



AP

## Free Private Manning! Hands Off Julian Assange!



Getty

# WikiLeaks, Imperialist Lies and Retribution

The release by WikiLeaks of some 250,000 State Department cables has provoked a vicious campaign of retaliation by the rulers of U.S. imperialism against Julian Assange, the Web site's founder, and Army Private Bradley Manning, who is accused of leaking secret material. Attorney General Eric Holder is reportedly preparing criminal charges against Assange, an Australian citizen, possibly under the Espionage Act of 1917. Manning faces a court martial and up to 52 years in prison if convicted. He incurred Washington's wrath when a video of a U.S. war crime in Baghdad was posted last April by WikiLeaks. It showed an Apache helicopter gunning down and killing at least 12 people, including two Reuters journalists, while the pilots gloated over the carnage.

Manning—if he was, indeed, the source of the leaks—and Assange are courageous individuals who have performed a laudable service by lifting, however slightly, the veil of secrecy and lies that enshrouds the imperialists' machinations. They richly deserve to be defended by workers and the oppressed throughout the world. Protests in defense of Assange have been held in a number of countries, and the Australian Council of Trade Unions has spoken out for him. It is crucial for the international working class to defend WikiLeaks and Assange and also to demand freedom for Private Manning, who is being held under torturous conditions of solitary confinement at the U.S. Marine brig in Quantico, Virginia.

Though one would hardly guess it from the Obama administration's frenzied reaction to the latest leaks, they actually contain little in the way of dramatic revelations. The imperialists are, simply, enraged at the slightest light being shed on their workings. A number of the cables are, to be sure, somewhat embarrassing for the U.S. and its client regimes. Thus, the leaked cables reveal that NATO has developed a secret military plan for defense of Poland and the Baltic states



Reuters



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**President Obama and Secretary of State Clinton (inset) at November 20 NATO summit in Lisbon on Afghan occupation. Demonstrators in Multan, Pakistan burn American flag in support of WikiLeaks, December 9.**

against Russia. Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and other Arab countries are revealed to be pressing the U.S. to stage a military attack targeting Iran's nuclear enrichment program, showing yet again that Iran *needs* nukes to deter attack by the U.S. or its Israeli proxy. And the Palestinian Authority and Lebanese government are shown to be working with Israel to target, respectively, Hamas and Hezbollah.

The cables also provide an insider's view of U.S. imperialism's high-handed operations within the borders of its client states. They show U.S. participation in the operational command of the "drug war" in Mexico, from developing overall strategy to selecting individuals to be targeted. American officials in Yemen negotiated a scheme with that country's president to disguise U.S. air strikes on

suspected Al Qaeda camps as being carried out by the Yemeni government, including when civilians get blown away. Such exposures are not, to say the least, to the benefit of the imperialists or their lackeys. The cables also include a report from the U.S. ambassador to Honduras on the June 2009 overthrow of populist president Manuel Zelaya characterizing the actions of "the military and/or whoever ordered the coup" as "illegal." Whatever the case, the Obama administration has backed the government brought to power by the coup.

A particularly noteworthy subject covered by a number of the leaked cables is the case of torture victim Khaled el-Masri. A German citizen of Lebanese descent, el-Masri was seized in late 2003 while on vacation in Macedonia and shipped off

to a secret CIA prison in Afghanistan where he was held in solitary confinement, interrogated and beaten. Even after the CIA established that el-Masri was not the man they thought he was (his name is similar to that of a suspect in the 9/11 attacks), they continued to hold him incommunicado because "he knew too much." Finally, after nearly five months' detainment, el-Masri was dumped in a remote part of Albania, never having been charged with a crime.

The cables about el-Masri, which were sent from the U.S. embassies in Germany, Spain and Macedonia in 2006 and 2007, confirm what was long suspected: Berlin did not enforce arrest warrants against 13 CIA operatives accused of involvement in the kidnapping of this German citizen

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## IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM AND SCIENCE...6

# WikiLeaks...

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because Washington exerted intense pressure, warning of “potential negative implications for our bilateral relationship” if the case was pursued.

## Obama White House: Vicious and Vindictive

Following the release of the video of the helicopter attack in Baghdad, WikiLeaks made public some 76,000 classified military field reports from the Afghanistan occupation that document the brutality inflicted by imperialist forces upon civilians, including by CIA-led forces operating out of bases along the border with Pakistan. Then in October, Wiki-

Leaks published nearly 400,000 field reports on the Iraq war and occupation detailing more than 109,000 deaths, mostly of civilians.

The Obama administration has lashed out in fury against Private Manning by subjecting him to inhuman prison conditions that are clearly intended to break his will. Since his arrest last May, Manning has been held in solitary confinement. He is prohibited from exercising or watching television news programs; guards check on him every five minutes; a light is kept on in his cell, including when he tries to sleep. According to journalist David House, the only person to visit Manning in prison other than his lawyer: “He is being kept in a kind of punitive fashion before his trial and it is definitely weakening his mental

state” (*BBC News*, 24 December 2010).

Manning is, as Assange correctly noted, a political prisoner. Assange, meanwhile, is under house arrest in Britain as he fights a Swedish extradition order citing allegations of “rape” and “sexual molestation.” Those accusations—which boil down to charges of unprotected sex in what were by all accounts consensual relations—are patently trumped-up. Prosecutors in Sweden initially opened, then dropped, then reopened an investigation into the accusations, which were made by a couple of WikiLeaks groupies. In fact, Assange has not been charged with any crime.

As Assange has pointed out, the real threat he faces is the possibility of extradition to the U.S., where both Democratic and Republican politicians are screaming for his head on a pike. Vice President Joe Biden was joined by Senate minority leader Mitch McConnell in branding Assange a “high-tech terrorist.” The implied threat behind this smear was made explicit by Tom Flanagan, former adviser to Canadian prime minister Stephen Harper, who declared that Assange “should be assassinated.”

Assange is, basically, an ardent liberal critic of imperialist policy. In the late 1990s, he co-authored an encryption program called Rubberhose that activists in places like East Timor, Russia, Kosovo, Guatemala, Iraq, Sudan and Congo could use to protect sensitive data. In 2009, Amnesty International gave Assange its media award for a WikiLeaks investigation of the killing of hundreds of young men in Kenya by government forces. The fact that U.S. government spokesmen are discussing hitting Assange with the 1917 Espionage Act is a crystal-clear demonstration of how “national interests” are invoked by the capitalist rulers to clamp

down on their critics. Meanwhile, Bank of America, MasterCard, PayPal and Visa Europe have done what they can to help shut down Assange’s Web site by blocking payments to WikiLeaks.

The Espionage Act was one of an array of repressive measures adopted after U.S. imperialism’s entry into the First World War to criminalize antiwar activity. It mandated imprisonment for any act deemed to interfere with the recruitment of troops. Haunted by the spectre of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, which ripped Russia from the capitalist market and ended its participation in the war, in 1918 Congress passed the Sedition Act that made criticizing the “U.S. form of government” a felony.

Among the first and most prominent targets of the Espionage Act was Socialist Party spokesman Eugene Debs, who was jailed for a June 1918 speech at a workers rally in Canton, Ohio, where he denounced the war as capitalist slaughter and paid tribute to the Bolshevik leaders of the October Revolution. The same law was used in 1953, at the height of the Cold War, to execute Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were accused of spying for the Soviets during World War II, when the U.S. and the USSR were allies. As their son Robert Meeropol declared in a December 29 statement in defense of Assange, the Espionage Act “transformed dissent into treason.” In the early 1970s, the Nixon government tried, unsuccessfully, to use the law to go after Daniel Ellsberg, whose release of the Pentagon Papers to the *New York Times* shed light on the history of U.S. imperialism’s war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

While no one knows exactly what the Obama administration is cooking up against Assange, there is no question that

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TROTSKY

## Soviet Publication of Secret Treaties

Two weeks after the Bolshevik-led Russian Revolution of 1917, Leon Trotsky, then the People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs, announced the Soviet government’s publication of secret treaties, exposing the machinations of the prior tsarist and Provisional Government regimes and their imperialist allies. Published after the Soviet government had declared Russia’s withdrawal from the carnage of World War I, a war of competing imperialist powers for redivision of the world,

the revelations helped foment a wave of struggle by the imperialists’ colonial victims. Most importantly, the Bolsheviks advanced the fight to end the war through proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries.

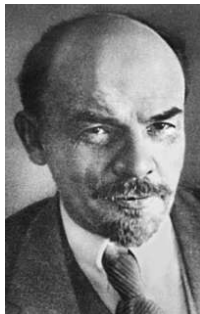
In publishing the secret diplomatic documents from the foreign policy archives of Tsarism and of the bourgeois coalition Governments of the first seven months of the revolution, we are carrying out the undertaking which we made when our party was in opposition. Secret diplomacy is a necessary tool for a propertied minority which is compelled to deceive the majority in order to subject it to its interests. Imperialism, with its dark plans of conquest and its robber alliances and deals, developed the system of secret diplomacy to the highest level. The struggle against the imperialism which is exhausting and destroying the peoples of Europe is at the same time a struggle against capitalist diplomacy, which has cause enough to fear the light of day. The Russian people, and the peoples of Europe and the whole world, should learn the documentary truth about the plans forged in secret by the financiers and industrialists together with their parliamentary and diplomatic agents. The peoples of Europe have paid for the right to this truth with countless sacrifices and universal economic desolation.

The abolition of secret diplomacy is the primary condition for an honest, popular, truly democratic foreign policy. The Soviet Government regards it as its duty to carry out such a policy in practice. That is precisely why, while openly proposing an immediate armistice to all the belligerent peoples and their Governments, we are at the same time publishing these treaties and agreements, which have lost all binding force for the Russian workers, soldiers, and peasants who have taken power into their own hands.

The bourgeois politicians and journalists of Germany and Austria-Hungary may try to make use of the documents published in order to present the diplomacy of the Central Empires in a more advantageous light. But any such attempt would be doomed to pitiful failure, and that for two reasons. In the first place, we intend quickly to place before the tribunal of public opinion secret documents which treat sufficiently clearly of the diplomacy of the Central Empires. Secondly, and more important, the methods of secret diplomacy are as universal as imperialist robbery. When the German proletariat enters the revolutionary path leading to the secrets of their chancelleries, they will extract documents no whit inferior to those which we are about to publish. It only remains to hope that this will take place quickly.

The workers’ and peasants’ Government abolishes secret diplomacy and its intrigues, codes, and lies. We have nothing to hide. Our programme expresses the ardent wishes of millions of workers, soldiers, and peasants. We want peace as soon as possible on the basis of decent coexistence and collaboration of the peoples. We want the rule of capital to be overthrown as soon as possible. In exposing to the entire world the work of the ruling classes, as expressed in the secret diplomatic documents, we address the workers with the call which forms the unchangeable foundation of our foreign policy: “Proletarians of all countries, unite.”

—“Statement by Trotsky on the Publication of the Secret Treaties,”  
22 November 1917, reprinted in *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy*, Vol. 1 (1917-1924), edited by Jane Degras (1951)



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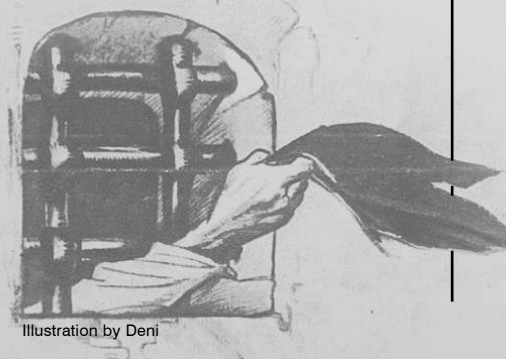


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# Germany: Capitalist Austerity and Anti-Muslim Witchhunt

The following is translated from Spartakist No. 185 (October 2010), published by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany. The “Hartz IV” laws referred to in the article are a series of measures enacted in 2003-05 by the former Social Democratic (SPD)/Green coalition government that greatly reduced unemployment and social welfare benefits.

More than 80 billion euros [\$106 billion]: that is how much the “savings package” put forward by the Christian Democrat/Free Democrat (CDU/FDP) government intends to cut from the federal budget by 2014. There is already talk of further budget slashing of the same order for the following two years. The largest part of this, over a third, targets social welfare, i.e., those receiving unemployment benefits under “Hartz IV” laws. Their number climbed to 6.7 million in April 2010, including 1.7 million children. Society’s poorest and weakest are being forced to pay for the crisis of capitalism. In a situation where there is massive popular rage directed at banks fattened up by the state and at the government’s “savings package,” former Bundesbank [federal bank] exec board member Thilo Sarrazin’s inflammatory anti-Muslim tract *Deutschland schafft sich ab* [Germany Does Itself In], which claims that Muslims have too many children and threaten to “take over” Germany by 2100, was like a gift from heaven.

The debate over Sarrazin speaks to an ominous new, brazen display of German imperialism that started to become apparent early in 2010 with the Greek economic crisis. Germany had hitherto played the paymaster whenever the European Union (EU) got into economic difficulty. But now German capital allowed Greece to slide more and more toward the very brink of insolvency, blocking EU rescue plans while interest rates on Greek bonds skyrocketed.

It was only when interest on Portugal’s government bonds also began to rise, in a scenario where Greek bankruptcy was going to be followed very shortly by the insolvency of Portugal, Spain and even Italy, that [German chancellor Angela] Merkel yielded, agreeing to an extortionate “rescue package.” Chauvinism of the vilest sort was unleashed against the Greeks over “aid” payments for liabilities held in large part by German banks. In other words, first and foremost the German banks were being aided, while the German state rakes in repayments with compound interest clawed out of the hides of the Greek populace. Such German imperial arrogance has not been seen for a long time indeed.

Demagogic incitement is neither new nor surprising for Sarrazin, a member of the SPD since 1973. Last year he was raving against Muslim immigrants in Berlin “continually producing new little headscarf girls” (*Lettre International*, September 2009). Demands were raised to increase the Hartz IV payments for children at the beginning of 2010 after the Federal Constitutional Court declared the rates unconstitutional (of course, not because they were far too meager but solely for not being “transparent” enough). FDP foreign minister Guido Westerwelle rejected this as “late Roman decadence,” while promptly discerning “socialist features” in the discussion. Sarrazin criticized Westerwelle...and then went him one better. Hartz IV recipients, he opined, could save money on water: “Showering with cold water is really much healthier. No one who takes hot showers has ever gotten far in life” (*Süd-deutsche Zeitung*, 1 March 2010).



IG Metall

Sarrazin’s vile tract openly advances classic race “theories” whereby intelligence is inherited and genetic differences between ethnic groups exist. Immigrants’ inferior education is supposedly based on their genes, shifting attention away from the social causes of the wretched state of education. The 2003 Program for International Student Assessment study confirms once again “that in scarcely any other comparable industrial country is educational success so closely tied to social origins as in Germany.” The cutbacks following capitalist reunification of Germany [in 1990] have only increased this social discrimination: “Only six out of 100 working-class children commence university study, while 49 out of 100 high school students from top-earning families go on to attend university.... Between 1982 and 2003 the percentage of university students from the topmost social layer has risen steadily, from 17 to 37 percent, whereas the share of students from the lowest layer has decreased from 23 to 12 percent.”

Immigrants brought here in the 1960s as “guest workers” for the most wretched jobs still predominantly belong, along with their German-born children and grandchildren, to the lowest social layers of this racist capitalist society. Situated primarily in the working class, they are

disproportionately affected by Hartz IV. This is also the case for East Germans—who, at a rate of more than 17 percent, are twice as likely to be Hartz IV recipients as the nationwide average—and for single parents, i.e., mainly women.

For immigrants, the language barrier compounds the effects of poverty, not only making it difficult to deal with government officials, doctors and the like, but also causing children to fail in school. Since in the west of Germany in particular there are too few daycare facilities, where attendance also costs the parents money, these children fail to learn the language as toddlers and are unable to follow instruction conducted in German once they go to school. By the time they have halfway mastered the language, they are hopelessly behind in the subject matter and many do not succeed in getting any secondary school diploma. Without such a diploma these youth are then condemned to poorly paid, insecure jobs and are much more likely to be funneled into Hartz IV. This, and not some sort of racist garbage about genes, explains the cause of immigrants’ inferior education.

Certain aspects of Sarrazin’s hate campaign that are harmful particularly from the standpoint of foreign policy have been condemned by the CDU/FDP government—e.g., all his drivel about a



Spartakist

Left: August 18 rally in Hamburg of IG Metall union demands equal pay for contract workers at Airbus. Above: Trotskyists at September 12 Berlin protest against racist anti-Muslim campaign.

“definite gene” that “all Jews share.” However, Sarrazin’s overall thrust of turning all Muslims into scapegoats, in classic divide-and-rule manner, is finding support. In this way, rage over injustice and poverty can be channeled away from the bourgeoisie and its state. According to Sarrazin’s vile social-Darwinist logic, any attempt to improve the desperate social situation of sections of the Muslims in Germany is condemned in advance to failure. And while he spews venom over the “Untergang” [decline] of Germany due to Muslims’ supposedly having too many children, the government is eliminating parental support money for Hartz IV recipients, thereby centrally targeting impoverished Muslim families, along with unmarried mothers.

Far from Sarrazin being ostracized, his garbage is being widely discussed, as if this race “theory” were utterly harmless. In a 4 September 2010 commentary, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* even springs to his defense: “His mention of a ‘Jewish gene’ in an interview was reflexively turned into a scandal—in reality, he had asserted that ‘Jews share more genetic material with each other than with surrounding non-Jewish areas,’ as researcher Gil Atzmon says. This is indeed a political event...not in Germany, however, but rather in the Near East. The wave of public support for Sarrazin...is not for his biased or incorrect theses. It is for his depiction of abuse of the welfare state and of a refusal to integrate, for which almost everyone can cite examples.”

The German bourgeoisie, which brought Hitler to power and bears the responsibility for the Nazis’ race mania that led to the industrial murder of six million Jews, is again publicly and sympathetically discussing race “theories” in its Frankfurt house organ. Racism and anti-Semitism are inseparably linked to the ruling capitalist class.

Widespread receptiveness to Sarrazin’s filth is the bitter fruit of the racist “war on terror” proclaimed by the SPD/Green government in the footsteps of U.S. president George W. Bush after September 11, 2001. Abroad, the political construct of a “war on terror” is utilized to deploy the Bundeswehr [army] in the colonial war in Afghanistan. Domestically, people with a Muslim background sit in the state’s cross hairs: a racist dragnet was followed by raids on mosques, and thousands and thousands of immigrants were subjected to “checks without reason for suspicion”

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September 9: Cops in Potsdam mobilize against anti-racist protesters outside “book reading” by Thilo Sarrazin (inset), author of vile racist tract *Germany Does Itself In*.

MAZ



Reuters

# Germany...

(continued from page 3)

by the police. Open season was declared on German Muslims, who were kidnapped, tortured and incarcerated in prison hellholes like Guantánamo by the CIA, with the approval and support of the German government, as shown by the cases of Murat Kurnaz and Khaled el-Masri. Bourgeois reaction had thus once again created an internal and an external enemy in order to legitimize the demolition of democratic rights, after Communism had falsely been declared dead with the capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR [East Germany] and the Soviet Union.

The murder of the young Egyptian woman Marwa El Sherbini—before her three-year-old son’s eyes—by an enraged anti-Muslim racist in a German courtroom in the summer of 2009 was a direct result of the state-led “war on terror.” Sarrazin’s baiting fuels a pogrom atmosphere against the Muslim minority and incites murderous racism. Recently, the police confiscated posters of the [fascist] NPD that claimed: “Sarrazin Is Right!” Sarrazin pressed charges against the fascists, but they are just the spirits he has called forth himself.

## Reformism Whips Up Nationalism and Racism

A few years ago the filth that is now being purveyed by Sarrazin was heard only from Nazi ideologues, and on 30 August 2010 the SPD Executive initiated an expulsion process against Sarrazin for “having transgressed a boundary line in his statements on the genetic identity of peoples, ethnic groupings or religious communities.” The social democrats are polarized over this. Two Berlin SPD motions to expel Sarrazin for his racist interview in *Lettre International* were rejected last year because, according to the party’s arbitration commission, it could see “neither a party-damaging nor a dishonorable act.” The SPD Executive was then deluged with hundreds of e-mails, letters and phone calls. The majority came from non-SPD members who defended Sarrazin; the letters from SPD members were split half and half.

At the beginning of September, according to a survey by the Berlin Info Institute of 1,024 registered voters, 36 percent of the SPD voters and 43 percent of the [reformist] Left Party voters thought Sarrazin was more or less right (47 percent of SPD voters and 34 percent of Left Party voters disagreed with him). Support for Sarrazin springs from the logic of social-democratic reformism, which functions as a doctor at the sickbed of capitalism. This means arbitrating the struggle of various groups of the needy for the ever scantier crumbs from the table of the capitalist rulers, who play off one against the others: “Ossis” [East Germans] against “Wessis,” Turkish immigrants against East Germans and immigrants from the former Soviet Union, men against women, etc. All this necessarily promotes nationalism and racism.

Sarrazin is a prime example: In late January 1990 in the Ministry of Finance,

he drafted the plan for the currency union between West and East Germany for [then-chancellor] Helmut Kohl, an important contribution to driving capitalist counterrevolution forward. For his “services” he was made head of the Finance Ministry’s technical oversight of the Treuhand [agency established to privatize DDR industry]. Almost 7,000 state-owned companies were sold for a song to private investors, 3,700 firms were “liquidated,” 2.5 million DDR citizens were thrown onto the streets, and industrial capital estimated at 600 billion euros was transformed into a moun-



**January 1996: Fascists burned down immigrant refugee hostel in Lübeck, killing ten.**

tain of debt exceeding 200 billion euros. This was accompanied by a racist campaign against asylum seekers, leading to a state-organized pogrom in Rostock-Lichtenhagen in August 1992. At the same time, with its infamous Petersburg Resolutions, the SPD agreed to the de facto elimination of the right to asylum. There followed arson attacks in Mölln and Solingen, where Turkish women and girls were burned alive.

Following reunification, the bourgeoisie also saw no necessity for maintaining West Berlin as a display window to contrast with the DDR, and in 1991 Sarrazin came out for dismantling federal subsidies to West Berlin. Ten years later, Berlin was bankrupt. Today, its share of Hartz IV recipients, at 18 percent of its population, is higher than in any other federal state. Add to this the ruin of the Berliner Bankgesellschaft [one of Germany’s ten largest banks] due to the corrupt cronyism of the SPD/CDU Senate. As Finance Senator, Sarrazin then became the whip for the SPD/Left Party Senate that took office in 2002 to “restructure” the city and its bank at the expense of the workers and poor. Here he also excelled in demagogic attacks on the Turkish-origin Muslim populace in Berlin, which was suffering massive unemployment due to industry having decamped from West Berlin. Sarrazin did well for himself, however. Having “voluntarily” quit the Executive Board of the Bundesbank, he now can claim a monthly pension of 10,000 euros.

That Left Party voters agree with Sar-

razin is hideous but, alas, not surprising. The Left Party’s Keynesian program of using German capital to create more jobs in Germany is fundamentally nationalistic. The same is true of the “Ossi” [East German] nationalism that they court. And let us recall [Left Party leader Oskar] Lafontaine’s infamous speech at Chemnitz in the summer of 2005, where he launched chauvinist attacks on workers from Poland and other East European countries, claiming that “fathers of families and women are losing their jobs because low-wage foreign workers are taking their jobs.” If one accepts and

strives for responsibility for administering capitalism on a national basis, what other solution is there to unemployment than aiming to defend “German jobs” in competition against workers in other countries?

## Marx21 and the Anti-Muslim Witchhunt

The supporters of Tony Cliff in the Marx21 group have participated in various protests against anti-Muslim racism and opposed banning the headscarf in public service in Germany and the ban on wearing the *burqa* in France, which they rightly brand as racist. But in doing so they drop any opposition to the headscarf and/or veil as an instrument for the oppression of women. In contrast, we oppose the veil as part of our uncompromising struggle for the liberation of women. We understand that state bans promote racism, deepen women’s social isolation and make it even harder for them to find jobs, strengthening their dependence on husband and family and reinforcing their oppression. We are for the separation of church, mosque and synagogue from the state. Religion is a private matter, and it is not the job of the state to decide who wears what. Simultaneously, as atheist Marxists, we fight against any and all religious, nationalist and chauvinist prejudices, which regularly lead to bloodshed and suffering. What is required is a socialist revolution to eliminate capitalism as the material cause of poverty, wars and religion.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Marx21’s British fraternal organization, capitulated even more openly to Islam. In 2003, the SWP boasted of having organized an antiwar meeting in Birmingham with a separate seating area for women! The SWP wanted to cash in on the huge antiwar protests that were led by the Stop the War Coalition (which the SWP had itself brought into existence) and were supported by Muslim organizations. With the “Respect” Coalition, which it founded jointly with Labour Member of Parliament George Galloway in 2004, the SWP sought to feed off the widespread hatred for Tony Blair’s Labour government and its “war on terror” among the especially hard-hit Muslim populace. The SWP leaders saw to it that Respect’s founding program did not even formally come out for “socialism,” and SWPers voted down a motion for the elimination

of the monarchy. Within Respect, the SWP tailored its demands to the mosques and as good as buried the fight for women’s liberation and homosexual rights. Nor did the SWP contradict Galloway on his declared opposition to abortion (see the Spartacist League/Britain’s *Workers Hammer* No. 194, Spring 2006).

This capitulation has a prehistory. The Cliff tendency hailed the Islamic-fundamentalist *mujahedin* in Afghanistan, who had been armed to the teeth by the CIA and were fighting against the Soviet Red Army after it rushed to the aid of the secular, modernizing, left-nationalist PDPA regime. Even today, the Cliffites regurgitate the imperialists’ war propaganda against those who fought for the most fundamental rights of women and against the big landowners: “For the left, the [Soviet] invasion was a catastrophe whose effects are felt even today. The leftists had sought to carry out a land reform and forcibly introduce the liberation of women. Hence, in the 1990s the terms ‘feminism’ and ‘women’s liberation’ were equated by many Afghans with mass murder. Everyone knew somebody who had been slain in the name of socialism and feminism” (*marx21*, June 2008). For us Marxists, the Soviet military intervention opened up the possibility of the social liberation of the Afghan masses, in particular of women. This is why our call was “Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!”

Following capitalist reunification, which the Cliffites had supported to the best of their ability, Linksruck, the predecessor organization to Marx21, ardently contributed to the 1998 electoral triumph of the SPD, calling for years to vote for the SPD—which in 2001 proclaimed the anti-Muslim “war on terror.” Marx21 (21 October 2009) established the connection between Sarrazin’s demagoguery and his role in the Berlin Senate:

“As Berlin Finance Senator he continued the line of Berlin mayor Klaus Wowereit (SPD), that it was necessary to carry out savings ‘till things squeak.’ The interplay at the time between the two recalls the grilling method ‘soft cop, hard cop.’ Sarrazin took on the role of the ‘hard cop,’ demanding in a consciously provocative way, sharp cuts in social benefits. This made it possible for Wowereit to slip into the role of the ‘soft cop,’ who puts a brake on the Finance Senator and institutes ‘less harsh’ cuts. “The purpose of such politics is, however, not just to evade responsibility for such policies by pointing to scapegoats. It is also about splitting up resistance to social cuts and racism in line with the motto ‘Divide and rule’.”

But the Marx21 group says not a word about the Left Party’s responsibility for carrying out these assaults in coalition with the SPD. (Like Wowereit, the Left Party plays the “soft cop” role and now rejects much of Sarrazin’s filth.) No wonder: In 2006 it still called for re-electing the Left Party in Berlin, despite all the prior instances of the Senate’s despicable attacks. Marx21 is deeply buried in the Left Party and has representatives on the party executive. It spreads the illusion that there can be parliamentary governing coalitions—via the Left Party—that serve the interests of the oppressed. In fact, the German state serves the capitalist class and, as Lenin explained in *The State and Revolution*, it is the strategic task of the working class to smash this capitalist state through socialist revolution and replace it with a workers state.

## Hartz IV: An Assault on the Entire Working Class

Sarrazin’s hate campaign accompanies the government’s attack on Hartz IV recipients, which constitutes an assault on the entire working class. Right now the Hartz IV “basic payment schedule” amounts to a pitiful 359 euros per month, from which all expenses except rent and heating must be met. For couples, each receives only 90 percent of this amount, and children, depending on their age, get 80, 70 or as little as 60 percent. (Money for child support is also subject to the Hartz IV payment schedule—i.e., it disappears.) As Anne Ames observed

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in her 2007 study, “It’s Not Something I Chose...”:

“The payment schedule was supposedly based on the statistically calculated expenses of the poorest fifth of one-person households in the Federal Republic. In 2003, their expenses came to 828 euros, or to 526 euros after deducting the cost of rent and heating. Politicians managed to scale these expenditures down to a basic payment of 345 euros essentially by categorizing some types of expenses of the poorest fifth of one-person households as only partially ‘relevant to the payment schedule’.”

For foodstuffs, 4.36 euros per day are provided. In the case of children who, after all, are growing and need a balanced diet for healthy development, it is—believe it or not—3.49 or as little as 2.62 euros per day! Even worse, since the estimates for many other necessary expenditures are much too low, Hartz IV recipients must make up for this out of their food money. A result of this is the rapid growth of charitable food pantries in Germany, which either sell food cheaply or give away food they get from supermarkets that cannot sell it (often because the sell-by date has expired). An article in the *trend* online newspaper (July/August 2010) reports: “In 1963 the first of such charitable food distributions was set up in the USA; in Berlin the first one was founded in 1993. By now there exist 800 pantries with more than 2,000 distribution points used by a million people, approximately 30,000 mostly volunteer pantry activists and a few thousand temp workers with one-euro jobs [paying about one euro per hour in addition to unemployment benefits].”

Hunger and malnourishment have again become a mass phenomenon in Germany, the fourth-largest economy in the world. Seen as politically desirable, this situation was deliberately brought about by the “left” capitalist SPD/Green government under [Gerhard] Schröder and [Joschka] Fischer with their Agenda 2010 “reform” package. Ever more untrammelled lust for profits—this is how the bourgeoisie celebrates the destruction of the DDR and Soviet Union through capitalist counter-revolution. The CDU/FDP “savings package,” which is denounced hypocritically and in lukewarm fashion by the SPD and Greens as “unsocial,” is the linear continuation of their own Agenda 2010. The Left Party’s declamations against the “savings package” and Hartz IV are no less hypocritical, although this is not obvious to many. All the Left Party’s efforts are aimed at administering the capitalist state, and where it participates in governing individual states, as in Berlin and Brandenburg, it carries out and administers Hartz IV poverty for the capitalist class.

Hartz IV expresses the murderous contempt of the bourgeoisie and its political minions for those who generate no profits for the capitalists and whom they hence regard as “superfluous,” profit-reducing “sources of expenses.” Moreover, the situation of those impoverished under Hartz IV is to be made even more intolerable: first to intimidate those who still have a job, so that they are thankful to the bosses and accept wage cuts and the worsening of working conditions, and also as motivation for Hartz IV recipients to accept even the most wretched jobs. In a form of de facto forced labor, Hartz IV recipients are threatened with having even these starvation payments slashed should they reject a job that the unemployment office considers “reasonable.”

Every year more than 700,000 people are shuttled through one-euro jobs, destroying regular jobs and driving wages down. According to the June 2010 report of the Institute for Work, Skills and Training, currently 17.9 percent of all employed persons in the West and 39.3 percent in the East are working in low-wage jobs. As with Hartz IV, those hardest hit are above all immigrants and their descendants, along with East Germans and women. Almost one in three working women is in a low-wage job and women constitute 70 percent of the low-wage sector. From the start of the SPD/Green government in 1998 up to 2008, the low-

wage sector grew by 50 percent, to 6.55 million, while these low wages themselves sank. Thus the German bourgeoisie has succeeded in constructing one of Europe’s largest low-wage sectors.

### For Class Struggle Against the “Savings Package” and Hartz IV!

The DGB trade-union federation’s leadership is now lamenting the fact that since the introduction of Hartz IV, the number of full-time workers whose wages have to be “supplemented” by the state has risen sevenfold to 355,000. Since 2005 the state, they say, has had to ante up 50 billion euros because of “wage-dumping by unscrupulous employers.” This again sheds light on the goal of the Hartz “reforms,” whose main purpose was not to save money. Essentially, they play workers and the unemployed against each other and act as a battering ram to destroy the unions and drive down the wages and working conditions of the working class,



1 May 2010: Protesters in Solingen hold signs reading “We Are Germany” outside meeting of right-wing anti-Islamic party Pro NRW.

with a corresponding rise in capitalist profits. In 1867, Karl Marx had already analyzed this question in Volume One of *Capital* and roughly delineated the necessary response by the working class:

“If its [capital’s] accumulation, on the one hand, increases the demand for labour, it increases on the other the supply of labourers by the ‘setting free’ of them whilst at the same time the pressure of the unemployed compels those that are employed to furnish more labour, and therefore makes the supply of labour, to a certain extent, independent of the supply of labourers. The action of the law of supply and demand of labour on this basis completes the despotism of capital. As soon, therefore, as the labourers learn the secret, how it comes to pass that in the same measure as they work more, as they produce more wealth for others, and as the productive power of their labour increases, so in the same measure even their function as a means of the self-expansion of capital becomes more and more precarious for them, as soon as they discover that the degree of intensity of the competition among themselves depends wholly on the pressure of the relative surplus population; as soon as, by Trades’ Unions, etc., they try to organise a regular co-operation between employed and unemployed in order to destroy or to weaken the ruinous effects of this natural law of capitalistic production on their class, so soon capital and its sycophant, political economy, cry out at the infringement of the ‘eternal’ and so to say ‘sacred’ law of supply and demand.”

Instead of uniting workers and the unemployed in the struggle for a decent life, the union bureaucracy supported the SPD/Green government’s Hartz “reforms” and throttled protests against them. Committed to capitalism, it attempts to reconcile the interests of the working class with those of the capitalists. In the name of its nationalist bourgeois program for “Standort Deutschland” [Germany: the place for industry and investment], the union bureaucracy pressures the workers to make concessions so as not to endanger German capital’s competitiveness.

Not only has the labor bureaucracy allowed the low-wage sector to expand massively through the Hartz laws, but countless sellouts have caused the wage level of the working class as a whole to sink: While in the last decade gross wages in Germany increased 21.8 percent, in the EU as a whole they rose 35.5 percent; for

fringe benefits, the increase in Germany was a scant 9.3 percent versus 38.5 percent in the EU. This treacherous class collaboration has not only brought about an explosion in profits for the German bourgeoisie, but has also put massive pressure on workers’ wages and conditions in other European countries, causing a downward spiral of wages.

The DGB bureaucracy is organically linked to the SPD and Left Party, which are, as Lenin aptly put it, bourgeois workers parties—i.e., while they have a base in the working class, they have a bourgeois program. For revolutionaries, the strategic task is to break the working-class ranks from the bourgeois workers parties through intervention to drive forward the class struggle, aiming to build a revolutionary multiethnic workers party. It was precisely the SPD’s ties to the trade unions that made it so useful to the bourgeoisie as a governing party, serving to minimize proletarian resistance to the assaults. But the increasing anger in the

working class over the attacks by the SPD-led government plunged the SPD into a crisis and made support to the government by the trade-union tops increasingly difficult. Part of the union bureaucracy broke with the SPD in 2003 to found the social-democratic WASG, which later fused with the ex-Stalinist PDS to form the Left Party, whose program does not differ qualitatively from that of the SPD. Basically, the Left Party is dreaming of a return to the SPD of the “good old welfare state” before Schröder.

To stop Hartz IV’s worst excesses, the union tops are demanding a legal minimum wage. But instead of mobilizing their rank and file, they want the SPD and Left Party to push this through parliament. The IG Metall union, whose wage negotiations with the steel industry will set a pattern for other unions, has raised the important demand that contract workers receive the same wage as permanent employees. This de facto call for “equal pay for equal work” is not just long overdue. Holding to this basic union principle would have required the most determined class struggle against the introduction of the Hartz laws.

Whether it is the minimum wage or equality for contract workers, what is necessary is a fight to organize the unorganized. Talk about equal wages must not mean silently accepting the firing of contract workers. Rather, contract workers must be mobilized side by side with permanent workers in a battle for equal pay for equal work and for the complete integration of contract workers into the workforce. This struggle must be linked to one for full citizenship rights for all who live here. Only in this way can the struggle for equal working conditions be extended to those driven into illegality by racist immigration laws. A class-struggle union leadership must be built.

To counter the discrimination against women and immigrants in the labor market, it is necessary to wage a struggle for union control of hiring according to the principle of first come, first served, so that no one can be turned down on the basis of sex or a “wrong” name. At the same time, special programs are necessary to compensate for the frequently inferior or non-existent profes-

sional training women and immigrants receive. It is necessary to fight for the special needs of women and immigrants.

We are resolute opponents of chauvinist forced assimilation, fighting instead for revolutionary integration. Therefore, we oppose making German the exclusive official language in government offices and in schools, etc. However, it is clear that mastering German is a prerequisite for obtaining a job, and that without it, integration is impossible. For this, free language courses must be made available to all.

An adequate number of free, round-the-clock kindergartens is needed so that women can go to work. In 2008, a program was announced to make childcare facilities available for 35 percent of all children under the age of three by 2013. In and of itself, this was way too limited. In any case, hardly any deeds have followed the announcement. Also, sending your kids to day care costs money that poor parents often lack. The crying need for additional kindergartens, particularly in the West, drives many single mothers into Hartz IV or keeps the married ones economically dependent on their husbands. Day care centers as well as schools must, where needed, have instruction in more than one language, so that immigrants’ children can fully comprehend what they are being taught from the beginning.

It is necessary to break with the union leadership’s “Standort Deutschland” ideology and, in internationalist solidarity with the working classes of other countries, wage an unyielding struggle for the interests of the workers, unemployed and Hartz IV recipients. In the 1938 Transitional Program of the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky elaborated a system of transitional demands linking the struggle for the workers’ daily demands, which conflict with the ever more constricted bounds of decaying capitalism, to the urgently necessary battle for socialist revolution. He wrote:

“Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility. On this basis all the work on hand would then be divided among all existing workers in accordance with how the extent of the working week is defined. The average wage of every worker remains the same as it was under the old working week. Wages, with a strictly guaranteed *minimum*, would follow the movement of prices. It is impossible to accept any other program for the present catastrophic period....

“If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. ‘Realizability’ or ‘unrealizability’ is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery.”

We are fighting to break the most politically advanced workers and youth from illusions in the SPD and, more particularly, the Left Party and to win them to the task of building a revolutionary, multiethnic workers party committed to the struggle for new October Revolutions. ■

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# IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM AND SCIENCE

We print below, edited for publication, a presentation by T. Marlow of the Spartacist League at a Chicago forum last July 24.

When the French mathematician Pierre-Simon Laplace went to present a copy of his treatise on celestial mechanics to Napoleon, the latter is said to have stated: "M. Laplace, they tell me you have written this large book on the system of the universe, and have never even mentioned its Creator." Laplace replied, "I had no need for that hypothesis."

Two centuries later, any American politician caught on tape saying something like that would never be able to run for dogcatcher, let alone the Senate or presidency. The U.S. is peculiar among the advanced industrial countries in its level of religiosity—over three-fourths of respondents in an AP poll said they believed in angels. Worse still is an increase in the rejection of scientific thinking, from the millions seeking miracle cures from a panoply of snake-oil vendors to a politically cohesive and dangerous sector of religious fundamentalists out to turn the U.S. into a theocracy. I am not referring to the demented followers of Osama bin Laden. I am speaking of the Christian right, which has abortion and evolution as focus points of attack.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels state: "The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class." Well, we have a ruling class that could be described as drunk with power. The collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the Soviet Union in 1989-92 was a world-historic defeat for the working class of the world. The American bourgeoisie declared the "death of Communism," and even the "end of history." With military power far greater than any of their imperialist rivals in Europe or Japan, the U.S. rulers have acted with little restraint on their predatory desires, as in Iraq and Afghanistan and recently in Haiti.

At the same time, the consciousness of the proletariat has been thrown back so far that even advanced workers and others involved in social struggle no longer identify their goal as building a socialist society. In the U.S. in particular, there is the question of race: black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism; the notion of black people as being inferior, which survives to this day, was the ideological counterpart to black chattel slavery. America is if anything more segregated than 25 years ago.

Especially since the September 11 attacks, the "war on terror" has been used to beat the working class into submission and squelch opposition to the preda-

tions of U.S. imperialism across the globe. It is not just the linguistically challenged George W. Bush—Obama was made Commander-in-Chief in part to give the image of U.S. imperialism a needed facelift. But smoother words have not changed American military rampaging in Iraq and Afghanistan, nor the extension of police-state measures at home. The American ruling class sees no reason why it cannot continue to literally get away with murder.

In these circumstances it is no wonder that religious reaction is ascendant and even the rationalism of the Enlightenment of the 18th century is under attack. You don't have to be a Marxist to oppose

standing of the work of science and its defense against the purveyors of mystical and medieval rubbish. So first we have to review a bit of history.

## The Middle Ages and Renaissance

The fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 to the birth of Leonardo da Vinci in 1452 (or the victorious siege of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks a year later) marked about a thousand years. That's about one-fifth of the entire history of human civilization since the first example of writing (the cuneiform tablets of southern Mesopotamia from about 3000 BC). In West Europe this period is called

modern capitalism. As these merchants' ships went further out into the world, they needed better knowledge on the workings of the natural world and the cosmos. In his 1883 Introduction to *Dialectics of Nature*, Engels succinctly notes:

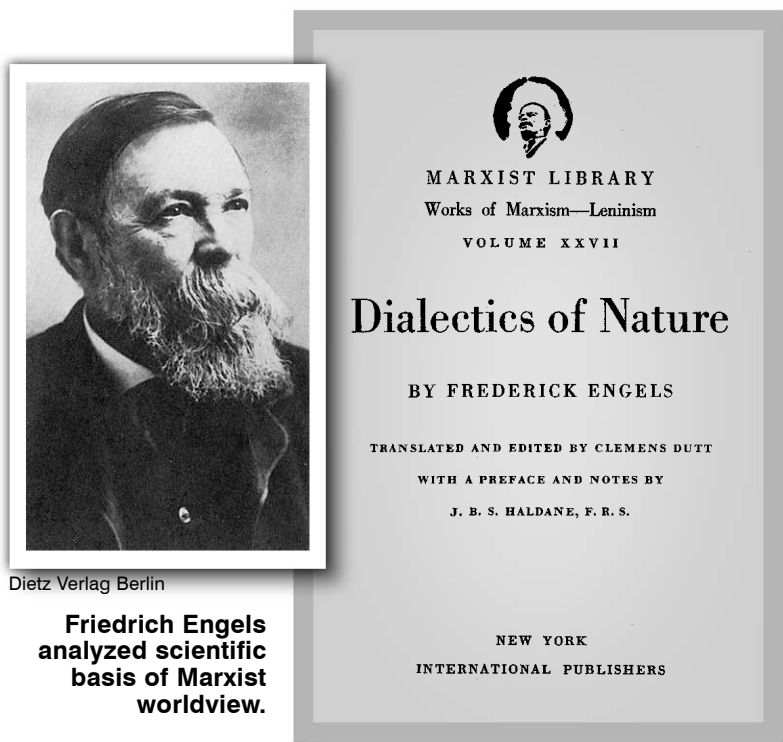
"The main work in the first period of natural science that now opened lay in mastering the material immediately at hand. In most fields a start had to be made from the very beginning. Antiquity had bequeathed Euclid and the Ptolemaic solar system; the Arabs had left behind the decimal notation, the beginnings of algebra, the modern numerals, and alchemy; the Christian Middle Ages nothing at all."

The church dogma on what we would call astronomy was what Ptolemy wrote in the second century AD. In his system, the Earth formed the center of motion, around which the Sun and planets rotated. The stars were fixed on a celestial sphere further out from the Sun and planets. What was on Earth was corrupt; what was in Heaven was perfect.

What passed for medicine also came from the Greeks, in particular, Hippocrates, in the 5th century BC. Human health was determined by the interplay of the four humors (blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile). Ill health meant an imbalance of the humors, which could require purging or bloodletting. These and other often fatal remedies continued to be used in the 18th and 19th centuries: George Washington himself died most likely as a result of bloodletting by his doctors when he fell ill in 1799.

In the 1500s, things started to crack for the feudal order and especially for the church. The Protestant Reformation is normally tagged to 1517, when Martin Luther posted his 95 theses on the cathedral door in Wittenberg. This doctrinal split would lead to no small amount of bloodletting not intended for medical purposes—for example, the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). Rather more unnerving to the feudal structure was the Peasant War in Germany, beginning about 1525. The same Martin Luther wrote a pamphlet on this occasion titled "Against the Murderous and Thieving Hordes of Peasants."

Galileo was born in 1564 to a noble—but not rich—family. Like many children before and after, he was taken to church by his parents, and evidently the sermons were as boring then as now. Unlike other kids, he made some good use of the time. He observed the great chandelier in the church, which would swing when disturbed by a breeze. He timed the swings using his pulse and found that the period was independent of the amplitude of the oscillation. That's now Physics 101, and laid the basis for the first



Dietz Verlag Berlin  
**Friedrich Engels analyzed scientific basis of Marxist worldview.**

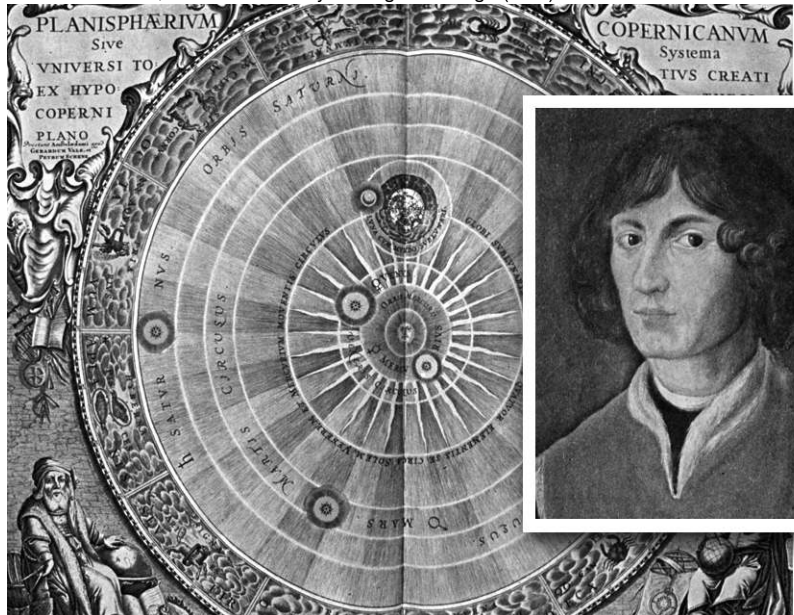
things like creationism, but without a Marxist program you have no way out of the impasse in which society finds itself. Society is rent by class struggle, legal and extralegal, as the bourgeoisie seeks ever greater profit from the exploitation of labor and workers resist. As Marx showed, there is a fundamental contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and the further advance of productive forces. The rule of capital must be smashed by the working class, organized and led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party.

Part of the process of building that party is to educate the proletariat as to its historic role and responsibility for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. That means a Marxist understanding of society, and that in turn means an under-

standing of the work of science and its defense against the purveyors of mystical and medieval rubbish. So first we have to review a bit of history. the Middle or Dark Ages. Not coincidentally, the dominant political and economic institution in this period was the Roman Catholic church. Along with the nobility, the church was a major landowner. The vast majority of the population was made up of serfs tied to the land of their lord, to whom they owed service as a feudal obligation. Illiterate, disease-ridden, all but slaves to their temporal and spiritual masters, the peasant masses faced, to quote Thomas Hobbes, "continual feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short" (*Leviathan* [1651]).

The Renaissance, which began in the city-states of northern Italy and was spurred by the growth of trade with the East, helped engender a new class of merchants, later to become the bourgeoisie of

Andreas Cellarius, Muzeum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (inset)



**Left: Breaking with centuries of church doctrine, Copernicus (1473-1543) developed heliocentric model of universe. Right: Galileo, tried by Inquisition, was forced on pain of torture to recant Copernican model.**



Cabasson

accurate clocks based on pendulums.

Galileo was above all a keen observer and experimentalist. When he heard that spectacle lenses were being used in Holland to view distant objects, he immediately constructed a crude telescope. Spurred by the results, he worked out his own procedures for grinding lenses to the exquisite tolerances needed for higher magnification, and produced a relatively small 20X to 30X telescope. He viewed the Moon, and saw not a perfect luminous disk but a *place* with geologic features just like the Earth—mountains, valleys, plains. When he looked at Jupiter, he saw little stars nearby seeming to move across the planetary disk. He immediately realized these were moons. Subsequently he observed Venus and saw it go through phases like the Earth's moon.

These observations shattered the Ptolemaic model of an Earth-centered system and convinced Galileo that Copernicus' idea that the Sun was the center of motion was in fact correct. For publishing this belief, Galileo was tried by the church in 1633 and, not surprisingly, convicted of heresy. Threatened with torture by the Inquisition, he recanted and spent the rest of his life under house arrest. From there he wrote his *Mathematical Discourses Concerning Two New Sciences* and had it smuggled out of reach of the Vatican to Holland, where it was published in 1638. His observations on the motions of falling bodies anticipated Isaac Newton's synthesis 48 years later.

Why did Galileo recant? One answer is that he was scared by what happened to Giordano Bruno, the itinerant ex-priest who supported Copernicus' idea about the Sun at the center, and much else. He was accused of heresy, imprisoned and tortured for *seven years* during his trial and finally burned at the stake in 1600. And the man who had ordered Galileo to abandon Copernican ideas in 1616 was the same Cardinal Bellarmine who sent Bruno to the stake. From what I have read, it is unfair to say that Galileo was a coward. First, Galileo's book, giving very thinly veiled support to Copernicus' theory, had been published in 1632 and already had circulated throughout Europe. Second, he had no substantial religious differences with the church on matters of theology, so a refusal to recant would mean torture and death for no real purpose.

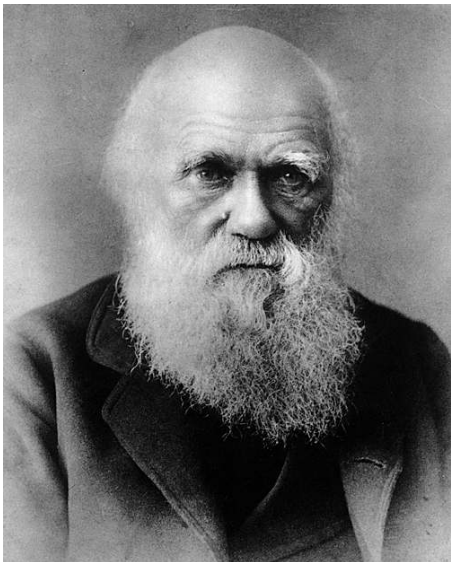
Giordano Bruno was another matter, and it is very doubtful whether his recantation would have saved his life—he actually offered to partially recant in an appeal to the Pope. Just to give you an idea, here are a few of the things with which he was charged: 1) erroneous opinions on the Trinity and the divinity of Christ; 2) belief in the reincarnation of souls in new bodies, human or animal; and (the kicker) 3) denial of the virginity of Mary. There are not a few Christians who would roast poor Bruno *today* for that! You can imagine how well it went down with the Pope in 1600.

## Science and the Industrial Revolution

Following Galileo, Newton produced his three laws of motion and the law of universal gravitation. Along with Gottfried Leibniz, he also invented differential calculus—the mathematics needed to solve the problems of moving bodies with forces such as gravity acting upon them. In biology, Carl Linnaeus introduced the systematic classification of animals and plants, based on form and structure. And in 1785, the Scot James Hutton laid the basis for modern geology and showed that the Earth had to be much, much older than the 6,000 years deduced by Bishop James Ussher (1581-1656) from a study of the biblical sources.

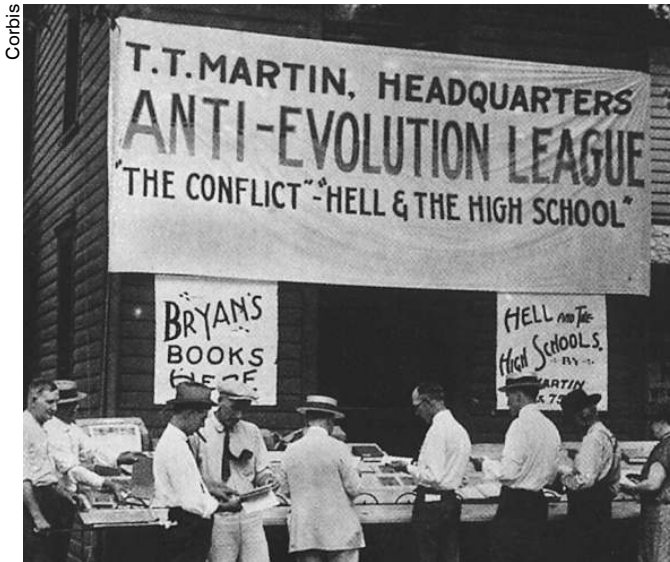
The middle to late 1700s was a period of tremendous advances in science and technology, driven by (and pushing forward) the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in Britain. Science was held in high esteem by the rising entrepreneurs, and in the growing manufacturing city of Birmingham there arose an informal grouping called the Lunar Society, which coalesced around 1765 and lasted about 30 years.

The name came from their routine of evening dinner meetings on the Monday closest to the full moon, a practical idea since many had a trip of several miles on horseback to their homes, and there were no streetlights. That would change—one of the Lunatics (as the Society members jocularly called themselves) was William Murdoch, who was developing the production of gas from coal to use for illumination. Other notable members included James Watt, inventor of the condensing steam engine (which made steam power practical and efficient enough for its later use in locomotives); Joseph Priestley, the preacher and chemist credited with the discovery of oxygen; Erasmus Darwin, grandfather of Charles and an evolutionist; and Josiah Wedgewood, chemist and mineralogist who made a fortune by making fine ceramics and pottery. Benjamin Franklin was a corresponding member—he was celebrated throughout Europe as an eminent scientist for his work on electricity.



Oliver

**Left: Charles Darwin presented groundbreaking theory of evolution by natural selection. Right: Evangelists, segregationists mobilized in Dayton, Tennessee, at time of 1925 Scopes "Monkey Trial," famous battle between evolutionists and creationists.**



Corbis

Politically the Lunatics were pretty progressive for their day. Many had favored the colonists during the American War of Independence and also supported the revolutionaries in France. In fact, on 14 July 1791 they were having a dinner in Birmingham to celebrate the second anniversary of the fall of the Bastille when the inn was threatened by a mob howling "Church and King!" The mob's main target was Joseph Priestley, whose support for the National Assembly won him an offer of French citizenship. Priestley's house was set on fire by the mob, but fortunately he and his family escaped. They later emigrated to the U.S.

It is literally inconceivable to envisage something like the Lunar Society today. An approximation would be for the heads of U.S. Steel and General Motors to have joined with the leading professors of MIT and Harvard to sign a petition supporting Fidel Castro in his struggle against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in Cuba in 1958!

The Lunatics mirrored capitalism in its youth, breaking down the barriers of feudalism as part of the practical struggle of the marketplace. Capitalism did bring a large increase in the productivity of labor and a corresponding vast increase in the amount of goods produced. Some of this trickled down even to the working class, whose labor created the surplus value pocketed by the capitalist as profit. However, exploitation of the most brutal fashion remained the lot of the masses, and the next economic dislocation causing a reduction or cessation of industrial production would (and did) throw the workers on to the street with no means of support. The scientific unraveling of the basis of capitalist production and profit was presented in detail by Karl Marx in his work *Capital* in 1867. But the core of Marxism—dialectical materialism—had been enunciated 20 years earlier in the *Communist Manifesto*.

## The Science of Marxism

In his 1883 preface to the *Communist Manifesto*, Engels wrote:

"The basic thought running through the *Manifesto*—that economic production and the structure of society of every historical epoch necessarily arising therefrom constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently (ever since the dissolution of the primeval communal

ownership of land) all history has been a history of class struggles, struggles between exploited and exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social development; that this struggle, however, has now reached a stage where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it (the bourgeoisie), without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles—the basic thought belongs solely and exclusively to Marx."

For the first time, the study of human society and its development had been given a firm scientific and materialist foundation. It is not surprising that Marx and Engels immediately appreciated the significance of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, first published in 1859. The astounding variety of animals and plants in their myriad shapes and forms were not static sculptures made by a divine Creator, but had evolved from a common ancestor and

differentiated over the expanse of geologic time. As Engels said in his 1883 speech at Marx's grave:

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence, and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of *vice versa*, as had hitherto been the case."

The philosophical scaffold of Marxism is called dialectical materialism. Materialism, meaning that the world exists in reality; it was not created within the realm of the human mind. Dialectical in the fact that the essence of our world (indeed our universe) is matter in motion. All things exist not in stasis but in a process of development. An analogy is the difference between a still photograph and a motion picture. We know this almost by instinct when we look at plants and animals—consider the bud of a cherry tree, from emerging green speck in spring to flower to tasty fruit. But from birth in a class-divided society, we are made to accept the idea that the social structures and norms of human relations are essentially static—there are rulers and ruled, usually with God blessing the whole arrangement.

The genius of Marx was to apply the dialectical materialist method to the study of society and economy. In a 1914 piece titled "Karl Marx," V.I. Lenin quotes Engels, adding his own interpolations:

"Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern natural science that it has furnished extremely rich [this was written before the discovery of radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements, etc.] and daily increasing materials for this test, and has thus proved that in the last analysis Nature's process is dialectical and not metaphysical.

"The great basic thought," Engels writes, 'that the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready-made things, but as a complex of processes, in which the things apparently stable no less than their mind images in our heads, the concepts, go through an uninterrupted change of

coming into being and passing away... this great fundamental thought has, especially since the time of Hegel, so thoroughly permeated ordinary consciousness that in this generality it is now scarcely ever contradicted. But to acknowledge this fundamental thought in words and to apply it in reality in detail to each domain of investigation are two different things.... For dialectical philosophy nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything; nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascendency from the lower to the higher. And dialectical philosophy itself is nothing more than the mere reflection of this process in the thinking brain.' Thus, according to Marx, dialectics is 'the science of the general laws of motion, both of the external world and of human thought'."

## The Dialectic of Science

Scientists seek to be as objective as possible, to eliminate systematic errors and to require that facts be established by experiments which can be repeated by

others to confirm the results. Theories are built upon testable hypotheses, which lead to more experiments and further refinements of existing theory or creation of a new and better one. Science has its own dialectic—it is not static, but ever-changing. It is also materialist. Nature and her workings are to be explained using natural causes. Things happen for physical reasons, not the whim of a Zeus, Yahweh, tree spirit or water nymph. On one side science, on the other superstition, and ne'er the twain shall meet.

Any human activity such as science is subject to error, sometimes conscious, sometimes not. The human brain is very good at finding patterns. This was selected for by evolution. Our ancestors did not have the luxury of extended observation time to determine whether that shadowy figure in the grass was a grazing gazelle or a Smilodon with 7-inch fangs. But that pattern-seeking neural circuitry can also fool us. When I look at the sky I don't immediately see bulls and crabs and hunters with studded belts. But given enough boredom, or

*continued on page 8*

**Marxism and Religion**

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(continued from page 7)

Another common fallacy is that correlation implies causality, which actually is an offshoot of seeking patterns where none really exist. An amusing example of correlation not being cause comes from an open letter to the Kansas School Board written by Bobby Henderson on behalf of the Church of the Flying Spaghetti Monster, which was set up as a satirical protest against creationism:

Above all, one must remember that scientists are human and work in the midst of a class-divided society. Even a religious physicist can be objective when measuring the distance between the Earth and Moon, but as one approaches social questions and research, ingrained bias emanating from the dominant social mores can sometimes overwhelm the best of objective intentions.

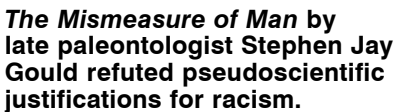
In medicine today, researchers use the double-blind randomized clinical trial to eliminate such subjective biases from influencing the results. Double-blind means that both the study subjects and those providing the treatment do not know whether any particular patient is receiving the actual medicine or a sham control. Blinding the patients by randomization helps correct for the placebo effect—people want to be cured or get some relief from illness or pain and will respond just to the soothing voice of a caregiver or to a sugar pill (especially if brightly colored!). Blinding the caregiver prevents unconscious cues being given to the patient that would allow



## Medical Quackery

Times do change, and procedures such as MRI or CT scans which are routine today would have seemed like science fiction a generation or two ago. As advances have been made in physics and chemistry, and especially molecular biology, they have dramatically affected the practice of medicine. Yet the popularity of “complementary and alternative medicine” (CAM) is great and rising. Many people can’t afford regular medical care, and patients will grasp at anything that promises a cure. I.e., CAM is a social problem.

Buzzwords like “energy” and “life force,” which are at the heart of all alternative medicine nostrums, are really nothing but a cover for the idea of “vitalism”—i.e., that there is something unique about living systems. This was scientific mainstream until the 1820s when German chemist Friedrich Wöhler accidentally synthesized urea from inorganic compounds. This was the first time a molecule previously only obtained from living organisms had been created in the laboratory, and it marked the birth of organic chemistry. Actually the division of chemistry into organic and inorganic is itself a vestige of the vitalist era. The laws gov-



Edzard Ernst, an MD and also practitioner of CAM, and Simon Singh, a British science journalist, have written a useful book, *Trick or Treatment: The Undeniable Facts about Alternative Medicine*. If anything the authors bend over backwards to give CAM the widest latitude to show proof of some shred of benefit beyond the placebo effect. And what is the conclusion? Acupuncture and homeopathy: useless; chiropractic: maybe you could try it but only for lower back pain, though a physical therapist would be just as good, and cheaper; herbal medicines: a few have a mildly positive effect, but in most cases conventional drugs work as well or better.

## Chiropractic Pseudoscience

Chiropractors perform what they call manipulation to cure the subluxations in the vertebral column. This is a rapid acceleration thrust on the bone which moves it just past the point where muscles could conceivably move it on their own, but short of bone and tissue damage. Well, that's the theory. For my book, it sounds more like what happens to your spine in an automobile accident. When applied to the cervical vertebrae—the seven vertebrae of the spinal column in your neck—the results can be vertebral arterial dissection. This can obstruct blood flow to the brain or throw a clot that leads to a stroke.

Chiropractors, like all purveyors of “alternative medicine,” like to portray themselves as little Davids struggling against the Goliaths of Big Pharma and the American Medical Association. But chiroprac-



Intelligent Design is a relatively recent sprout on the Christian bush. Actually, it is an example of rapid speciation into a new environment. Prior to 1987, the creationists were touting “creation science” and demanding that it be taught in the public schools alongside evolution. That got shot down by a series of court decisions, starting with an Arkansas case



in 1982, and then in the Supreme Court in 1987. So rather quickly—no evolution here!—"creation science" transformed itself into "intelligent design."

In the *Origin of Species*, Darwin anticipated such problems, including the example of the vertebrate eye, and the creationists love to quote his sentence: "To suppose that the eye...could have been formed by natural selection, seems, I freely confess, absurd in the highest possible degree." But they never mention his answer in the very next sentence of the passage: "If any variation or modification in the organ be ever useful to an animal under changing conditions of life, then the difficulty of believing that a perfect and complex eye could be formed by natural selection, though insuperable by our imagination,

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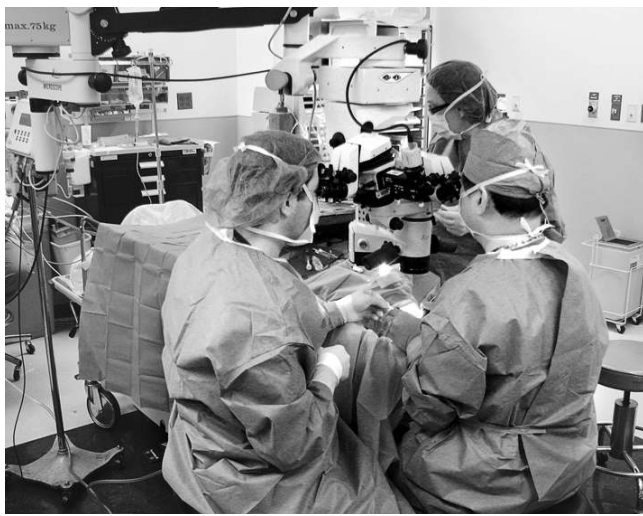
can hardly be considered real.” Think about it: would you rather have blurred vision, or be totally blind? Even an imperfect eye gives an organism a selective advantage compared with no sight at all.

The second premise is the Anthropic Principle. There is such vastness to the universe. There is the beautiful, intricate motion of the planets around the Sun, moons around the planets, of the stars and the galaxies—they now agree with Copernicus and Galileo—and here is Earth, just right for living things to exist on. If the Earth were closer to the Sun it would be too hot—look at Venus. Further away and it would be too cold. It looks like the whole universe was created or fine-tuned with human life in mind, so to speak. Hence, there must have been a Creator. Sir John Polkinghorne, a respected British physicist and also a Christian minister, stated: “The fundamental parameters of the universe are such as to permit the creation of observers within it.”

Sounds profound, right? But physicist Robert L. Park translated Polkinghorne into something less pretentious, more along the lines of what Yogi Berra might have said: “If things were different, things would not be the way things are.” There is another amusing argument put forward by the late author Douglas Adams, who, among other things, wrote the *Hitchhiker’s Guide to the Galaxy* and was a script editor for the famous British series *Doctor Who* in 1979. He compared the Anthropic Principle to a “puddle waking up one morning and thinking, ‘This is an interesting world I find myself in, an interesting hole I find myself in, fits me rather neatly, doesn’t it? In fact it fits me staggeringly well, must have been made to have me in it!’”

Of course the whole geological record shows that the Earth is much older than 6,000 years, and that thousands of species have come and gone over the ages. Creationists used to wail on about the lack of transitional forms for whales—how could a terrestrial mammal smoothly evolve into one now at home only in the oceans? Well, in the last 15 or so years, a whole string of fossils have been discovered showing in beautiful detail all those “missing forms.” In any case, the creationists aren’t about to let facts get in the way. Henry Morris, founder of the modern creationist movement, stated: “No geological difficulties, real or imagined, can be allowed to take precedence over the clear statements and necessary inferences of Scripture.”

While the creationists may seem fringe oddballs (comedian Lewis Black described them as the people who are “watching *The Flintstones* as if it were a documentary”), they are very political and they have supporters with deep pockets. In 1998, the Discovery Institute, a major think tank for creationism/ID, produced an internal memo called the “Wedge Document.” It



Columbia University

**Left: Robotic system for micro eye surgery shows America has among the best medical technology in the world—if you can pay for it. Right: Victims of cholera epidemic in Haiti, December 22, where thousands have died due to lack of clean water and the most rudimentary health care.**



Getty

was called that because they considered their attack on Darwin and evolution as the “thin edge of the wedge” for their broader “Governing Goals”: “to defeat scientific materialism and its destructive moral, cultural and political legacies” and “to replace materialistic explanations with the theistic understanding that nature and human beings are created by God.”

### Science and Communist Liberation

Human evolution happened in such a way that no hominid ancestor survived; it could have been otherwise but wasn’t. All humans are genetically members of the same species and there is no biological basis for the separation into races. It should be noted that Darwin was a staunch abolitionist, and during the U.S. Civil War hoped that the North would put emancipation on its banner and eliminate slavery no matter the cost in blood. As we wrote in “Hail Charles Darwin!” (WV No. 854, 16 September 2005):

“America’s other peculiarity among advanced capitalist countries is its deeply religious character. Nowhere else—not even in Italy where the Vatican still heavily influences civil society—is there such refractory religiosity and visceral hostility to the long-established facts of Darwinian natural selection as the motor force of evolution. Why? The absence of even a mass reformist workers party that expresses in even a blurry way that working people have needs and interests counterposed to those of their exploiters is a large part of the explanation for political backwardness in the U.S. But like everything else in this country, it also boils down to the central intersection of *race and class*. Religion in the U.S. supplies an ideology that can seemingly harmonize conflicting class interests while keeping this society with two races firmly ordered: capital above labor and white above black.”

Liberals worry about the denigration of science and rationalism—how is the country to maintain a competitive position in the world if the next generation knows

more about the Book of Numbers than about algebra? Marxists are materialists and take it as a given that science and religion are incompatible.

Here we come to the fundamental difference between Marxists and liberals. At bottom, liberals accept the existence of the capitalist order and their most radical demand is for reforms. Their high point was the French Revolution—liberty, fraternity, equality. All abstract ideals, behind which lurk the sanctity of private property and the class rule of the bourgeoisie. Liberals, it is true, will recognize the class struggle, but what they reject is that the proletariat should actually seize state power from the bourgeoisie.

The “liberty” so beloved by a capitalist is his liberty to make a profit, which necessarily comes through the exploitation of the workers he employs. Such exploitation is built into the capitalist system, a system that is at bottom irrational. Economic competition inevitably leads to military competition, and imperialist war. Imperialism can’t be reformed—the whole system of private property has to be overthrown. The goal of the Marxists is the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which on a global scale can lay the basis for a classless communist society.

Science can open up as yet undreamt possibilities for humanity. But under capitalism today, vast resources devoted to research are for military purposes. The American ruling class was the first to own and so far the only one to use nuclear weapons, and the warheads in the U.S. arsenal are now each 20 or more times more powerful than the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. Even a “limited” nuclear war could have catastrophic consequences, beyond the initial effects of the explosions. Climactic changes could wreak havoc on key agricultural areas, putting the survival of the human species at risk.

The imperialists have to be removed from power and disarmed by the workers

before the rulers kill us all. That will require building a revolutionary workers party, independent of all the parties of capital, including the Democrats. Obama has continued to carry on all the essential policies of the administrations before him. That is actually why the bourgeoisie put him in power. The whole racist, murderous edifice of American imperialism has to be smashed by the multiracial working class, organized into democratically elected councils and led by its Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

As this talk has been in defense of Marxism and science, it is worth noting Marx’s words at the end of the preface to the first German edition of *Capital*: “The present society is no solid crystal, but an organism capable of change, and is constantly changing.” This dialectical mode of thought inspired Lenin, Trotsky and the whole Bolshevik Party that made the October Revolution in Russia in 1917. It remained a cornerstone of Trotsky’s thinking until the day he died.

In *The Prophet Unarmed* (1959) Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher cites a revealing sample of Trotsky’s vision of a future society, after capitalism’s demise: “The drudgery of feeding and bringing up children...will be lifted from the individual family by social initiative.... Woman will at last emerge from semi-slavery.... Socio-educational experiments ...will evolve with a now inconceivable elan. The communist way of life will not grow up blindly like coral reefs in the sea. It will be built consciously. It will be checked by critical thought. It will be directed and corrected.... No sooner will one crust begin to form itself on the human existence than it will burst under the pressure of new inventions and achievements.”

The men and women of the future will no longer need religion, what Marx described as solace, the “opium of the people.” And the key to unlock human potential will be science, not superstition. ■

## ILA...

(continued from page 12)

Holt only then announced the shift in port operations. The capitalist snakes were not so much after concessions as the opportunity to deliver a sharp blow to the ILA’s presence on the docks.

For decades, the Holts have gobbled up waterfront property on the Delaware River and conspired to undermine ILA contracts and break the union. At Gloucester City, the Holts, assisted by a Teamsters raiding operation, drove out the ILA in 1993 and in its place set up a “labor” front known as Independent Dock workers Local 1. This classic company union has no existence outside of a single office supplied by Holt at the terminal. Today, under the auspices of “Local 1,” ruthlessly exploited workers are handling the Del Monte cargo for half the pay of ILA longshoremen.

It will take hard class struggle to bring the likes of Del Monte and the Holts to heel—and to organize the longshoremen at Gloucester City. But the pro-capitalist ILA tops are instead pursuing a consumer boycott of Del Monte products,

which was announced on Labor Day. This timeworn losing strategy, which seeks to drum up liberal public opinion against the bosses, is an impotent substitute for unleashing labor’s social power: its unique ability to bring production, transport and the movement of goods to a halt.

Local 1291 leaders have also encouraged union supporters to ask Pennsylvania’s outgoing Democratic Party governor Ed Rendell to pressure Del Monte and the Holts to bring back the ILA jobs. One might as well play the lottery. Although they sometimes pose as “friends of labor,” the Democrats no less than the Republicans are representatives of the capitalist class enemy. In fact, the Holts got their start with assistance from Democratic governor Robert Casey Sr. and later were lavished with state largesse by the very same Rendell when he was governor. The simple truth is that the class interests of the workers are irreconcilably counterposed to those of the capitalists and their political parties.

Over the years, the bosses have regularly turned to the agencies of the capitalist state, especially the courts, to shackle the ILA’s power. On November 1, the federal court now considering the NYSA’s

lawsuit issued a permanent injunction barring the ILA from threatening or engaging in another work stoppage related to the dispute with Del Monte. Recently, the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor held “investigative” hearings focusing on the ILA, signaling its intent to set up a new round of “anti-corruption” prosecutions, which the Feds have long used to weaken the union. Meanwhile, with its mandatory background checks, the government’s Transportation Worker Identification Credential program has disproportionately victimized black and immigrant workers in the name of securing the nation’s ports from “terror” threats.

The renewed attacks on this industrial union, a stronghold of black labor in the South, are calculated to further undercut wages and working conditions on the East and Gulf Coast docks in advance of a shipping boom expected to follow the completion of the Panama Canal’s expansion, slated for 2014. Upgrades totaling some \$827 million are planned for the New York/New Jersey ports alone over the next five years. Already, ILA locals up and down the coast try to underbid each other—as well as other unions and non-union outfits—to secure contracts for

“break bulk” (non-containerized) cargo, such as fruit. With industry magnates crowing over “port-to-port competition,” the employers are clearly gearing up to pit ILA members against the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union.

The situation cries out for one industrial union of all port workers nationwide that fights for equal pay, benefits and protections at the highest standards. The fate of longshoremen on both coasts, who at present are an increasingly isolated bastion of union labor on the waterfront, is inextricably linked to the need for an aggressive campaign to organize the unorganized port truckers, warehouse and intermodal workers. This will require defending the immigrant workers who fill many of these jobs, including against the repressive “anti-terror” measures that target them. It is out of struggles to rebuild industrial unions as battalions of the multiracial working class against the bosses that a new labor leadership must be forged, one armed with a program of working-class independence from the bourgeois state and dedicated to building a workers party that fights for a workers government. ■

# Free Hugo Pinell Now!

We print below a letter sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to the California Board of Parole Hearings on 24 December 2010. Hugo Pinell, a recipient of PDC stipends for class-war prisoners, has a parole hearing scheduled for January 11. We urge our readers to send letters demanding Pinell's release to Robert Doyle, Chairman, California Board of Parole Hearings, P.O. Box 4036, Sacramento, CA 95812-4036.

The Partisan Defense Committee writes in support of the release of Hugo L.A. Pinell. Mr. Pinell has been turned down for parole numerous times despite many letters of support and no disciplinary write-ups for over 28 years. At one of these hearings, a commissioner berated

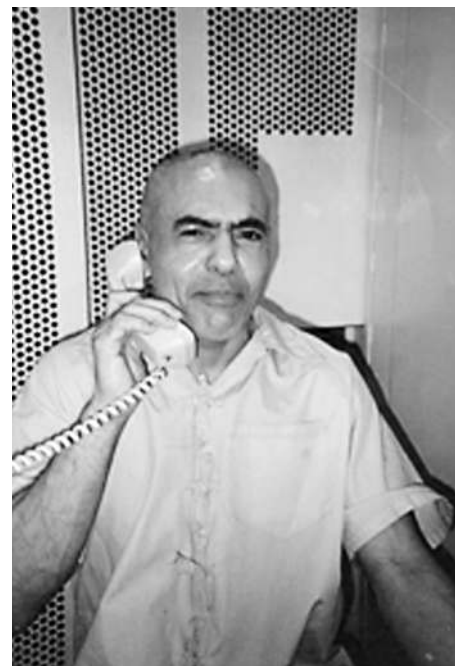
Mr. Pinell saying "you continue to show no remorse..." This is a common ruse for denying parole for political prisoners. Mr. Pinell has no reason for "remorse" for his commendable political convictions.

This courageous political prisoner has now spent over 45 years in incarceration, 20 of them in the notoriously repressive Pelican Bay Special Housing Unit in Crescent City. There he is subjected to high-tech sensory deprivation: 23 to 24 hours a day in a small cell, no windows, no natural light, no contact visits and prolonged isolation. This cruel and unusual punishment must stop.

Mr. Pinell was well known to prison officials as an anti-racist leader of prison-rights organizing in the 1960s and

'70s. Along with five others, known as the San Quentin Six, Mr. Pinell was framed up on charges stemming from the protests that followed the assassination of George Jackson by prison guards in August 1971. The last of the San Quentin Six still in prison, Mr. Pinell remains incarcerated for one, and only one reason: he remains true to his vision of a society finally rid of racist oppression.

At his last hearing, the Board vindictively overstepped their bounds and illegally attempted to deny Mr. Pinell another parole hearing for fifteen years. We demand the abuse by the parole board cease and that Mr. Pinell be released immediately and unconditionally. ■



hugopinell.org

## WikiLeaks...

(continued from page 2)

the vendetta against him threatens an ominous further attack on free speech, press freedoms and other democratic rights. Commenting on the case of an intelligence consultant hit with the Espionage Act for exposing what he considered wasteful expenditures on eavesdropping programs, the *New York Times* (11 June 2010) noted that "the Obama administration is proving more aggressive than the Bush administration in seeking to punish unauthorized leaks." As we have repeatedly stressed, Barack Obama, who came into office with broad support from liberals and the left, is simply carrying out his duties as U.S. imperialism's Commander-in-Chief—from expanding the murderous occupation of Afghanistan to stepping up attacks on democratic rights in the name of the "war on terror."

### The Bolsheviks vs. Secret Diplomacy

The furious reaction of the Obama administration to the WikiLeaks exposures points to the importance the rulers of capitalist imperialism place on secret diplomacy, which, as revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained in November 1917, "is a necessary tool for a propertied minority which is compelled to deceive the majority in order to subject it to its interests." Trotsky made this point in a statement he issued as Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet workers state that had just issued out of the October Revolution. Trotsky was announcing the publication and abrogation of secret treaties hatched by the prior tsarist regime and the bourgeois Provisional Government with their imperialist allies.

Prior to the proletariat's seizure of power, the Bolshevik Party had demanded the abolition of secret diplomacy and the publication of secret treaties as part of its revolutionary proletarian opposition to World War I, a conflict between competing imperialists for redivision of the world. This demand was raised against the Provisional Government, which, coming to power after the overthrow of the

tsar in the February Revolution of 1917, continued Russia's participation in the war.

Immediately following the October Revolution, the workers state issued a decree on peace removing Russia from the war and demanding of the belligerents a "just, democratic" peace without annexations or indemnities. Two weeks later, the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* began publication of treaties concluded during the war. Histo-

the oppressed in the advanced capitalist countries and in the colonial and semi-colonial world. Along with the Soviet government's renunciation of predatory agreements reached by prior regimes, publication of the treaties helped spark waves of struggle by those under the boot heel of the imperialists, whose dirty deals were now laid bare.

One of the first treaties to be exposed was the May 1916 agreement between

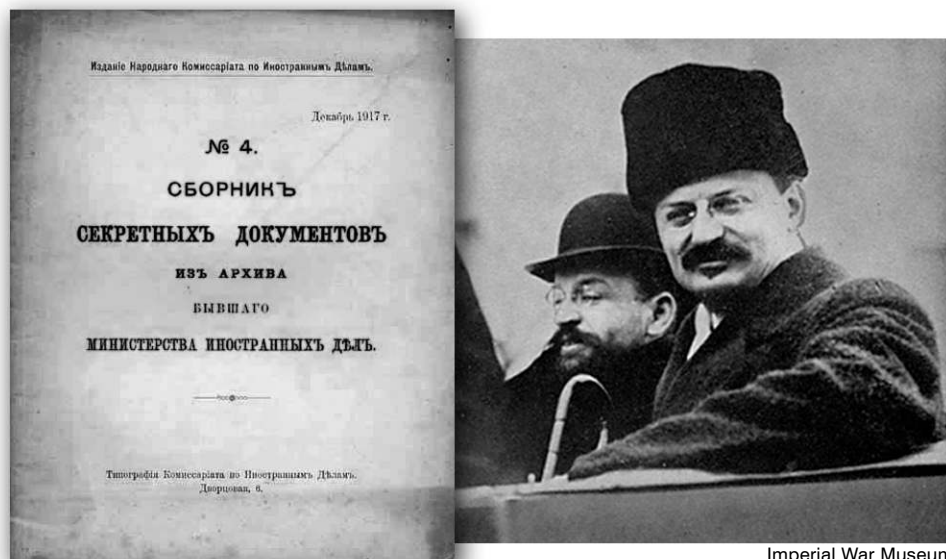
ever, with the 1919 Versailles Treaty, the U.S. and other imperialists awarded all of defeated Germany's territory in China to the Japanese Empire, sparking a wave of mass protest known as the May 4th Movement, some of whose leaders went on to help found the Chinese Communist Party.

### A Revolutionary Perspective

A number of reformist "socialist" organizations around the world have referred positively to the Soviets' publication of secret treaties in light of the WikiLeaks exposures, only to draw a continuum between the two. While performing a valuable service to the exploited and the oppressed, Julian Assange is what he is: a bourgeois liberal who vainly seeks to rid the imperialist system of its worst excesses through exposure of its crimes. The Bolsheviks had a different purpose. By exposing the deeds of the previous Russian rulers and their imperialist patrons and allies, they helped educate the working class in Russia and internationally. Their program was to extend the October Revolution internationally, which they knew was the only road to achieving a socialist society. However, the revolutionary wave that accompanied and followed the end of World War I in Germany and elsewhere in Europe failed to overthrow the rule of capital, centrally due to the lack of the kind of steeled vanguard party that V.I. Lenin had built in Russia.

While maintaining its revolutionary internationalist perspective and program, the early Soviet workers state itself needed to engage in diplomatic dealings with the capitalist world. Thus it signed the Rapallo Pact, which arranged for the German military and its industrial suppliers to set up operations on Soviet territory. While this gave the German militarists a chance to rearm, it also provided the means to begin the mechanization and modernization of the Red Army and related branches of Soviet industry. This part of the Rapallo Pact had to be kept secret from the victorious Entente powers. As Trotsky wrote of the revolutionary Bolshevik regime: "Wherever it could, it, of course, deceived the class enemies; on the other hand it told the toilers the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Only thanks to this did it succeed in winning their trust to a degree never before achieved by any other party in the world" (*Their Morals and Ours*, 1938).

With the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution, the Soviet workers state, which had suffered greatly from the effects of the interimperialist war and the Civil War that followed the revolution, found itself isolated. Under conditions of scarcity, a new conservative and bureaucratized layer in the party and state apparatus led by Joseph Stalin came to the fore, usurping political power beginning in 1923-24. In place of the banner of world socialist revolution, Stalin in 1924 put forward the false dogma of "socialism in one country," out of which the corollary of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism inevitably developed. Over time, and against the opposition of Trotsky and his followers



Imperial War Museum

**Soviet leader Leon Trotsky arriving at Brest-Litovsk talks with Germany, January 1918. As Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Trotsky oversaw publication of Collection of Secret Documents of the Former Ministry of Foreign Affairs shortly after October Revolution.**

rian E.H. Carr noted in Volume Three of *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923* that publication of the treaties in English in the *Manchester Guardian* galvanized British radicals and "created a sensation in the United States." In his Canton speech, Debs declared, "When the Bolsheviks came into power and went through the archives they found and exposed the secret treaties—the treaties that were made between the Czar and the French government, the British government and the Italian government, proposing, after the victory was achieved, to dismember the German Empire and destroy the Central Powers. These treaties have never been denied nor repudiated."

The October Revolution was a beacon of liberation for the exploited and

Britain's Mark Sykes and France's François Georges-Picot, which plotted the carving up of the Ottoman Empire in anticipation of its defeat, along with Germany in WWI. Tsarist Russia approved this pact on condition that it receive part of eastern Anatolia and Constantinople (Istanbul) with its Straits of Dardanelles, a critically strategic passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The exposure of this deal, which was revised at the end of the war in favor of Britain, had an electrifying effect in the Near East, whose peoples expected that the Ottomans' defeat would result in their self-determination. Strikes and demonstrations swept Egypt in 1919, and the following year in Mesopotamia (today's Iraq) the masses stood up to the more than 130,000 British troops deployed to occupy the territory. The Soviet government also disowned plans by the tsarist regime and the imperialists to divide up Persia (Iran).

A similar impact was seen in China, whole chunks of which had been carved up by the Western and Japanese imperialists. The Soviets published a secret treaty signed by Japan and Russia in 1916 that upheld a series of prior secret agreements dividing Manchuria in northeast China into Japanese and Russian spheres of influence. Other areas, such as Inner Mongolia, were similarly demarcated. The Bolsheviks' renunciation of tsarist annexations and machinations in China made a deep impression on key radical intellectuals and among students returning to China after the war. Many of the students had illusions in U.S. president Woodrow Wilson's promises of "self-determination" and social justice for all peoples. How-

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# Spain...

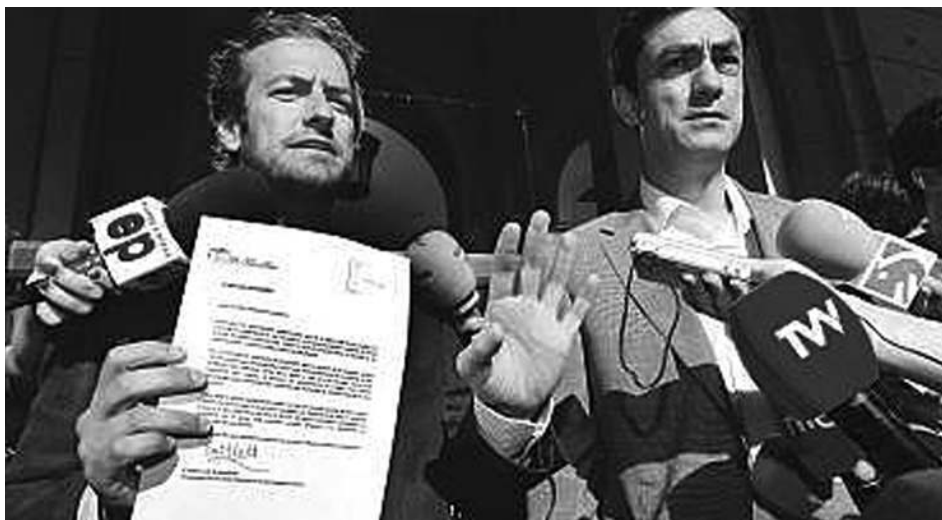
(continued from page 12)

is sending a message to the international financial markets that it is prepared to use naked state repression to cow the trade unions into submission. The *Wall Street Journal* (8 December 2010) observed with approval that “the government’s severe response has shored up the position of Spain’s embattled prime minister and could give him more support in passing reforms.” It further notes that the cost of government borrowing, which had been soaring in the weeks before the state of emergency, began to fall immediately afterward. The government’s “reforms” include plans to raise the retirement age by two years, to 67, and eliminate the pitiful €426 (\$570) monthly payment to the long-term unemployed. This in a country with an unemployment rate of 20 percent, the highest in the euro zone.

The assault on the air traffic controllers poses a deadly threat to the organized labor movement. Especially given Spain’s important tourism sector, workers in the airline industry are strategically placed and have enormous social power. At the same time, the trade unions are generally divided by affiliation to political parties, which weakens their capacity to struggle. What’s needed instead is to unite all workers in industrial unions, including a single union of airline workers embracing pilots, controllers, mechanics, baggage handlers and cabin crews.

The state of emergency should have been met by massive protests by the country’s powerful trade-union federations—the General Union of Workers (UGT), aligned with the PSOE, and the Workers Commissions (CC.OO.), associated with the United Left coalition (Izquierda Unida—IU), in which the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) is the dominant force. Instead, the union bureaucrats in both federations, which are loyal to the PSOE government, scandalously chimed in with Zapatero’s attacks on the strikers. UGT leader Cándido Méndez denounced the controllers’ action as “in no way justified,” while in a December 6 Web posting the CC.OO. described the action as “intolerable” and “an act of grave irresponsibility deserving of ‘our most forceful and radical rejection.’”

Facing the most ferocious attacks on their jobs and livelihoods in decades, workers across Europe, notably in Greece and France, have waged major class battles. But the workers’ struggles have been undermined by the political bankruptcy of their reformist misleaders, who accept the need for capitalist austerity, while seeking to sugarcoat its effects. This underlines the need to forge a revolutionary leadership of the working class. Based on the understanding that the interests of the workers and those of the bosses are irreconcilable, such a leadership would fight for what workers need, not for what the bosses say they can afford. This would be part of the struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party



**Madrid: Air traffic controllers union president Camilo Cela (right) and communications secretary César Cabo (left) speak to press during contract negotiations in August. Strikers face up to eight years’ imprisonment.**

grounded in the Marxist understanding that the capitalist system must be overthrown through socialist revolution.

In Spain, the leaders of both the UGT and CC.OO. are committed to the defense of the interests of their “own” capitalist rulers. UGT leader Méndez has baldly declared: “Social peace is the birthright and the responsibility of everyone. We are not the ones breaking the social peace and we do not want to do so in the future” (abc.es, 23 February 2010). In June, when Zapatero announced a new labor law attacking workers’ rights, UGT and CC.OO. leaders called for a one-day general strike to be held...three months later, which amounted to seeking the government’s permission for the strike. The September 29 general strike was organized under the slogan “Not Like This” and called for a “fair and balanced way out of the crisis.”

## Forge a Trotskyist Party in Spain!

To justify their class treason in refusing to defend the air traffic controllers, the UGT and CC.OO. misleaders maintain that USCA is not a trade union and that the controllers are pampered and highly paid. Reformist left groups in Spain, which routinely look to the PSOE to defend “democracy” and keep out the bourgeois right, have also joined in the denunciation of the air traffic controllers. Despite much handwringing over the state of emergency by the United Left, its parliamentary deputy Gaspar Llamazares denounced the controllers’ action as “an abuse of power against the workers” that leaves the unions “weaker to defend labour and social rights.”

In contrast, a 5 December 2010 press release by STAVLA, a flight attendants union, recognized what is at stake for the union movement. Offering unconditional support, STAVLA expresses the hope that the air traffic controllers’

“VALIANT action and courage serve to wake up a society that is asleep, individualist and depressed in the fight for its economic and labor rights in the country with the highest rate of unemployment in Europe. If we fall into the Government’s devious manipulation and applaud their action, we will have allowed this attack on the

fundamental rights of all Spanish workers to succeed and be entrenched forever.”

Spain’s air traffic controllers are a highly paid white-collar group on the margins of the labor movement. But if Zapatero gets away with this outrageous assault on the USCA, his government will take it as a green light for further attacks on the working class as a whole. Indeed, last summer Madrid’s right-wing regional government threatened to use the military to break a Metro strike.

Zapatero’s attack on the controllers, and the response of the trade-union bureaucrats and reformists, bring to mind U.S. president Ronald Reagan’s 1981 union-busting attack on the PATCO air traffic controllers union. In response to their strike, some 12,000 PATCO members were fired and their leaders dragged off to jail in shackles. As in Spain today, the trade unions had the social power to shut down the airports and defeat this attack. But the union misleaders in the U.S. treacherously refused to mobilize that power, which emboldened the bourgeoisie to carry out massive attacks on all of labor.

The Spanish government and Aena have imposed horrendous working conditions on the air traffic controllers, who are forced to work overtime as a matter of course because the bosses refuse to hire enough of them. These conditions are a direct threat to air safety, a situation that is drastically worsened by the state of emergency. The International Federation of Air Traffic Controllers’ Associations (IFATCA) issued a statement saying: “Given the duress under which our Spanish colleagues are forced to work, IFATCA declares that the safety of Spanish airspace and airports is severely compromised while this military rule is in force.”

While Zapatero’s martial law measures are an abrogation of democratic rights, the response of reformists has been to promote illusions in bourgeois democracy. Marxists understand that the government is the executive committee of the ruling class. As Lenin explained in *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918), “There is not a single

state, however democratic, which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a ‘violation of public order,’ and actually in case the exploited class ‘violates’ its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner.” The capitalist state, which exists to defend bourgeois rule, cannot be reformed and made to work in the interests of the oppressed; it must be overthrown by workers revolution and replaced by a workers state.

On December 10, in opposition to Madrid’s right-wing regional government, leaders of the UGT and CC.OO. in Madrid organized a public reading of articles of the Spanish Constitution, which formally guarantees the right to work and the right to strike. Upheld by the PSOE and the PCE, the Constitution proclaims the Spanish state to be a parliamentary monarchy. The present king, Juan Carlos de Borbón, was handpicked by Franco himself to succeed him as head of state. The Constitution also enshrines the continued oppression of national minorities—especially the Basque and Catalan peoples—in the name of the “indissoluble unity of the Spanish Nation, common and indivisible motherland of all Spaniards.” The king is no mere ornament but the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. It was Juan Carlos who signed the royal decree declaring the state of emergency against the air traffic controllers.

In the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, the PSOE and PCE, as well as the anarchists and the centrist Workers Party of Marxist Unification, paved the way for the dictatorship of the butcher Franco by liquidating a proletarian revolution and subordinating the working class to the “democratic” bourgeoisie (see “Trotskyism vs. Popular Frontism in the Spanish Civil War,” *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 61, Spring 2009). After the death of the dictator in November 1975, the reformists again came to the rescue of the capitalists as a powerful wave of strikes threatened to shake the bourgeois order to its foundations. That betrayal too was carried out in the name of “democracy.”

The Spanish monarchy, the legacy of Francoism and the whole capitalist system can and must be swept away by workers revolution. What’s necessary is the building of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed in the struggle for a workers government that will expropriate the capitalist bloodsuckers and begin the construction of an egalitarian socialist order based on a massive expansion of productive forces. Such a party will champion the right of self-determination for oppressed nations, full citizenship rights for all immigrants, the emancipation of women and full democratic rights for homosexuals. For a federation of workers republics in the Iberian peninsula! For a Socialist United States of Europe!■

who fought to maintain the program of the October Revolution, the Communist Parties were transformed from instruments of revolution into instruments of class collaboration.

Trotsky observed in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), his classic analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy, that “foreign policy is everywhere and always a continuation of domestic policy, for it is conducted by the same ruling class and pursues the same historic goals. The degeneration of the governing stratum in the Soviet Union could not but be accompanied by a corresponding change of aims and methods in Soviet diplomacy.” While unconditionally defending the degenerated Soviet workers state against imperialism and domestic capitalist counterrevolution, Trotskyists fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracy and return to the road of the October Revolution.

The bureaucracy’s betrayals led to the ultimate undoing of the October Revolution through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. In the aftermath, the imperialists who crow about the “death of communism” are ever more brazen in their rampages from Iraq to Afghanistan and in their assault on democratic rights and the livelihood of workers “at home.” Liberals and the reformist left seize upon revelations of the (everyday) workings of the capitalist rulers—disinformation, secret political police, assassination, etc.—to pressure the imperialists to adopt more “humane” policies. Our aim is to build a workers party of the Bolshevik type. Imperialism and its savage wars and occupations, sold through systematic lying and duplicity, will be defeated only through victorious proletarian revolution which, extended internationally, will lay the basis for the liberation of all humanity in a future communist world.■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Port Bosses Sue Union for \$5 Million

# ILA Under Attack Over Strike to Save Jobs

### Labor Must Defend the ILA!

Seeking to punish the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) for a two-day walkout last September, the New York Shipping Association (NYSA) bosses and 18 ocean carriers filed a lawsuit on December 3 in a New Jersey federal court demanding over \$5 million in "damages." In a notable display of labor power, ILA members had shut down operations on the docks in the Philadelphia and New York City areas on September 28-29 to protest Del Monte Fresh Produce Co.'s plans to tear up its contract with Philly-based ILA Local 1291 and move their jobs to a facility with a company union.

The work stoppage—the biggest job action by dock workers on the East Coast since a 1986 strike—was a refreshing example of labor actually fighting back against the bosses' union-busting attacks. But in the end, Del Monte got its way, and now the waterfront bosses are demand-



September 2010: Longshoremen from Philadelphia on picket line at Port Newark, New Jersey, in fight to defend union jobs.

ing that the ILA pay for its "illegal" work stoppage. The lawsuit is a dangerous attack on the ILA and all dock workers, as well as a warning to the entire union movement. All of labor must take a

stand in defense of the longshoremen and demand: **Hands off the ILA!**

The September strike pitted members of Local 1291 against both a produce company reviled around the world for

its attacks on workers' rights and the notorious anti-union terminal operators in the Holt family. Del Monte was threatening to shift the unloading of its ships from an ILA terminal in Camden, New Jersey, to a nearby Holt-owned facility in Gloucester City. Facing the prospect of losing 200 or more jobs, Local 1291 longshoremen set up informational picket lines at the ports. Some 4,500 ILA and other workers, including truckers organized by the Teamsters as well as independent truckers, honored the pickets. Twelve ships piled with containers were idled in New York Harbor on the first day alone.

A few hours into the strike, a federal judge issued an injunction ordering the ILA to resume work. But pickets stayed up for a second day in defiance of the injunction, and of top ILA officials who urged longshoremen to stop picketing. Workers ended the job action only after the major shippers agreed to enter into negotiations over Del Monte's use of non-union labor. But Del Monte was dead set on driving out the union. From closing newly unionized processing plants in Hawaii to brutally harassing and systematically firing union leaders on its plantations in Latin America, this multinational conglomerate is a committed union-buster.

In Camden, according to the union, the ILA longshoremen who unloaded Del Monte's ships had worked at the same wage rate for the past 19 years and were saddled with the stingiest pension plan in the industry. At Del Monte's urging, the ILA brass last summer offered up massive concessions, amounting to **\$5 million per year** in wage cuts and other givebacks from Local 1291, in order to keep its contract. Smelling blood, Del Monte and *continued on page 9*

## "Socialist" Government Imposes Martial Law to Break Strike

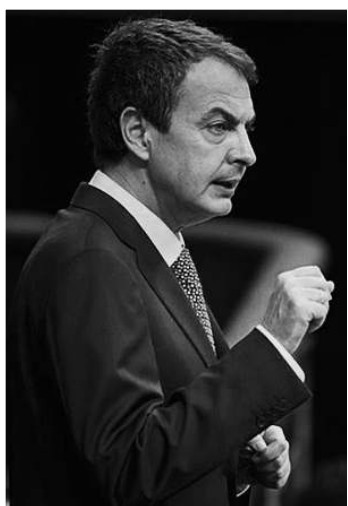
# Defend Air Traffic Controllers!

### Spain

On December 4, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero declared war on Spain's working class by imposing a "state of emergency" in the airports in response to a work stoppage by air traffic controllers. Under martial law measures not invoked since the end of the bloody dictatorship of General Francisco Franco in the 1970s, members of the Union of Air Traffic Controllers (USCA) were frog-marched by armed police from the Madrid hotel in which they were meeting and forced to man the control towers. Controllers were forced to report for work under threat of arrest; those who took part in the work stoppages now face jail terms of up to eight years for sedition. To prevent strikes over the Christmas holiday period, the emergency measures have been extended to January 15.

It is in the vital interests of workers in Spain, and across Europe as a whole, to defend the air traffic controllers. **An injury to one is an injury to all! Drop all charges against air traffic controllers!**

Controllers have noted that the government has been carrying out calculated provocations in order to provide a pretext for a crackdown. Early last year, it increased the controllers' annual work hours, limited overtime and slashed wages by half. Most air traffic controllers in



December 4: National police occupying entrance of Madrid's Barajas Airport were mobilized by Spanish prime minister Zapatero (inset) to crush controllers strike.

Spain worked more than the legal maximum of 1,670 hours last year, and under the government's new rules sick days and time off no longer count toward their annual work hours. The controllers staged last month's mass sick-out only hours after the government announced attacks on their working conditions as part of the planned privatization of 49 percent of Aena, the country's aviation authority.

The PSOE government's drive against the air traffic controllers comes in the context of the capitalist financial crisis

that has been wracking European Union countries. It follows hard on the heels of the €85 billion (\$114 billion) EU/IMF bailout of the Irish banks and a few months after the €110 billion bailout of Greece in exchange for the imposition of savage austerity measures. Spain's budget deficit is the third-highest in the euro zone after Greece and Ireland, and according to an article on the *Financial Times* Web site (15 December 2010): "Market prices suggest there is a one-in-four chance that Spain will default over the next five years."

The same article reports:

"Analysts are therefore examining the previously unthinkable possibility that Spain will need to seek a bail-out from the €750bn available from the European financial stability facility, the International Monetary Fund and the European Union, or even negotiate a default. Either option would have grave consequences given that the Spanish economy is larger than those of Greece, Portugal and Ireland put together."

By invoking military measures against the air traffic controllers, the government *continued on page 11*