

Free the Detainees!

U.S. Out of Guantánamo!

The “forever prisoners”: this is how some insightful commentators have described the fate of many of the detainees in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Barack Obama came to office promising to shut down the U.S.’s offshore prison-torture center, and even signed an executive order in 2009 to that effect. Now, some seven years later, in the face of predictable Republican opposition, Obama has again announced a plan to shut Gitmo down, complaining that “keeping this facility open is contrary to our values.”

In fact, the beatings, sleep deprivation, sexual molestation, insanity-inducing isolation and other atrocities regularly com-

mitted at Guantánamo are as American as apple pie. These sadistic tortures—like those at Abu Ghraib in Iraq and at Bagram in Afghanistan—are no aberrations. They are the conscious policies of the bloodiest ruling class in history—one that routinely and necessarily uses terror and degradation to maintain its domination. At home, such savagery finds expression in the living hell of America’s prisons, where nearly a quarter of the world’s prisoners are locked up, more than half of them black and Latino.

Obama does not see much need to take more “terrorist” prisoners. He prefers killing them outright through drone

strikes and Special Ops actions in Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Near East as well as in Somalia, Libya and elsewhere in Africa. Under Obama’s watch, thousands have been assassinated in drone strikes, including U.S. citizens like Anwar al-Awlaki and his 16-year-old son. According to a 2014 report, attempts to kill 41 suspected terrorists through drone strikes in Pakistan and Yemen resulted in the slaughter of 1,147 people.

Obama, in talking about closing Guantánamo, is simply seeking to pursue the interests of U.S. imperialism through other means. Obama has been waging the bipartisan “war on terror” more

vigorously than the previous Bush/Cheney gang. His administration has enshrined into law measures that are the hallmarks of police-state dictatorships: indefinite military detention and legal license for the president to disappear citizens suspected of terrorism. Obama has expanded domestic spying and surveillance, while hunting down whistle-blowers like Chelsea Manning and Edward Snowden. It is telling, though unsurprising, that Obama’s new Supreme Court nominee is Merrick Garland, who as a member of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia

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No Reliance on Democrats, Supreme Court

Fight for Free Abortion on Demand!

On March 2, the Supreme Court heard oral arguments in the most critical abortion case in decades. Abortion providers in Texas, represented by Whole Woman’s Health, challenged the omnibus anti-abortion law known as HB2. Since 2013, the Texas law’s numerous roadblocks to obtaining a safe and timely abortion have forced the closure of at least 22 of 41 clinics. Draconian provisions mandate clinics to meet the costly and unnecessary standards of hospital-level surgery centers and require doctors to obtain admitting privileges from local hospitals. If the provisions are upheld, the number of clinics in Texas will be reduced to fewer than ten, making abortion even more inaccessible for hundreds of thousands of poor, rural, black and Latina women. What is at stake is the fate of abortion services in states across the country. In Louisiana, a similar admitting privileges law—temporarily blocked—threatens to shut down all but one clinic.

Since the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalized abortion nationwide, a variety of reactionary forces, from the pulpit, the legislatures and the courtrooms, have relentlessly chipped away at it. The legal basis for the current assault on women’s rights was laid by the 1992 *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* decision, which upheld *Roe* but gave states the green light to impose restrictions on abortion. Anti-woman bigots have since pushed to curtail the definition of an “undue burden” on women seeking abortion. They have imposed ever-greater hurdles—from mandatory waiting periods to parental consent requirements and bans



ZUMA

Abortion-rights protest outside Supreme Court, March 2.

on late-term abortions. The latest round of legislation, called TRAP (Targeted Regulation of Abortion Providers) laws, has the intended effect of forcing women back to the pre-*Roe* days of coat hangers and back-alley butchery. Since 2010, over 280 state restrictions on abortion have been imposed, nearly as many as during the entire 15-year period prior to that. In the last five years, at least 162 abortion providers have closed or stopped performing abortions, due mostly to cost-prohibitive codes and insurmountable doctor regulations—not to mention violence and terror at the hands of anti-abortion zealots.

The claim that TRAP laws serve to “protect” and “improve” women’s health

is as ludicrous as it is sinister. Abortion is an extremely safe and effective procedure with fewer complications than a colonoscopy. Most, especially medication abortions, can be administered in any setting under medical supervision. A legal brief submitted by the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists and the American Medical Association declared “there is no medically sound reason” for HB2’s provisions. The risks associated with pregnancy, including childbirth itself, are far greater than those of abortion.

The war on abortion rights is driven by the deep-seated anti-woman bigotry that pervades this class-divided society. Abortion is a politically explosive issue

because it poses the question of women’s equality, providing women with some control over whether or not to have children. For this reason, it is seen as a threat to the institution of the family, which is a key prop of the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. Along with organized religion, the family instills rigid sexual stereotypes and conservative morality that promotes fear, guilt and obedience to authority. Such ideological tools allow the rulers to socially regiment the population, and thus better contain any struggle against their system.

While wealthy women always find a way to get safe abortions, for the masses of working-class and poor women—who lack affordable health care, access to contraception and the means to adequately feed, house and educate their children—abortion is simultaneously a vital necessity and increasingly out of reach. Of the roughly one million abortions obtained each year in the U.S., women living below the federal poverty line account for around 40 percent and black and Latina women account for over half. Marcela Howell, the director of the black reproductive rights organization In Our Own Voice, recently noted that black women are disproportionately impacted by the legacy of abortion restrictions like the Hyde Amendment, which bans the use of federal funds to cover the procedure and was signed into law by Democratic president Jimmy Carter in 1977. She also warned of the national implications if the Supreme Court upholds HB2: “We are looking at more than 12 million Black women if you look at the other states where these laws also exist.”

In order for safe and legal abortion to become available to *all* women, we call for free abortion on demand, as part of a fight for quality health care for all, free

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“Communism and the Family”

by Alexandra Kollontai

We print below excerpts from a 1918 speech by Alexandra Kollontai delivered to the First All-Russia Congress of Working Women. This translation is taken from a pamphlet titled “Communism and the Family,” published in London by the Workers’ Socialist Federation sometime between 1918 and 1920. At the time, Kollontai was a leading Bolshevik, though she later fell into line with Stalinism. She was the only woman on the Bolshevik Central Committee on the eve of the October Revolution. Kollontai served in the first workers and peasants government as Commissar of Social Welfare and was a leader of Zhenotdel, the department that oversaw party work among women.

In her speech, Kollontai vividly described the early Soviet workers state’s perspective to eradicate women’s oppression, which is based on the institution of the family. She pointed to the immense possibilities for the emancipation of women in a communist future in which socialized domestic services as well as collectivized care and responsibility for all children would liberate woman and child alike from the chains of the family.

Bolshevik legislation provided women with a level of equality and freedom that had yet to be attained in advanced “democratic” capitalist countries, freeing them from the medieval grip of the Russian Orthodox church and rigid patriarchal hierarchy. The Bolsheviks sought to implement the promise of women’s emancipation and bring women into full participation in economic, social and political life. But at every step their efforts were confronted with the grim poverty and social and economic backwardness in mainly peasant Russia. In addition, the country’s economy had been devastated by World War I and by the Civil War (1918-1920), in which the Bolshevik regime fought against the armies of counterrevolution and imperialist intervention. As Leon Trotsky explained:

“The real resources of the state did not correspond to the plans and intentions of the Communist Party. You cannot ‘abolish’ the family; you have to replace it. The actual liberation of women is unrealizable on a basis of ‘generalized want.’ Experience soon proved this austere truth which Marx had formulated eighty years before.”

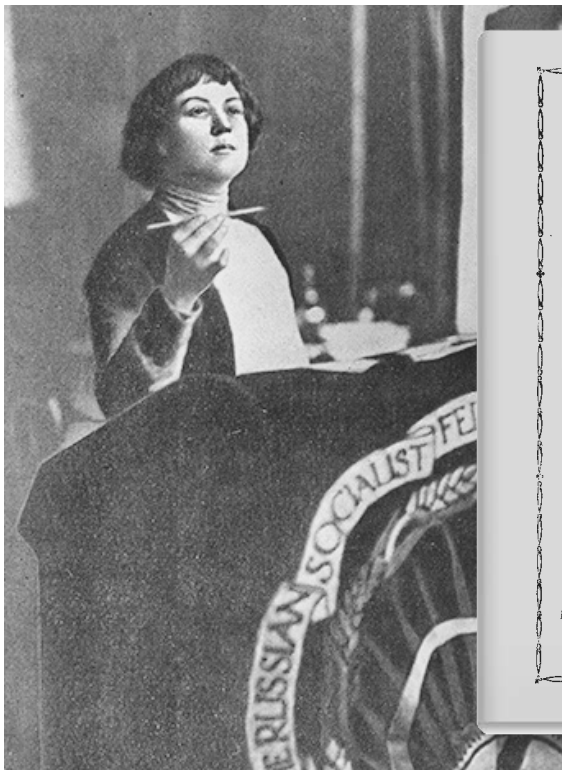
—*The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

Recognizing that the full emancipation of women is only possible on the basis of material abundance, the Bolsheviks looked to the extension of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries, especially Germany. In 1923, the Communist International (Comintern) leadership and the German Communist Party failed to seize a revolutionary opportunity, ignominiously calling off a planned insurrection, after which demoralization swept Russia. By 1923-24, the failure to extend the revolution, the evisceration of the Rus-

sian working class in the Civil War and continuing economic scarcity enabled a bureaucratic caste, headed by Stalin, to usurp control of the Bolshevik Party, the workers state and the Comintern.

Through its futile pursuit of accommodation with imperialism, the Stalinist bureaucracy abandoned the fight for international revolution. The equality of

in reference to the Soviet workers state and other times referring to a future communist society. The Marxist understanding of a workers state is one, like the Soviet Union, in which capitalist rule has been overthrown and replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat. To speak of a “communist state” is erroneous because under communism, a classless global



Hoover Institution

Bolshevik leader Alexandra Kollontai and her work “Communism and the Family.”

women as envisioned by the Bolsheviks never fully came about as the Stalinists ultimately abandoned the communist fight for women’s liberation. In 1930, announcing that the woman question had been officially resolved, Zhenotdel was liquidated. The revised Family Code of 1936 criminalized abortion, made divorce more difficult to obtain and the bureaucracy called for a “reconstruction of the family on a new socialist basis.” (For more details, see “The Russian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women,” *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 59, Spring 2006.)

While the parasitic bureaucracy undermined the revolution, the USSR remained a workers state with a collectivized economy, and the gains achieved by Soviet women could not be wholly erased. Capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR in 1991-92, the door to which had been opened by Stalinist misrule, ushered in untold misery for the peoples of the former Soviet Union, not least women.

In this speech, Kollontai loosely used the term “Communist State,” sometimes

society of material abundance based on generations of economic and social development, the state (and also the institution of the family) will have withered away.

* * *

The Woman No Longer Dependent on the Man.

Will the family be maintained in the Communist State? Will it be just as it is today? That is a question which is tormenting the women of the working class, and which is likewise receiving attention from their comrades, the men. In recent days this problem has particularly been agitating all minds among the working women, and this should not astonish us: Life is changing under our very eyes; former habits and customs are gradually disappearing; the entire existence of the proletarian family is being organised in a manner that is so new, so unaccustomed, so “bizarre,” as to have been impossible to foresee. That which makes women at the present day all the more perplexed is the fact that divorce has been rendered easier in Soviet Russia. As a matter of fact, by virtue of the decree of the People’s Commissaires of December 18th, 1917, divorce has ceased to be a luxury accessible only to the rich; henceforth the working woman will not have to petition for months, or even for years, for a separate credential entitling her to make herself independent of a brutish or drunken husband, accustomed to beat her. Henceforth, divorce may be amicably obtained within the period of a week or two at most. But it is just this ease of divorce which is a source of such hope to women who are unhappy in their married life, which simultaneously frightens other women, particularly those who have become accustomed to considering the husband as the “provider,” as the only support in life, and who do not yet understand that *woman must become accustomed to seek and to find this sup-*

port elsewhere, no longer in the person of the man, but in the person of society, of the State.

From the Genetic Family to the Present Day.

There is no reason for concealing the truth from ourselves: the normal family of former days, in which the man was everything and the woman nothing—since she had no will of her own, no money of her own, no time of her own—this family is being modified day by day; it is almost a thing of the past. But we should not be frightened by this condition. Either through error or through ignorance we are quite ready to believe that everything about us may remain immutable while everything is changing. *It has always been so, and it will always be so.* There is nothing more erroneous than this proverb! We have only to read how people lived in the past, and we shall learn immediately that everything is subject to change and that there are no customs, nor political organisations, nor morals, which remain fixed and inviolable. And the family in the various epochs in the life of humanity has frequently changed in form; it was once quite different from what we are accustomed to behold today. There was a time when only one form of family was considered normal, namely, the *genetic* family; that is to say, a family with an *old mother* at its head, around whom were grouped, in common life and common work, children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren. The *patriarchal* family was also once considered the sole norm; it was presided over by a father-master whose will was law for all the other members of the family; even in our days, such peasant families may still be found in Russian villages. In fact, in those places the morals and the family laws are not those of the city worker; in the country there still are a large number of customs no longer found in the family of a city proletarian. The form of the family, its customs, vary according to race. There are peoples, such as, for instance, the Turks, Arabs, Persians, among whom it is permitted by law for a husband to have many wives. There have been, and there still are at present, tribes which tolerate the contrary custom of permitting a wife to have several husbands. The habitual morality of the present-day man permits him to demand of a young girl that she remain a virgin until legitimate marriage; but there were tribes among whom the woman, on the contrary, made it a matter of pride to have had many lovers, decorating her arms and legs with rings to indicate their number.... Such practices, which could not but astonish us, practices which we might even qualify as immoral, are found among other peoples to have the sanction of holiness, peoples who in their turn consider our laws and customs to be “sinful.” Therefore there is no reason for our becoming terrified at the fact that the family is undergoing a modification, that gradually the traces of the past which have become outlived are being discarded, and that new relations are being introduced between man and woman. We have only to ask: “What is it that has become outlived in our family system and what, in the relations of the working man and working woman and the peasant and peasant woman, are their respective rights and duties which would best harmonize with the conditions of life in the new Russia, in the worker’s Russia which our Soviet Russia now is?” Everything compatible with this new condition would be maintained; all the rest, all the superannuated rubbish which has been bequeathed to us by the cursed epoch of servitude and domination which was characteristic of the landed proprietors and the capitalists, all

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Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa

Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa, born David Rice, died on March 11 in the maximum-security Nebraska State Penitentiary of respiratory failure. A courageous class-war prisoner who was imprisoned for life for a crime he did not commit, Mondo suffered his last days ill with Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease, still fighting for his freedom. He spent almost 46 years in prison and remained a political fighter against racial oppression until the end.

Mondo had been an activist since his youth, radicalized by the mass social struggles that swept the country in the 1960s. Mondo became a supporter of the Black Panther Party in response to racist police brutality, in particular the killing of black 14-year-old Vivian Strong, who was shot in the back of the head by a cop in Omaha, Nebraska, in the summer of 1969. He went on to be a leader of the Omaha National Committee to Combat Fascism with his comrade Ed Poindexter. As Mumia Abu-Jamal put it in a March 15 audio tribute, by becoming a Panther, Mondo “walked into the crosshairs of the state.” He became one of the many victims of the FBI’s deadly COINTELPRO operation under which 38 Black Panthers were killed and hundreds more framed up and imprisoned.

Mondo and Poindexter, who became known as the Omaha Two, were falsely convicted of the 1970 killing of a cop in a bomb explosion on the perjured testimony of teenager Duane Peak, who first confessed to acting alone in placing the bomb. Peak was threatened with getting the electric chair and was offered a deal to be sentenced as a juvenile if he helped frame



Nat Weinstein

1947–2016

Mondo and Poindexter. Peak’s clearly coerced testimony was shown to be completely bogus. A recording of a 911 call that proved Peak’s testimony was perjured was excluded from evidence in the trial and was long suppressed by the FBI. The political motivation for the frame-up was made clear two decades later by Jack Swanson, an Omaha police detective and key figure in the prosecution. In a 1990 BBC documentary, Swanson boasted: “We feel we got the two main players in Mondo and Poindexter, and I think

we did the right thing at the time, because the Black Panther Party...completely disappeared from the city of Omaha...and it’s...been the end of that sort of thing in the city.”

Federal appeals courts ruled that Mondo should be released or retried, but that ruling was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1976, which ordered the case returned to the Nebraska state courts. The Nebraska Supreme Court then ruled that his appeal time had lapsed! In 1993, the Nebraska parole board recommended that the Board of Pardons commute Mondo’s life sentence to a term of a set number of years, which would have made him eligible for parole. But the Board of Pardons denied Mondo a hearing.

Mondo was one of the class-war prisoners who receive monthly stipends from the Partisan Defense Committee. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. The class-war prisoner stipend program is not an act of charity but the duty of those on the outside toward those inside prison walls, irrespective of their particular views or affiliation. Ed Poindexter, who remains imprisoned, is also a PDC stipend recipient.

We remember Mondo—writer, artist and unbroken fighter—who was consigned to America’s prison hell for his opposition to racial oppression. We print below a poem he composed in June 2015 titled *When It Gets to This Point*.

“When It Gets to This Point” by Mondo we Langa

Michael Brown?
I had never heard of him
had never heard of anything he’d
done
before the news of his death came
whoever he might have become
whatever he might have achieved
had he lived longer
not been riddled lifeless by
bullets from Darren Wilson’s gun
and crumpled on the pavement of a
ferguson street
for more than four hours in
the heat of that august day
and before
I’d never heard of Trayvon Martin
had known nothing of who he was
until I learned of his demise
and cause of death
a bullet to the chest
George Zimmerman, the shooter
a badge-less, pretend police
with a pistol
and fear of the darkness

Trayvon’s darkness
and after a while
the pictures, the names,
the circumstances
run together
like so much colored laundry in the
wash
that bleeds on whites

was it Eric Garner or Tamir Rice
who was twelve but seen as twenty
Hulk Hogan or The Hulk
with demonic eyes it was said
who shrank the cop in ferguson
into a five-year-old who
had to shoot
just had to shoot
and John Crawford the third
in a walmart store aisle

and air rifle in his hands he’d pick up
from the shelf
and held in the open
in an open-carry state
was it John or someone else
killed supposedly by mistake
in a dark stairwell
I know Akai Gurley fell
I hadn’t heard of him before
nor of Amadou Diallo or Sean Bell
prior to their killings
which of these two took slugs in the
greater number
I don’t recall
my mind is too encumbered
with the names
of so many more before and since

the frequent news reports of

non-arrests, non-indictments,
non-true bills
and duplicitous presentations by
“experts in the field”
the consultants put out front
to explain away
that which is so often plain as day
to coax and convince us that we’re
the ones
who can’t see straight and
can’t hear clearly
who are the ones replacing facts with
spin
to mislead and mystify
as the beatings and the chokings and
shootings
of our boys and men
by these wrong arms of the law
proceed in orderly fashion
before the sometimes sad
sometimes angry faces of
our uncertain
our hesitant
disbelief.

this shall be swept aside together with the exploiter class itself, with these enemies of the proletariat and of the poor.

Capitalism Destroyed the Old Family Life.

The family in its present form is also simply one of the legacies of the past. Formerly solid, compact in itself, indissoluble—for such was considered to be the character of marriage that had been sanctified by the priest in person—the family was equally necessary to all its members. Were it not for the family, who would have nourished, clothed, and trained the children, who would have guided them in life? The orphans’ lot in those days was the worst that could befall one. In the family such as we have become accustomed to it is the husband who earns and supports wife and children. The wife, on her part, is occupied with the housekeeping and the bringing up of the children, as she understands it. But already for a century this customary form of the family has been undergoing a progressive destruction in all the countries in which capitalism is dominant, in which the number of factories is rapidly growing, as well as other capitalist enterprises which employ working men. The family customs and morals are being formed simultaneously with the general conditions of the life surrounding them. What contributed most of all to change the family customs in a radical manner was without doubt the

universal spread of wage labor on the part of woman. Formerly, it was only the man who was considered to be the support of the family. But for the past fifty or sixty years we have beheld in Russia (in other countries even somewhat earlier) the capitalist regime obliging women to seek remunerative work outside of the family, outside of the house.

30,000,000 Women Bearing a Double Burden.

The wages of the “providing” man being insufficient for the needs of the family, the wife in her turn found herself obliged to look for work that was paid for; the mother was obliged also to knock at the door of the factory offices. And year by year the number of women of the working class who left their homes in order to swell the ranks of the factory, to take up work as day labourers, saleswomen, office help, washerwomen, servants, increased day by day. According to an enumeration made before the beginning of the world war, in the countries of Europe and America there were counted about sixty million women earning a living by their own work. During the war this number increased considerably. Almost half of these women are married, but it is easy to see what sort of family life they must have—a family life in which the wife and mother goes to work outside of the house, for eight hours a day, ten if you include the trip both ways! Her home is necessar-

ily neglected, the children grow up without any maternal care, left to themselves and all the dangerous risks of the street, in which they spend the greater part of their time. The wife, the mother, who is a worker, sweats blood to fill three tasks at the same time: to give the necessary working hours as her husband does, in some industry or commercial establishment, then to devote herself as well as she can to her household and then also to take care of her children. Capitalism has placed on the shoulders of the woman a burden which crushes her: it has made of her a wage-worker without having lessened her cares as a housekeeper and mother. We therefore find the woman crushed under her triple, insupportable burden, forcing from her often a swiftly smothered cry of pain, and more than once causing the tears to mount to her eyes. Care has always been the lot of woman, but never has woman’s lot been more unfortunate, more desperate than that of millions of working women under the capitalist yoke to-day, while industry is in its period of greatest expansion.

Workers Learn to Exist Without the Family Life.

The more widespread becomes the wage labor of woman, the further progresses the decomposition of the family. What a family life, in which the man and wife work in the factory in different departments; in which the wife has not

even the time to prepare a decent meal for her offspring! What a family life when father and mother out of the twenty-four hours of the day, most of which are spent at hard labor, cannot even spend a few minutes with their children! It was quite different formerly; the mother, mistress of the house, remained at home, occupied with her household duties and her children, whom she did not cease to watch with her attentive eye—to-day, from early in the morning until the factory whistle blows, the working woman hastens to her work, and when evening has come, again, at the sound of the whistle, she hurries home to prepare the family’s soup and to do the most pressing of her household duties; after an all too scant sleep, she begins on the next day her regular grind. It is a real workhouse, this life of the married working woman! There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the fact that under these conditions the family ties loosen and the family itself disintegrates more and more. Little by little all that formerly made the family a solid whole is disappearing, together with its stable foundation. *The family is ceasing to be a necessity for its members as well as for the State.* The ancient forms of the family are becoming merely a hindrance.

What was it that made the family strong in the days of old? In the first place, the fact that it was the husband and father who supported the family; in the second

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Trudeau's Canada: More War, More Repression



Corbis

November 2015: Kurdish forces enter ruins of Sinjar, Iraq, following bombing by U.S., Canadian and other imperialist powers. Inset: President Obama with Canada's prime minister Justin Trudeau at White House, March 10.

The following article has been reprinted from Spartacist Canada No. 188 (Spring 2016), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League.

SPARTACIST CANADA

Justin Trudeau's Liberals won a big victory in last fall's federal election based on widespread illusions that they would be a "progressive" wind of change after a decade of right-wing Tory rule. Among Trudeau's many campaign promises was a pledge to withdraw Canadian fighter planes from Iraq and Syria, where they have been part of the U.S.-led bombing campaign against Islamist forces. This gesture, Trudeau claimed, would be in line with "Canadian values." Now the Liberal government has indeed withdrawn the CF-18 jets—as part of a program of *escalating* Canada's military involvement in the Near East. In addition to maintaining planes in the region for refuelling and reconnaissance, the government has

tripled the number of special operations troops embedded with Kurdish forces in northern Iraq.

The government maintains a hypocritical fiction that this is a "non-combat" mission. But the chief of the defense staff, General Jonathan Vance, made clear that Canadian soldiers "will accompany their Kurdish counterparts to the frontlines, engage in firefights and even call in airstrikes" (*Toronto Star*, 8 February). Trudeau is also sending additional military personnel to Jordan, Lebanon and Kuwait, where they will spot targets and render other forms of deadly assistance to local forces.

Canada's shift in military deployment was endorsed by Washington. Speaking on behalf of U.S. defense secretary Ashton Carter, a Pentagon spokesman told the media that "the secretary sees these as significant contributions, and he appreciates the decision by the Trudeau government to step up Canada's role in the campaign at this critical time" (Associated Press, 8 February). Meanwhile, a Canadian warship has been dispatched to the Aegean Sea as part of a NATO flotilla that aims to stop desperate Syrian, Iraqi and other refugees from entering Europe. And the government is considering joining another NATO military intervention in Libya, a country that was devastated in 2011 by imperialist bombardment including by Canadian warplanes.

Only a few months ago, much of the reformist left and the top labour leadership were positively giddy about Trudeau's election. The Communist Party called the vote a "significant victory for the working class, for indigenous peoples, for women, youth and students" (communist-party.ca, 27 October). The International Socialists (I.S.) wrote: "We should take joy that Harper is gone, and that he was voted out on desire for change and that movements outside Parliament should feel emboldened to fight harder" (socialist.ca, 22 October). The Canadian Labour Congress bureaucrats saluted "the onset of a new era in relations between the labour movement and the federal government." In contrast, we emphasized that Trudeau was merely providing a facelift for Canadian capital-

ism and that his government would be an "enemy of workers and the poor."

Whether run by Tories or Liberals (or for that matter, the NDP social democrats), the Canadian capitalist state can never be a force for peace, "fairness" or any other "humanitarian" value. It is committed to protecting the private property of a minuscule group of super-rich businessmen and bankers. Canadian military operations abroad are predatory, rooted in the same capitalist economic system that is responsible for exploitation and poverty here at home: from low wages and grinding conditions on the shop floor to soaring student debt, rotten "temporary" work contracts, unemployment and homelessness. The necessary response is class struggle against Canadian capitalism. *All U.S., Canadian and other coalition troops out of the Near East!*

Imperialist Anarchy

Under Liberal and Tory regimes alike, Canada has played a full part in a stream of U.S. wars and occupations, from Iraq in the 1990s to Afghanistan in the early 2000s and more, leaving millions upon millions dead, starving or homeless. The bombing of the reactionary forces of

Islamic State (ISIS) is the latest episode in the bloody imperialist interventions that have laid waste to Iraq and other parts of the Near East and touched off spiralling communal and ethnic bloodletting. Cynically launched in the name of "humanitarian" assistance to Shi'ites, Kurds and others threatened by the ISIS cutthroats, the imperialist onslaught is aimed at reinforcing the hold of the U.S. and its allies over the Near East.

As we explain in more detail elsewhere [see "Syria: Imperialists Fuel Bloodbath," WV No. 1084, 26 February], there can be no road forward for working people and the oppressed without forthright opposition to all imperialist military interventions. Any blows dealt to the U.S., Canadian and other imperialist forces assist the struggles of workers and other oppressed people internationally. The fact that various Kurdish and Shi'ite forces have been operating as boots on the ground for the U.S. forces means that revolutionary Marxists have a military side with ISIS when it targets the imperialists or their proxies. It goes without saying that we internationalist communists are die-hard enemies of the ultra-reactionary social and political program of ISIS, whose methods of rooting out "apostates" amount to mass slaughter, and that we condemn communal atrocities on all sides.

Purported concern for the Kurds and other minorities is a key selling point for Trudeau as he escalates Canada's role in the war. "We will be supporting and empowering local forces to take their fight directly to ISIL [ISIS] so that, kilometre by kilometre, they can reclaim their homes, their land and their future," he told a news conference on February 8. A report by Human Rights Watch serves to contrast the grisly reality: "Kurdish forces for months barred Arabs displaced by fighting from returning to their homes in portions of Ninewa and Erbil provinces, while permitting Kurds to return to those areas and even to move into homes of Arabs who fled" ("Iraqi Kurdistan: Arabs Displaced, Cordoned Off, Detained," hrw.org, 25 February 2015).

In December, Canadian special-ops troops fought alongside Kurdish forces in battles with ISIS for control of the city of Erbil. According to Human Rights Watch, thousands of Arabs have been confined in "security zones" as videos emerge of Kurdish fighters torturing and threatening to rape their captives. Canadian troops also provided ongoing military assistance to Iraqi and Syrian Kurdish forces last fall to retake the city of Sinjar. "The Canadians are among our most important guys," boasted a Kurdish infantry general to a war correspondent for the right-wing *National Post* (28 April 2015).

The Fraud of "Humanitarian" Imperialism

The domestic reflection of the imperialists' devastation of the Near East is the demonization of Muslims in the name of a "war on terror." This "war on terror"—which is not a war at all, but a political construct designed to regiment the population and justify government repression—was launched in Canada by a Lib-

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**Trudeau's Canada:
More War,
More Repression**

Justin Trudeau's Liberals won a big victory in last fall's federal election based on widespread illusions that they would be a "progressive" wind of change after a decade of right-wing Tory rule. Among Trudeau's many campaign promises was a pledge to withdraw Canadian fighter planes from Iraq and Syria, where they have been part of the U.S.-led bombing campaign against Islamist forces. This gesture, Trudeau claimed, would be in line with "Canadian values." Now the Liberal government has indeed withdrawn the CF-18 jets—as part of a program of escalating Canada's military involvement in the Near East. In addition to maintaining planes in the region for refuelling and reconnaissance, the government has tripled the number of special operations troops embedded with Kurdish forces in northern Iraq. The government maintains a hypocritical fiction that this is a "non-combat" mission. But the chief of the defense staff, General Jonathan Vance, made clear that Canadian soldiers "will accompany their Kurdish counterparts to the frontlines, engage in firefights and even call in airstrikes" (Toronto Star, 8 February). Trudeau is also sending additional military personnel to Jordan, Lebanon and Kuwait, where they will spot targets and render other forms of deadly assistance to local forces. Canada's shift in military deployment was endorsed by Washington. Speaking on behalf of U.S. defense secretary Ashton Carter, a Pentagon spokesman told the media that "the secretary sees these as significant contributions, and he appreciates the decision by the Trudeau government to step up Canada's role in the campaign at this critical time" (Associated Press, 8 February). Meanwhile, a Canadian warship has been dispatched to the Aegean Sea as part of a NATO flotilla that aims to stop desperate Syrian, Iraqi and other refugees from entering Europe. And the government is considering joining another NATO military intervention in Libya, a country that was devastated in 2011 by imperialist bombardment including by Canadian warplanes. Only a few months ago, much of the reformist left and the top labour leadership were positively giddy about Trudeau's election. The Communist Party called the vote a "significant victory for the working class, for indigenous peoples, for women, youth and students" (communist-party.ca, 27 October). The International Socialists (I.S.) wrote: "We should take joy that Harper is gone, and that he was voted out on desire for change and that movements outside Parliament should feel emboldened to fight harder" (socialist.ca, 22 October). The Canadian Labour Congress bureaucrats saluted "the onset of a new era in relations between the labour movement and the federal government." In contrast, we emphasized that Trudeau was merely providing a facelift for Canadian capital-

**U.S., Canada Out of the Near East!
Syria: Imperialists Fuel Bloodbath**
(Page 8)

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Canadian citizens (from left) Abdullah Almalki, Ahmad El Maati and Muayyed Nureddin, framed up as "terrorists," then jailed and tortured in Syria.

4

WORKERS VANGUARD

Protest Anti-Communist Censorship at University!

Young Spartacus

We reprint below a translation published in Spartacist Canada No. 188 (Spring 2016) of a leaflet issued by our comrades in Montreal on March 4.

On February 17, the UQAM [Université du Québec à Montréal] administration notified our comrades of the Groupe d'Étudiants Trotskyistes [Trotskyist Student Group], which has organized political events at UQAM in partnership with the Ligue Trotskyiste, that their status as a candidate campus group had been terminated. The reason: an absurd claim that our comrades failed to “maintain good relations with the university community.” Scandalously, this attack was driven by a “complaint” to the UQAM administration filed by the Étudiant-es Socialistes [Socialist Students] group, which is affiliated with the fake-Marxist Alternative Socialiste (Quebec section of the Committee for a Workers' International). This banning order follows a failed attempt by a cabal of student association bureaucrats to stop us from holding a public meeting in September 2014 titled “Marxism or Feminism: For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!” The UQAM administration and their left bootlickers are hell-bent on censoring the revolutionary Marxists.



Spartacist Canada

Picket lines mean don't cross! Ligue Trotskyiste comrades join teaching assistants' picket line in December. Sign reads: “For the Unity of Workers, Professors and Students Against UQAM Administration.”

The role of the rightly much-despised UQAM administration is to run the university in the interests of society's capitalist rulers. Last spring, the administration brought the cops onto campus to quell a student strike against austerity. During one notoriously brutal intervention, they arrested 22 people and used

tear gas to break up the occupation of a campus building. In addition, several student militants were threatened with expulsion for their political activities. More recently, the administration has refused to meet the modest demands of its student workers. SÉTUE, a union that includes teaching and research assistants, has been on strike since the beginning of December. The university has maintained a hard line against the union. Indeed, UQAM rapidly obtained an injunction from the bosses' courts to prevent strikers from blocking the campus. So much for “good relations with the university community.”

Our comrades in the Groupe d'Étudiants Trotskyistes have joined and defended the SÉTUE picket lines, which represent the class line between the capitalists and the workers, two classes with irreconcilable interests. On the lines, at union meetings and elsewhere, our comrades have argued for a class-struggle perspective to win the strike. The road forward for a small, isolated union like SÉTUE is to struggle to shut down the campus, mobilizing other campus workers, students and professors. Picket lines mean don't cross! One out, all out!

As for Étudiant-es Socialistes, instead of honouring the strikers' pickets and boycotting any activities on campus as an expression of class solidarity—actions

that should be elementary for socialists—they have undermined the strike. Not content with crossing picket lines, they have invited others to do the same. For example, a January 9 post on their Facebook page invited students to attend the “Rendez-vous de la vie étudiante” [student clubs event] *organized by the administration* and held inside UQAM on January 25-26.

Collaborating with the class enemy is nothing new for Alternative Socialiste. They uphold the scandalous position that cops are “workers in uniform.” They support the petty-bourgeois populist Québec Solidaire, which stands for leaving the capitalist system in place while offering to apply a few palliatives to its brutal workings. In the United States, their co-thinkers are cheerleaders for would-be Democratic Party candidate Bernie Sanders, the imperialist running dog who supports the U.S. bombing campaign in Syria. Internationally, their forebears took the side of the imperialists and did their small part to bring about capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, a world-historic defeat for the international working class. (For more on their long history of betrayals, see our Spartacist pamphlet, *Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State* [1994].)

Against the university administration and its lackeys, we stand for full democratic rights for all student groups, including those who uphold this capitalist system which we seek to do away with through socialist revolution. The capitalist rulers want to keep students from exposure to communist politics as part of their efforts to regiment youth to be ignorant and compliant servants of their system. Our comrades will go forward, striving to win over a new generation of radical youth to revolutionary Marxism at UQAM and elsewhere, notwithstanding the despicable machinations of reformists like Étudiant-es Socialistes. We will not be silenced! ■

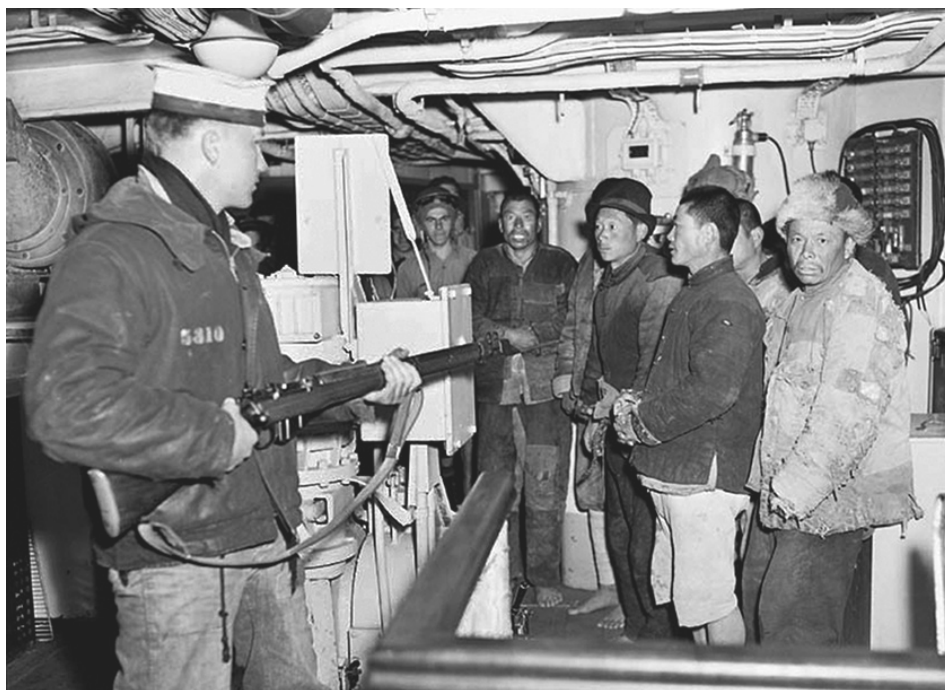
eral government under Jean Chrétien. It remains in full force today under Trudeau. While in opposition, the Liberals voted for the Tories' repressive Anti-Terrorism Act (Bill C-51), and they now are enforcing its provisions.

Notably, the Trudeau government is shielding the CSIS secret police from any obligation to release thousands of documents pertinent to the cases of Muayyed Nureddin, Ahmad El Maati and Abdullah Almalki. These three Canadian citizens are seeking an apology and \$100 million [US\$76 million] in damages from the government over its role in helping to arrange their jailing and torture in a Syrian prison in 2001-04. They were held in the same prison as Maher Arar, who was infamously “rendered” there in 2002 at the behest of Canadian intelligence services.

It was Chrétien's government that colluded with the U.S. to have Arar spirited to Syria for interrogation under torture. After they lost office to the Tories, the Liberals cynically backed Nureddin, Maati and Almalki's case against the government. But now, back in power, they have flipped again. Indeed, the Liberals are going even farther than Harper did in covering for CSIS. While the Tories' Bill C-44 granted CSIS sources blanket anonymity last year, Trudeau's government is now making that anonymity *retroactive*.

“The lethal enemy of barbarism isn't hatred, it's reason,” said Justin Trudeau, “and the people terrorized by ISIL every day don't need our vengeance, they need our help.” This traditional “civilizing” or “humanitarian” notion of Canadian imperialism went by the wayside under Harper, with his “warrior nation” rhetoric. Harper's decade of overt and unapologetic campaigns against oppressed people at home and abroad alienated growing sectors of the population, leaving Canadian imperialism in need of an overhaul. Now the Liberals are back, and they're looking to revive the fraud of Canada's “progressive” image.

Imperialism is not a set of policies to be tweaked by parliamentary regimes of



Library and Archives Canada

Korean fishermen arrested by Canadian navy off west coast of Korea, May 1951. Canadian imperialists sent 20,000 soldiers to join Korean War, in which some three million people were killed.

varying political hues. It is an economic system. In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin noted that “Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established,” and “in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.” A small club of wealthy imperialist powers subordinate and oppress the vast majority of the world's population. Dependent countries, which today include most of those in Asia, Africa and Latin America, “politically, are formally independent, but in fact, are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence.”

Canada's role on the world stage is as a junior partner of U.S. imperialism. Its “humanitarian” posture has often enabled it to function as a purported honest broker while upholding the interests of Washing-

ton. Anything but “peaceful,” this role has always been violent and predatory.

Canadian “peacekeeping” made its debut in the 1950s, when more than 20,000 Canadian troops joined the U.S.-led war

against the North Korean and Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers states under United Nations auspices. A decade later, starting in 1960, Canadian “UN peacekeepers” were sent to the Congo to help protect its vast mineral wealth for imperialist exploitation. Helping to overthrow Patrice Lumumba's radical-nationalist government, they set the stage for his murder.

During Washington's long, losing war against the Vietnamese Revolution in the 1960s and '70s, Canadian “peacekeepers” and “observers” served as spies for the U.S., while Canada supplied the U.S. war machine with \$1 million a day in arms shipments. Liberal prime minister Lester Pearson, a Nobel “Peace” Prize winner, met with U.S. president Lyndon Johnson in May 1964 as Washington was planning a mass terror bombing campaign against North Vietnam. According to the official U.S. record of the discussion, Pearson indicated that he would understand “the punitive striking of discriminate targets by careful iron bomb attacks” (cited in James Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada—Indochina: Roots of Complicity*, 1983).

In the 1990s, Canadian UN troops tortured and killed civilians in Somalia, including the gruesome murder of Shidane Arone by the fascist-infested Canadian

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Kollontai...

(continued from page 3)

place, that the home was a thing equally necessary to all the members of the family; and in the third and last place, that the children were brought up by the parents. What is left of all this to-day? The husband, we have just seen, has ceased to be the sole support of the family. The wife, who goes to work, has become the equal of her husband in this respect. She has learned to earn her own living and often also that of her children and her husband. This still leaves us as the function of the family the bringing-up and the support of the children while very young. Let us now see whether the family is not about to be relieved also even of this task just mentioned....

The Dawn of Collective Housekeeping.

The individual household has passed its zenith. It is being replaced more and more by collective housekeeping. The working woman will sooner or later need to take care of her own dwelling no longer; in the Communist society of tomorrow this work will be carried on by a special category of working women who will do nothing else. The wives of the rich have long been freed from these annoying and tiring duties. Why should the working woman continue to carry out these painful duties? In Soviet Russia the life of the working woman should be surrounded with the same ease, with the same brightness, with the same hygiene, with the same beauty, which has thus far surrounded only the women of the richer classes. In a Communist society the working woman will no longer have to spend her few, alas, too few hours of leisure, in cooking, since *there will be in Communist society public restaurants and central kitchens* to which everybody may come to take his meals.

These establishments have already been on the increase in all countries, even under the capitalist regime. In fact, for half a century the number of restaurants and cafes in all the great cities of Europe increased day by day; they sprang up like mushrooms after an autumn rain. But while under the capitalist system only people with well-lined purses could afford to take their meals in a restaurant, in the Communist city, anyone who likes may come to eat in the central kitchens and restaurants. The case will be the same with washing and other work: the working woman will no longer be obliged to sink in an ocean of filth or to ruin her eyes in darning her stockings or mending her linen; she will simply carry these things to the *central laundries* each week, and take them out again each week already washed and ironed. The working woman will have one care less to face. Also, special clothes-mending shops will give the working women the opportunity



VAAP



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Above: Russian women join workers demonstration demanding eight-hour workday during year of Revolution, 1917. Left: Women's revolutionary detachment headed for the front during Civil War, 1918.

to devote their evenings to instructive readings, to healthy recreations, instead of spending them as at present in exhausting labor. Therefore, the four last duties still remaining to burden our women, as we have seen above, will soon also disappear under the triumphant Communist regime. And the working women will surely have no cause to regret this. Communist society will only have broken the domestic yoke of woman in order to render her life richer, happier, freer, and more complete.

The Child's Upbringing Under Capitalism.

But what will remain of the family after all these labors of individual housekeeping have disappeared? We still have *the children* to deal with. But here also the state of the working comrades will come to the rescue of the family by substituting for the family; society will gradually take charge of all that formerly was on parents. Under the capitalist regime, *the instruction of the child has ceased to be the duty of the parents*. The children were taught in schools. Once the child had attained school age, the parents breathed more freely. Beginning with this moment the intellectual development of their child ceased to be an affair of theirs. But all the

obligations of the family toward the child were not therefore finished. There was still the duty of feeding the child, buying it shoes, clothing it, making skilled and honest workers of them, who might be able when the time came to live by themselves and to feed and support their parents in their old age. However, it was very unusual when a worker's family was able to fulfil entirely all these obligations towards their children; their low wages did not permit them even to give the children enough to eat, while lack of leisure prevented the parents from devoting to the education of the rising generation the full attention which it demanded for this duty. The family was supposed to bring up the children. But did it really? As a matter of fact, it is the street which brings up the children of the proletariat. The children of the proletarians are ignorant of the amenities of family life, pleasures which we still shared with our own fathers and mothers.

Furthermore, the low wages of the parents, insecurity, even hunger, frequently bring it about that when hardly ten years of age, the son of the proletarian already becomes in his turn an independent worker. Now, as soon as the child (boy or girl) begins to earn money, he considers himself the master of his own person to such an extent that the words and counsels of his parents cease having any effect upon him, the authority of the parents weakens and obedience is at an end. As the domestic labors of the family die out one by one, all obligations of support and training will be filled by society in place of the parents. Under the capitalist regime the children were frequently, too frequently, a heavy and unbearable burden to the proletarian family.

The Child and the Communist State.

Here also the Communist society will come to the aid of the parents. In Soviet Russia, owing to the care of the Commissariats of Public Education and of Social Welfare, great advances are being made, and already many things have been done in order to facilitate for the family the task of bringing up and supporting the children. There are homes for very small babies, day nurseries, kindergartens, children's colonies and homes, infirmaries, and health resorts for sick children, restaurants, free lunches at school, free distribution of text books, of warm clothing, of shoes to the pupils of the educational establishments—does all this not sufficiently show that the child is passing out of the confines of the

family and being placed from the shoulders of the parents on those of collectivity? The care of children by the parents consisted of three distinct parts: (1) the care necessarily devoted to the very young babies; (2) the bringing up of the child; (3) the instruction of the child. As for the instruction of children in primary schools and later in gymnasiums [European secondary school] and universities, it has become a duty of the State, even in capitalist society. The other occupations of the working class, its conditions of life, imperatively dictated, even to capitalist society, the creation for the purposes of the young, of playgrounds, infants' schools, homes, etc., etc. The more the workers became conscious of their rights, the better they were organised in any specific State, the more society would show itself to be concerned with relieving the family of the care of the children. But bourgeois society was afraid of going too far in this matter of meeting the interests of the working class, lest it contribute in this way to the disintegration of the family. The capitalists themselves are not unaware of the fact that the family of old, with the wife a slave and the man responsible for the support and well-being of the family, that the family of this type is the best weapon to stifle the proletarian effort toward liberty, to weaken the revolutionary spirit of the working man and working woman. Worry for his family takes the backbone out of the worker, obliges him to compromise with capital. The father and the mother, what will they not do when their children are hungry? Contrary to the practice of capitalist society, which has not been able to transform the education of youth into a truly social function, a State work, Communist society will consider the social education of the rising generation, as the very basis of its laws and customs, as the corner-stone of the new edifice. Not the family of the past, petty and narrow, with its quarrels between the parents, with its exclusive interests in its own offspring, will mould for us the man of the society of to-morrow. Our new man, in our new society, is to be moulded by Socialist organisations such as playgrounds, gardens, homes, and many other such institutions, in which the child will pass the greater part of the day and where intelligent educators will make of him a Communist who is conscious of the greatness of this sacred motto: solidarity, comradeship, mutual aid, devotion to the collective life.

The Mother's Livelihood Assured.

But now, with the bringing up gone and with the instruction gone, what will remain of the obligations of the family toward its children, particularly after it has been relieved also of the greater portion of the material cares involved in having a child, except for the care of a very small baby while it still needs its mother's attention, while it is still learning to walk, clinging to its mother's skirts? Here again the Communist State hastens to the aid of the working mother. No longer shall

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the child-mother be bowed down with a baby in her arms! The Workers' State charges itself with the duty of assuring a livelihood to every mother, whether she be legitimately married or not, as long as she is suckling her child, of creating all over maternity houses, of establishing in all the cities and all the villages, day nurseries and other similar institutions in order thus to permit the woman to serve the State in a useful manner and simultaneously to be a mother.

Marriage No Longer a Chain.

Let the working mothers be re-assured. The Communist Society is not intending to take the children away from the parents nor to tear the baby from the breast of its mother; nor has it any intention of resorting to violence in order to destroy the family as such. No such thing! Such are not the aims of the Communist Society. What do we observe to-day? The out-worn family is breaking. It is gradually freeing itself from all the domestic labors which formerly were as so many pillars supporting the family as a social unit. Housekeeping? It also appears to have outlived its usefulness. The children? The parent-proletarians are already unable to take care of them; they can assure them neither subsistence nor education. This is the situation from which both parents and children suffer in equal measure. Communist Society therefore approaches the working woman and the working man and says to them:

“You are young, you love each other. Everyone has the right to happiness. Therefore live your life. Do not flee happiness. Do not fear marriage, even though marriage was truly a chain for the working man and woman of capitalist society. Above all, do not fear, young and healthy as you are, to give to your country new workers, new citizen-children. The society of the workers is in need of new working forces; it hails the arrival of every newborn child in the world. Nor should you be concerned because of the future of your child; your child will know neither hunger nor cold. It will not be unhappy nor abandoned to its fate as would have been the case in capitalist society. A subsistence ration and solicitous care are assured to the child and to the mother by the Communist Society, by the Workers' State, as soon as the child arrives in the world. The child will be fed, it will be brought up, it will be educated by the care of the Communist Fatherland; but this Fatherland will by no means undertake to tear the child away from such parents as may desire to participate in the education of their little ones. The Communist Society will take upon itself all the duties involved in the education of the child, but the paternal joys, the maternal satisfaction—such will not be taken away from those who show themselves capable of appreciating and understanding these joys.”

Can this be called a destruction of the family by means of violence? Or a forcible separation of child and mother?

The Family a Union of Affection and Comradeship.

There is no escaping the fact: the old type of family has seen its day. It is not the fault of the Communist State, it is the result of the changed conditions of life. *The family is ceasing to be a necessity of the State, as it was in the past*; on the contrary, it is worse than useless, since it needlessly holds back the female workers from a more productive and far more serious work. Nor is it any longer necessary to the members of the family themselves, since the task of bringing up the children, which was formerly that of the family, is passing more and more into the hands of the collectivity. But, on the ruins of the former family we shall soon behold rising a new form which will involve altogether different relations between men and women, and which will be *a union of affection and comradeship, a union of two equal persons of the Communist Society, both of them free, both of them independent, both of them workers*. No more domestic “servitude” for women! No more inequality within the family. No more fear on the part of the woman to remain without support or aid with little ones in her arms if her husband should desert her. The woman in the Communist city no longer depends on her husband



Alamy

Left: Reading class for women, Soviet Caucasus, 1920s. Bolsheviks struggled to emancipate women of Muslim East. Right: 1920 poster reads “What the October Revolution Gave to Woman Worker and Peasant.” Buildings in background include “Adult School,” “Cafeteria,” “Mother and Child Center.”



RSFSR Artist

but on her work. It is not her husband but her robust arms which will support her. There will be no more anxiety as to the fate of her children. The State of the Workers will assume responsibility for these. Marriage will be purified of all its material elements, of all money calculations, which constitute a hideous blemish on family life in our days. Marriage is henceforth to be transformed into a sublime union of two souls in love with each other, each having faith in the other; this union promises to each working man and to each working woman simultaneously, the most complete happiness, the maximum of satisfaction which can be the lot of creatures who are conscious

union of men and women who are lovers and comrades, another shameful scourge will also be seen to disappear, another frightful evil which is a stain on humanity and which falls with all its weight on the hungry working woman: prostitution.

No More Prostitution.

This evil we owe to the economic system now in force, to the institution of private property. Once the latter has been abolished, the trade in women will automatically disappear.

Therefore let the woman of the working class cease to worry over the fact that the family as at present constituted is doomed to disappear. They will do much better



Hulton-Deutsch

Women being instructed for jobs as railroad workers, 1923. Entry of women into workforce was necessary step toward liberation.

of themselves and of the life which surrounds them. *This free union*, which is strong in the comradeship with which it is inspired, *instead of the conjugal slavery of the past—that is what the Communist Society of to-morrow offers to both men and women*. Once the conditions of labor have been transformed, and the material security of the working women has been increased, and after marriage such as was performed by the Church—this so-called indissoluble marriage which was at bottom merely a fraud—after this marriage has given place to the free and honest

to hail with joy the dawn of a new society which will liberate the woman from domestic servitude, which will lighten the burden of motherhood for woman, and in which, finally, we shall see disappear the most terrible of the curses weighing upon women, known as prostitution.

The woman who is called upon to struggle in the great cause of the liberation of the workers—such a woman should know that in the New State there will be no more room for such petty divisions as were formerly understood: “These are my own children; to them I owe all my maternal

solicitude, all my affection; those are your children, my neighbour’s children; I am not concerned with them. I have enough to do with my own.” Henceforth the worker-mother, who is conscious of her social function, will rise to a point where she no longer differentiates between *yours* and *mine*; she must remember that there are henceforth only *our* children, those of the Communist State, the common possession of all the workers.

Social Equality of Men and Women.

The Workers’ State has need of a new form of relation between the sexes. The narrow and exclusive affection of the mother for her own children must expand until it embraces all the children of the great proletarian family. In place of the indissoluble marriage based on the servitude of woman, we shall see rise the free union, fortified by the love and the mutual respect of the two members of the Workers’ State, equal in their rights and in their obligations. In place of the individual and egotistic family, there will arise a great universal family of workers, in which all the workers, men and women, will be, above all, workers, comrades. Such will be the relation between men and women in the Communist Society of to-morrow. This new relation will assure to humanity all the joys of the so-called free love ennobled by a true social equality of the mates, joys which were unknown to the commercial society of the capitalist regime.

Make way for healthy, blossoming children; make way for a vigorous youth that clings to life and to its joys, which is free in its sentiments and in its affections. Such is the watchword of the Communist Society. In the name of equality, of liberty, and of love, we call upon the working women and the working men, peasant women and peasants, courageously and with faith to take up the work of the reconstruction of human society with the object of rendering it more perfect, more just, and more capable of assuring to the individual the happiness which he deserves. The red flag of the social revolution which will shelter, after Russia, other countries of the world also, already proclaims to us the approach of the heaven on earth to which humanity has been aspiring for centuries. ■

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India...

(continued from page 12)

these students. Drop all charges against the JNU students!

The attack on students at JNU, one of India’s most prestigious universities and a stronghold of the left, was orchestrated at the highest levels of Narendra Modi’s BJP government. India’s home minister Rajnath Singh, who collaborated with the Delhi police, declared that anyone who shouts “anti-India” slogans “will not be tolerated or spared.” Modi’s election has emboldened Hindu-chauvinist mobs who pose a deadly threat to India’s *dalits*, as well as to the oppressed Muslim minority. Because of his involvement in the 2002 slaughter of Muslims in Gujarat, Modi has been aptly described as “a man with a massacre on his hands.” Muslim-Hindu couples are witch hunted for the crime of so-called “love jihad.” Last September in a village near Delhi, Mohammad Akhlaq, a 50-year-old Muslim man, was beaten to death and his son left for dead by a frenzied Hindu mob who accused them of eating beef. Dubbed “beef lynching,” such atrocities are spreading in this reactionary climate.

Down With India’s Brutal Occupation of Kashmir!

During his 2014 election campaign, Modi promised to revoke Article 370 of the constitution which grants (limited) autonomous status to Kashmir. India’s occupation of Kashmir, the country’s only Muslim-majority state, is central to Hindu domination. Tens of thousands have died in the last two decades of brutal repression at the hands of some 700,000 Indian troops. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act gives the Indian troops, police and paramilitary thugs a licence to kill;



Srinagar, Kashmir: Police attack demonstrators demanding freedom from Indian rule, February 5.

on the workers of India and Pakistan to turn the war into a struggle against their “own” capitalist rulers. As part of their programme for proletarian socialist revolution, Lenin’s Bolsheviks forthrightly opposed Great Russian chauvinism and called for the right of self-determination for all nations in the tsarist empire. At the same time Lenin insisted, “Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the ‘most just’, ‘purest’, most refined and civilised brand” (“Critical Remarks on the National Question,” 1913). As we wrote in 2010: “In supporting the right of self-determination for Kashmir we do not give an ounce of political support to any of the competing Kashmiri opposition forces—neither the ‘secular’ separatist Jammu Kashmir Liberation

of both countries against their capitalist oppressors. There can be no genuine expression of the right of Kashmiri self-determination without the withdrawal of both occupying armies. In opposition to the chauvinism of the rulers in New Delhi and Islamabad, workers in both countries must demand: All Indian and Pakistani troops out now! The key to ending the national oppression of the Kashmiri people, as well as the poverty and misery that are endemic to capitalism, is the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisies of both India and Pakistan, opening the road to a socialist federation of South Asia.

The Bankruptcy of Indian Stalinism

The JNU arrests throw a spotlight on the Indian left’s shameful record on Kashmir. Even those who defend the JNU students rarely mention the case of S.A.R. Geelani. Geelani, a Kashmiri nationalist and university lecturer, was arrested around the same time as the JNU students, and for the same reason: taking part in a commemoration of Afzal Guru. Geelani had been framed up with Afzal Guru for the 2001 attack on parliament and also sentenced to death. Following a legal battle, Geelani was acquitted for lack of evidence. Scandalously, the CPI and the Communist Party India (Marxist) (CPI[M]) refused to defend Geelani. This time around, students and the left must demand: Drop the charges against S.A.R. Geelani! The CPI condemned the arrest of Kanhaiya Kumar, who is a member of their student group and who hails from a Communist family in an area of Bihar known as “little Leningrad.” But in their 13 February statement, the CPI made clear that “since the Freedom Struggle” they have been “against all type of Secessionism” (communistparty.in). Indeed, the CPI cravenly opposed the freedom struggle from British colonial rule when Britain was in an alliance with the Soviet Union during World War II. Their position on Kashmir simply apes the Indian bourgeoisie’s view that Kashmir is inseparable from India and is consistent with the CPI’s deep-going Indian nationalism and decades-long support to the Congress party. The DSU, the student organisation politically sympathetic to the Communist Party of India (Maoist), issued a 28 Feb-

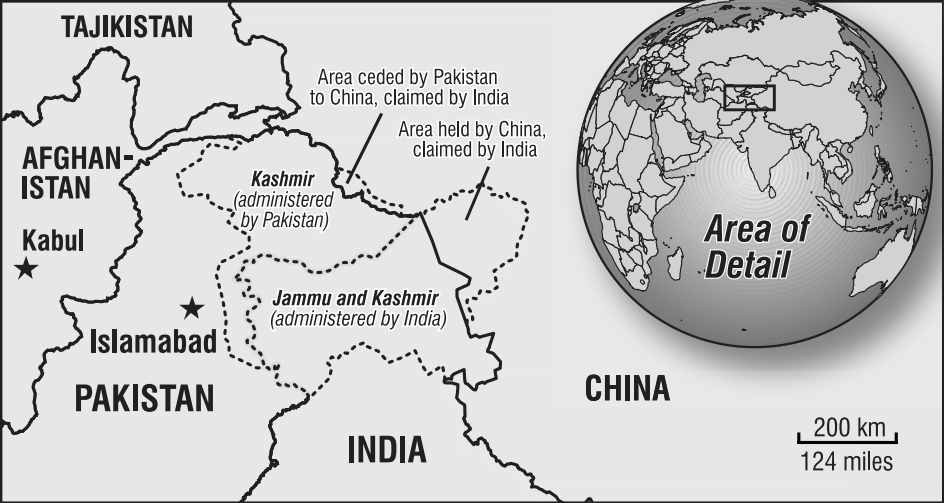
ruary statement. Unlike the CPI, the DSU opposed “the historical injustice perpetrated on the people of Kashmir” and upheld the right of self-determination, and defended S.A.R. Geelani, noting that his case has been “conveniently buried.” The DSU noted that anyone who speaks out against “the atrocities perpetrated by the State on the most downtrodden sections of society” will be labelled Maoists and “internal security threats.” The Congress-led government deemed the CPI (Maoist) to be the country’s biggest internal security threat and banned them in 2009, as a prelude to launching “Operation Green Hunt,” a murderous armed operation intended to crush the Maoist insurgents. (See “Down With Government War on Maoists, Tribal Peoples!” WV No. 962, 30 July 2010.)

We have condemned the Indian government’s war against the CPI (Maoist) and *adivasi* (tribal) villagers, which is being waged at the behest of the venal Indian bourgeoisie and the international mining magnates. However, we have also made clear that the political strategy of the CPI (Maoist) provides no way forward for India’s oppressed masses. The Maoist (Naxalite) guerrillas can seem more militant because of their “armed struggle.” But their perspective boils down to seeking an alliance with a mythical “progressive” wing of the bourgeoisie in the “first stage” of a “two-stage” revolution. As CPI (Maoist) general secretary Ganapathy said: “Our New Democratic United Front (UF) consists of four democratic classes, i.e. workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie” (*Sanhati*, January 2010). This perspective of “two-stage” revolution ties workers to their class exploiters and has always led to defeat and betrayal of proletarian struggle. All wings of the Indian capitalist class are tied to and dependent on the imperialist powers of Europe, North America and Asia. They cannot be potential allies of the workers and oppressed peoples of India.

Yet in the name of this anti-revolutionary perspective, all of the numerous Indian Stalinist/Maoist formations act as supporters of Indian capitalism. A case in point is the CPI(M), which spent decades administering capitalist rule in West Bengal, where it is now despised for its role in the 2006 Nandigram massacre of impoverished people who were resisting land seizures by capitalist developers. Today, the CPI(M) has formed an electoral bloc with the Congress party which was trounced by the BJP in the 2014 election. It is preposterous to proffer Congress as a solution to Modi’s BJP. The road to Modi’s electoral victory was prepared by decades of Congress party rule, based on Hindu upper-caste supremacy and the oppression of India’s Muslim minority. In addition to presiding over the brutal occupation of Kashmir, in 1984 prominent Congress politicians led lynch mobs in Delhi against the Sikh minority, killing more than 3,000 people.

In keeping with their fealty to capitalist rule, the CPI(M) and CPI promote fatuous illusions in the Indian bourgeois constitution. In his widely publicised 9 February JNU speech, Kanhaiya Kumar declared: “we have full faith in our country’s constitution.” For all the good it does, women’s equality is enshrined in the Indian constitution, while the original constitution drafted by B.R. Ambedkar at the time of independence banned untouchability. Today, almost seven decades after independence, around 70 per cent of the country still lives in rural villages, mired in poverty and caste oppression. The rape of *dalit* women by upper caste men is commonplace.

India combines rural and caste backwardness with modern capitalist production. Both features of Indian life were shown recently in the state of Haryana, near Delhi. For three days in February, Haryana was shaken by violent protests by the Jat caste which blocked transport routes, torched the finance minister’s home and disrupted the water supply to much of the city of Delhi until the army and police quelled the protests. The Jats



torture, disappearances and rape by the armed forces are commonplace—including the heinous rape of nearly 100 women in the village of Kunan Poshpora in 1991. India and Pakistan have already fought three wars for control of Kashmir—in 1947-48, 1965 and again in 1999. The 1947-48 war, fought while both armies were still under British generals, resulted in the partition of Kashmir. Insofar as the Kashmiri struggle is not decisively subordinated to a military conflict between the Pakistani ruling class and its Indian rival, we Leninists uphold the right of self-determination for the Kashmiri nation, which means the right to independence or—should they so choose—to merge with Pakistan (or India). In a war between these equally reactionary capitalist powers we call

Front (JKLF), nor the various Islamic-fundamentalist outfits like Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba. All of these forces are hostile to the class struggle of the workers and peasants against capitalist oppression and exploitation whether in India, Pakistan or Kashmir.” —“Down With India’s Bloody Repression in Kashmir!” WV No. 966, 8 October 2010 As long as power remains in the hands of the bloody capitalist rulers in Islamabad and New Delhi, backed by the imperialists, the prospects for Kashmiri national liberation are slim indeed. This is especially so given Kashmir’s strategic location and historical role in relations between India and Pakistan. The cause of national justice for the Kashmiri people is inseparably tied up with the revolutionary struggle of the working masses

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Who's Next?

Sports Snoops Slam Sharapova

It's been a big year so far for the creepy little anti-drug czars and czarinas who hold sway over the world of organized sports. The latest trophy on their mantel is tennis star Maria Sharapova, who faces a two-to-four year suspension after testing positive for meldonium during the Australian Open in January. This heart medication was banned as a *possible* performance enhancer by the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) just a few weeks before Sharapova tested positive for it.

The prohibition of anabolic steroids and other performance enhancing drugs (PEDs) in sport reflects the irrationality of capitalist society. As we wrote in "Baseball, Racism and Steroids" (WV No. 946, 6 November 2009):

"A rational society would both embrace the potentialities of improving human athletic performance, particularly the broader uses of anabolic steroids in muscle and tendon repair that would benefit a broad range of society, while at the same time conducting an objective scientific study of the potential medical dangers. But capitalism is not rational."

Meldonium is used medically to increase blood flow, prevent the enlargement of the heart muscle and increase stress tolerance. Sharapova has been using the medication, under the brand name Mildronate, since her family doctor recommended it in 2006 for a variety of medical problems, including a series of irregular EKGs, magnesium deficiency and tests showing signs of diabetes (she has a family history of the disease).

Sharapova's banishment has pulled back the veil on the Kafkaesque workings of WADA. A panel reviews the results of drug tests that athletes are regularly required to take. If one substance, like meldonium, pops up more than others it is presumed to be a performance enhancer. Thus, meldonium was placed on WADA's Monitoring Program in 2015, and WADA supposedly gave notice in emails to Sharapova and others that its use would be banned.

In fact, there are dozens of legal medications and

dietary supplements that have been declared *verboden* by the Big Brothers of sport. These include an assortment of other medications: beta blockers for heart ailments, bronchodilators for asthma and the cold remedy pseudoephedrine (Sudafed). Even caffeine, which was banned for 20 years until 2004, when the WADA prigs deemed it too hard to police, is now again being considered for prohibition.

In an unprecedented move, Russia was provisionally suspended last November from track and field in the wake of sweeping doping allegations against the country's athletes, coaches, trainers, doctors and officials. The ban could keep all of Russia's athletes from the 2016 Olympic games—*whether or not the individuals ever tested positive*. It is a measure of the stifling weight of U.S. imperialism that, as it maneuvers against the regime of Russian president Vladimir Putin, it has succeeded in keeping Russian athletes out of competition.

To make WADA's "do not use" list, a substance has to meet two out of three criteria: it represents an actual or potential health risk to the athlete; it violates the spirit of sport; it has the potential to enhance or enhances sport performance.

The first is sadly laughable considering not just the traumatic brain injuries that are an occupational hazard for football players and other athletes. The Olympics continue to feature the blood sport of boxing, which, if taking place on a street corner rather than a Roman amphitheater, would land its participants in jail for felony assault. As to the "spirit" of sport, the golden rule of American athletics was enunciated by Vince Lombardi, famous coach of the Green Bay Packers in the 1960s: "Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing."

As for PEDs, a piece titled "Testing Athletes, and Banning Those Who Take Drugs, Is Unjustifiable" in the *British Medical Journal* (22 May 2012) by Dr. Sam Shuster noted that PEDs have not been subjected to the



Reuters

Maria Sharapova at Australian Open, January 2016.

double-blind controlled studies standard for scientific inquiries. Dr. Shuster added:

"Why is help from drugs 'cheating'—an unfair advantage from outside help rather than personal effort—when we allow specialised training equipment, sports psychologists, physiologists applying optimising monitors, electronic positioning of cyclists in relation to pedals and handlebars, and dieticians using foods and additives as drugs? What makes a covert team of sports specialists fair, and taking a pill cheating? Why is training in a low oxygen chamber acceptable but not erythropoietin?"

Like sharks, the WADA predators have been emboldened by a little taste of blood. Coming off the ban on Sharapova, WADA has announced that, based on enhanced testing techniques, it will rescreen results from the 2008 and 2012 Olympics to go after "cheaters."

The small gang that decides who can play and who cannot doesn't rule in a social vacuum. WADA is the end-product of the hysteria over performance enhancers—which had previously been handed out like M&Ms in U.S. locker rooms—as a response to the international successes of athletes from the Soviet Union and the East European bureaucratically deformed workers states in the 1970s and '80s. Meldonium itself was developed by Soviet scientists in Latvia in the 1970s. It was used by Red Army soldiers in the 1980s to enable them to carry out operations in mountainous terrains during the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against the murderous U.S.-financed and -armed *mujahedin*, the precursors of the Taliban, Al Qaeda and ISIS.

We say: Let Maria Sharapova play! Down with the ban on PEDs! Whether an individual uses drugs—for fun or perceived enhancement of athletic ability—is a personal choice. Down with the war on drugs!



AP

Strikers at Maruti Suzuki plant in Manesar, India, October 2011. Social liberation requires mobilization of working class in the fight for proletarian rule.

were demanding quotas in education and jobs for their caste, along the lines granted to the impoverished "scheduled castes" (*dalits*), "scheduled tribes" as well as to "other backward castes." The Jats, however, are by no means among the country's poorest. While they are not a homogenous group, in Haryana they tend to be land-owning farmers. Many Jats have been the target of protests by *dalit* labourers whom they exploit.

The Jat protests are part of a growing agitation among relatively higher castes—many of whom voted for the BJP but who are losing out in India's new "globalised" economy. With low profitability in agriculture and rising debt among farmers, land is being sold for development and there are fewer farms left in Haryana. In

demanding reservations in education and government jobs, the Jats are trying to ensure that the next generation will get jobs in the city while maintaining their privileged caste status.

Haryana is also home to the city of Gurgaon, known as the "outsourcing capital of the world" with hundreds of multinational software and telecoms companies. It is also the centre of a massive concentration of industrial workers. Maruti Suzuki, India's largest car manufacturer, produces some 5,000 vehicles per day in the Gurgaon-Manesar area. Maruti Suzuki workers have a history of militant struggle, including for trade union rights, in the face of brutal suppression by the employers. Following bitter strikes, the workers won the right to form a union,

but 147 of them were jailed on frame-up charges in 2012. Some 34 workers remain incarcerated.

More recently, around 4,000 workers at the Honda motorcycle plant in Rajasthan went on strike in a situation with strong parallels to the struggles in Maruti Suzuki. In early February some 500 contract workers and the union president had been dismissed for organising a union. Both permanent and contract workers walked out on strike on 6 February when a supervisor physically attacked a contract worker. Facing brutal attacks by the police, strikers camped out at the Honda company HQ in Gurgaon. But using the curfew imposed on the Jats as a pretext, the cops dispersed the Honda strikers on 21 February. Reportedly some of the striking Honda workers went to JNU to show solidarity with the students.

Social liberation in India and the whole subcontinent will only come through the revolutionary mobilisation of the urban working class, a perspective which poses the question of proletarian leadership. The fighting power of India's working class—already divided by caste, religion and ethnicity—is greatly undercut by the fact that the unions are divided politically among Congress, the BJP and various Stalinist-derived parties. An authentic proletarian leadership would fight for industrial unions which include all workers in an industry as an elementary defence of the working class.

What is needed is the forging of a revolutionary Marxist leadership that fights for proletarian unity and class independence. The class-conscious proletariat must take up the struggle for the emancipation of women and place itself at the head of all the oppressed, leading the

rural masses in a struggle to overthrow the landlords and capitalists. Proletarian socialist revolution—spread throughout South Asia and extended to the imperialist centres—will address the task of eliminating scarcity through a qualitative development of the productive forces. Only this can lay the material basis for eradicating the oppression of women and the caste system and for liberating the toiling masses. Our aim is to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties, part of a reformed Fourth International, committed to mobilising the proletariat of India and of the neighbouring countries to sweep away the capitalist system and establish a socialist federation of South Asia. ■

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Abortion...

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at the point of delivery. It is outrageous that the government—from state legislatures up to the inherently reactionary Supreme Court—has the ultimate power to interfere in people’s most intimate, private decisions. While the Republican bible-thumpers compete to openly overturn *Roe*, the “pro-choice” Democrats have allowed the reactionaries to gut access to abortion. Reliance on the capitalist rulers and their judges simply cedes ground to the forces of anti-abortion reaction and undermines the necessary struggle to defend and extend women’s rights.

Racist Anti-Abortion Offensive

The ongoing erosion of access to abortion through TRAP legislation is powerfully depicted in the new documentary *Trapped* directed by Dawn Porter. The film, which focuses on clinics in Texas and Alabama as well as the lone surviving one in Mississippi, documents the heroic clinic workers and abortion providers struggling to keep their doors open. Interviews and anecdotes capture the impact that the shuttering of clin-



Trilogy Films
Poster for new documentary on reactionary anti-abortion TRAP laws.

ics has on women in the South who are unable to afford or access the service. One clinic owner explains that most patients are already mothers who are either unemployed or work long hours for paltry wages and know they can’t provide for another child. With the nearest clinic hundreds of miles away, women face barriers including lack of transportation, childcare expenses and having to take time off work. One story recounts how one woman had to drive across Texas with her husband and kids and camp out in an RV in the clinic parking lot for days because of all the legal restrictions and the waiting period.
In a scene at an Alabama clinic where procedures are on hold because of inabil-



1992 cartoon on Planned Parenthood v. Casey Supreme Court decision. Today the chasm is much wider.

ity to comply with new regulations, staff field nonstop phone calls from desperate women, but have to direct them elsewhere. The waiting lists at the few operating clinics are so long that some women fall outside the 20-week legal limit. A worker at a Texas clinic recounts how she was forced to turn away a pregnant 13-year-old rape victim because of the late stage of her pregnancy. To get an abortion, the girl would need to gather thousands of dollars for the procedure, travel to New Mexico and arrange for accommodation while there. Noting the unlikelihood of this happening, the staffer wells up with tears saying, “We sentenced her to motherhood.”

Faced with such obstacles, women will find a way to have an abortion, but it might well not be safe or legal. One abortion provider in the film recalls a patient asking, “What if I told you what I have in my kitchen cabinet and you tell me what I can do?” Up to 240,000 women in Texas alone are estimated to have tried to end their pregnancies themselves without medical assistance. “Do-it-yourself” abortions—using everything from herbs to bleach to catheters—are on the rise in states where there are the most restrictions. Many of those same states criminalize women for suspected self-induced miscarriages. A 31-year-old Tennessee woman, Anna Yocca, is facing a life sentence after being charged in December with attempted murder for using a coat hanger to terminate her 24-week pregnancy. Last summer, Kenlissa Jones, a black 23-year-old in Georgia, was charged with “malice murder” after taking abortion-inducing medication bought online. Though the murder charge was dropped, she still faces a misdemeanor charge for possession of the abortion pills without prescription.

Trapped shows the extraordinary courage and conviction of clinic workers and abortion providers, including Willie Parker, a black Christian doctor who gave up a prestigious career in obstetrics to provide abortions in Mississippi, the poorest of the states of the former Confederacy. While showing bible-thumping protesters preaching faith-based filth outside clinics, the film gives only a small taste of the daily violence and harassment faced by

doctors and clinic workers. Among those protesters could be another terrorist like Robert Dear, responsible for murdering three people at a Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado last November. In one scene showing the pure racist venom of protesters, a white anti-abortion crusader shouts that Dr. Parker sickens her because he’s a black man who is “destroying black lives” and comes to “kill his own race.” The fact that black women experience the highest rates of unintended pregnancies—because of lack of contraception, poverty and lousy education—is what compels providers like Dr. Parker to dedicate their lives to providing abortion services.

Republicans, Democrats, Supreme Court: Enemies of Women’s Rights

In a recent interview on Jezebel.com, Trapped filmmaker Dawn Porter noted that the upcoming presidential elections should make abortion “a voting issue for people who care about it.” In the lead-up to Bill Clinton’s 1992 election, Democrats worked to co-opt a layer of mostly white, middle-class women voters alienated by religious bigots who openly reveled in the subordination of women as wives and baby-makers. Latching onto the Democrats as the supposed friends of women, liberals and feminists rallied behind Clinton’s presidential election campaign, not least because the next president would decide the balance of the Supreme Court. The end result was that over the next period, the number of abortion providers plunged as clinics closed across the country. Jump forward 24 years and the same pressures are being brought to bear.

In February, all-purpose reactionary Justice Antonin Scalia did the only good thing he could for humanity and dropped dead. His body wasn’t cold before the appointment of his successor became a political football between the two parties of the bourgeoisie. Now, liberals ponder the abortion stance of Obama’s new “centrist” appointee, Merrick Garland. In the Texas case, liberal hopes rest on the supposedly reasonable Justice Anthony Kennedy, particularly following his decisive vote in the legalization of same-sex marriage—an important gain albeit one that had more to do with affirming marriage as a legal contract than with sexual freedom. Kennedy co-wrote the vague “undue burden” clause of the 1992 Casey decision and has supported many anti-abortion measures since. In recent years, the Supreme Court of injustice has ruled against black voting rights, Medicaid expansion, affirmative action and just about anything that smacks of civil rights, integration or secularism.

It was not the political composition of the 1973 court—the majority of whom were Republican appointees—which led to the legalization of abortion. The historic Roe decision was a concession to explosive mass struggle. The women’s liberation movement arose as hundreds of thousands of radicalized youth took to the streets to fight for black rights and against the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam. But this period was short-lived. As long as the

capitalist system remains in place, even the most minimal gains for working people, women and minorities—achieved in the first place as a result of social struggle and not through the ballot, lobbying Congress or the Supreme Court—can be rolled back, as the onslaught on abortion rights demonstrates.

Just as Bill Clinton was painted as a defender of women, today Hillary Clinton’s presidential bid is being touted by feminists and abortion-rights activists. NARAL endorses Hillary Clinton as “a champion with a demonstrated record of fighting for reproductive freedom and economic justice.” It is worth recalling that she supported the policies implemented during her husband’s presidency, which consigned millions of women and children to poverty through the racist drive to “end welfare as we know it” and set the stage for states to implement a host of anti-abortion measures.

Though the Democrats differ from the Republicans on tactics and rhetoric, the “lesser evil” party is just as committed to the preservation of the capitalist system, to the exploitation of the working class, to the institution of the family and to furthering U.S. imperialist interests abroad. The feminists’ strategy of relying on the Democratic Party has demobilized fighters for women’s rights and ceded terrain to reactionaries who are gunning to outlaw abortion. Hillary Clinton’s mantra that abortion should be “safe, legal and rare” sounds like former Texas governor Rick Perry, who declared, referring to HB2, that abortion should be as “rare as possible.” Alongside her emphasis on



Rutherford County Sheriff’s Office
Anna Yocca, charged last December with attempted first-degree murder in Tennessee after allegedly trying to self-induce an abortion.

faith and family values, Clinton expresses her “respect” for those opposing abortion rights.

A victory for the Texas abortion providers in the current Supreme Court case would provide immediate respite for thousands of women. However, it would have no effect on the numerous other restrictions on abortion: time limits, waiting periods, parental consent and bans on government funding, to name a few. Pushing faith in the courts deepens illusions that the bourgeois state, which upholds the sanctity of the family, will act in the interests of women.

Feminism is sometimes understood as a wish for equality between men and women, but it is in fact a political program based on seeing the main division in society as gender, rather than class. The feminist strategy of supporting the capitalist Democrats and relying on the capitalist state to protect women’s rights is in reality an obstacle in the fight for women’s liberation.

We fight for women’s liberation as part of a program for the working class to take power and overthrow the capitalist system. For this, the working class must come to the understanding of the need to combat all forms of oppression as part of the battle to free itself from wage slavery. The job of the revolutionary party, which we seek to build, is to bring this consciousness to the working class. Only overturning the profit system and establishing the rule of the working class can open the road to liberation for women and all humanity. For women’s liberation through socialist revolution! ■



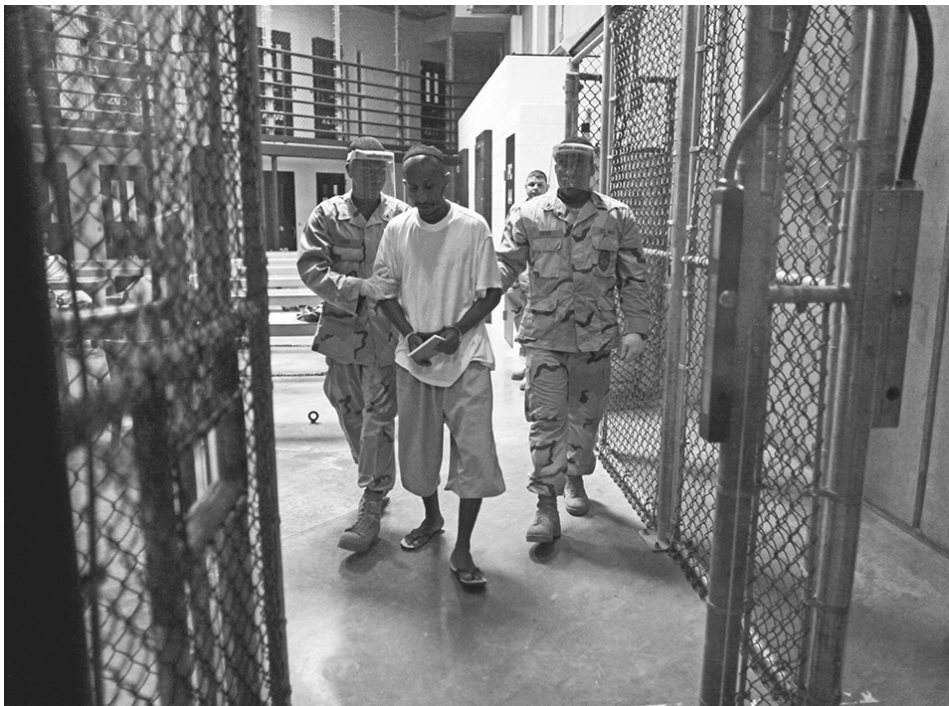
WV Photo
Spartacist contingent at San Francisco abortion-rights protest, July 1994.

(continued from page 1)

Of the 779 men imprisoned in the Guantánamo prison complex since its opening in January 2002, 91 remain. Nine died in custody—seven by suicide. Obama says he wants to release to a “third party” country at least 35 of these remaining detainees, some of whom have been waiting for their transfer since 2009. Previous detainees were sent to countries like Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Oman, where they doubtless underwent further “enhanced interrogation.”

This threat to basic democratic rights is a clear danger to labor, minorities and all perceived opponents of the government. It underlines the need to link opposition to the U.S. presence in Guantánamo to the demand: Free all the detainees! More than a decade ago, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee addressed the threat that “anti-terror” measures posed for the rights of the entire population in an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief on behalf of Jose Padilla. A U.S. citizen who had converted to Islam, Padilla was seized at Chicago’s O’Hare

“The Executive’s declaration that its ‘war against terrorism’ forfeits constitutional protections for designated individuals echoes the regimes of shahs and colonels and presidents ‘for life’ from the Near East to Africa to Latin America.



Guantánamo Bay detainee, March 2010.

to justify the mass imprisonment and unmarked graves of political dissidents. Like them, the Executive is proclaiming the *right to disappear* citizens of its choosing."

Now that Obama has become the first U.S. president to set foot on Cuban soil since Calvin Coolidge in 1928, it is useful to recall how the U.S. got Guantánamo in the first place: they stole it. Along with the rest of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the

coaling or naval stations. On that basis, the U.S. extracted a perpetual lease of Guantánamo Bay—for some \$3,000 per year—that stipulated its “complete jurisdiction and control.”

Nineteenth-century Cuban independence fighter José Martí had warned, “Once the United States is in Cuba, who will drive it out?” It was the seizure of power by Fidel Castro’s guerrilla forces in 1959 and the subsequent expropriation of capitalist property beginning in 1960

Although bureaucratically deformed from the outset, the Cuban Revolution was a historic victory for the island's toilers and for the workers of the world. With the aid of the Soviet Union, Cuba's collectivized economy was able to fundamentally transform the lives of the workers and peasants, making great leaps in health and education in particular. At the same time, the very presence of the U.S. naval base and detention-torture center is a reminder that Cuba is still in the imperialists' crosshairs.

The Spartacist League stands for the unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution. As part of that defense we say: Down with the U.S. imperialist embargo against Cuba! To defend and extend the gains of the Cuban Revolution we stand for a proletarian political revolution that replaces nationalist Stalinist rule with a regime of workers democracy committed to world socialist revolution.

Our purpose is to build a vanguard workers party that will lead the multiracial American proletariat in overthrowing the U.S. imperialist beast from within. Along with giving back Guantánamo Bay and providing massive aid to further Cuba's development, an American workers government would sweep away the entire U.S. capitalist "justice" system—not least its supermax prisons—as a first step toward human freedom. ■

(continued from page 5)

The Necessity of Revolutionary Leadership

The NDP social democrats are now posturing as opponents of Canada's military campaign in the Near East. Yet when the Syrian civil war began, they denounced Harper's foreign policy *from the right*, chastising the government for not consistently enforcing sanctions against the

As the Liberals step up Canada's participation in the latest imperialist rampage in the Near East, the once large "peace movement" has utterly collapsed. But the politics of its reformist organizers haven't changed one bit. Rather than seeking to rally working people and radical youth in struggle against the barbaric capitalist system, they plead with the imperialist rulers to trade in their guns for the butter of social programs at home.

To advance the struggles against imperialist war and poverty and destitution at home, it is necessary to unleash the social power of the working class *against*

There is a lot of simmering discontent among working people and the oppressed in this country. Minimum-wage workers are fighting for unionization and a living wage. Other workers are protesting the gutting of pensions, never-ending

layoffs and plant closures. Quebec has seen recurring mass labour and student protests against austerity. Native people and their supporters have risen up against poverty and racist degradation. What is missing is a political perspective that sees the working class champion its own interests and those of all the oppressed.

As we wrote two years ago:

“The fight to rebuild the unions as organs of class struggle, not collaboration with the enemy class, is linked to the fight to forge a Marxist workers party that can draw lessons from past struggles, at home and abroad. We of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste are dedicated to the fight to build such a party, through our propaganda and our interventions into labour and other social struggles. Join us in the struggle for socialist revolution, the only road to a society where those who labour will rule and where endless and bloody imperialist wars will be but a bitter memory of a distant past.”

—“U.S./Canada: Out of Iraq, Syria!” *Spartacist Canada* No. 183, Winter 2014/2015 ■

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

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Summer 2003

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In The UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

For The Second Circuit
Docket No. 03-2238
03-2438

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as Next Friend of Jose Padilla,
Petitioner-Appellee-cross-Appellant,
v.
DONALD RUMSFELD,
Respondent-Appellant-cross-Appellee.

On Appeal from the United States District Court
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JNU Students Charged with Sedition over Kashmir



New Delhi, February 18: Protest demands the release of Kanhaiya Kumar (top right), a Communist Party of India supporter and student leader at Jawaharlal Nehru University charged with sedition by Hindu-chauvinist BJP government. Bottom right: Leftist students Umar Khalid (left) and Anirban Bhattacharya also face sedition charges.

Reuters, Hindustan Times (top right), PTI (bottom right)

Indian Government Crackdown on Student Protesters

LONDON—For some months, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government of Narendra Modi has been on a campaign to purge India's universities of all opponents of upper-caste Hindu chauvinism. In Hyderabad Central University in January, this witch hunt led to the suicide of Rohith Vemula, a PhD student from the *dalit* (untouchable) caste. Vemula and four other anti-caste student activists were hounded by the BJP's student arm as "anti-national," the byword of the Hindu-chauvinist hysteria. With the backing of the Modi government, Vemula was suspended by the university, thrown out of student housing, and his stipend was cancelled. In a searing indictment of the hideous caste system, his suicide note said: "My birth is my fatal accident." Vemula's death ignited widespread student protests against the BJP government.

Mass protests again erupted in February when leftist students in Delhi were slapped with sedition charges at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). The pretext was a meeting held on campus on the anniversary of the execution of Afzal Guru, a Kashmiri nationalist. Guru was framed up and convicted under the last government led by the Congress party [the traditional organization of the Indian bourgeoisie] for the 2001 attack on the Indian parliament, in which five men shot and killed eight state security personnel before being killed themselves. Guru was arrested, tortured and sentenced to death. The prosecution did not allege that he was responsible for any deaths, and he was acquitted of being a member of

Down With Hindu Chauvinism!



Reactionary lawyers outside New Delhi courthouse call to intensify government repression against "anti-national" defenders of Kumar, February 19.

Reuters

any terrorist organisation. But he was a Kashmiri and a Muslim, which in the eyes of India's capitalist rulers amounts to the same thing. He was executed in 2013, with the Supreme Court declaring: "The collective conscience of the society will be satisfied only if the death penalty is awarded."

It is to their credit that JNU students organised a meeting on Kashmir, which is a taboo subject on the Indian left. Among the speakers was Student Union president Kanhaiya Kumar, a supporter of the Communist Party of India (CPI). In a widely publicised speech, Kumar referenced the death of Rohith Vemula and denounced

"the nexus of casteism and capitalism." Perhaps not surprisingly, he said little on Kashmir, given his party's line that Kashmir is an integral part of India. But Kumar dared to mention the name of Afzal Guru, which is a lightning rod to Hindu nationalists.

Following the meeting, the BJP's student organisation filed a complaint with the Delhi police alleging that "anti-national" slogans had been chanted; video footage of the event was splashed on national television, some of it blatantly doctored to portray the organisers and speakers as terrorist sympathisers and agents of Pakistan. Kumar was arrested and charged with sedition. At his court appearance, he and his supporters were physically assaulted by a BJP mob which included lawyers.

Other JNU student leftists who took part in the meeting were hunted down by police. Anirban Bhattacharya and Umar Khalid went into hiding at first but gave themselves up. Khalid, an avowed atheist and a Communist, was maliciously depicted as a Muslim and, by implication, a terrorist. Both he and Bhattacharya are former supporters of the Democratic Students' Union (DSU). In 2014, the Congress-dominated government set up the DSU for state repression, accusing it of providing "safe haven for Naxalites" (Maoist guerrillas) and placing it on a state "watch list." Kumar, Khalid and Bhattacharya have been released on bail but still face sedition charges. It is imperative that students, workers and all opponents of BJP rule mobilise to defend

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