set into motion repressive measures that also target leftists, trade unionists, and black people. Now the Obama administration is escalating these wholesale attacks on civil liberties with these neo-McCarthyite raids.”

The PDC and a number of other organizations have demanded that the subpoenas be withdrawn, that no charges be filed

and that all belongings seized by the Feds be returned immediately. On September 27, the San Francisco Labor Council passed a resolution condemning the raids, and protest rallies have been held in cities across the country.

Almost to a man, liberal organizations and the reformist left had promoted the illusion that Barack Obama would represent some kind of “change” from the George W. Bush regime. But as we

pointed out, what drove Obama’s promises to clean up some of the Bush gang’s most blatant “excesses” was his commitment to wage a *more effective* “war on terror.” In office, Obama has embraced every one of the repressive tools handed down to him by Bush (and Bush’s predecessor, Bill Clinton)—and then some: detention of “enemy combatants” at Guantánamo; domestic wiretapping by the National Security Agency; invocation of “state secrets” to quash lawsuits exposing U.S.-sponsored torture; kangaroo-court military commissions to try “terror” suspects; endorsement of indefinite detention, a hallmark of police-state regimes. While Bush broadened the FBI’s legal authority to launch “terrorism” investigations based solely on one’s political views, the Obama government has taken this a big step further with the concerted raids against leftists.

“War on Terror” Targets All of Us

The same day as the FBI raids, the left-wing National Lawyers Guild released a report titled “The Policing of Political Speech: Constraints on Mass Dissent in the U.S.” that pointed to “a highly orchestrated curtailment of personal and political liberties” in the nine years since the September 11 terror attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. The report denounced the government’s stigmatizing activists as terrorists and its use of “fear-based techniques against those who dare speak out against government policies.”

The purpose of “anti-terror” witch-hunts is...to instill terror in the population. The country’s rulers fan fears of constant threat from the likes of Al Qaeda in order to garner popular support for (or acquiescence to) an immense expansion of police powers. As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee argued in an *amici curiae* brief filed in July 2003 on behalf of Jose Padilla, a U.S. citizen seized and detained by the government as an “enemy combatant”:

“The ‘war against terrorism’ is a fiction, a political construct, not a military reality. It is a political crusade conducted in the name of ridding society of a perceived evil. It is no more a ‘war’ in a military sense than ‘war against cancer,’ ‘war against obesity’ or a ‘war against immorality.’ Like the ‘war against communism’ and the ‘war against drugs,’ this ‘war’ is a pretext to increase the state’s police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population.”

It did not take long after the September
continued on page 4





Racist Scapegoating of Muslim Women

Down With Quebec's Niqab Ban!

We reprint the following article from Spartacist Canada No. 165 (Summer 2010), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

SPARTACIST CANADA

The Catholic church anathematizes those who transgress its edicts. So too the Quebec government, the Canadian prime minister and the leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition [federal Liberal Party's Michael Ignatieff]. They have decreed that fully veiled Muslim women are anathema, to be denounced and hounded out of social life.

On March 9, 29-year-old Naema Ahmed was dragged out of a French language exam by an official from Quebec's immigration ministry because she refused to remove her *niqab*, a veil that covers most of the face. The young woman, an Egyptian immigrant, pharmacist and mother of three, had enrolled in this community centre class following her earlier expulsion from Cégep St. Laurent [a junior college] for the same reason. Again the authorities tracked her down. "I feel like the government is following me everywhere," she said. Soon after, a 25-year-old Indian immigrant, Aisha, fell victim to this xenophobic persecution, and was driven out of a French class by the same government department that put her there five months earlier.

On March 24, Jean Charest's Quebec Liberal government codified its racist drive against Muslim women with Bill 94. This law would ban women wearing the face-covering *niqab* or *burqa* from receiving *any* government services, and would bar them from all public-sector employment. This is a green light for racist abuse. Denied schooling, health care and perhaps even access to public transit and many other essential services, these women will become virtual prisoners in their homes—a Canadian version of purdah. While the number of women who would be impacted directly is small—at most a few dozen—the effects will be felt throughout the Muslim population and beyond.

There was a brief outcry in the English Canadian press against Bill 94, as bourgeois editorialists found it a convenient club with which to bash Quebec. The message, stated openly or implied, was that Quebec nationalism is uniquely intolerant, unlike the "multicultural" harmony that supposedly reigns elsewhere. Once Bill 94 was embraced by Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper and federal Liberal leader Michael Ignatieff these mostly hypocritical voices fell all but silent.

For over a decade, the capitalist ruling class has whipped up anti-Muslim racism, the domestic fuel of the "war on terror." This has seen countless frame-ups, detentions, people "rendered" to other countries to be tortured and a sustained assault on the rights of everyone. As an extension of the "war on terror," veiled Muslim women have been repeatedly scapegoated. In 2007, the all-party outcry against letting fully veiled Muslim women vote in federal elections without baring their faces was a gratuitous instance of racism. The impact of the rulers' demonizing of Mus-



Woman in Hérouxville, Quebec, where edicts against Muslims in 2007 sparked wave of bigotry. Quebec Liberal government of Jean Charest (inset) aims to drive veiled Muslim women out of society.

lims is shown by the broad support for the *niqab* ban: according to polls, 95 percent of Quebec residents support it, as do 80 percent across the country.

Bill 94 is cut of the same cloth as the laws being enacted in many European countries where the oppressed Muslim minority suffers the daily humiliations of racism, segregation and police violence. In Belgium, a bill which could become law this summer makes wearing full-face coverings in public spaces punishable by fines or jail. In an Italian city whose mayor is from the far-right Northern League, a woman was fined 500 euros for wearing a *burqa*. France has banned the *hijab* (headscarf) in schools since 2004, and in May the French parliament voted a resolution against full-face coverings.

We Marxists fight for the liberation of women, and thus oppose the veil, no matter what form it takes, as both a symbol and an instrument of women's oppression. We stand with the many women who seek to escape the cruel tyrannies of religious traditionalism, from the veil to the bride price and arranged marriage. But all these government bans and restrictions on the veil are racist and discriminatory against Muslims, and we unambiguously oppose them. The claims that banning the veil will foster women's equality or integrate Muslims into society are transparently false. The reality is that these bans mean the expulsions of Muslim girls and women from schools, universities and the workforce, deepening their isolation and oppression.

Down With Anti-Muslim Reaction!

The current state-sponsored persecution of Muslim women follows the 2007 wave of bigotry against young Muslim girls in Quebec that saw several driven out of sporting events because they wore the *hijab*. Bill 94 is the Charest government's answer to the question of how far "reasonable accommodation" of religious minorities should extend. To even pose the question in this way is to invite a racist backlash.

In pushing the *niqab* ban, the Liberals, the bourgeois-nationalist opposition Parti Québécois [PQ] and a range of bourgeois feminists say they are upholding secularism and women's rights. Quebec is easily the most secular part of Canada, a legacy of the struggles of the 1960s and early '70s that threw off the shackles of the Catholic church. The deep oppression of

Québécois women was sharply undercut, and it was in Montreal during this period that Dr. Henry Morgentaler began his long and courageous battle to overturn Canada's reactionary abortion laws. But the forces pushing Bill 94 today are cynically manipulating the broad support for secularism and women's rights in Quebec to pursue reactionary aims.

Opposition to national oppression fuelled explosive class and social struggles in Quebec in the 1960s and '70s. Yet the outcome of these struggles was that the working class, lacking a revolutionary proletarian leadership, was drawn into the political framework of bourgeois Quebec nationalism. Like the "pro-Canada" chauvinism pushed by the labour tops and NDP [social-democratic New Democratic Party] in English Canada, such nationalism inevitably fosters racism against immigrants and ethnic minorities. Recognizing that the working class of this country is deeply split on national lines, undermining its ability to wage anti-capitalist class struggle, we Marxists advocate independence for Quebec. By taking the national question off the agenda, this would create far better conditions for the workers to see that their real enemies are their "own" respective capitalist exploiters—not the workers of the other nation or ethnic and racial minorities.

The ban on services to fully veiled Muslim women is the most recent face of

the racist crusade to keep such minorities "in their place." It has absolutely nothing to do with the separation of church and state, which we Marxists uphold. We oppose state subsidies for churches through tax breaks, as well as all state funding of religious schools and religious instruction in the public schools. When there was a move in Ontario several years ago to give legal standing to Muslim *sharia* courts we sharply denounced this (see "No to Ontario's 'Sharia Courts'," SC No. 142, Fall 2004 [reprinted in WV No. 836, 12 November 2004]). But we are also against state interference in private religious practices, which the ruling class uses to whip up hatred against minorities.

For all their professed secularism, Quebec's bourgeois parties continue to uphold various sacred "traditions" of the Catholic church. After introducing the *niqab* ban, Liberal justice minister Kathleen Weil stated that "religious signs, such as a cross around the neck of state employees, are allowed because they do not cast doubt on the neutrality of the service offered" (Montreal *Gazette*, 25 March). The PQ, which claims to stand for "*laïcité tout court*" (pure secularism), voted with the Liberals to retain a giant crucifix in the National Assembly and supports the official recognition of Catholicism as Quebec's "historic heritage."

As for Québec Solidaire [QS], the petty-bourgeois party that is the darling of the reformist left, it too has endorsed the discriminatory and racist *niqab* ban. Asked for his reaction to the ban, QS's sole member of the National Assembly, Amir Khadir, told a March 25 press conference: "We are pretty much at ease with what has been announced yesterday for Quebec."

The danger to women's rights comes not from a tiny, vulnerable Muslim minority, but from the rule of the bourgeoisie, which upholds the reactionary institution of the family, the central force that oppresses women the world over. The family is the vehicle for transmitting property from one generation to the next, and the mechanism for raising new generations of workers. Bourgeois family law is thus tightly bound up with defense of private property, and women's inequality is always reflected in the legal and social codes of every society. Even in

continued on page 11

Spartacist League Forums

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Labor Must Defend Immigrant and Black Rights

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

NEW YORK CITY

**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.**

Methodist Church
303 Hudson St., Oakland
(5 blocks from Rockridge BART
at intersection of College Ave. and
Manila Ave., enter on Manila.
Across from Rockridge Library.)

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

LOS ANGELES

**Saturday
October 23, 3 p.m.**

Mount Hollywood
Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Ave.

(1 block east of Vermont, near
Vermont-Sunset Red Line Station)
For more info: (213) 380-8239
slscla@sbcglobal.net

FBI Raids...

(continued from page 1)

11 attacks for the government to demonstrate that its campaign for “national unity” against “terrorism” targeted a much wider swath than immigrants from Islamic countries, not least the labor movement. In December 2001, striking school teachers in New Jersey were pilloried as Taliban. The following year, Tom Ridge, then head of Homeland Security, personally intervened to warn West Coast longshoremen organized by the ILWU that any strike action would be treated as a threat to national security. Even such liberal pacifists as the Quakers and the Catholic Worker group have been spied upon in the “anti-terror” witchhunt, as documented in a report issued last month by the Justice Department’s Inspector General.

The SL/PDC *amici* brief pointed out: “The Executive’s declaration that its ‘war against terrorism’ forfeits constitutional protections for designated individuals echoes the regimes of shahs and colonels and presidents ‘for life’ from the Near East to Africa to Latin America, to justify the mass imprisonment and unmarked graves of political dissidents.” The brief continued, “The Executive is proclaiming the *right to disappear* citizens of its choosing.” Taking this “right” to its logical conclusion, the Obama administration earlier this year gave legal authority for the targeted assassination of a U.S. citizen living abroad—Muslim cleric Anwar al-Awlaki, who is accused of being an Al Qaeda operative and is believed to be hiding in Yemen.

How the “anti-terror” laws and other measures could be used for political witchhunts was on display in the police mobilizations that met protesters at the Republican and Democratic national conventions in 2004 and 2008. Civil disobedience and disruptions caused by a few anarchoid youth—trivial acts that used to be vindictively charged as “disorderly conduct”—were now defined as acts of terrorism. In the lead-up to the 2008 Republican National Convention (RNC), eight protest organizers were arrested on “terrorism” charges. Since then, charges have been dropped against three of the “RNC 8” and another has pleaded guilty to a lesser charge. While “terrorism” charges have been dropped against the remaining four, they still face trumped-up conspiracy charges that carry with them the threat of years in prison. With the trial for the four due to begin this month, we demand: Drop all charges against the RNC protesters!

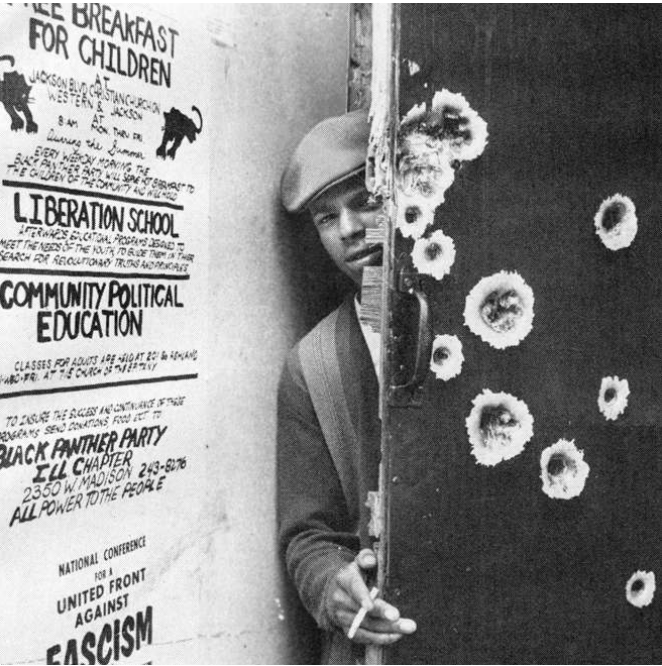
While the country’s rulers have a long history of harassing and criminalizing leftist dissent, the designation of political opponents as terrorists is a threat of greater magnitude. To be declared a terrorist is to be declared an individual outside of society, for whom democratic rights have no application and who the cops have license to gun down, or disappear, without any purported reason. In the 1960s, FBI head J. Edgar Hoover’s declaration that the Black Panther Party con-

stituted the “greatest threat to national security” gave police nationwide a green light to blow Panthers away. Thirty-eight Black Panther Party members were assassinated in the FBI’s infamous COINTELPRO campaign and hundreds of others railroaded to prison. Begun in the 1950s, COINTELPRO was vastly expanded under Democrat Lyndon Johnson and his attorney general, Ramsey Clark (long a leading light in the Workers World Party’s International Action Center).

Democrats, Republicans Criminalize Dissent

The government’s prohibition of “material support to terrorism” originated with the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act under Clinton and was expanded by Bush’s USA Patriot Act. The law proscribes providing money, personnel, services or training to some 40 foreign organizations designated by the Secretary of State as terrorist.

One measure of the threat that “anti-terror” laws pose for the rights of the population as a whole can be seen in the case of leftist attorney Lynne Stewart. Along with her legal assistant Ahmed Abdel Sattar and translator Mohamed Yousry, Stewart was convicted in 2005 of frame-up charges of support to terrorism for her determined legal defense of blind Egyptian sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, who was imprisoned for an alleged plot to blow up New York City landmarks in the early 1990s. At stake in Stewart’s case was the very right to legal representation. This July, Obama’s Justice Department suc-



Chicago Black Panther Party residence shot up in 1969 FBI/police raid that killed Fred Hampton, Mark Clark.

PDC Protests FBI Raids

The following protest letter, addressed to U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder, was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on September 25.

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests the FBI raids yesterday on the homes of numerous leftists and antiwar activists in Chicago and Minneapolis. Among the targeted activists are a chief union steward in the Service Employees International Union, prominent members of the Minnesota Anti-War Committee, the executive director of the Arab American Action Network, and supporters of the Freedom Road Socialist Organization and Students for a Democratic Society. FBI agents carted away boxloads of the activists’ personal belongings, including computer drives and papers. Activists were also served with subpoenas to testify before federal grand juries investigating their activi-

ties in solidarity with the oppressed in the Middle East and Latin America. This witchhunt is a blatant attack on the rights of free speech and association, and is intended to chill the First Amendment activities of anyone who would protest government policies at home and wars and depredations abroad. From its inception under the Bush administration, the “war on terror,” which initially victimized Arab and Muslim immigrants, set into motion repressive measures that also target leftists, trade unionists, and black people. Now the Obama administration is escalating these wholesale attacks on civil liberties with these neo-McCarthyite raids. We demand that the subpoenas be withdrawn, that there be no charges and that all belongings taken in Friday’s raids be returned immediately. Stop the witchhunt! Hands off the activists!

Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) on how to appeal to the United Nations for peaceful resolution of their struggles. The LTTE and PKK had long been targets of the wars waged by the U.S.-supported Sri Lankan and Turkish governments against

ate struggle against regimes allied with the U.S. In ruling against the Humanitarian Law Project, the Supreme Court declared outright: “Providing foreign terrorist groups with material support in any form also furthers terrorism by straining the United States’ relationships with its allies.” A mere three months later, the Feds launched their attack against leftist activists. Freedom Road, which cheered Obama’s 2008 campaign, is hardly a radical leftist outfit. However, the FRSO and others became targets of government repression on the basis of their support to the guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the secular-nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Iranian-backed Hezbollah.

The FARC has been embroiled in a long struggle against Washington’s Colombian puppet regime and its paramilitary death squads, who specialize in killing union activists. Some of the leftists targeted in the FBI raids have been active in the National Committee to Free Ricardo Palmera, a political prisoner in the U.S. who, as a leader of the FARC, was tracked down and arrested in Ecuador with the help of U.S. agents.

For the U.S. imperialists, who carry out mass terror in Afghanistan and elsewhere on a daily basis, the designation of “foreign terrorist organization” is elastic and constantly shifting. The last domestic “terrorism” witchhunt, under the Republican Reagan administration, was aimed at mobilizing the population for war against the Soviet Union. We wrote in “Why Reagan Needs ‘Terrorism’,” (WV No. 347, 3 February 1984): “For the bourgeoisie, ‘terrorism’ is violence associated with causes of which they disapprove, the use of force outside their own monopoly of violence: strikers defending their picket lines, black people protecting their communities against racist night-riders, Central American peasants fighting back against the landlords’ army and hired killers.”

Washington’s terrorist designation has included the Irish Republican Army and Nelson Mandela’s African National Congress during the reign of apartheid in South Africa. Included on today’s list are the Basque nationalist ETA, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Real IRA. Although the Islamic reactionaries of Al Qaeda are currently at the top of the U.S. hit list, when these forces were throwing acid in the faces of unveiled women in Afghanistan in the 1980s, the U.S. government hailed them as “freedom fighters” against the Soviet Union. The Soviet military intervention in that country had opened the road to the liberation of its horribly oppressed peoples, and particularly women. The Kremlin bureaucracy’s treacherous withdrawal of

ceeded in pressing the courts to vindictively increase her sentence to ten years—a virtual death sentence for a 70-year-old woman who suffers from breast cancer.

The June Supreme Court ruling expanded what constitutes “material support” to include the exercise of the rights of speech and association, which are supposedly protected by the First Amendment. The ruling was in response to a case brought by the Humanitarian Law Project and other groups and individuals who wanted to advise the Liberation

the oppressed Tamil and Kurdish national minorities.

The Court’s decision essentially criminalized any activity that is considered as giving legitimacy to “terrorists.” This could include anything from donating money to Muslim charities to interviewing a guerrilla fighter for the press (see “Supreme Court Decision Shreds First Amendment Rights,” WV No. 961, 2 July). The secular nationalist LTTE and PKK had made it onto the State Department hit list because they fought a desper-

Partisan Defense Committee
CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES
Number 31 50c Summer 2003

BRIEF OF AMICI CURIAE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE ON BEHALF OF JOSE PADILLA AND GRANTING HIS WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS

In The
UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
For The Second Circuit
Docket No. 03-2235
03-2438

JOSE PADILLA, Donna R. Newman,
as Next Friend of Jose Padilla,
Petitioner-Appellee-cross-Appellant,
v.
DONALD RUMSFELD,
Respondent-Appellant-cross-Appellee.

On Appeal from the United States District Court
for the Southern District of New York.

SEE PAGE 2

Free All MOVE Prisoners! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
25th Anniversary of Powelton Village Siege 18
"Anti-Terror" Dragnet Threatens 13,000 with Expulsions
Stop the Deportations! 22

PDC Publications

Class-Struggle Defense Notes No. 31, Summer 2003

50c (24 pages)
Marxists defend citizenship rights!
This issue of CSDN reprints in its entirety the *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief filed in the U.S. Court of Appeals by the PDC and the Spartacist League in defense of Jose Padilla.

PDC Pamphlet
July 2006
\$1 (48 pages)

Partisan Defense Committee
July 2006 Pamphlet \$1

The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Is Innocent!
Anatomy of a Frame-Up
Presentation by Rachel Volkenstein... 5
Affidavit of Rachel Volkenstein... 23
Affidavit of Arnold R. Beverly... 38
Declaration of Mumia Abu-Jamal... 39
Declarations of William Cook... 39
Affidavit of Donald Hersing... 41
Declaration of Linn Washington... 44
Affidavit of Terri Maure-Carter... 45
Declaration of Yvette Williams... 46
Declaration of Kenneth Pate... 47

Order from/make checks payable to:
Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues stand for mobilizing the masses of black and working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America.

Initiated by and fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and the oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

Since they were brought to this country in chains and enslaved, black people have been an integral part of American class society while at the same time forcibly segregated at the bottom. It took the Civil War to emancipate black people from chattel slavery. But the Civil War was not carried to its completion, and black people were freed from slavery only to be stripped of political rights and economically subju-

gated. The civil rights movement, tied to pro-Democratic Party pressure politics and sold out by liberal reformism, failed to complete the unfinished business of the Civil War. We fight to win the entire working class, including white workers as well as the growing number of Latino and other immigrants, to the fight for black liberation, strategic to the American revolution. Black and working-class militants must stand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and in their defense against racist and chauvinist anti-immigrant attacks. An injury to one is an injury to all!

The Labor Black Leagues raise the call: Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state! They base their perspectives on the realization that it will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to finally liberate black people.



WV Photo

Labor Black League denounces bipartisan “war on terror” at united-front protest for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Oakland, 19 April 2008.

If You Stand For —

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

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

3 Fight for women’s rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour child-care! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

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

5 Defend the separation of church and state! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt—cops and courts out of the bedroom! Down with all laws against consensual activities such as

“crimes without victims” like pornography, gambling, drugs and prostitution!

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

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or community control of the police! Down with the racist and anti-labor “war on drugs”! For decriminalization of drugs! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

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

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend the deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea—against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For proletarian political revolution to oust their Stalinist bureaucracies! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adven-

tures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—Join the Labor Black Leagues!

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

CHICAGO(312) 563-0441

Labor Black Struggle League
Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680

LOS ANGELES(213) 380-8239

Labor Black League for Social Defense
c/o Box 29574, Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029

NEW YORK(212) 267-1025

Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 2502, Church St. Station
New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND(510) 839-0851

Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604
lblsdbayarea@sbcglobal.com

troops in 1988-89 allowed the *mujahedin* cutthroats to eventually take power, after which the likes of Osama bin Laden turned on their former U.S. paymasters.

The Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!

That Obama has stepped up Bush’s attacks on civil liberties should come as no surprise. The Democrats’ posture as the friend of labor and minorities makes them often more effective in carrying out attacks on the working class and the oppressed. It was Democrat Woodrow Wilson who ordered the arrest and imprisonment of members of the Industrial Workers of the World as well as Eugene Debs and members of his Socialist Party for their opposition to the interimperialist First World War. The Wilson administration also carried out the deportation of thousands of foreign-born radicals in the 1919 Palmer Raids, which came on the heels of the Bolshevik Revolution. It was liberal icon Franklin D. Roosevelt who interned 120,000 Japanese Americans in World War II and imprisoned 18 Trotskyists and Minneapolis Teamsters union leaders under the Smith Act for opposing U.S. imperialism’s entry into the war. His successor, Harry Truman, carried out the Smith Act prosecutions of Communist Party members in the late 1940s.

Where before the government raised the spectre of communism, today it paints its witchhunt targets as “terrorists” and their supporters. In any case, the point of these campaigns is to strengthen the apparatus of the bourgeois state, which is a machinery of repression and violence against those the capitalists exploit and oppress.

In our fight to build a revolutionary workers party that will act as a tribune of the people, we Marxists are intransigent in our opposition to any infringement on democratic rights. In the mid 1980s, we successfully challenged the FBI’s Domestic Security/Terrorism guidelines, which equated left-wing political activity with terrorism and organized crime. In announcing our suit against the FBI, we wrote in WV No. 340 (21 October 1983):

“We are compelled to undertake this legal battle, not only to defend ourselves against the new FBI red-hunt but also to fight to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night. As the organization which embodies the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying, racist system through victorious socialist revolution. A Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!”

As a result of our lawsuit, the government conceded the central aim of our legal challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or criminal terrorism. The FBI changed its definition of the SL to one that describes what we are—“a Marxist political organization.” Our suit struck a modest but genuine blow to the government’s efforts to criminalize leftist political dissent. But, as we wrote when we announced the victory of our suit, “We have no illusions that the government’s secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration and disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government” (“FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists,” WV No. 368, 7 December 1984).

A longstanding low level of class and social struggle has given the rulers a virtually free hand in implementing their attacks on democratic rights and the rights of labor. Bearing the lion’s share of responsibility for this situation are the capitalists’ lieutenants in the labor bureaucracy, who have acceded to wage cuts and union-busting while saluting the imperialists’ “war on terror” in the name of “national unity.”

As we have always insisted, the ultimate target of “anti-terror” and other

measures of repression is the multiracial working class, which has the potential social power and class interest to be the gravediggers of the capitalist order. Short of the overthrow of capitalist rule, none of the rights and gains that working people hold dear are secure. The Spartacist League fights to build the vanguard workers party needed to lead the exploited and oppressed in a socialist revolution that sweeps away murderous capitalist-imperialism and establishes the rule of the working class. ■

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

against illusions that Mumia would get justice from the capitalist courts. What is needed is mass protest centered on the social power of the working class. When Mumia faced an August 1995 execution date, an outpouring of international protest, crucially including trade unions representing hundreds of thousands of workers, helped stay the executioner’s hand.

In contrast, Workers World Party, Socialist Action and others in the reformist left place their reliance on the courts and politicians of the capitalist class enemy. Following years of subordinating the demand to free Mumia to the futile supplication for a new, “fair” trial, the reformists have more recently pinned their hopes on petitions to the summits of capitalist state power. A petition to Barack Obama grotesquely calls on the Commander-in-Chief of U.S. imperialism, who has made clear his support for capital punishment, to “speak out against the death penalty for

Mumia Abu-Jamal.” A petition to his top cop, Attorney General Eric Holder, pleads, “Inasmuch as there is no other court to which Abu-Jamal can appeal for justice, we turn to you for remedy” and begs for a civil rights investigation—to be carried out by the same Justice Department whose job is to oversee the capitalists’ frame-up machinery.

In our protests and propaganda, we have sought to imbue militants with the understanding that the fight to free Mumia must be based on working-class struggle against the capitalist rulers and their state. This necessarily includes fighting to abolish the racist death penalty—the legacy of chattel slavery in the U.S.—which stands at the pinnacle of the apparatus of repression wielded by the capitalists against the masses they exploit and oppress. Only when the multiracial proletariat, led by a vanguard party, seizes power through socialist revolution will there be an end to the murderous repression, exploitation and racial oppression that define the capitalist system. **Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!** ■

Capitalism and Global Warming

This part concludes this article, Part One of which appeared in WV No. 965 (24 September).

PART TWO

Attempts to rationally utilize the world's resources and protect against large-scale environmental degradation run straight into the anarchy of production under capitalism, which is based on the private ownership of the means of production—factories, technology, land, etc. However well-organized individual plants may be, there is no plan in the broader economy. Investment decisions, including for research and development, are primarily driven by the profit motive.

Friedrich Engels, who with Karl Marx founded modern, scientific socialism, observed in his unfinished 1876 essay “The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man”:

“As long as the individual manufacturer or merchant sells a manufactured or purchased commodity with the usual coveted profit, he is satisfied and does not concern himself with what afterwards becomes of the commodity and its purchasers. The same thing applies to the natural effects of the same actions. What cared the Spanish planters in Cuba, who burned down forests on the slopes of the mountains and obtained from the ashes sufficient fertiliser for *one* generation of very highly profitable coffee trees—what cared they that the heavy tropical rainfall afterwards washed away the unprotected upper stratum of the soil, leaving behind only bare rock! In relation to nature, as to society, the present mode of production is predominantly concerned only about the immediate, the most tangible result.”

Why, then, do many bourgeois spokesmen raise concerns about the environment? For one thing, an individual capitalist will worry when pollutants from an industrial process are shown to impact his own well-being, and not just that of his wage slaves. More broadly, an increasing number of the capitalists' political representatives express alarm at global warming because of the economic and social disruption it threatens. A *New York Times* (9 August 2009) article titled “Climate Change Seen as Threat to U.S. Security” cites military and intelligence analysts who raise the prospect of “military intervention to deal with the effects of violent storms, drought, mass migration and pandemics” in coming decades. The Pentagon already is making plans for securing its low-lying installations and fortifying the borders to keep refugees out. Its talk of safeguarding U.S. interests is a recipe for more imperialist interventions like the occupation of Haiti, disguised as “disaster relief,” following the January earthquake.

On the left, those who despair of the prospect of proletarian socialist revolution are left with nothing but their own doomsday scenarios and impotent reform strategies. In *New Left Review* (January-



Noorani/Still Pictures

Dhaka slum hit by one of cyclical floods that batter Bangladesh. Below: Worker at Tata Motors plant in India, where industrial proletariat has grown significantly in recent years.



Reuters

February 2010), Mike Davis writes off a “global revolution” as “an utterly unrealistic scenario,” resigning himself to an impending ecological catastrophe. Davis opines: “Instead of galvanizing heroic innovation and international cooperation, growing environmental and socio-economic turbulence may simply drive elite publics into more frenzied attempts to wall themselves off from the rest of humanity.... The goal would be the creation of green and gated oases of permanent affluence on an otherwise stricken planet.”

Widely touted “eco-socialist” John Bellamy Foster goes to great lengths to twist Karl Marx into a proto-environmentalist, stripping Marxism of its revolutionary content. In *Monthly Review* (January

2010), Bellamy talks of a “new environmental proletariat” consisting of small peasants, unemployed slum-dwellers and others in the Third World “directly in line to be hit first by the impending disasters” as “the main historic agent and initiator of a new epoch of ecological revolution.” This notion has distinct roots in the 1960s New Left, which rejected the unique capacity of the working class—in both the advanced countries and in the neocolonial world—to overturn the capitalist order and collectivize the means of production. Following the demise of the New Left, a number of radical activists made their peace with the imperialists by embracing one or another variety of green politics.

There is indeed a proletariat in the

areas addressed by Bellamy—the workers who toil in South Africa's platinum mines, India's auto assembly lines and Brazil's aircraft manufacturing plants. As in the advanced capitalist countries, what's lacking are revolutionary workers parties to mobilize that social power at the head of the dispossessed urban and rural masses in socialist revolution.

Pro-Capitalist “System Change”

For its part, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) criticizes certain environmentalist nostrums, such as reducing individual “carbon footprints,” while joining liberals and Greens in appealing to capitalist governments to enforce eco-friendly practices. In “Hothouse Earth” (*International Socialist Review*, March-April 2009), the ISO proposes a “government action plan on the environment” that largely consists of advice to the Obama administration on investment in non-fossil-fuel energy sources. Mirroring the petty-bourgeois prejudices that define the environmentalist movement, the ISO opposes nuclear power and blames “*unregulated* free-market capitalism” (our emphasis) for the ruination of the environment. These positions do not come as a surprise, as the ISO has run candidates on the bourgeois Green Party ticket in recent years.

The statement in “Hothouse Earth” that “only a socialist future holds out the hope of a sustainable one for the planet” is so much window dressing for the article's operational conclusion: “There is still a great deal of hope in Obama and expectation for change that can be channeled into a movement to pressure him to go significantly beyond his campaign promises.” Similarly, the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) opined in a 25 May 2008 article on a Congressional climate bill: “Without a mass, militant movement to stop global warming, all the politicians will offer up will be half-measures that assure the continued flow of profit into the polluters' coffers.”

The reformists got their “movement” outside the Copenhagen UN climate talks last December, when tens of thousands rallied under the call for “System change, not climate change” and similar demands. Trumpeted by Climate Justice Action (CJA), the ISO and others, that slogan can mean many different things. For the CJA, an international network of environmental groups, the intended “change” is limiting economic growth and “leaving fossil fuels in the ground.” Environmentalists of varying stripes have long argued that humanity is exceeding, or soon will exceed, the “carrying capacity” of the earth. From their perspective, there are too many people inhabiting the planet with far too many possessions. Invariably, the environmentalists' proposals to limit consumption and cut back production

For Socialist Revolution! For an Internationally Planned Economy!

dovetail with capitalist austerity measures against the working class and poor in both the industrial centers and the backward countries.

The main effect of the mobilization in Copenhagen was to implore the “democratic” imperialists to speed the pace of negotiations about emissions reduction, as seen in such signs as “Bla, Bla, Bla. Act Now,” “There Is No Planet B,” and “The World Wants a Real Deal.” Above all, hopes were placed on U.S. imperialist Commander-in-Chief Barack Obama, whose sermons on the problems that global warming poses for human beings coincide with his escalation of the murderous occupation of Afghanistan, the projection of military power globally and an expansion of attacks on democratic rights at home in the name of the “war on terror.”

In the lead-up to Copenhagen, the ISO, who cheered Obama’s ascension to the White House, bleated in a *Socialist Worker* article (2 July 2009) on the House cap-and-trade bill: “If all he hears is the sound of corporate dollars cascading into Democratic coffers, it’s clear that the earth and human, animal and plant life will come a distant second to considerations of corporate profit.” Like the PSL and the rest of the reformist left, the ISO propounds the myth that the fundamental priorities of the capitalist rulers can be altered to serve the interests of the exploited and the oppressed if sufficient pressure is exerted on the more liberal wing of the bourgeoisie, represented in the U.S. by the Democratic Party. However much, or little, they refer to socialism, the effect of the reformists’ political activity was aptly characterized by Trotsky in *Lessons of October* (1924) as the “training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state.”

Population Growth and Malthus

To one degree or another, almost all environmentalists identify population growth as a primary cause of environmental degradation. Robert Engelman of the Worldwatch Institute gave one such opinion in a special edition of *Scientific American* (June 2009): “In an era of changing climate and sinking economies, Malthusian limits to growth are back—and squeezing us painfully. Whereas *more people* once meant more ingenuity, more talent and more innovation, today it just seems to mean *less for each*” (emphasis in original).

This perspective turns the problem on its head. It is a fact that the world’s population has increased from 3 billion in 1960 to 6.5 billion in 2005 and is projected to top seven billion next year. The rapid rate of population growth magnifies problems endemic to the capitalist mode of production, from poverty and starvation to environmental degradation, but it is *not* the cause of these ills. For example, food output today is more than one and a half times what is needed to provide every person on the planet with a nutritious diet, according to the UN World Food Programme. However, capitalists manipulate the world market for food to accumulate as much profit as possible, not to feed the hungry.

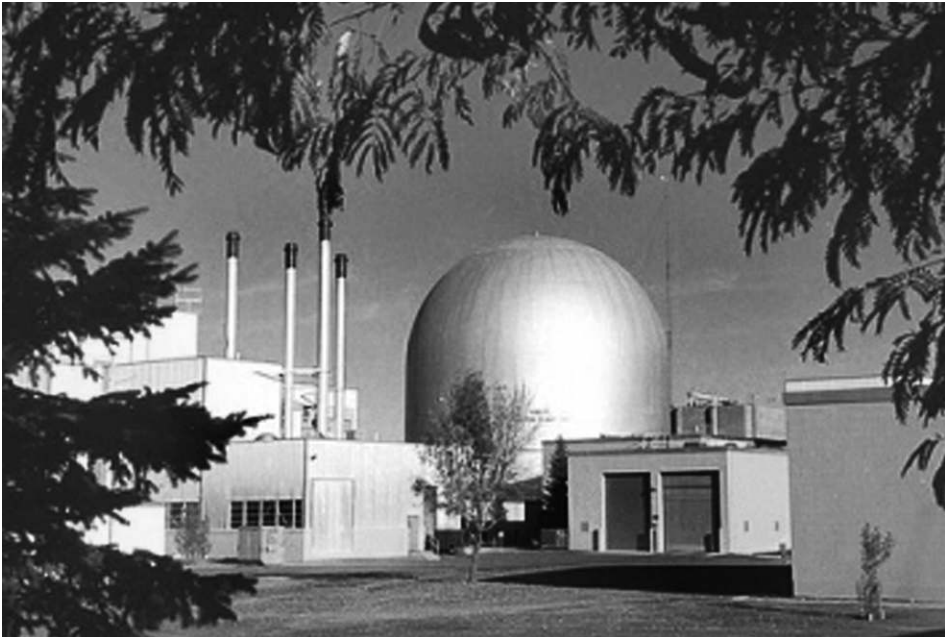
The classic case of blaming the impoverished masses for scarcity was put forward by Thomas Malthus. A parson of the Church of England, Malthus advanced two propositions in his 1798 tract, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*: unchecked population increases in a geometrical ratio while subsistence increases in an arithmetical ratio. The two propositions together constitute his principle of population, which concluded that the growth in mankind would outstrip the world’s resources, from which all misery and vice flowed.

By this argument, Malthusians deflect blame for mass impoverishment away from the existing class-divided social order. Malthus’ theory was an integral part of the ideological counteroffensive against the French Revolution. Not only the feudal aristocracy throughout Europe but

also the English bourgeoisie feared that their own “lower classes” would embrace the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Malthusianism was an attempt to prove the inevitability of privation for the toiling masses in order to divert them from any social struggle to better their lot.

Marx and Engels scathingly demolished Malthus’ theory, which Engels characterized as “the most open declaration of war of the bourgeoisie upon the proletariat” (*The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, 1845). Malthus was projecting as everlasting truths the specific relations of exploitation that obtained at that time between wage-earners and capitalists, as well as the antagonisms between the landed aristocracy and urban bourgeoisie. Marx showed that the poverty of the working class was based in the appropriation of surplus value extracted from wage laborers (the proletariat) by the capitalists, who own the means of production. What is required to end the misery and privation of the working masses is the expropriation of the means of production by the proletariat and the qualitative expansion of the productive forces that would come about in a collectivized economy. The technological revolution of 19th-century Europe was itself a dramatic refutation of Malthusianism, demonstrating the capacity to qualitatively expand the means of subsistence.

Marxists are by no means indifferent to the problem of rapid population growth.



Dr. Barry Brooks
Integral Fast Reactor (IFR) developed at Argonne National Laboratory, Illinois. IFRs increase efficiency in fuel use, significantly lessen problems associated with reactor safety and nuclear waste.

But we understand that only a society that can raise the standard of living worldwide can provide the conditions for a natural decline in reproductive rates. Advanced capitalist countries that have experienced rising living standards have generally seen a drop in fertility rates—the number of children an average woman will have during her childbearing years—sometimes dramatically so. With the advent of industrialization, fertility rates fell sharply, first in France, then in Britain, followed by much of Europe and the U.S. By the 1970s, 24 countries had fertility rates of 2.1 or less, the level at which population is stabilized.

But such advances are limited in a world dominated by imperialism, in which billions live under unbearably harsh conditions. Imperialist oppression also reinforces reactionary religious obscurantism and the brutal oppression of women around the planet. During the anti-Soviet Cold War, for example, the U.S. consciously fostered Islamic fundamentalist forces as a bulwark against both “godless Communism” and secular nationalism. In 1950, John Foster Dulles, who went on to become Secretary of State three years later, declared: “The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us.”

The bourgeoisies of backward countries likewise rely on religion and superstition to solidify their rule, such as the



Bethmann

Left: Thomas Robert Malthus’ reactionary theory of overpopulation blamed the poor for their poverty. Right: Friedrich Engels, cofounder of scientific socialism, denounced Malthus’ theory as “declaration of war” on the proletariat.



Dietz Verlag Berlin

Indian government’s fueling of Hindu chauvinism. Meanwhile, in its vicious medieval stand against abortion and its proscription of birth control, the Catholic church, which holds sway over more than one billion people, is a major contributor to population growth. The U.S., for its part, is second to none among advanced capitalist countries in the prevalence of religious belief.

We observed in “In Defense of Science and Technology—An Exchange on Eco-Radicals and HIV Denialists” (WV No. 843, 4 March 2005):

“Communist society will be based on a thoroughly different set of social values from those that exist today. The libera-

to ensure enough manpower to work the land or to care for the elderly will have long passed. As Engels wrote in an 1881 letter to Karl Kautsky:

“The abstract possibility that mankind will increase numerically to such an extent that its propagation will have to be kept within bounds does, of course, exist. But should communist society ever find itself compelled to regulate the production of humans in the same way as it has already regulated the production of things, then it, and it alone, will be able to effect this without difficulty.”

Capitalism, Technology and Energy Production

It is common for “anti-capitalist” eco-radicals, who are appalled by the ruining of the environment by corporations, to put an equal sign between capitalism and technology. In that view, capitalism is conflated with the consumption of goods, including life’s necessities. “Deep ecologists” and other primitivists take environmentalist ideology to its logical conclusion: opposing industry and civilization in the name of protecting the rest of nature from humans. Such a vision could be achieved in practice only by the deaths of billions of people. In “The Agrarian Question and the ‘Critics of Marx’” (1901), a polemic against the Russian neo-Malthusian “Legal Marxist” Sergei Bulgakov, V. I. Lenin observed:

“Our age was not preceded by a Golden Age; and primitive man was absolutely crushed by the burden of existence, by the difficulties of the struggle against Nature. The introduction of machinery and of improved methods of production immeasurably eased man’s struggle against Nature generally, and the production of food in particular. It has not become more difficult to produce food; it has become more difficult for the workers to obtain it because capitalist development has inflated ground-rent and the price of land, has concentrated agriculture in the hands of large and small capitalists, and, to a still larger extent, has concentrated machinery, implements, and money, without which successful production is impossible.”

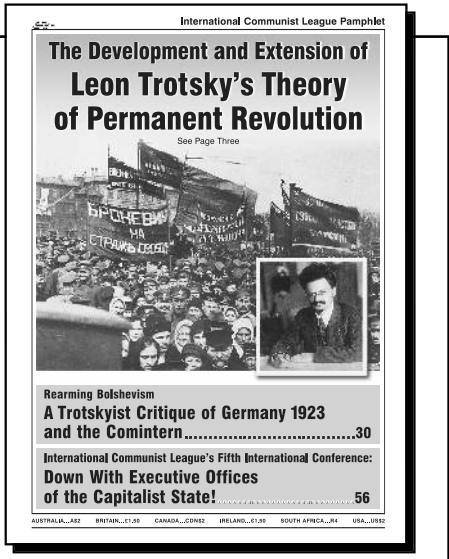
In its early development, capitalism gave birth to modern science and the industrial revolution, which was sparked by the discovery and use of coal in steam engines. The combination of steam power and machine technology soon qualitatively transformed production, as individual artisans were displaced by wage laborers working collectively in large plants. At the same time, the private ownership of the means of production increasingly became a fetter on the further development of the productive forces.

continued on page 8

International Communist League pamphlet comprising three articles from ICL press: “The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky’s Theory of Permanent Revolution,” “A Trotskyist Critique of Germany 1923 and the Comintern” and “Down With Executive Offices of the Capitalist State!” These articles together constitute an introduction to the historically founded principles and program of Trotskyism (i.e., genuine Marxism).

\$2 (56 pages)

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



Global Warming...

(continued from page 7)

Expanding production required the augmentation of energy resources, first coal and later, increasingly, petroleum. Today four of the six most profitable companies in the world are in the oil business, which alone supplies more than one-third of the world's energy. Trillions of dollars are invested worldwide in infrastructure related to oil and gas production and refining. Other oil by-products, such as asphalt, rubber and plastics, also play a vital role in industrial economies.

The capitalist magnates and their governments are not about to just write off their historic investments in fossil fuels. Neither would a workers government. While a planned, collectivized economy would carry out scientific research to develop safer, more efficient sources of energy, it may well have to run for some time on coal and hydrocarbons (oil and natural gas). As stated in "Eco-Faddism and Nuclear Power" (*Young Spartacus* No. 55, June 1977): "Marxists are not insensitive to the environmental aspects of technological progress. But our concern is tempered by our dedication to the scientific eradication of scarcity and human misery. The victorious proletarian revolution will utilize science and technology to provide the material basis for overcoming the 'human condition' of war, poverty and privation—the hallmarks of class society."

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 October Revolution, captured the contradiction posed by technological development under capitalism when he wrote:

"Technology and science have their own logic—the logic of the cognition of nature and the mastering of it in the interests of man. But technology and science develop not in a vacuum but in human society, which consists of classes. The ruling class, the possessing class, controls technology and through it controls nature. Technology in itself cannot be called either militaristic or pacifistic. In a society in which the ruling class is militaristic, technology is in the service of militarism."

—"Radio, Science, Technology, and Society," March 1926

We defend the gains of science and technology made under capitalism and understand that a socialist society would build on those advances. Today, the application of that technology is bound up with the bourgeoisie's pursuit of profit. Even the best-understood technologies are implemented dangerously and at great social cost, intended or not. April's Gulf Coast disaster, which killed eleven workers, was evidence of the fact that the energy sector is one of the most hazardous for workers, as sound safety practices are thrown out the window. Although solar and wind power installations do not require any resource extraction, these small-scale industries have nevertheless also claimed lives. Throughout industry, we fight for union control of working conditions and, where there are specific hazards, actions to shut down operations. This requires a concerted effort to organize the growing number of non-union companies and contractors.

Arkady Shaikhet



Right: Dnieper River hydroelectric station completed in 1932 under Soviet planned economy. Inset: Russian village receives electricity, 1926.



Novosti

Revolutionary Marxists have no interest in advising the bourgeoisie on how best to meet its energy needs. We will worry about how best to power the planet when the international proletariat runs it. Only then can the advisability of using one or another technology be properly evaluated. We recognize that there are problems associated with all types of energy production, such as that based on coal. Depending on its grade, coal can be over 90 percent pure carbon. Coal also has a lower heat content than natural gas (methane). As a result, the combustion of coal produces more carbon dioxide per unit of energy than gas. But to argue today, in a society driven by the profit motive, that one source of energy is inherently safer, or more sensible, than another is a recipe for disaster. Consider:

- In 2008, the U.S. corn ethanol biofuels racket provoked a shortfall in the food grain harvest, helping to trigger a food crisis crushing the world's poor at a time of booming global agricultural output.
- Even as a growing number of coal-burning plants around the nation have moved to reduce their air pollution, many of them are dumping the toxic waste into water supplies. Each day since one plant 40 miles outside of Pittsburgh installed scrubbing technology in its chimneys to trap pollutants in June, it has poured tens of thousands of gallons of chemical wastewater into a nearby river that provides drinking water to 350,000 people.
- Amid an uneven march toward new nuclear power plant construction in the U.S., owners of the earliest plants have applied for licenses to continue operations for as long as 40 years beyond the designed life span of their reactors.

Environmentalists historically have denounced nuclear energy, although some

now consider it a possible substitute for fossil fuel use, especially with the advent of integral fast reactors (IFRs), which are designed to generate less waste and to be less prone to meltdown. We oppose the green campaign against nuclear power, without endorsing the policies and activities of the reactor owners or the government agencies regulating them. While the planet contains a finite amount of uranium, new breeder reactors, such as the IFR, would use less than 1 percent of the uranium currently consumed by light-water reactors. There is also the possibility of the future development of technology to harness nuclear fusion for energy production.

All of this is not to deny the real, long-unresolved safety risks connected with nuclear reactors, particularly the disposal of wastes. Yet huge amounts of nuclear wastes are also by-products of military use. The vast nuclear arsenal in the hands of the U.S. and other imperialists poses a far greater danger to humanity than does an accidental leakage from nuclear plants or wastes. The U.S. is the only country to have used the A-bomb, incinerating hundreds of thousands in the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945.

Defend the Chinese Workers State!

The superiority of a planned economy was demonstrated by the experience of the Soviet Union. The Bolshevik-led 1917 Russian Revolution broke capitalist rule and established proletarian property forms, setting the stage for a qualitative improvement in the well-being of the working masses unobtainable in countries that remained chained by imperialist domination. In the USSR, all were provided with housing, health care, education and jobs. Even in isolation and despite the degeneration of the workers state under the Sta-

linist bureaucracy beginning in 1923-24, the Soviet Union was transformed from a backward, overwhelmingly peasant society into a modern industrial power. In 1925, the Soviet Union was the world's eleventh-largest producer of electrical energy. In 1935, it stood third behind Germany and the U.S. During World War II, the Soviets were able within the space of a year to move and rebuild industries destroyed by the Nazi invasion.

However, the Stalinist bureaucracy fatally undermined the Soviet workers state with its profoundly anti-Marxist dogma of "building socialism in one country." As the lowest stage of classless communist society, socialism must be based on material abundance, requiring proletarian revolutions internationally, including in the advanced industrialized countries. The Stalinists opposed the perspective of world proletarian revolution and instead pursued accommodation with imperialism. After decades of Stalinist betrayal and unremitting imperialist pressure, the Soviet Union fell to the forces of capitalist restoration in 1991-92—a historic defeat for the working class and the oppressed the world over.

In the aftermath, China became the imperialists' main target for capitalist counterrevolution. To destroy the workers state that arose out of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, the imperialists ratchet up military pressure against Beijing while pursuing a policy of internal economic and political subversion, including promoting counterrevolutionary forces such as the "Free Tibet" movement around the Dalai Lama.

Unlike the early Soviet state, the Chinese workers state was deformed from its inception under the rule of the nationalist Stalinist Communist Party bureaucracy. Today the fight to defend China and the other remaining deformed workers states—North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution is urgently posed. Our defense of China, as well as North Korea, includes supporting their development of nuclear weapons and delivery systems. Simultaneously, as Trotskyists we fight for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracies and place power in the hands of workers and peasants councils (soviets) committed to the fight for world proletarian revolution.

This is the framework in which we approach the question of environmental degradation and other social problems in China today. Many environmentalists join with the imperialists in pointing an accusing finger at China, which has overtaken the U.S. as the world's top emitter of greenhouse gases. To date, Beijing has rebuffed efforts by the imperialists to lock it into a timetable for cuts, in the process ridiculing the West for blaming China for increased emissions from the manufacture of goods financed by Western capital for export to the West.

Currently, 70 percent of China's energy comes from burning coal. This includes the widespread use of coal for household fuel in rural areas, not just in its power plants. China relies on coal because coal is what it has. This underlies why the U.S. imperialists are so insistent on limiting China's emissions (while exempt-



Getty

Left: Plant producing wind turbines in Chinese province of Xinjiang, August 2010. Right: Dead fish at rural fish farm, December 2006, evidence of massive pollution of Chinese water sources.



Reuters

ing their own from controls). Curtailing the production and use of coal would gravely undermine China’s economy. At the same time, the massive appetite for coal has helped spur the proliferation of privately owned deathtrap mines, whose bosses pay off government inspectors to look the other way. This is a major reason for China’s succession of deadly mining disasters.

Despite capitalist inroads resulting from “market reforms,” China’s core economy remains based on collectivized property, providing examples of what can be done when the guiding principle is not the generation of profit. While the capitalist world has been mired in recession, China has undergone enormous economic growth, largely on the strength of a massive stimulus program based on state-owned banks and industries (see “China: Labor Struggles in the ‘Socialist Market Economy’,” WV Nos. 964 and 965, 10 and 24 September).

In this same period, Beijing announced plans to drastically reduce the rate of growth of carbon-dioxide output by 2020. To that end, the central government plans to spend 5 trillion yuan (\$738 billion) over the next decade to develop cleaner sources of energy, including wind and solar power, as well as electric and hybrid cars. China had already emerged as “the world’s leading builder of more efficient, less polluting coal power plants, mastering the technology and driving down the cost” (*New York Times*, 11 May 2009). A few years ago, China completed the Qinghai-Tibet railway—the world’s longest at such high elevations and the first railway to ever reach Tibet. A *Science* magazine (27 April 2007) article remarked that the project had the potential to be remembered as an “ecological miracle,” noting among other things its network of tunnels to avoid disrupting the seasonal migration of animals, the detouring of tracks around wetlands and the insulation of tracks to avoid destabilizing permafrost.

Nevertheless, there are very real environmental problems in China. Large cities choke under toxic shrouds. Massive dumping of industrial waste renders one third of the country’s rivers and huge parts of its lakes unfit for industrial or agricultural use, and several hundred million Chinese lack access to safe water. Although legislation to curb pollution is in place, corrupt and venal bureaucrats do not strictly enforce the laws. Along with struggles of peasants and workers against economic hardship, there have been numerous pollution-related protests, with some 50,000 in 2005 alone. In August 2009, hundreds of residents in northwestern

Shaanxi province stormed a smelting plant blamed for sickening more than 600 children. This July, more than 1,000 people threw rocks at police and blocked roads in southern China to protest pollution from a plant owned by one of the country’s largest private aluminum producers.

Despite its historic advances, China remains marked by its backward rural heritage. Under Stalinist rule, bureaucratic mismanagement of the collectivized economy combined with the effects of three decades of “market reforms” has



Giovanni Caselli

Depiction of Neolithic farming settlement about 6,000 years ago, based on excavations in present-day Wales.

led to growing inequalities and a myriad of unresolved social problems. A proletarian political revolution would create a regime of workers democracy based on workers and peasants councils (soviets), which would decide economic strategy and other key questions not through bureaucratic fiat but through open debate. The factories would be run not by appendages of a self-interested bureaucracy but by factory councils, with a role for trade unions free from bureaucratic control.

However, no amount of workers democracy can substitute for the advanced technology—and time—needed to overcome the urban-rural divide and other examples of China’s lingering backwardness. Led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party, the Chinese workers state would be committed to the fight for proletarian revolution throughout Asia and especially in the advanced capitalist countries. A proletarian political revolution in China would have an enormous impact on workers’

consciousness internationally, revitalizing class struggle and especially the understanding that its ultimate aim must be socialist revolution.

For a Collectivized, Planned World Economy Under Workers Rule!

Against green ideologists who deify “unspoiled” nature, we recognize that since the earliest days our ancestors roamed the earth, they have left their imprint on the natural world, and it in turn

has impacted the development of civilization. Over the years human intervention, from clearing large tracts of land for agriculture to operating smoke-belching factories and detonating A-bombs, has both accelerated natural processes and added extra complications. In “The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man,” Engels catalogs several unintended consequences of attempts to manipulate nature by various peoples from different epochs and observes: “Thus at every step we are reminded that we by no means rule over nature like a conqueror over a foreign people, like someone standing outside of nature—but that we, with flesh, blood and brain, belong to nature, and exist in its midst, and that all our mastery of it consists in the fact that we have the advantage over all other creatures of being able to learn its laws and apply them correctly.”

For there to be any chance of rationally expanding the forces of production and utilizing the planet’s resources, including meeting the challenges of climate change, decaying modern capitalism must go. The conscious, large-scale planning required is entirely incompatible with the profit motive and competition, the anarchy of the market and crises of overproduction, the division of the world into nation-states

and interimperialist rivalries. It will take a series of proletarian revolutions to establish an internationally planned, socialist economy, which will liberate the productive capacities of mankind and eliminate scarcity, the precondition for the disappearance of classes and the withering away of the state in a communist society.

Confronting the vast gulf separating the “First World” from the “Third World,” an international federation of workers states would marshal world productive resources to immensely raise the standard of living of the impoverished masses in Africa, Asia and Latin America, who today, under imperialist subjugation, are deprived of such necessities as decent housing, quality health care and education and clean water. Rational urban planning, free extensive mass transportation and the reduction of waste would be possible. Considerable resources could be invested in developing low-emissions energy sources, and measures could also be taken to mitigate the impact of climate change by extending massive aid to its victims—from food, drinking water and medicine to resources to relocate entire cities and populations of low-lying islands.

No one can stop tsunamis from forming nor tectonic plates from shifting. Nor do Marxists claim that we can fix all of humanity’s problems. As Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher noted in a 1966 speech titled “On Socialist Man,” “We are struggling in the first instance with the predicaments that are of man’s making and that man can resolve.” He went on:

“Trotsky, for instance, speaks of three basic tragedies—hunger, sex, and death—besetting man. Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labor movement have taken on.... But is it not true that hunger or, more broadly, social inequality and oppression, have hugely complicated and intensified for innumerable human beings the torments of sex and death as well?... Socialist man will still be pursued by sex and death; but we are convinced that he will be better equipped than we are to cope even with these.”

When the proletariat seizes power and accomplishes its historic mission of universal emancipation, wrote Engels in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1880): “The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization.... Only from that time will man himself, with full consciousness, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him.”

It is the purpose of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) to forge the vanguard workers parties that are necessary to lead the proletariat, at the head of all the dispossessed and oppressed, in a victorious fight for a socialist future.■

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

1. Publication title: *Workers Vanguard*.

2. Publication no.: 09-8770.

3. Filing date: 20 September 2010.

4. Issue frequency: Bi-weekly, except skipping 3 alternate issues in June, July, August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December.

5. No. of issues published annually: 22.

6. Annual subscription price: \$10.00.

7. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104.

8. Complete mailing address of headquarters or general business office of publisher: Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104.

9. Full names and complete mailing addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104; Editor—Ray Bishop, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104; Managing Editor—Barry James, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104.

10. Owner: Spartacist Publishing Co. (Unincorporated Association), 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104.

11. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: None.

12. Tax status (For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates): Not applicable.

13. Publication title: *Workers Vanguard*.

14. Issue date for circulation data below: 10 September 2010.

15. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: a. Total number of copies (Net press run): 8,728; b. Paid circulation (by mail and outside the mail): (1) Mailed outside-county paid subscriptions stated on PS Form 3541: 1,291; (2) Mailed in-county paid subscriptions stated on PS Form 3541: 0; (3) Paid distribution outside

the mails including sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other outside USPS: 4,671; (4) Paid distribution by other classes of mail through the USPS: 388; c. Total paid distribution [Sum of 15b (1), (2), (3), and (4)]: 6,351; d. Free or nominal rate distribution: (1) Outside-county copies included on PS Form 3541: 118; (2) In-county copies included on PS Form 3541: 0; (3) Copies mailed at other classes through the USPS: 182; (4) Distribution outside the mail: 0; e. Total free or nominal rate distribution [Sum of 15d (1), (2), (3) and (4)]: 300; f. Total distribution (Sum of 15c and 15e): 6,651; g. Copies not distributed: 2,077; h. Total (Sum of 15f and 15g): 8,728; i. Percent paid (15c divided by 15f times 100): 95.49%.

No. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: a. Total number of copies (Net press run): 10,000; b. Paid circulation (by mail and outside the mail): (1) Mailed outside-county paid subscriptions stated on PS Form 3541: 1,101; (2) Mailed in-county paid subscriptions stated on PS Form 3541: 0; (3) Paid distribution outside the mails including sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other outside USPS: 5,788; (4) Paid distribution by other classes of mail through the USPS: 409; c. Total paid distribution [Sum of 15b (1), (2), (3), and (4)]: 7,298; d. Free or nominal rate distribution: (1) Outside-county copies included on PS Form 3541: 124; (2) In-county copies included on PS Form 3541: 0; (3) Copies mailed at other classes through the USPS: 182; (4) Distribution outside the mail: 0; e. Total free or nominal rate distribution [Sum of 15d (1), (2), (3) and (4)]: 306; f. Total distribution (Sum of 15c and 15e): 7,604; g. Copies not distributed: 2,396; h. Total (Sum of 15f and 15g): 10,000; i. Percent paid (15c divided by 15f times 100): 95.98%.

16. This statement of ownership will be printed in the 8 October 2010 issue of this publication.

17. Signature and title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner: (Signed) Ray Bishop (Editor), 20 September 2010. I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including civil penalties).

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.

Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, (212) 732-7860

Chicago Box 6441, Main PO, Chicago, IL 60680, (312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m., 222 S. Morgan (Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, (213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m., 3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York Box 3381, Church St. Sta., New York, NY 10008, (212) 267-1025
nysl@tiac.net
Public Office: 1st and 3rd Sat. of every month, 1-4 p.m., and by appointment, 299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604, (510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 1-5 p.m., 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 1X8, (416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver Box 2717, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2, (604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Kashmir...

(continued from page 12)

Firdousi Farooq, whose son was also killed by a teargas shell fired by Indian police:

“Why should I not protest? Why should I not pick up a stone? I am doing this in the honour of my martyred son. I am doing this for azadi (freedom) from subjugation and repression.”

The latest round of killings is but the continuation of decades of repression of the Kashmiri people’s struggle against national oppression. Since 1990, when around 100 unarmed demonstrators were shot dead by Indian troops on Gawakadal Bridge in the summer capital Srinagar, as many as 80,000 have been killed. The Indian military maintains an occupying force of nearly 700,000 troops and paramilitaries there, enforcing a brutal regime of curfews, arbitrary arrests, executions, rape and torture.

But the conflict in Kashmir has potentially catastrophic consequences beyond the sufferings of the Kashmiri people. The Himalayan territory is a major bone of contention between India and neighbouring Pakistan, nuclear-armed foes who have already fought three wars for control of Kashmir, in 1947-48, 1965 and

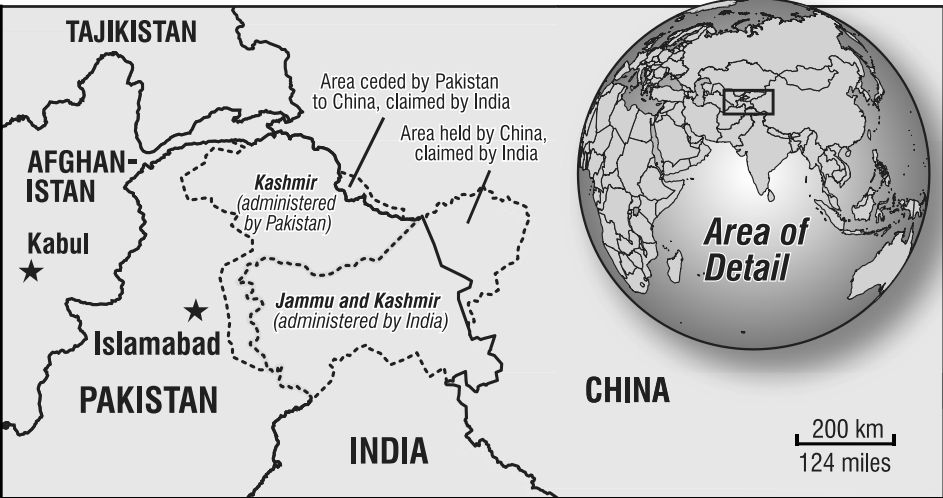
WORKERS HAMMER

again in 1999. The 1947-48 war, fought while both armies were still under British generals, resulted in the partition of Kashmir. Hundreds of thousands of troops still face each other across the Line of Control, the de facto border dividing Kashmir. The on-off “peace talks” between the two countries were abruptly halted following the criminal 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai which killed 174 people and for which India blamed Pakistan.

In the event of war between these equally reactionary capitalist powers we call on the workers of India and Pakistan to turn the war into a struggle against their “own” capitalist rulers. We applied this revolutionary defeatist position towards India and Pakistan in 1971 when India seized upon the just struggle by East Pakistan (Bangladesh) for independence from West Pakistan as a pretext for war. When the nationalist Awami League handed military control of the Bengali independence struggle over to India, we said, “the just struggle of the Bengalis was entirely subordinated and integrated into the interests of the predator India at the expense of the predator Pakistan.” We added that: “Under these conditions to call for support to the Bengali independence struggle is to play into the hands of [then Indian Prime Minister] Indira Gandhi and the Bengali national traitors. Revolutionary defeatism, the policy that calls upon both armies to turn their guns against their own rulers, is the only policy which can achieve the aspirations of the working masses” (*Workers Vanguard* No. 4, January 1972).

Today, insofar as the Kashmiri struggle is not decisively subordinated to a mili-

tary conflict between the Pakistani ruling class and its Indian rival, Marxists uphold the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir, which means the right to independence or—should they so choose—to merge with Pakistan (or India). Historically, despite the virulent Hindu chauvinism of New Delhi, union



WV Map (sources include Economist)

with Pakistan has found little support in Indian-controlled Kashmir, whose population, in addition to the four million Muslims in the valley of Kashmir, includes two million Hindus, concentrated in Jammu, as well as a smaller number of Sikhs and Buddhists. Pakistan is a stultifying Islamic theocracy which has long denied basic civil and political rights to its own people, much less to the Kashmiris in so-called Azad (Free) Kashmir on the Pakistani side of the Line of Control. Like India, Pakistan is a prison house for its national and religious minorities.

In supporting the right of self-determination for Kashmir we do not give an ounce of political support to any of the competing Kashmiri opposition forces—neither the “secular” separatist Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), nor the various Islamic-fundamentalist outfits like Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba. All of these forces are hostile to the class struggle of the workers and peasants against capitalist oppression and exploitation whether in India, Pakistan or Kashmir. Especially since the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 and the subsequent counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, many of the imperialist-backed Islamic-fundamentalists who were fighting the Red Army in Afghanistan have shifted to Kashmir where they have largely supplanted the JKLF in the leadership of the anti-India struggle. Far from fighting for the national emancipation of the Kashmiri people, these reactionary forces engage in communalist terror against non-Muslim religious minorities in Kashmir and India, and pose a deadly threat to Kashmiri women in particular.

While power remains in the hands of the bloody capitalist rulers in Islamabad and New Delhi, backed by the imperialists, the prospects for Kashmiri national liberation are slim indeed. This is especially so given Kashmir’s strategic location and historical role in relations between India and Pakistan. The cause of national justice for the Kashmiri people is inseparably tied up with the revolutionary struggle of the working masses of both countries against their capitalist oppressors. There can be no genuine expression of the right of Kashmiri self-determination without the withdrawal of both occupying armies. In opposition to the chauvinism of the rulers in New Delhi and Islamabad workers in both countries must demand: all Indian and Pakistani troops out now!

Divide and Rule

Both India and Pakistan are beholden to the imperialist powers, today chiefly the U.S. The antagonism between the two countries, as well as the attendant communal and ethnic divisions, are the legacy of a deliberate policy of divide-and-rule practised by the British imperialists as colonial overlords of the subcontinent. This policy was succinctly described by W.H. Fitchett, a pro-imperialist historian

writing about Britain’s suppression of the 1857 Indian uprising against British rule, who said:

“What a demonstration the whole story is, of the Imperial genius of the British race! ‘A nation,’ to quote Hodson [a British military chief]—himself one of the most brilliant actors in the great drama—‘which could conquer a country

like the Punjaub, with a Hindoostanee army, then turn the energies of the conquered Sikhs to subdue the very army by which they were tamed; which could fight out a position like Peshawur for years, in the very teeth of the Afghan tribes; and then, when suddenly deprived of the regiments which effected this, could unhesitatingly employ those very tribes to disarm and quell those regiments when in mutiny—a nation which could do this, is destined indeed to rule the world!’”

—The Tale of the Great Mutiny (1902)

The continued slaughter in Kashmir today is a legacy of the 1947 partition of India, carried out under [Prime Minister] Clement Attlee’s Labour government. India was divided along religious-communal lines, creating the modern states of India and Pakistan. The partition led to the slaughter of up to a million people and massive population transfers. The princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, despite having a majority Muslim population, was ruled at the time by a Hindu maharaja (under the suzerainty of the British Crown) who, according to Indian sources, opted to accede to India. When Pathan tribesmen from Pakistan crossed the border in 1947 in an attempt to force the issue in favour of Pakistan, the popular Kashmiri leader Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, fearing the dominance of the Muslim Punjabi landlords, also opted for India, conditional upon an eventual plebiscite. However, the Indian bourgeoisie reneged on this promise; a vote has never been held, and while the Hindu-chauvinist Indian bourgeoisie today declares Kashmir to be an “integral part of India,” there is overwhelming sentiment among the Muslims of the valley of Kashmir for an end to Indian occupation.

For a Socialist Federation of South Asia!

Kashmir is strategically placed on India’s borders not only with Pakistan and Afghanistan, but also with China, which controls Aksai Chin, a territory that India claims as part of Kashmir. The Tawang district in Arunachal Pradesh is also disputed by India and China who fought a war in 1962. Today the rivalry between the two countries is acute. In any military conflict between capitalist India and the People’s Republic of China, we Trotskyists stand for unconditional military defence of China, a deformed workers state. The 1949 Revolution, led by Mao’s peasant-guerrilla army defeated the Guomindang nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek, shattered capitalist rule and liberated the country from subservience to Japanese and Western imperialism.

The Chinese Revolution resulted in enormous social gains for workers, peasants and women. But the workers state that issued out of it was *bureaucratically deformed*, ruled by a privileged caste headed by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). We fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy in Beijing and to establish a

regime of workers democracy. Stalinism—of which Maoism is a variant—arose as an ideology in the Soviet workers state following the defeat of the revolutionary wave in Europe that followed the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Beginning in 1923-24, a conservative bureaucratic caste which Stalin came to lead usurped *political* power from the proletariat, while resting on the social and economic gains of the revolution. The Soviet Union thus became a degenerated workers state.

In the treacherous tradition of Stalin and the bureaucratic caste which ruled in the former Soviet Union, Mao and his heirs in the CCP leadership aligned themselves with U.S. imperialism, and with Pakistan, betraying the interests of the oppressed masses. During the 1980s, the Chinese Stalinists supported the imperialist-backed Islamic *mujahedin* in Afghanistan—ultra-reactionary forces who were waging *jihad* (holy war) against the Soviet Union.

The Red Army posed the possibility of a social transformation that would have lifted Afghanistan from the feudal social conditions that prevail, especially for women. Instead, Mikhail Gorbachev’s withdrawal of the Soviet troops was a precursor to counterrevolution in the USSR itself in 1991-92. This catastrophe for the working masses of the world had a direct impact in Kashmir, where the *mujahedin* turned their attention, strengthening the hold of the most reactionary forces within the national liberation struggle. Kashmir epitomises the seething complex of national and communal conflicts that extend from Afghanistan to Pakistan and India. The brutal repression in Kashmir, the only majority Muslim state in India, gives the lie to New Delhi’s claims that it is a “secular” democracy. The Indian state was founded on naked Hindu chauvinism and brutal oppression of minorities has been the rule under the “secular” Congress party, as well as the avowedly chauvinist BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. Today India’s much vaunted economic progress has brought fabulous wealth to a tiny elite while the vast majority of workers and peasants are mired in abject poverty. Age-old caste oppression remains pervasive while women are the slaves of slaves throughout the subcontinent.

For Pakistan, Kashmir represents its pretence to stand for “one nation” of all Muslims. Pakistan’s rulers can ill afford to support independence for Kashmir, which would pose the same question for the minorities within its own borders, including Baluchis, Pathans and Sindhis, who chafe under Punjabi domination. But Pakistan itself is an artificial state—Pathans are divided between Pakistan and Afghanistan; Baluchis between Iran and Pakistan and today such ethnic divisions are once again being exacerbated by the U.S. and British imperialist occupation of Afghanistan.

The key to ending the national oppression of the Kashmiri people, as well as the myriad sufferings wrought by capitalism, is the fight for socialist revolution throughout the subcontinent and the establishment of a socialist federation of South Asia. For that it is necessary to forge Leninist-Trotskyist parties which would seek to mobilise the powerful proletariat of India and Pakistan at the head of all the oppressed to sweep away the capitalist system. Indian and Pakistani workers in the diaspora in Britain, the U.S., Canada and elsewhere form a human bridge to the working class in the imperialist centres where socialist revolution can lay the basis for a socialist future for mankind. ■

WORKERS HAMMER

Stop persecution of Tamils!

All Indian and Pakistani troops out now!

Down with India's bloody repression in Kashmir!

INDIA NO PAKISTAN WE WANT

Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain

£3/1 year—Britain, Ireland (Europe outside Britain and Ireland: £5; Other: £7)
US\$10/1 year

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publications
PO Box 42886, London N19 5WY, Britain
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Moving?

To receive *Workers Vanguard* without interruption please let us know at least three weeks before you move. Send your new **and** old address to:

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Niqab Ban...

(continued from page 3)

the advanced capitalist countries where women have achieved a measure of formal equality, women's oppression cannot be legislated out of existence. This oppression originates in class society itself and can only be rooted out through the destruction of private property in the means of production. The family unit cannot simply be abolished; its functions must be *replaced* with socialized childcare and housework in an egalitarian socialist society.

Just as Harper embraces the ban on *niqab*-wearing women, he and his federal Tory government are ratcheting up the war on abortion rights. Like true Colonel Blimp colonialists, they have announced a "foreign aid" plan ostensibly designed to improve maternal health in the Third World that denies any funding for abortion. Millions of women around the world suffer unwanted pregnancies and die in childbirth, and a major cause of female mortality is botched "back-alley" abortions. But this is of no concern to Harper and the anti-abortion fanatics, who have been emboldened by his stance. Harassment of women outside abortion clinics has increased, and on May 13 some 15,000 people rallied on Parliament Hill calling for the banning of abortion. Heavily mobilized by the Catholic church, the rally included a raft of MPs from the Tory and Liberal caucuses. Down with anti-abortion reaction! For free abortion on demand!

Imperialist Barbarism and Islamic Fundamentalism

The increased prevalence of the Muslim veil today is in part due to the rise of political Islam internationally. It is also a result of the relentless racism, poverty and hardship suffered by Muslim immigrants and their descendants in Canada and other imperialist countries. In the segregated immigrant communities, all the reactionary "traditions" are preserved through ties to the homeland. Young immigrant and minority women are trapped between the racism of these societies and oppressive, rigid family strictures. Unable to find jobs that provide financial independence, life for them is an endless saga of miseries.

We Marxists fight for the *voluntary integration of all minorities based on full equality*. The eradication of racism, women's oppression and all forms of discrimination requires a revolutionary struggle, mobilizing the power of the multiracial working class to uproot capitalism and liberate humanity from poverty and want. This perspective is sharply counterposed to the "multiculturalism" propounded by the Canadian rulers and the reformist left, which promotes illusions that the capital-

ist state can be used as an instrument to fight racist oppression. This state exists to defend class rule based on private property; it is used by the capitalists for the suppression and exploitation of the working class. The supposedly liberal program of multiculturalism strengthens the hold of "community leaders," with their ties to mosque, church or temple, and it denies that minority communities, like the rest of society, are class-divided. The struggles of immigrant and other minority workers for jobs, unions and equal status require breaking the grip of religious and other conservative community leaders.

To justify the persecution of Naema Ahmed, Quebec's minister responsible for the status of women, Christine St-Pierre, invoked the bloody imperialist occupation of Afghanistan: "There are people in Quebec, in Canada, and other countries around the world, who have gone to Afghanistan and spilled their blood so that these things won't be tolerated" (*Globe and Mail*, 10 March). The ban on the *niqab* has as much to do with women's liberation as the NATO occupation of Afghanistan does, i.e., nothing.

The U.S. and Canadian imperialists and their apologists have used the brutal oppression of Afghan women under the former Taliban regime as a justification for the neocolonial occupation of that country. But the anti-woman Islamic cutthroats came to power there in the early 1990s with the *support* of U.S. and Canadian imperialism, as well as that of the NDP social democrats. And today's U.S.



Robert/Sygma

Kabul, 1988. Intervention of Soviet Army in 1979 opened road to liberation of women in Afghanistan. Kremlin's 1989 withdrawal of troops betrayed Afghan women and leftists and paved way for counterrevolution in USSR.

puppet regime in Kabul continues and upholds the same hideous oppression of women. U.S., Canada, NATO: Get out of Afghanistan now!

When there was a real possibility of liberating Afghan women, the U.S. and Canadian imperialists were on the other side. In the late 1970s, when a modernizing Afghan government moved to imple-

ment modest reforms for women such as lowering the bride price and instituting education, the tribal *mujahedin* (holy warriors) erupted in violence and terror. To protect its borders from the fundamentalist threat, which was already backed by the CIA, in late 1979 the Soviet Union sent its Red Army into Afghanistan at the invitation of the left-nationalist government in Kabul. The U.S. government spent billions to fund the *mujahedin*'s holy war against the Soviet Union in what was the biggest CIA operation in history.

We declared "Hail Red Army!" and called to extend the social gains of the October 1917 Russian Revolution to the Afghan peoples, especially the terribly oppressed women. Sending the army to

Trotskyist League marches in Toronto on International Women's Day, 1982.

Spartacist Canada



of the people," as Marx called religion, are freely disseminated. The growth of this false consciousness is rooted in despair and the lie that class struggle and authentic communism are no longer possible.

Only Socialist Revolution Can Liberate the Oppressed!

The "war on terror" pursued by the imperialist rulers is a classic "divide and rule" ploy, stigmatizing Muslims as an excuse for a sweeping reduction in the legal rights of the entire population. It is also aimed at the working class, intended to stifle class struggle by insisting on "national unity" against a supposed common enemy. The "war on terror" must be fought by mobilizations of the multiethnic working class.

Workers across the country are paying for the capitalist economic crisis with their jobs, livelihoods, pensions and health care. In Quebec, Charest has launched a large-scale assault on public-sector workers and social services, provoking large labour protests. In contrast, protests against Bill 94 have been tiny. Far from opposing the ban on public services for women wearing the *niqab*, the leadership of Quebec's largest union federation, the FTQ, publicly supports it, stating in a brief to a government committee: "The FTQ entirely endorses this policy, which seeks to ensure normality in communications between individuals, security and identification during the provision of public services" (ftq.qc.ca, 20 May).

The persecution of Muslim women—who are among the most oppressed in society—is poison to labour's battles. Struggling for class unity, workers must oppose Bill 94 as well as all the racist anti-immigration laws and fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Muslims and other minorities make up a growing part of the working class in Montreal, as well as Toronto and some other cities. To win against the bosses requires defending the unity of the working class against racist demagoguery.

The liberation of women starts with the class struggle. When the working class takes power, this alone will lay the basis to free women from age-old family servitude and reorganize society in the interest of all the oppressed. As we wrote in our article "The 'Honour' Killing of Aqsa Parvez" (*SC* No. 156, Spring 2008 [reprinted in *WV* No. 917, 4 July 2008]):

"This perspective requires a tremendous leap in social development, which can only be achieved through sweeping away capitalist rule on a global basis and replacing it with a rational, democratically planned economy.

"We Trotskyists fight to build a multiethnic vanguard party of the type built by the Bolshevik leaders Lenin and Trotsky to lead the world's first socialist revolution in October 1917. Such a party will be forged through hard political struggle against the pro-capitalist NDP and labour bureaucracy, who work to tie the workers to their 'own' national capitalists. Through its daily struggles against racism and women's oppression, a revolutionary party will build the authority among the working class to mobilize it against all manner of social backwardness, including the vicious abuse of women. In a communist future, women will be fully and equally integrated into society, and anti-woman violence and bigotry, the reactionary constraints of family and religion and the repressive role of the capitalist state will be but barbaric memories of the past." ■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

CHICAGO

**Wednesday, Oct. 13, 6:30 p.m.
For Permanent Revolution!
Break with
Bourgeois Populism!**

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

NEW YORK CITY

**Wednesday, Oct. 13, 7 p.m.
The Capitalist State
in Racist America**

**No Vote to the Democrats,
Republicans or Greens!**

City College of New York
Room NAC 1/211 A
138th St. and Convent Ave.
(A train to 145th, 1 train to 138th)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
nysl@tiac.net

TORONTO

**Wednesday, Oct. 13, 6 p.m.
Capitalist Anarchy and the
Immiseration of
the Working Class**

University of Toronto
OISE (Ontario Institute
for Studies in Education)
252 Bloor St. West
Room 2289
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
spartacan@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

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

WORKERS VANGUARD

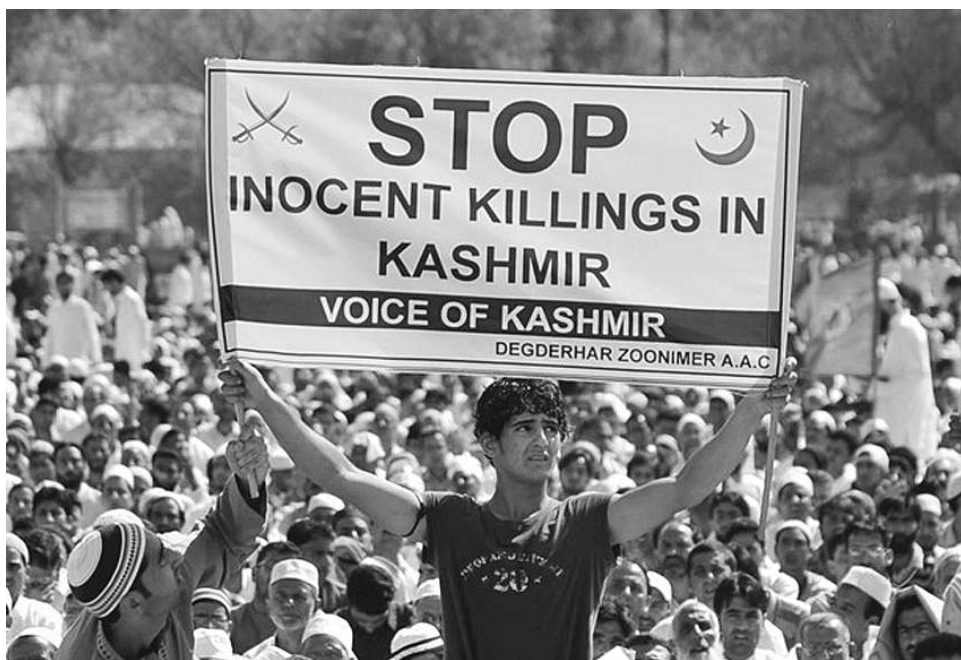
All Indian and Pakistani Troops Out Now!

Down With India's Bloody Repression in Kashmir!



EPA

Srinagar: Indian paramilitaries attack Kashmiri protesters, August 13 (left); rally against Indian occupation, September 11 (right).



AFF

We print below an article published by our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain in their newspaper, *Workers Hammer* (No. 212, Autumn 2010). After its publication, separatist protests continued in Kashmir. In response, India's repression has worsened and its human toll has increased. Over 100 have been killed since June. As reported by the London *Guardian* (26 September): "In addition to the dead, many thousands

have been seriously injured or beaten" and hundreds have been detained. New Delhi has deployed hundreds of additional troops, and curfews remain in effect.

In late September, the Indian government offered a cynical "peace" package that included cosmetic moves to "ease" the security strictures in major cities and blood money to families of those killed by Indian troops. Not surprisingly, India's

proposal has been rejected by the Kashmiri separatists.

* * *

In recent months the Indian state has stepped up its murderous repression of the majority Muslim population in the Kashmir Valley. On 11 June, 17-year-old student Tufail Ahmad Matoo was killed by police who fired a teargas canister at his head, sparking angry protests. Youths armed only with stones have fought daily

battles with Indian police and soldiers, while hundreds of thousands have taken to the streets demanding "Go India! Go back!" and "We want freedom."

More than 60 people have been killed in the latest shootings and hundreds injured, many of them teenagers. An article titled "The Angry Housewives Setting Kashmir Ablaze" on the *BBC News* website (16 August) quotes a woman protester,

continued on page 10

Mumia Is Innocent! Free Him Now! Appeals Court Hearing on Death Sentence for Mumia Abu-Jamal

The forces of racist capitalist "law and order" are moving one step closer to executing Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was convicted on false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death in 1982 on the basis of his political views. On November 9, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia will hold a hearing to determine whether to uphold Mumia's death sentence, which was overturned in a 2001 decision by federal district judge William Yohn that simultaneously reaffirmed Mumia's frame-up conviction. The new hearing is a result of a January U.S. Supreme Court ruling that vacated Yohn's decision, which had been previously upheld by the Third Circuit. In April 2009, the Court summarily turned down Mumia's petition to overturn his

conviction. The aim of these rulings is unmistakable: to push forward Mumia's execution.

Mumia is an innocent man. His conviction was based on lying testimony extorted by the cops, a "confession" manufactured by the police and prosecutors and phony ballistics "evidence." His death sentence was secured after prosecutors cited political statements Mumia made when he was a teenage leader of the Philadelphia Black Panthers. The cops, courts and prosecutors have since continued their vendetta against Mumia, a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group and an award-winning journalist renowned for his searing exposés of cop brutality and racist oppression. Through appeal after appeal, the courts have refused to hear the overwhelming evi-

dence of Mumia's innocence, including Arnold Beverly's confession that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner.

Mumia continues to speak out for the poor and oppressed through his writings from death row. In seeking to execute this innocent man, the capitalist rulers are sending a message to the working class and all who would fight against exploitation, oppression and imperialist war that they, too, are in the state's gun sights.

It is unlikely that the Third Circuit will defy the Supreme Court. If the death sentence is upheld, the case will go back to Judge Yohn to consider still-pending claims by Mumia. While supporting the use of every legal means available to Mumia, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have always warned

continued on page 5



COC Productions