

Washington Embraces Chauvinist Modi —India— Hindu Far-Right Sweeps Elections



The overwhelming victor in India's parliamentary elections that concluded on May 12 was the reactionary Hindu-supremacist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which is responsible for one of the bloodiest anti-Muslim pogroms in the country's recent history. The new prime minister, BJP head Narendra Modi, was chief minister of Gujarat in 2002 when his party spearheaded a communal massacre in that state that left over 2,000 dead, most of them Muslims. Now, having won 282 of the 543 seats in the lower house of parliament, Modi's BJP has a decisive majority, the first time in 30 years that any party has had such a mandate. In the words of one party veteran, the BJP is set to tackle "corruption, inflation and Muslims."

Modi's victory unseated the Congress party, which had governed India for all

Ahmedabad, India: Narendra Modi (center) with other leaders of Hindu-supremacist Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), January 2006. For RSS founders, Nazi Germany manifested "race pride at its highest."

but 13 years since the country gained its independence from the British Empire in 1947. The Indian National Congress, commonly known as Congress, is the traditional organization of the Indian bourgeoisie that was led by "Mahatma" Gandhi, and since independence by the family dynasty that began with Jawaharlal Nehru. Trading on having led mass struggles against the British colonial overlords, Congress cultivated an image of India as "the world's largest democracy" and of itself as a secular party able to surmount the country's bitter national, ethnic, religious and caste divisions. In reality, Congress has presided over the suppression of

numerous regional-separatist and leftist insurgencies while offering up minorities as scapegoats for conditions in what is one of the most impoverished and oppressed areas of the world.

By repeatedly playing the Hindu communalist card, Congress put wind in the sails of the vile chauvinism pushed by the BJP. Congress itself has incited communal massacres, most notoriously in 1984 when prominent Congress politicians led lynch mobs in Delhi against the Sikh minority, killing more than 3,000 people. Its role in instigating the massacre—and in covering up its guilt for 30 years—gives the lie to any notion that Congress provides an

alternative to BJP communalism.

Modi is a lifelong member of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a paramilitary Hindu nationalist organization whose founders were inspired by the fascist movements in Europe, believing that Nazi Germany had manifested "race pride at its highest." Madhav Golwalkar, an early leader of the RSS, expressed in a 1938 book the racist contempt for minorities in India that is inherent in *Hindutva*, the virulent nationalism based on Hindu fundamentalism:

"The foreign races in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e. of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate

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Workers Outrage Against Erdogan Regime

Turkish Mine Disaster: Capitalist Murder

On May 13, a fire and explosion struck a coal mine outside of Soma in western Turkey, leaving 301 miners dead by official count and injuring dozens more. For days, miners had warned their bosses about hot coal, indicating a fire somewhere in the mine, but were told to stay on the job. Meanwhile, mine operators had shut down air quality sensors that monitor gas levels and can automatically stop production. When the firestorm erupted, the power supply to the elevators and ventilation shafts was knocked out, and the tunnels quickly filled with carbon monoxide and other deadly fumes. By the admission of the mine operations manager, many miners did not have gas masks. Workers who did desperately scrambled to reach the surface within the time the company claimed the masks would be effective, since no safe rooms existed in that part of the mine. But, as one miner noted, "You cannot climb up 1.5 kilometers in 45 minutes."



Soma, Turkey: Rescuers carried out miners a day after May 13 explosion and fire in coal mine that killed at least hundreds.

This industrial catastrophe was the worst ever in Turkey, eclipsing the 1992 explosion in a coal mine at Zonguldak on the Black Sea in which 263 were killed.

Turkey has the third-highest rate of deaths on the job in the world; a 2010 report revealed that every million tons of coal extracted come at the cost of more than

seven miners' lives. The Soma disaster is emblematic of this appalling toll of death underground. One banner carried in an Istanbul protest proclaimed it "is not an accident, it is not fate, it is murder." Responsibility lies with the mine owners and the Turkish government.

The Islamist regime of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his Justice and Development Party (AKP) has exuded ruling-class arrogance, dripping with contempt for the dead miners and their families. In a speech outside the mine the day after the calamity, Erdogan dismissed mining accidents as "a commonplace thing." The scale of the disaster and the government's callous response sparked large-scale protests in Soma, where the AKP office was sacked and Erdogan's car was surrounded by an enraged crowd of relatives of the dead and missing miners. Shortly after, Erdogan confronted protesters in a supermarket and threatened: "If you boo the prime minister of this country, you'll get slapped." Despite intimidation by officials to silence him, one protester claimed that he was indeed slapped.

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“An Open Letter to the Workers of India”

By Leon Trotsky, July 1939

With the outbreak of World War II, India's bourgeois-nationalist Congress Party and its Stalinist sycophants lined up behind “democratic” Britain. Condemning this subordination to imperialism, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky outlined how the fight for socialist revolution against British imperialism and its Indian colonial lackeys was the only viable road for the liberation of workers and all the oppressed.

Subsequent events more than proved Trotsky's point that the Indian bourgeoisie was not a revolutionary class. India's independence in 1947 was not achieved through Gandhi's “peaceful methods” of struggle. Weakened and economically drained by the end of the war, Britain faced repeated mass upsurges in India and was no longer able to maintain its colonial rule. Independence came with the unspeakable communal carnage of Partition. Nearly 70 years on, India remains under the yoke of imperialist exploitation and is still a prison house of subjugated peoples in which national minorities, lower castes and the rural masses are desperately impoverished and women are brutally oppressed.

For more on the Trotskyist movement in India during this period, including on the debate about entry into the Congress Socialist Party, see “The Fight for Trotskyism in South Asia,” *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 62, Spring 2011.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
September 1939

DEAR FRIENDS:

Titanic and terrible events are approaching with implacable force. Mankind lives in expectation of war which will, of course, also draw into its maelstrom the colonial countries and which is of vital significance for their destiny. Agents of the British government depict the matter as though the war will be waged for principles of “democracy” which must be saved from fascism. All classes and peoples must rally around the “peaceful” “democratic” governments so as to repel the fascist aggressors. Then “democracy” will be saved and peace stabilized forever. This gospel rests on a deliberate lie. If the British government were really concerned with the flowering of democracy then a very simple opportunity to demonstrate this exists: let the government give complete freedom to India. The right of national independence is one of the elementary democratic rights. But actually, the London government is ready to hand over all the democracies in the world in return for one tenth of its colonies.

If the Indian people do not wish to remain as slaves for all eternity, then they must expose and reject those false preachers who assert that the *sole* enemy of the people is fascism. Hitler and Mussolini are, beyond doubt, the bitterest enemies of the toilers and oppressed. They are gory

executioners, deserving of the greatest hatred from the toilers and oppressed of the world. But they are, before everything, the enemies of the German and Italian peoples on whose backs they sit. The oppressed classes and peoples—as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Liebknecht have taught us—must always seek out their main enemy at home, cast in the rôle of their own immediate oppressors and exploiters. In India that enemy above all is the British bourgeoisie. The overthrow of British imperialism would deliver a terrible blow at all the oppressors, including the fascist dictators. In the long run the imperialists are distinguished from one another in form—not in essence. German imperialism, deprived of colonies, puts on the fearful mask of fascism with its saber-teeth protruding. British imperialism, gorged, because it possesses immense colonies, hides its saber-teeth behind a

slaves. Only a bold, resolute struggle of the Indian people for their economic and national emancipation can free India.

The Indian bourgeoisie is incapable of leading a revolutionary struggle. They are closely bound up with and dependent upon British capitalism. They tremble for their own property. They stand in fear of the masses. They seek compromises with British imperialism no matter what the price and lull the Indian masses with hopes of reforms from above. The leader and prophet of this bourgeoisie is Gandhi. A fake leader and a false prophet! Gandhi and his compeers have developed a theory that India's position will constantly improve, that her liberties will continually be enlarged and that India will gradually become a Dominion on the road of peaceful reforms. Later on, perhaps even achieve full independence. This entire perspective is false to the core. The impe-



Leon Trotsky in Coyoacán, Mexico, August 1940.

trous armaments devour an ever greater share of national incomes. The imperialists can no longer make serious concessions either to their own toiling masses or to the colonies. On the contrary, they are compelled to resort to an ever more bestial exploitation. It is precisely in this that capitalism's death agony is expressed. To retain their colonies, markets and concessions, from Germany, Italy and Japan, the London government stands ready to mow down millions of people. Is it possible, without losing one's senses, to pin any hopes that this greedy and savage financial oligarchy will voluntarily free India?

True enough, a government of the so-called Labor Party may replace the Tory government. But this will alter nothing. The Labor Party—as witness its entire past and present program—is in no way distinguished from the Tories on the colonial question. The Labor Party in reality expresses not the interests of the working class, but only the interests of the British labor bureaucracy and labor aristocracy. It is to this stratum that the bourgeoisie can toss juicy morsels, due to the fact that they themselves ruthlessly exploit the colonies, above all India. The British labor bureaucracy—in the Labor Party as well as in the trade unions—is directly interested in the exploitation of colonies. It has not the slightest desire to think of the emancipation of India. All these gentlemen—Major Atlee, Sir Walter Citrine & Co.—are ready at any moment to brand the revolutionary movement of the Indian people as “betrayal,” as aid to Hitler and Mussolini and to resort to military measures for its suppression.

In no way superior is the policy of the present day Communist International. To

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Peasants rally under red flag in Punjab, 1945.

Sunil Janah

mask of democracy. But this democracy exists only for the metropolitan center, for the 45,000,000 souls—or more correctly, for the ruling bourgeoisie—in the metropolitan center. India is deprived not only of democracy but of the most elementary right of national independence. Imperialist democracy is thus the democracy of slave owners fed by the lifeblood of the colonies. But India seeks her own democracy, and not to serve as fertilizer for the slave owners.

Those who desire to end fascism, reaction and all forms of oppression must overthrow imperialism. There is no other road. This task cannot, however, be accomplished by peaceful methods, by negotiations and pledges. Never before in history have slave owners voluntarily freed their

rialist classes were able to make concessions to colonial peoples as well as to their own workers, only so long as capitalism marched uphill, so long as the exploiters could firmly bank on the further growth of profits. Nowadays there cannot even be talk of this. World imperialism is in decline. The condition of all imperialist nations daily becomes more difficult while the contradictions between them become more and more aggravated. Mon-

Letters

On Khmelnitsky, Ukrainian Nationalist Icon

6 April 2014

Dear Comrades,

In the excerpt of his 1920 Baku Congress speech printed in “Soviet Power and the Liberation of Ukraine” (WV No. 1042, 21 March), Bolshevik Party member Mikhail Pavlovich stated: “All the Cossack revolts, the whole struggle of the Zaporozhian Camp, of Bogdan Khmelnitsky, were fundamentally a fight of the Ukrainian peasants against the yoke of the Polish landowners, against the Polonizers, the enemies of the Ukrainian national language and Ukrainian culture.” A Cossack nobleman, Khmelnitsky led the Ukrainian uprising of 1648, uniting Tatar cavalry regiments, Cossacks, peasants and burghers against Polish domination. However, he has also gone down in

history as the commander of forces that carried out ghastly anti-Jewish pogroms that have come to be known as the Khmelnitsky massacre.

Following the defeat of Cossack and peasant rebels in 1638, the Polish lords had begun to intensify their exploitation and oppression of the peasant masses, instituting a system of serfdom that would subjugate formerly unburdened peasants. As a result, peasants were compelled to provide their lords with three or four days of work every week, perform personal services for the landowners and pay a tax to the royal treasury on their homes and farm animals.

Meanwhile, the Polish *szlachta* (feudal nobility) had resorted to the hated

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Free the NATO 3 Now!

Chicago

On April 25, Cook County judge Thaddeus Wilson sentenced Jared Chase, Brent Betterly and Brian Church to prison for eight, six and five years respectively. The three fell prey to a sting operation carried out in the name of the bipartisan “war on terror” after traveling to Chicago to join protests against a May 2012 gathering of NATO imperialist war criminals. Across the country, “anti-terror” witchhunts have increasingly become a club wielded by the Feds and local cops in their efforts to quash leftist political protest. All opponents of capitalist inequality and the depredations of U.S. imperialism as well as fighters for black and immigrant rights have an interest in demanding freedom for the NATO 3.

The young activists had been convicted on February 7 on two frame-up felony counts of possessing Molotov cocktails and two misdemeanor “mob action” charges in what was a chemically pure example of police entrapment. Undercover agents Nadia Chikko and Mehmet Uygun infiltrated the Occupy group with whom the defendants, who had driven up from Florida, were bunking. The agents provocateurs hatched a plan, pushed it forward and assembled some Molotov cocktails, goad-



May 2012: Cops assault protesters at Chicago demonstration against summit of NATO imperialist war criminals.

ing and dragging along Betterly, Church and Chase at every step. Despite two weeks of intense surveillance, not a single piece of evidence was produced linking the NATO 3 to the assembly of the Molotov cocktails, as charged in the indictment.

In the lead-up to the NATO summit, Democratic mayor Rahm Emanuel and Police Superintendent Garry McCarthy whipped up an atmosphere of hysteria and unleashed a massive display of police power to intimidate protesters (see

“Defend Anti-NATO Protesters!” WV No. 1003, 25 May 2012). The “Welcome Wagon” offered by Emanuel, President Obama’s former chief of staff, was captured in a YouTube video, posted by the NATO 3 less than a week prior to their arrest, that shows squad cars surrounding their vehicle. Invoking the police riot against protesters at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, one cop taunts them, “What did they say back in ‘68?” Another cop replies: “Billy club to the fucking skull.”

The NATO 3 are the first to ever be charged with violating Illinois anti-terror statutes, which were enacted after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. But, in a partial setback to the state, the jury did not buy the “conspiracy to commit terrorism” charges. Calling the proceedings a “terrorist show trial,” the NATO 3’s defense team aptly noted that the state’s definition of terrorism was so vague and broad that it could include “labor strikes, peaceful occupations and sit-ins, political protests and boycotts.” And “conspiracy” is what the government uses to nail those it wants to silence but cannot charge with demonstrable criminal acts. Organizing against slavery was “conspiratorial,” and labor unions used to be considered illegal conspiracies in this country.

The conviction and draconian sentences for these activists is a frontal attack on the right of protest. The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to their defense and urges WV readers to do likewise. Donations can be made at www.wepay.com/donations/freethenato3. ■

Editorial Note

Marx and Engels Belong to the Workers of the World

Lawrence & Wishart, the British publisher of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (*MECW*), has compelled the Marxists Internet Archive to remove free digital versions of this 50-volume treasure from its Web site. This step is meant to further the publisher’s pursuit of private, profitable licenses with paying customers. In a particularly bitter and ironic twist, the ax fell on the eve of May Day, the international proletarian holiday. Restricting free public access to writings by the founders of the Marxist movement is a blow to working people, students and the oppressed at a time when a new generation is grappling with the inequalities and irrationality of the capitalist system—from Washington’s slashing of food stamps after bailing out the banks to European Union/IMF-imposed austerity against working people in Greece.

Lawrence & Wishart, formerly associated with the British Communist Party, complains that the left, which has howled in protest against this move, would have them commit “institutional suicide” rather than make financial ends meet in a capitalist world. In fact, we buy their well-translated and beautifully bound *MECW* and hope they will someday have the resources to bring out an index to this vital trove of writings. But restricting public access to Marxist writings is reprehensible and technologically as dim as a ten-watt incandescent bulb. Scans of these writings are out there in the world and streaming faster than hooch in a gin joint during Prohibition.

Lawrence & Wishart wrongly claim that the public will still have access to the *MECW* via university libraries. Working people, the poor and the unemployed are not exactly welcome to pad the hallowed halls of academia, whether in the U.S., Britain or elsewhere. Moreover, university libraries are drastically cutting back on subscriptions as the licensing costs for digital publications are beyond the

grasp of all but the wealthiest enclaves of bourgeois privilege. Huge profit margins demanded by science publishers like Elsevier impede the very collaboration that is so vital to scientific advance. An annual, online-only subscription to the *Journal of*

Granted we live in a capitalist society driven by the profit motive, but it is informative to look at the policies and practices of the Bolsheviks, who saw further from the heights of their conquest of state power for the working people in the 1917

Journal of early Communist International encouraged reprinting to attain widest possible distribution of Marxist writings.



Comparative Neurology, for example, is currently \$30,860!

Lawrence & Wishart’s action against the Marxists Internet Archive recalls earlier proprietary piggishness by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP threatened legal action against the Marxists Internet Archive in 2000 and demanded removal of digital versions of writings by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky as well as SWP founding documents, including the early Trotskyist organ *Socialist Appeal*. The publishing preferences of the SWP, which long ago repudiated Trotskyism, resemble a Third Worldist book-of-the-month club. The SWP nonetheless also claims ownership of genuine Marxist writers like Trotsky and founding American Trotskyist James P. Cannon because it is deeply concerned with cashing in on these works, which should be disseminated as freely and widely as possible.

Russian October Revolution. The Third (Communist) International was launched to generalize the lessons of the Russian experience and extend the gains of October through international socialist revolution. The Comintern’s journal *International Press Correspondence* (known as *InPreCor*) was translated and published in several languages, and the words “*Please reprint*” appeared over the masthead. Later, the Soviet Union was behind the effort to translate the *MECW* into English and other languages, the project for which Lawrence & Wishart was awarded its copyright.

The Spartacist Publishing Company is not proprietary about *Workers Vanguard* or our other journals, and they are available on the International Communist League’s Web site (www.icl-fi.org). Books and bulletins produced by the Prometheus Research Library (the central archival repository of the Central Committee of

the Spartacist League) are available in free digital versions on the PRL’s Web site (www.prl.org). The Prometheus Research Library also promotes and practices archival collaboration with the Marxists Internet Archive, the Riazanov Library, the Internet Archive and other libraries and researchers to help make the most complete history of the Marxist movement available to the public. This includes not only our own publications but also our archives of the publications of other tendencies in the international workers movement.

We appreciate the wider public access and search capabilities afforded by digital versions of Marxist publications. But this media form is no substitute for the print editions of journals of record and works of enduring value. We use, cherish and preserve print publications and encourage serious students of Marxism and fighters for social change to buy subscriptions to our press. We are proud of our history and programmatic fidelity and offer for sale indexed bound volumes of WV as well as other publications of our party.

Anyone wishing to fight the ravages of capitalism would do well to read the 1848 *Communist Manifesto*, in which Marx and Engels addressed their bourgeois critics:

“In your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.”

As they said of the “business” of revolutionary politics: “In a word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.” ■

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China: Bureaucratic Cancer Gnaws at Workers State

Workers Must Sweep Away CCP Tops, Princelings

Last November, Zhou Yongkang, a former member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Political Bureau, was placed under house arrest in a corruption investigation. As head of China's domestic security apparatus before his retirement, Zhou had overseen a government department with a massive budget. After assets worth at least \$14.5 billion were confiscated

Why China Is Not Capitalist

from Zhou's family members and associates, the *New Yorker* (2 April) observed: "Chinese civil servants and their associates seem to have accrued a nest egg that is somewhat larger than the gross national product of Albania."

On March 31, Lieutenant General Gu Junshan, former deputy chief of the General Logistics Department of the People's Liberation Army, was charged with bribery, embezzlement and abuse of power. Gu has been accused of using his control over procurement of housing, infrastructure and supply contracts for China's 2.3 million-strong armed forces to amass a fortune for himself and his family, including real estate holdings, art work and luxury items like a solid gold statue of Chairman Mao, founding leader of the People's Republic of China.

On April 19, Song Lin, chairman of China Resources, was sacked over accusations that he misused \$1.6 billion in funds, took bribes and laundered money through his mistress, a senior investment banker at the Hong Kong office of the Swiss bank UBS. China Resources is one of China's largest state-owned enterprises with more than \$120 billion in assets.

These are just a few choice examples of the massive corruption at the top of the workers state established with the 1949 Chinese Revolution. As top CCP bureaucrats continue to enrich themselves, many of their offspring have parlayed their privileged social position into places among the entrepreneurial elite. In a 2012 investigation into the descendants of top CCP officials, *Bloomberg News* traced the fortunes of 103 heirs of the "Eight Immortals" of the CCP who rose to political power in the period following Mao's death in 1976. Among these "princelings" were 43 who had transformed themselves into capitalists in the space created by the regime's "market reforms," gaining private ownership of factories, investment firms and real estate ventures. Some launched joint ventures with foreign companies; others took executive posts in foreign investment banks.

Bloomberg noted that "the lifestyle of some members of the third generation tracks that of the global affluent class—people who were their schoolmates in Swiss, British and U.S. boarding schools" ("Heirs of Mao's Comrades Rise as New Capitalist Nobility," 26 December 2012). Having rubbed shoulders at elite prep schools and universities with the scions of the American and European capitalist rulers, the princelings were positioned to serve as intermediaries for world imperialism in China. This was not lost on

JPMorgan Chase and other top American investment banks, which got some bad press at home for hiring the relatives of well-connected Chinese officials as a means to open doors for their investments in mainland China.

The overthrow of capitalist rule in 1949 laid the basis for a planned, collectivized economy that led to enormous social gains for the worker and peasant masses. But that revolution, carried out by a peasant guerrilla army, was deformed from its inception by the rule of the CCP bureaucracy, which based itself on the model of the Soviet Union under Stalin. More than six decades later, the bureaucratic cancer is increasingly gnawing away at the fabric of the workers state, fostering a domestic base for counterrevolution and undermining the defense of China against the U.S., Japan and other imperialist powers.

Defend China! For Workers Political Revolution!

The development on the Chinese mainland of a class of bourgeois entrepreneurs and a well-heeled urban petty bourgeoisie, along with the ever-present corruption in the CCP officialdom, are taken by most leftists as proof that the country has reverted to capitalism. Voicing a question that our comrades frequently hear, one reader of *WV* wrote us last year asking: "You at the Spartacist League hold China

as a deformed workers' state and regard it as not capitalist. Explain to me why China, a 'socialist state', has such a high Gini index, higher than dozens of capitalist countries?" Commonly used by bourgeois economists, the Gini index measures the extent of inequality in income or consumption expenditure in particular countries.

China is not a capitalist society. There is, indeed, a nascent capitalist class, tied to the imperialists by economic interest and to many CCP leaders by blood. But while this layer poses a grave potential danger of capitalist restoration, it does not hold state power. China remains a bureaucratically deformed workers state akin to the former Soviet degenerated workers state and to Vietnam, Cuba, North Korea and Laos today. Each of these societies was or is based on collectivized property forms.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a class—i.e., a social stratum with its own unique relation to the means of production—but a parasitic caste occupying an unstable position atop the workers state. In China, many CCP officials take advantage of their administrative positions, skimming funds and receiving gifts for favors and acting as middlemen for the imperialists. Yet the bureaucracy is at times compelled to defend the workers state in its own way, whether out of concern to maintain its own privileges or to ward off working-class revolt.



Reuters



Xinhua

Former CCP politburo member Zhou Yongkang (top) and Song Lin, former chairman of large state-owned enterprise, targets of anti-corruption probe.

The state controls foreign trade and regulates capital markets and currency, with credit determined primarily according to quotas, not by the market. The core of the economy remains collectivized, with state-owned enterprises controlling 90 percent of assets in oil, electricity, communications and other key sectors. There is a CCP cell with the power to veto decisions in every private company, including foreign-owned operations. While the government has opened the door wide to capitalist investment and market forces, it maintains strict controls over the capitalist class, which is prevented from organizing political parties and is subject to strict censorship. This, of course, also applies to the working class: the CCP would see its legitimacy challenged by the development of any workers movement outside its control.

Despite bureaucratic deformation, the Chinese workers state testifies to the superiority of a collectivized economy over capitalist production for profit. The 1949 Revolution in short order led to huge gains for workers, peasants, women and all the downtrodden. Since then, China has gone from a backward, peasant country to a majority-urban one capable of landing a lunar rover. Notwithstanding the yawning gap between rich bureaucrats and princelings on the one hand and the working class and peasants on the other, more than 600 million people were lifted out of poverty in the last three decades. The population on average now eats six times more meat than in 1976, and 100 million people have exchanged bicycles for automobiles. Having done away with guaranteed medical care in implementing "market reforms," the regime has spent the equivalent of \$180 billion on improving health care since 2009. Now 99 percent of the rural population, including migrant workers, have access to basic health insurance.

Compare these gains to the unspeakable misery and despair that define life for the hundreds of millions of urban and rural poor in India: This is the short answer to those ostensible socialists who portray China as capitalist or irrevocably on that road. It is also a starkly clear argument for our Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of China and the other



Reuters photos

Top: Striking workers at world's largest shoe factory, Guangdong province, April 18. Bottom: Wealthy district caters to bureaucracy, bourgeois entrepreneurs in Beijing.



deformed workers states against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution.

In the past quarter alone, as the capitalist world remained mired in stagnation, the Chinese economy expanded by 7.4 percent, on top of many years of remarkable development. However, China's explosive economic growth, impressive as it is, is not a harbinger of steady progress toward socialism—a society of material abundance based on the highest level of technology and resources. The all-round modernization and development of China, including its rural hinterland, require the aid of proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, which will set the stage for a globally integrated and planned socialist economy. The CCP bureaucracy, whose program is based on the nationalist Stalinist dogma of building “socialism in one country,” has always opposed this perspective.

Today, CCP spokesmen claim that China is far along the road to becoming a global economic “superpower” by the mid 21st century. This view ignores the economic vulnerabilities of China in its relations with the world capitalist market and the implacable hostility of the imperialist bourgeoisies, above all the U.S. ruling class. Further, it ignores the internal instability of Chinese society. With an enormous divide between corrupt government officials, capitalist entrepreneurs and privileged petty bourgeois on one side and the hundreds of millions of proletarians—in both state-owned and private enterprises—and poor peasants on the other, China has for years experienced a high level of strikes and social protest against the consequences of bureaucratic misrule.

This ferment points to the potential for a proletarian political revolution that will sweep away the Stalinist regime and replace it with the rule of workers and peasants councils (soviets). As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program, the founding programmatic statement of the Fourth International, in regard to the Soviet Union: “Either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers’ state, will overthrow the new forms of property and plunge the country back into capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism.”

Parasites and Princelings

The CCP bureaucracy is beset by enormous contradictions. Although it zealously guards its privileges, it does not own the means of production or have at its disposal all the methods of social control that a ruling capitalist class possesses. Its power stems from its political monopoly of the government apparatus. Trotsky's explanation of the material roots of the Soviet Stalinist regime in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936) applies with full force to China:

“The basis of bureaucratic rule is the poverty of society in objects of consumption, with the resulting struggle of

each against all. When there are enough goods in a store, the purchasers can come whenever they want to. When there are few goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy. It 'knows' who is to get something and who has to wait."

Observing that the bureaucracy's "appropriation of a vast share of the national income has the character of social parasitism," Trotsky wrote:

"To the extent that, in contrast to a decaying capitalism, it develops the productive forces, it is preparing the economic basis of socialism. To the extent that, for the benefit of an upper stratum, it carries to more and more extreme expression bourgeois norms of distribution, it is preparing a capitalist restoration. This contradiction between forms of property and norms of distribution cannot grow indefinitely. Either the bourgeois norms must in one form or another spread to the means of production, or, conversely, the norms of distribution must be brought into correspondence with the socialist property system."

As in Stalin's USSR, while the CCP bureaucrats and their princeling off-



Peter Turnley

Tiananmen Square, Beijing, May 1989: Chinese workers march in support of student protesters. Official corruption and effects of “market reforms” stoked workers’ anger.

spring feed off state resources, they chafe under the legal restrictions placed on private wealth. Capturing an aspect of this phenomenon, the *Financial Times* (28 November 2012) wrote, “The fact that property rights cannot be taken for granted means that capital flight has also become an issue,” including money salted away in offshore tax havens. Another conduit is the channeling of funds through relatives living abroad. According to an internal report by the CCP’s Organization Department, 76 percent of the senior executives in China’s 120 flagship state-owned companies have immediate family members who live overseas or hold foreign passports. In a *New York Times* (11 May) opinion piece, Chinese author Yu Hua reported how corrupt officials are prone to hiding their money rather than depositing it in banks for fear of its discovery. Among the well-known cases are one who stashed 25 million yuan in safe deposit boxes, another who hid his cash in cardboard boxes in the bathroom of his apartment and a third who used a hollow tree, a latrine and other places.

Of the 500 protests, riots and strikes estimated to take place *every day* in China, many are sparked by anger at profiteering officials who are ostensibly devoted to communist ideals. One response of the regime is to cover up the extent to which the workers state's resources have been diverted for the use of these parasites. In its 2012 investigation, *Bloomberg* noted that state controls over the media and Internet help cloak the business dealings of bureaucrats and princelings from view, while public documents often obscure the culprits by using multiple names in Mandarin, Cantonese and English. A mouthpiece of finance capital, *Bloomberg News* well knows that such practices pale in comparison to the looting by the ruling classes of capitalist countries, as seen several years ago in the hundreds of bil-

lions of dollars doled out to the corporate bosses of failing banks and automakers in the U.S.

After he came into office in 2013, Chinese president Xi Jinping launched a campaign for the “thorough cleanup” of corruption in the CCP. According to the CCP’s Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, more than 180,000 party officials were punished for corruption and abuse of power last year, with 31 senior leaders investigated. No doubt political maneuvering plays a role here: Purged official Zhou Yongkang is known as a factional opponent of Xi, and there is a CCP tradition reaching back to Mao of using anti-corruption campaigns to get rid of rivals.

The Xi government also aims to help stabilize Chinese society by reining in the ostentatious flaunting of wealth and privilege. Xi's campaign has included a crackdown on luxury spending. In January, high-end clubs in public parks in Beijing, Hangzhou, Changsha and Nanjing were closed, with a government statement declaring: "The buildings should be used to provide services for the general public."

rather than the privileged few" (Xinhua, 17 January). Officials have been banned from hosting elaborate banquets and military license plates are no longer allowed on luxury cars. Such a campaign is simply inconceivable in the U.S., where the "right" of the capitalist ruling class to its obscene wealth, and to dispose of it at will, is enshrined in law.

A particular focus of Xi's anti-corruption drive has been the waste, fraud, nepotism and buying and selling of rank that undermine military effectiveness. Soon after taking office, Xi placed blame for the collapse of the Soviet Union in part on the loss of control of the armed forces by the Kremlin under Mikhail Gorbachev. Xi's cleanup has included antigraft measures, audits and criticism sessions; enlarged drills to upgrade "battle readiness"; and contentious plans to reform the military's bloated and outmoded structure.

In our defense of China, we support the development of an effective and advanced military. However, Xi is himself the leader of the bureaucratic regime that endangers the workers state by its utopian pursuit of “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism. The imperialists aim for nothing less than the overthrow of the People’s Republic of China and the reconquest of the mainland for their untrammelled exploitation. To this end, they employ both economic and military pressure—the latter seen, for example, in the Obama administration’s “pivot” toward Asia and U.S./Japan military provocations in the East China Sea.

The Spectre of Tiananmen

China at the time of its revolution was qualitatively poorer and more backward than even tsarist Russia at the time of the Bolshevik-led workers revolution in October 1917. The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky's leadership knew that such backwardness could not be overcome without the extension of proletarian revolution.

to the advanced industrial countries. This understanding is utterly alien to the Stalinist perspective of “socialism in one country,” a false ideology embraced by the CCP bureaucracy from Mao Zedong to Xi Jinping.

Inequality in China began to grow rapidly in the aftermath of Mao's Cultural Revolution, a bitter intra-bureaucratic struggle launched in 1966 that threw economic and social life into chaos. Having benefited from Soviet aid in the first decade after the 1949 Revolution, China increasingly pursued economic autarchy after the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies fell out. By the early 1970s, Beijing had treacherously struck an alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, which Mao castigated as "social imperialist."

Maintaining its own privileges, the bureaucracy under Mao promoted a model of “egalitarianism” that amounted to generalized want among the masses, based on China’s still backward industrial base. When they took the reins after Mao’s death, the Eight Immortals led by Deng Xiaoping resorted to the whip of the market to increase economic productivity. With Western and Japanese imperialist and offshore Chinese concerns invited to invest in designated sections of the mainland, the economy regained its feet, but at the price of greatly increased inequality and the growth of pro-capitalist forces within China.


Twenty-five years ago, popular anger over inflation, official corruption, the rise of the princelings and the bureaucracy's stifling political control erupted in mass protests centered on Beijing's Tiananmen Square. In April 1989, a group of students from Beijing University laid a wreath in the square in honor of Hu Yaobang, who at the time of his death shortly before was regarded as relatively open to student protest and as one of the rare CCP officials not to be corrupt. By the time of Hu's funeral a week later, a mass student protest had assembled and begun to draw in contingents of workers. While sections of the student protesters looked to Western-style capitalist democracy, the protests were dominated by the singing of the *Internationale*—the international workers anthem—and other expressions of pro-socialist consciousness. The protests were transformed into a mass working-class outpouring against the bureaucracy and the effects of its "market reforms."

For almost two months, the government was unable to curb the protests, which developed into an incipient political revolution. Workers organized their own defense guards. Even the police were joining the demonstrations, a clear reflection of the class difference between a workers state and a capitalist state. The first army unit called in to crush the demonstrations refused to do so as workers fraternized with soldiers. Not only enlisted men but also elements of the military brass and some of the regime tops came down on the side of the protesters—a manifestation

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2007年3月

托洛茨基主义关于中国“市场改革”的分析



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Turkey...

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Erdogan's deputy chief of staff Yusuf Yerkel was caught on video viciously kicking a protester who was being held on the ground by two riot cops.

Mass protest with a heavy working-class component also broke out in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and cities in the east and southeast largely populated by the oppressed Kurdish national minority. On May 15, the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK), the Confederation of Public Workers Unions and other unions held a 24-hour strike. Turks and Kurds living in the European imperialist centers have also mobilized in solidarity with the Soma miners. On May 24, some 50,000 people in Cologne, Germany, marched against Erdogan's visit to the city.

In Turkey, the government unleashed massive repression once people took to the streets. Tear gas, water cannons and rubber bullets were fired against protesters, many of whom were arrested. In Izmir, Kani Beko, the 61-year-old DISK leader, was hospitalized after riot police attacked strikers. Eight workers at Okmeydani Hospital in Istanbul were fired for joining the May 15 strike. A week later, police killed a bystander while firing into the air to disperse a demonstration in a working-class district of Istanbul.

A de facto state of emergency exists in Soma. The government brought in heavily armed police commando units and has cordoned off the city, ringing it with checkpoints at a distance of roughly 18 miles to bar anyone it does not want to enter. Demonstrations are banned, and local police and AKP members have warned residents not to express public opposition to the government.

In a move to diffuse the widespread anger, the government has made a show of arresting three dozen people in connection with the explosion. As of May 21, eight company executives were still in custody, including the general manager as well as the CEO of the Soma mine, who is the son of the owner. Alp Gurkan, the owner, remains free. The AKP has also allowed an opposition bill that bans subcontracting—a central demand of the protesters—to inch forward in parliament, safe in the knowledge that it can be blocked later.

Privatizations and the European Union

Just two weeks before the Soma disaster, the bourgeois Republican People's Party opposition had proposed a parliamentary inquiry into safety conditions at the mine following reports of accidents. The government rejected this proposal, with one of its deputies declaring that "God willing," there would be no accidents, "not even a nosebleed." Nine months ago, the government's energy minister praised the safety measures in the Soma mines.

Capitalist mine owners everywhere have always cut corners to maximize their profits at the expense of safety. Witness the Upper Big Branch mine in West Virginia, the site of an explosion that killed 29 miners in 2010. Such preventable disasters happen because the capitalists won't spend money on technology that can minimize the inherent risks of mining. Where



Demotix

Ankara, Turkey, May 19: Demonstration in solidarity with Soma miners demands resignation of Erdogan.

real measures of protection for miners do exist, they were won through hard class struggle and union organizing campaigns.

Although state ownership under capitalism is no panacea, privatization of the mines, including Soma in 2005, has led to a sharp deterioration in conditions. In a May 14 account in *Hürriyet Daily News*, Dev Maden-Sen mining union chairman

This is a cruel hoax. The EU is an imperialist cartel whose purpose is to tighten the screws on European workers and to act as a tool for the larger powers, particularly Germany, to exploit weaker, dependent capitalist states. These days, the ongoing, grinding economic crisis in the EU has somewhat taken the gloss off membership. In any case, it is highly unlikely that



Reuters

**May 14:
Erdogan's
deputy chief
of staff Yusuf
Yerkel caught
viciously kicking
a protester
during official
visit to Soma.**

Tayfun Görgün summed up: “Accidents exploded when these fields were given to the private sector.... Security measures have been put on the back burner to reduce costs.” The level of cost reduction at Soma has been astounding. In a 2012 interview with *Hürriyet*, Gurban claimed that the cost of production had been driven down from \$130 per ton to only \$24. For the capitalists, workers’ lives aren’t a factor in the calculus of profit.

The Western imperialists helped spur the series of privatizations overseen by the Erdogan regime in Turkey over the last decade. The IMF demanded the handing off of state-owned industries as a condition of its 2001 bailout of Turkey, then being racked by a banking crisis. After it came to power in 2002, Erdogan's AKP enthusiastically embraced the IMF plan. The year before Soma was privatized, the European Union (EU) made acceleration of privatizations a condition for Turkey's move toward membership, which Erdogan was pushing as the road to economic prosperity.

the racist EU overlords would ever admit Turkey, a large, overwhelmingly Muslim country, into their club.

For its part, the Obama administration has praised Erdogan for his economic “reforms” and looks to him to “nurture a predictable investment environment.” Turkey is also an important part of the imperialist NATO alliance and a staunch supporter of Washington’s crusade against Iran. Furthermore, it has provided a nerve

China...

(continued from page 5)

of the nature of the bureaucracy as a brittle caste. The regime finally found loyal units and used them to crush the uprising, marked by the massacre of mainly working people in Beijing on June 3-4. Mass strikes broke out in protest and at least 80 cities throughout China were caught up in the turmoil.

Crucially missing in May-June 1989 was an authentically communist—i.e., Leninist-Trotskyist—workers party, which would have fought to lead the workers to political power. Having regained control, the bureaucracy lashed out not mainly at students but at the proletariat. Arrested workers were paraded through the streets and many were shot.

Corruption, profiteering, political repression, inequality: 25 years later, the scourges that drove students and workers to protest en masse are back with renewed force. At the same time, economic growth has drawn new layers of the population into the working class. Migrants from the countryside have flocked to manufacturing and light industrial jobs in urban areas, where they are subject to systematic discrimination. Meanwhile, renewed investment in state-owned industry has strengthened the economic position of workers in

center for U.S. intelligence operations against Syria and acted as a conduit for funneling arms to fundamentalist-dominated anti-Assad forces.

Erdogan Regime Shaken

The mass protests in the wake of the Soma disaster were evocative of the months-long protests last year in Istanbul. Those protests—triggered by government plans for a building project in Gezi Park near Taksim Square—reflected the deep resentment of younger elements in the better-educated urban middle classes toward Erdogan’s regime. Fueling this discontent were government attempts to tighten “moral rules,” including restrictions on the sale of alcohol and ongoing assaults on the rights of women and gays. Some workers from the politically divided trade-union movement joined the protests, as did Kurdish organizations. The government was able to crush the protest movement through brutal repression. Over 8,000 were injured and untold numbers arrested.

In contrast, the ongoing Soma protests are centered on the working class, which has real social power based on its ability to cut off the flow of profits by withholding labor. Unlike last year's protests, the focal point of the protests is in the rural Anatolian heartland of the AKP. Since the AKP's base is devoutly religious, Erdogan has played to these beliefs in his bid to pacify the miners' families and stifle the protests. For instance, the prime minister referred to the dead miners as "martyrs" and sent dozens of Muslim clerics to Soma.

Preventing atrocities like Soma is directly linked to the fight against exploitation and oppression, which requires the proletariat to mobilize in its own interests. To this end, the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party is vital. Such a party, forged from advanced workers and revolutionary intellectuals, would fight to break the working class from religious reaction and all forms of nationalism. In particular, it would champion the right to Kurdish self-determination, embodied in the call for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan.

The International Communist League seeks to link the struggles of workers in Turkey to their class brothers and sisters in the imperialist countries, especially Germany, where the proletariat contains significant Turkish- and Kurdish-derived elements. Only international workers revolution can ensure that the resources of the earth are extracted for the good of humanity rather than the bank accounts of the capitalists and with the health and safety of miners and other workers primary. ■

that sector. Due to combative struggle by workers and a shortage of labor, wages have risen dramatically. In a recent display of workers' militancy, 10,000 employees of the Yue Yuen shoe factory in the southern city of Dongguan went on strike on April 14 demanding that the Taiwanese company pay the full amount of legally mandated social security and housing compensation. Strikers returned to work following a combination of company and government promises and repression.

The devastation wreaked by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe is not lost on the Chinese proletariat, which has the power and the objective interest to sweep away bureaucratic misrule. As we wrote in Part One of “China’s ‘Market Reforms’: A Trotskyist Analysis” (*WV* No. 874, 4 August 2006):

"At some point, likely when bourgeois elements in and around the bureaucracy move to eliminate CCP political power, the multiple explosive social tensions of Chinese society will shatter the political structure of the ruling bureaucratic caste. And when that happens the fate of the most populous country on earth will be starkly posed: either proletarian political revolution to open the road to socialism or a return to capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation."

Victory for the workers in that conflict will require the leadership of a revolutionary workers party, a Chinese section of a reformed Fourth International. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Young Spartacus

For Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All! *Racist Bigotry and Liberal Nostrums at UCLA*

On February 10, black students at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) School of Law published a video talking about their isolation there, with only 33 black students in a class of roughly 1,100. Shortly after the video was released, one student received a note telling her to “Stop being a sensitive n---r,” and flyers and posters of the Black Law Student Association were ripped down. This racist backlash to even modest complaints about the segregation of higher education is no aberration, but only part of the barrage of assaults, provocations and humiliations that students at UCLA have been subjected to over the past several years.

In 1996, California’s racist Proposition 209 banned all affirmative action across the state. Since then, tuition has skyrocketed over 350 percent, pricing black and working-class youth out of the University of California campuses. In the five years after Proposition 209 passed, black undergraduate enrollment at UC Berkeley plunged 27 percent. Earlier this year, California’s proposed Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 5 (SCA 5), which would have repealed the portions of Proposition 209 prohibiting affirmative action in public education, was killed in the California legislature, preventing voters from taking it up. The defeat of SCA 5 and the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision last month that further decimated affirmative action nationwide are the latest attempts to eviscerate all that is left of one of the minimal gains of the civil rights movement. As we explained in “Supreme Court Knifes Affirmative Action, Again” (WV No. 1045, 2 May 2014):

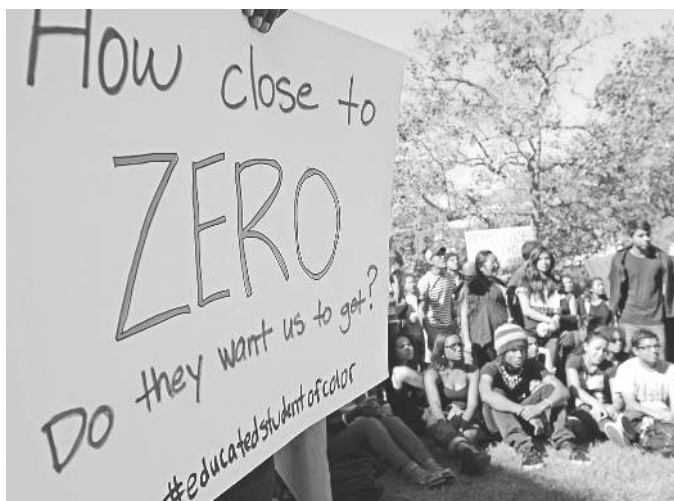
“In the face of racist attack, the remnants of affirmative action should be defended. But even at its height, this tokenistic measure never made a dent in the deep-seated oppression of the mass of the black and Latino population. Now, as public education funding is slashed, tuition costs explode and families drown in debt, the top state and private campuses are becoming even whiter and more elite.”

Especially in the wake of the economic crisis, the bourgeoisie increasingly considers the mass of black people in the inner cities to be a surplus population, no longer needed as the “last hired, first fired.” In this context, racist pigs have been increasingly emboldened to threaten and harass those few students from minority groups left on campus, and black people in particular.

Recent controversies have brought to



Ronald Robertson



Beet/Daily Bruin

Above: Rally against lack of diversity at UCLA School of Law in February. Left: UCLA students protest reactionary report that called for fewer black and Latino admissions, October 2012.

light the depth of racial bigotry that pervades UCLA. In July 2013, UCLA finally settled a lawsuit with Dr. Christian Head, a black surgeon at the medical school who was subjected to a grotesque series of racist slurs, including a slideshow featuring his head Photoshopped onto a gorilla. In October, the administration released a report detailing the ways in which minority faculty members felt under the gun, with the usual tepid promises of more “education and training” in the future. The next month, Sy Stokes, a junior at UCLA, produced a YouTube video “The Black Bruins” detailing UCLA’s low black enrollment—with fewer than 50 black males in the incoming class of freshmen. This video touched a nerve, with over two million views to date. A few days later, minority students in the

Graduate School of Education organized an in-class teach-in, responding to what they described as “microaggressions,” supposedly innocuous racist actions and comments.

Demonstrating exactly what these students were protesting, students at the UCLA School of Law then paraded around campus in T-shirts they had made up for a softball competition reading “Team Sander.” Richard Sander, a white professor at the school, is notorious for his vile books and research claiming affirmative action is bad for black students, and for a 2012 report he released claiming that UCLA somehow surreptitiously practices affirmative action simply because it is *still* accepting more black students than he thinks it should. According to one report, black students placed in Sander’s class were told by the administration to suck it up and “channel our anger/emotions into ‘proving his research wrong’ and performing well,” and now, black students simply aren’t placed into his classes (“Racists’ T-Shirts on Campus? Only if You Bother to Think About It,” abovethelaw.com, 22 November 2013).

This is not just about one or two overtly and obviously racist “incidents,” but an atmosphere in which the few minorities that remain are pervasively treated as outsiders who don’t belong. After Sander published his 2012 report, UCLA’s student paper, the *Daily Bruin*, ran a reactionary opinion column urging the university to “rethink” its admissions

policy. At a rally held by minority students in response, the cry was rightfully raised, “How close to zero do they want us to get?”

It is precisely this sort of climate that fosters outright racist *violence*. In one case, from August to October of 2013, a black student at San Jose State University was terrorized by Nazi-loving dorm mates who wrote racial slurs and hung a Confederate flag in their common space, then assaulted him, forcing a bike lock around his neck. Other students interviewed about this said that these were simply “college pranks.”

Capitalist Divide and Rule

In early February, a flyer was delivered to Asian student groups at UCLA and University of Southern California (USC), in racist phony “black” English and adorned with a Nazi flag, declaring (among other things) that “asian C--ts are RACIST! They only Date Honkie white boy!” Whatever its origins, this unhinged sexist, racist rant, written against Asians and in a “black” voice, was a clear provocation. It also intersected the debate over SCA 5.

A contributing factor in the amendment’s defeat was a massive lobbying campaign spearheaded largely by conservative Asian groups, resulting in three senators with heavily Asian constituencies withdrawing their support, on the utterly false grounds that affirmative action constitutes anti-Asian discrimination. In fact, the very ruling class that has attacked affirmative action is responsible for hideous crimes against Asians, such as the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II under liberal icon President Franklin Roosevelt.

Under the conditions of decaying American capitalism, the ruling capitalist class seeks to pit each against all, forcing different sectors of the oppressed to claw at one another as though they were starved dogs tossed only a scrap from the master’s table (see letter, page 11). For example, immigrants are taught that black people are themselves responsible for the horrendous conditions of life in the ghettos, while blacks are encouraged to believe that any gains for immigrants come at their expense.

While we have always defended the gains won for minorities, no matter how minimal, our program is for *free, quality, integrated education for all! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend!* These demands cut against the capitalist rulers’ use of affirmative action to set whites against minorities, and Asians against blacks. The vast majority of working-class students of all races, especially black people, are excluded from the best institutions of higher learning. The capitalists and their agents run the education system to serve their interests, including propagating bourgeois ideology and training the next generation of administrators, CEOs, military officers and Dr. Strangeloves of U.S. imperialism. The working class is to get just enough education so the capitalists can extract profit from its labor power.

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India...

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existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment—not even citizen’s rights.”

Modi’s well-funded PR machine has worked overtime to prettify his ideology and sweep his dirty deeds under the rug. Based on his promises to develop industry and create jobs on the model of his home state of Gujarat, Modi’s campaign attracted in particular a considerable number of votes from youth in a country where the median age is 27 years. Even though his electoral support went beyond his right-wing Hindu constituency, the victory of an openly communalist party will mean intensified communalist terror, particularly against Muslims, who make up nearly 15 percent of the population. The BJP’s glorification of *Hindutva* will also fuel a reactionary backlash against women—both in the villages, where caste oppression legitimizes rape of *dalit* (“untouchable”) women by higher-caste men, and in the cities, where women who work outside the home or wear Western clothes are considered fair game due to their lack of “modesty.”

Communal Slaughter and Capitalist Rule

In India, where capitalist development is belated and constrained by imperialist subjugation, the weak national bourgeoisie is dependent on its imperialist masters—yesterday the British, today mainly the U.S.—and above all fears its “own” working class. The communal bloodletting that is pervasive in India is not some inevitable condition of the country but a legacy of British colonialism. In keeping with their finely honed practice of “divide and conquer,” the British rulers instituted separate Hindu and Muslim electorates and recruited troops for their Indian Army primarily from among the Muslims and upper-caste Sikhs of the northwest.

Born in the all-sided communal slaughter that accompanied the 1947 partition of the subcontinent, the Indian capitalist state was founded on Hindu chauvinism as well as caste oppression. Indian security forces have long enjoyed a license to kill, torture and rape in Kashmir, the country’s only majority Muslim state. In 2002, a BJP-led government brought India to the brink of war with Pakistan over Kashmir (see “All Indian, Pakistani Troops Out! Kashmir: Flash Point for War,” WV No. 783, 14 June 2002). Indian Muslims live under suspicion of sympathies for Pakistan; some Muslims have been imprisoned for years without trial on the flimsiest accusations of “terrorism.”

The BJP was catapulted to center stage nationally in the late 1980s and early ’90s; it went from two parliamentary seats in 1984 to 120 seats in 1991. This period was marked by a resurgence of religious and social reaction not only in India but internationally. A key event was the war in Afghanistan waged by CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists after Soviet military forces were invited into that country by its modernizing left-nationalist government in December 1979. The withdrawal of the



Reuters

Gujarat massacre, April 2002: Burnt remains of Muslims in Ambasana village. Hindu mobs organized by Modi’s BJP burned down homes and killed hundreds in anti-Muslim pogrom.

Red Army from Afghanistan and the subsequent counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 encouraged the growth of reactionary forces everywhere.

In India, there was a marked rightward shift in bourgeois politics at that time. The Congress regime in 1991 began to privatize state-owned industry and consolidate free trade zones while easing restrictions on foreign investment and opening Indian markets to imported products. Meanwhile, the BJP achieved further prominence through its association with the violent attacks on Muslims that followed the destruction of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya in 1992 by Hindu-chauvinist mobs. From 1998 to 2004, the BJP led a governing coalition in New Delhi.

Congress Nationalists Paved Way for BJP Butchers

This election was a historic rejection of Congress, which won less than 20 percent of the vote, giving it a mere 44 parliamentary seats. For the first time, a party other than Congress has majority control of the lower house of India’s parliament. At the same time, the election was something less than an unqualified mass endorsement of the BJP’s reactionary program. The Indian electoral system, in which representatives are elected by district, discriminates against parties whose support is concentrated in particular regions. As a result of this system, the BJP was able to achieve a parliamentary majority despite winning less than 32 percent of the vote nationwide.

The road to the BJP’s ascendancy was paved by decades of Congress rule that have left broad sectors of the population desperate for any change. The rate of malnutrition in India is higher than in sub-Saharan Africa: on the Global Hunger Index published by the International Food Policy Research Institute, India ranks below Sudan. Fully 48 percent of Indian children suffer stunted growth and permanent mental impairment because they cannot get enough to eat. Half the population

has no access to toilets. India spends proportionally less on health and education than deeply impoverished Malawi.

Over the past two decades, more than a quarter of a million Indian farmers, driven into hopeless debt and poverty, have committed suicide. Tens of millions of others driven off their land have migrated to the vast, fetid slums surrounding India’s cities, where they try to eke out an existence as street vendors, day laborers and such. Uncountable numbers live on the streets, sleeping in cardboard boxes or anything else they can find.

Meanwhile, the filthy rich rake in ever-greater riches. The combined worth of India’s 100 wealthiest people now stands at \$300 billion. Under Congress rule, routine corruption scandals in recent years have involved the sale of everything from mineral rights to telecom frequency bands. The economy has also slowed down. As the London *Economist* (24 May) noted: “India is meant to be industrialising but manufacturing contributes only 15% of GDP and 11% of jobs, and its share has been falling. A majority of India’s 50m[illion] manufacturing workers toil in facilities without electricity.”

Small wonder that Modi’s demagogic promises of economic growth, infrastructure development and job creation struck a chord with broad sections of the population. But the “Gujarat model” is a cruel joke. The growth rate of the state has slightly exceeded the national average. However, the jobs created in the “special economic zones” are overwhelmingly for casual laborers hired through non-union subcontractors who pay no heed to official labor laws, including minimum wage regulations. Migrant workers are often hired to fill these positions.

For the Indian bourgeoisie, Gujarat under Modi was an exemplary success story. India’s biggest capitalists, such as Ambani and Tata, were clamoring for him to be the next prime minister. Modi’s administration sold off public land dirt cheap to industrialists, provided companies with energy at below-market prices and gave them loans at an almost zero interest rate. Gujarat’s record on infant mortality, poverty and literacy lags behind the miserable rates of other major Indian states. In 2006, there were more undernourished children in Gujarat than there had been 13 years prior.

The BJP government of Gujarat claims that caste oppression no longer exists there. But a May 2014 article in *Le Monde Diplomatique* provided some revealing snapshots. In Gujarat’s Mehsana district, Hindu *dalits*, mostly women, are employed as “manual scavengers” cleaning up human excrement. Although this job was supposedly banned in 1993, they are hired by the state through private intermediaries. Dealing with human waste and dead animals is the traditional role for *dalits* under the caste system. A 2010 study of 1,500 villages revealed many forms of discrimination, from beatings and rapes to *dalit* children being made to clean toilets at school.

As for Muslims, in Ahmedabad—the largest city in Gujarat, boasting new shopping centers, modern roads and luxury housing—the residential pattern changed dramatically following the 2002 pogroms. Muslims are now segregated, living in desperately overcrowded ghettos lacking basic services.

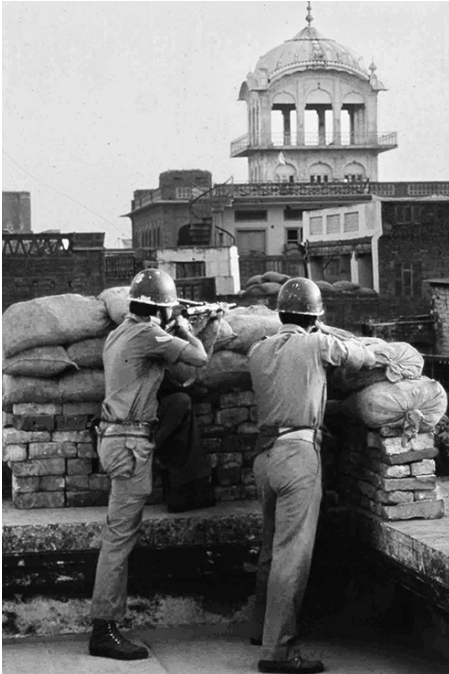
Bloody Footprints of the RSS

Between one and two million people died in the communal slaughter that accompanied the 1947 partition of the Indian subcontinent by the British imperialists into a mainly Hindu India and an Islamic-confessional Pakistan. Almost unthinkable acts of cruelty were inflicted upon entire village populations and refu-

gees fleeing in both directions across the newly declared borders. The RSS—along with its counterparts, the Muslim- and Sikh-based paramilitaries—was prominent in carrying out that carnage.

The following year, a former member of the RSS murdered Gandhi for being too soft on Muslims. But the RSS leaders were quick to offer their services to Nehru’s Congress, insisting that their organization was “the only way to meet the challenge of Communism” and provided “the only ideology which can harmonise and integrate the interests of different groups and classes and thus successfully avoid any class war.” The RSS set about building trade unions with the stated goal of fostering harmony between employers and workers. Today, the RSS controls the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, sometimes claimed to be the country’s largest trade-union federation.

The RSS leadership went on to form an electoral party called the Jana Sangh, which was renamed the BJP in 1980; most of the BJP’s senior figures also hold posts in the RSS. RSS volunteers campaigned for Congress leader Indira Gandhi (the daughter of India’s first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru) during the elections of 1971 and 1984. The 1984 assassination of Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards, after she had ordered the massacre of Sikhs at the Golden Temple in Amritsar, created new opportunities for the far-right Hindu communalists. Screaming “Blood for blood!”, they mobilized their base to massacre Sikhs in the streets of Delhi.



AP

June 1984: Indian troops take up positions around Golden Temple in Amritsar before launching attack that slaughtered as many as 2,000 Sikhs. Congress government ordered the massacre.

Another RSS crusade was against the Babri Masjid mosque at Ayodhya, the mythical birthplace of the Hindu god-king Rama. The RSS mobilized marches and mass rallies calling for the construction of a Hindu temple on that site. The movement was given a major boost by Rajiv Gandhi, who became prime minister following his mother’s assassination. In 1985, his government ordered the gates of the mosque to be opened by force. He later launched his 1989 electoral campaign near Ayodhya, appealing to *Hindutva* by invoking *Ram Rajya* (Hindu rule). The culmination of the communalist mobilization came in December 1992 with the destruction of the mosque by a gigantic mob mobilized by the RSS. That was followed by inter-communal slaughter between Hindus and Muslims that left some 2,000 dead.

The 2002 Gujarat massacre was triggered when a train carrying Hindu activists returning from Ayodhya was torched, killing 58 people. However, Human Rights Watch charged that the Hindu communalists had planned the massacre of Muslims well in advance of the attack on the train. As recounted by columnist Aditya Chakraborty in the London *Guardian* (7 April):

“Within hours and without a shred of evidence, Modi declared that the Pakistani secret services had been to blame;

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he then had the charred bodies paraded in the main city of Ahmedabad; and let his own party support a state-wide strike for three days. What followed was mass bloodshed....

“Other allegations have been made about Modi’s direct involvement in the carnage, but the ones I have listed above aren’t contested by any serious observer.”

As the *Guardian* put it, the new Indian prime minister is “a man with a massacre on his hands.”

As the bourgeois media in India whipped up a cult of Modi as a master administrator, those journalists who dissented were removed or silenced. The BJP was given a pass regarding the bloody events of 2002, even though the names of the politicians, businessmen, officials and cops who coluded in the pogrom are widely known. Some of them have been caught on video proudly recalling how they murdered and raped Muslims. One mass executioner crowed that he had slashed open the womb of a pregnant woman and ripped out her fetus. Modi himself has described the refugee camps where tens of thousands of dispossessed Muslims were driven as “child-breeding centers.”

Western Imperialists Cheer Modi

Capitalists in India and internationally are wildly enthusiastic over the prospect of a BJP government. The Indian stock market skyrocketed to record highs. The *Financial Times’* chief foreign affairs columnist, Gideon Rachman, saw “something thrilling” in Modi’s electoral ascendance. The *New York Times* (16 May) editorial on the election outcome brushed aside the BJP’s role in the Gujarat anti-Muslim pogrom, declaring that Modi had “set a good tone” by promising to work for all Indians. The *Economist* (24 May) wished Modi “every success” and foresaw “an Indian growth miracle.”

A prominent theme in the BJP campaign was the need to undo “outdated” labor laws, especially the 1947 Industrial Disputes Act, which requires state approval for layoffs in companies with more than 100 workers. International finance capital also anticipates the slashing of “wasteful” subsidies on fertilizers, food, fuel and electricity. In addition, the capitalists look to the BJP to step up repression against *adivasi* (tribal) people in the forests of central India, who are resisting the takeover of their land and the granting of mineral rights to the corporate giants.

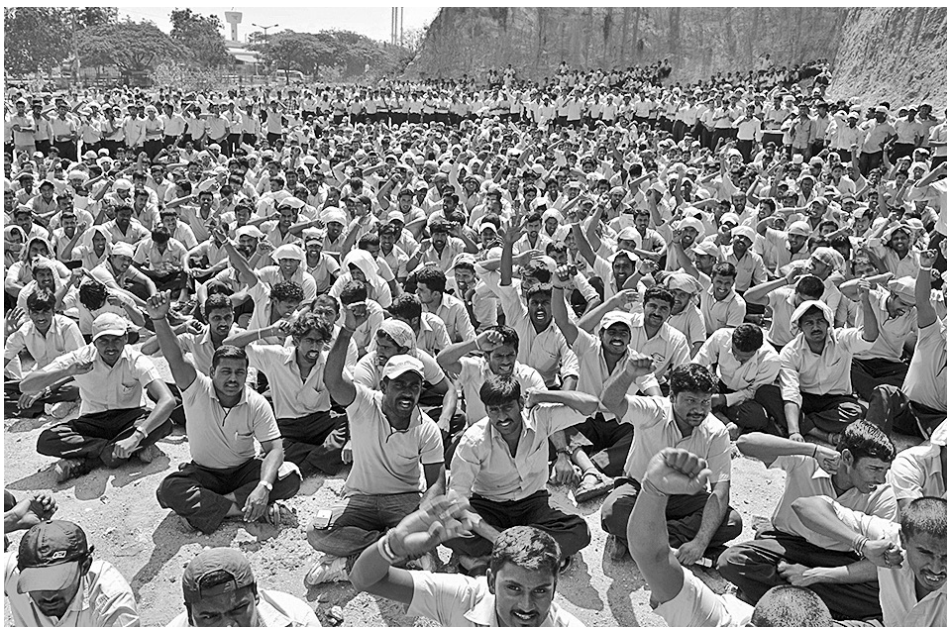
President Obama immediately called

the prime minister-elect to invite him to the White House. For almost a decade, as a sop to Pakistan, Washington had denied Modi entry into the U.S. on the grounds that, delicately put, the BJP didn’t allow religious freedom. But that was yesterday. If the BJP has bloody hands, what’s a massacre or two to the rulers of U.S. imperialism, the greatest force for death and destruction in the world?

Washington was not always so well-disposed toward the Indian government. From its earliest years as an independent country, capitalist India had struck a “non-aligned” posture in the Cold War. Cultivating a progressive image, it obtained significant foreign aid from the USSR. With India considered a “Soviet surrogate” by Washington, Pakistan became the main U.S. client state in South Asia. Capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union changed the geopolitical calculation on all sides. The U.S. has since sought to bring India into its orbit, to which both Congress and the BJP responded favorably.

Washington’s “pivot toward Asia,” aiming to strengthen the military encirclement of China, is one big reason why the Obama government wants warmer relations with India. And the BJP is fully committed to taking a more aggressive stance toward China. When the BJP was last in power in Delhi beginning in 1998, it announced that China was the country’s “potential enemy number one.” The government then staged a series of nuclear tests, with the BJP prime minister writing a letter to President Bill Clinton citing China as the main motivation. A central theme of the BJP’s recent electoral campaign was the call for a tougher stance toward both China and Pakistan. Candidate Modi held an election rally near India’s disputed Himalayan border with China to denounce Beijing’s “expansionist mindset.” The BJP also threatened to reconsider India’s pledge not to launch a nuclear first strike.

This bellicosity did not prevent the Chinese Communist Party-run *Global Times* (19 May) from publishing an article predicting that Modi would be “India’s ‘Nixon’ who will further propel the China-India relationship.” That is a reference to China’s alliance with the U.S. imperialists, consummated during President Richard Nixon’s 1972 visit to Beijing as American bombs were raining on Vietnam. This anti-Soviet lash-up was one of the great crimes of Mao Zedong’s Stalinist regime. And with the destruction of the Soviet



AFP

March 20: Demonstration outside Bangalore by locked-out Toyota workers who later struck for higher wages when company tried to reopen plant.

degenerated workers state, a historic defeat for the working class internationally, the U.S. imperialist juggernaut turned toward China. We Trotskyists fight for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, and for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and establish a regime of proletarian democracy and internationalism.

For a Socialist Federation of South Asia!

India has a proportionally small but strategically placed proletariat with a history of militant struggle, most recently in the auto industry. The Indian capitalists and the imperialist powers to which they are beholden are well aware of the potential power of the working class. After a series of bitter strikes in 2012 at Maruti Suzuki, India’s largest automaker, near Delhi, the workers won the right to form a union but 147 of them are still jailed on frame-up charges. Indian workers have been on the defensive in the face of an unremitting capitalist offensive and strike levels are at record lows, but those strikes that do occur have been remarkably militant. Most consist of plant occupations and are often brutally attacked by security forces.

The Indian working class has been hamstrung by the existing political leadership. The Stalinist-derived Communist Party of India (CPI) and CPI (Marxist)

(CPI[M]) helped prepare the present disastrous situation by supporting Congress for decades, including through formal alliances with its governments, such as the first “United Progressive Alliance” regime in Delhi from 2004 to 2008. In West Bengal, ruled by the CPI(M) for more than three decades, the party’s open alliance with Tata and other big capitalists led to the 2007 massacre of peasants by the state government (see “The Political Bankruptcy of Indian Stalinism,” *WV* No. 993, 6 January 2012). In the recent elections, the discredited CPI(M)-led Left Front won only two seats in West Bengal. Nationally, it took ten seats, compared to five times that number in 2004.

The working class needs a revolutionary leadership, a Leninist-Trotskyist party with a program to mobilize the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed—the vast peasantry, urban poor, national minorities, women, downtrodden castes. Not only in India but throughout the subcontinent, it will take nothing less than proletarian revolution to put an end to the capitalist order that breeds communal, national and ethnic conflicts. The perspective of workers revolution in India is integrally tied to the fight for social revolutions in the imperialist centers—Japan, North America and West Europe. Only the creation of a world planned socialist economy will lay the basis for overcoming scarcity and with that, all forms of social oppression. ■

Young Spartacus

UCLA...

(continued from page 7)

The stark truth is that there is no way to overcome entrenched racial oppression within the framework of capitalism in the universities or elsewhere. The fight for free, quality, integrated education for all must be waged as part of the broader struggle for black liberation through socialist revolution.

Democratic Party, Enemy of the Workers and Oppressed

Affirmative action, school integration, busing and other gains for minorities were not the products of a beneficent ruling class taking pity on the downtrodden—they were *wrested* in the course of the struggle for black rights during the 1960s civil rights movement. But from its outset, the civil rights movement was dominated by a middle-class leadership wedded to the Democratic Party. The liberal-led civil rights movement did not and could not challenge the root cause of black oppression: the capitalist profit system, which in the U.S. was built on the forcible segregation of the mass of black people at the bottom. The Democratic Party’s pretensions to any interest in “justice” and “equality” serve as a safety valve to divert the struggles of the oppressed into harmless electoral channels. Its real purpose, like that of the Republican Party, is to admin-

ister the capitalist state, and in so doing, to enforce racist, capitalist law and order.

Today, the Democratic Party, the supposed friend of the oppressed, controls the governorship, as well as both houses of the California state legislature that quashed SCA 5. From strikebreaking former L.A. mayor Antonio Villaraigosa and current L.A. mayor Eric Garcetti (both of Mexican descent) to Obama, the Democrats are the enemies of the working class, blacks, students, women, immigrants and all of the oppressed.

Ally with the Working Class

In response to the racist flyer they received, UCLA and USC Asian student groups called a town hall meeting, overcrowded with angry students. These groups’ approach was to appeal to the University of California administration to demand “prioritization of programs and initiatives that support a truly inclusive campus.” However, the strategy of calling for the administration to ensure an “inclusive campus” is bankrupt.

While UC administrators bemoan their inability to generate sufficient “diversity,” students should harbor no illusions in the administration. The administration acts in the service of its employers—not the “people” but the capitalist class in the guise of the UC Regents—and serves as their watchdogs. The Regents, which banned affirmative action even before Proposition 209 passed, are a rogues’ gallery

of many of the most powerful figures in California’s capitalist class, from bankers and top executives to close friends of the governor, real estate moguls and so forth. The current UC President, appointed by the board, is none other than Obama’s former secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano, who oversaw a massive ramp-up in anti-immigrant measures, flooding the border with “boots on the ground” and deporting over 1,000 immigrants a day (see “Obama’s Crackdown on Immigrants,” *WV* No. 982, 10 June 2011). Her appointment, rightly seen as a kick in the teeth to undocumented students and their supporters, has been met with opposition and protests UC-wide.

Indeed, the university administration is the tool of the bourgeoisie within the university and it works hand in hand with the state to regiment and repress the students and workers. On March 4, Jessica Rayside, a black student at UCLA, stopped at an intersection in her car and got into an argument with another driver who asked if she was on welfare and called her “nothing but a n---r.” Later that evening, she and a fellow student chalked “White Supremacy Lives in the System” at UCLA—chalking being a common and accepted practice. The UCPD handcuffed and detained them. The response of the Afrikan Student Union to this was an initiative to “work with various under-represented cultural groups to create a UCPD-Student Taskforce” in conjunc-

tion with the director of Police Community Services, the chief of police and the vice chancellor of Student Affairs. Their call fosters the dangerous illusion that the cops can be made to serve the interests of black students and the working class. To the contrary, the job of the police is to protect private property and exercise force and violence to uphold the will of the capitalist class. This means terrorizing the ghettos and barrios, smashing workers’ strikes and repressing student protest over racism and war.

Confronting the material basis of black oppression in America means ripping up the entire edifice of the capitalist profit system, root and branch. Thus, any struggle for the rights of the oppressed must not base itself on appeals to a party that serves the bosses’ interests. Instead, students should ally with the multiracial working class, the only class that has the social power to smash the racist capitalist system. The fight against black oppression is a strategic question of the American socialist revolution. There will be no social revolution in this country without the united struggle of black, white and immigrant workers led by their multiracial vanguard party, just as there is no other road to eliminating the oppression of black people than the victorious conquest of power by the U.S. proletariat. The Spartacus Youth Clubs, youth auxiliaries of the Spartacist League, fight to build such a party. Join us! ■

Archives...

(continued from page 2)

be sure, 20 years ago the Third, or Communist, International was founded as a genuine revolutionary organization. One of its most important tasks was the liberation of the colonial peoples. Only recollections today remain of this program, however. The leaders of the Communist International have long since become the mere tools of the Moscow bureaucracy which has stifled the Soviet working masses and which has become transformed into a new aristocracy. In the ranks of the Communist Parties of various countries—including India—there are no doubt many honest workers, students, etc.: but they do not fix the politics of the Comintern. The deciding word belongs to the Kremlin which is guided not by the interests of the oppressed, but by those of the U.S.S.R.’s new aristocracy.

Stalin and his clique, for the sake of an alliance with the imperialist governments, have completely renounced the revolutionary program for the emancipation of the colonies. This was openly avowed at the last Congress of Stalin’s party in Moscow in March of the current year by Manuilski, one of the leaders of the Comintern, who declared: “The Communists advance to the forefront the struggle for the realization of the right of self-determination of nationalities enslaved by *fascist* governments. They demand free self-determination for Austria...the Sudeten regions...Korea, Formosa, Abyssinia....” And what about India, Indo-China, Algeria and other colonies of England and France? The Comintern representative answers this question as follows, “The Communists...demand of the imperialist governments of the so-called bourgeois democratic states the immediate [*sic*] drastic [*!*] improvement in the living standards of the toiling masses in the colonies and the granting of broad democratic rights and liberties to the colonies.” (*Pravda*, issue No. 70, March 12, 1939.) In other words, as regards the colonies of England and France the Comintern has completely gone over to Gandhi’s position and the position of the conciliationist colonial bourgeoisie in general. The Comintern has completely renounced revolutionary struggle for India’s independence. It “demands” (on its hands and knees) the “granting” of “democratic liberties” to India by British imperialism. The words “immediate drastic improvement in the living standards of the toiling masses in the colonies,” have an especially false and cynical ring. Modern capitalism—declining, gangrenous, disintegrating—is more and more compelled to worsen the position of workers in the metropolitan center itself. How then can it improve the position of the toilers in the colonies from whom it is compelled to squeeze out all the juices of life so as to maintain its own

state of equilibrium? The improvement of the conditions of the toiling masses in the colonies is possible only on the road to the complete overthrow of imperialism.

But the Communist International has travelled even further on this road of betrayal. Communists, according to Manuilski, “subordinate the realization of this right of secession...in the interests of defeating fascism.” In other words, in the event of war between England and France over colonies, the Indian people must support their present slave owners, the British imperialists. That is to say, must shed their blood not for their own emancipation, but for the preservation of the rule of “the City” over India. And these cheaply-to-bought scoundrels dare to quote Marx and

the working masses, while the peasants turn their backs on the proletariat, and fall into apathy. The German revolution, the Austrian revolution, the Chinese revolution and the Spanish revolution have all perished as a result of the policy of coalition.* The self-same danger also menaces the Indian revolution where the Stalinists, under the guise of “People’s Front,” are putting across a policy of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. This signifies, in action, a rejection of the revolutionary agrarian program, a rejection of arming the workers, a rejection of the struggle for power, a rejection of revolution.

In the event that the Indian bourgeoisie finds itself compelled to take even

complete liberty: the proviso for this is a correct revolutionary policy. The Indian people must divorce their fate from the very outset from that of British imperialism. The oppressors and the oppressed stand on opposite sides of the trenches. No aid whatsoever to the slave owners! On the contrary, those immense difficulties which the war will bring in its wake must be utilized so as to deal a mortal blow to all the ruling classes. That is how the oppressed classes and peoples in all countries should act, irrespective of whether Messrs. Imperialists don democratic or fascist masks.

To realize such a policy a *revolutionary party*, basing itself on the vanguard of the proletariat, is necessary. Such a party does not yet exist in India. The Fourth International offers this party its program, its experience, its collaboration. The basic conditions for this party are: complete independence from imperialist democracy, complete independence from the Second and Third Internationals and complete independence from the national Indian bourgeoisie.

In a number of colonial and semi-colonial countries sections of the Fourth International already exist and are making successful progress. First place among them is unquestionably held by our section in French Indo-China which is conducting an irreconcilable struggle against French imperialism and “People’s Front” mystifications. “The Stalinist leaders,” it is stated in the newspaper of the Saigon workers (*The Struggle—La Lutte*), of April 7, 1939, “have taken yet another step on the road of betrayal. Throwing off their masks as revolutionists, they have become champions of imperialism and openly speak out against emancipation of the oppressed colonial peoples.” Owing to their bold revolutionary politics, the Saigon proletarians, members of the Fourth International, scored a brilliant victory over the *bloc* of the ruling party and the Stalinists at the elections to the colonial council held in April of this year.

The very same policy ought to be pursued by the advanced workers of British India. We must cast away false hopes and repel false friends. We must pin hope only upon ourselves, our own revolutionary forces. The struggle for national independence, for an independent Indian republic is indissolubly linked up with the agrarian revolution, with the nationalization of banks and trusts, with a number of other economic measures aiming to raise the living standard of the country and to make the toiling masses the masters of their own destiny. Only the proletariat in an alliance with the peasantry is capable of executing these tasks.

In its initial stage the revolutionary party will no doubt comprise a tiny minority. In contrast to other parties, however, it will render a clear accounting of the situation and fearlessly march towards its great goal. It is indispensable in all the industrial centers and cities to establish workers groups, standing under the banner of the Fourth International. Only those intellectuals who have completely come over to the side of the proletariat must be allowed into these groups. Alien to sectarian self-immersion, the revolutionary worker-Marxists must actively participate in the work of the trade unions, educational societies, the Congress Socialist Party and, in general, all mass organizations. Everywhere they remain as the extreme left-wing, everywhere they set the example of courage in action, everywhere, in a patient and comradely manner, they explain their program to the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. Impending events will come to the aid of the Indian Bolshevik-Leninists, revealing to the masses the correctness of their path. The party will grow swiftly and become tempered in the fire. Allow me to express my firm hope that the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of India will unfold under the banner of the Fourth International. ■

* The experience of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927 is of the most direct significance for India. I heartily recommend to the Indian revolutionists Harold Isaacs’ excellent book, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*.



British viceroy Mountbatten (center) flanked by Indian Congress leader Nehru and Muslim League head Jinnah in 1947 devising plan for partition of Indian subcontinent, which set stage for communalist carnage.

Lenin! As a matter of fact, their teacher and leader is none other than Stalin, the head of a new bureaucratic aristocracy, the butcher of the Bolshevik Party, the strangler of workers and peasants.

* * *

The Stalinists cover up their policy of servitude to British, French and U.S.A. imperialism with the formula of “People’s Front.” What a mockery of the people! “People’s Front” is only a new name for that old policy, the gist of which lies in class collaboration, in a coalition between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In every such coalition, the leadership invariably turns out to be in the hands of the right-wing, that is, in the hands of the propertied class. The Indian bourgeoisie, as has already been stated, wants a peaceful horse trade and not a struggle. Coalition with the bourgeoisie leads to the proletariat’s abnegating the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The policy of coalition implies marking time on one spot, temporizing, cherishing false hopes, engaging in hollow maneuvers and intrigues. As a result of this policy disillusionment inevitably sets in among

the tiniest step on the road of struggle against the arbitrary rule of Great Britain, the proletariat will naturally support such a step. But they will support it with *their own* methods: mass meetings, bold slogans, strikes, demonstrations and more decisive combat actions, depending on the relationship of forces and the circumstances. Precisely to do this must the proletariat have its hands free. Complete independence from the bourgeoisie is indispensable to the proletariat, above all in order to exert influence on the peasantry, the predominant mass of India’s population. Only the proletariat is capable of advancing a bold, revolutionary agrarian program, of rousing and rallying tens of millions of peasants and leading them in struggle against the native oppressors and British imperialism. The alliance of workers and poor peasants is the only honest, reliable alliance that can assure the final victory of the Indian revolution.

* * *

All peacetime questions will preserve their full force in time of war, except that they will be invested with a far sharper expression. First of all, exploitation of the colonies will become greatly intensified. The metropolitan centers will not only pump from the colonies foodstuffs and raw materials, but they will also mobilize vast numbers of colonial slaves who are to die on the battlefields for their masters. Meanwhile, the colonial bourgeoisie will have its snout deep in the trough of war orders and will naturally renounce opposition in the name of patriotism and profits. Gandhi is already preparing the ground for such a policy. These gentlemen will keep drumming: “We must wait patiently till the war ends—and then London will reward us for the assistance we have given.” As a matter of fact, the imperialists will redouble and treble their exploitation of the toilers both at home and especially in the colonies so as to rehabilitate the country after the havoc and devastation of the war. In these circumstances there cannot even be talk of new social reforms in the metropolitan centers or of grants of liberties to the colonies. Double chains of slavery—that will be the inevitable consequence of the war if the masses of India follow the politics of Gandhi, the Stalinists and their friends.

The war, however, may bring to India as well as to the other colonies not a redoubled slavery but, on the contrary,

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NYPD...

(continued from page 12)

then in jail for several robberies. Aiming to cut a deal, he passed Scarcella the name of Alan Bloom, a drug-addicted acquaintance facing up to a century in jail for dozens of robberies. In exchange for immunity from Hynes for the murder and a reduced sentence for the robberies, Bloom “confessed” to Scarcella that he had participated in the diamond courier robbery and gave the cops what they wanted: the name of the supposed mastermind, a white drug-addicted unemployed printer, David Ranta. There was no physical evidence linking Ranta to the murder. The diamond courier testified that Ranta was “100 percent not” the robber. Four of five witnesses in the first lineup also did not identify Ranta.

To make his case, Scarcella claimed that Ranta had confessed, amazingly without even having been prompted, although the confession was not taped. Scarcella admitted he did not show witnesses photographs of other suspects. Meanwhile, Ranta had passed a polygraph test backing up his innocence. But the rabbi’s killing had become a big political issue, and someone had to go down. So Ranta was convicted and for more than 20 years languished behind bars. In March 2013, he was finally freed as part of the official cleanup in response to the Scarcella revelations, with the city agreeing to a \$6.4 million settlement. The day after his release, Ranta suffered a massive heart attack.

The Scarcella-Hynes method is just one possible toxic cocktail of frame-ups, racism and violence. Southern towns and Northern metropolises alike are full of examples. Take Tulia, Texas. In 1999, some 10 percent of its black population was rounded up and jailed as part of the “war on drugs.” Most were finally released in 2003 after the whole operation was exposed as a grotesque frame-up. To the west in Albuquerque, New Mexico, police have shot 40 people since 2010.

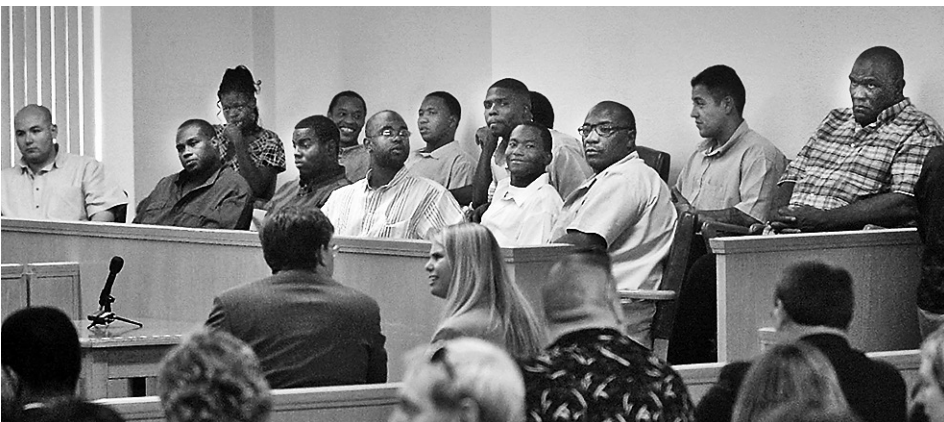
In NYC’s poorest borough, the Bronx—where convictions are handed down in only 46 percent of jury trials, compared to rates between 71 and 88 percent elsewhere in the city—prosecutors favor other dirty tricks. Notably, they have resorted to dragging out trials so that defendants rot in Rikers Island for years. In January 2013, 73 percent of all Bronx felony cases exceeded time targets set by the courts. Prosecutors have taken vacations in the middle of trials and otherwise obstructed

the supposed right to a “speedy trial,” which on paper is grounds for dismissal. Defendants routinely spend years in jail only to be let off, while those convicted often are sentenced to less than the time they spent waiting in jail for trial.

The State Cannot Serve Workers, Oppressed

It is not hard for Thompson to posture as a reformer, given how venal Hynes was as DA. But at the time of his election in 1989, Hynes also assumed the mantle of reform, having served as a special prosecutor going after police corruption and prosecuting white racists who attacked black youth Michael Griffith in Howard Beach, Queens, in 1986. Thompson showed his true colors as an attorney in the U.S. Treasury Department, where he played a key role in the cover-up “investigation” of the 1993 FBI/ATF massacre of over 80 men, women and children of the integrated Branch Davidian religious sect in Waco, Texas.

The capitalist state functions the same under liberal Democrats as it does under right-wing Republicans, whatever the differences in rhetoric. The Scarcella-Hynes string of false convictions started under the administration of the racist pig Ed Koch, continued while black liberal David Dinkins ran City Hall and kept on going after Rudy Giuliani assumed office. In the first three months under new Democratic mayor Bill de Blasio, known as a critic of the NYPD’s stop-and-frisk policy, the total number of misdemeanor arrests in the city barely budged compared with the same period last year. His selection of one of Giuliani’s police commissioners, Bill



Tulia, Texas, June 2003: Court hearing for 13 of 38 defendants convicted on bogus drug charges.

Bratton, to head the department points to the continuity in the NYPD over the decades.

As elsewhere, in New York City during the 1980s and 1990s, the “war on drugs” meant open season on an entire generation of black ghetto youth, thrown on the scrap heap by the capitalist rulers. Hundreds of thousands of jobs in manufacturing and other sectors of the economy had been lost since the 1960s. The thugs in blue were unleashed on the streets. From the cop killing of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpers in her apartment in 1984 to the police torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in Brooklyn in 1997, the NYPD ran up a long record of racist brutality. So widespread is police terror that the city paid some \$100 million in lawsuits during fiscal year 2011; such claims jumped by 20 percent the next year.

The Central Park Five may be the most infamous of these cases. The cops

and courts—with the help of the bourgeois media—framed up five black and Latino youths aged between 14 and 16 for the brutal rape of a 28-year-old bank executive out for a run in 1989. Only in 2002, after the confession of the actual rapist was confirmed by DNA evidence, were they exonerated, having served their entire sentences. (See “The Central Park Five and Racist Capitalist Injustice,” WV No. 1017, 8 February 2013).

Replicated in cities across the country, the “war on drugs” grotesquely found its foot soldiers in Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton and other black Democrats. Draconian mandatory minimum and “three strikes” sentencing laws, expanded use of the death penalty and a deep erosion of the rights of those accused of crimes were all results of this crusade. So too was the quadrupling of the prison population over the last four decades to over two million, the majority black and Latino. And the tortures of America’s dungeons are legion, from beatings at the hands of sadistic guards to solitary confinement. We demand the decriminalization of drugs as well as the abolition of all other laws against “crimes without victims”—prostitution, gambling, pornography, etc.

The all-sided repression and countless frame-ups from the outset of the “war on drugs” through today is proof positive that the capitalist state is the mailed fist of the ruling class and cannot be reformed to act in the interests of working people and the black masses. Hill, Jennette and Ranta deserve whatever recompense they can claw from the bourgeois courts. But true justice—for them and all the exploited and oppressed—will be done only when the capitalist order with its barbaric state institutions is shattered by a proletarian socialist revolution, establishing a society where those who labor rule. ■



Police arrest youth demonstrating against cop killing of 16-year-old Kimani Gray in Brooklyn, March 2013.

Letters...

(continued from page 2)

practice of *arenda*, a leasing arrangement by which the *arendar* (leaseholder) could profit from deepening the exploitation of the peasants. Since many *arendars* were Jewish and over half the crown lands in Ukraine had been leased out to Jewish entrepreneurs by the early decades of the 17th century, the peasants considered the Jews their mortal enemies. Moreover, Jews often held leases on the production and sale of alcohol and tobacco, further inflaming tensions. Thus, the stage was set for the horrible pogroms to follow.

A people-class in medieval and early modern Europe with a distinct culture and religion, the Jews performed a range of occupations that often forced them to act as middlemen between the ruling feudal lords and the oppressed peasant masses. Within this economic division of labor, Jews frequently filled such positions as merchant, moneylender, royal treasurer, peddler, tax collector and *arendar*. This situation served the rulers’ political interests by enabling them to deflect plebeian anger from themselves onto the “outsider”—an oft-repeated stratagem in the history of class societies.

In *Ukraine: A History* (2009), historian Orest Subtelny explained that many peasants and Cossacks used the opportunity of the Ukrainian uprising to vent pent-up hatred against those whom they saw as

their oppressors—not least the Jews: “Within a few months, almost all Polish nobles, officials, and priests had been wiped out or driven from Ukraine. Jewish losses were especially heavy because they were the most numerous and accessible representatives of the *szlachta* regime. Between 1648 and 1656, tens of thousands of Jews—given the lack of reliable data, it is impossible to establish more accurate figures—were killed by the rebels, and to this day the Khmelnytsky uprising is considered by Jews to be one of the most traumatic events in their history.”

In the introduction to Pavlovich’s report, WV mentions the notorious anti-Jewish massacres committed over 250 years later by Simon Petlyura’s Ukrainian peasant forces, which were at war with the Soviet power issuing from the October 1917 proletarian revolution in Russia. A member of the Jewish Bund in Ukraine expressed the sentiments of the Jewish masses at the time: “The armed carriers of socialism, the Bolsheviks, are the only force which can oppose the pogroms.... For us there is no other way” (see “Revolution, Counterrevolution and the Jewish Question,” *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94). As that article noted: “In its struggle to defend and consolidate the new proletarian state power against the White counterrevolutionaries, the Red Army necessarily had to sweep away the pogromist old order.”

Comradely,
Bert Mason

More on Affirmative Action

13 May 2014

Dear WV,

The article “Supreme Court Knives Affirmative Action” (*Workers Vanguard* No. 1045) shows once again that it takes communists to defend even the smallest advances in the civil rights of black Americans.

One aspect of the recent attacks on Affirmative Action and related programs has been the attempts by the ruling class to pit Asian Americans against blacks and Latinos. In California, a mobilization of Chinese voters joined right-wing politicians to kill Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 5, which was aimed at reviving the state’s Affirmative Action programs at public universities and colleges. Republicans and Democrats alike were able to convince Asian American parents that their children would lose opportunities to attend college if the amendment were to pass. The truth is that it’s the capitalists’ wholesale attacks on public education that deny all working people—black, Latino, Asian, and white—any real chance at a quality education.

As Professor Ellen Wu has pointed out, the myth of the Asian ‘model minority’ has been used as an ideological weapon in both the Cold War machinations of US imperialism as well as the divide-and-conquer strategy of suppressing the American working class. In

the midst of the Civil Rights movement, Democratic Senator Patrick Moynihan published an infamous report for the Labor Department blaming black oppression on a lack of family values and contrasted this with the “singularly stable, cohesive and enlightened family life” of Chinese and Japanese Americans. Fast forward 50 years and Donald Sterling, the racist owner of the LA Clippers basketball franchise used his patronizing “affection” for Koreans as a smokescreen for discriminating against the black and Latino would-be tenants of his Los Angeles apartment buildings.

Appeals to the ‘model minority’—these days often in reference to relatively educated and well-to-do Chinese and Indian immigrants—also provide cover for the oppression of other sectors of Asian America. While “respectful” Asian students are praised by school administrators for their supposed achievements, Hmong and Khmer students, for example, have some of the lowest college attendance rates in the country.

As your article rightly pointed out, only open university admissions and free tuition will resolve the struggle over limited educational resources. And even such a modest achievement will take the overthrow of a capitalist system founded on racial oppression.

Brad D.

WORKERS VANGUARD

NYPD Frame-Up Machine

Earlier this month, three victims of the New York Police Department's racist frame-up machine were exonerated. Robert Hill, Darryl Austin and Alvena Jennette were half brothers whose lives were destroyed through the combined efforts of cops and prosecutors. A black man from Crown Heights who suffers from multiple sclerosis, Hill spent the last 25 years behind bars for a murder in the late 1980s that he did not commit. The other two brothers were falsely convicted for a separate murder and locked away in prison hell, where Austin died 14 years ago at the age of 37 and Jennette spent 21 years until he was paroled in 2007. As Pierre Sussman, a civil rights lawyer who represents the brothers, stated: "This is a bittersweet result for a family devastated by the criminal justice system. While Mr. Hill is gaining his freedom and his brother Alvena recovering his good name, their brother Darryl died alone in a jail cell" (*New York Times*, 6 May).

At the center of this outrage is NYPD detective Louis Scarcella. His methods as a member of the Brooklyn North homicide squad (which covers Crown Heights, Bushwick, East New York and other poor, mainly black neighborhoods) from 1987 until he retired in 1999 have provided grist for a year-long *New York Times* exposé that unearthed the details of the frame-up of the brothers. Getting convictions in at least 350 cases over this period, Scarcella built a reputation of solving crimes that nobody else could, some of them years old. He was, according to the *New York Times* (8 April), "one of the most successful detectives in New York City history."

The secret to his success was simple. In the words of the fictional Bronx assistant district attorney Larry Kramer, a character in Tom Wolfe's biting novel *Bonfire of the Vanities* about greed and racism in 1980s New York: "What I do for a living is, I pack blacks and Latinos off to jail." This reality is all too familiar to many city residents. The cops routinely round up whomever they can find, usually black or Latino, concoct some sort of evidence, beat out a confession and railroad the accused to prison. Case solved. Scarcella certainly did little to hide how he got the job done, including by producing witnesses like Teresa Gomez, a drug-addicted prostitute who supposedly saw crime after crime. Known by lawyers as "Louie's go-to witness," Gomez would feature at the trials of the three brothers.

Scarcella first attempted to get Hill convicted based on testimony from Gomez that she spotted him killing somebody in a crack den. Hill was acquitted after a private investigator showed that the closet door keyhole through which Gomez claimed to have witnessed the murder did not exist. Undeterred, the detective dragged Hill back to court over another alleged shooting, this time out on the street, which Gomez again purportedly watched unfold. On the stand, she admitted to lying at Hill's first trial, got basic facts of the new crime wrong and was so belligerent that the judge threatened to strike her testimony. Nonetheless, Hill was convicted.

When it came to framing up Austin and Jennette in a murder case that had gone cold after some two years, Scarcella once again tapped Gomez to testify and once again she got basic facts wrong at the trial. No physical evidence was presented linking the accused to the crime. However, as with Hill, such "details" did not get in the way of a guilty verdict. Last month, the newly installed Brooklyn district attorney Ken Thompson disclosed that the police



Appleton/NY Times

Above: Robert Hill (center) and Alvena Jennette outside Brooklyn court on May 6 after being exonerated of bogus murder convictions. Left: NYPD detective Louis Scarcella doing "perp walk" in 1990 with frame-up victim David Ranta.



Leonardo/NY Post

at the time knew witnesses saw somebody else commit the murder, but did not turn over this information to the defense lawyers as required by law. Soon after, the DA finally admitted that Hill, Jennette and Austin were innocent and asked the court to vacate their convictions.

These announcements were damage control by the Brooklyn DA's office, itself a major part of the apparatus that churns out victims for the penitentiary. As one attorney for the now discredited detective observed, Scarcella's arrests "were authorized by a senior prosecutor" and all "evidence was thoroughly vetted and continuously reviewed." Under the glare of public scrutiny, former district attorney Charles Hynes, who had held the position beginning in 1989, directed the Conviction Integrity Unit (CIU) last May to investigate every murder conviction in which Scarcella was involved—some 57 in all. In September, amid ongoing fallout, Hynes lost the Democratic primary to Thompson, a black former federal prosecutor who promised to clean up the DA's office. (After losing to Thompson in the primary, Hynes switched sides and ran in the November general election as a Republican—and lost to Thompson, again.)

Who will be investigating the investigators? A 22 June 2013 posting on the ProPublica investigative journalism Web site noted that Hynes had appointed one John O'Mara to head the CIU. O'Mara was deputy chief of the homicide unit when Scarcella worked there and later served as top prosecutor in that unit. The ProPublica piece further observed that two New York State judges, several accomplished lawyers at some of the city's more respected firms, four senior officials in the Brooklyn DA's office and no doubt many others "are

linked in at least one, suddenly noteworthy way: they prosecuted cases over the last two decades with Louis Scarcella." In an attempt to give the appearance of some distance from wrongdoing, Thompson brought in a Harvard law professor as the new chief of the now renamed Conviction Review Unit (CRU).

The CRU is currently examining 90 cases, including more than 20 not involving Scarcella. Despite all the fanfare surrounding it, for more than a year the CRU has dragged its feet. "They're saying, wait, wait, wait. How long do you want people to wait?" Derrick Hamilton told the *Daily News* (6 April) about *his* attempt to clear his name of the murder for which he served 20 years before being paroled. The exoneration of Hill and his brothers was the first—and so far only—decision the CRU has made.

The city rulers and such bourgeois mouthpieces as the *Times* consider it safe to dig up dirt on Scarcella and Hynes now that those they ensnared have rotted for decades in prison. Any further exoneration resulting from the current investigation would be long overdue, and whatever damages are awarded to the wrongfully convicted would be far too little compensation for the very real crimes committed against them. However, the actual aim of this project is not to provide a modicum

of justice, but to whitewash a legal system rooted in exploitation and oppression by pinning the blame on a few "rotten apples." Organized violence in furtherance of the rule and profits of the bourgeoisie is the very purpose of the capitalist state—the cops, prosecutors, courts and prisons. When the dust has settled over the Scarcella scandal, the capitalist masters and their media lackeys will pat themselves on the back for cleaning things up...and the machinery of repression will grind on.

Scarcella: No Aberration

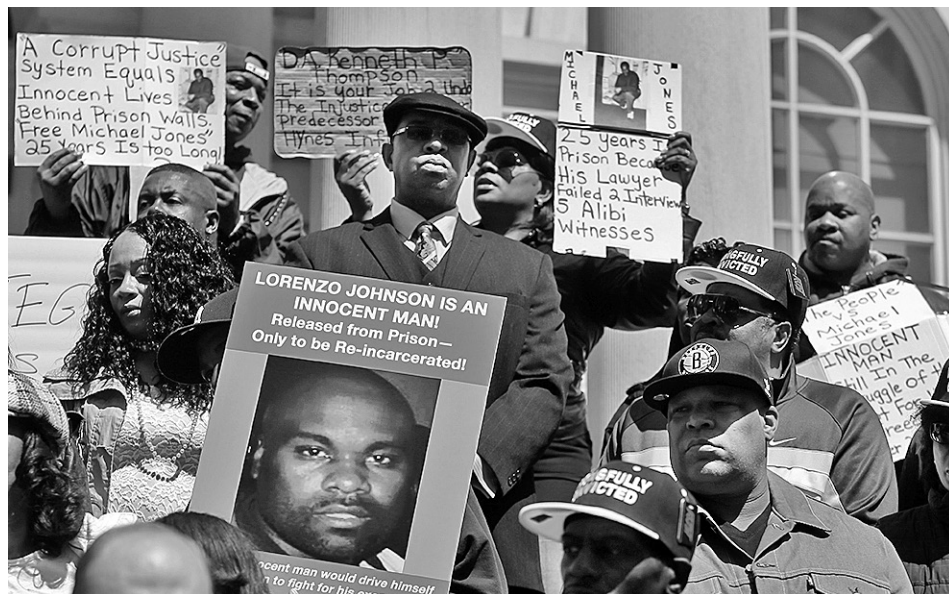
Scarcella was not the "rogue detective" described by the *Times*. On the contrary, his frame-ups are but the tip of the iceberg in the NYPD, as with police departments across the U.S. Or as Jennette later put it, "There are probably thousands of cases like mine." One such case is that of Jabbar Collins, a black man who served 16 years in prison on murder charges until he was released in 2010 once it came out that Michael Vecchione—a star prosecutor under Hynes—and the cops had invented, distorted and withheld evidence.

What set Scarcella apart was his zeal for convictions. He was especially known for getting confessions through violence. "After that kind of treatment," defense attorney Ron Kuby told the *New York Times* almost 20 years ago regarding one of Scarcella's victims, "I think he was ready to confess to any crime in the city" (19 November 1996). Scarcella has boasted that "there were cases where suspects talked to one detective and they got nothing, and they called me and I got statements. A lot of guys don't know how to talk to people" (11 May 2013). If "talking to people" didn't work, Scarcella manufactured witnesses. Prosecutors in Hynes' office would take it from there.

Scarcella made his name in the frame-up of David Ranta, the first of the cases examined by the *Times*. Ranta was falsely convicted in the 1990 murder of Rabbi Chaskel Werzberger, an Auschwitz survivor and leader of the Satmar Hassidic sect, then as now an important Brooklyn voting bloc. During a botched robbery of a diamond courier in Williamsburg, thieves shot Werzberger in the head to take his car to escape. Then-mayor David Dinkins offered a \$10,000 reward for information leading to an arrest. Hynes attended Werzberger's funeral and vowed to bring the killer to justice. Scarcella took command of a 40-detective team.

After the original suspect died, Scarcella interviewed a convicted rapist,

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Family members of inmates framed up by Scarcella at rally outside New York City Hall, April 9.