

## Dublin Government Launches Savage Attack on Working People Ireland Ravaged by European Economic Crisis



Reuters

Dublin: More than 100,000 marched on November 27 to protest government austerity measures attached to financial bailout scheme.

The following article was written for Workers Vanguard by our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain.

Faced with a dramatic financial crisis that threatens to engulf other European countries, Ireland has been plunged into an economic nightmare. With Irish banks exposed to massive “toxic” debts, the Dublin government was compelled to negotiate a bailout that is somewhere in the region of 85 billion euros [\$113 bil-

lion] from the European Union (EU) emergency bailout fund. Even before the terms of the bank rescue plan had been agreed by the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Irish government announced a brutal austerity plan to cut €15 billion out of the (already slashed) budget.

The National Recovery Plan drawn up by Fianna Fail party Taoiseach (prime minister) Brian Cowen amounts to the

harshest attack on the living standards of the working people in the Irish state’s history. Backed by the Green Party, Cowen’s coalition partner, the plan includes the loss of an estimated 25,000 public sector jobs, vastly increased taxes and student fees as well as further cuts in welfare spending, public sector pay and a vindictive €1-per-hour reduction in the minimum wage. The budget is scheduled for approval by the Dail (parliament) in

early December, followed by a general election in January 2011, if the government doesn’t fall before then.

Nonetheless, Dublin’s ruthless budget did little to calm financial markets, and the massive sell-off of government debt continues, driving the government’s borrowing costs sky-high. Ireland’s crisis comes barely six months after the whopping €110 billion EU bailout of Greece;

*continued on page 10*

## Down With Imperialist Provocations Against North Korea!

NOVEMBER 30—In a calculated provocation directed against both North Korea and China, the U.S. has dispatched the nuclear aircraft carrier USS *George Washington* along with other warships for a joint exercise with its South Korean junior partners in the Yellow Sea. This brazen display of imperialist military force comes less than a week after a South Korean naval exercise prompted an exchange of artillery fire in nearby waters off North Korea’s coast. North Korea’s shelling of the garrison island of Yeonpyeong resulted in the deaths of four South Koreans, including two civilians.

U.S. president Barack Obama responded by openly threatening North Korea, declaring its regime to be “a serious and ongoing threat that has to be dealt with.”

It is in the vital interest of the proletariat internationally to defend North Korea, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, against U.S. imperialism and the South Korean capitalist rulers. It is the imperialists and their lackeys who are an ongoing, deadly threat to Asia’s working people. U.S. imperialism carried out the atomic incineration of 200,000 people in the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. U.S. imperialism went on to slaughter some three million Koreans in the 1950-53 Korean War and another three million

Vietnamese in the 1960s and ’70s in failed efforts to crush social revolutions. Among the crimes of Japanese imperialism was its brutal 40-year colonial occupation of Korea, which ended with Japan’s defeat in World War II. In the aftermath of the war, the northern part of the Korean peninsula was liberated from capitalist rule through a social revolution carried out under the protection of Soviet troops.

In addition to its military provocations, the U.S. is demanding that the UN tighten economic sanctions, attempting to starve North Korea into submission. For its part, the Japanese government has strengthened coast guard monitoring in the Sea of Japan and increased

the number of spy flights in the area. Treacherously adding their voices to the war cries against North Korea are Japan’s Social

Democratic and Communist parties, whose parliamentary deputies voted for a resolution calling to “strengthen collaboration with South Korea and the U.S.” and to consider further sanctions against Pyongyang. In South Korea, where right-wing legislators demanded aggressive action against the North, including air strikes, the government dumped its defense minister and the military issued new, less restrictive guidelines on how to “respond” to North Korea.

A Pentagon official has hinted that the U.S.-South Korean exercises might well take place within 200 nautical miles of China’s coast—a zone that

*continued on page 11*

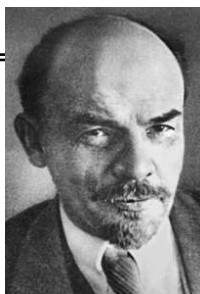


7 25274 81030 7



TROTSKY

## FROM THE ARCHIVES OF MARXISM



LENIN

# John Reed on Imperialist “Aid”

Radical American journalist John Reed was won to Bolshevism while reporting on the 1917 Russian Revolution in Petrograd. His classic *Ten Days That Shook the World* is a vivid eyewitness account of the insurrectionary days of the October Revolution. After his return from Russia, Reed was instrumental in the founding of the American Communist movement. As a delegate from the U.S. and as a member of the Executive Committee of the Third (Communist) International, he attended the First Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in September 1920 in Baku, capital of Soviet Azerbaijan. The Congress was convened to advance the revolutionary struggles of the exploited and the oppressed in the colonial and semicolonial world under the banner of Marxism and with the aid of the Soviet workers and those in the imperialist countries.

We print below a speech (undelivered due to time constraints) that Reed prepared for the Baku Congress warning against illusions in the American rulers’ promises of aid. At the time, the Bolshevik government was fighting a bloody civil war against counterrevolutionary forces backed by an imperialist blockade and an invasion by the armies of 14 capitalist states, including the U.S. Reed, stricken with typhus, died in Moscow soon after he returned from Baku.

Reed’s speech was originally published as an appendix to the Russian edition of the Baku Congress proceedings. The translation below was by Brian Pearce and was printed in *Baku: Congress of the Peoples of the East* (New Park, 1977).

\* \* \*

I represent here the revolutionary workers of one of the great imperialist powers, the United States of America, which exploits and oppresses the peoples of the colonies.

You, the peoples of the East, the peoples of Asia, have not yet experienced for yourselves the rule of America. You know and hate the British, French and Italian imperialists, and probably you think that “free America” will govern better, will liberate the peoples of the colonies, will feed and defend them.

No. The workers and peasants of the Philippines, the peoples of Central America and the islands of the Caribbean, they know what it means to live under the rule of “free America.”

Take, for example, the peoples of the Philippines. In 1898 the Filipinos rebelled against the cruel colonial government of Spain, and the Americans helped them. But after the Spaniards had been driven out

the Americans did not want to go away.

Then the Filipinos rose against the Americans, and this time the “liberators” started to kill them, their wives and children: they tortured them and eventually conquered them. They seized their land and forced them to work and make profits for American capitalists.

The Americans have promised the Filipinos independence. Soon an independent

into Cuba to compel the people to vote for their oppressors.

Or let us take the example of the republics of Haiti and San Domingo, where the peoples won freedom a century ago. Since this island was fertile and the people living on it could be put to use by the American capitalists, the government of the U.S. sent soldiers and sailors there on the pretext of maintaining order and smashed

Mexicans and tax the foreign capitalists. The American capitalists did not concern themselves with sending bread to the hungry Mexicans. No, they initiated a counter-revolution in Mexico, in which Madero, the first revolutionary President, was killed. Then, after a three-year struggle, the revolutionary regime was restored, with Carranza as President. The American capitalists made another counter-revolution and killed Carranza, establishing once more a government friendly to themselves.

In North America itself there are ten million Negroes who possess neither political or civil rights, despite the fact that by law they are equal citizens. With the purpose of distracting the attention of the American workers from the capitalists, their exploiters, the latter stir up hatred against the Negroes, provoking war between the white and black races. The Negroes, whom they lawlessly burn alive, are beginning to see that their only hope lies in armed resistance to the white bandits.

At the present time the American capitalists are addressing friendly words to the peoples of the East, with a promise of aid and food. This applies especially to Armenia. Millions of dollars have been collected by the American millionaires in order to send bread to the starving Armenians. And many Armenians are now looking for help to Uncle Sam.

These same American capitalists incite the American workers and farmers against each other: they starve and exploit the peoples of Cuba and the Philippines, they savagely kill and burn alive American Negroes, and in America itself American workers are obliged to work under frightful conditions, receiving low wages for a long work-day. When they are exhausted they are thrown out on to the street, where they die of hunger.

The same gentleman who is now in charge of bringing aid to the starving Armenians, Mr. Cleveland Dodge, who writes emotional articles about how the Turks have driven the Armenians into the

*continued on page 10*



Progress

John Reed (seated, third from right) with delegates at 1920 Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East.

Filipino republic will be proclaimed. But this does not mean that the American capitalists will leave or that the Filipinos will not continue to work to make profits for them. The American capitalists have given the Filipino leaders a share of their profits—they have given them government jobs, land and money—they have created a Filipino capitalist class which also lives on the profits created by the workers—and in whose interest it is to keep the Filipinos in slavery.

This has also happened in Cuba, which was freed from Spanish rule with the help of the Americans. It is now an independent Republic. But American millionaire trusts own all the sugar plantations, apart from some small tracts which they have let the Cuban capitalists have: the latter also administer the country. And the moment that the workers of Cuba try to elect a government which is not in the interests of the American capitalists, the United States of America sends soldiers

these two republics, setting up in their place a military dictatorship worse than the British tyrants.

Mexico is another rich country which is close to the USA. In Mexico live a backward people who were enslaved for centuries, first by the Spaniards and then by foreign capitalists. There, after many years of civil war, the people formed their own government, not a proletarian government but a democratic one, which wanted to keep the wealth of Mexico for the

### 25th Annual PDC Holiday Appeal

## Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Free All Class-War Prisoners!

#### Chicago

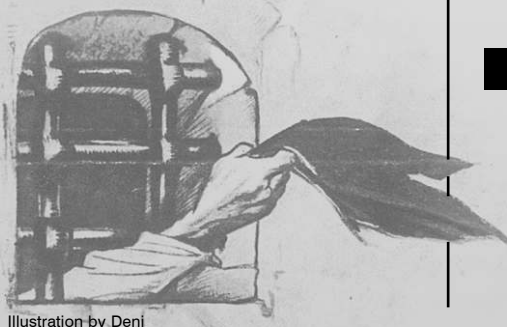
Saturday, December 18  
4 to 7 p.m.  
U.E. Hall  
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)  
For info.: (312) 563-0442

#### New York City

Friday, January 21  
6 to 9 p.m.  
La Pregunta Arts Cafe  
1528 Amsterdam Ave.  
(Manhattan, 135th/136th St.)  
For info.: (212) 406-4252

#### Toronto

Friday, January 28  
7 to 10 p.m.  
Steelworkers Hall  
25 Cecil Street  
(1 block south of College at  
Ross St., west of Queen's Park Sta.)  
For info.: (416) 593-4138



**Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee**  
(212) 406-4252 • partisandefense@earthlink.net • www.partisandefense.org

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Ray Bishop

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Elizabeth Johnson

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

EDITORIAL BOARD: Alan Wilde (managing editor), François Donau (production manager), Blandine Hauser (letters editor), Bruce André, Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, Michael Davisson, George Foster, Walter Jennings, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

*Workers Vanguard* (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: [vanguard@tiac.net](mailto:vanguard@tiac.net). Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.*

The closing date for news in this issue is November 30.

No. 970

3 December 2010

# All Imperialist Occupiers Out Now!

## Haiti: Cholera Epidemic and Imperialist Oppression

Once again the impoverished black population of Haiti faces devastation. Nine months after January's catastrophic earthquake killed some 250,000 people and left another two million homeless, an outbreak of cholera originating in the Artibonite region has swept this country of ten million people. By November 24, five weeks after the first diagnosis, the United Nations counted 2,000 dead. Seventy thousand Haitians have been infected so far, with forecasts of up to 400,000 more cases over the next six months. Every day the papers feature another tragic story: a mother cradling her infant's lifeless body; a teenager carrying his grandmother for miles in hope of reaching a clinic or hospital in time; the mass graves that are dotting Haiti's landscape.

January's earthquake was a natural disaster, but the death toll and devastation were man-made, products of imperialist depredation that could be seen in the shoddily built buildings in the capital Port-au-Prince that collapsed like houses of cards. Cholera is *not* a natural disaster but a disease of poverty that can be stopped by applying the most basic public health measures. But more than a century of imperialist rape, plunder and brutal repression, continuing to this day under UN occupation, has left the Haiti population defenseless before this disease.

Cholera is a prime example of diseases of the poor. Characterized by acute diarrhea and vomiting, cholera is caused by bacteria that lodge in the intestines and is spread by the contamination of water supplies by human feces. Controlling sewage and making water supplies safe can prevent this scourge. Timely replacement of fluids and salts lost through diarrhea by oral rehydration solution—a simple, and cheap, mixture of sugar and salts—will prevent death for over 99 percent of cholera patients. Purification of water through the use of chlorine will also stop its spread. But in the impoverished slums of Third World countries, there is no sanitary public water supply, and untreated sewage is simply dumped into streams. Particularly at risk are children. Around the world, waterborne diseases yearly claim the lives of 1.6 million children under the age of five.

Ten months after the earthquake, 1.5 million Haitians are still homeless, living in tent camps where rainfall leaves them wading through a swamp of mud and feces. The disease is spreading especially rapidly in urban slums, such as Port-au-Prince's Cité Soleil. Even before January's earthquake, just 17 percent of Haitians had adequate sanitation, while nearly one out of every two Haitians had no regular access to drinking water. Haiti ranked dead last out of 147 countries in the World Water Council's 2002 Water Poverty Index, a measure of sanitation and water quality.

Some hotels and private homes may have their own septic systems, but that waste also often gets dumped in canals and drainage ditches, which double as sewers. These are often clogged with garbage and animal carcasses, which cause floods that spread infected water. In a country with an unemployment rate before the earthquake as high as 80 percent and with more than half the population living on less than one dollar a day, some Port-au-Prince residents dive into these "canals" to unclog them, aware that they are being exposed to life-threatening disease but



November 18 protest in Port-au-Prince against UN's MINUSTAH occupation force. Sign reads: "Minustah and Cholera Are Twins."

desperate for their miserable monthly pay of \$112 (if the bosses ever pay them).

Haiti's unspeakable poverty is the direct product of racist vengeance and imperialist ravages. For 200 years, the Haitian masses have been paying in blood for the revolution carried out under Toussaint L'Ouverture against the French colonial slavocracy. Culminating in the first independent black state established in the modern era, the Haitian Revolution inspired slave revolts across the Americas and met with a frenzy of racist hostility from both France and the then-slaveowning U.S. In return for recognition by France, in 1825 Haiti was compelled to agree to compensate the former slaveowners 150 million francs (\$20 billion at today's prices), a debt service that consumed around 80 percent of Haiti's budget and was only finally paid off in 1947. Until last year, Haiti had been forced to pay the imperialist bloodsuckers another \$1 million a week to pay off a debt of \$1.54 billion, mostly left over from the murderously corrupt Duvalier regime that took power in the 1950s.

With consummate imperial arrogance, the *New York Times* (20 November) laid the blame for the cholera epidemic on its victims, "since, as in syphilis's case, they are careless about whom they cavort with, and with cholera, they must lack good sanitation for it to spread." Left unsaid was that between 2001 and 2004, the U.S. government blocked \$54 million in Inter-

American Development Bank loans to rebuild urban water systems in Haiti, a country that lacks even one sewage plant. That act of imperialist cruelty was part of Washington's efforts to undermine the regime of bourgeois populist president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was overthrown in a U.S.-backed 2004 coup that brought in the UN's MINUSTAH occupation force.

Following last January's earthquake, the U.S. imperialists cried Hollywood tears. While former presidents Bill Clinton and G.W. Bush joined hands on a national TV campaign to raise money for Haiti, Barack Obama dispatched 20,000 combat troops in the guise of a "relief effort" and ordered a naval blockade to prevent Haitians from fleeing to the U.S. Carried out under a "humanitarian" cover, U.S. imperialism's re-occupation of Haiti aimed to secure military control and to reinforce the battered UN occupation force. The White House also sought to demonstrate American imperialist domination over the Caribbean, posing a particular threat to the Cuban deformed workers state. U.S. military authorities who took command of the Port-au-Prince airport prevented the World Food Program from landing cargos of food, medicine and water for two days, diverting their flights so that the U.S. could land troops and equipment and save Americans. We demand that all UN troops, and any remaining U.S. forces, get out now!

Since then, conditions have progressively

worsened, accompanied by rising anger at the occupation forces. In May, MINUSTAH troops brutally suppressed a Port-au-Prince student protest against the occupation. One month later, 10,000 peasants protested against the U.S. agribusiness giant Monsanto, which had donated 475 tons of maize. The peasants reasonably feared that this was a ploy to force them to buy new seeds from Monsanto each year at prices they could not afford. By the time Hurricane Tomas approached in early November, there had been no reconstruction and no plans to protect the population—although the Pentagon did ready a helicopter carrier and a brigade of Marines for another possible occupation. The rains came and went without major damage. But the homeless remain homeless, the unemployed are still unemployed, and the starving are still starving, while the billions pledged for relief remain in hermetically sealed coffers.

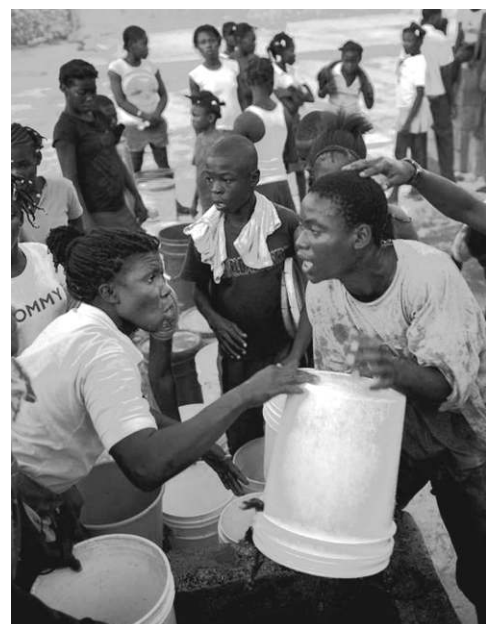
It was no surprise that protests against MINUSTAH broke out in October after evidence emerged that the bacteria causing the cholera outbreak was similar to a South Asian strain and may have been introduced by troops from Nepal, who had recently arrived at a military base near the Artibonite River. As anger grew, on November 15 thousands of protesters took to the streets of Cap-Haïtien, Haiti's second-largest city, burning tires and closing the airport. They were met with gunfire from the MINUSTAH base in nearby Quartier Morin that killed two protesters and wounded 16 others. In the northern city of Pont Neuf, protesters set fire to a police station. Hundreds also protested in Hinche, demanding that MINUSTAH leave the country. On November 18, the protests spread to Port-au-Prince, where hundreds of youths erected barricades of burning tires and attacked MINUSTAH vehicles.

UN and Haitian officials condemned the protests as designed to disrupt the November 28 parliamentary and presidential elections. Held under the jackboot of foreign occupiers oppressing a population ravaged by intense poverty and disease, this exercise in "democracy" was a complete sham. Even before the polls closed, protests broke out against massive election fraud; two-thirds of the presidential candidates called for the results to be tossed out. At any rate, real authority is in the hands of the Interim Haiti Recovery Commission headed by Bill Clinton.

*continued on page 4*



Port-au-Prince, November 2010: People of quake-ravaged capital make their way through street (left); Cité Soleil slum residents argue over meager supply of clean water in midst of cholera epidemic (right).



Comrades and sympathizers of the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Clubs and Labor Black Leagues successfully concluded a six-week subscription campaign this fall, reaching out to new readers and regions where we do not have branches and making contact as well with longtime readers of our Marxist press. We exceeded our national quota of 2,175 points with a total of 2,555.5 points, with every local surpassing its quota. These points represent 1,146 subscriptions to *Workers Vanguard*, 80 to *Espartaco* (published by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México) and 74 to the press of other International Communist League sections.

Our annual subscription drive is always a major national campaign, introducing readers not only to the biweekly *WV* but also to our international theoretical journal, *Spartacist*, our pamphlet series *Black History and the Class Struggle* and other ICL publications. The campaign also serves to give us a picture of current political consciousness and moods, from campuses to workplaces and union halls.

This subscription drive took place in the context of the continuing capitalist economic crisis—the worst since the Great Depression. While working people are reeling under the impact of layoffs, home foreclosures and budget cuts, students have been especially impacted by the slashing of financial aid. We encountered a lot of questions about Marxism and doubts about whether socialism can really work. At the same time, many people we talked to expressed hatred of capitalism and its effects. Our 2009 pamphlet, *Capitalist Anarchy and the Immiseration of the Working Class*, was one of the most popular giveaways.

People who bought subscriptions were often already left-leaning in some way or interested in Marxism in general due to life experience or their reading and wanted to find out more. This provided us an opening to explain our aim of building a revolutionary workers party to lead the working class in the overthrow of the capitalist system. Several subscriptions were sold on the basis of interest in the 1917 Russian Revolution and Soviet history, giving us an opportunity to highlight such publications as our pamphlet *Lenin and the Vanguard Party*, which explains the crucial role that the Bolshevik Party played in leading the first successful workers revolution.

Our opposition to capitalist politician Barack Obama (and all capitalist politicians, whether Republicans or Democrats) has set us apart from our reformist opponents, who celebrated Obama’s election as U.S. imperialism’s Commander-in-Chief. We have always maintained that Obama and the Democrats represented a facelift for the U.S. capitalist ruling class to better pursue its bloody aims abroad and its exploitation of working people at home. Indeed, the Obama administration has stepped up the war in Afghanistan while deporting nearly 390,000 immigrants in 2009 (an all-time high), further shredding civil liberties and attacking unions representing auto workers, teachers and others.

This year, comrades reported that for many people the bloom is off Obama. Some students who had been gung ho for Obama in 2008 had become politically



# WV Welcomes New Readers

apathetic, while some others were looking into anarchism. A comrade on our Washington, D.C., trip commented that “the mania for Obama seems to be wearing thin” even among the black student body at the elite Howard University. On our trip to Tidewater, Virginia, it was reported that “black workers we spoke with still had an emotional investment in Obama, but agreed things were getting worse.”

Comrades from New York intervened at the October 2 “One Nation Working Together” rally in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the AFL-CIO and NAACP. Taking place a month before the midterm elections, the rally was unmistakably an electoral push for the Democrats. The labor misleaders pushed the lie of “national unity” between workers and their class enemy, telling workers hit by unemployment that the answer is more protectionism—i.e., that the workers from other countries are their enemy, not the U.S. capitalist class.

Doing their bit to keep working people tied to the capitalist Democratic Party, the reformist left avidly supported this flag-waving affair, which was given a bit of a left gloss through a “Socialist Contingent” composed of the International Socialist Organization, Socialist Action, Solidarity, Socialist Alternative, et al. We counterposed our revolutionary internationalist program to the rally’s pro-Democratic Party class collaborationism and the labor tops’ China-bashing and had several polarizing debates with members of opponent groups

who came by our literature table.

Several locals reported that our placards and articles on China garnered a lot of attention and sparked discussions on our Trotskyist analysis of China and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea. People were notably interested in the major strike wave this spring and summer involving young migrant workers (see “Militant Strike Wave in China,” *WV* No. 961, 2 July, and “China: Labor Struggles in the ‘Socialist Market Economy,’” *WV* Nos. 964 and 965, 10 September and 24 September). A comrade reported from North Carolina that especially due to those strikes and the Stalinist regime’s response to them, “we sensed a greater openness to considering our arguments that China is not capitalist.” Our program of unconditional military defense of China and proletarian political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy was the topic of a heated debate at our sub drive forum in Chicago.

Another issue that resonated with workers and students was our call for “full cit-

izenship rights for all immigrants,” which was featured in the public forums held by our locals during this campaign (see *WV* No. 969, 19 November, for the presentation in New York). Comrades from Los Angeles went to Arizona, where they sold many subscriptions to students who saw our signs denouncing the anti-immigrant witchhunt carried out by both Democrats and Republicans. A number of students were also interested in our *WV* articles on science denouncing medical quackery, as well as in our defense of gay rights. Our signs for “Free Abortion on Demand!” were often polarizing, a measure of socially conservative moods and religious beliefs held by many students.

In Los Angeles, we participated in demonstrations against the LAPD killing of Manuel Jamines, a 37-year-old day laborer, which sparked several days of protests in the city. In contrast to reformist groups like the Party of Socialism and Liberation, which call for “community control” of the police and sow illusions that the capitalist state can somehow be accountable to the “will of the people,” our comrades carried such placards as: “No Illusions in Civilian Review Boards! Racist Cops, Racist Courts—Enemies of Labor, Blacks, Immigrants.”

New York comrades made a trip to New Orleans that coincided with the fifth anniversary of Hurricane Katrina, where the racist capitalist rulers showed their utter disdain for the lives of the poor and black population of the city. The team sold to a rally against budget cuts at the University of New Orleans that was brutally repressed by campus cops. One of the students met at the rally wrote to *Workers Vanguard* about the dire situation facing public education in the city (see “New Orleans Subscriber on Student Protest,” *WV* No. 965, 24 September).

Comrades went to Puerto Rico as a follow-up trip after our visit in support of the two-month-long student strike against tuition hikes last spring, and to Montreal, where they worked with Canadian comrades in the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyiste. Our trips to the Pacific Northwest, Colorado, Charleston, South Carolina and other locations also gave us an important window into the current political consciousness, which we hope will enrich the pages of *WV*.

Congratulations to all comrades and friends for their efforts, especially our new members who participated in their first sub drive. A salute goes out to comrade Gene in New York for selling the most subscriptions (95 points). We welcome new readers and those who renewed their subscriptions, and encourage you to let us know what you think of our press and to get involved in the activities of the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Clubs and Labor Black Leagues. ■

## Haiti...

(continued from page 3)

The most popular politician, the exiled Aristide, was barred from the elections along with his Lavalas party. Elected president in 1990 with overwhelming support, Aristide was soon overthrown by his military chief, Raoul Cedras. To quell growing turmoil in Haiti, the U.S. Marines invaded in 1994 and returned him to office. After an interim regime under René Préval—the current nominal president—Aristide was re-elected in 2000 only to face a U.S.-led destabilization campaign and his ouster in 2004, when he was whisked to Africa on a U.S.-chartered jet.

Since that time, UN “peacekeepers” have backed up violent assaults by the Haitian police on poor communities and on demonstrations demanding Aristide’s return. We demand that Aristide be allowed to return to Haiti and that the ban on his party be dropped. At the same time, as Marxists we have never given any political support to this capitalist politician and have opposed the imperialist interventions that installed him and subsequently removed him from office.

We support the struggles of the Haitian masses against their abject conditions, which are reinforced by imperialist occupation. But we understand that there is no solution to those conditions within Haiti itself. As we wrote in “Haiti: Mass Misery Under Imperialist Occupation,” (*WV* No. 962, 30 July):

“The only way out of the misery imposed on neocolonial Haiti lies through proletarian socialist revolution throughout the Caribbean and, crucially, in the North American imperialist heartland. But the social base for workers revolution is exceedingly narrow in a country as destitute and ground down as Haiti. Struggles by the Haitian masses against imperialist depredation must be linked to class and social struggle in the neighboring Dominican Republic, where Haitians are a sizable component of the proletariat, and elsewhere in the Caribbean.... “Our perspective—for a workers and peasants government in Haiti as part of a socialist federation of the Caribbean—is inextricably linked to the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of U.S. imperialism. In diaspora, Haitians, Jamaicans and others can play a crucial role as a bridge to the rest of the American proletariat, particularly to other black workers. The key is to build revolutionary workers parties—sections of a reformed Fourth International—to lead the workers in this struggle.” ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

☐ \$10/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*) international rates: \$25/22 issues—Airmail \$10/22 issues—Seamail

☐ New ☐ Renewal

☐ \$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

☐ \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

☐ I would like to contribute \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Apt. # \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone (\_\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_ E-mail \_\_\_\_\_

970

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

# The Chilean Miners and Pinochet's Murderous Legacy

The dramatic rescue in October of 33 Chilean miners, who had been trapped deep in the San José copper and gold mine for more than two months, riveted the attention of people around the world. As a billion television viewers worldwide looked on, right-wing billionaire Chilean president Sebastián Piñera personally greeted each miner pulled to the surface. Adding to the “national unity” hoopla, the Socialist Party’s Michelle Bachelet, Piñera’s predecessor, declared that the rescue “showed the bravery, the courage, the discipline and teamwork” of both the capitalist government and the brutally exploited miners.

Tearing through the patriotic hype, one of the rescued miners declared: “We were the victims of the businessmen who make millions and don’t think of the suffering of poor people.” Only hours before the cave-in, miners reported loud cracking noises announcing the impending disaster, but their request to evacuate the mine was refused. After the collapse, the miners sought to escape by climbing an emergency ladder in a ventilation shaft but discovered to their horror that the mine operators had not bothered to extend the ladder to the surface. Two days later, another cave-in blocked the shaft, sealing in the miners.

The mine, near Copiapó in northern Chile, had for years been notorious for its hazardous conditions—16 workers have died in the mine in recent years. In 2007, the government shut down the mine but then allowed it to reopen even though the required safety improvements—including the escape ladder—had not been implemented. Speaking shortly after the cave-in, the wife of one of the trapped miners recounted the concern her husband had raised just weeks before: “He said the mine was already caving in.... All the miners knew, but when they spoke to the mine owners, asking them to do something, the bosses said, ‘If you don’t want to work in the mine, then get up and go’” (*The Mirror* [London], 26 August).

Following the rescue, Piñera intoned, “Never again in our country will we permit people to work in conditions so unsafe and inhuman.” But after the cameras stopped rolling, it was back to the capitalists’ business as usual. Just a few weeks after the rescue, when two workers were killed at another mine near Copiapó, the sole reaction of the minister of mines was to issue a curt message on Twitter. Currently, miners have been on strike for almost four weeks at Collahuasi, the world’s fourth-largest copper mine, which is owned by the international mining giants Xstrata and Anglo-American. Despite near-record world copper prices, the bosses have drawn a hard line against the miners’ wage demands and insisted on a plan to extend work hours.

Miners in Chile, the world’s top copper producer, represent a considerable concentration of proletarian class power. At the vast Escondida open-pit mine, 4,000 workers produce nearly 10 percent of the world’s copper output. The dangers inherent in underground mining operations were put on gruesome display in November when explosions cost the lives of 29 New Zealand miners. But the conditions faced by Chile’s miners, nearly 50 of whom died in mine accidents last year, are especially dangerous. Home to just 1 percent of the world’s mine workers, Chile accounts for 8 percent of fatal accidents. It is especially dangerous in the small-to-medium-sized mines, which often lack modern technology and scrimp on basic safety measures. Workers at the medium-sized San José mine are paid such meager wages

that most of their families live in improvised shacks lacking basic services.

## Piñera and Pinochet

The lavish news coverage of the mine rescue was part of an effort by the regime to overcome any association with the murderous reign of General Augusto Pinochet, who led the coup that overthrew Socialist president Salvador Allende’s

president’s brother, José Piñera, drafted the union-busting Labor Code adopted in 1979. Despite cosmetic reforms introduced by the “Concertación” coalition led by Socialists and Christian Democrats that succeeded Pinochet and ruled Chile for two decades starting in 1990, the Labor Code still applies today. It dictates that union negotiations can only take place at the plant level—not nationally

recalled the 16 workers from the Copiapó region who were slaughtered in the predawn hours of 17 October 1973 by soldiers of the “Caravan of Death.” That infamous death squad, operating under orders from Pinochet, flew from city to city on military helicopters to carry out assassinations of leftists and worker militants. One of those killed in that region was Agustín Villarroel, a saltpeter miner affiliated with the Communist Party (CP). His body, along with others, was dumped in a mine where the remains were recovered in 1990 after Pinochet stepped down as president. The miner’s son compared that situation to the San José rescue operation, telling the *New York Times* (14 October) that “the only difference is that we didn’t use a capsule to lift their remains. We used a bucket for the few bones we could find.”

## Popular-Front Betrayal

Pinochet’s coup brought to a bloody end the Unidad Popular (UP) government headed by Allende that was elected in 1970. The UP was a popular front—a coalition of the Socialist Party (SP) and the CP with the small bourgeois Radical Party along with some Christian Democrats. The UP government was not, as reformists throughout the world alleged, a “people’s government” on the “peaceful road to socialism.” It was a *bourgeois* government pledged to maintaining capitalist private property.

While some leftists criticized Allende for hanging back from taking bold measures against the bourgeoisie, the alliance of the SP and CP with parties of the bourgeoisie served as a guarantee that the reformist workers parties would not—even under pressure from their base—take any steps that might threaten the capitalist profit system. Allende signed an agreement before he took office stating that he would not permit the formation of “private” armed forces—in other words, he would not countenance the formation of workers militias. He also agreed to appoint only those officers who had been trained in the traditional military academies. Thus promising not to tamper with the bourgeois armed forces, Allende lulled the working class by preaching faith in the supposed “neutrality” of the “democratic” military.

The Spartacist tendency was unique among leftists internationally in opposing any political support to the Unidad Popular:

“It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any ‘critical support’ to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic

*continued on page 12*



Reuters

**Above: Promoting lie of “national unity” between workers and exploiters, Chilean president Piñera (center right) joins in singing national anthem at mine rescue operation, October 13. Right: Striking Collahuasi miners carry symbolic coffin, November 8.**



Bloomberg

popular-front government in September 1973. With the prodding and aid of U.S. imperialism, Pinochet rode to power over mountains of corpses, killing at least 30,000 leftists, workers and peasants. The dictatorship sent untold thousands to hellish concentration camps and forced up to 100,000 into exile. To break the back of the working class, the Pinochet regime also took direct aim at the country’s powerful unions, not least the miners, the best organized and most combative sector of the Chilean proletariat.

In fact, the government led by Piñera’s National Renovation party has direct links to Pinochet’s reign of terror. The

or industry-wide—and severely restricts the types of issues that unions can negotiate. Extensive use of temporary workers and outsourcing is permitted, to the point that today the majority of Chilean workers in the mining industry are casual workers with few benefits or protections. Likewise, mine health and safety regulations were dismantled and inspections slashed to the point that today there are only three inspectors for the almost 900 mines in the Atacama region where the San José mine is located.

Indeed, the dark legacy of the 1973 coup haunted the families of the trapped miners like a recurring nightmare. Many



Reuters



London Times

**Left: Salvador Allende (at right) with his commander-in-chief Augusto Pinochet one month before September 1973 military coup. Right: Earlier that year, popular-front Allende government unleashed cops to break up Santiago protest by 4,000 strikers from El Teniente copper mine.**

# The 1940s “Quit India” Movement

## Stalinist Alliance with Churchill Betrayed Indian Revolution

The following originally appeared as a two-part article in *Workers Hammer* Nos. 131 and 132 (September/October and November/December 1992), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League. Both parts are reprinted below, incorporating a minor factual correction.

### Part One

“The Indian scene [in 1947] was heavy with menace, but one thing at least gave [British Labour prime minister Major Clement] Attlee great satisfaction. How gratifying it was, he noted, that an old Haileybury School boy like himself [Sir Cyril Radcliffe] was being sent out to take on the task of drawing a line through the [Punjabi] homelands of eighty-eight million human beings.”

“In India, Sikhs and Hindus prowled the cars of ambushed trains slaughtering every circumcised male they found. In Pakistan, Moslems raced along the trains they had stopped, murdering every male who was not circumcised.”

—Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight*

Fifty years ago India’s struggle for independence from Britain entered its final, decisive phase. Commonly known as the “Quit India” movement after the main slogan put out by Mohandas Karamchand (“Mahatma” or “great soul”) Gandhi’s bourgeois Indian National Congress in August 1942, this phase swelled to a

### WORKERS HAMMER

crescendo between 1945 and 1946. Soon after this, the subcontinent was arbitrarily partitioned into an 80 per cent Hindu-dominated India and an Islamic-confessional Pakistan; a horrendous communal blood-bath was unleashed. The movement’s denouement in February 1948 presented an appropriately bizarre neo-colonial spectacle: Britain’s last troops in India, the Somerset Light Infantry, disappeared marching westward through Bombay’s arched Gateway of India (where the “King Emperor” George V had landed in 1911) to the strains of “God Save the King” and “Auld Lang Syne,” played in parting salute by an Indian Navy honour guard band of Sikhs and Gurkhas.

Yet, at its tumultuous peak the mass upheaval, for a few crucial historic moments far outstripping the planned limits of its

self-appointed minders and misleaders, had rocked the entire subcontinent, lifting it on to the very precipice of revolution. Millions of workers, soldiers, peasants, students and women, many flying Communist red flags alongside the Congress tricolour and the Muslim League’s green flag, defying British tank and machine-gun fire and even naval and aerial bombardment, jammed the streets and fields from Karachi to Calcutta. Cries of “*Inquilab Zindabad!*” (Long live the revolution!) filled the air. Armed peasants started forcibly seizing land and setting up “soviets.” And in February 1946 a powerful strike by ratings (enlisted men) of the Royal Indian Navy in Bombay touched off an armed uprising by hundreds of thousands, including Royal Indian Air Force men, in that port and across the whole, electrified country, bringing it to a virtual standstill.

Britain had lost control. Posed point-blank was not only India’s political independence from two hundred and fifty years of the British jackboot; the *social* liberation of India’s toiling masses from millennia of indigenous caste, gender, communal and class oppression was also now suddenly within grasp. What was needed was a revolutionary vanguard party of India’s small but strategic and modern, urbanised industrial working class which could rally and draw behind it the millions of peasant poor and other oppressed, oust the British, and put the native capitalist-landlord alliance out of business, launching a direct offensive for both national and social liberation through capturing proletarian state power.

This policy, that of the Permanent Revolution, had been the programme of Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks in the victorious October Revolution, thirty years earlier. That revolution had brought national and social liberation to the masses of backward Tsarist Russia, whose Tadjik, Uzbek and other Central Asian peoples just on the other side of the Himalayan Pamirs from northern Kashmir had been catapulted from the seventh century into the twentieth as a result. In India the toiling masses had seen the Russian Revolution as a beacon of hope.

Yet by midnight of 14 August 1947, when Congress prime minister Jawahar-



Sunil Janah



Bettmann

**Above: Peasants rally under red flag in Punjab, 1945.**  
**Left: Joseph Stalin with Britain’s Winston Churchill and U.S. president Harry Truman at Potsdam Conference, July 1945.**

lal Nehru rose to address “free” India’s parliament of capitalists, landlords and princes, the spectacular upsurge had been derailed. Instead, a pro-imperialist alliance of the Congress bourgeoisie and the Muslim League landlords had successfully diverted the revolutionary momentum into British imperialism’s waiting trap, the nightmare of communalist Partition. India’s working masses had paid with their lives—and were now about to pay even more—for the absence of a revolutionary party to lead its millions in an independent struggle for workers power.

The new Muslim theocratic state of Pakistan (whose Punjabi-dominated west wing and Bengali east wing looked at each other across 1,000 miles of hostile Hindu Indian territory) was carved out of the living bodies of thoroughly interpenetrated peoples, precipitating the biggest forced population transfers and one of the ghastliest communal slaughters in history. And in this crime, the Labour government of imperialist Britain and their bourgeois-landlord alliance of lackeys in the Congress and Muslim League were *fully aided and abetted by the treacherous Stalinist trinity of the Kremlin, the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Communist Party of India*. For in this historic betrayal, Stalin was the mover, the CPGB the enforcer and the CPI the executor on the spot.

### Lessons of the Chinese Revolution

The developing militant wave and the advent of World War II could have signalled the opening of great possibilities for a revolutionary party the size of the CPI. Instead the second imperialist war was to bring the nadir of Stalinist betrayal in India. To understand the CPI’s treachery on behalf of Churchill’s war effort it is necessary to take up the positions adopted by the Stalinised Comintern as

against the Leninist tradition upheld by Trotsky and the Left Opposition.

The Russian Revolution in 1917 fully confirmed Trotsky’s prognosis that “the complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which would inevitably place on the order of the day not only democratic but socialistic tasks as well, would at the same time give a powerful impetus to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the West could protect Russia from bourgeois restoration and assure it the possibility of rounding out the establishment of socialism” (“Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution” [1939]).

Under the slogan of “socialism in one country” embraced by the conservative, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy which had risen in the context of the isolated, war-weary and encircled Soviet workers state, the struggle for the extension of the revolution internationally was shelved in favour of “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism. This translated into defeat after defeat for the world proletariat and eventually transformed—after ruthless purges in most cases—the parties of the (Third) Communist International into tools of class-collaboration with their “own” bourgeoisies. In the colonial and neocolonial world it meant rejecting the lessons of October and resuscitating the old Menshevik formula of “two-stage” revolution. As in China earlier, this was to have a devastating effect on the revolutionary proletariat of India.

The tragedy of the Chinese Revolution of 1927-28 was a powerful negative confirmation of the permanent revolution, and it was over China that Trotsky extended his correct prognosis in Russia to all of the backward, colonial countries. The debate on China was whether or not



Hulton-Deutsch

**1930: Women protesting ban of Indian National Congress meeting confront colonial police in Bombay (now Mumbai).**

to subordinate the Chinese workers and peasants to the native bourgeoisie in the form of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang in which the CP [Communist Party] was operating. When the Chinese CP proposed to leave the Kuomintang the plan was vetoed by the Comintern Executive on Stalin's instruction. They were directed to hold down the class struggle against the "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie in the cities and contain the peasant movement in the countryside. In early 1926 the Kuomintang itself was admitted to the International as an associate party. Only a few weeks later, on 20 March, Chiang carried out his first anti-communist coup, barring CP members from all leadership posts and demanding a list of all CP members in the Kuomintang. Under orders, the CP complied! After a challenge from the United Opposition leaders Trotsky and Zinoviev and during the crucial days of the Shanghai insurrection which began in March 1927, Stalin stuck to the policy. The main task in China for the Communists was "the further development of the Kuomintang." On 12 April the Kuomintang army carried out a massacre which cost the lives of tens of thousands of Communists and militant workers who had laid down their arms at Stalin's orders. This was "socialism in one country" in practice!

### Congress—the Indian "Kuomintang"—and the CPI

"India," Trotsky had noted in May 1930, "is the classic colonial country as Britain is the classic metropolis. All the viciousness of the ruling classes and every form of oppression that capitalism has used against the backward people of the East is most completely and frightfully summed up in the history of the gigantic colony on which the British imperialists have settled themselves like leeches for the past century and a half" ("The Revolution in India, Its Tasks and Dangers," *Writings of Leon Trotsky [1930]*). Like pre-revolutionary Russia and China, the road to national liberation, agrarian reform, social equality and advancement lay in the programme of proletarian revolution, requiring a vanguard party defending the political independence of the working class. The weak national bourgeoisie, tied by a thousand threads to imperialism, could in no way carry out even the "democratic" tasks posed.

The Indian industrial bourgeoisie, which started growing towards the very end of the 19th century and expanded considerably during World War I, was still no match for British industrial and finance capital. The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India (BLPI—Indian section of the Trotskyist Fourth International) pointed out:

"Despite the advance of Indian capital, British capital remains in effective monopolist domination in banking, commerce, exchange, insurance, shipping, in the tea, coffee and rubber plantations, and in the jute industry. In iron and steel, Indian capital has been forced to come to terms with British capital, and even in the cotton industry, the home of Indian capital, the control of British capital through the managing agency system is very great."

—BLPI Draft Programme

Indian reality emphatically underlined the revolutionary correctness of the perspective of permanent revolution. The Indian Trotskyists drew the correct conclusion that "the Indian bourgeoisie, shackled as it is to Imperialism, cannot play the historical role of the West-European bourgeoisie in liberating and developing the productive forces. The industrial advance of India demands absolutely the overthrow of Imperialism, with which Indian bourgeois interests are indissolubly bound, and the overthrow of which they are bound to resist" (*ibid*).

Faced with British imperialist intransigence, the weak and dependent Indian bourgeoisie sought methods of struggle that could pressure the colonial masters to make concessions without disturbing the social order by unleashing struggles of the masses that would threaten not just the British but also the Indian capitalists and their landlord brothers. The origins of Congress are instructive in this regard.

An English ex-civil servant of the

Empire, A. O. Hume, was a founder of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Its stated third aim was "THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE UNION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA, BY SECURING THE MODIFICATION OF SUCH OF ITS CONDITIONS AS MAY BE UNJUST OR INJURIOUS TO THE LATTER COUNTRY" (*The Indian Nationalist Movement, 1885-1947: Select documents*, ed. B. N. Pandey). As its first president, W. C. Bonnerjee explained:

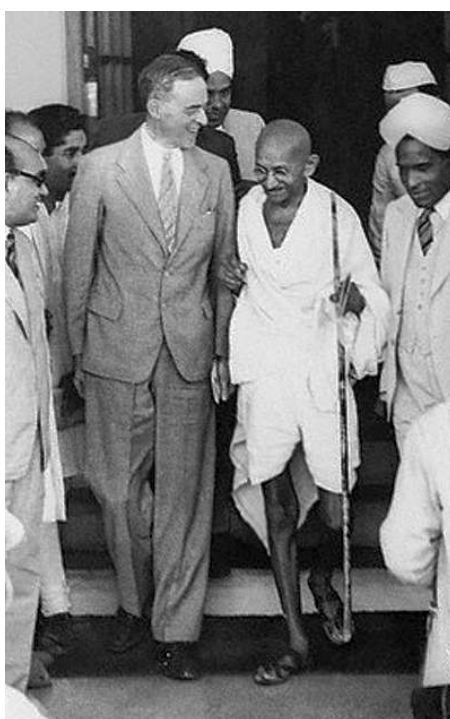
"Lord Dufferin...said there was no body of persons in this country who performed the functions which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England...and as the English were necessarily ignorant of what was thought of them and their policy in native circles, it would be very desirable in the interests as well of the rulers as of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved" (*ibid*).

Enter Gandhi. At the time he arrived on the nationalist political scene at the start of World War I, Gandhi could be found enthusiastically urging London's Indians to "think imperially" and organising a Field Ambulance Training Corps as his personal contribution to the inter-imperialist war "effort." Gandhi's job was to extract as much as possible from the British, in the common interests of saving capitalism, while keeping the burgeoning and now increasingly militant struggles of the workers and peasants at bay. The textile magnate Ambalal Sarabhai put it succinctly when he said Gandhi "was the best guarantee against communism which India possessed" (D. A. Low, *Congress and the Raj*).

It was only after World War I that India's modern proletariat, numbering five million by the second imperialist world war, emerged as a distinct force. The first great wave of strikes (1918-21) was triggered by mass immiseration under war conditions, a flu epidemic that killed 14 million, the Amritsar massacre in the wake of the draconian Rowlatt Act, and the impact of the 1917 Revolution. And it was the backdrop to Gandhi's 1920-21 mass civil disobedience campaign for minimal constitutional reforms. The first six months of 1920 saw 200 strikes involving half a million workers, along with growing peasant struggles. Gandhi got cold feet, declaring that he had committed a "blunder of Himalayan proportions which had enabled ill-disposed persons, not true passive resisters at all, to perpetrate disorders." In February 1922, on the eve of another passive resistance crawl, when 22 policemen were killed in the course of a peasant anti-rent agitation, Gandhi called off the entire non-cooperation movement, essentially going into *purdah* over the next decade. And the Congress told its supporters that withholding rent to the *zemindars* [landlords] was contrary to its policies and "the best interests of the country." Gandhi re-emerged in the thirties when new waves of militant struggles broke out. He reiterated his opposition to "class war" and called for the "harmonious cooperation of labour and capital, the landlord and tenant."

The situation in India not only cried out for a revolutionary solution but provided great opportunities for building a communist-led movement against colonial oppression and to overthrow capitalism. The prestige of the October Revolution was immense among the toiling masses. Founded among other places in revolutionary Tashkent in 1920, the CPI had early succumbed to the global anti-revolutionary policies emanating from Stalin's Comintern after 1924; Stalin's search for "peaceful coexistence" did not help the Indian Communists. In the late twenties they employed themselves with generally rightist plans for front organisations and multi-class parties. Then the "Third Period" had them pursuing sterile sectarian policies which condemned the Indian nationalists equally with the British imperialists.

In the popular front period (1935-39) they accepted the leadership of the Congress and "Gandhiji" as necessary for the first "democratic" stage of the revolution. And moreover, because Stalin was pursuing an alliance with "democratic" im-



Bettmann

**1942: Gandhi with Labour politician Stafford Cripps, who could not get even Gandhi's Congress Party to accept British imperialism's paltry "concessions."**

perialist Britain, the CPI soft-pedalled the struggle against British imperialism, placing the emphasis on reforms and gradualist change. At the Seventh Congress of the Third International in Moscow in July-August 1935, the CPI was denounced for long-standing "left" sectarian errors and for using slogans such as "an Indian Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic," and "confiscation of lands belonging to the zemindars (landlords) without compensation." Even as late as March 1936 the Congress was characterised as "definitely a class organisation of the Indian bourgeoisie" in a CPI publication, but the new class-collaborationist line laid down by "India experts" for the CPGB, R. Palme Dutt and Ben Bradley, was:

"The National Congress can play a great part and a foremost part in the work of realising the anti-imperialist People's Front. It is even possible that the National Congress by the further transformation of its organisation and programme may become the form of realisation of the anti-imperialist People's Front" (quoted in S. Tagore, *Against the Stream*).

The CPI supported the Congress in the provincial elections of 1937. In 1936 a miserable and tokenistic Congress proposal for agricultural reform was lauded. In fact the Congress ministries of this period did next to nothing to alleviate the condition of the peasantry. Indicatively the only places where Congress ministries even talked about land reform were in areas where the landlords were to a large extent Muslims and the peasants Hindus, such as the United Provinces, Bihar and Madras.

At the same time the inception of Congress ministries in some parts of India gave the CPI more room to organise, and with growing mass disillusionment with Congress the CPI began to grow signifi-

cantly. It developed strong roots in the working class in major industrial cities like Bombay, and considerable influence in student and peasant organisations. But it held the struggles back in the interests of the alliance with Congress. In November 1938, after the shootings of workers protesting anti-trade-union legislation introduced by the Congress ministry in Bombay, one "Congress Communist" (CPI entrist in Congress) told a protest rally: "Anger and sorrow have been kindled in our minds by the oppression that has been perpetrated on the workers of Bombay. Still, we are proceeding with restraint with our eyes fixed on national solidarity and unity."

### The CPI in World War II

During the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact the CPI as all the other parties of the Comintern (which would be formally liquidated by Stalin in 1943) denounced the "democratic" facade of the British imperialists in their war against Germany. Indeed in contrast to the Stalinists of His Majesty's CPGB who displayed visible discomfort at Stalin's about face (with its pro-German tilt), many militants of the CPI appear to have relished the opportunity to take a full-blooded stance against their hated main enemy. In the context of mounting anti-imperialist militancy, this line would have come increasingly into contradiction with the CPI's continuing adherence to the Stalinist policy of a "first" "democratic" stage in alliance with the bourgeois Congress, provoking splits and opportunities for revolutionary regroupment. But when Hitler's "Operation Barbarossa" was launched against the Soviet Union in June 1941 and the war-time alliance between Britain and the USSR was sealed, the Comintern instructed another sharp turn to the "People's War Against Fascism" and all-out support for the war effort in the imperialist countries *and their colonies*. As late as July 1941 the CPI, lacking precise instructions from Stalin via the CPGB, however, had adopted a line which distinguished between the inter-imperialist war between the Allied and Axis powers and the need to defend the Soviet Union. A CPI manifesto issued at the time read in part:

"The Communist Party declares that the only way in which the Indian people can help in the just war which the Soviet is waging, is by fighting all the more vigorously for their own emancipation from the imperialist yoke. Our attitude towards the British Government and the imperialist war remains what it was.... We can render really effective aid to the Soviet Union, only as a free people. That is why our campaign for the demonstration of our support and solidarity with the Soviet Union, must be coupled with the exposure of the imperialist hypocrisy of the Churchills and Roosevelts with the demand for the intensification of our struggle for independence" (quoted in David N. Druhe, *Soviet Russia and Indian Communism*).

But the CPI leadership, after the years of its popular front treachery, were not going

*continued on page 8*

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: [www.icl-fi.org](http://www.icl-fi.org) • E-mail address: [vanguard@tiac.net](mailto: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](mailto: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](mailto: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](mailto:nysl@tiac.net)  
**Public Office:** Sat., December 11 and 18, January 8, 1-4 p.m., and by appointment, 299 Broadway, Suite 318

**Oakland** ..... Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604, (510) 839-0851  
[slbayarea@sbcglobal.net](mailto: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  
[spartacan@on.aibn.com](mailto:spartacan@on.aibn.com)

**Vancouver** ..... Box 2717, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2, (604) 687-0353  
[trotskyist\\_vancouver@shawcable.com](mailto:trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com)

# India...

(continued from page 7)

to oppose Stalin’s dictates. They soon embraced the Allied war effort. In the *Guidelines of the History of the Communist Party of India*, by the Central Party Education Department, the CPI noted the July position, adding: “Then a document proposing change of line was sent by the comrades in Deoli camp in December 1941. In February 1942 the PB said in a resolution: ‘Make the Indian people play a people’s role in the people’s war.’ In July 1942 the ban on the CPI was lifted and releases started. The main slogans were correct: ‘National government for national defence.’ ‘National unity for national government.’”

Let’s be clear. The emissaries from the Comintern responsible for dealing with the CPI—the Communist Party of Great Britain—broke the news to their Indian comrades that they were out of line. Harry Pollitt’s letter announcing this was even deliberately permitted by the British authorities to be passed to the Communists incarcerated in Deoli prison. Debate ensued and there were those who broke with the CPI rather than scab on the struggle against British imperialism for the sake of the “People’s War” but the CPI leaders accepted the new line. Their support to the war would now be “unqualified, wholehearted and full-throated.”

For its part Congress’ formal position was that its support to the war was conditional on being granted independence from Britain. What this boiled down to was “demanding” some concessions in exchange for producing cannon fodder for the imperialist war effort. Then, emboldened by Britain’s difficulties as Japan advanced through the Pacific and into Burma and cognisant that they might soon need to deal with another imperialist overlord, Congress went from conditional support to open opposition, seeking to force a settlement with British imperialism. Even arch-reactionary Churchill was compelled to recognise that concessions were needed to shore up the shaky Raj. Sir Stafford Cripps, a “left” Labourite reputed to be sympathetic to the Indian national cause was despatched to offer some meagre and insulting divide-and-rule concessions. Even Gandhi called them “a post dated cheque on a bank that was failing.” Then as Charles Wesley Ervin related in his “Trotskyism in India: Origins through World War Two (1935-1945)”: “On 8 August 1942 Congress called for mass civil disobedience to pressurise the British to ‘quit India.’ The British panicked. Within twelve hours every important Congress leader was in jail or on his way. News of the arrests brought thousands onto the streets of Bombay.... The August Struggle had begun” (*Revolutionary History* Vol. 1, No. 4, Winter 1988-89).

Arguing that Congress should form a temporary national government in collaboration with the Muslim League, the CPI bitterly opposed the “Quit India” resolution and in the ensuing struggles denounced Congress for its “sabotage.” Even in its mendacious retrospective, the CPI’s “Guidelines” admit: “It adopted an anti-struggle antistrike line. A line of avoiding [!] mass struggles was worked out on the plea that they would damage the war effort or help profascist elements to sabotage it, eg. CC [Central Committee] plenum reports, articles in weekly *People’s War*. Quit India movement was opposed on the same basis [as] the Forward Bloc [Subhas Chandra Bose’s split] and socialists who attacked communists as ‘British agents’ were denounced in retaliation as fifth column and fascist agents.”

The newly formed BLPI plunged into the August events. Key cadre came from exiled Ceylonese Trotskyists who had escaped arrest and imprisonment in Ceylon, after the British crackdown on their party for its revolutionary defeatist stance on the imperialist war and their organising of militant struggles among the strategic Tamil plantation workers. As the heroic Trotskyists argued in their Bom-

bay leaflet the very day the historic “August Action” began:

“The slogans of ‘Abolition of Landlordism without Compensation’ and ‘Cancellation of Peasant Debt’ must be leading slogans of the struggle. Not only no-tax campaigns against the government, but also no-rent campaigns against all landlords, must be commenced on the widest possible scale, leading to the seizure of land by the peasants through Peasants’ Committees.

“Manning the nerve centres of the economy, the workers are in the position to deal the most devastating blows against imperialism.... A mass general political strike against British imperialism will paralyse and bring to a stop the whole carefully built up machinery of imperialist administration.

“The Indian soldiers, who are peasants in uniform, cannot fail to be affected by the agrarian struggle against landlordism and imperialism.”

Many BLPI militants were imprisoned in the immediate aftermath. The British were not the only ones out to crush them, either; the CPI press “viciously slandered the Trotskyists as ‘criminals and gang-



British “divide and rule” machinations led to horrendous communal slaughter during partition of India, 1947.

sters who help the Fascists’ by allegedly calling for ‘strikes, sabotage, food riots and all forms of anarchy’ and ‘attempting to stir up trouble in all war industries’.... Stalinists from Ceylon were brought over to India to hunt for Samasamajists [Ceylonese Trotskyists], and CPI stool-pigeons fingered militants to the police during the war” (Ervin, *ibid*).

The BLPI’s draft programme made an eloquent exposition of Leninist tactics in the second imperialist war:

“With the mass slaughter, the unparalleled destruction and untold sufferings entailed by the war, the international proletariat and the oppressed masses of the colonies are being driven to the point where they will see in revolution the only way out. ‘The chief enemy of the people is in its own country.’ The prime task of proletarian revolutionaries in the present imperialist conflict is to follow the policy of revolutionary defeatism in relation to their ‘own’ government and to help develop the class struggle to the point of civil war regardless of the possibility of such a course leading to the defeat of one’s ‘own’ government....

“International developments are governed by two main contradictions. The first is the contradiction of the existence of a workers’ state (the Soviet Union) in a capitalist world. The second is the inter-imperialist rivalry which has now broken out openly into war.... But the supercession of the capitalist-workers’ state antagonism by the inter-imperialist antagonism and the temporary postponement of a united capitalist war of intervention against the Soviet Union by no means removed the danger of an attack on the Soviet Union by one of the parties in the inter-imperialist embroilment....

“But the parties of the Fourth International, while defending the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, do not for a single moment give up the struggle against the Stalinist apparatus. Incapable of carrying out the real defence of the Soviet Union, the Stalinist bureaucracy seeks the aid not of the international proletariat, but exclusively of Anglo-American Imperialism.... The workers’ state will be able to emerge victorious from the holocaust of war only under one condition, and that is, if it is assisted by the revolution in the West or in the East.”

Thus the BLPI stood out as a revolutionary pole during the Second World War. Despite its exemplary work, programmatic soundness and significant local

successes, the small and overwhelmingly clandestine forces of the BLPI were insufficient to take advantage of the revolutionary crisis. The Congress leaders feared the unleashing of the workers and peasants against the capitalists and landlords many times more than they desired to enforce the demand to “Quit India” on the British imperialists; the Stalinists with their grovelling before Churchill had made themselves for a key period of time “the most universally detested political organisation in India.” The intervention of a revolutionary Trotskyist party with some real weight in the proletariat was at this juncture the decisive element in whether the question of India was solved along the October model or left after post-war “independence” to the bloody partition designed by the British imperialists.

During this period of subordination to Churchill and in line with the British divide-and-rule stratagems, the CPI flirted with the feudalist, British-backed Muslim League. It even decided there was a Mus-

rule broke out in India, the British Stalinists (as well as the CPI) denounced the struggle as playing “into the hands of the Axis powers” (Black, *Stalinism in Britain*). CPGB leader Harry Pollitt wrote to Churchill with the following advice: “our [!] paramount aim must be to win the willing co-operation of the Indian nation in the common struggle against Fascism.” At its Congress in 1944 the CPGB emphatically rejected independence before the war ended, instructing the Indian masses that: “Establishment of a representative Indian National Government as an ally of the United Nations during the war, and freedom for the Indian people to choose their own form of Government *after* the war” was the order of the day. Black’s description of these Stalinists as the “Empire builders of the British ‘Communist’ Party” is apt.

The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, revolutionary Trotskyists, described the situation in India during the war:

“British imperialism has instituted a system of repressive legislation, progressively inaugurating a *gendarme* regime not less systematic and ruthless than that of Russian czarism or German fascism. Since the commencement of the imperialist war, repression has been many times intensified. Even those nominal rights previously possessed by the masses have been openly withdrawn, and a naked rule of terror substituted through the Defense of India Act.... The press has been gagged by a series of iniquitous Press Acts and a systematic police censorship of all publications. Rights of free speech and assembly have been so curtailed that they are practically non-existent. Radical and revolutionary political parties are compelled to lead an underground existence.

“The right to strike no longer exists in all ‘essential war industries’.... Thousands of militant mass leaders have been imprisoned on flimsy pretexts or detained without trial. The restriction of individual movement by means of externment and internment orders has become a commonplace...” (quoted in Henry Judd, *India in Revolt*).

By contrast the ban on the CPI was lifted by a grateful British Raj in 1942 and a government circular of 20 September 1943 praised the CPI as “almost the only Party which fought for victory.” A CPI self-criticism produced years later is damning enough about what this meant:

“It adopted an antistuggle antistrike line. A line of avoiding mass struggles was worked out on the plea that they would damage the war effort or help profascist elements to sabotage it, eg. CC plenum reports, articles in weekly *People’s War*. Quit India movement was opposed, on the same basis the Forward Bloc and socialists who attacked communists as ‘British agents’ were denounced in retaliation as fifth column and fascist agents. In B.T. Ranadive’s report to the first congress on ‘Working Class and National Defence’ it was stated that production is ‘a sacred trust’ and ‘conditional support of production was a left-nationalist deviation’ therefore ‘strikes should be firmly prevented.’”

In addition to its self-confessed “anti-struggle” line during the war, the CPI as well played straight into the hands of British imperialism’s schemes to consciously promote communalist divisions.

## CPI and Britain’s “Divide-and-Rule”

From the outset, all Indian nationalism was “a theme scored with religious, class, caste, and regional variations” (Wolpert, *A New History of India*), which given its social origins, was dominantly Hindu and upper-caste-based and frequently openly reactionary. A prime example was the early Congress “Extremist” leader B. G. Tilak, who first made his mark when he opposed the token reformist 1891 “Age of Consent” Bill (raising the age of statutory rape of child brides from ten to twelve) under the war cry “Religion in danger!” Gandhi alienated vast numbers of Muslims with his explicitly Hindu-myth and scripture-based rhetoric, describing his utopia as *Ram Rajya* (“the kingdom of Ram”—the Hindu epic hero-god). Such themes are the basis for subsequent fascistic Hindu chauvinism, such as the BJP/RSS [Bharatiya Janata Party/Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] combine today. In the absence of a communist leadership consciously able to transcend and combat it by bringing the revolutionary proletarian, anti-

## Part Two

In their efforts to crush the Indian independence struggle and radical social struggle, imperialist Britain, Churchill’s wartime coalition and Attlee’s Labour government alike, and the bourgeois-landlord lackeys in the Congress and Muslim League were fully aided and abetted by the treacherous Stalinist trinity of the Kremlin, the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Communist Party of India. The first part of this article concluded:

“During this period of subordination to Churchill and in line with the British divide-and-rule stratagems, the CPI flirted with the feudalist, British-backed Muslim League. It even decided there was a Muslim ‘nation’ and adopted for some time the project of Pakistan. Later, they would shift back to fawning blandishments to Gandhi’s Congress. We will take up in greater detail these and other concrete examples of their perfidy and how Stalinist betrayal helped pave the way for the ‘solution’ of the Churchills, Mountbatens and Cripps in the second and concluding part of this article.”

Before turning to the CPI’s own contribution to the horrors of the Partition, it is worth reviewing the line of the Communist Party of Great Britain on India during World War II, not least because the CPGB were the agency for enforcing the subordination of the struggle for independence to Churchill’s war in its “mentor” role to the Indian Communists.

Having enlisted enthusiastically in the “People’s War” the Communist Parties not only insisted on “sacrifices” (i.e., no strike pledges, cessation of social struggle) from the working classes within the “democratic” imperialist countries but also from the colonial slaves of those imperialisms. Thus, when resistance to British

communal, integrated class axis decisively to bear on the events leading up to 1947, this poison was bound to skewer any possibility of a progressive solution to India's complex internal problems.

Far from communalism being an “eternal” feature of the Indian landscape, as the racist imperialist apologists would have it, it was the British who, through their systematic backing of one community against another to subjugate both, consciously nurtured this phenomenon as well as other caste, religious and national differences. Following the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny (significantly sparked by the refusal by Muslim and upper-caste Hindu sepoys [soldiers] alike to bite a new cartridge coated with animal fat), which far exceeded the bounds of the initial triggering episodes and revealed the depth of anti-British anger in the country, Governor General Elphinstone urged: “Our endeavor should be to uphold in full force the (for us) fortunate separation which exists between the different religions and races: not to endeavor to amalgamate them” (Henry Judd, *India in Revolt*). From this to the creation of separate Hindu and Muslim electorates in 1905-6 and thence to a series of other notorious “Communal Awards” culminating in the Partition: the imperialist logic of “divide-and-rule” was clear.

The novel *Tamas* no doubt truly portrays the efforts of CPI militants in the Punjab to fight the communalist slaughter during the Partition, but that blood-bath was prepared both by the CPI's general support to the bourgeois nationalists and its particular wartime policies with respect to the Muslim question. One aspect of the Cripps' Mission proposals in 1942 was a concession aimed at the Muslim League that areas could “opt out.” Given that Jinnah's Muslim League had pledged “benevolent neutrality” in the imperialist war and the importance of recruitment from Muslim Punjabis, Pathans and Baluchis for the British Indian Army, this was a crucial divide-and-rule attempt to uphold the British war effort. The CPI, in its Central Party Education Department's *Guidelines of the History of the Communist Party of India* (1974) admits the “serious mistake our party made on the question of Pakistan”:

“With the antistruggle line referred to above went the right-opportunist approach to the question of Congress-League (or national) unity, logically culminating in our support to Pakistan and the akali demand for sikh homeland. Failure to build up enough pressure on British imperialists and to build unity from below led to helpless reliance on unity from above. ‘Destiny of the nation depends on national unity—Congress-League unity’ which with Jinnah adamant on his demand for Pakistan led to trailing behind the Muslim League in order to bring Gandhi-Jinnah together.”

The CPI went from denouncing the Muslim League as reactionary and communalist (which it was) to generally giving it more favourable coverage than Congress. Muslim League General Secretary Liaquat Ali Khan for example praised the CPI for its “ceaseless efforts to convince the Hindu masses of the justice of the demand for the rights of self-determination to Muslims.” And CPI leader Joshi argued in August 1944 for strong and independent Muslim states in the north-west and north-east. Additionally in late 1944 the CPI argued for separate electorates for Untouchables, exactly in line with British imperialist “divide-and-rule” manoeuvres at that time.

The CPI's flirtation with the Muslim League and Pakistan was not some healthy attempt to grapple with the complexities of the national question as some apologists have suggested, but a direct product of the alliance with Churchill and their efforts to cement that alliance. After all the Muslim League was also opposed to the “Quit India” struggles. And when the CPI “corrected” its flirtation with the feudal Muslim League it was only to swing back to bourgeois Congress, policies that led directly to the CPI and CPI(M)'s [Communist Party of India (Marxist)] refusal today to defend legitimate national struggles such as those of the Kashmiris and the Sikhs.

In the service of tailing Congress, CPI

leader P.C. Joshi reached new depths of Stalinist prostration before the leader of India's Kuomintang. At the time of Gandhi's release from prison in 1944, Joshi declared:

“Gandhiji, the beloved leader of the greatest patriotic organisation of our people, the mighty Indian National Congress is back in our midst again.... Every son and daughter of India, every patriotic organisation of our land, is looking to the greatest son of our nation to take it out of the bog in which none is safe.”

Amidst this record of sordid betrayal, acknowledged by the Stalinists' own self-criticisms, about the only thing left for them to point to in that period is the relief work that the CPI organised during the Bengal famine. That famine in 1943 was a direct result of the imperialist war: war-



Sunil Janah

**March in Bombay, February 1946, part of revolt by Royal Indian Navy enlisted men that electrified country and led to general strike in the city. Left: Massacre of demonstrators supporting sailors was carried out by British under Labour prime minister Clement Attlee (right).**



Karsh

time inflation, grain speculation and hoarding exacerbated by the loss of grain from Burma led to mass starvation. The arrogant indifference of the colonial administration was compounded by Churchill's decision to cut back shipping to India. A.J.P. Taylor noted “A million and a half Indians died of starvation for the sake of a white man's quarrel in North Africa” (*English History 1914-1945*).

The CPI's famine relief work was not part of some revolutionary agitation against the war, but linked closely to its “war effort” on the food production “front.” Even if it did assist many in dire straits, the CPI's famine relief work was a variant of Salvation Army mission work for Winston Churchill. In Bengal the CPI lost cadre because of its flirtation with the Muslim League, and it is noteworthy that in areas where the CPI dominated the peasant associations such as eastern Bengal and Telangana the peasant struggles over land and usury were restrained during the war compared to other areas.

The situation in Bengal impinges directly on the question of Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army (INA). There are Stalinoid critics of Gandhi's Congress (and thus presumably its CPI tails) who look to Bose's INA as a revolutionary alternative. At one time a left critic within Congress and elected as its head over the objections of Gandhi et al., Bose split to form the Forward Bloc Party in Bengal. Forward Bloc was banned and Bose arrested in 1940; he escaped on the eve of his trial in 1941 and travelled across northern India to Afghanistan, from there to Moscow. During the pre-June Russo-German alliance, Bose was welcomed by Hitler and “given high-powered radio facilities to beam daily broadcasts to India...urging his countrymen to rise in revolt against British tyranny” (Wolpert). In the spring of 1943, Bose travelled to Southeast Asia whereupon Tojo turned over all his Indian POWs to Bose's command. In January

1944 he started his Indian National Army on their march north crossing the borders of India and reached the outskirts of Tripura's state capital, Imphal, by May. Defeated by the British garrison, the INA surrendered in Rangoon and Bose escaped on the last Japanese plane to leave Saigon. He died in Formosa after a crash landing. When the captured officers of Bose's INA went on trial in the winter of 1945-6 they were widely heralded as nationalist martyrs. On 18 February 1946 the Royal Indian Navy mutinied in Bombay harbour; the mutiny spread to Karachi. The British stepped up their attempts to extricate themselves from India.

Undoubtedly the INA was popular, particularly in Bengal, and among its ranks were those seeking a way to fight

quickly learnt that the Japanese masters were no better than their deeply hated English, American, Dutch and French masters. The tragedy in India, and especially Bengal, was that the masses were given no choice but subordination to one or another imperialist.

These betrayals in India expose those such as the Stalinists of the *Lalkar* publication of the Indian Workers Association who absurdly insist that “revisionism” began with Khrushchev's reign. For them, “So long as Comrade Stalin was in the leadership of the CPSU and was organising the tireless vigilance that needed to be exercised” “trounc[ing]” “the reactionary Trotskyite and Bukharinite opposition” all was well! (In fact, the CPI(M) still celebrates Stalin's birthday in Calcutta.) And the Stalinists today prefer not to talk too much about their record in India during the Second World War, not only because it is such an affront to the revolutionary aspirations of the masses but also because they continue to pursue a class-collaborationist alliance with the Indian bourgeoisie.

Instead they seek to hide behind the figure of Stalin as a great war leader who defeated fascist barbarism. Somehow the Stalinist sins in India are to be exonerated on the basis that Stalin saved mankind. To this end, *Lalkar's* Harpal Brar turgidly regurgitates all the old Stalinist lies about Tukhachevsky being an agent of Hitler to justify his murder and the purge of the Red Army officer corps in his book *Pere-stroika: The Complete Collapse of Revisionism*. In the course of these bloody purges—between 1937 and 1939 (i.e., beginning during the popular front period)—the Red Army lost three of its five Marshals, all eleven of its Deputy Commissars for Defence, 75 of 80 of its members of the Military soviet, all its military district commanders who held that post in June 1937. The naval and air chiefs of staff were killed. Thirteen out of 15 army commanders were shot, 57 out of 85 corps commanders were shot, as were 110 out of the 195 divisional commanders. In the Far Eastern forces, over 80 per cent of the staff were purged. Tukhachevsky had predicted an attack like Operation Barbarossa and he and his comrades had a lively sense of technological innovation. These experienced and talented veterans of the Civil War were replaced by incompetent cronies of Stalin, who abolished the Red Army's tank units—one of these replacements thought automatic weapons were just for policemen.

Right up to the day of the invasion Stalin was shipping vital raw materials to Germany. Warnings and precise intelligence from [Leopold] Trepper's Red Orchestra and Richard Sorge in Japan were labelled as “English provocations” and not passed on to the general staff. Stalin forbade the dispersal of the air force (and it was consequently massacred on the ground) and ruled out any effective planning of defence in depth. Even after the invasion had begun, Stalin countermanded orders for the artillery to return fire, and forbade air-raid precautions in cities under attack. The criminal conduct of Stalin and his gang directly led to the loss of two and a half million soldiers in 1941, huge areas of territory (including important

*continued on page 12*

## ICL Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program

The Declaration of Principles of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is a concrete expression of our purpose: to build national sections of a democratic-centralist international which can lead the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution.

Chinese . . . . .	\$1	Japanese . . . . .	\$2
English . . . . .	\$2	Polish . . . . .	\$1
French . . . . .	\$2	Portuguese . . . . .	\$1
German . . . . .	\$2	Russian . . . . .	\$1
Greek . . . . .	\$1	Spanish . . . . .	\$1.50
Indonesian . . . . .	\$1	Tagalog . . . . .	\$1
Italian . . . . .	\$1	Turkish . . . . .	\$1

**Make checks payable/mail to:**

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

**SPARTACIST**  
NUMBER 54 ENGLISH EDITION SPRING 1998  
**For New October Revolutions!**  
Third International Conference of the ICL  
SEE PAGE 2  
**Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program**  
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)  
SEE PAGE 9  
**On the Origins and Development of Leninist Organizational Practices**  
SEE PAGE 24  
**Organizational Rules and Guidelines**  
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)  
SEE PAGE 31  
**Women and Permanent Revolution in South Africa**  
SEE PAGE 48  
AUSTRIA...\$4.00 BELGIUM...\$7.00 CANADA...\$9.00 FRANCE...\$12.00 GERMANY...\$12.00 GREECE...\$12.00 ITALY...\$12.00 JAPAN...\$12.00 NETHERLANDS...\$12.00 POLAND...\$12.00 PORTUGAL...\$12.00 SOUTH AFRICA...\$12.00 SWITZERLAND...\$12.00

# Ireland...

(continued from page 1)

today, heavily indebted Portugal and Spain are already caught up in the panic hitting European financial markets, with countries such as Belgium also at high risk. Ireland's bailout funds will serve to bolster its biggest creditors, which are primarily British banks. These include the Royal Bank of Scotland and Lloyds, both of which have already been bailed out by the British taxpayer and together stand exposed to some £80 billion [\$125 billion] of Ireland's debts.

German and French banks are also exposed in Ireland. But the real concern is Spain, whose economy (not to mention deficit) is considerably larger than that of Greece, Ireland and Portugal combined and may be simply too big for the EU to rescue. If the crisis extends beyond Ireland, it will call into question the continued existence of the single European currency.

Salvaging Europe's *banks* is the primary aim of the imperialist bailouts of Ireland, Greece and any other country under consideration. In Ireland, Britain and Europe as a whole, each government is determined to make the working masses pay for a crisis that is caused by the capitalist system itself. The austerity measures that governments are trying to ram through, including slashing the wages of public sector workers, gutting pensions and ramping up taxes, hit hardest at the poorest in society. In Ireland and elsewhere this includes immigrant workers.

## For Class Struggle Against Capitalist Austerity!

The only way to fight these attacks is through hard class struggle. The Greek working class has already waged several one-day strikes this year against austerity. The French trade unions repeatedly brought the country to a halt—including blockading the oil refineries—during September and October in opposition to legislation to raise the pension age. And the Spanish and Portuguese trade unions have staged one-day general strikes against austerity measures. However, the effectiveness of the workers' struggles has been



IMF officials pass beggar on way to bailout meeting at Central Bank of Ireland, November 18.

hampered by the political bankruptcy of the workers' reformist leadership, who accept the inevitability of capitalist austerity while seeking to soften the blows.

What's needed is the forging of a revolutionary leadership of the working class based on the understanding that there are no common interests between the proletariat and the capitalist bloodsuckers: workers must fight for what we need, not for what the bosses say they can afford. To the capitalist rulers who brought Ireland to the brink of bankruptcy, workers must say: To hell with the savage National Recovery Plan! But to unleash the social power of the organised working class and to forge a class-struggle leadership in the trade unions requires a political struggle against the reformist trade-union bureaucracy and Labour Party leaders who are committed to defending the interests of Irish capitalism.

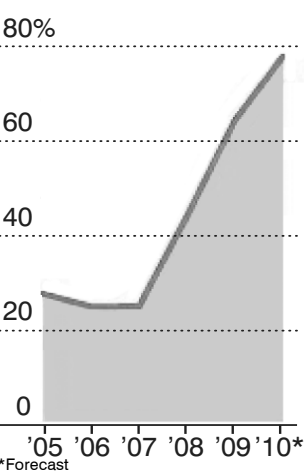
The servility of the trade-union bureaucrats was shown earlier this year when the leaders of Ireland's main unions signed a deal with the government known as the Croke Park agreement, which effectively renounced class struggle against a previously announced round of budget cuts until 2014. One of the signatories, Jack O'Connor, leader of the Services Industrial Professional Technical Union, said there was no alternative. "Let's assume we could win an industrial battle for a better deal—we'd still have to deal with the deficit," he told the London *Financial*

*Times* (23 May). The Croke Park agreement was the culmination of years of treacherous "partnership" agreements that kept workers' wages low during the boom years in order to support the "Celtic Tiger" economy. There is no partnership between capital and labour, whose class interests are irreconcilably counterposed!

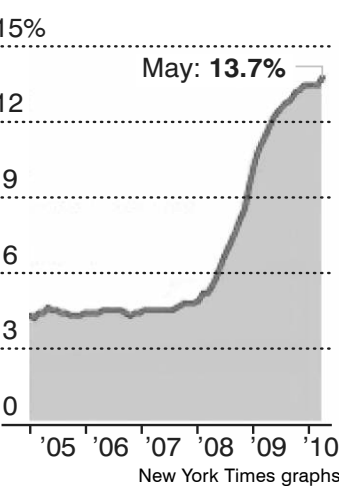
At a mass protest in Dublin called by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) on November 27, O'Connor was booed by demonstrators chanting "Sell-out!" The ICTU slogan for the demonstration was: "There is a better, fairer way"...to solve the capitalist crisis. One of the country's largest trade unions, the Technical Engineering and Electrical Union, is calling for a campaign of civil disobedience "if the government does not hold a general election." Tailing Labour and the trade-union leaders, reformist left groups are also angling for a general election. The Socialist Party's Member of the European Parliament, Joe Higgins, announced that his party will team up with remains of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to form the United Left Alliance (ULA). Higgins is joined by Richard Boyd-Barrett, a local councillor elected on the SWP-led "People Before Profit Alliance" ticket.

Let anyone think the ULA represents a challenge to the Irish capitalist order, Boyd-Barrett assured the *Irish Times* (26 November) that the alliance will be based on "simple principles of solidarity

DEBT  
As a share of G.D.P.



IRISH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE  
Seasonally adjusted



# John Reed...

(continued from page 2)

desert, is the owner of big copper mines where thousands of American workers are exploited, and when these workers dared to go on strike the guards protecting Mr. Dodge's mines drove them at the point of the bayonet out into the desert—just as was done to the Armenians.

Many Armenians are grateful to America for its attitude to the Armenians who suffered from the brutality of the Turks during the war. But what has America done for the Armenians apart from issuing wordy declarations? Nothing. I was in Constantinople at that time, in 1915, and I know that the missionaries refused to make any serious protest against the atrocities, saying that they had a lot of property in Turkey and so did not want to bring pressure to bear on the Turks. The American ambassador, Mr. Strauss, himself a millionaire who exploited thousands of workers in his enterprises in America, proposed that the entire Armenian people be shipped to America, and himself donated quite a large sum for this project to be carried out; but his plan was to make the Armenians work in American factories and provide cheap labour so as to increase the profits of Mr. Strauss and his friends.

But why do the American capitalists promise aid and food to Armenia? Is it out of pure philanthropy? If so, let them feed the peoples of Central America and help the Negroes of America itself.

No. The main reason is that there is mineral wealth in Armenia, and that it is a big reservoir of cheap labour which can be exploited by American capitalists.

The American capitalists want to win the confidence of the Armenians with a

view to getting their claws into Armenia and enslaving the Armenian nation. It is with this aim that American missionaries have established schools in the Near East.

But there is also another very important reason: the American capitalists, together with the other capitalist nations, united in the League of Nations, are afraid that the workers and peasants of Armenia will follow the example of Soviet Russia and Soviet Azerbaidzhan, will take power and their country's resources into their own hands, and will work for themselves, making a united front with the workers and peasants of the whole world against world imperialism. The American capitalists are afraid of a revolution in the East.

Promising food to starving peoples and at the same time organizing a blockade of the Soviet Republics—that is the policy of the United States. The blockade of Soviet Russia has starved to death thousands of Russian women and children. This same method of blockade was applied in order to turn the Hungarian people against their Soviet Government. The same tactic is now being used in order to draw the people of White Hungary into war against Soviet Russia. This method is also being used in the small countries bordering on Russia—Finland, Estonia, Latvia. But now all these small countries have been obliged to make peace with Soviet Russia: they are bankrupt and starving. Now the American Government no longer offers them food; they are no longer of any use to America, and so their peoples can starve.

The American capitalists promise bread to Armenia. This is an old trick. They promise bread but they never give it. Did Hungary get bread after the fall of the Soviet Government? No. The Hungarian people are still starving today. Did the

Baltic countries get bread? No. At a time when the starving Estonians had nothing but potatoes, the American capitalists sent them ships laden with rotten potatoes which could not be sold at a profit in America. No, comrades, Uncle Sam is not one ever to give anybody something for nothing. He comes along with a sack stuffed with straw in one hand and a whip in the other. Whoever takes Uncle Sam's promises at their face value will find himself obliged to pay for them with blood and sweat. The American workers are demanding an ever larger share of the product of their labour; with a view to preventing revolution at home, the American capitalists are forced to seek out colonial peoples to exploit, peoples who will furnish sufficient profit to keep the American workers in obedience and so make them participants in the exploitation of the Armenians. I represent thousands of revolutionary American workers who know this, and who understand that, acting together with the Armenian workers and peasants, with the toiling masses of the whole world, they will overthrow capitalism. World capitalism will be destroyed, and all the peoples will be free. We appreciate the need for solidarity between all the oppressed and toiling peoples, for unity of the revolutionary workers of all the countries of Europe and America under the leadership of the Russian Bolsheviks, in the Communist International. And we say to you, peoples of the East: Do not believe the promises of the American capitalists!

There is only one road to freedom. Unite with the Russian workers and peasants who have overthrown their capitalists and whose Red Army has beaten the foreign imperialists! Follow the red star of the Communist International! ■

and people power" and was not "talking about extremism." The SWP is so mired in the ideology of the "death of communism" that even the cravenly reformist Socialist Party complains that the SWP argued that "socialist policies would put people off from voting for candidates or from getting involved in a left alliance" (socialistparty.net, 11 November).

As for the Socialist Party's version of "socialism," it amounts to nothing but old-fashioned Labour reformism, encapsulated today in the call for nationalisation of the banks (coupled with "end the bailouts"). Leaving aside that the banks are either already nationalised, partly nationalised or on the verge of nationalisation, this is hardly a "socialist" measure but simply a scheme for trying to ameliorate the capitalist crisis. Far from offering a challenge to Ireland's clericalist capitalist state, the ULA will amount to an auxiliary to the Labour Party.

A general election would almost certainly result in a coalition government of the bourgeois Fine Gael and the Labour Party. Indeed, the Labour Party is currently seen as the party which will win the votes of workers who traditionally have voted Fianna Fail. Currently polling at 27 per cent, compared to its usual 10-12 per cent, Labour's potential role in the next government would be particularly useful to the capitalist class. Promising "to give the people the leadership required to turn this country around, rebuild the economy and restore national morale," Labour is best placed of all the parties to try to convince the working class to knuckle down and accept austerity.

In Ireland, "left" governments take the form of "popular fronts"—i.e., coalitions between the reformist Labour Party and outright representatives of the bourgeoisie. Revolutionaries are unconditionally opposed to these alliances, which chain the workers to the capitalist class enemy. Likewise, we are opposed to voting for bourgeois parties, including the Sinn Féin nationalists and the Green Party.

Sinn Féin is itself seeking to capitalise on the decline of Fianna Fail. Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams, a longtime leader of the party in [Protestant-dominated] Northern Ireland, plans to contest a Dail seat south of the border. Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness occupies the deputy First Minister's post in the Northern Ireland Assembly, where his party has shown its loyalty to the sectarian Orange state, including to its police force which is notorious for brutal subjugation of the oppressed Catholics. The British Army has retained a garrison of several thousand troops who can be called upon instantly to provide "assistance" to the Police Service of Northern Ireland/Royal Ulster Constabulary. We demand: All British troops and bases out of Northern Ireland now!

Sinn Féin's support for state repression against dissident Irish Republicans in the North ought to go down well in the Dublin government, which has been committed to repression of Republicans since the foundation of the Irish Republic in 1921-22. Sinn Féin shares Fianna Fail's commitment to Catholic nationalism, which is viciously anti-woman, anti-Traveller [Gypsy] and anti-working-class. Sinn Féin has produced its own plan for economic recovery, promising to cut spending. This is further proof of Sinn Féin's commit-

# North Korea...

(continued from page 1)

China considers to be under its sovereignty. The U.S. is increasingly trying to pressure Beijing to “rein in” North Korea, which is heavily dependent on its economic as well as diplomatic ties with the Chinese deformed workers state. In the trove of U.S. diplomatic cables just released by WikiLeaks is a stern message from 2007 demanding that China “take action” to stop North Korea from shipping missile parts to Iran through Beijing. Now, with China refusing to condemn North Korea for the shelling of Yeonpyeong, the U.S., Japan and South Korea are rejecting Beijing’s request for emergency talks over the crisis.

The Yeonpyeong incident took place only days after the Obama administration raised a renewed hue and cry over North Korea’s nuclear capacity. Stanford University scientist Siegfried Hecker, a former director of the U.S. nuclear lab at Los Alamos, had reported that North Korean officials had shown him a light-water reactor construction site at the Yongbyon nuclear complex. While Hecker noted that the facility was “much more suitable for making electricity than for bombs,” he also opined that a companion ultramodern uranium enrichment facility designed to support civilian electrical generation had the ability to provide fuel for dozens of nuclear bombs. North Korea manifestly needs both electricity and nuclear weapons, the latter to deter imperialist military attack. Indeed, the fact that Pyongyang has demonstrated such capacity has served to stay the hands of the U.S. and its South Korean client state.

The current U.S.-South Korean exercises follow similar military maneuvers that began in July, ostensibly in response to the sinking of the South Korean Navy corvette *Cheonan* near Baengnyeong Island in March. A U.S.-South Korean report claimed that the warship had been sunk by a North Korean torpedo, which Pyongyang denied. China and Russia refused to go along with the story. We noted at the time that “the ‘official’ story stinks.” But we insisted that “even if the North Korean

navy did sink the *Cheonan*, it would have been an act of defense against repeated provocations by the U.S. and South Korea” (“Defend North Korea Against U.S. Imperialism!” WV No. 960, 4 June). Our article explained, “As Marxists, our attitude regarding this affair is determined not by claims of who was responsible for the sinking, the cause of which is shrouded in mystery, but by *class* considerations: Despite being saddled with a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, North Korea is a workers state based on the overthrow of capitalist rule.”

The U.S. launched the Korean War (under the UN flag) not only to smash social revolution on the peninsula but also to overthrow the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state that issued out of the 1949 Revolution. The entry of a million Chinese People’s Liberation Army troops turned the tide against the imperialist forces, leading to a stalemate at the 38th parallel, which divides North from South Korea. A peace treaty was never signed, and the South refused to sign the armistice agreement between the U.S. and North Korea. Both Yeonpyeong and Baengnyeong islands lie in disputed waters demarcated by a line unilaterally drawn by the U.S. which the North has never recognized. Since the Korean War, the U.S. has maintained a massive military presence in the South, today numbering 28,500 troops, while subjecting North Korea to decades of military encirclement and embargo. We say: *All U.S.*

*troops and bases out of South Korea!*

Despite the rule of a nepotistic and bizarre Stalinist regime, North Korea’s planned economy significantly outperformed the South until the mid 1970s, creating a modern industrial infrastructure. At the same time, being divided from the South by a “demilitarized zone” packed with more weaponry per square meter than any place on earth has severely distorted the North’s economy. The situation became desperate in the aftermath of the 1991-92 counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which had provided the bulk of military and technological aid to North Korea. In 1992, China’s nationalist Stalinist regime cut off shipments of cheap oil to the North in order to obtain diplomatic and economic relations with South Korea. In 1995, North Korea was hit by a horrific famine, stemming from floods and droughts, from which it has still not recovered.

As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states—North Korea, China, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialism and internal capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, we fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies, whose policies are encapsulated in the dogma of “building socialism in one country.” Opposing the fight for international proletarian revolution, the privileged bureaucracies instead pursue a futile quest for “peaceful coex-

istence” with imperialism, undermining the defense of those states against the class enemy.

In 2006 and again in 2009, China criminally voted for sanctions against North Korea in the UN Security Council following missile tests by Pyongyang. Likewise, Beijing has repeatedly brokered “six-party talks”—involving the U.S., China, Japan, Russia and the two Koreas—aimed at disarming North Korea. Beijing’s craven appeasement of imperialism not only imperils North Korea but dangerously undermines the defense of China itself.

For their part, the North Korean Stalinists have long called for “peaceful reunification” with the South—a recipe for reunification on a capitalist basis. An article titled “WikiLeaks Row: China Wants Korean Reunification, Officials Confirm” in the London *Guardian* (30 November) cites Chinese officials in Europe who say that Beijing also favors the “independent and peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula in the long term.” The program of *capitalist* reunification is a betrayal not only of the North Korean workers state but also of the historically militant and combative South Korean proletariat. As we go to press, Hyundai workers on temporary contracts are in the 16th day of a plant occupation in Ulsan, and warrants have been issued for the arrest of seven of the strike leaders.

Many South Koreans feel a sense of solidarity with the North based on strong nationalist sentiments fed by a century of Japanese and American imperialist overlordship. But Korea is divided along *class* lines. Korean nationalism, promoted by both the North Korean Stalinist regime and the South Korean reformist left, serves to tie the South Korean proletariat to its own capitalist ruling class. What is needed is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party based on proletarian internationalism to lead the struggle for the *revolutionary reunification of Korea*—for socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats in the North. Linked to the fight for proletarian political revolution in China, this struggle must ultimately extend to the victory of proletarian rule in the imperialist heartlands of Japan and the U.S. ■



**November 29: New York City protest denounces U.S. threats against North Korea.**

ment to serve the bankers and bosses and their capitalist system, which is ruining the lives of the working class.

## For Proletarian Internationalism!

According to Irish economist Morgan Kelly, as many as 100,000 mortgage holders will default on their payments in the coming period. “People are going to extraordinary lengths—not paying other bills and borrowing heavily from their parents—to meet mortgage repayments, both out of fear of losing their homes and to avoid the stigma of admitting that they are broke,” said Kelly (*Irish Times*, 8 November). He noted that the presence of a permanent team of European Central Bank “observers” in Dublin’s Department of Finance (known collectively as “The Germans”) has led to a nationalist hue and cry over Ireland’s “sovereignty” being surrendered to the EU.

The Irish bailout also brought forth an outpouring of chauvinism in England, not least from right-wing Tory backbenchers [Members of Parliament not serving in the Cabinet]. However, the situation was not without its ironies. Noting that “heavily indebted Britain is borrowing another £7bn or so to lend to catastrophically indebted Ireland,” journalist Philip Stephens remarked in the *Financial Times* (22 November) that Tory opponents of the EU didn’t know whether “to savour the eurozone crisis or to berate David Cameron for contributing to the Irish bail-out.”

British prime minister Cameron tried to assuage his backbenchers by claiming that the £7 billion his government made available to Ireland is merely help for “a friend in need.” Not quite: Britain’s capitalist rulers are offering a *loan* to Ireland which, if accepted, will have to be repaid. This is what the British government is today demanding of Iceland, which received such a loan made when its bank-

ing system tanked in 2008 and the economy was thrown into recession. At the time, Britain’s Labour government offered a loan not out of generosity but because Icelandic banks held huge funds belonging to British investors, including local councils. Cameron’s motivation in regard to Ireland is not unconnected to the fact that the British economy is in the doldrums and Britain’s trade with Ireland exceeds that with China, India, Brazil and Russia put together.

The working class must understand that the capitalist system itself can and must be overthrown by workers revolution. A revolutionary leadership would fight for a series of transitional demands linking the struggle against the current attacks on the working class and the poor to an understanding of the need for proletarian socialist revolution. Faced with mass unemployment, a class-struggle leadership in the unions would demand sharing the work among all workers, with no loss in pay. Against job insecurity, it is necessary to eliminate the differences between workers on temporary and permanent contracts, requiring a fight to organise the unorganised. In the interests of women, who are especially oppressed in the Irish clericalist capitalist state, we call for free abortion on demand and for free, quality, 24-hour childcare. Against the divide-and-rule racism of the bourgeois state, we demand *full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

We are implacably opposed to the EU, an imperialist trade bloc within which the major European imperialists co-operate against the working class and immigrants, as well as against their imperialist rivals in the U.S. and Japan. Within the EU, Germany, France and Britain dominate the poorer member states. The “second tier” includes East European countries that were devastated by capitalist counterrevolution, which also destroyed the

Soviet Union in 1991-92. Today East Europe is used as a source of cheap labour, raw materials and markets by the big powers within the EU.

The single European currency has enabled German imperialism to increase its competitive edge over other countries in the euro zone. But the single currency, and the EU itself, are inherently unstable entities, subject to the conflicting national interests of Europe’s capitalist governments. Our proletarian-internationalist opposition to the EU is counterposed to reactionary “Euroscepticism” and national chauvinism, which is poison to class struggle, serving to pit workers against each other along national lines and reinforcing racism.

Ireland’s extraordinary growth rate during the Celtic Tiger years was based on extremely low corporate taxes, a construction boom and a housing market bubble. U.S. corporations have taken advantage not only of Ireland’s 12.5 per cent corporate tax rate but also of a scam known as the “Double Irish.” This is not a large Jameson but a method of escaping even the low tax rate by shuttling profits into and out of Irish subsidiaries, as allowed by Irish law. This particular tax dodge is favoured by Facebook and Google.

Ireland’s working people have now fallen victim to the boom-bust cycle that is inevitable under capitalism. What must be understood is that the only way out of this cycle is through the workers in Ireland—North and South—joining with the multiethnic proletariat in Britain, which has a large Irish component, in the overthrow of the capitalist order throughout these islands. The working class in Britain, which is currently facing an enormous attack at the hands of the Tory-Liberal Democrat government’s budget cuts, must wage class struggle to defend its own interests and forge a new, revolutionary lead-

ership in opposition to Labour reformism.

As proletarian internationalists, we vehemently oppose nationalist protectionism and anti-Irish chauvinism, as virulently expressed in the demand “British jobs for British workers.” Our programme for a workers republic in Ireland, part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles, is based on the understanding that the fate of the working classes on these islands is indissolubly linked. Socialist revolution will sweep away the reactionary “United Kingdom,” the Orange statelet in Northern Ireland which is inherently oppressive of the Catholic minority, and the Catholic clericalist state in the South. Our task is to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties dedicated to the fight for socialist revolution on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea—an essential part of the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

**WORKERS HAMMER**  
No. 112 AUTUMN 2010 40p

**Stop persecution of Tamils!**

**All Indian and Pakistani troops out now!**

**Down with India's bloody repression in Kashmir!**

**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

# Miners...

(continued from page 5)

reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready.”

—*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970

What was needed in Chile in 1970-73, as today, was a revolutionary party to lead the workers in socialist revolution. Tragically, in the absence of a revolutionary leadership that could break the Chilean proletariat from its class-collaborationist leaders, our prediction proved all too accurate. Those leftists in Chile and elsewhere who supported the popular front helped deceive the workers into believing it was possible to significantly improve their situation without breaking with the capitalist parties and ultimately overthrowing the bourgeois order. Chile provided a dearly paid confirmation of Karl Marx’s teaching that “the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes” (*The Civil War in France*, 1871). In the end, the bourgeoisie used its state power to crush the proletariat.

## Allende Paved Way for Pinochet

The UP came to power amid intense class struggle that had been sweeping the country for several years. In March 1966, troops led by then-colonel Pinochet gunned down eight workers in the copper mining town of El Salvador. By the following year, a wave of strikes was sweeping the mines, steel mills and other industries, while agricultural workers and landless peasants occupied the landed estates.

The UP government from the beginning rested on a tacit agreement with the dominant bourgeois party, the Christian Democrats, without whose votes Allende could not get a single one of his reforms passed by Congress. And those proposed reforms were quite modest. In opposition to the revolutionary call to expropriate the capitalist class, the UP was pledged to protect private property. Its program simply called for a few nationalizations, notably of copper mines, whose net result would be an improvement of the position of the Chilean bourgeoisie vis-à-vis the imperialists. Under the land reform of the

Allende government, peasants were to pay for all land they received and most of the large capitalist farms were exempted. Both the policy of nationalizations and the tepid land reform plan were carried over from the Christian Democratic regime that preceded the UP.

The UP government adopted a policy of appeasing the rightists and ratcheting up repression against the workers while pushing austerity and speedup (which it

attempting to do away with the sliding scale of wages (cost-of-living escalator), a vital gain given the rampant inflation at the time. Allende sent riot cops against the miners and moved to “restore order” in two mining provinces by placing them under military control.

While Allende sought to vilify the strikers as “privileged,” the Stalinist CP went even further, labeling them “fascists.” The Castroite MIR (Revolutionary



Gerretsen/Gamma

## Troops round up leftists in Santiago during September 1973 coup.

promoted as the “Battle for Production”). In the fall of 1972, truck owner-drivers, supported by shopkeepers and other petty-bourgeois sectors, staged a countrywide work stoppage. Allende responded by inviting military leaders into the government—and naming Pinochet acting commander-in-chief of the army. Allende also promulgated a law that permitted unannounced raids by the military in search of arms. Though ostensibly directed against both right- and left-wing “extremists,” this law was used exclusively against the unions, workers occupying factories and the workers parties. Meanwhile, fascist groups such as Patria y Libertad built up sizable arms stockpiles.

In the spring of 1973, the government took aim at the 13,000 copper miners at nationalized El Teniente, then the largest underground mine in the world, as a test case for a broad assault on the strategically powerful copper miners. The UP provoked a strike at El Teniente by

Left Movement), which was formally outside the UP coalition but gave the Allende government “critical support,” denounced the El Teniente strike as “more disastrous than any avalanche or landslide” because of the lost revenue that it was costing the country (*Punto Final*, 5 June 1973).

Bourgeois forces such as the Christian Democrats sought to use the issue of the strike against the UP government. The Christian Democrats had earlier won control of the copper unions in elections after miners at Chuquicamata had gone on strike and Cuban Stalinist leader Fidel Castro, who supported the Allende regime, unsuccessfully appealed to them to “sacrifice more” for the good of the fatherland. As we wrote at the time of the El Teniente strike:

“A revolutionary leadership of the unions would rapidly extend the strike and demand the formation of a government of the workers parties alone, which would expropriate the key sectors of the economy.... The ability of the Christian

Democrats to win control of the miners’ unions is due solely to the complete failure of the left parties to put forward such a program in the labor movement.”

—“Defend Chilean Miners’ Strike” (WV No. 23, 22 June 1973)

In the final months of the Allende government, sections of the proletariat were beginning to reject its anti-working-class policies by forming the “*cordones industriales*” (district coordinating bodies of factory committees) in the industrial belts around Santiago. An acute pre-revolutionary situation had ripened with the emergence of these embryonic dual-power formations, and the leftist coalition in power was increasingly unable to contain the militant working class. Thus, the central goal of the reactionary putschists led by Pinochet was not merely the ouster of a shaky regime but the annihilation of the organized workers movement.

In order to excuse their own betrayals in Chile and alibi the SP-CP policy of class collaboration, the Stalinists and other reformists claimed that the coup was the work of fascists and extreme reactionaries in league with the CIA. There is no doubt that the ultra-right provided leadership of the coup and that the CIA was actively involved in helping foment it. But to hold the “ultras” and the CIA solely responsible was to ignore the fact that every important section of the Chilean ruling class—including the “moderate” Christian Democrats and the “constitutionalist” officers included in the UP regime—was involved in the coup in one way or another.

For leftists, the central lesson of Chile under Allende is summed up in the following remark made decades earlier by the revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky: “In reality, the Popular Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch” (“The POUM and the Popular Front,” 16 July 1936). In Chile, as in Spain 1936-39, France 1936 and Indonesia 1965, the popular front has always served to undermine the workers’ class consciousness and set them up for often bloody defeat. Drawing that lesson is a crucial task in the forging of a Trotskyist party in Chile—independent of and in opposition to all wings of the Chilean bourgeoisie—as a section of a reformed Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

# India...

(continued from page 9)

industrial plants which Stalin had refused to locate east of the Volga until that summer) and an almost fatal blow being delivered to the workers state.

The Soviet Union survived because *despite Stalin* the Red Army fought tooth and nail to stop the onslaught. In December 1941 Zhukov’s effective counterattack was wrecked by Stalin’s personal meddling and as late as the summer of 1942 the simple incompetence of Stalin and one of his toadies led to the loss of 200,000 men in the Crimea. It was only with the emergence of a competent layer of generals not liable to listen so much to Stalin that the heroism of the Red Army and Soviet peoples was turned into the liberation of the Soviet homeland and

Eastern Europe from the Nazi scourge. Not only did Stalin’s general policies of “socialism in one country” lead to near fatal catastrophe but his particular military contribution was disastrous.

## For a Revolutionary Proletarian Solution!

At independence the subcontinent faced the unspeakable horrors of Partition and today it remains one of the most impoverished, oppressed and exploited areas in the world, a veritable prison-house for national minorities, women and lower castes. The communalist slaughters engulfing Partition killed between one and two million Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus (mainly in Punjab and Bengal) and the forced migrations in its aftermath displaced over eleven million. A *New York Times* correspondent, Robert Trumbull, reported of the Partition: “In India today

blood flows oftener than rain falls. I have seen dead by the hundreds and, worst of all, thousands of Indians without eyes, feet or hands. Death by shooting is merciful and uncommon” (quoted in Collins and Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight*). Muslim babies were discovered “roasted like piglets on spits” and the 45-mile road from Lahore to Amritsar became such an “open graveyard” that, according to one British officer, “The vultures had become so bloated by their feasts they could no longer fly.” A stationmaster at Amritsar recounted what had initially seemed to be a “phantom train,” one of many rolling into Punjabi stations at the time: “The floor of the compartment before him was a mass of human bodies, throats cut, skulls smashed, bodies eviscerated. Arms, legs, trunks of bodies were strewn along the corridors of compartments.... He turned to look back at the train. As he did, he saw in great white-washed letters on the flank of the last car the [Pakistani] Moslem assassins’ calling card. ‘This train is our Independence gift to [Indian Congress nationalists] Nehru and Patel!’” (*ibid*).

The lessons of the struggle for Indian independence and the social liberation of India’s toiling masses are crucial not only for revolutionaries on the subcontinent but in all those countries where the permanent revolution applies, from South Africa to Iran. A Leninist-Trotskyist party must be built in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular frontism, counterposing a revolutionary programme for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation *under the dictatorship of the proletariat*. Writing in 1915 of the tasks for Russian revolutionaries Leon Trotsky called for “a *revolu-*

*tionary workers’ government*, the conquest of power by the Russian proletariat”:

“But revolution is first and foremost a question of power—not of the state form (constituent assembly, republic, united states) but of the social content of the government. The demands for a constituent assembly and the confiscation of land under present conditions lose all direct revolutionary significance without the readiness of the proletariat to fight for the conquest of power....” (“The Struggle for Power”)

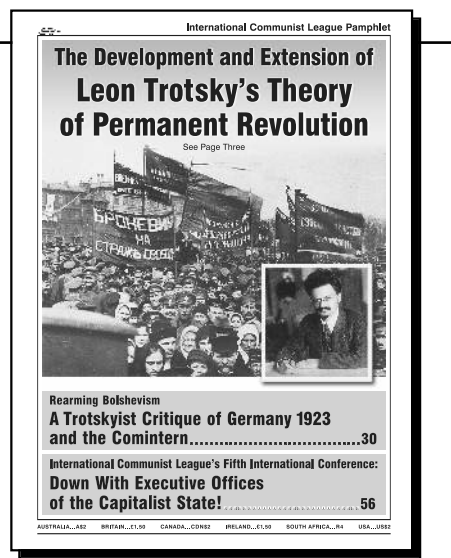
Because the Bolsheviks were committed to such a programme, the Russian Revolution of 1917 produced the first workers state on the planet. The USSR stood then as a beacon for the colonial and semi-colonial masses struggling for their liberation, as well as for the exploited working masses in the imperialist countries. Lenin and Trotsky’s Third International, later to be destroyed by Stalin, sought to bring the lessons of October to the workers of every land.

Today we in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) fight to forge a revolutionary international which Lenin and Trotsky would recognise as their own. It will be an especially gratifying victory when the workers of the entire Indian subcontinent lead all the oppressed in throwing off the chains of neocolonial enslavement through victorious socialist revolution. ■

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



## NOTICE

**Workers Vanguard skips an issue in December.**

**Our next issue will be dated January 7.**

Subject Index...

(continued from page 16)

Labor Struggles in the “Socialist Market Economy” (S)  
Part One, #964, 10 Sept. (6, 7, 8, 9)  
Part Two, #965, 24 Sept. (8, 9, 10, 11)

Cholera—See **Haiti**.

Cicero, Illinois—See **Civil Rights Movement**.

**CIVIL LIBERTIES**

- **General**—And see **Drugs; Quote of the Week**.  
Phone Worker Exposes Government Spying Network (R) (by John Perry, a review of *Wiring Up the Big Brother Machine...And Fighting It*), #953, 26 Feb. (12, 11)  
Supreme Court Decision Shreds First Amendment Rights, #961, 2 July (16, 15)
- **Cases**—And see **Partisan Defense Committee; U.S.: General**. See also **Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row; Iraq**.  
Free the MOVE Prisoners!, #959, 21 May (2, 5)  
Letter on Prison Hell (L) (CSDN), #960, 4 June (6)  
Radical Lawyer Lynne Stewart Resentenced to 10 Years, #962, 30 July (12, 11)  
Polanski Wins, Witchhunters Lose, #962, 30 July (2)  
Free Walter and Gwendolyn Myers! Free the Cuban Five! (CSDN), #963, 27 Aug. (2)  
Drop the Charges Against the Newburgh Four! (CSDN), #963, 27 Aug. (2)
- **FBI Raids**  
“War on Terror” Witchhunt—Protest FBI Raids on Leftists, Union Activists!, #966, 8 Oct. (1, 4, 5)  
PDC Protests FBI Raids, #966, 8 Oct. (4)

**CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT**—And see **Quote of the Week**.  
MLK Did Not Lead 1966 March in Cicero (L) (YSp), #952, 12 Feb. (7)  
The Cold War and the Civil Rights Movement (S)  
Part One, #956, 9 Apr. (6, 7, 8, 9)  
Part Two, #957, 23 Apr. (6, 7, 8, 9)

Civil War, U.S.—See **Black Question; Quote of the Week**. See also **Education**.

Cold War—See **Civil Rights Movement**.

Colonialism—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; French West Indies; Puerto Rico**.

Communist International—See **Quote of the Week**. See also **Britain; History of the Marxist Movement**.

Communist Party of India (Maoist)—See **India**.

Communist Party of India (Marxist)—See **India**.

Continental Airlines—See **Airline Workers**.

Contraception—See **Woman Question**.

Cuba—See **Civil Liberties: Cases; Haiti**. See also **Puerto Rico**.

Davis, Troy—See **Death Penalty**.

**DEATH PENALTY**—And see **Abu-Jamal, Mumia**.  
Illinois: Hands Off Northwestern Innocence Project!, #949, 1 Jan. (3)  
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!, #952, 12 Feb. (1, 8, 9)  
Troy Davis Appeal Turned Down, #965, 24 Sept. (3)

Detroit—See **Police; U.S.: General**.

**DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM**  
In Defense of Dialectical Materialism (YSp), #954, 12 Mar. (4, 5, 6)  
Engels on Nature and Dialectics (YSp), #954, 12 Mar. (5)

**DRUGS**—And see **Mexico**. See also **Abortion; Black Question**.  
New York Tinkers with Rockefeller Laws—Down With the Racist “War on Drugs”!, #949, 1 Jan. (12, 11)  
Vote Yes on California Prop 19, #967, 22 Oct. (5)

Ecology—See **Global Warming; U.S.: General**.

**ECONOMY**—And see **Europe; Greece; Ireland**.  
Liberals Push Regulation Hoax—Economic Crisis and the Capitalist State (S)  
Part One, #961, 2 July (4, 5, 6, 13)  
Part Two, #963, 27 Aug. (12, 13, 14, 15)

On Economy Article (L), #966, 8 Oct. (2)

**EDUCATION**—And see **Mexico; New Orleans; Teachers**. See also **Civil Rights Movement; Internationalist Group; Puerto Rico**.  
Protests Against Education Cuts and Fee Hikes Sweep California (YSp), #950, 15 Jan. (12, 5, 6, 7)  
On California Campus Protests (L) (YSp), #952, 12 Feb. (7)  
For Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All! (YSp), #955, 26 Mar. (11)  
Arizona Axes Ethnic Studies, Texas Whitewashes History (YSp), #963, 27 Aug. (5)  
Defend the Teachers Unions! Obama’s War on Public Education (YSp), #967, 22 Oct. (12, 6, 7, 8, 9)  
Where’s the Kryptonite? (YSp), #967, 22 Oct. (6)

Energy—See **Global Warming; U.S.: General**.

Engels, Friedrich—See **Dialectical Materialism; Quote of the Week**. See also **Abortion; Global Warming; Woman Question**.

Environmentalism—See **Global Warming**. See also **U.S.: General**.

Ethnic Studies—See **Education**.

**EUROPE**—And see **Economy; Greece; Quote of the Week**. See also **France; Global Warming**.  
German Trotskyists Say: Solidarity with Greek Workers—Financial Crisis Rocks Imperialist EU, #960, 4 June (12, 9, 10, 11)

European Union—See **Europe; Greece**. See also **Economy; France; Global Warming; Ireland**.

Executive Office—See **Britain; France**.

Fascism—See **Britain**. See also **Poland**.

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)—See **Civil Liberties: FBI Raids; U.S.: General**.

Fourth International—See **Quote of the Week**.

**FRANCE**—And see **French West Indies**. See also **Archives of the Marxist Movement; Economy; Europe**.  
Polanski Case Ignites Anti-Gay, Anti-Sex Backlash (*Le Bolchévick*), #951, 29 Jan. (3, 11)  
NPA Social Democrats Support Military Coup in Niger (*Le Bolchévick*), #959, 21 May (6)  
Lutte Ouvrière’s Municipal Antics (*Le Bolchévick*), #960, 4 June (5)  
Down With Racist Anti-Roma Campaign! (*Le Bolchévick*), #965, 24 Sept. (16, 14, 15)  
French Strike Wave Against Government Attack on Pensions, #968, 5 Nov. (1, 8, 9, 10)

Freedom Road Socialist Organization (*Fight Back!*)—See **Civil Liberties: FBI Raids**.

French Guiana—See **French West Indies**.

**FRENCH WEST INDIES**  
Colonial Referendum in Martinique and French Guiana (*Le Bolchévick*), #960, 4 June (4, 5)

G20 Protests—See **Canada**.

**GAY RIGHTS**—And see **France**. See also **Spartacus Youth Clubs**.  
Gay Oppression and the Suicide of Tyler Clementi (YSp), #969, 19 Nov. (5)

Gaza—See **Near East**.

Georgia—See **Death Penalty**.

Germany—See **Europe**. See also **Economy; History of the Marxist Movement**.

**GLOBAL WARMING**  
Capitalism and Global Warming (S)  
Part One, #965, 24 Sept. (1, 12, 13, 14)  
Part Two, #966, 8 Oct. (6, 7, 8, 9)  
On Global Warming (L), #965, 24 Sept. (2)

Grant, Oscar—See **Oakland**.

**GREECE**—And see also **Economy; Europe**.  
Down With PASOK Government’s “Stability Program”!, #959, 21 May (1, 8, 9)

Guatemala—See **U.S.: International Relations**.

Gulf of Mexico Oil Spill—See **U.S.: General**.

**HAITI**  
Haiti Earthquake Horror: Imperialism, Racism and Starvation, #951, 29 Jan. (1, 8, 9, 10)  
IG Conjures Up Revolution Amid the Rubble, #952, 12 Feb. (3, 10)

The BT on Haiti: Postscript to IGiocy, #953, 26 Feb. (4, 5)

All U.S./UN Troops Out of Haiti Now!, #955, 26 Mar. (12, 10)

Repudiating Our Position on Haiti Earthquake: A Capitulation to U.S. Imperialism—Statement of the International Executive Committee of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), #958, 7 May (1, 2, 3)

On Haiti Capitulation (L), #959, 21 May (2)

On Haiti and Polemics (L), #960, 4 June (2)

Mass Misery Under Imperialist Occupation, #962, 30 July (3, 7)

Cuba and the Haiti Occupation (L), #966, 8 Oct. (2)

Cholera Epidemic and Imperialist Oppression, #970, 3 Dec. (3, 4)

Hampshire College—See **Spartacus Youth Clubs**.

Harrison, Aaron—See **Longshoremen**.

**HEALTH CARE**—And see **AIDS; Haiti**. See also **Abortion**.  
Swine Flu Ravages Aboriginal Population (C) [#942, 11 Sept. 2009], #949, 1 Jan. (2)  
Defend Simon Singh! Defend Scientific Medicine!, #949, 1 Jan. (3)  
“Reform” Wall Street Can Believe In—Democrats’ Health Care Scam, #956, 9 Apr. (1, 10)  
On Quacks and Their Defenders (E), #962, 30 July (2, 7)  
On Anti-Vaccine Hysteria (L), #962, 30 July (2)

**HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT**—And see **Archives of the Marxist Movement; Dialectical Materialism**.  
For the Communism of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, #951, 29 Jan. (2, 10)  
October 1917: The Bolshevik Revolution (*Workers Hammer*), #953, 26 Feb. (6, 7, 10)  
Pioneer Trotskyist and Fighter for Women’s Rights—Honor Antoinette Konikow, #956, 9 Apr. (2, 11)  
An Exchange on M.N. Roy (L), #969, 19 Nov. (2, 5)

**HONDURAS**  
Massive Struggles Under Military Repression, #964, 10 Sept. (3, 4, 5)

Hunter College—See **Afghanistan; International Socialist Organization**.

Hurricane Katrina—See **New Orleans**.

Illinois—See **Death Penalty**.

**IMMIGRATION**—And see **Britain; France; Italy; Los Angeles; Tamils; U.S.: General**. See also **Education; India; Mexico; South Africa**.  
Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Down With Arizona’s Racist Pass Law!, #958, 7 May (1, 10, 11)  
Outrage Over Border Patrol Killings, #961, 2 July (3)

**INDIA**—And see **History of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week**.  
Down With Government War on Maoists, Tribal Peoples!, #962, 30 July (1, 8, 9, 10)  
On Nepal and Caste Oppression (L), #964, 10 Sept. (2)  
Down With India’s Bloody Repression in Kashmir! (*Workers Hammer*), #966, 8 Oct. (12, 10)  
Letter from Indian Trotskyist (L), #969, 19 Nov. (2, 4)  
Stalinist Alliance with Churchill Betrayed Indian Revolution (*Workers Hammer*), #970, 3 Dec. (6, 7, 8, 9, 12)

Innocence Project—See **Death Penalty**.

Intelligentsia—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement**.

**INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE**—And see **Britain; Greece; Haiti; Mexico**. See also **Canada; Iran; Obituaries; South Africa; Tamils**.  
Critical Notes on the “Death of Communism” and the Ideological Conditions of the Post-Soviet World (by Joseph Seymour), #949, 1 Jan. (4, 5, 6, 10)

International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU)—See **Longshoremen; Mine Workers; Oakland**. See also **Haiti; Immigration**.

**INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION (ISO)**—And see also **Abortion; Afghanistan; Black Question; Civil Rights Movement; Global Warming; Haiti; Oakland; Transit Workers; U.S.: General.**  
ISO Debates Pro-Capitalist Hunter Economics Club...and Loses (YSp), #952, 12 Feb. (5, 6, 7)  
On One Knee or Two Before Obama?, #967, 22 Oct. (2)

**INTERNATIONALIST GROUP (IG)**—And see **Haiti.** See also **Mexico.**  
1968 Teachers Strike Revisited—IG in Bed with Scabherders (YSp), #956, 9 Apr. (4)

**IRAN**  
Iran in Turmoil, #950, 15 Jan. (1, 8, 9, 10, 11)

**IRAQ**—And see **U.S.: International Relations.**  
WikiLeaks Documents: U.S. Torture Machine in Iraq, #968, 5 Nov. (1, 10)

**IRELAND**—And see **Quote of the Week.** See also **Northern Ireland.**  
Ireland Ravaged by European Economic Crisis, #970, 3 Dec. (1, 10, 11)

Israel—See **Britain; Longshoremen; Near East.**

**ITALY**  
Unions Must Defend and Organize Immigrant Workers! (*Spartaco*), #961, 2 July (8, 9, 10, 11)\*  
Unions Must Defend... (C), #963, 27 Aug. (9)

Japan—See **China; North Korea.**

Jones, Veronica—See **Abu-Jamal, Mumia.**

Kashmir—See **India.**

King Jr., Martin Luther—See **Civil Rights Movement.**

Klein, Mark—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

Konikow, Antoinette—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

Labor—See **Public Employees.** See also **Economy; Mine Workers; U.S.: General.**

**LABOR BLACK LEAGUES (LBLs)**—And see also **Oakland.**  
Join the Labor Black Leagues!, #959, 21 May (7)  
Join the Labor Black Leagues!, #966, 8 Oct. (5)

Lenin, V.I.—See **Quote of the Week.** See also **Dialectical Materialism; Education; History of the Marxist Movement; International Communist League; U.S.: General.**

Libel Law—See **Health Care.**

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam—See **Civil Liberties: General, FBI Raids; Tamils.**

**LONGSHOREMEN**—And see **Mine Workers; Oakland.** See also **Haiti; Immigration.**  
“War on Terror” Frame-Up of Black Longshoreman, #949, 1 Jan. (12, 11)\*  
“War on Terror”... (C), #950, 15 Jan. (3)  
The ILWU and TWIC (L), #960, 4 June (2)  
ILWU Ship Boycott: Token of Solidarity with Palestinians, #963, 27 Aug. (11, 15)

**LOS ANGELES**—And see **Aerospace Workers.** See also **Mine Workers; Obituaries; Spartacus Youth Clubs.**  
Outrage Over LAPD Killing of Manuel Jamines, #965, 24 Sept. (16, 11)

Lutte Ouvrière—See **France.** See also **French West Indies.**

Luxemburg, Rosa—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; History of the Marxist Movement.**

Malthus, Thomas—See **Global Warming; Woman Question.**

Manning, Bradley—See **Iraq.**

Manning, Tom—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.** See also **Partisan Defense Committee.**

Maoism—See **India.** See also **China.**

Martinique—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; French West Indies.**

Marx, Karl—See **Quote of the Week.** See also **Economy.**

**MEXICO**—And see **Immigration.**  
Down With “Drug Wars” Militarization!, #953, 26 Feb. (1, 8, 9)

A Marxist Analysis of the UNAM Student Strike, 1999-2000 (*Espartaco*) (YSp), #958, 7 May (4, 5, 6, 7, 8)  
Brutal Cop Attack Breaks Cananea Strike, #961, 2 July (2, 12)

Militant Tendency—See **Britain.**

**MINE WORKERS**  
Defend ILWU Borax Miners!, #954, 12 Mar. (3)  
ILWU: Don’t Handle Scab Borax!, #956, 9 Apr. (12, 11)\*  
ILWU: Don’t Handle... (C), #959, 21 May (10)  
Industrial Murder in West Virginia, #957, 23 Apr. (1, 10, 11)  
Boron Settlement—Setback for ILWU, #961, 2 July (3, 7)

Mitterrand, Nicolas—See **France.**

MOVE—See **Black Question.**

MOVE 9—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Municipalism—See **France.** See also **Britain.**

Muslims—See **Britain; Canada; U.S.: General.**

Myers, Walter Kendall and Gwendolyn—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

National Security Agency—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

**NATIVE AMERICANS**—And see also **Canada.**  
Feds Let South Dakota Reservation Freeze, #953, 26 Feb. (2)

**NEAR EAST**—And see **Britain.**  
Vanunu Arrested: Let Him Leave Israel, #950, 15 Jan. (9)  
Vanunu Slams Nobel War Prize, #955, 26 Mar. (5)  
Defend the Palestinians! Down With Blockade of Gaza! Zionist Massacre at Sea, #960, 4 June (1, 7, 8)  
Free Vanunu! Let Him Leave Israel!, #960, 4 June (7)  
On Boycotts, Disinvestment and Sanctions—Defend the Palestinians Against Zionist State Terror! (*Workers Hammer*), #963, 27 Aug. (16, 10, 11)

Nepal—See **India.**

New Anti-Capitalist Party (NPA)—See **France.**

**NEW ORLEANS**—And see also **Obituaries.**  
Notes on New Orleans (by Joe Vetter), #955, 26 Mar. (3, 10)  
Katrina: Danziger Bridge Cover-Up Exposed—Homicidal New Orleans Cops, #959, 21 May (5)  
Five Years After Katrina—New Orleans Racist Hell, #964, 10 Sept. (12, 9)  
New Orleans Subscriber on Student Protest (L), #965, 24 Sept. (2, 3)  
Protest Cop Attack on Student Rally (YSp), #965, 24 Sept. (5)

**NEW YORK CITY**—And see **Civil Liberties: Cases; International Socialist Organization; Internationalist Group; Teachers; Transit Workers; U.S.: General.**  
Remember Luis Soto! Free Angel Alvarez! NYPD Kills Again, #964, 10 Sept. (12, 11)

New York State—See **Drugs; Public Employees.**

Newburgh Four—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Niger—See **France.**

Nobel Peace Prize—See **Near East.**

**NORTH KOREA**  
Defend North Korea Against U.S. Imperialism!, #960, 4 June (1, 8)  
Down With Imperialist Provocations Against North Korea!, #970, 3 Dec. (1, 11)

**NORTHERN IRELAND**  
Bloody Sunday, 1972—The Defining Story of the British Army in Northern Ireland (*Workers Hammer*), #969, 19 Nov. (6, 7)

NUMMI—See **Auto Workers.**

**OAKLAND**—And see **Longshoremen.**  
Cop Who Killed Oscar Grant Gets Slap on Wrist—Oakland Protesters Brave Racist Hysteria, Cop Riot, #962, 30 July (12, 11)  
ILWU-Initiated Rally Demands “Justice for Oscar Grant”—There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!, #968, 5 Nov. (12, 11)  
Oakland Cops Gun Down Another Unarmed Black Man, #969, 19 Nov. (12, 11)

**OBITUARIES**—And see **Abu-Jamal, Mumia; China.**  
Joe Verret, 1945–2010, #956, 9 Apr. (3)  
In Honor of Comrade Joe Verret, #962, 30 July (4, 5, 6)  
Keith Anwar, 1952–2010, #963, 27 Aug. (3)

Ohio 7—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.** See also **Partisan Defense Committee.**

Oil Workers—See **U.S.: General.**

Olympics—See **Canada.**

Pakistan—See **India; U.S.: International Relations.**

Palestinians—See **Britain; Longshoremen; Near East.**

Paris Commune—See **Quote of the Week.**

**PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE**—And see **Civil Liberties: Cases; Longshoremen; Puerto Rico.** See also **Abu-Jamal, Mumia; Death Penalty; Oakland.**  
24th Annual PDC Holiday Appeal Benefits—Supporting the Class-War Prisoners, #951, 29 Jan. (4)  
25th Annual Holiday Appeal (CSDN), #969, 19 Nov. (3, 11)

Pedophilia—See **France.**

Pensions—See **Public Employees.**

Philadelphia—See **Abu-Jamal, Mumia; Black Question.**

**POLAND**—And see also **China.**  
Down With Anti-Communist Law in Poland! (*Spartakist*), #958, 7 May (3, 8, 9)

Polanski, Roman—See **Civil Liberties: Cases; France.**

**POLICE**—And see **Canada; Los Angeles; New Orleans; New York City; Oakland; Transit Workers.** See also **Abu-Jamal, Mumia.**  
Detroit Cops Kill Seven-Year-Old in Her Home, #960, 4 June (3, 11)

Prisons—See **Black Question; Civil Liberties: Cases.**

**PUBLIC EMPLOYEES**  
Union Tops Complicit with Democratic NY Governor—Stealth Attack on Public Workers’ Pensions, #951, 29 Jan. (5)

**PUERTO RICO**  
Hands Off Campus Strikers! (CSDN), #960, 4 June (6)  
Student Strike Shakes Puerto Rico (YSp), #963, 27 Aug. (4, 6, 7)

Qian Xuesen—See **China.**

Quebec—See **Canada.**

**QUOTE OF THE WEEK**  
For the Dictatorship of the Proletariat! (V.I. Lenin), #949, 1 Jan. (2)  
In Defense of Science (Leon Trotsky), #950, 15 Jan. (2)  
The Fight for Revolutionary Leadership in the Civil Rights Movement (Revolutionary Tendency), #952, 12 Feb. (2)  
Students and Capitalist Society (Leon Trotsky), #953, 26 Feb. (2)  
Socialism and Women’s Liberation (August Bebel), #954, 12 Mar. (2)  
Lessons of the Paris Commune (V.I. Lenin), #955, 26 Mar. (2)  
The Liberating Goals of Communism (Socialist Workers Party), #957, 23 Apr. (2)  
Communism vs. Social-Patriotism (Communist International), #958, 7 May (2)  
Karl Marx on the American Civil War (Karl Marx), #959, 21 May (2)  
For a Socialist United States of Europe (V.I. Lenin), #960, 4 June (2)  
Capitalist Profit Drive Breeds Disaster (Friedrich Engels), #961, 2 July (2)  
Revolutionary Perspective for India (Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India), #962, 30 July (2)  
Honor the Memory of Leon Trotsky! (James P. Cannon), #963, 27 Aug. (2)  
For Proletarian Internationalist Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism! (Fourth International), #964, 10 Sept. (2)  
Communism and Human Liberation (Friedrich Engels), #965, 24 Sept. (2)  
The Fight Against Capitalist Repression (Victor Serge), #966, 8 Oct. (2)

The Fraud of Bourgeois Democracy (V.I. Lenin), #967, 22 Oct. (2)

Irish Independence and the English Proletariat (Karl Marx), #969, 19 Nov. (2)

Rath, Matthias—See **AIDS**.

Reed, John—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement**.

Religion—See **U.S.: General**. See also **Canada**.

Revolutionary Communist Party—See **Afghanistan; Los Angeles**.

Revolutionary Tendency (RT)—See **Quote of the Week**. See also **Civil Rights Movement**.

Rhode Island—See **Teachers**.

Rio Tinto Group—See **Mine Workers**.

Rockefeller Laws—See **Drugs**.

Roma (Gypsies)—See **France**.

Roy, M. N.—See **History of the Marxist Movement**.

Russian Revolution—See **History of the Marxist Movement**. See also **Abortion**.

Sanger, Margaret—See **Woman Question**.

Science—See **Dialectical Materialism; Global Warming; Health Care; Quote of the Week**. See also **AIDS**.

Serge, Victor—See **Quote of the Week**.

**SEXUALITY**—And see **Canada; Civil Liberties: Cases; France; Gay Rights; Woman Question**. Teens, Sexting and Morality Police (YSp), #954, 12 Mar. (7)

Shachtman, Max—See **History of the Marxist Movement**.

Sherrod, Shirley—See **Black Question**.

Singh, Simon—See **Health Care**.

Slavery—See **Black Question; Quote of the Week**. See also **Education**.

Socialist Party (Britain)—See **Britain**.

Socialist Workers Party (Britain)—See **Britain**. See also **Near East**.

Socialist Workers Party (U.S.)—See **Quote of the Week**. See also **Civil Rights Movement; Haiti; Teachers**.

**SOUTH AFRICA**—And see **AIDS**. See also **Near East**.  
Fight for a Black-Centered Workers Government!, #949, 1 Jan. (1, 7, 8, 9)  
On the Killing of Fascist Terre’Blanche—Black Oppression in Neo-Apartheid South Africa, #958, 7 May (12, 11)  
Capitalist Government Shaken by Public Workers Strike, #964, 10 Sept. (1, 10, 11)

South Korea—See **North Korea**.

Soviet Union—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; History of the Marxist Movement; International Communist League**. See also **Abortion; China; Civil Rights Movement; International Socialist Organization; Iran; Poland**.

Spartacist League/U.S.—See **Haiti; Obituaries; Teachers**. See also **Civil Liberties: FBI Raids; Civil Rights Movement; Internationalist Group; Mine Workers; Oakland**.

**SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUBS**—And see **Education; Gay Rights**. See also **International Socialist Organization**.  
Training a New Generation of Communist Fighters—SYC Speech at Los Angeles Holiday Appeal (YSp), #950, 15 Jan. (6)  
Hampshire College: Anarchists Unite with Big Brother Against Reds (YSp), #967, 22 Oct. (7)  
Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! (YSp), #969, 19 Nov. (4)

Sri Lanka—See **Tamils**.

Stalinism—See **China; History of the Marxist Movement; India**. See also **Iran; North Korea; Poland**.

Stewart, Lynne—See **Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row; Civil Liberties: Cases**. See also **Partisan Defense Committee**.

Supreme Court—See **Abu-Jamal, Mumia; Civil Liberties: General**. See also **Civil Liberties: FBI Raids; Death Penalty**.

Switzerland—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

**TAMILS**—And see also **Civil Liberties: FBI Raids**.  
Asylum for Tamil Refugees Now! (*Australasian Spartacist*), #951, 29 Jan. (6, 7)  
Stop Persecution of Tamils! (*Workers Hammer*), #967, 22 Oct. (3, 4)

Tea Party—See **Black Question**. See also **Health Care; U.S.: General**.

**TEACHERS**—And see **Education; Internationalist Group**. See also **International Socialist Organization**.  
Labor: Fight Against Union Busting Attack on Rhode Island Teachers!, #954, 12 Mar. (12)  
Spartacist Leaflet in 1968 NYC Teachers Strike—“Beware Liberal Union Busters!” (YSp), #956, 9 Apr. (5, 9)

Teamsters—See **Airline Workers**.

Texas—See **Education**.

Tiller, Dr. George—See **Abortion**.

Torture—See **Iraq; U.S.: International Relations**.

**TRANSIT WORKERS**—And see also **Obituaries**.  
Cop Vendetta Against Chicago Bus Driver—Hands Off Ricardo Mendoza!, #949, 1 Jan. (10)  
Chicago: Transit Jobs Under the Ax, #953, 26 Feb. (3, 9)  
In Face of NYC Transit Layoffs—TWU Tops: Lieutenants in Capitalists’ “War on Terror”, #960, 4 June (3)

Transport Workers Identification Card (TWIC)—See **Longshoremen**. See also **Immigration**.

Transport Workers Union (TWU)—See **Transit Workers**. See also **Airline Workers; Public Employees**.

Trotsky, Leon—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; History of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week**. See also **Dialectical Materialism; France; Gay Rights; Haiti**.

Trotskyism—See **History of the Marxist Movement**.

UCLA—See **Education**.

United Auto Workers (UAW)—See **Aerospace Workers; Auto Workers**. See also **Civil Rights Movement**.

United Federation of Teachers (UFT)—See **Teachers**. See also **Internationalist Group**.

United Mine Workers of America (UMWA)—See **Mine Workers**.

United Nations—See **Haiti**. See also **Tamils**.

**UNITED STATES**  
• **General**—And see **Abortion; Black Question; Civil Liberties: General, FBI Raids; Economy; Education; Health Care; Immigration; Native Americans; New Orleans; Sexuality; Teachers; Woman Question**. See also **Abu-Jamal, Mumia; Death Penalty; Drugs; International Socialist Organization; Mine Workers; Partisan Defense Committee; Public Employees**.  
Feds’ Detroit “Terror” Kill (L), #954, 12 Mar. (2, 7)

Gulf Coast Disaster: Capitalist Profit Drive Kills, #961, 2 July (1, 12, 13)

BP Disaster (L), #961, 2 July (2)

Chauvinist Mania Over “Ground Zero Mosque”, #963, 27 Aug. (1, 9)

Electoral Circuses, No Bread—For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!, #967, 22 Oct. (1, 10, 11)

Labor Must Defend Black and Immigrant Rights!, #969, 19 Nov. (1, 8, 9, 10, 11)

• **International Relations**—And see **Afghanistan; Archives of the Marxist Movement; Civil Liberties: General; Civil Rights Movement; Haiti; Honduras; Iran; Iraq; Mexico; North Korea; Quote of the Week**. See also **China; Civil Liberties: Cases; Global Warming; Near East**.  
U.S. Atrocities in Iraq and Afghanistan: Imperialist S.O.P., #957, 23 Apr. (2)  
Washington Escalates Attacks in Pakistan—Bloody U.S. Imperialism Out of Afghanistan Now!, #967, 22 Oct. (1, 9)

Sadistic U.S. “Tuskegee Experiment” in Guatemala, #968, 5 Nov. (12, 11)

University of California at San Diego—See **Black Question**.

University of New Orleans—See **New Orleans**.

Vaccines—See **Health Care**.

Vanunu, Mordechai—See **Near East**.

Verret, Joe—See **Obituaries**.

Virginia—See **Black Question**.

*Waiting for “Superman”*—See **Education**.

“War on Terror”—See **Britain; Civil Liberties: General, Cases; Transit Workers; U.S.: General**. See also **Canada; Longshoremen; Tamils**.

West Virginia—See **Mine Workers**.

WikiLeaks—See **Iraq**. See also **North Korea; U.S.: International Relations**.

**WOMAN QUESTION**—And see **Abortion; Canada; Gay Rights; Quote of the Week**. See also **France; History of the Marxist Movement; Iran**.  
Fifty Years After the Pill: Still a Long Way to Go (W&R), #968, 5 Nov. (4, 5, 6, 7)

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

*Workers Vanguard* Subscription Drive  
2010 Quotas, #963, 27 Aug. (6)  
Week One Totals, #964, 10 Sept. (8)  
Week Three Totals, #965, 24 Sept. (3)  
Week Five Totals, #966, 8 Oct. (2)  
Final Totals, #967, 22 Oct. (11)  
Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation, #966, 8 Oct. (9)  
2010 Subscription Drive—WV Welcomes New Readers, #970, 3 Dec. (4)

Workplace Safety—See **Mine Workers; U.S.: General**.

Youth Rights—See **Sexuality**. See also **Gay Rights**.

**Bound Volumes of ICL Publications**

**SPARTACIST**

**Spartacist (English edition)**  
Volume 1: Issues 1 to 20, February 1964 to July 1971 (out of stock)  
Volume 2: Issues 21 to 30, Autumn 1972 to Autumn 1980 (out of stock)  
Volume 3: Issues 31 to 40, Summer 1981 to Summer 1987 (out of stock)  
Volume 4: Issues 41-42 to 47-48, Winter 1987-88 to Winter 1992-93  
Volume 5: Issues 49-50 to 54, Winter 1993-94 to Spring 1998

**Spartacist (German edition)**  
Volume 1: Issues 1 to 10, Spring 1974 to Winter 1981-82  
Volume 2: Issues 11 to 18, Winter 1983-84 to Spring 1997

**Spartacist (French edition)**  
Volume 1: Issues 1 to 14, May 1972 to December 1977

**Price per volume** (includes postage):  
**Spartacist (English edition) Volume 5: \$75**  
**All others: \$30**

**Women and Revolution**

**Journal of the Women’s Commission of the Spartacist League/U.S.**

Volume 1: Issues 1 to 20, May-June 1971 to Spring 1980  
**\$27** (includes postage)

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Organ of the Spartacist League/U.S.**

Volumes 1 to 39, 1970 through 2008, include one year of *WV* except: Volume 1 includes 1970-73, Volumes 4 to 9 include six months each of *WV* weekly, 1976-78. (Volumes 1, 7, 13, 20 out of stock)

**Price per volume** (includes postage):  
**Vol. 1-35: \$35**  
**Vol. 36-39: \$90**

All volumes are indexed. Some volumes available on microfilm upon request.

Discounts available for larger orders of any combination of *WV* and *Spartacist*: Please inquire.

**Order from/pay to:** Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO  
New York, NY 10116, USA

2010 SUBJECT INDEX

Issues No. 949 (1 January) through No. 970 (3 December)

Aborigines—See **Health Care**.

**ABORTION**—And see also **Woman Question**.

For Free Abortion on Demand! (W&R), #954, 12 Mar. (8, 9, 10, 11)

**ABU-JAMAL, MUMIA**—And see also **Death Penalty; Partisan Defense Committee**.

Helped Expose Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal—In Honor of Veronica Jones, #950, 15 Jan. (3, 7)

Supreme Court of Death Rules Against Mumia Abu-Jamal, #951, 29 Jan. (12, 5)

Appeals Court Hearing on Death Sentence for Mumia Abu-Jamal, #966, 8 Oct. (12, 5)\*

Appeals Court Hearing... (C), #967, 22 Oct. (10)

Federal Appeals Court: D.A. Demands Mumia’s Execution, #969, 19 Nov. (12, 10)

• **Message from Death Row**

May Day Amidst Global Mayhem, #959, 21 May (7)

Punishing Lynne, #964, 10 Sept. (2)

Adler, Max—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement**.

**AEROSPACE WORKERS**

Victory to Long Beach Boeing Strike!, #959, 21 May (4)

**AFGHANISTAN**—And see **U.S.: International Relations**. See also **Abortion; Canada; International Socialist Organization; Obituaries**.

Afghanistan: Obama Escalates Occupation, As Promised—All U.S./NATO Troops Out Now!, #949, 1 Jan. (1, 2)

More on Obama’s War in Afghanistan (YSp), #952, 12 Feb. (5)

Reformists Beg Imperialist Warmakers for Peace—Obama’s Bloody Afghanistan Offensive, #954, 12 Mar. (1, 2)

**AIDS**

On Matthias Rath and Deadly HIV Denialism (L), #950, 15 Jan. (2)

**AIRLINE WORKERS**—And see **Britain**.

Union Organizing Victory at Continental Airlines, #957, 23 Apr. (12, 11)

Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU)—See **Transit Workers**. See also **Obituaries**.

Anarchism—See **Spartacus Youth Clubs**. See also **Canada; Education**.

Anti-Communism—See **Poland**. See also **China; Civil Rights Movement**.

Anwar, Keith—See **Obituaries**.

**ARCHIVES OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT**—And see **History of the Marxist Movement**.

On 1902 Martinique Volcano by Rosa Luxemburg, #953, 26 Feb. (5)

“The Intelligentsia and Socialism” (by Leon Trotsky)(YSp), #965, 24 Sept. (4, 5, 6, 7)

In Honor of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, #968, 5 Nov. (2, 10)

John Reed on Imperialist “Aid”, #970, 3 Dec. (2, 10)

Arizona—See **Education; Immigration**.

Australia—See **Health Care; Mine Workers; Tamils**.

**AUTO WORKERS**—And see **Global Warming**. See also **Economy**.

California NUMMI Auto Plant Axed, #959, 21 May (4, 11)

Bebel, August—See **Quote of the Week**.

Black Bloc—See **Canada**.

**GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX**

• This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 2010, from issue No. 949 (1 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 970 (3 December). During this time, WV was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August, and skipping the last issue in December.

• The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (\*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.

• Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

Free the MOVE Prisoners!, #959, 21 May (2, 5)  
means the headline of the article, issue No. 959, dated 21 May 2010 beginning on page 2 and continuing on page 5.

• No entry is listed twice; refer to cross-references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross-references are of two types: those following the word “see” deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words “see also” are related articles. Subject heads in cross-references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

Environmentalism—See **Global Warming**. See also **U.S.: General**.  
means that articles about environmentalism can be found

by going to the subject head **GLOBAL WARMING**. Related articles can be found by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategory **General**.

• Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not a subject heading unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally cross-referenced to their appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.

• Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not normally under any other subject heading. Articles that deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy will be found under **U.S.: International Relations** or under the relevant geographical heading. For example, articles about the U.S. occupation of Iraq will be found under **IRAQ**.

• Articles under the *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (CSDN) masthead are by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian, legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League.

• Abbreviations used in entries are:

- C: Correction  
CSDN: *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* article
- E: Editorial Note
- L: Letter
- S: Series
- R: Review  
W&R: *Women and Revolution* article  
YSp: *Young Spartacus* article

• Entries for articles that first appeared in the press of another section of the International Communist League indicate the name of the press in parentheses, for example: (*Le Bolchévique*).

**BLACK QUESTION**—And see **Civil Rights Movement; Death Penalty; Drugs; Education; Labor Black Leagues; New Orleans; Police; Teachers; U.S.: General**. See also **Abortion; Abu-Jamal, Mumia; Immigration; Oakland; Obituaries**.

From Slavery to Mass Incarceration—Black Liberation and the Fight for a Socialist America, #955, 26 Mar. (1, 6, 7, 8, 9)

Lynch Rope Provocation at UC San Diego (YSp), #955, 26 Mar. (12, 11)

Virginia Governor Salutes Slavocracy—“Confederate History Month”: Racist Garbage, #959, 21 May (3)

Remember the MOVE Massacre, #959, 21 May (3, 7)

Shirley Sherrod Thrown Under the Bus—Obama: CEO of Racist American Capitalism, #963, 27 Aug. (8, 9)

Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India—See **Quote of the Week**. See also **India**.

Bolshevik Party—See **History of the Marxist Movement**.

Bolshevik Tendency (BT)—See **Haiti**.

Boron Strike—See **Mine Workers**.

Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement—See **Longshoremen; Near East**.

**BRITAIN**—And see **Health Care; India; Northern Ireland**. See also **Ireland; Near East; Quote of the Week; Tamils**.

Fascists Feed on Labour Government Racism (*Workers Hammer*), #952, 12 Feb. (12, 11)

Down With Chauvinist Compulsory English Policy! Spartacist Club Banned at London Campus (*Workers Hammer*) (YSp), #952, 12 Feb. (6)

Victory to the British Airways Strike!, #955, 26 Mar. (2, 5)

When Militant Ran Liverpool (*Workers Hammer*), #957, 23 Apr. (3, 4, 5)

Reactionary Tory/Liberal Government Formed—British Trotskyists Said: No Vote to Labour, Party of Racism and War (*Workers Hammer*), #959, 21 May (12, 10, 11)

Free the Anti-Zionist Protesters! Drop the Charges Now! (*Workers Hammer*), #959, 21 May (9)

Hands Off Student Protesters!, #969, 19 Nov. (7)

British Petroleum—See **U.S.: General**.

California—See **Auto Workers; Black Question; Drugs; Education**.

Campus Protest—See **Black Question; Education; New Orleans**. See also **Puerto Rico**.

Campus Repression—See **New Orleans; Spartacus Youth Clubs**. See also **Puerto Rico**.

**CANADA**—And see also **Tamils**.

Vancouver Olympics—State Repression Against Native Peoples, the Poor (*Spartacist Canada*), #950, 15 Jan. (4, 7)

Anti-Sex Witchhunt Targets Teachers (*Spartacist Canada*) (YSp), #952, 12 Feb. (4)

Parliamentary Cretinism and Class Collaboration—A Prorogue’s Gallery (*Spartacist Canada*), #955, 26 Mar. (4, 5)

Toronto: Protest Mass Arrests of G20 Protesters!, #961, 2 July (5)

Down With Quebec’s Niqab Ban! (*Spartacist Canada*) (W&R), #966, 8 Oct. (3, 11)

Toronto: Fake Left Joins Witchhunt of Black Bloc—Police State Crackdown on G20 Protesters (*Spartacist Canada*), #968, 5 Nov. (3, 7)

Cannon, James P.—See **Quote of the Week**. See also **History of the Marxist Movement; Partisan Defense Committee**.

Caste Oppression—See **India**.

Central America—See **Honduras; U.S.: International Relations**.

Charter Schools—See **Education**.

Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe—See **Native Americans**.

Chicago—See **Civil Rights Movement; Death Penalty; Obituaries; Transit Workers**. See also **Civil Liberties; FBI Raids**.

**CHILE**

The Chilean Miners and Pinochet’s Murderous Legacy, #970, 3 Dec. (5, 12)

**CHINA**—And see **History of the Marxist Movement**. See also **Economy; Global Warming; India; North Korea; U.S.: General**.

Father of China’s Missile Program—Qian Xuesen: An Appreciation, #952, 12 Feb. (2, 9)

Militant Strike Wave in China, #961, 2 July (16, 14, 15)

continued on page 13