

## U.S./Japanese Imperialists: Hands Off China!

On November 23, the Chinese government declared an Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) in the East China Sea, requiring any aircraft passing through airspace off its coast to identify itself. The ADIZ is an elementary measure of China's defense. As Japan's *Nikkei* (29 November) noted, not only do Japanese

surveillance aircraft patrol these waters, but also for U.S. spy planes "it is not rare to fly close to the Chinese coast and collect information." Despite the fact that the U.S., Japan and South Korea have

their own ID zones, each of their governments was quick to denounce China's declaration as an act of aggression.

It is the U.S. and Japanese imperialists and Washington's South Korean

underlings who are dangerously escalating tensions in the region as they firm up their alliance against China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Shortly after Beijing's declaration of the ADIZ, two U.S. B-52 bombers flew through the zone without filing flight plans,  
*continued on page 6*

## Democrats, Republicans Take Ax to Food Stamps

# Capitalists Starve Workers, Poor

CHARLES ALLEN  
Community Development Center



WV Photos

**Left: Food line at community center in South Central Los Angeles, December 4. Right: Fast-food workers and supporters demand increased minimum wage at rally outside McDonald's in L.A., December 5.**

With a growing number of billionaires in its ranks and the stock market booming, the ruling class in the U.S. is giddy with greed. In its quest to stockpile wealth, this tiny capitalist elite keeps bleeding working people dry. As a result, the mass of the population continues to reel from the effects of the Great Recession triggered by rampant financial speculation in the housing market, even as the banks and other big businesses declare a renaissance. The Bloomberg news service, founded by the world's richest (now departing) mayor, recently trumpeted: "Wages Stagnate as U.S. Manufacturers Reap Record Profits" (21 November). Not satisfied with slashing pay to the bone, the insatiable capitalist rulers are also further gutting those meager social benefits that help keep workers and the poor afloat. And greater hunger and

misery are on the horizon, as the \$5 billion cut in food stamps last month attests.

Some 47.5 million food stamp recipients, nearly half of them children, were impacted by this step, which was approved by Democrats and Republicans alike. This benefit loss was triggered by the lapse of a temporary increase in funding for food stamps—the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)—included in the 2009 economic stimulus act. The toll of the cut was immediate, as families were forced to scrimp even more on meals and to seek out emergency food pantries.

For all the talk of government dysfunction and gridlock, both parties of capital have showed proficiency in screwing the poor. And more cuts are on the way—the only real question is how much. In alternate farm bills that set the funding for food stamps, the Democratic-controlled Senate voted for \$4 billion in cuts, while the Republican-controlled House voted for \$40 billion. This is despite the fact that the number of food stamp recipients has swelled by 80 percent over the last six years of economic downturn.

Although the unemployment rate fell last month to its lowest level since 2008, the prospects of finding a job at anything resembling decent pay remain very dim. So much so that droves of people have simply given up on looking for work, the main factor accounting for that rate drop. In the time since the financial crisis claimed 8.7 million jobs, only 7.4 million have been created, and these overwhelmingly pay low wages. Half of all employees in America now earn less than \$26,000 a year, barely above the official poverty level for a family of four. Among the factors swelling the legions of the working poor—from Wal-Mart "associates" to college adjunct professors—is President Obama's Affordable Care Act. The law has encouraged employers to cut hours to avoid providing health care while jacking up insurance costs for much of the workforce.

Working households today constitute 40 percent of food stamp recipients, with one quarter of the overall U.S. workforce depending on some form of public assistance. In a sign of the times, Wal-Mart had the audacity to set up a food bank for

its own miserably paid employees before Thanksgiving, and McDonald's counseled its staff on eating smaller mouthfuls so it would feel like they had more food. Long gone are the days when soup kitchens and food pantries were just for the "down-and-outs" and families in acute crisis. Such charities are keeping countless people alive who would starve on what the employers and government dole out, as food prices rise faster than all other expenses except transportation costs and medical bills. In New York City, food charities were already rationing portion sizes and turning people away before Superstorm Sandy struck last year and threw many more on their mercy.

With affordable housing a rarity in the city, more and more New Yorkers, many of them women with young children, are punching out of work only to sign in to homeless shelters. Pricing working people out of city residences extends to San Francisco, where one worker explained: "Now it's hard to be a middle-class person with what used to seem like a really good salary in this city" (*New York Times*,  
*continued on page 7*



# Drop Charges Against CUNY Protesters!

Over the past semester, the City University of New York (CUNY) administration has been on a tear to suppress leftist political activity. Its latest reprisal was to bring criminal charges against Khalil Vasquez and Tafadar Sourov for their role in protesting the closure of the Morales/Shakur Center at City College of New York (CCNY) on October 24. The administration had shut down the center, a meeting space for leftist, minority and other student and community groups, after weeks of demonstrations against war criminal David Petraeus teaching at CUNY and the return of the Reserve Officers Training Corps to campus.

Vasquez and Sourov, both of the Revolutionary Student Coordinating Committee, had already been suspended from CCNY following the October 24 protest, as reported in our *Young Spartacus* pages (see “Rescind Suspensions of CCNY Protesters!”, WV No. 1034, 15 November). On November 22, at a CCNY disciplinary hearing regarding their suspension, both students pleaded “no contest and no admission of guilt.” As a result, they will be allowed to return to CCNY next semester, but the suspension will only be expunged from their record provided they stay in line by the lights of the administration.

Vasquez and Sourov have a court appearance scheduled for January 9,



November 19: Rally after court hearing in Manhattan for CUNY activists Tafadar Sourov and Khalil Vasquez (from left to right, under sign).

the same day as several of the CUNY 6 protesters who face bogus misdemeanor charges stemming from a September 17 anti-Petraeus protest that was brutally attacked by city cops. We urge our readers to send letters demanding that all charges against the CUNY protesters be dropped. Statements can be directed to: New York County District Attorney Cyrus Vance, Jr., One Hogan Place, New York, NY 10013; telephone: (212) 335-9000; fax: (212) 335-4390. Donations to the CUNY 6 legal defense fund can be made at [defendthecuny6.wordpress.com](http://defendthecuny6.wordpress.com).

We print below a letter sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to District Attorney Vance on November 23.

\* \* \*

The Partisan Defense Committee denounces the outrageous prosecution of student activists Tafadar Sourov and Khalil Vasquez. The two City College of New York (CCNY) students face a year in prison for exercising their right to free speech and assembly while protesting the closure of the Morales/Shakur Center at CCNY. We demand that all of the charges be dropped.

In an effort to silence Sourov and Vasquez, and also send a message to other student protesters, the CUNY administration has pressed charges against the students for “rioting” and “inciting to riot,” at an October 24 protest against the closure of the Morales/Shakur Center. They have also accused Sourov of attempting to assault a campus police officer during the protest. These charges are classically pulled out of a hat to stifle dissidents or cover up police misconduct or both. The fact is that the CUNY administration is blatantly punishing students for voicing dissent on campus and using any means necessary to silence them.

The vendetta against Sourov and Vasquez is part of an ongoing campaign to stifle dissent after weeks of protests across the CUNY campuses. Students and activists have been protesting former CIA director David Petraeus teaching at CUNY, the return of Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) to CUNY campuses and the sinister closing of the Morales/Shakur Center at CCNY. At one such protest against Petraeus on September 17, six activists were brutally attacked by police, arrested and charged with several bogus misdemeanors, such as “riot in the second degree.”

We demand that all of the charges against Sourov and Vasquez and the CUNY 6 be dropped immediately.■



TROTSKY

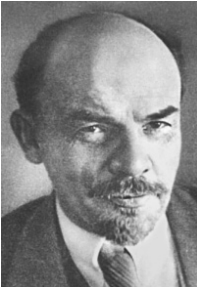
### Religion and Capitalist Charity

*Especially around the holiday season, the capitalists seek to salve their consciences by throwing a few crumbs to the poor and working masses in the name of “remembering the neediest.” Such self-interested charity normally comes with a heavy dose of religious sentiment, which, as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explains in the quote below, helps further capitalist exploitation by diverting the working class from the struggle to improve its material conditions.*

The economic oppression of the workers inevitably calls forth and engenders every kind of political oppression and social humiliation, the coarsening and darkening of the spiritual and moral life of the masses. The workers may secure a greater or lesser degree of political liberty to fight for their economic emancipation, but no amount of liberty will rid them of poverty, unemployment, and oppression until the power of capital is overthrown. Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression which everywhere weighs down heavily upon the masses of the people, overburdened by their perpetual work for others, by want and isolation. Impotence of the exploited classes in their struggle against the exploiters just as inevitably gives rise to the belief in a better life after death as impotence of the savage in his battle with nature gives rise to belief in gods, devils, miracles, and the like. Those who toil and live in want all their lives are taught by religion to be submissive and patient while here on earth, and to take comfort in the hope of a heavenly reward. But those who live by the labour of others are taught by religion to practise charity while on earth, thus offering them a very cheap way of justifying their entire existence as exploiters and selling them at a moderate price tickets to well-being in heaven. Religion is opium for the people. Religion is a sort of spiritual booze, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demand for a life more or less worthy of man.

But a slave who has become conscious of his slavery and has risen to struggle for his emancipation has already half ceased to be a slave. The modern class-conscious worker, reared by large-scale factory industry and enlightened by urban life, contemptuously casts aside religious prejudices, leaves heaven to the priests and bourgeois bigots, and tries to win a better life for himself here on earth. The proletariat of today takes the side of socialism, which enlists science in the battle against the fog of religion, and frees the workers from their belief in life after death by welding them together to fight in the present for a better life on earth.

—V.I. Lenin, “Socialism and Religion” (December 1905)



LENIN

## New Spartacist Pamphlet

The Spartacist League’s new pamphlet is a collection of seven articles reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*. The contents illustrate why Marxists passionately defend the acquisition of scientific knowledge and technological advances against retrograde ideology, e.g., mysticism, superstition, quackery, social reaction. The counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union two decades ago, combined with a low ebb in class struggle, has created a climate that provides a breeding ground for such backwardness.

The articles also situate scientific questions in their historical context. At the time of the Industrial Revolution, as the ascendant bourgeoisie was supplanting the feudal order, there was not only tremendous scientific progress but also leaps in the conception of human freedom, based on the Enlightenment. But capitalism’s progressive epoch ended long ago; the application of “liberty, equality and fraternity” was limited to what would allow the new ruling class to succeed in abolishing the feudal barriers to its making money through exploiting the working class. Today in the epoch of capitalist decay, science is heavily beholden to the bourgeois state and its purse strings.

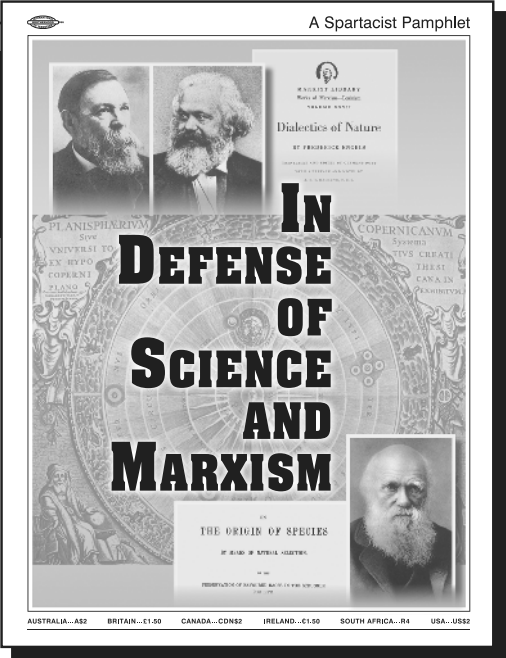
Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky captured the contradiction of technological and scientific development under capitalism:

“Technology and science have their own logic—the logic of the cognition of nature and the mastering of it in the interests of man. But technology and science develop not in a vacuum but in human society, which consists of classes. The ruling class, the possessing class, controls technology and through it controls nature. Technology in itself cannot be called either militaristic or pacifistic. In a society in which the ruling class is militaristic, technology is in the service of militarism.”  
—“Radio, Science, Technology, and Society,” March 1926

The articles in the pamphlet cover a wide range of topics. Since Marxism is the application of scientific observation and analysis to the realm of class society, Darwin’s theory of evolution, which freed the study of biology from the grip of religion by providing a material explanation for the origin of species, is fittingly featured. The lead article, “In Defense of Marxism and Science,” examines some key moments in the history of science and shows how leading figures were also committed to progressive social struggles of their time. “Science and the Battle Against Racism and Obscurantism” honors the evolutionary biologist Stephen Jay Gould, who spent the better part of his life combating pseudo-scientific racist dogmas and Christian creationist nonsense.

An article on Alfred Kinsey explores his studies of human sexual behavior, aimed at challenging the fear and ignorance surrounding sex. “Capitalism and Global Warming” explains that tackling the human-derived aspects of global warming is futile within the boundaries of the anarchic capitalist system. An article on Richard Dawkins and other “new atheist” writers provides a historical materialist understanding of religion as against that offered by these bourgeois rationalists.

As scientific socialists, our defense of science is ultimately linked to the fight for world proletarian revolution. Socialist society will accept with gratitude the heritage of scientific knowledge and build on it in order to achieve the communist goal of eliminating scarcity and want.



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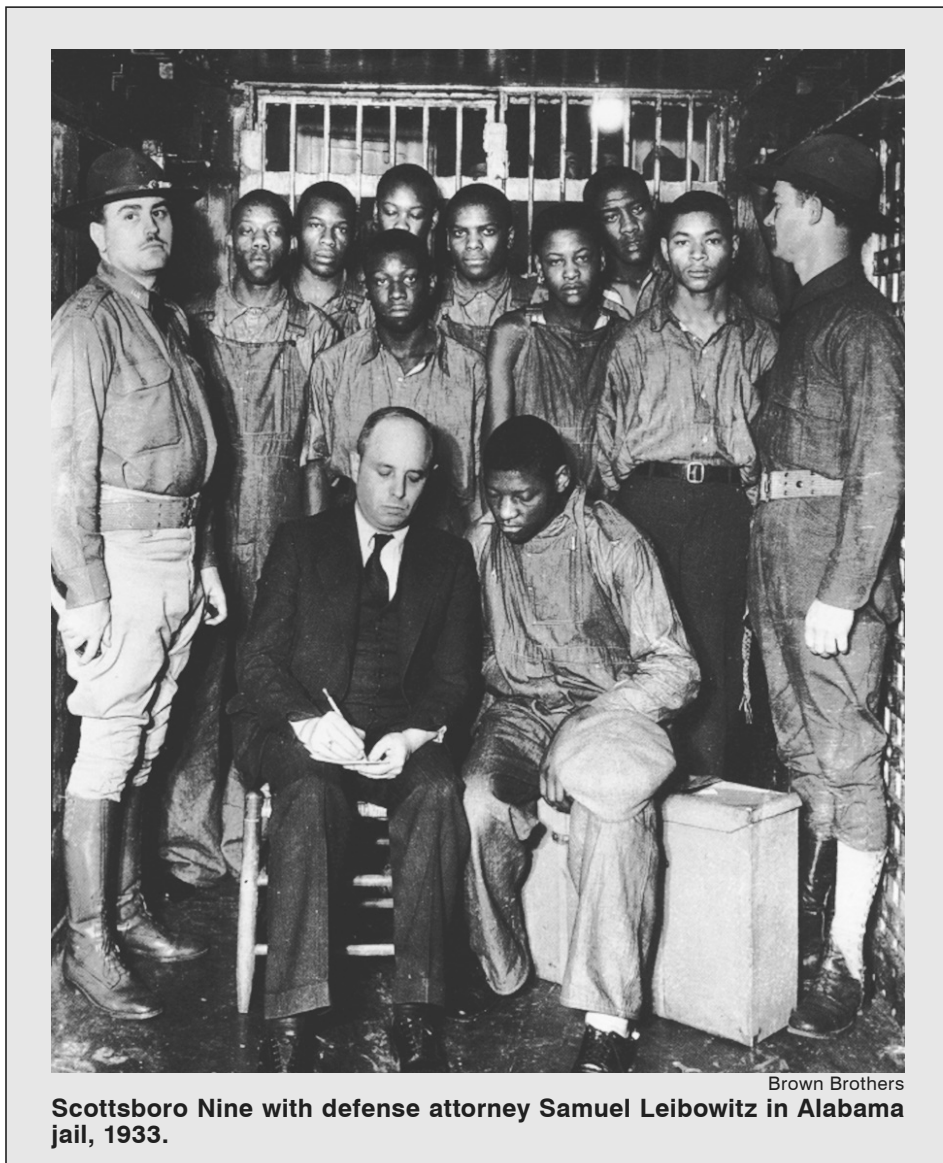


# 1930s Scottsboro Case Communists and the Fight for Black Liberation

In November, the Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles voted unanimously to posthumously pardon Haywood Patterson, Charles Weems and Andy Wright. They were part of the “Scottsboro Boys,” nine unemployed black youth who were framed up in Scottsboro, Alabama, in 1931 for rapes that never happened. The case has long been emblematic of racist injustice in the United States. For more than 80 years it has been as clear as day that the nine were innocent, so the pardons were a cheap way for Alabama to attempt to refurbish its image—just like racist demagogue George Wallace pardoned the last of the nine still living in 1976. While Alabama’s politicians gloat over how they have finally granted “justice” to people who have been dead for decades, there are 193 inmates, disproportionately black, on Alabama’s death row.

The Scottsboro Nine were hauled off a freight train by police in Scottsboro after an altercation between white and black youth who had been “riding the rails” during the Great Depression. One of the nine was 13, two were 14 and the oldest was 21. The police pressured two white women who had been traveling on the train into claiming they had been victims of gang rape. Normally, black men accused of raping white women would have been lynched by a mob, but this time the authorities preferred a legal lynching. Within two weeks, the nine were framed up, tried and convicted by an all-white jury. Eight were sentenced to death, and the youngest to life in prison.

The American Communist Party (CP) and its defense arm, the International Labor Defense (ILD), immediately took up the case. The ILD’s legal efforts exposed the frame-up for the sham it was. In the process, it won two landmark U.S. Supreme Court decisions protecting the right to legal representation and outlawing the exclusion of black jurors simply on the basis of their skin color. Most important to the defense strategy was building mass protests of hundreds of thousands against the frame-up and the entire racist system of capitalist justice. Due to these efforts, demands to free the Scottsboro Boys rang out around the world. Liberals like the middle-class NAACP initially wanted nothing to do with defending impoverished black youth accused of rape—a longstand-



ing pretext for lynching. But due to pressure from the campaign, the NAACP was forced to denounce the frame-up, even as it tried to edge the CP out.

In addition to shining a spotlight on the atrocities of the Jim Crow South, the Communist campaign also highlighted the continuity between the lynch mob and the electric chair. It succeeded in preventing Alabama from executing the Scottsboro Nine, but it did not stop the state from trying. The ILD won retrials for the black youth only to see them convicted again, setting off a chain reaction of one appeal after another in kangaroo courts.

One of the women who had accused the nine, Ruby Bates, recanted and testified for the defense in 1933. Driven out of the South for exposing the frame-up, she joined the defense campaign and toured with the ILD. In July 1937, prosecutors dropped rape charges against five of the defendants. The remaining four were convicted yet again and sentenced to death or decades in prison hell. Between 1943 and 1950, three of them were paroled and, in 1948, Patterson escaped from prison to Michigan (where the governor refused to extradite him to Alabama).

The Scottsboro campaign was just one prominent example of how Communists were in the forefront of fighting against racial oppression and lynch law terror in the 1930s. Amid the devastation of the Depression, they organized the black and white unemployed, sharecroppers and industrial workers. Their efforts put the struggle for black rights on the national agenda in a significant way for the first time since the early Populist movement in the 1890s. Writing at the time of the civil rights movement, James P. Cannon,

an early Communist leader and founder of the ILD, underscored the role of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky’s Communist International (Comintern) in convincing the American CP to appreciate the centrality of the struggle against black oppression:

“Everything new on the Negro question came from Moscow—after the Russian Revolution began to thunder its demand throughout the world for freedom and equality for all national minorities, all subject peoples and all races—for all the despised and rejected of the earth.”

—“The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement,”  
*The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

In 1928, Cannon and his cothinkers were expelled from the CP and the ILD for supporting Trotsky’s fight against the degeneration of the Comintern that accompanied the rise of a parasitic bureaucracy headed by Stalin in the Soviet Union. During the 1928-34 Third Period, Communists in the U.S. left the AFL craft unions to form small “red unions,” effectively sealing themselves off from the mass of the organized working class. The Stalinization of the Communist International also led to disorientation for the American CP on the black question, as it did on all other issues.

In line with the class-collaborationist strategy of the “People’s Front” adopted by the Comintern after Hitler came to power in Germany, the CP began to tail “progressive” capitalist politicians during the mid 1930s. The CP became a subordinate part of Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal coalition, which comprised pro-segregation Southern Democrats, bureaucrats in the newly formed industrial unions and liberal Northern politicians. In so doing, the CP betrayed the revolutionary aspirations

of its members, including thousands of black workers.

As we wrote in “The CP and Black Struggles in the Depression” (*Young Spartacus* No. 25, September 1974):

“While the CP of this period was deformed by dishonesty, political zig-zags and egregious departures from Marxism, nonetheless in the area of black work the 1930’s represents the CP’s heroic period. Despite the erroneous ‘Black Belt’ theory and the call for ‘Negro self-determination’ in this territory (a call which was never raised agitationally but remained part of the CP’s written propaganda), the CP’s work in practice combined a proletarian orientation with an awareness of the strategic need to fight racial oppression throughout all layers of American society, especially to address the problems of poor and unemployed blacks.”

We reprint below an article by Cannon, originally published in the 9 April 1932 issue of the *Militant*. At that time, Trotskyists in the United States were organized as the Communist League of America (Opposition). They saw themselves as an external faction of the CP and fought to rescind their expulsions. The *Militant* article was directed toward the ranks of the CP, which contained many advanced black and white workers.

## \* \* \* “Scottsboro”

By James P. Cannon  
*Militant*, 9 April 1932

The Scottsboro case reveals American capitalism in one of its most hideous aspects, and offers to the Communists an exceptional opportunity to deal the whole system a mighty, world-resounding blow. The deliberately planned assassination of the unfortunate Negro children is notice to the entire world that imperialist America, this pretended pacifist and friend of justice, is in fact a monster. The endeavor to thwart its bloody designs in the present case calls out the deepest and best human instincts. The words solidarity and justice acquire fresh values, they become new again in the struggle for the liberation of the helpless young Negro boys who await their fate in the Alabama jail. It is hard to think of a cause that could appeal more strongly to the hearts of the workers and all the oppressed than that of these obscure and friendless symbols of a doubly persecuted race and class.

From the revolutionary standpoint, the struggle, of course, goes far beyond the immediate objectives of the court appeals. To save the lives of the intended victims and restore their liberty is indeed our aim; but the only hope of accomplishing this is to set a really immense movement into motion. And such an achievement could have great implications for the strengthening of the Communist influence over the workers and the Negro masses. All of this is bound up together with the concrete fight for the freedom of the prisoners. To separate the one from the other, as the liberal and Socialist snivellers try to

*continued on page 8*

**NOTICE**  
**Workers Vanguard skips**  
**an issue in December.**  
**Our next issue will**  
**be dated January 10.**

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1

**Black History  
and the Class Struggle**  
 No. 23

**South Africa: Marikana Massacre**  
**The True Face  
of  
Neo-Apartheid  
Capitalism**

**Break with the Bourgeois Tripartite Alliance!**  
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# No to Anti-Immigrant, Anti-Woman “Charter of Quebec Values”!



Agence QMI photos

Rival protests in Montreal. Left: Demonstrators denounce government's bigoted, anti-Muslim Charter on September 14. Right: Pro-Charter march on September 22.

The following article originally appeared in Spartacist Canada No. 179 (Winter 2013/2014), newspaper of our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyiste.

## SPARTACIST CANADA

The Charter of Quebec Values introduced by Pauline Marois' Parti Québécois government has fuelled a wave of anti-Muslim bigotry. Cynically touted as a defense of secularism and equality between men and women, it would ban the wearing of “conspicuous” religious symbols by anyone who works in public or publicly-funded institutions—from hospitals to daycare centres, nursing homes, schools and government offices. Among those in the firing line are Jews who wear kippas and turbaned Sikhs. But the prime targets are Muslim women workers who wear the headscarf (*hijab*).

The draft law (Bill 60), formally introduced by the bourgeois-nationalist PQ on November 7, is even more draconian than the proposals announced two months earlier. Workers in private companies that do business with the government or receive a government subsidy would also be banned from wearing religious symbols, while an opt-out clause for municipalities and universities has been cut back severely. The PQ also plans to bar the tiny number of Muslim women in Quebec who wear the full-face veil (*niqab*) from receiving government services.

Emboldened by the PQ's moves, the

bigots have crawled out from under their rocks. “I see this tension and these hateful glances directed towards us,” said Badia Senouci, an Algerian-born immigrant who has lived in Quebec for 14 years. While shopping at a Quebec City mall, Senouci was accosted by another woman who, citing the Charter, demanded she remove her headscarf and change her religion. When her 18-year-old son intervened the woman spat in his face. In Saguenay, racists splattered what they claimed was pig's blood on a mosque. A middle-aged man on a Montreal bus was captured on video ranting at a *hijab*-wearing woman to remove her headscarf. Defiantly she shot back, “Marois is giving you the courage.”

Bill 60 is the poisoned fruit of more than a decade of anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant witchhunting whipped up by capitalists internationally as part of their endless “war on terror.” It draws direct inspiration from anti-Muslim laws now on the books in France and other European countries. In Quebec as elsewhere, the rulers seek to scapegoat immigrants and other minorities for the immiseration that is being visited on working people and the poor. From Paris to Athens and beyond, openly racist and even fascist forces are gaining influence as the attacks on jobs, living standards and social programs intensify.

Crass electoral calculations are also at play in Quebec. The PQ, which currently runs a minority government, wants to woo conservative francophone voters away from the rightist Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ), especially in the regions outside Montreal which have few immigrants. The Catholic church has only a shadow of its former influence in Quebec, but reactionary Catholic-inspired nationalism (“our heritage”) still has traction in such areas. In 2007 the PQ lost official opposition status to the upstart right-wing nationalist Action Démocratique du Québec (now part of the CAQ) amid an earlier wave of anti-immigrant hysteria. Meanwhile, the péquistes are covering their other flank by mobilizing feminists and secular intellectuals to give the Charter a “progressive” veneer.

The Charter of Values is aimed not against the oppression of women at the hands of religion, but against *private religious beliefs*—and against the believers themselves. Marxists are atheists and fighters for women's liberation. We understand that the veil, whether worn voluntarily or under duress, is a symbol and instrument of women's oppression. At the same time, we oppose all efforts by the capitalist state to ban or restrict this and other personal religious sym-

bols. We reject the lie that such racist and discriminatory bans have anything to do with “protecting” women or promoting the integration of immigrants. On the contrary, they can only serve to deepen the social isolation and oppression of Muslim women by driving them from the workplace and from access to public services. We say: Down with racist exclusions! No to the PQ's Bill 60!

### Ottawa's Grotesque Hypocrisy

The announcement of the Charter of Values was predictably met with anti-Quebec demagoguery in English Canada. From the right-wing *National Post* to the liberal *Toronto Star*, editorial pages dripped with indignation at the scourge of racism...in Quebec. Tory cabinet minister Jason Kenney railed that the PQ is playing the “politics of division by attacking minority communities.” Canada, he claimed, “is a model to the world because of our pluralism, because of our tradition of unity in diversity.”

This is the same Canadian government that has overseen the deportations of immigrants and refugees in unprecedented numbers. It is the same government that six years ago tried to bar women

wearing the *niqab* from voting in federal elections, and two years ago banned them from taking the citizenship oath. Shameless hypocrisy has always been a hallmark of the Canadian ruling class, whose state was built on the destruction of aboriginal societies and the forcible suppression of the national rights of the francophone Québécois.

The English Canadian rulers portray Quebec nationalism as uniquely xenophobic and intolerant—a truly brazen charge considering Ottawa's own record of witchhunting Muslims under the “war on terror.” From Canada's full participation in the bloody occupation of Afghanistan to helping to deliver Maher Arar to his Syrian torturers at the behest of Washington, their ongoing campaign of frame-ups, detentions and “no-fly” lists is a sustained assault on the rights of everyone.

### Nationalism, Secularism and the Quiet Revolution

For their part, the PQ nationalists are cynically manipulating the broad support for secularism and women's rights in Quebec in the service of racist reaction. Introducing Bill 60 in the National Assembly, PQ cabinet minister Bernard Drainville

## 28th Annual PDC Holiday Appeal

# Free the Class-War Prisoners! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free Lynne Stewart!

### CHICAGO

Sunday, December 15  
3 to 7 p.m.

U.E. Hall  
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)  
Information: (312) 563-0442

### NEW YORK CITY

Sunday, December 15  
4 to 8 p.m.

The Commons Brooklyn  
388 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn  
(B, Q, 2, 3, 4 or 5 Train to Atlantic Ave.-Barclays. A, C or G Train to Hoyt-Schermerhorn)  
Information: (212) 406-4252

### TORONTO

Saturday, December 14  
7 to 10 p.m.

Betty's  
240 King St. East, upstairs  
(East of Sherbourne St.)  
Information: (416) 593-4138

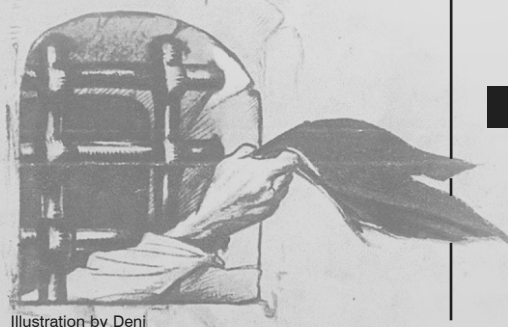


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## Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Number 37 Summer 2012

### Drive to Execute Mumia Halted

Mumia Abu-Jamal  
Is Innocent—  
Free Him Now!

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China...

(continued from page 1)

radioing ahead or registering their radio frequencies. This provocation served to test China’s response and demonstrate U.S. capacity for airborne attacks from Guam. According to Chinese defense ministry reports, ten Japanese early warning, reconnaissance and fighter planes as well as South Korean planes also made unannounced overflights.

While refusing to recognize the ADIZ, the U.S. has advised commercial airlines to notify Chinese authorities of flight plans over the East China Sea “for safety reasons.” This posture should not blind anyone to the danger posed by Washington’s determination to “roll back Communism.” On 1 September 1983, the U.S. sent more than 200 passengers on Korean Airlines Flight 007 to their deaths when it directed the aircraft to pass over sensitive Soviet military installations in order to trigger and then monitor the USSR’s air defenses. After the pilots of the aircraft, which appeared to the Soviets to be a warplane, refused requests to identify themselves or to land, it was shot down.

U.S. imperialism has dominated the Pacific since its defeat of Japan in World War II, a conquest sealed with the incineration of 200,000 Japanese civilians in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. That atrocity was intended to send a message to the Soviet Union about who ran the world. The destruction of the USSR by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92—a historic defeat prepared by decades of imperialist economic and military pressure as well as internal Stalinist misrule—removed what had been the U.S.’s supreme military target and the most substantial counterweight to its aim of world domination.

China, the most powerful country remaining where capitalist rule was overthrown, then became the central target of the imperialists’ counterrevolutionary machinations. In March 1996, the Clinton White House positioned two aircraft carrier groups in the Taiwan Strait that separates mainland China from capitalist Taiwan. In April 2001, under George W. Bush, a U.S. spy plane flying just off China’s Hainan Island collided with a Chinese fighter jet. Subsequently, the “war on terror” served to distract Washington from its main focus on China.

Since 2010, the U.S. has been moving battleships and aircraft carriers to the Far East, signing military pacts and carrying out joint exercises in the name of the “pivot toward Asia,” a top priority of the Obama administration. Among other things, the pivot poses a challenge to China’s access to the Pacific Ocean. In the service of this shift, the White House has eased some of the punishing economic sanctions against Iran in return for an agreement by that country’s new regime to freeze its nuclear

U.S. B-52 bomber taking off from Guam Air Force base, July 2. Japanese Coast Guard and Chinese marine surveillance vessels near one of the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, July 1.



Reuters

development program. At the same time, Washington has found no small amount of difficulty in extricating itself from its quagmires in the Muslim world, from Afghanistan to the Near East.

Although the rulers of U.S. and Japanese imperialism have their own distinct and competing interests, they are aligned behind the goal of destroying the workers state that emerged out of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Despite its deformation by the rule of a parasitic bureaucracy, that state provides an obstacle to imperialist domination, shielding the country from the full impact of the capitalist world market and allowing for explosive though uneven industrial development. The Chinese workers state must be defended against the imperialists, who aim to return the country to its prerevolutionary status as the supine victim of their depredations, and against the domestic counterrevolutionary forces they promote and support.

For acceding to the demand that flight plans covering the East China Sea be communicated to China, the U.S. incurred criticism from elements of the more bellicose Japanese bourgeoisie as well as its South Korean counterpart. Both Tokyo and Seoul have pressured their domestic airlines to stop informing China of such flight plans. Actually, the U.S. position reflects the strategy of combining military pressure with further economic penetration of the Chinese mainland, as displayed during Vice President Joe Biden’s recent meeting with Chinese president Xi Jinping.

In order to gain access to foreign capital, resources and markets, the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy has acted as labor brokers for capitalists around the world,

offering up Chinese workers for exploitation in designated sectors of the economy. The “socialist market economy” has also fostered a nascent capitalist class and other counterrevolutionary forces within the country, with yawning social inequality as well as a sharp rise in workers struggles accompanying economic growth.

Despite these inroads, China today is not capitalist. It continues to be ruled by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) apparatus that emerged from the peasant-based 1949 Revolution, which smashed bourgeois rule. Heavy industry, the land and the core of the financial system continue to be held as collectivized state property. Capitalist counterrevolution would be an enormous defeat not only for the Chinese workers and peasants but for working people around the world, who would be confronted by a strengthened and emboldened imperialist class enemy.

Robber Barons’ Alliance

The U.S.-Japanese military alliance, hatched after World War II as a key part of the anti-Soviet Cold War, remains crucial to American interests in Asia. Reaffirming the alliance, an October 3 joint security statement recognized the U.S.’s “commitment to the security of Japan through the full range of U.S. military capabilities, including nuclear and conventional” and projected “expanding security and defense cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond.” A major component of this alliance continues to be the U.S. military presence in Okinawa.

Over the past two decades, there has been a loosening of some of the restraints on the overseas deployment of Japanese military forces that are codified in Article Nine of the country’s Constitution. As our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan noted: “With memories of the slaughter of tens of millions by Japan’s imperial army during the Pacific War still very much alive, it is only through its alliance with Washington that Japanese imperialism has been able to deploy its already highly advanced military overseas” (“Down With Japanese Provocations Against China, North Korea!” WV No. 842, 18 February 2005).

Under the hawkish government of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, the Japanese imperialists are accelerating their rearmament drive, recently announcing plans to deploy more F-15s, radar planes and a new helicopter carrier and to build a new army base on an island in the East China Sea by 2016. With China already deploying drones, Japan is also considering buying American drones to patrol the area. As Tania Branigan reported in the London Guardian (27 November), China’s establishment of an ADIZ was “a response to Japan’s extension of its own zone this spring and its recent warning that it was willing to shoot down unmanned drones it regarded as a threat to its airspace.”

Japan’s ADIZ was established by the U.S. when it occupied the country after

WWII. Similarly, South Korea’s ADIZ was declared by the U.S. in 1951, during the Korean War against the North Korean Communist regime and Mao’s China. Both these zones overlap with the one China recently declared, with Japan’s running less than 150 kilometers (95 miles) from the Chinese coast in some places. And now South Korea has expanded its ADIZ further over the East China Sea, also jutting into the zone declared by Japan, Korea’s former colonial overlord.

China’s ADIZ includes airspace over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, a chain of rocky, uninhabited outcrops claimed by both Japan and China, and an underwater reef—called Ieodo in Korean and Suyan Rock in Chinese—on which South Korea has built a research station and a heliport. While the U.S. claims to have no position on Senkaku/Diaoyu sovereignty, American spokesmen have made clear that the pact with Japan covers any military clashes over the territory.

In general, the question of the ownership of these uninhabited rocks and islets does not in itself pose defense of the Chinese deformed workers state. However, it is crucial for the international proletariat—particularly in Japan and the U.S.—to oppose imperialist provocations over this territory and, in the case of military attack on China, to stand for defense of the workers state. As Trotskyists, our defense of China in the military sense is not conditional on whatever policies the CCP bureaucracy may pursue.

Japan’s claim of ownership of the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands dates back to its military victory over China in 1895, when as a rising imperialist power it seized Taiwan (Formosa) and extracted other concessions from the moribund Manchu dynasty. In the dispute over the islands, the CCP has been able to tap the deep popular reservoir of anti-Japanese feeling in China, which is fed mainly by memories of the horrors of Japanese imperialist occupation beginning in the 1930s. It took the 1949 social revolution to break the chains of Western and Japanese imperialism.

However, the CCP regime from Mao Zedong’s time to today has been defined by the narrow nationalism inherent in the Stalinist dogma of “building socialism in one country”—a grotesque perversion of the communist program of world proletarian revolution. In fomenting nationalist opposition to Japan, the CCP drives a wedge between the Chinese workers and peasants and their potential allies in the Japanese, South Korean and other working classes of the region. The bureaucracy’s nationalism also obliterates the class divide between the People’s Republic of China and capitalist Taiwan, whose bourgeois rulers have been courted by Beijing in the effort to catapult China to the status of a world power.

Another criminal expression of Stalinist nationalism is the wrangling between the Chinese and Vietnamese workers states over fishing and mineral exploration rights in the South China Sea. Outright military clashes between the two erupted in 1988 and 2011, in addition to smaller police actions as when the Chinese Navy shot and killed nine Vietnamese fishermen in the Gulf of Tonkin in 2005. Hostilities between the Chinese and Vietnamese regimes provide an opening for imperialist maneuvers and pose a direct danger to both workers states, particularly with the U.S. seizing on the rivalry to secure Vietnam as an ally against China (see “Stirring Up the South China Sea—U.S. Imperialism Tightens Military Vise on China,” WV No. 1005, 6 July 2012).

Typhoon Haiyan and Imperialist Machinations

In another move aimed clearly at squeezing China, the U.S. and Japan seized on Typhoon Haiyan’s devastation of the Philippines to enhance their military presence in contested areas of the South China Sea. The U.S. deployed an aircraft carrier group, marines and surveillance planes, while Japan sent up to 1,000 troops and three warships.

The Philippines, a dependent country long under the thumb of the U.S., is a key

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.

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# Food Stamps...

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26 November). When the housing market crashed, sparking the recession, mortgage foreclosures swept the nation, causing ten million largely working-class families to lose their homes. Today, an additional 2.3 million are at risk. One measure of the spread of homelessness over the last five years is the 72 percent nationwide increase in the public school enrollment of children without a residence. Fully one in five children in the U.S. lives in poverty.

Two Democratic Party city councilmen in Los Angeles are plumbing the depths of official abuse by proposing a ban on publicly feeding the homeless, a measure already enacted or under consideration in over 30 cities, including Philadelphia, Seattle and Orlando. Earlier this year, L.A. had sought legal sanction for its police force to seize and destroy the scant personal belongings of those on skid row. In many black-majority cities like Baltimore and Detroit, where poverty and homelessness abound, authorities are demolishing neighborhoods or letting them burn rather than invest in maintaining and restoring housing stock.

The devastation of bankrupt Detroit is a testament to the brutal workings of capitalism, as the auto giants first recruited labor, including many black workers, to toil on the assembly line only to then toss them on the scrap heap when the plants were no longer as profitable. Widely hailed for having “saved” the Big Three by showering tens of billions on the auto bosses (not to mention trillions on the banks), the Wall Street Democrat Obama again has turned his back on the desperate black masses amid the city’s bankruptcy proceedings. Following the recent court ruling that gave the green light to wiping out city workers’ pensions, other government bodies are lining up to do the same. Two days after the ruling, Illinois Democratic governor Pat Quinn signed a bill that stripped away retirement benefits from hundreds of thousands of teachers, nurses and other workers. While the ax-wielders scream about “underfunded” and “mismanaged” pension benefits, Wall Street has for years been looting retirement funds. The message from the bosses is clear enough: work hard, starve and die.

The inability of the richest imperialist power on the planet to provide the necessities of life to the producers of its incredible wealth is a searing indictment of the system of production for profit. This country has the resources to provide well-paying jobs, healthy diets and quality medical care, housing and education for everyone who lives here. But to provide these necessities requires that the rule of the rapacious capitalist class be overthrown by a proletarian socialist revolution.

## “Let Them Eat Cake”

The modern food stamp program has its roots in Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal. Enacted following U.S. capitalism’s most serious crash in 1929, the New Deal served to stave off the growing radicalization and militant labor struggles of the 1930s. The precursor to SNAP was intro-

duced in the 1933 Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), the first farm bill. Although farming has undergone a great transformation in the U.S. from the time of the Great Depression with the virtual disappearance of family farms, the main purpose of the farm bill has remained unchanged: maintaining high prices for agricultural products.

Under the AAA, the government paid farmers to not grow food on a percentage of their land and purchased “excess” crops. The government to this day heavily subsidizes grains, oilseeds, cotton, sugar and dairy products. The money for these subsidies has always far outstripped the sums dedicated to providing food for the poor.

In the AAA’s first year, ten million acres of cotton were destroyed, six million pigs were killed and vast amounts of milk were poured down the sewers in an attempt to stabilize the market. That the bourgeoisie would pursue these measures at the height of a worldwide depression speaks volumes to the irrationality of capitalist production. At a time when many American children were suffering from diseases caused by malnutrition, food stamps and soon thereafter the school lunch program represented a more politically expedient means of disposing of “excess” supply.

The impact of the AAA was especially



**New York City, November 2013: A homeless man sleeps under a 5th Avenue store’s holiday display.**

pernicious in the rural South, where sharecropping and tenancy formed the labor backbone of agriculture. In lieu of wages, the sharecropper worked for a portion of the cash crop as well as a food allowance and other necessities. The tenant farmer paid a share of the crop as rent on the land worked. Government subsidies induced white landlords not to farm, which left black tenants and sharecroppers to starve. Countless poor black and white families

were driven off the land and into extreme misery as a result of the New Deal of the Democrats.

In later decades, farm bills would help catapult U.S. agribusiness into becoming the dominant global food supplier. Massive government assistance to farm interests and its enormous grain reserves were deployed to manipulate the world grain market and put the competition out of business. Food production in neocolonial countries was upended, as a wide swath of the world became almost wholly dependent on U.S. agricultural imports. The persistence of starvation as a condition of a large portion of humanity makes clear that under capitalism food is distributed not according to need but according to the ability to pay.

Meanwhile, farm subsidies have padded the accounts of a number of billionaires, among them Charles Schwab and David Rockefeller Sr. Ken Cook, head of the watchdog Environmental Working Group, noted in *A Place at the Table* (2013): “Taxpayers shelled out more than a quarter of a trillion dollars for various federal farm subsidies between 1995 and 2010. But to characterize this staggering sum as a big government bailout or welfare would be manifestly unfair—to bailouts and welfare.” He adds: “To be clear, the US Department of Agriculture has cracked down on one nagging problem with absentee owners in recent years: the USDA assures Congress that almost none of the subsidies paid to dead farmers are improper.”

In contrast, fruits and vegetables for the living are often hard to come by. Not a single supermarket dots the eight-square-mile landscape of the black neighborhood of West Oakland, California, home to over 30,000 people. Such considerations do not register for moralizing bourgeois spokesmen who blame malnutrition and obesity among the poor on “lifestyle choices.” To much fanfare, in 2010 the Obama administration pushed through the “Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act,” supposedly to improve the quality of food in school lunches. Not only was this measure stripped of any meaningful funding; the money spent on it was taken directly out of SNAP.

The original food stamp program and its revival in 1964 by President Lyndon B. Johnson as part of his “Great Society” offerings were sops in response to social upheaval. Today, with the dearth

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theater in the imperialist military encirclement of China, as underscored by joint U.S.-Philippine military exercises conducted earlier this year near the disputed Scarborough Shoal. Following China’s deployment of its one aircraft carrier to the area on November 26, the Philippines appealed to the United Nations to press its claim to these lumps of rock. Beijing’s declaration that it will not abide by a UN resolution on the matter is notable. The same Stalinist regime has criminally contributed its own armed forces for several “peacekeeping” operations conducted by the UN on the imperialists’ behalf far from its own shores.

In seeking to tighten the military vise on China, Washington has resumed aid to special forces in Indonesia, restored diplomatic relations with Myanmar (Burma) and stationed marines in Darwin, Australia. The capitalist regime in South Korea is building a new naval base for 20 warships, ostensibly to protect shipping lanes in the East China Sea for its exports. Behind South Korea’s rulers stands a U.S. military presence that dates back to the 1950-53 Korean War. To maintain the 28,500 U.S. troops stationed there today, the American military has launched an \$11 billion project to modernize its aging bases, described by U.S. officials as the biggest military construction effort since the digging of the Panama Canal.

Taiwan, which sent C-130 military transports into the Philippines after the typhoon, has recently received dozens of patrol aircraft and Apache helicopters from the U.S. Ruled by the Chinese bourgeoisie who fled the 1949 Revolution, Taiwan has been viewed by Washington as an “unsinkable aircraft carrier” for use against “Red

China” ever since 1950, when the U.S. Seventh Fleet occupied the waters between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland. Counterposed to the CCP’s program of uniting with Taiwan on the basis of “one country, two systems”—i.e., maintaining Taiwan’s capitalist property relations—Trotskyists call for revolutionary reunification through proletarian political revolution on the mainland to oust the CCP bureaucracy and social revolution on the island.

## China and the Capitalist World Economy

For Marxists, the increased development of Chinese military capacity, including nuclear capacity, is a welcome development. This has been achieved in part while U.S. forces were bogged down in the bloody occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan. Although the September 11 terror attacks diverted the U.S.’s attention to Afghanistan and Iraq, the concocted “war on terror” also served to strengthen the imperialists’ military arc around China, with military bases placed in Central Asia and military agreements struck with neighboring countries. China’s Stalinist leaders undercut defense of the workers state by endorsing the “anti-terror” campaign.

As one of the largest holders of U.S. government debt, Beijing has also helped to finance the arms buildup directed against China. While this financial relationship induces a certain delicacy in Washington’s posture toward the Chinese leadership, the flare-ups over the East and South China Seas show that it by no means secures the workers state from imperialist maneuvering and military aggression. The Beijing Stalinists’ perspective of offsetting

imperialist hostility through diplomatic appeasement and greater trade ties is premised on the illusion that China can steadily develop economically and militarily within the framework of a world dominated by imperialism. In that effort, Xi Jinping discussed with Biden continuing economic sanctions and military pressure to halt North Korea’s nuclear weapons program. The result of such betrayal would be both the further weakening of that deformed workers state and the tightening of the imperialist squeeze on China.

To counteract Beijing’s growing economic and diplomatic clout, the U.S. has been pursuing trade deals in the region to exclude China and secure markets for its own industries. The U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement, which went into effect in March 2012, is one of more than 20 such pacts in existence. The proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership, which the U.S. is currently negotiating with numerous countries on the Pacific Rim, including Japan and Australia, excludes China. In the course of the current anti-China furor, South Korea has declared its intention to sign up.

With the global market dominated by the advanced capitalist powers, there is no way for China or the other deformed workers states to develop socialism or to secure lasting peace. Achieving socialism is contingent on material abundance. This goal requires the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat on an international scale, crucially within advanced capitalist countries such as the U.S. and Japan. Such a perspective guided the Bolsheviks, who led the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

In *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), his

classic analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin, Trotsky noted both the advantages of a collectivized economy in mobilizing industry for military defense and the limitations that sprang from the isolation of the workers state. He wrote:

“Who shall prevail—not only as a military, but still more as an economic question—confronts the Soviet Union on a world scale. Military intervention is a danger. The intervention of cheap commodities in the baggage trains of capitalist armies would be incomparably more dangerous.”

Ultimately, either the combative Chinese proletariat will overthrow the bureaucracy and establish a regime based on revolutionary internationalism and workers democracy, or the bureaucracy will open the way for the destruction of the workers state, as it did in the former Soviet Union. Counterrevolution in the USSR brought nothing but disaster for working people: life expectancy plummeted as millions were thrown into dire poverty and previously guaranteed jobs and services disappeared. Meanwhile, Russia became the land of a few mega-rich oligarchs who plundered the country’s formerly collectivized economy.

Key to defending and extending the gains of the Chinese Revolution is the fight against the imperialist rulers in their own homelands. Together with our comrades in Japan, the Spartacist League/U.S. stands for smashing the counterrevolutionary alliance between Japanese and U.S. imperialism through workers revolution on both sides of the Pacific. Victory for the working people in these struggles requires the forging of Leninist-Trotskyist parties as sections of a revolutionary international. ■

Scottsboro...

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do, would only make the sacrifice of the prisoners doubly certain.

The problem consists primarily in the mobilization of the white workers for the fight. In our opinion it is incorrect to view the Scottsboro case as a “Negro issue”; it is wrong to direct the main agitation toward the Negro people and concrete the organization work around them, including their churches and lodges. Such a tactic will not be able to arouse a movement of the necessary breadth and power. And, moreover, it will fail even to make the desired impression on the Negro people.

There is no doubt that the Negro masses burn with indignation at the Scottsboro outrage and suffer their own thousand-fold wrongs again in sympathy with the prisoners. But along with that they cannot help being conscious of their position as a hopeless racial minority. What they need to inspire them for struggle is the prospect, or at least the hope, of victory. Direct agitation alone will never suffice for this. The sight of a significant movement of white workers fighting on their side is the agitator that will really move the Negroes and make them accessible to the Communist organizers of that movement.

The central problem of the Scottsboro defense movement is the organization of the white workers for the fight. Once a good start is made along this line, the enlistment of huge Negro contingents in

Mass mobilizations initiated by the ILD were key in saving the Scottsboro Nine from legal lynching.

Labor Defender



the common struggle will be a comparatively simple matter. In this question, as in every important undertaking in the class struggle, the trade union movement exhibits its decisive importance. The trade unions ought to be alive at this moment with Communist agitation on the Scottsboro case. Here is an unexampled opportunity to explain to the organized workers the necessity of solidarity with their black brothers, and to dramatize the argument with the monstrous story of Scottsboro.

Assuming a Communist Party that knows how to work in the trade unions, a big response can be expected from this

agitation. The sympathies of the organized workers can be quickly crystallized into a network of conferences. The movement of the unions in this direction will give a tremendous impetus to the propaganda among the Negroes; they will join in the movement with enthusiasm and hope. The concrete demonstrations of white and Negro solidarity, ominously foreshadowing their coming union in the revolution, will impress the judicial hirelings more than a thousand lawyers’ briefs; will make them pause and weigh the possible consequences of their murders. The Communists, as the organizers and leaders of

**CONDEMNED TO DIE!**

**Workers** ON JUNE 22nd A HEARING WILL BE HELD ON THE APPEAL OF HAYWOOD PATTERSON—ONE OF THE INNOCENT SCOTTSBORO BOYS

**Fight For the Freedom of the Scottsboro Boys!**

**DEMONSTRATE**

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21st, 7 P. M.  
AT TAYLOR and SIBLEY STREETS

For two years the workers have kept the SCOTTSBORO boys out of the electric chair of the Alabama lynchers. These two years have been long years of waiting for the young Negro boys. Held in the shadow of the electric chair and constantly abused by their guards, these nine innocent boys must be freed now. Under the pressure of the working-class the Supreme Court granted a new trial. For Heywood Patterson this must be CONDEMNED TO DIE on June 26th. The workers must reaffirm their determination to save him!

The International Labor Defense, the defender of the boys, will be in court on June 22nd. On that day Judge Horton, the enemy of the Negro masses, will decide whether Patterson will receive a new trial. He will grant no new trial unless the workers demonstrate on the streets and send resolutions, for the release of the boys. The whole South, millions of oppressed Negro masses and whites are watching this Scottsboro case. They realize that the freedom of Patterson and the others means the beginning of a way out for them. In Chicago and St. Louis and all over in the North, the Negro workers are organizing together with the white workers. It will give more courage to the workers in their fight for the right to live, to fight against discrimination and lynching, police terror and jailings, when the workers set the Scottsboro boys free. Organize into the International Labor Defense. DEMONSTRATE JUNE 21st.

**FREE THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS!**

**A New Trial for Haywood Patterson**

PASS THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL!!!  
FREE MOONEY AND BILLINGS AND ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS!  
International Labor Defense  
1703 W. Madison St., Room 6

Printing: Unsettled.

the unprecedented demonstration, as the loyal and capable champions of the most oppressed and persecuted, will gain an enormous prestige.

In such a perspective there is nothing fantastic. It assumes merely an active Communist Party which understands the essence of the Negro question, which applies the tactic of the united front, and has not isolated itself from the trade union movement. Even in the present situation the deficiencies can be made up by a timely correction of policy. The best way to serve the Scottsboro case is to press for this. ■

Food Stamps...

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of class struggle, the capitalists are content to just cast aside those who cannot be put to work. The current House farm bill includes a 20-hour weekly work requirement for receipt of food stamps. Republican majority leader Eric Cantor drew a straight line between this proposal and the welfare “reform” of the 1990s—the attacks under Democratic president Clinton that “ended welfare as we know it” and introduced workfare. That scheme forced people to take jobs, often substituting for unionized workers, to get their welfare checks. What is needed is a fight to organize workfare recipients into the unions as part of broader struggle in the interests of the working and poor masses.

A major force among today’s Republicans is the neo-Confederates of the Tea Party. These racist yahoos are part of a long tradition of bourgeois demagogues railing to ax social programs portrayed as a redistribution of income from hard-working folks to “undeserving” blacks and immigrants. More than a few Tea Party supporters have expressed a willingness to forego such benefits themselves to spite the black masses. The black population, which constitutes an oppressed race-color caste overwhelmingly segregated at the bottom of this society, would be hard hit by the shredding of what remains of the social safety net.

Expropriate the Expropriators!

The prolonged wage squeeze has sparked some fightback from working



Reuters

Detroit: October 28 protest against the gutting of city workers’ pensions and health care outside bankruptcy proceedings.

people. On Black Friday, protesters gathered at 1,500 Wal-Mart stores to demand at least \$25,000 annually for full-time employees. Some 110 people were arrested nationwide. The week after the OUR Wal-Mart protests, workers at fast-food outlets across the country held brief walkouts to rally for higher wages. Most minimum-wage workers are employed in retail or food service. As one measure of how paltry wages have become, a Congressional report in May estimated that a single 300-employee Wal-Mart Supercenter costs anywhere from \$904,542 to nearly

\$1.75 million per year in supplemental government assistance for the workforce.

A major backer of the “Fight for 15” campaign, which seeks a doubling of the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour, is the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). Although Fight for 15 has attracted combative workers, for the SEIU tops it is a public relations ploy to leverage the Democratic Party into supporting a slight minimum wage increase. For decades, the labor movement has been stifled by a leadership that ties workers to the capitalist system, largely through preaching reliance on the Democratic Party. This strategy has provided less cover than an umbrella with holes for the anti-union onslaught on the working class.

Take the 2009 bailout of the auto industry orchestrated by Obama. It was all about making the members of the once mighty United Auto Workers (UAW) “work for less” —or not at all—to restore the profitability of the companies. With the complicity of the class-collaborationist UAW bureaucrats, it did just that. Today the starting wage at a General Motors plant is \$16 an hour, far less than it had been, helping fuel wage-gouging throughout the economy.

Any increase in the minimum wage is long overdue. Obama and his Labor Secretary, Thomas Perez, have made noises in favor of \$10 an hour, safe in the knowledge that the measure will never get through Congress. Some states and

local jurisdictions have recently voted to increase the minimum wage in order to get more money circulating in area economies. But these increases and the others being proposed are a pittance compared to the actual needs of working people.

Any significant gains will be won not by making alliances with the Democrats but by class-struggle mobilizations of the multiracial working class, particularly at relative union strongholds in industry and along the cargo chain supplying the retailers and fast-food businesses. This road also is the one that can organize these workers into the unions as part of revitalizing a long-weakened labor movement.

America’s capitalist rulers presume that they can just starve the poor, kill off retirees and further impoverish working people and the oppressed without repercussions. This calculation, which owes much to the role of the trade-union bureaucracy in suppressing labor struggle, is an expression of ruling-class arrogance. The grinding down of the working masses creates conditions that can and will boil over into open battle with the class enemy. It is vital that workers break the chains forged by the trade-union misleaders that shackle labor to its exploiters.

To actually resolve hunger, homelessness and unemployment and overcome the crushing oppression of the black population will take far more than a fight for better wages. In *Capital* (Volume I), Karl Marx explained that the immiseration of the laboring masses, as well as the ever-increasing concentration of production, are inherent to the capitalist system:

“Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.”

To realize the expropriation of the expropriators requires the forging of a revolutionary party to lead the proletariat in the fight for working-class rule. ■

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**GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX**  
• This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 2013, from issue No. 1015 (11 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 1036 (13 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August, and skipping the last issue in December.  
• The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (\*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.  
• Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:  
Gun Control British-Style, #1018, 22 Feb. (5)  
means the headline of the article, issue No. 1018, dated 22 February 2013, on page 5.  
• No entry is listed twice; refer to cross-references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross-references are of two types: those following the word “see” deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words “see also” are related articles. Subject heads in cross-references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:  
Shakur, Assata—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.** See also **City University of New York.**  
means that articles about Assata Shakur can be found by going to the subject head **CIVIL LIBERTIES** and looking

under the subcategory **Cases.** Related articles can be found by going to the subject head **CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK.**  
• Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not a subject heading unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally cross-referenced to their appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.  
• Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not normally under any other subject heading. Articles relating to Israel and the Occupied Territories will be found under the subject head **ISRAEL/PALESTINE.** Articles that deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy will be found under **U.S.: International Relations** or under the relevant geographical heading, for example, **SYRIA.**  
• Articles under the *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (CSDN) masthead are by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League.  
• Abbreviations used in entries are:  
C: Correction  
CSDN: *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* article  
E: Editorial Note  
L: Letter  
R: Review  
S: Series  
YSp: *Young Spartacus* article  
W&R: *Women and Revolution* article  
• Entries for articles that first appeared in the press of another section of the International Communist League indicate the name of the press in parentheses, for example: (*Le Bolchévick*).

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