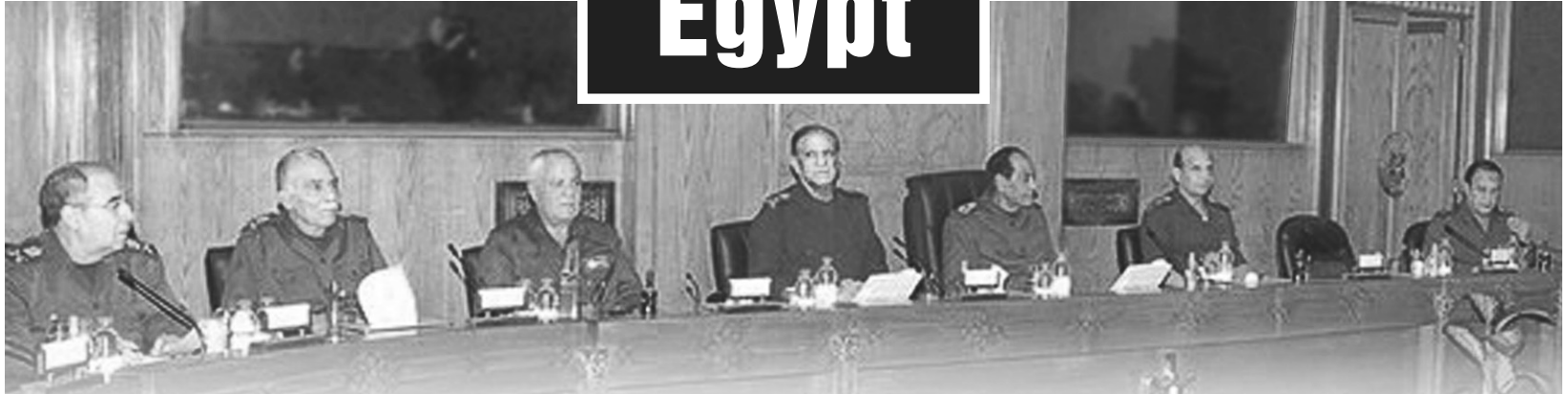


## Egypt



# Military and Islamists Target Women, Copts, Workers



Reuters, AFP, Reuters

**Top: Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, Cairo, November 22. Left: At December 20 demonstration, protester holds picture of woman stripped and beaten by military thugs. Right: November 22 Tahrir Square protest against military regime.**

JANUARY 14—As the beginning of parliamentary elections approached in November, almost a year after the overthrow of Egyptian dictator Hosni Mubarak, mass protests demanding an end to military rule broke out in Cairo's Tahrir Square and across urban Egypt. Police and the army attacked demonstrators with whips, tasers, truncheons and live ammunition, killing dozens. With more rounds of elections scheduled, it is far from clear that the ruling Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) has any intention of allowing a civilian government to be established. Ominously, Islamists, the largest organized opposition, have swept the polls, with the reactionary Muslim Brotherhood and the even more hardline Salafists winning some 70 percent of the vote between them.

Last winter's uprising toppled Mubarak's hated, military-backed regime, only to result in an even more open dictatorship of the armed forces. At the time, the bourgeois media and almost the entire left internationally hailed this as the Egyptian "revolution." Since taking power, the SCAF has strengthened the police powers of the capitalist state and cracked down on social unrest. This is precisely what

## For a Workers and Peasants Government!

we warned about at the time, in opposition to widespread illusions that "the army and the people are one hand."

The military's repressive measures have been aimed centrally at the restive working class. Within months of Mubarak's ouster, the regime banned strikes and demonstrations. In September, the SCAF expanded the hated emergency law to ban damaging state property, disrupting work and blocking roads with demonstrations. Between February and September, at least 12,000 civilians were tried in military courts, more than under Mubarak's 30-year rule. With the first anniversary of the outbreak of mass protests approaching, the regime postponed the verdict in the trial of Mubarak for ordering the killing of protesters.

The oppressive conditions of life in neocolonial Egypt have generated enormous popular anger. In a country where 40 percent of the population lives on \$2 a day or less, many families spend more than half their income on food. In 2008, when the prices of basic foods doubled, riots broke out across the country. Today the military regime is threatening to slash

the bread subsidy. Unemployment is pervasive, affecting a quarter of youth and 60 percent of the rural population. The peasantry, more than 30 percent of Egypt's population, toils in conditions that have scarcely changed from the time of the pharaohs. Malnutrition and anemia are rampant. Most peasants are either smallholders with less than one acre, tenants or migrant rural laborers. The terrible impoverishment continues to be enforced through police-state repression. As one striking worker explained, there are no jobs, no money, no food, and those who complain about it are thrown in prison.

The leadership of last spring's protests offered nothing to alleviate the material conditions of life for the majority of the population, instead subordinating everything to the question of electoral democracy and preaching the nationalist lie that Egyptians of all classes had common interests. As we emphasized shortly before Mubarak's ouster, "What is urgently posed in Egypt today is that the powerful proletariat—the only class with the social power to overturn the brutal and decrepit capitalist order—emerge

as the leader of all the oppressed masses" ("Egypt: Mass Upheaval Challenges Dictatorship," WV No. 973, 4 February 2011).

The industrial working class has amply demonstrated its social power and militancy, particularly in the textile industry. Strike waves continue to sweep the country. Bus drivers, textile workers, government employees and others have fought in defense of their unions and their livelihoods. But for the proletariat to emerge as a contender for power in its own right will require a tremendous leap in political consciousness. It must be broken from nationalist illusions and religious reaction and be won to the defense of all those oppressed in capitalist society. This requires the leadership of a vanguard workers party that opposes all bourgeois forces—from the military and the liberal opposition to reactionary political Islam—in the fight for proletarian revolution.

### The Military and the Islamists

In the absence of a revolutionary proletarian alternative capable of addressing the felt needs of the mass of the population, the election returns are giving a measure of the grip that politically organized religion has on the downtrodden. The Muslim Brotherhood's reactionary purpose is expressed in the slogan "the Koran is our constitution." Promoting itself as a civilian alternative to military rule, it would dominate any government elected today.

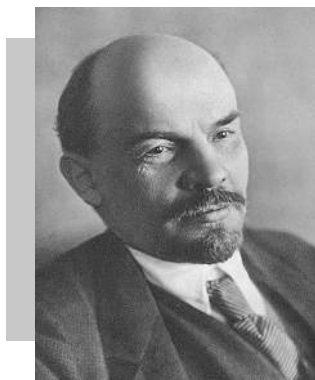
*continued on page 7*



# Honor Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg!

This month we honor the memory of the “Three L’s”: Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, who died on 21 January 1924, and Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who were assassinated on 15 January 1919 by reactionary Freikorps officers at the behest of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) government of Friedrich Ebert, Philipp Scheidemann and Gustav Noske. Liebknecht and Luxemburg were revolutionary Marxists who upheld proletarian internationalism against Ebert & Co.’s support for German imperialism in World War I. After belatedly splitting from the SPD and its centrist spin-off, the Independent Socialist Party, Liebknecht and Luxemburg went on to play leading roles in the founding of the German Communist Party (KPD) in December 1918-January 1919. Their murders were part of the Ebert government’s suppression of the proletarian Spartakist uprising of January 1919.

We reprint below a call by the Spartakist Groups and the Trotskistische Liga



Progress



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lutionary reunification of Germany—for proletarian political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West. Our comrades emphasized the tradition of revolutionary internationalist solidarity between the German, Polish and Russian proletariats, which the “Three L’s” embodied.

An important component of our intervention in the DDR in 1989-90 was our warning that the West German SPD—

embracing capitalist reunification and going on to sell out the DDR workers state to West German imperialism.

The following is translated from the 10 January 1990 issue of *Arbeiterpressekorespondenz* (*Workers Press Correspondence*), which was initiated by the TLD and published, sometimes on a daily basis, as a collective organizer of the Spartakist Groups in the heat of the battle against capitalist counterrevolution. In January

their bloody crime, the birthmark of the Weimar Republic. To that end, they have done their all to transform our revolutionary martyrs into social-democratic reformists. Stalin, who was equally fearful of proletarian revolution, similarly tried to rob Luxemburg of her revolutionary honor and greatness. We Spartakists, who fight for communism in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky, stand for the revolutionary heritage of the two cofounders of the German Communist Party.

Social democrats, now including those in the SED-PDS as well, speak of “unambiguous warnings” by Rosa Luxemburg (as well as by Kautsky and Bernstein!) about the possibility of “a dictatorial-terroristic development in the Soviet Union,” not under the Stalinist bureaucracy but during Lenin’s time! Here they invoke an article she wrote in prison, without any access to accurate reports on the events in Russia, and never published. In doing so, they disregard what Rosa stated at the founding congress of the KPD on December 31 [1918]:

“...when people approach us with calumnies against the Russian Bolsheviks, we should never forget to reply: Where did you learn the ABCs of your current revolution? You got them from the Russians: the workers and soldiers councils.”

The social democrats seek to present Karl as a petty-bourgeois pacifist. But Karl was raised by his father Wilhelm as a “soldier of the revolution.” Speaking on May Day 1916, he counterposed to the Wilhelminian slogan “The war is preferable to insurrection” the socialist slogan “Insurrection, revolution are preferable to the war!” And against both the SPD’s warmongering social patriotism and Kautsky’s and Bernstein’s pacifism, Karl Liebknecht took Lenin’s side when he declared at his court-martial: “Not civil peace but civil war is my slogan!”

Above all, Karl and Rosa were internationalists. Karl—who courageously refused to vote for the war credits on 2 December 1914, saying: “Proletarians of all countries, unite again, despite everything!” Rosa—who was despised by the reactionaries of all countries as a Polish woman, a Jew and a Communist. In combating reformism for decades, both embraced the program of world socialist revolution. This was the cornerstone of the Communist International founded by Lenin and Trotsky, feared by Kautsky and Bernstein, buried by Stalin.

Today the International Communist League is fighting for the rebirth of the Trotskyist Fourth International. We are well aware of the mistakes committed by the leaders of the revolutionary socialists in Germany, in particular their failure to split early enough from the reformists and centrists. It was necessary to forge an independent revolutionary party as the Bolsheviks did, an act that was decisive for the victory of the 1917 October Revolution. But when Lenin applied to Rosa Luxemburg the old Russian couplet, “Eagles may at times fly lower than hens, but hens can never rise to the height of eagles,” he was passing judgment on the hens Kautsky and Bernstein.

In the third week of January 1933, shortly before Hitler came to power and while the Stalinized KPD was still battling “the remnants of Luxemburgism,” the German Trotskyists wrote:

“Outlawed, hunted, Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg stood in battle against a host of enemies during the World War. Nevertheless, the power of their idea vanquished reformism, tsarism and the



Spartakist

**14 January 1990: As collapsing Stalinist regime opened door to counterrevolution in DDR, Spartakist banner at mass East Berlin demonstration to honor Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg reads: “For a Red Soviet Germany in a Socialist Europe!”**

Deutschlands for a revolutionary contingent at a 1990 Berlin demonstration honoring Liebknecht and Luxemburg. This call was part of the International Communist League’s intervention into the incipient proletarian political revolution in the bureaucratically deformed workers state of East Germany (DDR). From November 1989 on, we mobilized all the resources at our disposal in an attempt to give revolutionary leadership to the DDR’s working people, many of whom desperately wanted to replace the collapsing Stalinist regime with an egalitarian socialist order. We uniquely fought against capitalist counterrevolution and for the *revo-*

the heirs of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske—represented the Trojan horse of counterrevolution. This was in sharp contrast to the DDR’s Stalinist ruling party, the Socialist Unity Party (SED, renamed SED-PDS in December 1989), whose leaders increasingly embraced social democracy. This included upholding the heritage of Eduard Bernstein, notorious for his anti-revolutionary revisionism, and Karl Kautsky, a centrist renegade who bitterly opposed the Bolshevik Revolution. In late January 1990, under the pressure of a counterrevolutionary onslaught led by the imperialists, the SED-PDS followed the lead of Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev in

1990, the TLD and Spartakist Groups fused to form the Spartakist Workers Party, the ICL’s German section.

\* \* \*

There will be a mass demonstration Saturday, January 14, starting at 9 a.m. at the memorial site in Berlin Friedrichsfelde, in honor of the revolutionary workers’ leaders Liebknecht and Luxemburg on the 71st anniversary of their murder. Following in the footsteps of early Communist tradition, the Spartakist Groups and the Trotskistische Liga will pay tribute to Luxemburg, Liebknecht and also Lenin. We call on all who wish to honor the “Three L’s” of Bolshevism to assemble around our banner and attend the Spartakist public forum.

In the demonstration call of the SED-PDS, Karl and Rosa are characterized as “outstanding leaders of the German Social Democrats and Communists.” This is closely connected to the SED’s current notion equating Liebknecht and Luxemburg with Kautsky and Bernstein. In this way the SED conceals the fact that it was precisely officers deployed by Social Democrat Gustav Noske who killed these Communists so as to smash the Spartakist uprising of January 1919. Noske (“Someone has to be the bloodhound”) acted on behalf of the government of the Social Democrat Friedrich Ebert, who proudly declared in 1918, “I hate the revolution like the plague!”

For decades, the leaders of the Social Democracy have attempted to cover up

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 994

20 January 2012

# Defend the Unions Through Class Struggle!

## Indiana: Battle Against “Right to Work” Hitched to Democrats

JANUARY 16—More than 17,000 unionists and their supporters have rallied in Indianapolis over the last two weeks to protest an anti-union “right to work” bill making its way through the state legislature. On January 10, protesters packed the statehouse during the “State of the State” address by Republican governor Mitch Daniels, a notorious union-buster who on his first day in office in 2005 abolished collective bargaining for 25,000 state employees. As of 2011, dues-paying union membership plummeted 90 percent among these workers. Now aiming his fire at all unions, Daniels has taken up the “right to work” crusade to outlaw the union shop in Indiana, which lies in the middle of the manufacturing belt stretching across the Great Lakes region.

The entire purpose of the legislation, which is disguised as a job-creation measure, is to financially and otherwise cripple unions by making union dues payments optional. States with the lowest levels of unionization are overwhelmingly concentrated in the 22 with “right to work” laws. These include practically the entire South and a number of Great Plains and Rocky Mountain states. The average income for workers in such states is \$1,500 a year less than in other states, to say nothing of the lower percentage of workers who have health coverage and pensions. All this represents billions of dollars in additional profits annually for the capitalists. In advance of next month’s Super Bowl in Indianapolis, the NFL Players Association issued a statement denouncing the Indiana bill as a “political ploy designed to destroy basic workers’ rights.”

The 2005 decertification of the Indiana state employee unions was a template for attacks on public workers in Wisconsin, Ohio and elsewhere last year, as state governments nationwide pled poverty amid the capitalist economic downturn. Feeling wind in their sails, “right to work” forces are gunning for the private-sector unions as well in Indiana, a historic center of industrial unionism. In the face of this offensive, Indiana labor bureaucrats are following the same losing playbook as their counterparts did in Wisconsin last year: channeling workers’ anger over union-busting into the dead end of support to the “lesser evil” capitalist Democratic Party. In Wisconsin, tens of thousands of working people repeatedly turned out at the state capitol to fight a massive anti-labor assault on public workers by the Republican-led state government. But union officials were dead set against using labor’s strike weapon, diverting workers’ militancy into a campaign to recall Republican officeholders. As a result, the public employees unions were clobbered.

When the Indiana “right to work” bill was on the floor last February, state Democrats followed the example of their Wisconsin colleagues by fleeing to Illinois to prevent a quorum for a vote. “They knocked out right to work,” pronounced AFL-CIO president Richard Trumka at the time. Trumka to the contrary, the bill is now advancing in the legislature. In response, the labor tops

have joined hands with the Democrats in pleading that this measure be made a statewide referendum on election day in November, putting the unions’ existence at the mercy of voters. While a referendum in Ohio last year succeeded in overturning a newly enacted law limiting collective bargaining for public workers, union officials used the campaign to further tie labor to the Democrats.

No less than the Republicans, the Democratic Party is a party of the capitalist

policies have sapped the fighting strength of the unions and demoralized workers, setting the stage for the current anti-labor assault. Indiana is a case in point. The state was the site of countless pitched labor battles that made it a stronghold of the Steelworkers, the UAW and other unions. But in recent decades Indiana has seen a steep decline in union membership, to 10.9 percent of the workforce in 2010. Despite the ongoing deindustrialization of the Rust Belt, there remains a concentra-

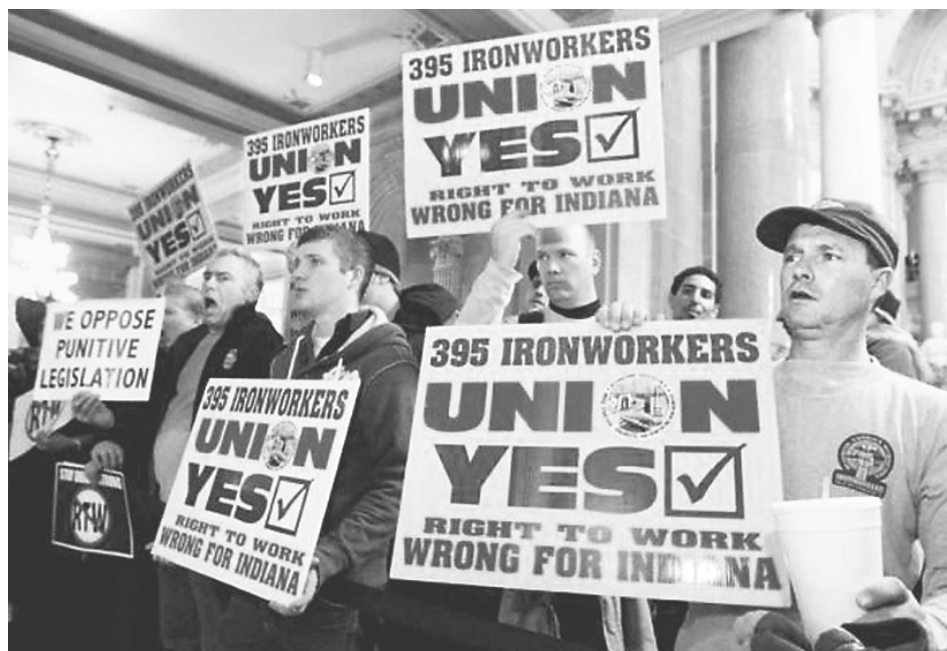
violent resistance of employers.” In fact, the Wagner Act was passed to head off and regulate the unions in the aftermath of victorious general strikes in Minneapolis, San Francisco and Toledo in 1934, all of which were led by reds. Those strikes paved the way for the founding of the CIO industrial unions. Along with other laws, the Wagner Act was designed to wrest control of organizing drives from union militants and to set up a government mechanism for putting the unions under the thumb of the capitalist state.

To cover its tracks, the ISO offers that “legislation on its own has never built the labor movement.” In fact, all of labor history shows that no decisive gain for the working class has ever been won through Congress, the courts, government agencies or the ballot box. It has taken hard and bitter class struggle to wrest anything of value from the capitalist exploiters. For the ISO to warn against relying on legislation is sheer hypocrisy. For years, this outfit promoted the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which helped shackle that union’s power by, for example, using the courts to bring the government into the union’s internal affairs. The TDU did so under the Landrum-Griffin Act, a legal sledgehammer against unions that the ISO conveniently disappears in its narrative.

The Wagner Act was amended in 1947 by the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act, which outlawed labor solidarity actions like secondary boycotts and sympathy strikes. Enacted following the post-World War II strike wave, the largest in U.S. history, Taft-Hartley passed Congress with the support of a majority of Democrats. Its provisions demanding loyalty oaths from union officials were used to purge all manner of reds from the unions, consolidating the hold of the anti-Communist labor bureaucracy. Now, taking a page from the Cold War, when anti-Communism was wielded to bash the unions, a lurid full-page ad in the *New York Times* (5 January) equates unions with North Korea’s Stalinist regime on the grounds that workers in union shops are not given the option to stop paying dues. The ad was paid for by lobbyist Richard Berman’s “Center for Union Facts,” a shadowy outfit funded by corporate money committed to pushing “right to work” laws and otherwise attacking labor.

Taft-Hartley also banned closed shop contracts, which prohibit companies from employing non-union workers, and empowered states to pass “right to work” laws. Most of those statutes were adopted shortly after Taft-Hartley was enacted, overwhelmingly in the Jim Crow South, where the color bar had long served to divide workers and keep unions out. They were supplemented by “anti-violence” bills aimed at curbing

*continued on page 11*



January 4: Protest at Indiana Statehouse against attempt to pass union-busting “right to work” legislation.

class enemy and will not hesitate to savage workers and their organizations. Following a record effort by the union tops to put him into the White House, Barack Obama spearheaded the gutting of the United Auto Workers (UAW), with the obliging help of the UAW bureaucracy, as part of bailing out the auto companies. He also launched a war against teachers unions and imposed a two-year wage freeze on federal employees. Just last October, Obama banned a potential strike by tens of thousands of freight rail workers. Meanwhile, Democratic governors have wrenched massive concessions from public workers in New York and California.

Posturing as “friends of labor,” the Democrats may not favor getting rid of unions altogether, preferring instead to keep them docile through the agency of the union officialdom, which provides them with union money and manpower for election campaigns. Much of the labor bureaucracy is itself a component part of the Democratic Party. In Republican-dominated Indiana, since 2005 AFL-CIO affiliates have contributed more than \$1.2 million to capitalist politicians, almost all Democrats, while the SEIU has spent \$2.7 million.

The labor bureaucrats long ago abandoned the class-struggle methods that built the unions—mass pickets, sit-down strikes, secondary boycotts—in favor of reliance on the capitalist government and its political parties. Their class-collaborationist

tion of manufacturing in the state. But increasingly these jobs are non-union, including at auto plants owned by Toyota, Honda and Subaru. Barely paying lip service to the need to organize the unorganized, the prostrate union officialdom has only further whetted the appetites of those trying to drive unions out of the state.

Providing cover for the labor tops is the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), whose January 4 article on Indiana on its Web site raised not even a perfunctory word of caution against reliance on the Democrats. At the time of the showdown in Wisconsin, the ISO disparaged the call for a statewide strike as “unlikely to get very far.” Indeed, for the ISO and its ilk the purpose of labor protest is to pressure the Democratic Party representatives of capital to “fight” for a few more crumbs for working people.

In its Indiana article, the ISO praises such New Deal legislation as the 1935 Wagner Act, which supposedly “codified the legal rights of workers to organize for unionization and challenge the often-

### Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Black History Month Forum

Eyewitness Account by an Activist from the Civil Rights Movement

### For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

- Contradictions of the Civil Rights Movement: A Marxist Analysis
- Detroit: The Rise and Fall of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers

CHICAGO

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Student Center East, Room 713  
750 South Halsted St.  
(Take the Blue Line to  
the UIC-Halsted stop)

Hohenzollern [dynasty]. Like them, the International Left Opposition finds itself involved in an unequal struggle: here, with us, the power of the idea—there, the might of the apparatus. For us Bolshevik-Leninists as well, swimming against the stream, Liebknecht’s words remain true: Victory will be ours—despite everything!”

—from *Permanent Revolution*,  
third week of January 1933

—For a Leninist-communist party!  
Return to the road of Lenin and  
Trotsky!

—Stop the Nazis through workers  
united-front action!  
—Full citizenship rights for foreign  
workers!  
—Down with NATO! Defend the DDR,  
Soviet Union!  
—For a planned economy under a  
government of workers and soldiers  
councils!  
—No sellout of the DDR! For a red  
soviet Germany as part of the socialist  
states of Europe! ■



# Remembering the Life and Struggle of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)

On January 6, 125 people packed the Communications Workers Local 1180 union hall in lower Manhattan to take part in a fund-raiser with live jazz for the 26th annual Partisan Defense Committee Holiday Appeal. Along with benefits in other cities, this event helped support the PDC's program of annual stipends and holiday gifts to 16 class-war prisoners—former Black Panther Party (BPP) members, MOVE supporters and others singled out and thrown behind bars for standing up to racist capitalist oppression. Our support to these prisoners is an expression of non-sectarian, class-struggle defense: it is the duty of the workers movement to defend such victims of capitalist repression irrespective of their particular political viewpoints.

The New York fund-raiser took place just days after President Obama signed into law the prerogative of the Commander-in-Chief to “disappear” into a military brig, here or anywhere else in the world, any U.S. citizen or foreign national whom the government deems a supporter of “terrorism.” In the fourth year of a world capitalist economic crisis that is pounding the working class and the poor, the government is intent on expanding its repressive powers, knowing that the massive and growing inequality sows the seeds of class and social struggle.

The audience heard taped greetings from “slow Death Row” by Mumia Abu-Jamal (see below). Prosecutors recently dropped their decades-long drive to execute Mumia, who had already spent 30 years on death row, falsely convicted for the December 1981 killing of Philly police officer Daniel Faulkner (see “Drive to Execute Mumia Halted,” WV No. 993, 6 January). Now Mumia—a BPP leader in his youth and later a MOVE supporter and renowned journalist known as the “Voice of the Voiceless”—is condemned to life in prison without parole despite massive evidence of innocence. The chants of “Free Mumia!” that followed his greetings were a sign of our determination that he not be forgotten and that the struggle on his behalf goes on.

Ralph Poynter read greetings from his wife, Lynne Stewart, a 72-year-old radical

attorney who is imprisoned in Fort Worth, Texas, for vigorously defending her client, a blind Egyptian cleric convicted for an alleged plot to blow up NYC landmarks in the early 1990s. Stewart, who has cancer, is appealing the quadrupling of her sentence to ten years. Her resentencing was pushed by the Obama administration to make her an example in the capitalist rulers’ concocted “war on terror.”

The NYC event also heard from Francisco Torres, a supporter of Puerto Rican

it has provided support to more than 30 prisoners on three continents, trade-union militants and others; in the U.S., a large proportion of the prisoners have been black activists. Both Rosie Gonzalez of the NYC Spartacus Youth Club and Ed Jarvis, speaking for the Spartacist League, linked defense of class-war prisoners to the fight to sweep away the entire apparatus of capitalist repression and replace it with a workers state. As Jarvis said, “Capitalist society as a prison for working

## NYC Holiday Appeal



WV Photo

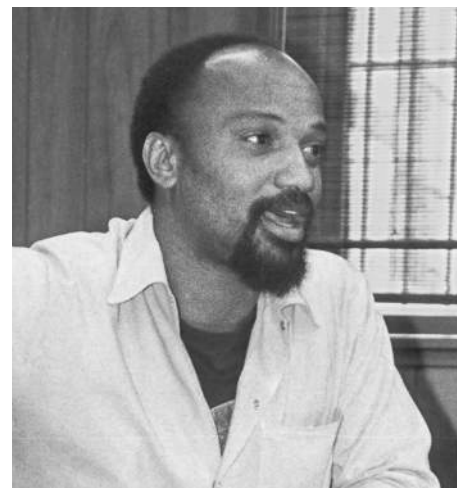
January 6: PDC speaker recounts struggle to free Geronimo.

independence and one of the San Francisco 8 (SF8). These were former BPP members whom the government attempted to frame up for the 1971 killing of a cop, finally stopping its efforts after no less than 40 years. “So we had it all,” Torres said of the SF8 case, “the torture, the waterboarding, the electronic torture. Prior to them talking about it happening in the Middle East and Abu Ghraib and so forth...it actually started with the Native Americans here in America and prior to that, of course, with the enslavement of Africans.” As Torres said, “Torture is in the DNA of America.”

Since the PDC stipends program began,

people is also literally a prison for the millions who have been thrown behind bars primarily in the ‘war on drugs,’ which targets poor black and Latino ghettos.” He continued, “It will take a revolution that finishes the historic tasks of the Civil War to end black inequality—that is to say, it will take a socialist revolution.”

A highlight of the evening was a tribute by the PDC’s Valerie West to the life of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), a former Black Panther leader who died last year. West’s remarks, printed below as edited for publication, were based on her work with attorney Stuart Hanlon in the legal



WV Photo

Geronimo at San Quentin, 1985.

defense of Geronimo, who spent 27 years in California prisons for a crime the government knows he did not commit.

\* \* \*

I think I’m more upset about Geronimo’s death than I’ve been willing to concede so far. So bear with me. I do want to say that we were all really saddened. But for me, who knew Geronimo pretty well for about a decade, it was really an unexpected personal blow. He died in Tanzania on June 2. Stuart Hanlon, who I spoke to and who was close to his family, didn’t know whether he died of a heart attack or a stroke but said that he had contracted malaria and was hospitalized. I want to try to recount some of my experiences with Geronimo.

I first met him as a kind of still young attorney, and I remember being very nervous going to San Quentin. It was my first trip to a California prison and my first meeting of Geronimo, so I was pretty nervous. Right away Geronimo had a big smile. He was very welcoming and really set me at ease. Over the years I visited him many, many times and he was great company. Of course, we also had disagreements. But we spent many hours chatting, laughing, playing Scrabble, as well as tackling how to increase exposure of his frame-up conviction and establish his innocence. He always willingly endorsed our anti-Klan mobilizations and defense campaigns. And, likewise, he always asked me about my aging mother and told me that I smoked too much. At the end of each visit inevitably came this horrible moment when you had to leave, and Geronimo solved that with big hugs.

He was a really easy person to get to know and to visit. And in the course of getting to know him I learned quite a bit about his history. You can’t understand Geronimo’s case without knowing about the Black Panther Party. So I want to say a bit about that.

They were for sure the best of a generation of black militants. But they were also a deeply contradictory radical formation, genuinely seeking black liberation but lacking the working-class perspective that could show them the road. Their militant, organized stand for black rights made J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, truly apoplectic. So in the late 1960s the FBI declared war on the Panthers. And I mean war. As part of the infamous Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), Panther offices across the country were raided and 38 Panthers were mowed down in the streets. Many of the remaining leaders were jailed. Not for short little stints either.

On December 4, 1969, two Chicago Panthers, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, were murdered in their sleep. Four days after that, the LAPD conducted an hours-long, Gestapo-type raid on the L.A. Panther office. It was meant to get Geronimo but it didn’t. As a highly decorated paratrooper who had served two tours in Vietnam (he was wounded there as well), and as a dynamic black leader,

## Greetings to PDC by Mumia Abu-Jamal

A recording by Mumia of the following greetings was heard at the January 6 New York Holiday Appeal.

Partisans of the PDC! *Ona Move!*  
Fraternal Greetings!

This Holiday Season is perhaps the direst in memory; not because of my situation, but because of *our* situation.

A deliberately-created slump in the economy; soul-sucking wars abroad; the very real specter of imperialism and aggression around the world via NATO, and, here at home, joblessness, foreclosures, crony capitalist looting gone wild, and the growing, biting repression

of the State—prisons bursting at the seams, and police attacking the People like storm-troopers who’ve fed on gunpowder—and blood.

All of this under the authority of the nation’s first Black president, who, despite his blackness is but a Clinton clone. A servant of big business, and a cudgel against the Black Movement, which has been rapped into a rare silence—making them aiders and abettors of imperialism abroad and powerlessness at home.

And when the historically most progressive movement in the nation is stymied, other movements take the hint,

lowering their voices, tempering their demands (if there *are* demands!), while their lives, hopes and neighborhoods slide into the abyss.

I thank the PDC for bucking this trend; for continuing to raise hell, and for their long and principled support of Jamal ibn Mumia—my son.

This season will continue to be bleak, until we change the temperature—and rumble like it’s summertime. The only thing we have to lose, is our chains!

*Ona Move!*

From “slow” Death Row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

# Eyewitness to Mumia's Innocence In Honor of William Singletary

William Singletary, who courageously came forward with evidence of the innocence of Mumia Abu-Jamal, died on New Year's Eve at the age of 61. Singletary was at the scene of the 9 December 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner, for which Mumia was falsely accused and sent to death row. Years before Arnold Beverly confessed to killing Faulkner, Singletary testified not only that he saw someone other than Mumia shoot Faulkner, but that the cops terrorized Singletary into silence. Mumia, America's foremost class-war prisoner, remained on death row until this past December, when the Philadelphia D.A.'s office dropped its efforts to reinstate the death sentence, which was overturned by a federal court in 2001.

William Singletary paid a tremendous personal price for merely telling the truth about what happened that night. He passed away in North Carolina, where he had lived for many years. He found refuge there from the Philadelphia cops who, having failed to kill Mumia in the streets, terrorized any witness who posed an obstacle to his being hustled onto an execution gurney.

Singletary first came forward in the summer of 1990. In a meeting arranged by Rachel Wolkenstein, who at the time was PDC counsel, he gave a sworn deposition to

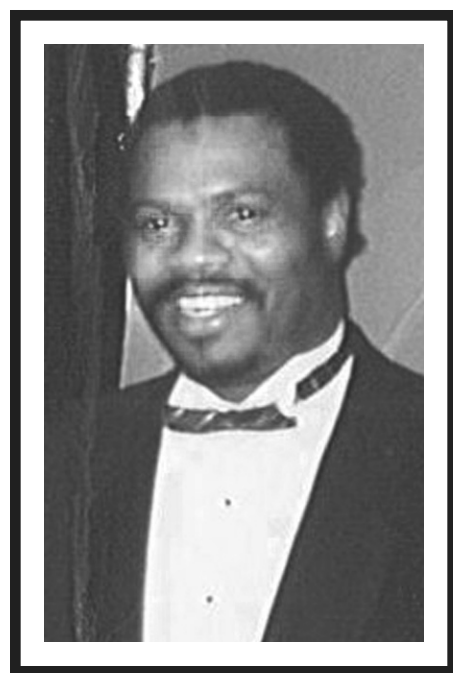
Marilyn Gelb, the attorney during Mumia's appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, which had just been denied. Singletary testified, as he would during Mumia's 1995 post-conviction relief (PCRA) hearings, that he witnessed Faulkner's shooting, that Mumia did not shoot the officer, and that the shooter fled the scene. That could not have been Mumia, who was found on a curb nearby bleeding from a life-threatening gunshot wound. Singletary also confirmed that the prosecution's central witness, Cynthia White, was not physically present at the time of the shooting.

In his PCRA testimony, Singletary recounted that he had owned an auto repair and tow company and had friendly working relations with cops. Minutes after Faulkner's shooting, he volunteered to the cops that he was an eyewitness. Singletary was then hauled in to the notorious Roundhouse (police headquarters) for interrogation. He drafted statement after statement describing what he saw, each of which was ripped to shreds. Ultimately, one Detective Green "told me to write what he wanted me to write" or "they would take me to the elevator and beat me up and that my business would be destroyed." After five hours of this treatment, Singletary signed a statement, drafted and typed up by the cops, that he did not see the shooting. He

was finally allowed to exit the Roundhouse, escorted by the cops, only to then find himself trapped in a cycle of police harassment and terror.

Singletary described a visit to his garage a couple of days after the shooting by four cops claiming to be from the burglary detail. With guns drawn they ordered Singletary, his employees and customers down on the floor, warning, "This will give you something to remember." Over the following months, cops continued to torment Singletary, repeatedly breaking the plate glass windows at his place of business, stopping his tow truck and harassing his drivers. All this forced him to close up shop and flee Philadelphia.

At the 1995 hearing, Mumia's lead attorney Leonard Weinglass outrageously discredited Singletary, declaring to the court that his eyewitness account that Mumia did not shoot Faulkner was "inaccurate." The prosecution leaped on this in its legal arguments. In 2007, as Singletary continued his fight to expose the truth of what happened on 9 December 1981, he recalled, "I was told to keep quiet by the police, by Mr. Jamal's attorneys, and people on the street that I had always confided in." In 1999, Weinglass suppressed Arnold Beverly's confession that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner. The refusal of



Durham Herald-Sun

Weinglass to present this and supporting evidence of Mumia's innocence compelled Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper, an attorney also associated with the PDC, to leave Mumia's legal team.

Wolkenstein, who resigned from the PDC and Spartacist League last year, circulated an obituary of Singletary, citing his final message, passed on by his wife Jeanette: "I didn't know Mumia personally, but I love him like a brother. I know what he's gone through and he is innocent. I would give up everything for Mumia to be free."

Mumia is finally off death row, only to be subjected to a different type of prison torture. We honor William Singletary by carrying on the fight to win Mumia's freedom. ■

Geronimo stood out as a particular target for "neutralization" by the FBI. That's the word they used. Geronimo told me once that there were so many cases against him in the late 1960s that it was hard for him to even keep them straight.

In the end, the FBI concocted an elaborate frame-up that charged Geronimo with robbery and the murder of Caroline Olsen at a Santa Monica tennis court on December 18, 1968. Kenneth Olsen, her husband, was wounded in the incident but did not die. The charges rested on the lying accusation by one Julio Butler—a former sheriff's deputy, onetime Panther and also an FBI/LAPD informer—who claimed Geronimo had confessed the murder to him. This was backed up by police-orchestrated ID testimony (now acknowledged to be generally unreliable in any case) from Olsen's husband and a Santa Monica storeowner and finally coupled with phony ballistics evidence backed up again by Julio Butler. Geronimo maintained his innocence from the beginning. He was over 400 miles away in Oakland, California, attending Panther meetings at the time the murder took place.

At the time of his 1972 trial, Geronimo knew he had been framed up but he did not know that the FBI had orders to "neutralize" him in collusion with the LAPD. To make matters worse, his trial took place months after the 1971 split in the Panthers. That split was a result of murderous internal factionalism fueled by FBI COINTELPRO dirty tricks. One wing of the Panthers, the Huey Newton wing, would openly embrace pro-Democratic Party politics, while the Eldridge Cleaver wing adopted the dead-end program of urban guerrillaism.

Geronimo sided with the Cleaver wing and was abandoned, therefore, by the Newton wing. Kathleen Cleaver was the sole Panther leader who backed up Geronimo at trial. Our comrade Don A. attended portions of that trial in Los Angeles and wrote about it last year to WV (see "Geronimo Pratt Refused to Bow," WV No. 988, 14 October 2011). This is what he said: "Without exaggeration I can say that more than any single individual then, it was seeing how Pratt refused to bow down in that court that made me want to stay in the struggle. He knew the purpose of his conviction and that it was bigger than him."



WV Photo

**August 1994 L.A. union protest outside district attorney's office demands freedom for Geronimo.**

Geronimo was also abandoned by much of the reformist left as the influence of the Panthers waned. We in the Spartacist League and PDC, applying our policy of non-sectarian defense for those cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people, stood in defense of all these militants against state repression despite our many political differences. And we should be clear that we had many political differences. Unlike much of the reformist left, who initially simply cheered the Panthers, we wrote articles sharply criticizing their radical nationalist politics in contrast to our revolutionary Marxist perspective. Later, both Geronimo and Emory Douglas, who some may remember was the cartoonist for *The Black Panther*, acknowledged that they remembered our sharp polemical criticisms. Despite the depth of our differences, Geronimo welcomed our support and defended us when we were attacked or excluded by political opponents, particularly those who shared his views. Importantly, Geronimo offered key assistance in defense of Mumia.

After his conviction, through a series of partial Freedom of Information Act disclosures and a lawsuit to get a few more disclosures, Geronimo began to be able to assemble proof of his frame-up. In 1985, WV did an interview with him in which he talked about his hearing in federal court, where a former FBI agent,

Wesley Swearingen, testified that "Pratt was set up" and that he, Swearingen, had seen wiretap logs for Panther headquarters in Oakland showing that Geronimo was there. The FBI, on the other hand,

claimed that those logs were mysteriously missing, and Geronimo got no relief.

In 1986, after the denial of Geronimo's federal petition, the PDC began a campaign to build support for him in the labor movement. For many years, PDC and Labor Black League representatives spoke at trade-union executive boards and local meetings to garner support for Geronimo. We were actually quite successful in getting endorsements and support, particularly from unions with a significant black membership that identified with Geronimo's struggle. We would explain that our fight to free Geronimo and all class-war prisoners flowed from our program to build a multiracial revolutionary party that serves as a tribune of the people and fights all forms of social repression.

Of course, COINTELPRO harassment did not stop even after Geronimo was sentenced to life; it followed Geronimo to prison and caused him to spend the first eight years in solitary. His only company was a dictionary during those eight years, and he memorized it. Geronimo used to joke that as a result he was terrific at

*continued on page 11*

## Mumia Still in Solitary: Protest Vindictive Prison Conditions

*On January 12, the Partisan Defense Committee sent the following protest letter to Superintendent John Kerestes.*

We write to protest the abusive treatment of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal since his transfer to SCI Mahanoy.

For nearly 30 years, this innocent man was subjected to the torturous conditions of life on death row. Following Mr. Abu-Jamal's transfer to Mahanoy, after the Philadelphia District Attorney announced that he would not hold a trial in an attempt to reinstate the death sentence, his conditions have been markedly worse: solitary confinement; inadequate food and denial of commissary access; shackled whenever leaving his cell—even to shower; no regular access to phone calls and to his property including legal materials; and restricted visitation rights.

There is absolutely no basis to justify such treatment. It is patently clear

to many around the world that the imposition of these draconian conditions is retaliation for Mr. Abu-Jamal's successful efforts to stop his legal lynching. Mumia Abu-Jamal should never have spent a day in prison—but while he is there we add our voice to the many who demand an end to the vendetta against him and that he be accorded the same rights and privileges as other prisoners.

*Protests should be sent to: John Kerestes, Superintendent, SCI Mahanoy, 301 Morea Road, Frackville, PA 17932 (fax 570-783-2008); John Wetzl, Secretary, Department of Corrections, 2520 Lisburn Road, P.O. Box 598, Camp Hill, PA 17001-0598 (e-mail: ra-contactdoc@pa.gov); and Seth Williams, District Attorney, Philadelphia, Three South Penn Square, Philadelphia, PA 19107-3499 (e-mail: DA\_Central@phila.gov).*

# Racist Eugenics Exposed

## Forced Sterilization in North Carolina

“Butchered. The doctor used that word.” This was how Elaine Riddick recalled being told by a New York doctor that she had been a victim of North Carolina’s forced sterilization program. In 1967, when she was just 13, Riddick had become pregnant after being raped by a neighbor. The five-person state Eugenics Board in Raleigh, North Carolina, declared this young black woman “feeble-minded” and “promiscuous” and ordered her sterilized after she gave birth. “When I woke up, I woke up with bandages on my stomach,” she said at a public hearing last summer. It was only after she was married and wanted more children, which she would never be able to have, that she found out what had been done to her. Riddick went on to college and later sued the state of North Carolina. Her case went all the way up to the Supreme Court, which refused to hear it.

North Carolina was one of over 30 states that adopted eugenics laws in the early part of the 20th century. Eugenics was popular with a layer of the ruling class in many capitalist countries, presenting a pseudoscientific rationale to stigmatize the poor for their own oppression. The movement reached its ultimate expression in the genocidal programs of Nazi Germany. In America, eugenicists’ notion of the “unfit” was a loosely applied euphemism for “poor white trash,” black people and immigrants, especially Catholics. The eugenics movement sought to pass laws implementing punitive measures against these “undesirables.” In North Carolina, a bastion of Jim Crow segregation, the eugenics movement was driven by wealthy capitalists including hosiery magnate James Hanes and the heirs to the Procter & Gamble and R.J. Reynolds fortunes.

The North Carolina Eugenics Board was disbanded in 1977, and the state’s law was finally repealed in 2003. A state task force has recently recommended to the legislature a paltry payment of \$50,000 to each living victim of the Eugenics Board. To date, North Carolina is the only state to consider compensating the victims of forced sterilization. But out of some 2,000 victims estimated to still be alive,

the state has formally recognized only 72 people—less than 1 percent of the 7,600 sterilized.

In the U.S., California and Virginia sterilized the most people, but no state had a campaign as far-reaching as North Carolina. Eugenics laws in other states specifically targeted those who were institutionalized or incarcerated. In North Carolina, the net was cast much wider, as the board took recommendations directly from social workers acting as snoops and moral authoritarians.



**Raleigh: Victim of forced sterilization wipes tears as North Carolina’s governor addresses Eugenics Task Force meeting, 22 June 2011.**

Charles Holt, now 62, had a state-ordered sterilization at the age of 19, after being committed to a state home for people with “mental and emotional problems.” His mother had been told by a social worker that sterilization would be in his interests in case he was wrongly accused of fathering a child. Like so many, he did not know what was done to him. As he told last summer’s hearing, “When I woke up I tried to walk, and I said: ‘This ain’t

right. I don’t even remember them shaving me down there.’” These stories and more are detailed in official documents, easily available online, that are bone-chilling in their bureaucratic matter-of-factness.

Whereas in most states with sterilization laws the number of procedures decreased after the end of World War II, in North Carolina 70 percent of all the sterilizations took place after 1945. As the federal welfare program expanded in the 1950s, a racist neo-eugenics framework was established of the “deserving poor”



D.L. Anderson

**Plaque in Raleigh marks site where Eugenics Board oversaw forced sterilization program.**

were not necessary; in North Carolina, by 1966 blacks made up 64 percent of those sterilized.

Nial Ramirez, one victim who spoke out recently, repeated the threat made to her—as to so many others—by a social worker in the mid 1960s: “It’s either sign the paper or mama’s checks get cut off.” One of many children from a poor family, she was 18 at the time and had just given birth. The social worker coerced her to be sterilized, giving the false impression that the procedure was not permanent. This was the “war on poverty” North Carolina-style: reduce future welfare payments by punitively sterilizing the poor.

In *Women and Revolution* No. 4 (Fall 1973), its first issue as the journal of the Women’s Commission of the Spartacist League, we demanded “No forced sterilization” in the first point of our statement of program. In a later article, we wrote:

“While there are numerous examples of forced sterilizations of racial minorities within the U.S., it is important to make a distinction between voluntary birth control and government population-control schemes. The freedom to choose whether or not to have children and how many is an elementary democratic right. The fight for free contraceptives and free abortion on demand is an important part of the struggle for free quality medical care.”

—“Race, Sex, Class: Black Women Against Triple Oppression,” *Women and Revolution* No. 9, Summer 1975

Under the system of chattel slavery, black women were treated as “breeders” as they were the means of producing the next generation of slaves—property of the racist masters. Under increasingly decrepit capitalism, impoverished black women were specially targeted for sterilization as the capitalist masters have no future to offer their offspring, even the dwindling prospect of being wage slaves. To secure for black, poor and working women the basic right to control their own fertility will take a fundamental overturn of the capitalist economic system, breaking the power of the parasitic ruling class. Overcoming the poisonous racism and anti-woman prejudices and violence that permeate capitalist society requires socialist revolution to abolish this oppressive system once and for all. ■

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### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

#### LANSING, MI

**Saturday, January 21, 3 p.m.**  
**Marxism vs. Idealism:  
A Revolutionary Perspective**  
MSU Student Union, 3rd Floor  
Lake Erie Room  
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[lansingsyc@gmail.com](mailto:lansingsyc@gmail.com)

#### TORONTO

**Thursday, January 26, 6 p.m.**  
“Occupy” Movement Does Not  
Threaten Capitalist Rule  
**For Workers Revolution to  
Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!**  
U of T, Sidney Smith, Room 2116  
100 St. George Street  
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**Wednesday, January 25, 6:30 p.m.**  
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#### VANCOUVER

**Wednesday, January 25, 6:30 p.m.**  
Occupy Protests Push “99 Percent” Populism  
**We Need a New  
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UBC, Student Union Bldg., Room 212A  
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Egypt...

(continued from page 1)

Its self-proclaimed “tolerance” for Coptic Christians is belied by its long history of organized terror. The Brotherhood’s historic aim of establishing an Islamic state has often brought it into violent conflict with the Egyptian government; nonetheless, successive regimes have encouraged the Islamists in countless ways and used them as a battering ram against workers, leftists, women and minorities.

The military, police and Islamists have all joined in recent attacks on women and on the Coptic Christian minority, which constitutes some 10 percent of the population. On October 9, protesters rallying against the burning of Coptic churches outside the Maspero state television studio in Cairo were attacked by uniformed military forces and Islamist mobs. In collusion with the army and riot police, armed thugs roamed the streets seeking out Christians, including women and children, killing more than 20 and maiming hundreds.

Women were targeted soon after the military takeover. Thugs who were mobilized around slogans such as “the people want women to step down” and “the Koran is our ruler” violently attacked a March 8 International Women’s Day demonstration in Cairo. In an act of calculated humiliation, women arrested at a protest the next

get, these inveterate tailists have continued to pursue an alliance with the forces of religious reaction.

In March, the military government issued a law regulating the formation of parties. With the pretense of defending secularism against the Islamists, the law targets organizations of the working class as well as those that seek to represent women and oppressed minorities. It reasserts a reactionary 1977 ban on parties that are based on “religion, class, sect, profession or geography” or are established “on account of gender, language, religion or creed” (“The Main Features of the Amended Law on Political Parties 2011,” www.sis.gov.eg).

As we wrote last year in a polemic against the RS and its international cothinkers, we reject the “bankrupt reformist framework, which posits that the only two ‘choices’ for the working class in Egypt are to capitulate either to the ‘secular,’ military-backed bourgeois-nationalist regime or to political Islam. In fact, these are *alternative ways* of propping up capitalist class rule, the system which ensures vast wealth for its rulers and dire poverty for the urban and rural masses” (“Pandering to Reactionary Muslim Brotherhood,” WV No. 974, 18 February 2011).

The three major electoral blocs—those representing the Muslim Brotherhood, the Salafists and the bourgeois liberals—have



AFP

Coptic Christians protest outside Cairo High Court last May following attacks by Islamists.

day were forced to undergo “virginity” tests. Now, the image of a young woman, some of her clothing torn off, being dragged through the streets by military thugs in a December protest has become symbolic of the public degradation of women. This earned the regime a slap on the wrist from its U.S. patron, with Hillary Clinton commenting that such conduct “dishonors the revolution.”

Dead-End Reformism

In December, the Islamists launched a vicious campaign against the Revolutionary Socialists (RS) that was seized on by state security forces and propagated in much of the bourgeois media. The Muslim Brotherhood’s newspaper ran a front-page article baiting the RS as violent while the Salafist Al-Nour Party accused the organization of “anarchy” and of being funded by the CIA, setting it up for state repression. It is in the interests of the whole working class to defend the RS and to defeat such slanderous attacks, which are meant to send a message to all leftists and the workers movement as a whole.

Along with its cothinkers of the international tendency founded by the late Tony Cliff, the RS countered the attack by organizing a public defense campaign. At the same time, they were taken aback that the Muslim Brotherhood had joined in the witchhunt against them: “The attack on the Revolutionary Socialists by prominent Brotherhood members sparked outrage because the RS played such a central role in defending the Brotherhood at the height of Mubarak’s campaign against the Islamists” (socialistworker.co.uk, 26 December). In the mass protests last year, the RS embraced the Brotherhood as allies in the struggle against dictatorship, even posting on the RS Web site a statement by the Brotherhood, complete with the Brotherhood’s emblem of crossed swords cradling the Koran. Even when the RS itself is the tar-

get, these inveterate tailists have continued to pursue an alliance with the forces of religious reaction.

all taken aim at the working class in their election campaigns, explicitly condemning strikes. While the widespread strikes and protests of the last year have given leftist organizations an opening to operate more publicly, the situation has also made clear how the reformist organizations act as an obstacle to the fight to build a revolutionary party that champions the working class, poor peasants and all the oppressed.

The Democratic Workers Party (DWP), which is associated with the RS, promotes itself as representing the interests of the working class. Along with other left organizations and prominent figures like feminist author Nawal El-Saadawi, the DWP has called to boycott the elections in protest against the military regime’s brutality. The DWP’s program makes no pretense of socialism, instead demanding “the establishment of a parliamentary republic” (*International Socialism*, 28 June 2011). This is simply a call for a species of bourgeois government.

In promoting the call for a parliamentary republic, the reformists falsely tie the democratic aspirations of the population to the class rule of the Egyptian bourgeoisie. In Egypt, where successive parliaments have served as fig leaves for military dictatorship, the desires of the masses for political democracy, including freedom of the press and freedom of assembly, are just and deeply felt. However, the burning needs of the Egyptian masses—from fundamental democratic rights to women’s emancipation and eradicating the desperate urban and rural poverty—cannot be addressed except by uprooting the capitalist order and establishing a workers and peasants government. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin wrote:

“The dictatorship of the proletariat alone can emancipate humanity from the oppression of capital, from the lies, falsehood and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy—democracy *for the rich*—and establish democracy *for the poor*, that is, make the



November 17: On way to election victory, reactionary Muslim Brotherhood instructs Cairo voters on polling locations.

blessings of democracy *really* accessible to the workers and poor peasants, whereas now (even in the most democratic—*bourgeois*—republic) the blessings of democracy are, *in fact*, inaccessible to the vast majority of working people.  
—V.I. Lenin, “‘Democracy’ and Dictatorship” (December 1918)

Imperialism and the Mask of “Human Rights”

The imperialist rulers are past masters at cloaking their bloody depredations in the rhetoric of “human rights” and “democracy.” Bourgeois liberals, the supposedly “non-governmental organizations” (NGOs) and the reformist left have done their bit to embellish this image. In Libya, the imperialists carried out the terror bombing that led to the ouster and assassination of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi under a “humanitarian” banner, with the authorization of the United Nations. Cheerleading for the “Arab revolution” against dictatorship, much of the reformist left internationally fell into line with the imperialists’ campaign, hailing the Libyan “rebels” who were willing tools for the NATO attack. The RS enthused over rebel-controlled “liberated Libya,” where “all the institutions, including the courts, military forces, police and prisons, are under the popular democratic control” (Center for Socialist Studies, 4 March 2011).

The Libyan “rebels” comprised a collection of defectors from the Qaddafi regime, monarchists, Islamic fundamentalists, former CIA assets, tribal chiefs and others. They gave a pretext for the imperialist bombing, acted as the ground troops for the imperialists and carried out pogroms against black African immigrants in the territories they had seized. In a statement issued the day after the imperialist bombing began, the International Communist League put forward a perspective of proletarian internationalism, giving no political support to Qaddafi but calling on “workers around the world to take a stand for military defense of semicolonial Libya.” We added: “From Indochina and the Korean peninsula to the U.S.-led occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan today, the ‘democratic’ imperialist rulers wade in the blood of millions upon millions of their victims” (“Defend Libya Against Imperialist Attack!” WV No. 977, 1 April 2011).

Egypt was and remains a top recipient of U.S. military aid, to the tune of \$1.3 billion a year. At the same time, provoking bitter complaints from the SCAF, the imperialists have also cultivated “democratic” opposition groups to give a humanitarian guise to their operations and to influence protest movements. And now that the Islamists are riding high on their electoral victory, the Obama administration has held high-level meet-

ings with the Muslim Brotherhood in an attempt to forge closer ties.

Since Mubarak’s overthrow, the U.S. has given more than \$40 million to Egyptian “human rights” groups. In December, Britain announced plans to double the amount of aid it gives to NGOs in the Near East. A major sponsor of NGOs around the world is the United Nations, which itself was set up to give a humanitarian veneer to the depredations of imperialism, particularly American imperialism. The NGOs, sanctioned by and receiving funding from the imperialists, are hardly independent from their bourgeois sponsors.

Showing how little tolerance it has for political activity even when it is backed by its own imperialist patrons, Egypt’s military regime raided the offices of 17 NGOs on December 29. These included the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, linked to German chancellor Angela Merkel’s Christian Democratic party, as well as the notorious CIA conduit Freedom House. After the U.S. State Department announced it was “deeply concerned” and threatened to cut military aid to Egypt, the regime promised to return all of the seized materials and allow the NGOs to return to normal operations.

A 14 April 2011 article on the “Arab Spring” in the *New York Times* reported that “the United States’ democracy-building campaigns played a bigger role in fomenting protests than was previously known, with key leaders of the movements having been trained by the Americans.” One vehicle for this is the Center for Applied NonViolent Action and Strategies (CANVAS), which has advised “pro-democracy” activists on overthrowing regimes that are in the imperialists’ crosshairs, from Zimbabwe to Iran to Venezuela. In Egypt, the role of organizations such as CANVAS is to steer mass protests in directions acceptable to the imperialists.

CANVAS describes itself in the vaguest of terms, stating that it does not receive funding from any government and that “our agenda is educational, not political” (www.canvasopedia.org). But CANVAS’s purpose is amply illustrated by its history. It was founded by Slobodan DjinoVIC, the head of Serbia’s largest private Internet and phone company, and Srdja Popovic, a former member of parliament. Both were leaders of the Serbian student opposition group Otpor, which received funds from imperialist conduits such as the National Endowment for Democracy, a CIA front, and the U.S. Agency for International Development, another CIA conduit. Otpor spearheaded the protests that toppled Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic in the fall of 2000. These protests amounted to a continuation by other means of the 1999

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من أجل أحزاب عمالية ثورية!

المقال التالي ترجمة عربية لغفل نشر بصيغة "نقلية العمال" رقم ٩٧٣ بتاريخ ٤ فبراير ٢٠١١. "نقلية العمال" هي لسان حال العمدة الأسديانكاية بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. فرع العمدة الشعبية الأسيدي (أربعة أسيدي).

١ فبراير ٢٠١١ - فيما تتابع الانتفاضات نظام حسني مبارك البؤساري والبعثة العسيلة وألحمة استراتيجة الجيوش الأمريكية، يترشح في يومه موجة من الاحتجاجات الجماهيرية لم يسبق لها مثيل. يهتف المتظاهرون في ميدان التحرير "كل يوم للثورة"، يطالبون بسلطة النظام. لم يأتى تعيين مبارك في الأسبوع الماضي لطفاً جديداً من الزوار. رئيسية أصفاء جميعين وقادة عسكريين ساهلين مثل نائب رئيس الجمهورية ورئيس مجلس الوزراء. إلى أن إكتفاء مزيد من لوب المعارضة الدكتاتورية.

لقد احتشد ما يزيد عن مليون فرد في ميدان التحرير اليوم، بينما تظاهر مئات الآلاف في الإسكندرية والسويس ومدن أخرى. في الميدان، من العمال، والبلية ضمة أطول موارد، القيلة عن "ثباتية": أن يتدرج لإعادة انتخابه في الحزب القادر (١). هفت

# Egypt...

(continued from page 7)

NATO “human rights” bombing campaign against Serbia, carried out under the pretense of defending the Kosovar Albanians. The April 6 Youth Movement, hailed in the bourgeois media for its role in the Egyptian “revolution,” modeled its logo on Otpor’s and used CANVAS’s materials to train its membership.

April 6 is part of the Revolution Youth Council (RYC), a bloc that formed last winter and claimed to speak on behalf of protesters in Tahrir Square. The RYC also includes representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood and supporters of “democratic” oppositionist Mohamed ElBaradei. The U.S. International Socialist Organization, former affiliates of the Cliff tendency, hailed them as “Egypt’s young revolutionaries.” Both April 6 and the RYC have demanded that the SCAF hand power to a “national salvation government” headed by ElBaradei, who announced today that he was withdrawing from the presidential race, saying that the military was not about to hand power to elected rulers. ElBaradei has proved his usefulness to the imperialists: While head of the UN’s nuclear watchdog, he led the charge to investigate Iraq’s supposed “weapons of mass destruction” in the run-up to the U.S. invasion in 2003.

## For Trade Unions Independent of the Capitalist State!

In the decade leading to Mubarak’s ouster, the Egyptian proletariat engaged in a wave of struggle that included over two million workers participating in over 3,000 strikes, sit-ins and other actions. These were carried out in defiance of the corrupt leadership of the state-run Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF), the only legally recognized union body, whose predecessor was established by



October 2: Striking transit workers in Cairo rally outside prime minister’s office demanding basic labor rights, better wages and working conditions.

ers. Beinín approvingly reports that the EFITU and other organizations filed a court suit calling on the military regime to dissolve the ETUF and seize its assets, which the military did. This was an open invitation for the bosses’ state to attack not only the ETUF unions but the workers movement more broadly, serving to renew labor’s ties to the state. The development of a new, class-struggle leadership in the unions—one that would fight for strong industrial unions independent of the capitalist state—is a crucial part of the struggle to build the revolutionary workers party that is urgently needed.

## Bankrupt Nationalism Breeds Religious Reaction

Born of a history of imperialist subjugation, Egyptian nationalism has long served the country’s capitalist rulers by obscuring the class divide between the tiny layer of filthy rich at the top and the brutally

suppressed the Communists, imprisoning, torturing and killing them. But even as he brutalized them, the Stalinist Communist Party continued its class-collaborationist support to Nasser, liquidating into his Arab Socialist Union in 1965. The Soviet Union provided economic and military aid to Nasser’s regime, allowing him a degree of independence from imperialist control that would not be possible today.

The bankruptcy of both secular nationalism and Stalinism, forces that were once dominant among the poor and oppressed in the region, fed the dramatic rise of political Islam. Generously funded by Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states, the Islamists, even while nominally banned, built a mass base in large part by providing charity and social services to masses of people to whom the bourgeois state has nothing to offer except abject poverty and police repression. American journalist Mary Anne Weaver described her experience in Cairo’s Imbaba slum:

“The Islamists, led by the Brotherhood, had built their own social and welfare system here, rivalling that of the state. [The hardline Islamist] Gama’a-controlled ‘popular’ mosques had set up discount health clinics and schools, day-care centers, and furniture factories to employ the unemployed, and they provided meat, at wholesale prices, to the poor. Despite an aggressive \$10 million social program launched by the government at the end of 1994, the Islamists’ institutions remained generally far more efficient and far superior to run-down government facilities.”

—A Portrait of Egypt (1999)

Today the Islamists are once again trying to establish a base among the organized working class, where they historically have had little support. In 1946, when they did have a hearing among a layer of industrial workers, they played a strikebreaking role. The Muslim Brotherhood opposed major strikes in the Shubra al-Khayama textile plant while its newspaper spread anti-Communist and anti-Semitic poison. When the strike leaders were arrested during a strike in January of that year, the Brotherhood condemned them, saying they were “members of communist cells headed by Jews.” During a June strike in the same plant, the Brotherhood “informed the police of the names and addresses of the strike committee” (Joel Beinín and Zachary Lockman, *Workers on the Nile* [1998]).

## Cliffites and Islam: Feeding the Hand That Bites Them

The RS and its cothinkers in the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have gone out of their way to bolster illusions in the Muslim Brotherhood, promoting it as a potential ally of the working class in the fight against imperialism and capitalist oppression. In an article titled “Comrades and Brothers” published in *Middle East Report* (Spring 2007), RS spokesman Hossam El-Hamalawy boasted that his organization “pushed for close coordination” with the Brotherhood and praised its “brotherly spirit.” Half a year ago, in an article printed in the SWP’s *Socialist Review* (June 2011) titled “The Islamists and the Egyptian Revolution,” Egyptian Cliffite Sameh Naguib complained about

the “state of hysteria” among the left and liberals over the resurgent Islamist movement. Naguib went so far as to denounce those “lured into debates over Article 2 of the constitution, which enshrines Islam as ‘the religion of the state...and Islamic law as the principal source of legislation.’”

Long before that, in the seminal *International Socialism* (Autumn 1994) article “The Prophet and the Proletariat,” SWP leader Chris Harman went to some lengths to present political Islam favorably for seeking “to transform society, not to conserve it in the old way” and for “anti-imperialist slogans and some anti-imperialist actions which have embarrassed very important national and international capitalist interests.” This was the criminal line taken by the bulk of the left internationally in supporting Ayatollah Khomeini’s forces in the mass upsurge in Iran in the late 1970s against the bloody, U.S.-backed Shah. The result was the beheading of the militant working class, as Communists and other leftists were butchered, women were further enslaved, and national and other minorities were brutally repressed by the new Islamic regime.

While the SWP can fill reams of paper with nonsense about the Brotherhood’s “anti-imperialist stance,” Islamists, including the Brotherhood, have historically been the willing tool of imperialism against Communists, modernizing nationalists and secular liberals. Following World War II, U.S. imperialism promoted and funded the Brotherhood as part of its Cold War drive against Communism. This was one expression of the policy described in 1950 by John Foster Dulles, who would later serve as Eisenhower’s Secretary of State: “The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find it and develop it.”

The Cliff tendency has a long history of siding with the forces of Islamic reaction, including cheering the *mujahedin*—anti-Soviet “holy warriors”—in Afghanistan in the 1980s. The imperialists funneled vast quantities of arms and money to these Islamist terrorists in the largest CIA operation in history. The Muslim Brotherhood provided a major contingent of the *mujahedin*, whose *jihad* against a Soviet-backed, modernizing nationalist government was sparked when the regime introduced such reforms as lowering the bride price. In the first war in modern history in which the status of women was a central issue, the Soviet Red Army battled Islamic fundamentalists who threw acid in the faces of unveiled women and killed teachers who taught young girls to read.

We hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan. Its presence opened the possibility of extending the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution to Afghanistan, just as those parts of Central Asia that were incorporated into the Soviet Union progressed centuries beyond the medieval conditions that prevailed in Afghanistan. The withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1988-89 was a betrayal by the Moscow Stalinist bureaucracy that left the country mired in backwardness and internecine bloodletting. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan was the precursor to the collapse of the Soviet Union itself.

Although deformed by the parasitic rule of a bureaucratic caste, the Soviet Union represented the dictatorship of the working class. When the USSR was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the SWP welcomed this, proclaiming “Communism has collapsed” and adding “It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing” (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991). A grave defeat for working people and the oppressed internationally, the end of the Soviet Union has meant a more dangerous world, where U.S. imperialism has a free hand and forces of religious and social reaction have grown stronger.

## Permanent Revolution

The Bolshevik Revolution was a defining event of the 20th century. The work-



Rice planting in Nile Delta, 2008. Abject poverty, primitive conditions dominate Egyptian countryside.

Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1957. For over two decades, it was customary for the federation’s president to serve as the Minister of Labor. Acting as the Egyptian dictatorship’s lieutenants within the labor movement, the ETUF leadership refused to approve strikes, sabotaged workers struggles and informed on militants, setting them up for repression.

Since Mubarak’s fall, a number of new trade unions have flourished. According to historian Joel Beinín, “Some independent unions—like the Cairo Joint Transport Authority union of bus drivers and garage workers and the RETA [Real Estate Tax Authority] workers’ union—are quite large and command the loyalty of a great majority of the potential bargaining unit. Others have only fifty to one hundred members in factories employing hundreds or thousands” (“What Have Workers Gained from Egypt’s Revolution?” *Foreign Policy*, 20 July 2011). The Egyptian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (EFITU), founded last January, has been feted by the tops of the AFL-CIO and the British Trades Union Congress, labor bureaucrats who act as the agents of their imperialist ruling classes, as well as by reformist “socialists.”

Although the EFITU is not directly run by the Egyptian state, it is not politically independent from the capitalist rul-

exploited and impoverished working class. Rather than struggling to break the working class from these illusions, left organizations including the RS have bolstered them. Harking back to the 1950s-60s, when the left-nationalist strongman Nasser wielded substantial influence in the Near East, the RS proclaimed, “Revolution must restore Egypt’s independence, dignity and leadership in the region” (see “Egypt: Military Takeover Props Up Capitalist Rule,” WV No. 974, 18 February 2011).

Nasser’s bourgeois regime, which continues to be idealized by the Egyptian left today, came to power in a military coup during a period of mass protests and strikes that followed World War II. Military forces led by Colonel Nasser overthrew the monarchy of King Farouk in 1952, followed shortly afterward by the departure of British troops. While Nasser won wide recognition as an “anti-imperialist,” especially with the nationalization of the Suez Canal, Egypt remained an impoverished country ultimately subordinated to imperialism.

Nasser succeeded in stabilizing the rule of the capitalist class, in part through concessions—such as a partial land redistribution, raising wages and expanding access to health care and education—but most characteristically through brutal repression. To consolidate his rule, Nasser



ing class took state power, leading the peasantry, national minorities and all of the oppressed in overthrowing bourgeois rule, sweeping away as well the tsarist autocracy and the state church. It established the dictatorship of the proletariat, liberating the working people from capitalist exploitation. The Revolution confirmed the theory of permanent revolution developed by Leon Trotsky in 1904-1906. Trotsky had projected that, despite its economic and social backwardness, Russia was already part of a world capitalist economy that was ripe for socialist transformation, requiring proletarian revolution not only in backward countries like Russia but especially in the advanced capitalist states. The workers in Russia, who were small in number but strategically concentrated in large industry, could come to power before the country had undergone an extended period of capitalist development. Moreover, the workers in Russia would *have* to come to power if Russia was to be liberated from the yoke of its feudal past.

As Trotsky wrote in 1929 in *The Permanent Revolution*:

“With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.... “The dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly confronted with tasks, the fulfillment of which is bound up with deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property.”



Paris Match

In the same work, Trotsky stressed that “the socialist revolution begins on the national arena, it unfolds on the international arena, and is completed on the world arena. Thus, the socialist revolution becomes a permanent revolution in a newer and broader sense of the word; it attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet.”

In articles on the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt a year ago, we raised the call for a revolutionary constituent assembly along with a series of democratic demands while centrally stressing the need for the working class to establish factory committees and other organs of dual power. As a result of subsequent discussion, the ICL rejected on principle the call for a constituent assembly, which can be nothing other than a form of bourgeois state. As we wrote in “Tunisian Elections: Victory for Islamic Reactionaries” (WV No. 993, 6 January): “Our understanding of the reactionary character of the bourgeoisie, in the semicolonial countries as well as the advanced capitalist states, means that there can be no revolutionary bourgeois parliament. The call for a constituent assembly consequently runs counter to the permanent revolution.”

Permanent revolution provides the only program for resolving the fundamental

**Protesters at International Women’s Day rally in Tahrir Square last March were violently attacked by reactionary, woman-hating thugs.**



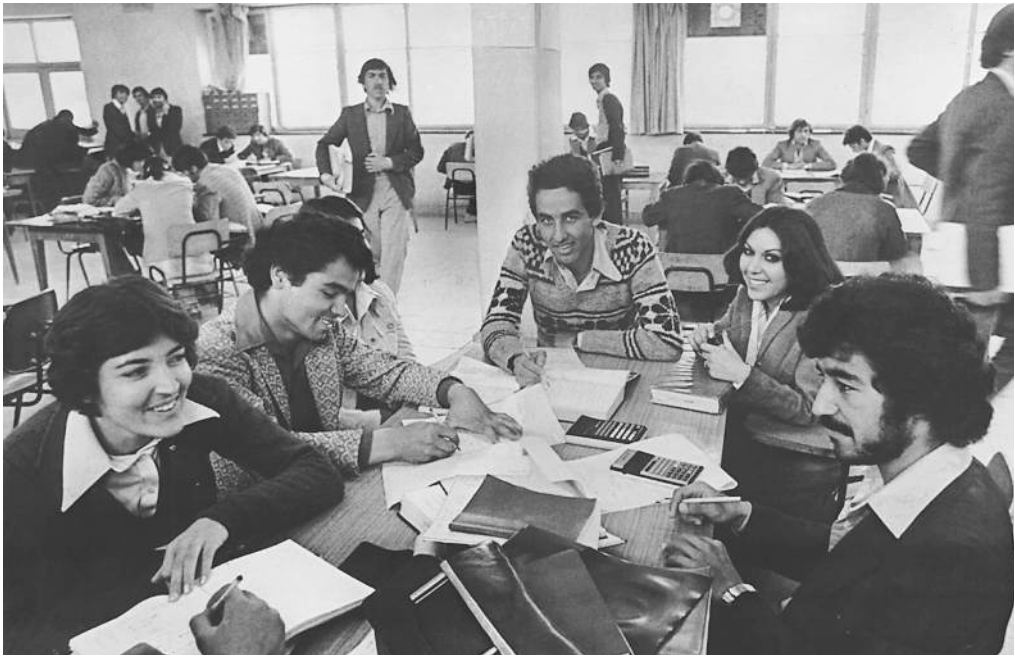
Pollonais/Demotix

questions posed in Egypt and throughout the Near East today. The region is marked by abject poverty, benighted enslavement of women, the dispossession of the Palestinian people by Israel and the oppression of numerous other national and religious minorities by the Arab-nationalist and Islamist regimes. This legacy of social backwardness and oppression is reinforced by domination by the imperialist powers, whose overriding concern is control of the supply of oil. Egypt, the most populous Arab nation and site of the strategically important Suez Canal, is ruled by a venal bourgeoisie that has been a willing pawn of U.S. imperialism and, since 1979, a stalwart ally of Israel. In recent years, Egypt’s capitalist rulers have aided in the starvation blockade of the Palestinians in Gaza, including by sealing the border in Sinai.

Today, almost 60 years after the withdrawal of the last British colonial troops,

been forced into penury after having been evicted because they were unable to pay their rent or because of state-sanctioned land grabs. Dispossessed peasants were driven into the slums and shantytowns of major cities, where they became a fertile recruiting ground for the Islamic reactionaries. Resistance to the land “reform” has continued over the years: peasants have marched in demonstrations, blocked main roads, set landlords’ houses on fire and attacked government offices. The government has responded with severe repression, with police and armed gangs attacking peasants, seizing crops and occupying fields by force.

The end of legal protections on land tenure opened the way for foreign companies to purchase huge tracts. The past two decades saw a tenfold rise in agricultural exports as production shifted away from staples for domestic consumption to high-cash produce for sale in Europe.



Planeta

**1979 Soviet military intervention opened road to emancipation of Afghan women. Left: Troops from Soviet Central Asia made up large component of Red Army in Afghanistan. Above: At Kabul University in 1980s, more than half of students were women.**

Egypt is mired in some \$35 billion of foreign debt. Over the past ten years, \$24 billion in debt servicing payments has been bled from the country, while its debt burden has increased by 15 percent. Under the “structural adjustment programs” imposed by the International Monetary Fund, Nasser-era state control of industry has been progressively rolled back and factories sold off below cost to Mubarak’s cronies and foreign investors. At the same time, the military has retained extensive holdings, although their extent is kept secret. Journalist Joshua Hammer described them: “The military controls a labyrinth of companies that manufacture everything from medical equipment to laptops to television sets, as well as vast tracts of real estate...with command of as much as 40 percent of the Egyptian economy” (*New York Review of Books*, 18 August 2011).

The neoliberal “reforms” that led the World Bank to declare Egyptian agriculture a “fully privatized sector” by 2001 have vastly increased the misery of the rural population. Since the mid ’90s, tenant farmers’ rents have shot up from an equivalent of about \$4 an acre annually to as high as \$60, the equivalent of three months’ earnings. Some five million peasants and their families have

Once capable of producing enough food to feed its population, Egypt is now the world’s biggest importer of wheat, leaving the impoverished population at the mercy of the world market, which is dominated by U.S. agribusiness.

In a country where more than 90 percent of women, both Muslim and Christian, are subjected to genital mutilation, courts run under Islamic law adjudicate family disputes and “honor killing” runs

rampant. For Marxists, the question of women’s liberation cannot be separated from the struggle to emancipate the whole of the working class. Women workers are a vital part of the Egyptian proletariat. They have been prominent in the wave of strikes that has swept Egypt over the past decade, especially in the textile industry. Won to a revolutionary program, they will have a leading role to play in breaking the chains of social backwardness and religious obscurantism. As Trotsky stressed in his 1924 speech “Perspectives and Tasks in the East,” “There will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the revolution and for the ideas of communism than the awakened woman worker.”

### For Proletarian Internationalism!

The liberation of the Egyptian masses requires the overthrow not simply of the military but of the capitalists, landlords, Islamic clergy and imperialists who profit from the grinding oppression of the populace. The power to do this lies in the hands of the working class, whose consciousness must be transformed from that of a class in itself, fighting to improve its status within the framework of capitalism, to a class for itself, realizing its historic potential to lead all the oppressed in a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system. Crucially, this includes the mobilization of the working class in the imperialist centers to overthrow their “own” exploiters. The capitalist economic crisis that has ravaged the lives and livelihoods of working people from North Africa and the Near East to Europe, North America and Japan only further underscores the necessity for a perspective that is at once revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist.

In Egypt, the struggle of the proletariat must be welded to the defense of the many oppressed layers in the society, including women, youth and Coptic Christians as well as Bedouins, Nubians and other minority groups. A workers and peasants government would expropriate the capitalist class, including the landlords, and establish a planned, collectivized economy. A planned economy on an international scale would open the way to develop industry at the highest level, providing jobs for the impoverished urban masses and applying the most advanced technology to agriculture.

The struggle against imperialist domination and the oppressive rule of the sheiks, kings, colonels, ayatollahs, nationalist and Zionist rulers throughout the region cannot be resolved under capitalism. There will be no end to ethnic and national oppression, no emancipation of women, no end to the exploitation of working people short of a thoroughgoing proletarian revolution that opens the road to the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East, as part of the struggle for world proletarian revolution. To bring this perspective to the working class requires the construction of a Leninist vanguard party, which will be forged in combat against the reformist “socialists” and others who seek to subordinate the working class to the imperialists, nationalists and forces of Islamic reaction. The International Communist League is dedicated to forging such parties. ■

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# Smash ANZUS Through Workers Revolution!

In Indonesia, Australia's security forces collaborated with the CIA to help orchestrate the 1965-66 military-led anti-Communist massacre, serving to "stabilise" Southeast Asia under the imperialist yoke at the cost of more than a million lives. The subsequent stinging military



Today, Australian imperialism plays an aggressive role as a counterrevolutionary gendarme under the U.S. umbrella, acting to help shore up U.S. and Australian



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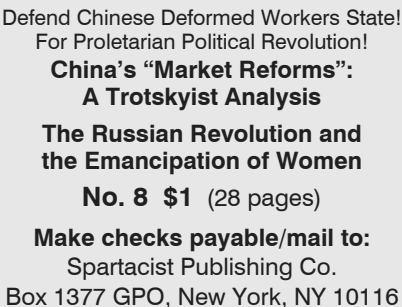


Under ANZUS, Australia hosts the top-secret Pine Gap satellite spy base and provides U.S. access to the Geraldton tracking station and other facilities that were

Today's militarisation of Australia's north not only targets the working masses of the region and particularly the Chinese deformed workers state but has also sharpened deep racist reaction within capitalist Australia. Since 2007, scores of Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory have been occupied by police and military in a land grab serving the bourgeoisie's desire for unhindered access to mineral resources on land previously under some measure of Aboriginal self-government. Meanwhile desperate refugees have been intercepted on the high seas by heavily armed Australian naval vessels and turned back or redirected to Indonesia. The brutal "White Australia" capitalist order was built on the slaughter and degradation of the indigenous inhabitants and the systematic exclusion of Asian and dark-skinned people. As part of the fight against the whole capitalist-imperialist system, the multiracial Australian working class must champion the cause of the deeply oppressed Aboriginal people and refugees. We say: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations! Cops and military get out of Aboriginal communities now!

Renewed sabre rattling against China has been met with disquiet by sections

Today, while the ALP government marches in lockstep with the U.S.-led militarism against China, the pro-capitalist Laborite union misleaders continue to push anti-China protectionism. Last August, just prior to BlueScope Steel announcing more than 1,000 job cuts, pro-ALP union tops, including Paul Howes from the Australian Workers Union, sought to pressure the Gillard government to back the U.S.





campaign for China to revalue the yuan in order to protect Australian manufacturers. Fostering the lie that the workers and the bosses share common interests, they called for a joint campaign with the manufacturing bosses to demand the government “muscle up to China.” The union tops work overtime to tie workers to Australian capitalism by portraying Chinese manufacturing as a threat to jobs. With slogans like “Make it here, or jobs disappear,” these nationalist union misleaders demand government subsidies for Australian capitalists and do next to nothing to mobilise their base in industrial action against the bosses’ attacks and government’s anti-union laws.

In opposition to this poisonous Laborite nationalism and class collaboration, we fight to build an internationalist revolutionary workers party that mobilises the working class in struggle in complete political independence from the capitalist exploiters. Such a party will stand on the important but all too rare examples of international class-struggle action by the organised labour movement, especially maritime, including solidarity with the Indonesian independence struggle in the 1940s and with the Vietnamese Revolution in the 1960s. Such traditions and practices must be revived and put into practice around an internationalist class-struggle program. A Leninist-Trotskyist party will be built by splitting the working-class base of the ALP from the pro-capitalist leadership, centrally through the political fight to replace the social-democratic union misleaders with a class-struggle, revolutionary leadership.

Reforge the Fourth International!

In a 23 November *Lateline* interview on the ABC, former Labor prime minister Paul Keating criticised the fact that Obama delivered his anti-China speech in federal parliament, complaining that the Australian government should not have allowed itself to be “verballed” and “part of that particular kabuki show. Not to be fingerprints all over it.” While strongly backing the U.S./Australia alliance, Keating opined that “the whole notion of Australia as a middle power trying to project



Storia Illustrata  
**People’s Liberation Army enters Beijing in January 1949. Social revolution smashed landlord/capitalist rule, established workers state deformed by Stalinist bureaucracy.**

an independent foreign policy was hugely inhibited by what happen[ed] this week.” Such nationalist views are widely imbibed by the Laborite reformist left in this country, including the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) and SA.

The CPA welcomed the U.S. presidential election of Democratic Party candidate Obama, and the election of the Rudd/Gillard federal ALP governments here, in both instances betraying the class interests of workers. Now they complain that Rudd, Gillard and Obama have “not delivered on the promise for change” and moan that “Australia’s sovereignty was torn to shreds last week in Canberra” by Obama’s visit. Similarly peddling nationalist bourgeois pacifism, SA declare “US bases in Australia a setback for peace” (30 November 2011) and call for “a foreign policy that serves the 99% in Australia.” Opposed to independent class opposition to imperialist militarism and worried that Australian imperialism’s interests are being overlooked for those of its U.S. big brother, these “little Australia” national-

ist opponents of revolutionary Marxism echo and regularly call for a vote to the anti-Communist, anti-China Greens, who have long demanded to bring Australian “troops home” from Afghanistan in order to defend bloody Australian imperialist interests in the region. This in fact dovetails with the militarisation of the Asia-Pacific sought by Obama and Gillard.

The imperialist build-up comes at a time when sharp economic crisis grips the capitalist world and underlines how capitalism in its epoch of imperialist decay leads inexorably to war, unless the problem is destroyed at its roots by socialist revolution. Under the system of capital-

Geronimo...

(continued from page 5)

Scrabble. I can attest to this because we played many games, and once in a while he let me win.

It is almost impossible to convey, simultaneously, the deadly nature and the absurdity of the COINTELPRO lies that made their way into Geronimo’s prison file. They claimed that he participated in a scheme to kill guards with poison darts and to kidnap guards’ children and hold them hostage. But these lies greatly inflamed guards and endangered his life, so he had to fight the lies, and he did so vigilantly.

It had taken a federal case to gain his release from solitary, but that did not stop the lies and the vendetta. Beginning in 1989, as PDC staff counsel, I represented Geronimo, along with his longtime counsel Stuart Hanlon (who also represented one of the SF8) in a federal suit. The suit was aimed at stopping the retaliation against Geronimo for his fighting to expose COINTELPRO, and also at literally keeping him alive. The suit was against officials of the California Department of Corrections (CDC), who got in the habit not only of lying about Geronimo but of transferring him from prison to prison, away from his family, as a prime tool of retaliation. From 1989 until his release in 1997, I traveled up and down the state, from the Sierra foothills to the Tehachapi Mountains to the Mexican border, visiting Geronimo and fighting the CDC. Stuart Hanlon and I were kicked out of Tehachapi Prison for eating potato chips, routinely permitted, because such a vindictive atmosphere had been whipped up against Geronimo.

We in the PDC, LBL and SL publicized the suit against the CDC and gained an ever-widening circle of labor support to free Geronimo. By about 1994, unions representing hundreds of thousands were on record on his behalf. That support, together with the very important assistance of several particularly friendly journalists, was critical in keeping Geronimo’s case in the public eye. Geronimo kept at it, and we kept at it. We hoped for a break, and finally one came in 1996. At the time, many of the frame-up perpetrators were either dead or retired, and the D.A.’s office in L.A. was in

ist imperialism, the ruling classes of the richest capitalist countries are compelled, through their very inner workings and thirst for profits, into an unrelenting drive for new markets, ever-greater supplies of natural resources and sources of cheap labour in the neocolonial countries. The various imperialist bourgeoisies enforce their neocolonial looting and protect their spheres of exploitation through the expansion of their military might. As Karl Marx made clear, the workers of all countries must unite, rejecting the divide-and-rule capitalist machinations parroted by the current misleaders of the working class, to throw out their exploiters and take the future in their own hands.

Since the 1991-92 collapse of the Soviet Union, a world-historic defeat for the international proletariat, the working class has been taking a beating with few workers today identifying their struggles with the ideals of socialism. However, contrary to the wishes of the capitalist-imperialist rulers, class struggle cannot be legislated or repressed out of existence but is a product of class-divided society. As long as capitalist exploitation and oppression exists new struggles will inevitably break out, including against imperialist militarism.

Like our comrades in the U.S., Japan and other sections of the ICL, comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia fight to build a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the multiracial working people in this country in sweeping away the capitalist rulers and establishing their own class rule. This requires an intransigently proletarian internationalist perspective. ***Down with Australian imperialism! Defend the Chinese deformed workers state! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■***

much need of a facelift after the Rodney King debacle. Some of you may not know what that is but you can ask later. It was bad for the Los Angeles D.A. A lower court judge in L.A. granted Geronimo a hearing, which ultimately led to his release in June 1997 when the conviction was overturned, unfortunately on the narrowest possible grounds. A dismissal of the charges followed a couple of years later.

Through 27 years of California prison hell Geronimo remained unbroken and unbowed. He fought the prison officials who regularly endangered his life, he fought to prove his innocence, and he fought to assist other victims of capitalist injustice. Now I want to say to all of you out there: As you know, we live in a period of increased state repression, and the state has pretty much unlimited resources. We need your help to continue the fight to free the class-war prisoners and to defend those cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. A small but fitting tribute to Geronimo would be for those of you who aren’t PDC sustainers to become sustainers tonight. I hope that you will consider that. ■



AP  
**Beijing, October 2009: Anti-aircraft missile vehicles in parade on 60th anniversary of Chinese Revolution.**

Indiana...

(continued from page 3)

picketing. The Indiana Chamber of Commerce’s first “right to work” campaign got its start in 1955 after scabs opened fire on striking UAW workers at a piston ring plant in New Castle, sparking an armed confrontation that left several wounded.

Two years later, Indiana became the first Northern industrial state to join the “right to work” fold. A bastion of racist bigotry, the state was a natural fit for organizations that combined vicious anti-unionism with virulent racism in pushing for these laws. In the 1920s, Indiana was a center of Ku Klux Klan terror and murder. By the middle of that decade, over half the General Assembly, the governor and other high-ranking government officials were Klansmen. In 1965, amid the social ferment of the civil

rights movement, the “right to work” statute was repealed, after struggles in defense of the union shop by the UAW and other unions had largely rendered it a dead letter.

With vicious racism a fault line in the U.S. to this day, black rights and union rights will either go forward together or fall back separately. It is crucial for the working class to defend every gain it has won, beginning with the very existence of the unions. Turning back the ruling-class war against labor, black people and other minorities requires breaking the labor movement from its political subservience to the Democrats. The fight for a class-struggle leadership of the unions is an integral part of forging a revolutionary workers party, the necessary instrument to lead all the exploited and the oppressed in overthrowing the decaying capitalist system and replacing it with a planned economy under a workers government. ■

Partisan Defense Committee

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Mumia Abu-Jamal

Lynne Stewart

Moments before turning himself in for sentencing, Lynne Stewart addresses supporters outside courthouse. Right: Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Wesley Hargis

Free Lynne Stewart! Free Mumia! Free All Class-War Prisoners!

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## Defend China Against Imperialism, Capitalist Counterrevolution!

# U.S., Australia Reinforce Alliance Against China

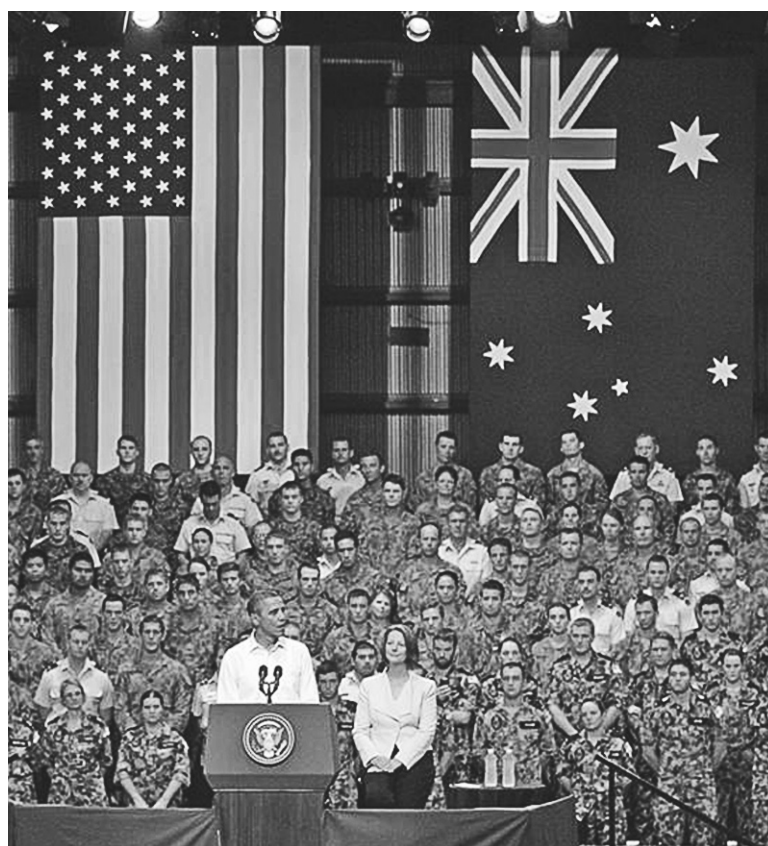
At the Pentagon on January 5, Barack Obama, surrounded by top military brass, announced a shift in military strategy that, he made clear, puts China more directly in U.S. imperialism's crosshairs. While Washington is planning nearly \$500 billion in spending cuts, this would still make U.S. military spending greater than that of the next ten countries combined. As it firms up its imperialist alliances with Japan and Australia with its turn toward the Asia-Pacific region, the Obama White House promises a "leaner and meaner" military, centrally to target China, the largest and most powerful of those countries today that have overthrown capitalist rule. Obama also renewed U.S. threats against capitalist Iran, which has been subjected to increasing imperialist sanctions and provocations. Below we reprint an article, edited for publication in *WV*, from *Australasian Spartacist* No. 215 (Summer 2011/12), newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia.

**Australasian  
SPARTACIST**

On 17 November, in an address to the Australian federal parliament, visiting U.S. president Barack Obama announced that American imperialism intends to make its "presence and mission in the Asia Pacific a top priority." "The United States is a Pacific power, and we are here to stay," declared the U.S. Commander-in-Chief. The day before, in a direct provocation against the People's Republic of China, Obama and Labor Party (ALP) prime minister Julia Gillard jointly announced a deepening of U.S. military ties with Australia. The agreement includes expanded U.S. access to air and naval bases in the Northern Territory and Western Australia, and a permanent troop presence in Darwin of 2,500 Marines by 2016-17.

In 2009 the ALP government released a Defence White Paper that outlined a vast program of military spending while hawkishly targeting China. Alongside Canberra's increasing militarisation of the north, this build-up is designed to work in concert with the expansion of U.S. military forces in Australia under the reactionary U.S./Australia alliance. A second-rate jackal imperialist power, Australia looks to the U.S. for protection. As such, Canberra has offered its services in countless dirty murderous operations, including the U.S.-led wars and occupations in Iraq and Afghanistan, while pursuing its own predatory interests in the region. The projected Marine air ground taskforce in Darwin will provide Washington with a rapid intervention force to carry out whatever forward imperialist dirty work is required.

Obama's "strategic decision" for U.S. imperialism to play a larger, long-term role in "shaping this region and its future" is ominous for the worker and peasant masses of Asia. Having now withdrawn



**Left: Barack Obama with Australian prime minister Julia Gillard on November 17 at air force base in Darwin, Australia, where 2,500 U.S. Marines are to be stationed. Right: Guided missile destroyer USS Stethem leads Indonesian ships in Indian Ocean exercise, November 20.**



troops from Iraq and projecting to scale down in Afghanistan, Washington is once again focusing its gun sights on China after being temporarily deflected following September 11, 2001. Obama demands China "play by the rules" of capitalism and, using language straight out of the 1950s Cold War and 1980s Cold War II against the Soviet Union, lectures that "prosperity without freedom is just another form of poverty"! For the imperialists, "freedom" means being at liberty to loot impoverished and subjugated nations, fomenting racism and communalist slaughter as they ensure their continued class rule over the exploited masses.

The proletariat of the U.S., Australia and throughout Asia have a vital interest in vigorously opposing this imperialist militarism. We Trotskyists of the International Communist League have long stressed that the future for workers in Australia lies in common struggle with the working masses of Asia against capitalist exploitation. Our fight for a workers republic of Australia is part of our perspective for socialist revolutions throughout Southeast Asia and beyond. Key to this proletarian internationalist perspective is our unconditional military defence of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution.

In 1949, China experienced a profound social revolution as the peasant-based People's Liberation Army (PLA) led by Mao Zedong's Communist Party (CCP) overthrew the imperialist-backed bourgeois-

nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang. The victory of Mao's PLA destroyed the Chinese capitalist state, smashing the rule of the Chinese bourgeoisie and landlords, and liberated the Chinese masses from the yoke of imperialist subjugation. It led to the development of a collectivised economy that laid the basis for massive social progress for the worker and peasant masses, particularly women.

However, unlike the 1917 Russian Revolution, which was carried out by a class-conscious proletariat guided by the Bolshevik internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, the 1949 Chinese Revolution was bureaucratically deformed from its inception under the rule of Mao Zedong's Stalinist peasant-based CCP regime. Resting atop the workers state, this parasitic nationalist bureaucratic caste modelled itself on the Stalinist regime in Russia that, beginning with a political counterrevolution in 1923-24, usurped political power from the working class. Despite decades of the bureaucracy's "market reforms," China's economy remains dominated by state-controlled banks and the core of its heavy industry remains collectivised, an historic gain for the world's working class that the imperialists have long sought to overthrow.

The imperialists want to return China to the pre-1949 days of unbridled imperialist exploitation. In seeking to restore capitalist rule, they pursue a multi-pronged strategy of economic and political subversion combined with intensifying military pressure against China. In contrast to social-democratic reformists such as Socialist

Alliance (SA), who pronounce China capitalist and join with pro-imperialist counterrevolutionary causes from "Free Tibet" to "independence" for the anti-communist bastion of Taiwan, we Marxists declare that it is in the direct interest of the international proletariat to defend China and other countries where capitalism has been overthrown—today, North Korea, Laos, Vietnam and Cuba. This includes supporting North Korea's and China's development and testing of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems as a deterrent against the threat of annihilation by the nuclear-armed imperialists in Washington, backed by their lackeys in Canberra.

At the same time, the ICL fights for proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states to oust the Stalinist misleaders, whose bureaucratic mismanagement and conciliation of imperialism paved the way for counterrevolution. The Chinese bureaucracy, in its pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, have supported the U.S.-led "war on terror" under which banner the imperialists have occupied Iraq and Afghanistan while threatening one of China's main oil suppliers, Iran. Proletarian political revolution, establishing regimes based on workers democracy and an internationalist perspective, would be a beacon for the oppressed working masses of Asia and the entire world. Ultimately, to defend and extend the gains of these social revolutions requires fighting for socialist revolution in the imperialist centres. The fight

*continued on page 10*