



NDP, Fake Left Join Witchhunt of Black Bloc **Police State** **Crackdown in Toronto**



Brett Gundlock/National Post

Cops rampage against anti-G20 summit protesters in downtown Toronto, June 26.

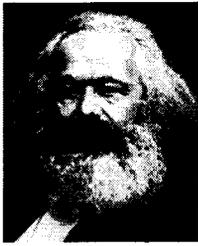
During the June 25-27 protests against the G20 summit in Toronto, some 1,100 people were arrested—the largest mass arrests in Canadian history. Inside the heavily fortified summit, Harper, Obama and other imperialist rulers plotted how best to police the imperialist order and shore up their crumbling economies on the backs of working people. Meanwhile, out on the streets, the cops ran amok, cracking heads and terrorizing protesters. For months, the Harper government, the cops and the media set the stage for this with predictions of anarchist “violence.” Nearly 20,000 cops occupied the city core in an unprecedented mobilization of state repression that cost more than \$1 billion.

Backed by their political masters from Ottawa to Toronto’s city hall, the cops used minor property damage and a few burned-out police cars as the signal for a massive crackdown. Across the city, from Parkdale to the East End, left-wing

activists were rounded up and those who protested the police violence and mayhem were themselves arrested. Riot police charged and arrested protesters in the so-called “free speech zone” in Queen’s Park. Hundreds of protesters and passersby
(continued on page 15)

Militant Strike Wave in China





Marx



Lenin



Trotsky

The Trotskyist Program of Permanent Revolution

The program of permanent revolution, first developed by the Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky, outlines the road to national and social liberation for the masses in semicolonial countries such as India. We reprint below excerpts from section 10, "Colonial Revolution, Permanent Revolution and the 'Guerrilla Road'," of the International Communist League's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program," adopted at our Third International Conference in 1998.

Experience since the Second World War has completely validated the Trotskyist theory of the permanent revolution which declares that in the imperialist epoch the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be completed only by a proletarian dictatorship supported by the peasantry. Only under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat can the colonial and semicolonial countries obtain genuine national emancipation. To open the road to socialism requires the extension of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries.

The October Revolution itself refuted the Menshevik idea of the revolution as stagist; the Mensheviks proposed a political bloc with the liberal Cadet party to place the bourgeoisie in power....

Lenin's Bolsheviks were closer to Trotsky's view in that they insisted that the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of leading a democratic revolution. The Bolsheviks argued for an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, culminating in the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry," a flawed slogan projecting a state defending the interests of two different classes. In 1917 following the February revolution, it took a sharp fight within the Bolshevik Party for Lenin's "April Theses" line for the dictatorship of the proletariat to prevail....

Trotsky wrote in his 29 March 1930 introduction to the

German edition of *The Permanent Revolution*:

"Under the guise of providing an economic justification for internationalism, Stalin in reality presents a justification for national socialism. It is false that world economy is simply a sum of national parts of one and the same type. It is false that the specific features are 'merely supplementary to the general features,' like warts on a face. In reality, the national peculiarities represent an original combination of the basic features of the world process."

In *The Permanent Revolution* (30 November 1929) Trotsky explained:

"Under the conditions of the imperialist epoch the national democratic revolution can be carried through to a victorious end only when the social and political relationships of the country are mature for putting the proletariat in power as the leader of the masses of the people. And if this is not yet the case? Then the struggle for national liberation will produce only very partial results, results directed entirely against the working masses."

"A backward colonial or semi-colonial country, the proletariat of which is insufficiently prepared to unite the peasantry and take power, is thereby incapable of bringing the democratic revolution to its conclusion."

The partial character of the anti-capitalist revolutions in the colonial world leads us to reaffirm the Marxist-Leninist concept of the proletariat as the only social force capable of making the socialist revolution. The ICL fundamentally opposes the Maoist doctrine, rooted in Menshevism and Stalinist reformism, which rejects the vanguard role of the working class and substitutes peasant-based guerrilla warfare as the road to socialism.

A further extension of Marxism contributed by the International Communist League in analyzing Stalinism was our understanding of the Cuban Revolution (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory"), which retrospectively illuminated the course of the Yugoslav and Chinese Revolutions. In Cuba, a petty-bourgeois movement under exceptional circumstances—the absence of the working class as a contender for social power in its own right, the flight of the national bourgeoisie and hostile imperialist encirclement, and a lifeline thrown by the Soviet Union—did overthrow the old Batista dictatorship and eventually smash capitalist property relations. But Castroism (or other peasant-based guerrilla movements) cannot bring the working class to political power.

Under the most *favorable* historic circumstances conceivable, the petty-bourgeois peasantry was only capable of creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, that is, a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counter-revolution of Stalin in the Soviet Union, an anti-working-class regime which blocked the possibilities to extend social revolution into Latin America and North America, and suppressed Cuba's further development in the direction of socialism. To place the working class in political power and open the road to socialist development requires a supplemental *political* revolution led by a Trotskyist party. With the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and consequently no readily available lifeline against imperialist encirclement, the narrow historical opening in which petty-bourgeois forces were able to overturn local capitalist rule has been closed, underscoring the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution.

—*Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 54, Spring 1998

SPARTACIST CANADA

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Circulation Manager: Arthur Llewellyn

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Asylum for All Tamil Refugees!

The Harper government has whipped up a racist furor over the arrival of nearly 500 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka off the B.C. coast. On August 12, the government sent a naval warship armed with guided missiles to intercept the barely seaworthy cargo ship carrying the refugees, which had left Thailand in May and had already been turned away from Australia. RCMP and Border Service cops as well as the military boarded the vessel and took all the migrants, who include 55 children, into custody. They are now being held in Vancouver-area detention centres.

Demonizing the refugees as potential “terrorists,” Harper said he “will not hesitate” to strengthen laws to prevent more ships coming to Canada, and the government vowed to work with Australia and other countries to stop them from even setting sail. Australia already sends its navy to intercept refugees on the high seas, turning them back or redirecting them to Indonesia, which incarcerates them in Australian-funded detention centres. Those captured in “Australian waters” are imprisoned behind razor wire on remote Christmas Island. Five refugees died and scores were injured last year when their boat exploded after it was seized by the Australian navy. More recently, the Labor Party government there suspended the processing of all new asylum claims by Tamil as well as Afghan refugees and signalled its intent to ramp up deportations.

Since the arrival of the Tamil migrants in B.C., the bourgeois media has joined with the government in fuelling anti-Tamil hysteria. A *Globe and Mail* editorial (14 August) claimed that Ottawa “has very good reasons to ensure that Canada doesn’t become the top destination for Sri Lankan refugee ships. For behind this enterprise is criminality—human smugglers and, very possibly, Tamil Tiger terrorists.” An editorial in the *Toronto Sun* (22 August) titled “We’ve been duped by the Tamils” called to “lock them up, load them up, and ship them out.” Neo-Nazis including the Aryan Guard staged provocative race-hate rallies in Alberta and B.C., calling to “Send them back.”

On August 16, the Canadian Tamil Congress issued a letter written by the refugees, which stated:

“We have undergone severe hardships with very little or no access to basic necessities such as food, water, sleeping space, medicine and sanitary facilities. We have traveled for almost four months with much suffering and pain. We have come here, to this wonderful country Canada, to protect ourselves and our family members from the murders, disappearances and violence that still exist in our native country.”

Following last year’s murderous military offensive by the Sri Lanka government, which destroyed the remnants of the Tamil mini-state in the north and east of the island, some 300,000 Tamils were interned in prison camps and interrogation centres. Many thousands more have sought to flee the country, seeking to join the large Tamil diaspora in Canada and other countries.

As Marxist internationalists, we have long defended the just cause of the oppressed Tamil people and champion their right to self-determination. Throughout the war in Lanka, we called for



August 11: Desperate Tamil refugees on crowded cargo ship off the coast of British Columbia.

military defense of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) against the chauvinist Colombo regime and its armed forces. We denounced the Canadian government’s ban of the LTTE under “anti-terrorist” legislation in 2006. At the same time, we gave no political support to the nationalist Tigers. Our perspective is the fight for Marxist workers parties throughout South Asia that can unite the working people and oppressed in the struggle for workers revolutions. That is the only road to liberation from the poverty, oppression and national chauvinism that are endemic to capitalist rule and visited with particular savagery on the masses of imperialism’s neocolonies.

We demand that all those now detained in B.C. be released immediately and that all Tamil refugees be given full asylum! The fight to end the racist deportations and for full citizenship rights for everyone who has made it here is part of the struggle to sweep away the brutal rule of capitalism through socialist revolution. ■

Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forums

Down With Harper’s War on Women’s Rights!

For Women’s Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

For Free Abortion on Demand!

Toronto

**Saturday, 25 September
7:00 p.m.**

OISE (Ontario Institute for
Studies in Education)

Room 5170

252 Bloor Street West
(at St. George subway)

Vancouver

**Saturday, 2 October
1:30 p.m.**

Multimedia Room,
Roundhouse Community Centre

181 Roundhouse Mews

(at Yaletown-Roundhouse
SkyTrain station)

For more information, contact the TL/SYC:

Toronto: (416) 593-4138 or spartacan@on.aibn.com

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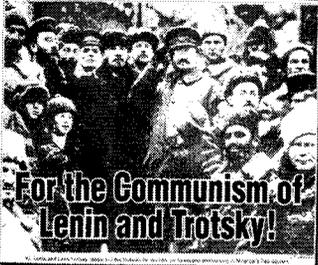
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 Lenin and Trotsky!**

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SPARTACIST
 CANADA

National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle

**For Quebec
 Independence!**



Pour l'indépendance du Québec !

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35 Years of Spartacist Canada

This October marks the 35th year of *Spartacist Canada*, the Marxist newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). Since 1975, *SC* has remained true to the purpose stated in our first issue: "to expose the treacherous lies of the bourgeoisie, to bring to our readers an understanding of the irreconcilable class antagonisms that characterize capitalist society, and to put forward the program, strategy and tactics necessary to realize the victory of the international proletariat."

SC was launched in a period of turmoil on the left. Among our founding cadre were individuals and groupings won from various centrist and left-reformist groups as well as youth new to Marxism. Today the bulk of what passes for Canadian left organizations are simply anti-Communist social democrats. Starting in the late 1970s, many left groups moved sharply to the right, notably by embracing the imperialist Cold War II against the Soviet Union. Groups falsely alleging to be Trotskyist cheered on the CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan who murdered schoolgirls in their "holy war" against the 1979 Red Army intervention. The fake left also joined with Ronald Reagan and the pope to support the clerical, anti-Communist Solidarność movement in Poland.

Despite decades of misuse under a nationalist, Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union remained a workers state, the product of the 1917 October Revolution. The ICL's fight against counterrevolution in the USSR and the deformed workers states of East Europe—notably in East Germany in 1989-90—and for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats attracted militants from other left currents to the TL, a process of revolutionary regroupment that strengthened our organization.

Rejecting Canadian nationalism in all its forms, *SC* has always championed the right of the oppressed French-speaking Québécois nation to self-determination. Since 1995, we have advocated independence for Quebec. This is a recognition that the anti-Quebec chauvinism fostered by the ruling class and its social-democratic henchmen, and the bourgeois Quebec nationalism which it fuels, constitute a decisive barrier to the development of class consciousness in this country.

SC is our Marxist weapon of intervention into the class struggle, and is thus highly polemical. We seek to expose the pretenders to socialism who in the main preach illusions in pushing the NDP to the left. We fight to forge a binational, multiethnic, internationalist revolutionary party through breaking the working class from the politics of social democracy. We encourage our readers to subscribe to *SC* and the other publications of the International Communist League, to contact us, discuss and get involved in the activities of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste and Spartacus Youth Clubs. ■

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SC166

Down With Racist “War on Terror”! Freedom for Omar Khadr!

On August 10, an American military commission began the sham “terror” trial of Omar Khadr at the U.S. prison camp in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. In 2002, Khadr, then just 15 years old, was shot in the back and captured by U.S. troops at a battle near Khost, Afghanistan. The gravely wounded youth was hauled off to the notorious Bagram prison where he was interrogated and tortured—threatened with rape, held in stress positions and suffocated until he blacked out. For the last eight years he has been entombed in a Guantánamo cage, where he has suffered more physical and mental abuse.

Khadr is charged with “murdering” a U.S. soldier. He also faces a series of other charges including conspiracy, support to terrorism, attempted murder and spying. But his only real crime in the eyes of the imperialist butchers is that he managed to survive the firefight during the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan.

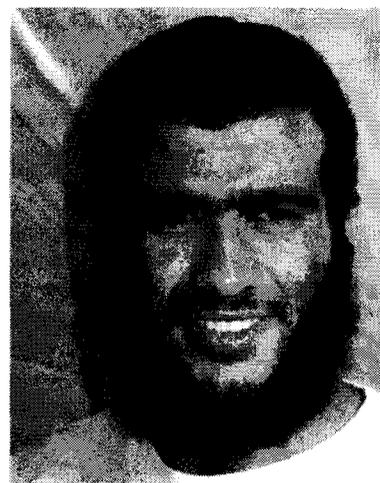
Both the current Harper Tory government and the previous Liberal regimes have been complicit in the detention and torture of Khadr, the only Canadian citizen held at Guantánamo. In 2003 the Liberals made a secret deal with the U.S. to have CSIS security agents interrogate Khadr and pass on information to his U.S. jailers. Several Canadian courts have ruled that his rights were violated, including through the interrogations by CSIS and foreign affairs officials. Ignoring these rulings, the Harper government has consistently refused to seek Khadr’s repatriation.

The U.S. government passed the Military Commission Act in 2006 to circumvent rights accorded to prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention, so that “coerced testimony” and torture would be admissible. Indeed, the mountain of evidence that Khadr was tortured into “confessing” has already been thrown out by the judge. By being deemed an “unlawful combatant,” in the highly unlikely event of an acquittal Khadr could still be locked up indefinitely.

Earlier in the summer, the prosecution offered a bogus “plea bargain” in which he would admit guilt in exchange for release from Guantánamo in five years, with the remainder of a 30-year jail sentence to be served in Canada. Khadr refused, condemning the military commission as a “sham process” and stating: “I will not willingly let the U.S. government use me to fulfill its goal.”

Had Khadr in fact carried out the killing of the U.S. soldier, this would constitute an act of legitimate defense against the invading imperialist troops. But the prosecution’s case is in any event based on lies and cover-ups. In April, the senior U.S. Special Forces officer in charge of the Khost assault revealed that he had changed his report of the events after the fact. Photo evidence indicates that Khadr was not responsible for throwing the grenade that killed the soldier. In 2008 the Pentagon accidentally released the eyewitness account of the soldier who shot Khadr, which affirmed that another fighter against the U.S. invasion was still alive when the soldier was killed. This contradicts the prosecution’s claim that Khadr must have thrown the grenade because he was the only one still alive. Khadr’s former U.S. military lawyer, Lt.-Cmdr. Bill Kuebler, aptly noted that “the U.S. government had a problem on its hands when it found that it had a 15-year-old Canadian

Omar Khadr in Guantánamo Bay detention camp, where he has been imprisoned for a third of his life.



Canwest News Service

on its hands with two gaping bullet holes in his back that had been facing away from the fight.” We demand the immediate release of Omar Khadr and all the Guantánamo detainees!

U.S. president Obama claimed he would clean up some of the “excesses” of the Bush-era “war on terror” by ending the military tribunals and closing the Guantánamo prison. Of course he has done neither. But he did make good on his promise to ratchet up the occupation of Afghanistan, launching the biggest military operation there since the 2001 invasion.

From the start, we opposed the invasion of Afghanistan by U.S., Canadian and other troops. We stood for its military defense against imperialist attack without giving any political support to the reactionary Taliban cutthroats. We call, as we have from the outset, for class struggle at home against the capitalist rulers. Every victory for the imperialists in their military adventures encourages more predatory wars, while every setback serves to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed around the world. **All Canadian, U.S. and NATO troops out of Afghanistan now!**

For Class Struggle Against Anti-“Terror” Hysteria!

The “war on terror”—with its torture, frame-ups, secret trials and indefinite detention—is a political construct of the ruling class used to create a climate of fear and intimidation. Its purpose is to further regiment society and abrogate democratic rights. The rulers have used it as an all-purpose justification for neocolonial occupations abroad and repression at home.

Canadian troops have been full participants in the occupation of Afghanistan from the start. They kill and maim civilians while handing over prisoners for torture or execution. The “revelation” last year by senior Canadian diplomat Richard Colvin that torture was “standard operating procedure” in Afghanistan embarrassed the Harper government. But as we noted after the initial accounts of torture emerged several years ago: “Prisoner abuse in Afghanistan is as intrinsic to the global imperialist ‘war on terror’ as the torture by U.S. troops in Iraq and the demonizing and repression of Muslims in the U.S., Canada and other Western countries” (“Torture and the ‘War on Terror,’” *SC No. 153*, Summer 2007).

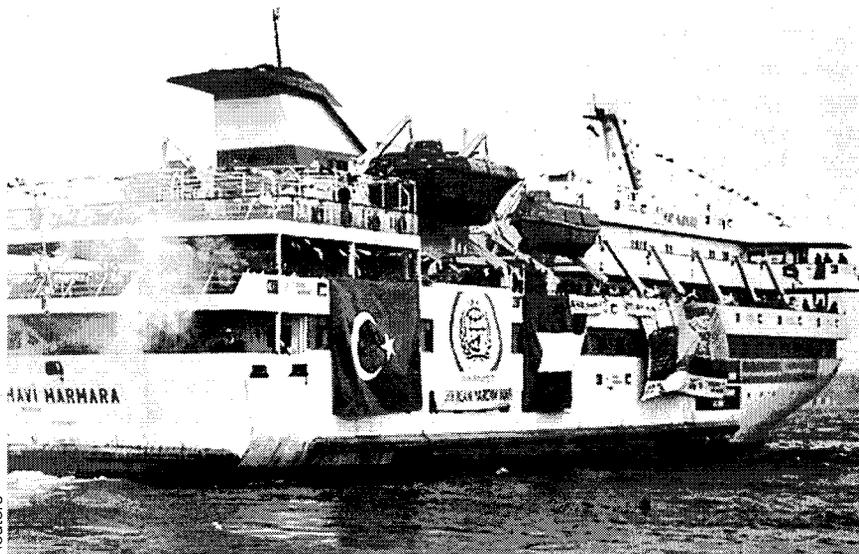
The recent hue and cry by the opposition parties over the detainee abuse was sheer hypocrisy. It was a Liberal government, backed by the NDP, that originally sent the troops to Afghanistan, and all the parties supported the bloody role of Canadian troops up until 2006. The opposition is now calling for

(continued on page 17)

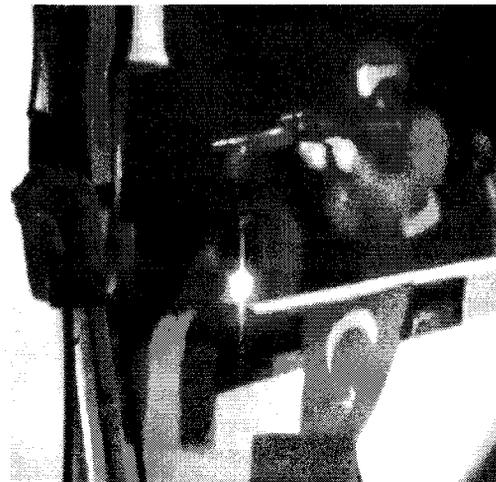
Young Spartacus

Defend the Palestinians!

For Proletarian Internationalism, Not Appeals to Imperialism!



Reuters



AFP

Left: Turkish aid ship *Mavi Marmara* leaving Istanbul on May 22. Above: Israeli commandos storm vessel in international waters.

The Israeli army's massacre of nine activists aboard the *Mavi Marmara*, a Turkish ship bringing aid to besieged Palestinians in Gaza, sparked worldwide protests in early June. Sections of the International Communist League joined these protests in solidarity with the Palestinians and their supporters. At rallies in Vancouver and Toronto the Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs called in particular on the labour movement to defend the Palestinians against Zionist state terror.

Under the Conservative Harper administration, Canada has stood out for its belligerent support for the Israeli Zionists' murderous campaign against the Palestinians. In this, they overshadow even previous Liberal administrations as well as the historically pro-Zionist NDP. Under Harper, the campaign of harassment, slander and threats against pro-Palestinian activists has greatly increased. Among the main targets are advocates of the campaign for "boycott, divestment and sanctions" (BDS), which appeals to capitalist governments, corporations and university administrations to act on behalf of the Palestinians through trade and other sanctions against Israel.

In the week after the *Mavi Marmara* assault, NDP deputy leader Libby Davies faced a barrage of criticism for voicing opposition to the Israeli blockade of Gaza. Other NDPers helped turn the screws on Davies, while party leader Jack Layton called her support for BDS a "serious mistake." He added that the NDP believes Israel has the "right to exist in secure borders in a safe context." Israel's "secure borders" mean the apartheid wall, full land and sea blockade of Gaza, and regular military assaults on the Occupied Territories. In a grovelling apology, Davies later affirmed her full support for NDP policies on Israel.

Each spring, organizers of Israeli Apartheid Week on the campuses face smears of "anti-Semitism" for defending the Palestinians. Last year Carleton University in Ottawa banned a poster depicting a young Palestinian boy under a falling Israeli bomb. This was a few months after the Israeli army led an assault on Gaza that killed 1,300 people! University of Toronto president David Naylor personally intervened to prevent pro-Palestinian organizers from booking rooms on campus. Earlier this year the media and local politicians in Toronto waged a furious campaign against the participation of Queers Against Israeli Apartheid in the annual Pride Parade.

Last winter Ontario Conservative Party MPP Peter Shurman introduced an Orwellian motion to condemn the term "Israeli Apartheid Week" because it "serves to incite hatred against Israel." The motion was endorsed unanimously by all present, including NDP MPP Cheri DiNovo, long a favourite of the NDP loyalists of Socialist Action. DiNovo spoke in favour of the motion while reiterating her party's support for a "two-state solution" in Israel/Palestine: in other words, the continued confinement of Palestinians in the open-air prisons of Gaza and the West Bank. As defenders of all the oppressed and opponents of racist, capitalist injustice, the Spartacus Youth Club says: *Defend the Palestinians! Hands off their supporters!*

On Boycotts, Divestments and Sanctions

Swedish dock workers took action against the attack on the *Mavi Marmara* through a week-long labour boycott of Israel from June 23-29. During that week, they refused to handle ten cargo containers being shipped to or from Israel. Longshoremen

at the Port of Cochin, India, refused to work cargo from an Israeli-owned Zim lines ship that had been unloaded in Sri Lanka and then shipped to Cochin in a feeder vessel.

In Oakland, California on June 20, International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) members honoured a picket line of some 800 protesters calling to boycott a Zim lines container ship. The Oakland protest, which was endorsed by the Oakland Education Association and publicized by the San Francisco and Alameda Labor Councils, followed an ILWU Local 10 executive board resolution “condemning this Israeli attack” and calling for “unions to protest by any action they choose to take.” Supporters of the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the ICL, joined the Oakland picket as an expression of commitment to the defense of the Palestinians against Zionist state terror, which is armed and bankrolled by U.S. imperialism. More recently, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) announced it would endorse an aid ship to Gaza in October, aiming again to break the Zionist blockade.

We support time-delimited actions of labour solidarity like union boycotts called around concrete demands in defense of the Palestinians. We also support standing boycotts of military shipments to Israel, which would be a real blow against the Zionist butchers and, even more crucially, their bloody imperialist patrons. Our purpose in calling on the labour movement to “Hot Cargo Military Goods to Israel!”—as one of our signs said at the Oakland protest—is to strengthen the fighting power and class consciousness of the working class in solidarity with the exploited and oppressed of the world, and in opposition to capitalist class rule in the imperialist centres.

While supporting the labour actions that have occurred in solidarity with the Palestinians, we oppose the political strategy of the reformist union bureaucracies that initiated them. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), for example, links its call for a labour boycott of Israeli goods to a demand that the capitalist South African government “support the international campaign of boycotts, divestment and sanctions.” Similarly, the organizers of the Oakland protest gave a labour veneer to the BDS campaign. (For more details see “ILWU Ship Boycott: Token of Solidarity with Palestinians,” *Workers Vanguard* No. 963, 27 August.)

Open-ended boycotts and campaigns for divestment and sanctions against Israel are counterposed to the international working-class struggle on which the liberation of the Palestinians is premised. Pressure campaigns on capitalist governments like those proposed by BDS activists build illusions in “democratic” capitalist countries like the U.S. and Canada. We have no illusions in the “good will” of Canadian capitalists or their state. The capitalist state—at its core the cops, courts and military—is the dictatorship of the ruling bourgeoisie. In addition to maintaining the conditions for the exploitation of the working class, the capitalist state in Canada oppresses Native peoples, the Québécois and immigrants. Canada is part of the imperialist occupation of Afghanistan, yet there are no calls for a general boycott of Canadian goods or institutions!

As opposed to time-delimited labour boycotts, open-ended boycotts of states like Israel are not only ineffective but also could prove harmful to the working class in the boycotted countries. If successful, such campaigns would actually be a blow against the only force that can be mobilized to smash the Zionist state from within: the Hebrew-speaking and Arab workers of Israel.

In its call for labour action against Zionist terror, the Swedish dockers union demanded that Israel pay “respect to international



SC photo

TL/SYC contingent at June 5 Toronto protest against assault on *Mavi Marmara*.

law.” Similarly, a 2006 resolution by the Ontario division of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) called to support the BDS campaign until Israel “fully complies with the precepts of international law.” In its 2008 endorsement of the BDS campaign, CUPW also cited the need to uphold “international law” as stipulated by the United Nations.

This is in line with the entire BDS campaign, which invokes the UN as an ally against the Zionist rulers. Whatever criticisms of Israeli policy are occasionally expressed in UN resolutions, opponents of Zionist terror must place no reliance on this imperialist den of thieves and their victims. Time and again, the UN has acted to deepen the oppression of the Palestinians. The UN presided over the 1947 partition of Palestine, and its “peacekeepers” disarmed Palestinian fighters in Lebanon in 1982, setting up the massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps by forces acting on behalf of the Israeli army.

Zionism, Apartheid, Divestment

BDS supporters model their boycott campaign on that carried out against South Africa in the 1980s. The divestment and sanctions campaign against South Africa was centrally promoted by the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC) and backed by many reformist left groups internationally. It was based on a claim that South African capitalism could be fundamentally reformed through pressure from “democratic” imperialist powers like the U.S. and Canada. In fact, it was not divestment but the mass social struggles of the black and other non-white toilers, centred on the working class, that paved the way for an end to direct white-supremacist rule in South Africa.

At the time, our organization uniquely told the truth: that divestment was *at best* an empty gesture; that if foreign companies did withdraw substantial productive assets this would hurt black workers and weaken the powerful black union movement; and, most crucially, that it was obscene to look to U.S. imperialism and its Canadian junior partner as a force for “democracy” anywhere in the world. The divestment that did occur largely took the form of overseas corporations signing over their interests to local subsidiaries, which often

(continued on page 12)

For Class-Struggle Leadership!

Militant Strike Wave in China



Reuters

Striking Honda workers in Foshan confront thugs (wearing caps) from official ACFTU union federation, May 31.

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 961 (2 July), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

The wave of strikes for higher wages and better working conditions that has swept through China in recent weeks must be supported by class-conscious workers around the world. The strikes began on May 17 at a Honda transmission plant in Foshan in the southern province of Guangdong, which workers shut down for nearly three weeks. With the flow of parts from the factory choked off, production was halted at all the company's assembly plants in China.

After the Foshan workers won wage increases of about 30 percent, strikes spread to other factories in the booming Guangdong industrial area and beyond. Most have been at plants owned by foreign corporations, notably the Japanese auto companies. Workers have also struck several Taiwanese-owned factories, including a rubber products plant near Shanghai where around 50 were injured in clashes with police, as well as facilities owned by mainland Chinese capitalists.

The foreign and domestic capitalists operating in China have amassed huge profits by exploiting a workforce largely composed of migrant workers from the countryside. Many workers are forced to work 60 to 70 hours a week at wages barely above subsistence levels. The conditions they face were made vivid in the widely reported wave of suicides at Foxconn's massive electronics facility in Shenzhen, also in Guangdong. At least ten workers have killed themselves this year at this Taiwanese-

owned factory complex, where more than 300,000 workers toil long hours under harsh discipline assembling computers and phones for Apple, Dell, Sony and other major American and Japanese corporations. At the same time, the enormous concentration of workers at Foxconn points to the immense potential power of the Chinese working class.

With its vast economic development over the last several decades, China now has by far the largest industrial working class in the world. Thus the struggles waged by workers there are of major significance. As a result of the 1949 Revolution,

capitalism was overthrown in China and a collectivized economy was established. Although deformed from its inception by the rule of the Stalinist Chinese Communist Party (CCP) bureaucracy, the revolutionary overturn was a huge victory for working people everywhere. Despite the capitalist inroads created by the CCP regime's "market reforms,"

China's core economy is still based on nationalized property (see "China's 'Market Reforms'—A Trotskyist Analysis," *WV* Nos. 874 and 875, 4 August and 1 September 2006).

In contrast to the major capitalist countries, which have been mired in deep recessions with tens of millions of job cuts, China's economy has continued to expand over the last two years, even though the export-oriented sector of its economy was buffeted somewhat by the global downturn. It was the ability to marshal resources in the core collectivized sector that prevented China from being dragged into the kind of deep economic crisis that is intrinsic to the capitalist system of production for profit. China's economy is now again

**Defend the Chinese
Bureaucratically Deformed
Workers State!
For Proletarian Political
Revolution!**

growing rapidly, producing significant labor shortages. State investment in cities in China's interior has absorbed much of the labor that had been migrating to the factories of the eastern coastal areas.

The big imperialist powers—the U.S., Japan, Germany et al.—remain determined to restore capitalist rule and fully open up China to capitalist exploitation. Just as workers in capitalist countries must defend their unions against the bosses despite the present sellout labor leadership, so they must defend China against capitalist counterrevolution despite the Stalinist bureaucracy's repressive rule and its many accommodations to capitalism.

In offering up low-wage migrant workers for exploitation by foreign corporations, the CCP bureaucracy effectively acts as a labor contractor for the imperialists and offshore Chinese capitalists. The bureaucracy itself now includes substantial elements with family or other ties to capitalist entrepreneurs, and several years ago the rubber-stamp National People's Congress enacted a law strengthening private property rights. Nonetheless, the CCP bureaucratic caste still rests on the material base of the collectivized economy, from which its power and privileges are derived.

The Chinese working class must sweep away the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy, which has gravely weakened the system of nationalized property internally while conciliating imperialism at the international level. A proletarian political revolution is needed to defend and extend the gains of the workers state and place power directly in the hands of elected workers and peasants councils. This could inspire proletarian socialist revolution throughout capitalist Asia, including in the industrial powerhouse of Japan, and elsewhere. The emergence of a China ruled by workers and peasants councils would also help spur the workers of Taiwan to overthrow their capitalist ruling class, leading to the revolutionary reunification of China.

The Chinese Tinderbox

Faced with growing discontent at the base of society, Hu Jintao's CCP regime has been slowing down some "free mar-

ket" measures in the name of building a "harmonious society." The CCP bureaucrats have increased their "pro-worker" rhetoric, while authorities in many provinces and major cities have felt compelled to substantially raise the minimum wage. The bureaucratic CCP regime defends the gains embodied in the Chinese deformed workers state only to the extent that it fears the working class.

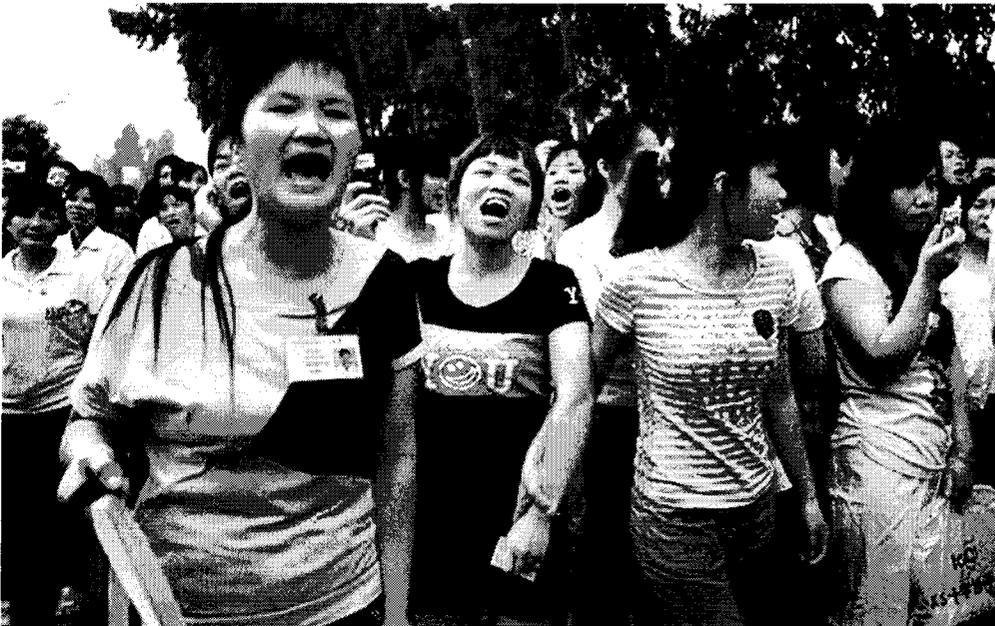
Unusually, the CCP rulers initially allowed extensive domestic media coverage of the strikes, especially those at Japanese-owned factories. This was accompanied by an equally unusual candor about China's increasing social inequalities. Citing a leader of the All China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), *China Daily* (13 May) reported that the portion of the country's gross domestic product going to workers' wages fell from 57 percent to 37 percent from 1983 to 2005. An editorial in *Global Times* (2 June), a *China Daily* spin-off, stated:

"Admittedly, in the three decades of opening-up, ordinary workers are among those who have received the smallest share of economic prosperity.... The temporary stoppage of production lines in the four Honda plants, at a time of increasing market demand for Japanese-brand cars, highlights the necessity of organized labor protection in Chinese factories."

Doubtless concerned by the spread of the strikes, the bureaucracy has since sharply curtailed such media coverage.

Most of the strike leaders appear to be young migrant workers, notably including women workers. They have shown impressive militancy and organizational skills, including the use of the internet and text messaging to rally the workers and follow developments elsewhere. Significantly, workers in Foshan and at another Honda plant in Zhongshan decided to elect their own strike leaders and negotiating committees independent of the ACFTU, the official union federation tied to the ruling CCP. In a number of cases, ACFTU bureaucrats have openly colluded with management to try and force a return to work. Thugs organized by the union bureaucracy physically attacked Foshan Honda strikers on May 31, causing several injuries. The next day the same ACFTU bureaucrats issued a public apology, while trying to play down their role in the assault.

Among the demands raised by the Foshan strikers was "a reorganization of the local trade union; re-elections should be held for union chairman and other representatives." Strikers in Zhongshan held a protest march on June 11 that similarly demanded the right to choose their own union leaders. While the Stalinist rulers removed the right to strike from China's constitution in 1982, various reforms to labor laws in 2008 have made it easier for workers to organize to defend their interests. Many strikers have made clear to reporters that they believe they have the right to take strike action, citing the legal reforms.



Lindquist/NY Times

Workers demonstrate outside Honda factory in Zhongshan, June 11.

(continued on page 10)

Strike Wave in China...

(continued from page 9)

An open letter issued on behalf of the Foshan strikers' negotiating committee by Li Xiaojuan, a young woman worker, declared:

"We must maintain a high degree of unity and not let the representatives of Capital divide us.... This factory's profits are the fruits of our bitter toil.... This struggle is not just about the interests of our 1,800 workers. We also care about the rights and interests of all Chinese workers."

—quoted in *Financial Times* (London),
10 June

Chinese workers need a class-struggle leadership to advance their struggle to wrest as much as possible from the capitalist companies that are exploiting them, fight the ravages of inflation and improve their working and living conditions. Workers in state-owned industry also need such a leadership to protect and advance their living standards and to fight against bureaucratic abuse. Integral to the fight to replace the parasitic CCP regime with the rule of workers and peasants councils is building trade unions free from bureaucratic control. Even in a workers state ruled by genuine workers democracy, unions are necessary to protect against possible encroachments and abuses, and to help plan production and work methods. Addressing the question of trade unions in the early Soviet workers state, V.I. Lenin insisted that communists should fight for leadership of the unions based on their program and practice on behalf of the workers state. They must be selected by the workers and not appointed by the state.

The fight for unions free of bureaucratic control must take as its starting point defense of the social gains of the



Front Line

Beijing, August 2001: Workers protest layoffs and official plundering. Banner reads: "Where Has 150 Million Yuan of State Property Gone?"

1949 Revolution against imperialism and capitalist restoration. This is especially important given the maneuvers of pro-capitalist forces like the Hong Kong-based *China Labour Bulletin* (CLB), which promotes Western-style "democracy," i.e., the rule of the capitalist exploiters with a parliamentary facade. Formerly a partisan of so-called "independent unions," the CLB now calls to work inside the ACFTU in order to break it from CCP control. While masquerading as a workers organization, the CLB is a counter-revolutionary group with direct ties to U.S. imperialism. Its leader, Han Dongfang, is also vice-chair of the World Movement for Democracy, an outfit founded and run by the

National Endowment for Democracy, a notorious CIA front.

In covering the Chinese strikes, the Western bourgeois media raise the spectre of Polish Solidarność, the anti-Communist "trade union" that spearheaded the drive for capitalist counter-revolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union in the 1980s. The media's line, stated or otherwise, is that Chinese workers must strike out against the Communist Party regime and embrace the "free market." For its part, the CCP regime also raises the spectre of Solidarność, falsely claiming that any organized opposition to its rule must be pro-capitalist and counterrevolutionary. An article by Willy Lam, a professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, in the *Wall Street Journal* (14 June) reported: "In unpublicized, closed-door talks on the labor situation, Mr. Hu and other Politburo members have cited late patriarch Deng Xiaoping's warnings about how Poland's Solidarity Movement undermined Communist Parties throughout the former Eastern Bloc."

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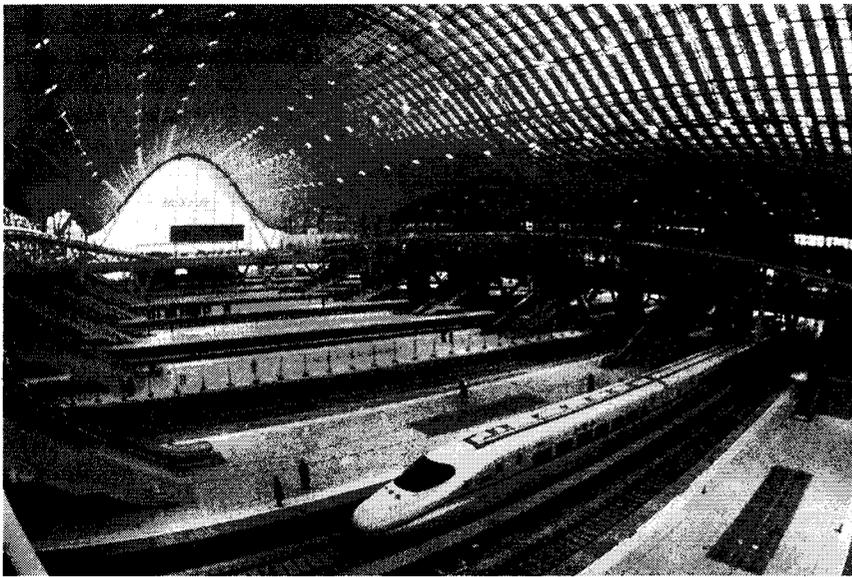
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Xinhua

High-speed railway in Wuhan, December 2009. Collectivized core of China's economy has spurred economic growth and development while capitalist world has been mired in crisis.

socialists, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) opposed Solidarność and fought to the end against capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union. But a Solidarność-type development is *not* what is happening in China today. The growth of Solidarność as a counterrevolutionary movement was shaped by factors that have no parallel in China, including the deep roots of the Catholic church in Poland and the role of Polish nationalism, which was wielded against the Soviet Union. Moreover, the strikes in China today are protesting brutal exploitation in large, privately owned capitalist enterprises, which did not exist in Poland circa 1980. Any illusions in capitalist "democracy" among Chinese workers must be vigorously fought. But there is no reason to think that what is developing in China today is a mass pro-capitalist workers movement.

For a Government of Workers and Peasants Councils!

The strikes led by migrant workers, which are in the interest of all Chinese working people, underline the need to abolish the CCP rulers' discriminatory *hukou* household registration system. Legal urban residency, education and health care for migrants from the countryside and their children are severely restricted under this system, making their tenure in the city transitory and insecure. Jobs in state-owned industry, with their associated benefits, have largely remained the preserve of workers with an urban *hukou*.

The migrant workers' insecure status has been a boon to the capitalist exploiters in the foreign-owned sector, who have had a ready labor pool to exploit at very low wages. While many young workers who now toil in the factories grew up in the cities with migrant parents, they too are not considered urban residents under the bureaucracy's outrageous *hukou* restrictions. Migrant workers must have the same rights and access to benefits as legally recognized urban residents!

A government of elected workers and peasants councils would represent *all* sectors of the proletariat and the rural

toilers. Crucial questions facing the workers state can be resolved effectively only when those who labor decide. As the Marxist leader Leon Trotsky explained in his searing indictment of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936): "It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy."

The CCP bureaucracy's pro-market policies have strengthened the forces of counterrevolution inside China. At the same time, the social power of the industrial working class has been greatly augmented by economic development. The inclusion of at least 150 million rural migrant workers in China's urban economy is a factor of enormous potential significance. A Leninist-Trotskyist party is needed to provide a revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist road forward.

As we wrote in "Women Workers and the Contradictions of China Today" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 61, Spring 2009):

"At some point, likely when bourgeois elements in and around the bureaucracy move to eliminate CCP political power, the explosive social tensions building up in Chinese society will shatter the political structure of the ruling bureaucratic caste. When that happens, China's fate will be starkly posed. Either the workers will sweep away the parasitic ruling elite through a proletarian political revolution that defends and extends the gains of the 1949 Revolution and makes China a bastion of the struggle for world socialism, or capitalist counterrevolution will triumph, bringing back devastating imperialist subjugation and exploitation."

A revolutionary workers and peasants government would put an end to bureaucratic arbitrariness and corruption. It would expropriate the new class of domestic capitalist entrepreneurs and renegotiate the terms of foreign investment in the interests of the working people. It would create a centrally planned and managed economy under conditions of workers democracy—not the autarkic, bureaucratic commandism of the Mao years. While struggling to provide at least a basic level of economic security for the whole population, a genuine communist leadership would understand that achieving material prosperity for all hinges on the struggle for socialist revolution in the centers of world capitalism. This perspective is vehemently opposed by the nationalist CCP regime, whose policies derive from the Stalinist dogma of "building socialism in one country." The fact that workers in China's capitalist zones are being exploited by some of the same corporations that exploit workers in Japan, the U.S. and elsewhere creates the potential for international solidarity and points to workers' common interest in the fight for a socialist world.

The survival and advancement of China's revolutionary gains and the all-round modernization of society in the interest of the toiling masses requires an internationally planned socialist economy, which will open the road to a global communist future. That is the goal of the International Communist League, which fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of proletarian revolution. ■

Defend the Palestinians...

(continued from page 7)

treated their workers even more brutally. Indeed, there were strikes by black oil and rubber workers in South Africa against such divestment schemes. As we wrote in reporting on these strikes:

“The only kind of ‘divestment’ that will benefit the exploited and oppressed will be proletarian revolution, and the expropriation of these riches by a black-centered workers government as part of a socialist federation of southern Africa.”

—“Black Workers Strike Against ‘Divestment’ Union-Busting,” *Workers Vanguard* No. 486, 29 September 1989

That is no less true today, as ANC leaders like Jacob Zuma—allied with COSATU and the South African Communist Party in the governing “Tripartite Alliance”—continue to serve as black front men for a *neo-apartheid* capitalist system. Under this system, the economic foundations of white supremacy based on the superexploitation of black labour remain intact.

Most of the reformist left in Canada has embraced the BDS campaign. An article co-authored by Abbie Bakan, longtime spokesman of the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.), in *Race & Class* (July 2009) calls to “constructively embrace and advance” the BDS movement because it “is showing all the signs of a current that can grow significantly and can serve as an important step in forging global solidarity against racism, colonialism and oppression.”

For its part, Fightback, the Canadian section of Alan Woods’ International Marxist Tendency (IMT), calls to “abandon the blanket boycott of Israel” and “adopt a workers’ boycott” (marxist.ca, 18 December 2009). In keeping with their tradition of acting as a left cover for the mainstream social democrats and trade union bureaucrats, Fightback uncritically lauds the union leaders who led the boycotts in the wake of the flotilla attack. They cite the Swedish and South African port workers’ campaigns as “reminiscent of the best traditions of workers’ international solidarity” (marxist.ca, 15 June) but erase the fact that the statements by these same unions explicitly promote the BDS campaign and/or “international law.”

Behind the IMT’s present posture is a history of shameful positions on the Palestinian question. In 2008, for example, they refused to call for military defense of the Palestinians against Israel, even as the Zionists were ramping up their attacks on Gaza and enforcing a starvation blockade as a form of “collective punishment” for Hamas’ electoral victory. Instead, the IMT called on the working masses of both sides to “turn your arms against your true enemies—your own leaders”



Bill Hackwell

June 20 Oakland port picket against Zim Shenzhen ship, part of international labour boycott of Israeli shipping.

(marxist.com, 21 January 2008). This stance reflects craven indifference to the Israeli bourgeoisie’s drive to further immiserate the Palestinians. While we oppose Hamas’ indiscriminate attacks on Israeli civilians (along with its entire reactionary Islamic fundamentalist worldview), we do not draw an equal sign between such attacks and the Israeli state offensive. We are for the military defense of any Palestinian force standing in the way of Israeli military assaults.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

At the protests against the *Mavi Marmara* atrocity the SYC put forward the Marxist perspective for the social and national liberation of the Palestinians: common class struggle by the Hebrew-speaking and Arab workers against both the Israeli and Arab ruling classes culminating in international workers revolutions to sweep away the forces of capitalism, backwardness and reaction. Combating liberal illusions in the BDS movement, we argued that solidarity with the oppressed means first and foremost opposing our “own” ruling class and fighting to bring down Canadian imperialism through socialist revolution at home.

The current plight of the Palestinian masses is a product of the system of world imperialism, which carved up the Near East under the auspices of the UN decades ago in such a manner as would guarantee perpetual ethnic tensions throughout the region. The suffering of the Palestinian people has intensified since the 1991-92 counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the world’s first workers state, product of the October 1917 Russian Revolution. The collapse of the USSR, which acted as a counterweight to imperialism internationally, deprived the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) of crucial material aid. The 1993 U.S.-engineered Oslo accords between the PLO and Israel guaranteed the perpetual immiseration of the Palestinians in disconnected mini-states under the control of a pliant Fatah, the PLO’s dominant political wing.

Today Hamas is portrayed by some on the left as an “anti-imperialist” alternative to the corrupt and politically bankrupt

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

Toronto:	Box 7198, Station A Toronto ON M5W 1X8 (416) 593-4138 spartcan@on.aibn.com
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Fatah. Islamic fundamentalists like Hamas and Islamic Jihad are vile anti-Jewish and anti-Christian religious bigots who seek to imprison women under the veil and extirpate any manifestations of social progress. Hamas is descended from the clerical-fascist Muslim Brotherhood, which became prominent in Egypt in the late 1940s. Under the slogan “communism = atheism = liberation of women,” the Muslim Brotherhood mobilized a terror campaign against Communists and secular forces.

Hamas was initially supported by Israel as a counterweight to the secular-nationalist PLO. Carrying out attacks on secularists and Communists, the Islamists engaged in neither political nor military struggle against Israel. With the beginning of the first *Intifada* in 1987, the Islamists feared that if they stood aside they would lose their following. Hamas was founded the following year as an Islamist political movement with an armed wing. It sought to fuse the national struggle, previously a secular movement containing a leftist component, with reactionary Islamic fundamentalism. Only in the fall of 1989, when Israel discovered that Hamas had killed two Israeli soldiers, did the Zionist state break relations.

Today the Fatah-ruled West Bank is little more than a concentration camp surrounded by a heavily guarded wall and sliced up by Zionist settlements, checkpoints and bypass highways. Heavily armed Israeli settlers continue to build houses and farms on land confiscated from Palestinians. In Gaza, 1.5 million Palestinians live under a starvation blockade enforced by the Israeli military and upheld by the Egyptian government. What was once the most cosmopolitan population in the region has been smothered by decades of oppression by Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt. *All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories—including East Jerusalem!*

Both the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking nations have the right to self-determination, but because the two nations are geographically interpenetrated, under capitalism self-determination for one can only be achieved by denying it to the other. Every bourgeois “solution” to the Palestinian national question either perpetuates the oppression of the Palestinian Arab people or envisions a reversal of the terms of oppression, denying the legitimate national rights of the Hebrew-speaking people. In situations of interpenetrated peoples, a consistently democratic solution to the national question, including the right of return for Palestinian refugees, can only be achieved through socialist revolution. Only the proletariat in power has an interest in resolving national antagonisms and can begin to meet the material needs of all working people.

Israeli society is not a seamless reactionary mass. Unlike Arab nationalists, Islamic fundamentalists and many pro-Palestinian activists, we make a distinction between the Hebrew-speaking nation and the relentlessly murderous Zionist state. Israel is a class-divided society with a proletariat that is exploited by the imperialist-backed Israeli bourgeoisie. Since the end of the first *Intifada*, Israel has brought in as many as one million migrant workers, many from East Asia, to replace Palestinian labour. Sephardic Jews, though overwhelmingly under the sway of right-wing and religious parties, suffer great discrimination and poverty. The Palestinian Arabs who constitute 20 percent of Israel’s population—and are only nominally “citizens”—are saddled with poorly paid, dangerous jobs as well as all-sided legal and social discrimination.

We have no illusions that breaking the Israeli working

class from its Zionist overlords will be an easy task. Indeed, it will likely require the victory of socialist revolution in one of the other Near Eastern states to break the Hebrew-speaking proletariat from Zionist chauvinism. But proletarian revolution is essential if there is to be any kind of future for the myriad peoples of the Near East.

The working class in the surrounding Arab countries must come to the aid of the Palestinians by opposing their own bourgeoisies and rejecting the Arab nationalism that they peddle. The Arab ruling classes are responsible for countless atrocities against their own people as well as against the Palestinians. The Hashemite government in Jordan, for example, killed 10,000 Palestinian militants during the 1970 Black September massacre. Arab workers must also reject the widespread, poisonous anti-Semitism that the Arab regimes promote to turn anger among the oppressed masses away from them and against a supposed “common enemy” in Israel.

What is necessary is the forging of revolutionary parties throughout the Near East, built in opposition to all forms of nationalism and religious fundamentalism and committed to the struggle for socialist revolution which, on an international scale and extended to the advanced capitalist world, can finally open the door to human equality and liberation. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which laid the basis for the liberation of the tsarist empire’s many subjugated peoples and was an inspiration for anti-colonial revolts throughout the Near East, is our model in this task.

The SYC looks to win youth to the program of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, which uniquely shows the road to emancipation from capitalist oppression and degradation. The BDS campaign reinforces liberal illusions in the ability of students, consumers and other “concerned citizens” to reform capitalism through pressure tactics, as well as illusions that the Canadian imperialists can be a benevolent force on the world stage. We in contrast look to the social power of a class-conscious proletariat to finally do away with the capitalist system that perpetuates imperialist subjugation. We fight to build a multiethnic, revolutionary party of the working class to lead a socialist revolution. ■

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Drop All the Charges!

Protest Mass Arrests of G20 Protesters!

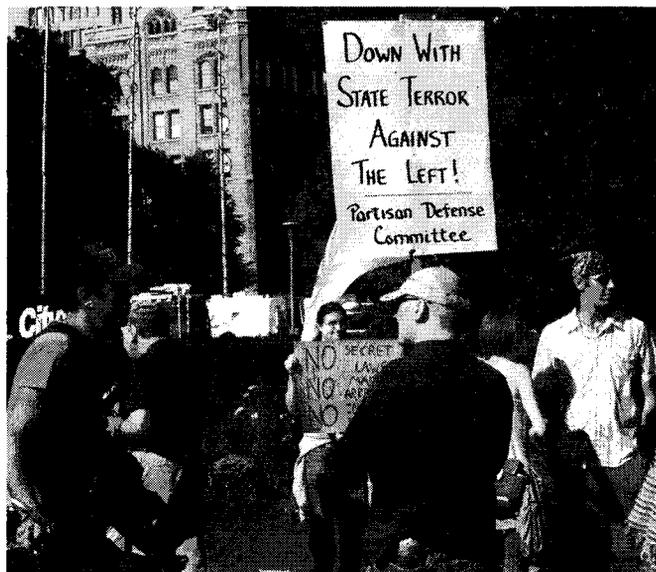
In the immediate wake of the mass arrests at the G20 protests, the Partisan Defense Committee issued the protest statement printed below. On August 23, more than 300 people appeared at a fortified Toronto court used for so-called "terror" cases. While charges against 73 were dismissed or settled that day, more than 230 are still charged, including 17 protesters hit with frame-up conspiracy charges. Among them are activists Peter Hopperton, Leah Henderson, Amanda Hiscocks, Alex Hundert, Syed Hussan and Jaggi Singh. Community organizer Erik Lankin, also charged with conspiracy, has been in jail since June 26. Free him now!

It is in the interest of the workers movement to mobilize to demand that all charges be dropped against all the G20 protesters. The PDC has donated to their legal defense, and we urge our readers to do the same. Send contributions payable to OPIRG York, with "G20 legal defence" in the subject line, to: Toronto Community Mobilization Network, 360A Bloor St. W., P.O. Box 68557, Toronto ON M5S 1X0.

JUNE 28—The Partisan Defense Committee—the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste—denounces in the strongest terms the brutal police violence unleashed on protesters against the G20 summit in Toronto on June 26-27. Over 900 have been arrested, including many protest organizers. We demand the immediate release of all protesters. Drop all the charges now!

Toronto became a virtual police state as 20,000 cops descended on the city. Following a 15,000-strong demonstration against the G20 on June 26, riot police began rounding up protesters and passers-by in indiscriminate sweeps throughout the city core. The cops have employed deadly force, using tear gas, muzzle blast, rubber bullets and pepper spray, and serious injuries have been reported. Journalists have been arrested in a clear effort to prevent exposure of the cop violence.

Those held at the huge temporary detention centre report being denied access to lawyers, water and medical attention. An arrested CTV television producer called the facilities "Guantánamo Bay-style cages." He told of a man denied medical care despite a serious head injury. An activist told *Spartacist Canada* that he was taken to a separate prison, denied access to a lawyer, beaten, strip-searched and forced to kneel with his underwear crammed into his face and mouth. As protesters rallied at the detention centre on Sunday, they too were arrested and force-marched into the prison. A young woman was shot in the face with a rubber bullet. Hundreds of cops raided the offices of the University of Toronto Graduate Students Union and the Toronto Community Mobilization Network, making many arrests. Meanwhile, anyone wearing black on downtown streets was deemed an anarchist by the cops and subjected to random



SC photo

TL and PDC supporters joined July 1 Toronto protest against cop round-up of over 1,000.

searches and arrests.

The bosses' media and politicians claim that a few smashed windows and burned-out cop cars justify the brutal crackdown. Reflecting the labour tops' loyalty to the rule of capital, Canadian Labour Congress president Ken Georgetti echoed this, declaring, "We condemn these actions." Jack Layton, leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party, railed, "The vandalism is criminal and totally unacceptable."

From the standpoint of the working class such actions are no crime! What is a smashed bank window compared to an imperialist system that condemns millions to death by starvation, disease and war? Yet successful struggle against capitalist rule must seek to mobilize the social power of the working class. Rejecting this Marxist perspective, the "direct action" activists with their "black bloc" tactics offer only the sideshow of ineffectual rage, bringing them into isolated conflict with the bloody fist of the bosses' state. It is this racist state apparatus, centrally the cops, courts and army, that maintains the capitalist dictatorship over the working class and oppressed.

Neither pleas for the ruling class to "do right" by the oppressed nor symbolic individual acts will change the system of capitalist exploitation. Only a class-conscious proletariat can put an end to this brutal social system through a socialist revolution that will open the road to an egalitarian communist future. An injury to one is an injury to all! Free all the protesters—Drop the charges!■

Police State Crackdown...

(continued from page 1)

were “kettled” in a downtown intersection, penned in by cops for hours in the driving rain.

Denouncing the manufactured furor over so-called “vandalism,” the Partisan Defense Committee, the legal defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League, issued a June 28 statement (reprinted on page 14), declaring:

“From the standpoint of the working class such actions are no crime! What is a smashed bank window compared to an imperialist system that condemns millions to death by starvation, disease and war?”

The cops’ barbaric treatment of those arrested perfectly mirrors the racism, chauvinist oppression and violence that are integral to capitalist society. Inside the mass detention centre on Eastern Avenue, minorities were subjected to racist abuse. Women, gays and lesbians were singled out for special humiliation, including sexual manhandling and threats of rape. Some protesters were repeatedly strip searched, denied access to toilets, water and adequate food. The disabled were brutalized and those with cop-inflicted injuries were denied medical care.

Reflecting the national oppression of the Québécois at the hands of the Canadian ruling class, protesters from Quebec—automatically deemed supporters of the anarchist Black Bloc—were singled out for arrest and vile Anglo-chauvinist abuse. Merely speaking French or having Quebec plates on your car made you a target. According to a Montreal law student, the cops who pulled him over stated: “We’re pulling people over from Quebec, we’re stopping people in cars and buses” (cbc.ca, 3 July). At least 50 Québécois were arrested in an early morning raid at the University of Toronto’s Graduate Students Union, where they were being billeted. So many Québécois were arrested that of the 450 who came to Toronto on the buses organized by the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (CLAC), only 125 made the return trip.

In the early hours of June 26, even before the main anti-G20 demonstration, cops barged into private homes at gunpoint, arresting as many as 23 left-wing activists from the Southern Ontario Anarchist Resistance (SOAR), No One Is Illegal and the Montreal-based CLAC. Seventeen protesters now face multiple “conspiracy” charges, which could bring heavy jail time.

Conspiracy charges are often wielded by the state to go after perceived opponents against whom there is no evidence. The capitalist rulers have a long history of using such frame-up prosecutions against the left and labour movement. The early trade unions in this country were outlawed as “criminal conspiracies.” In the 1930s, as the anarchy of production for profit led to mass unemployment, the capitalist rulers launched a ferocious campaign of anti-communist repression, charging members of the Communist Party with “seditious conspiracy.” Such charges criminalize political protest and are meant to intimidate and silence all those who would oppose the violence, poverty and exploitation that are endemic to the rule of capital. Drop all the charges against the G20 protesters now!

Reformist Bankruptcy: Public Inquiries and Cop Baiting

To quell the tide of anger over the cop crackdown and refurbish the image of the cops, various politicians and bourgeois liberals have called for a “public inquiry” into the police violence, a demand eagerly embraced by the reformist left. And multiple inquiries have indeed been announced. In

promoting such inquiries, these leftists propagate a dangerous myth that the capitalist state and its cops can be reformed to serve the interests of the oppressed.

The cops, along with the prisons, courts and military, make up the core of the capitalist state, an instrument of organized violence used to maintain the rule of the capitalists against the working class. When the police kill and brutalize immigrants and Natives, repress leftists, attack picket lines or student protesters, this flows directly from the fact that they serve but one master, the capitalist class. Their job is to protect the profit system that creates unemployment, poverty and oppression. No amount of parliamentary claptrap, “inquiries” or appeals to “justice” will reform the capitalist state. It must be overthrown by a class-conscious working class in a socialist revolution and replaced by a workers state. The June events in Toronto amply demonstrate the truth of the statement by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the 1848 *Communist Manifesto* that “The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.”

From the Harper government to Toronto’s social-democratic mayor David Miller and much of the left, a furious outcry went up against the supposed “violence” of the anarchists. Grotesquely, feminist blowhard Judy Rebick told a CP24 newsman on June 27 that there should have been *more* cop repression and pre-emptive arrests. “What they could have done,” Rebick railed, “is arrest the Black Bloc at the beginning before they had a chance to be part of a bigger crowd and that’s what they didn’t do.” Rad-lib media darling Naomi Klein echoed this with her call on the cops to “do your god-damn job.”

The NDP’s Jack Layton and the bureaucrats of the Canadian Labour Congress and Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) spoke as one in denouncing “violence” by the protesters. A statement by OFL president Sid Ryan bragged that the labour tops “liaised with the Toronto Police and cooperated at every turn” during the large June 26 protest which they sponsored, and added: “Shamefully, a small number of hooligans used the cloak of our peaceful and lawful demonstration to commit petty acts of vandalism in the streets of Toronto.” This snivelling loyalty to bourgeois “order” is the

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SC photo

Prominent International Socialists supporters police June 26 G20 protest for labour bureaucracy: manned line blocking angry marchers from summit site, used sound system to tell them to “keep moving” in the other direction.

Police State Crackdown...

(continued from page 15)

labour tops' guarantee that they will contain workers' struggles within the bounds of capitalist legality.

The Communist Party (CP), Socialist Action (SA), Fightback and the International Socialists (I.S.) all rushed to join the denunciations of the anarchists. The CP ranted that SOAR and the Black Bloc were "playing into the hands of state repression" and demanded that they be "publicly repudiated and condemned" (*People's Voice*, 1-31 August). Blaming the protesters for causing the cop violence, SA claimed that the "Bloc-istas also gave the cops ammunition to brutalize and jail over 900 innocents" ("Summits of Deceit and Repression," undated leaflet). I.S. leader Ritch Whyman condemned the Black Bloc who, he said, "utilize the larger rally and split marches to launch attacks on property and the police" (socialistproject.ca, 3 July). The idea that the cops needed the excuse of the Black Bloc to round up hundreds of protesters is simply fatuous. The cops have never needed an excuse for their repression!

The Fightback group, deeply buried in the NDP, was even more virulent in its attacks on the Black Bloc. A June 30 public meeting on the G20 events run by this group featured speakers who actually praised the cops! One of them, United Steelworkers leader and Ontario NDP vice-president Mike Seaward, declared that "most of the day the police acted rationally—they were good." Meanwhile, a Fightback leaflet for the meeting ranted that "the Black Bloc are not part of our movement and there is no difference between them and police provocateurs."

That the police insinuate provocateurs into the workers movement and left-wing protests is a given for anyone familiar with the workings of the capitalist state. But in the mouths of these reformists, denunciations of "provocateurs" are a cover for *refusing to defend leftists facing state repression*.

All of these misnamed "socialists" stand indicted as reformists committed to the rule of capital, their program and actions completely defined by the framework of bourgeois society. Such a policy was sharply characterized by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the October 1917 Revolution, as "the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state" (*The Lessons of October*, 1924). In this, their forebears are the social democrats who united with the imperialists to oppose the October Revolution; who in Germany ordered the Freikorps murders of heroic revolutionaries Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

Smearing the victims of police state violence is in perfect harmony with Fightback's long-held position that cops are "workers in uniform." For these pseudo-Marxists, the Black Bloc are not part of their "movement," but the cops are! Speaking during the discussion period at Fightback's public meeting, a TL comrade declared:

"What we saw in the streets this past weekend proves that the capitalist state—the cops, the courts and the army—is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie...."

"Fightback's attack on the Black Bloc protesters and practitioners is their calling card to respectability.... And what of their

notorious assertion that cops are 'workers in uniform'? Go tell that to the people in the street! Go tell that to your friend who got kicked in the face!

"Now, we of the Trotskyist League have a different idea. We understand, we have a program for workers revolution against capitalism. We have a statement of defense here with us tonight that calls to defend *all* the protesters."

A Long and Dirty History of State Repression

From the mass internment of Japanese Canadians during World War II to more than a century of cop provocations and frame-ups against communists and trade unionists, the Canadian capitalist class has never hesitated to wield the full force of state power against its targets. For sheer numbers arrested, the police-state roundups in Toronto exceeded even the mass roundups in Quebec in October 1970. Then, Liberal prime minister Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act after the kidnapping of British diplomat James Cross and Quebec labour minister Pierre Laporte by the left-nationalist Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ). Armoured cars rolled into Montreal as fully armed troopers in battle dress guarded public buildings. Over 450 labour leaders, Quebec nationalists and leftists were rounded up and held incommunicado without charges, as all civil liberties were suspended.

We Trotskyists sharply disagreed with the political program and tactics of the FLQ, but their targets in October 1970 were symbols of imperialist oppression and capitalist rule. We demanded that those imprisoned for the Cross/Laporte kidnappings and the later killing of Laporte be freed. Just as the reformist left today proves its loyalty to the bourgeois state by denouncing the Black Bloc, so ostensible "radicals" dropped defense of the FLQ like a hot potato as they swam with the rightward political tide of the late 1970s.

The repression of October 1970 was a warning to the Québécois that any threat of separation would be met with the full military force of the Canadian state. Today the oppressed nation of Quebec remains forcibly subjugated in a unitary Canadian state dominated by Anglo chauvinism. We call for Quebec independence in order to remove the roadblock of national antagonisms that divide the workers of English Canada and Quebec, poisoning prospects for united class struggle against capitalism. First and foremost, we fight against the Maple Leaf chauvinism that dominates in the English Canadian working class. At the same time, calling for independence helps combat nationalism in Quebec by giving Marxists a hearing to win Québécois workers away from their nationalist misleaders.

Consistent with their social-democratic pro-NDP politics, reformist groups like the CP and Fightback oppose Quebec independence (see, for example, "'Fightback' and the Quebec National Question," *SC* No. 162, Fall 2009). Craven loyalty to the capitalist state is the iron logic connecting their defense of "Canadian unity" to their cop-baiting refusal to extend any solidarity to the Black Bloc anarchists.

The present witchhunt of the Black Bloc by the leftist lackeys of the capitalist state conforms to a pattern that goes back to at least the Genoa anti-G8 protests in 2001, when the Italian police killed leftist protester Carlo Giuliani. In Genoa and many times since, the imperialist rulers have been assisted in their dirty work by the reformist "left," which has joined the chorus apologizing for brutal state repression of the anarchists.

The International Communist League is forthright in our defense of the Black Bloc anarchists, but sharply critical of their politics. Anarchists hate the dictatorship of the

Correction

A photo caption in "Down With Quebec's Niqab Ban!" (*SC* No. 165, Summer 2010) incorrectly identified the year of an International Women's Day rally in Toronto. The rally occurred in March 1982, not 1981.

proletariat—past, present and future. Their visceral anti-communism leads them to reject the lessons of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the world's first and only successful workers revolution. We Trotskyists unconditionally militarily defended the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, against capitalist counterrevolution and fought for proletarian political revolution against the ruling Stalinist bureaucratic caste. In contrast, the political current of anarchism backed the counterrevolutions of the early 1990s in the Soviet Union and East Europe. Capitalist restoration has been a colossal defeat for the working classes of these countries and internationally, and has emboldened the imperialists in their attacks on workers and the oppressed.

At bottom, anarchism is a form of radical democratic idealism which appeals to the alleged innate goodness of even the most rapacious imperialists to serve humanity. The anarchist perspective of “propaganda of the deed” by small groups of individuals is counterposed to the Marxist fight to mobilize the social power of a class-conscious proletariat to sweep away the capitalist order.

Historically, anarchism has proven to be a class-collaborationist obstacle to the liberation of the oppressed. Uniting with the counterrevolutionary White armies, some anarchists hailed and even participated in the Kronstadt uprising against the Russian Revolution, and Kronstadt remains an anti-communist touchstone for anarchists today. During the Spanish Civil War, anarchists became ministers in the popular-front government which disarmed and repressed the armed workers' struggle against capitalism, opening the road to decades of Franco's dictatorship. (For more, see *Marxism vs. Anarchism*, Spartacist Pamphlet, 2001.)

Successful struggle against capitalist rule and the system of imperialist subjugation must mobilize the social power of the working class on an internationalist program. Rejecting this Marxist perspective, the reformist left ties working people to their capitalist exploiters centrally through support to the



Archives La Presse

Liberal prime minister Trudeau ordered army to occupy Montreal, October 1970.

NDP. The Trotskyist League fights to build a revolutionary workers party through political struggle against the NDP social democrats and their left tails. Taking up the cause of all the oppressed, such a party would give conscious leadership to the struggles of the workers not only to improve their present conditions but to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery.

“Unity” with the oppressors, or with their social-democratic political agents, is the road to defeat. The only way to smash the all-sided assault on social programs, to assure free quality medical care, childcare and jobs and decent living standards for all, to end the neocolonial pillage of the Third World, is by ripping the productive forces from the hands of the capitalist class through socialist revolution and putting them in the hands of those whose labour makes society run. ■

Free Omar Khadr!...

(continued from page 5)

an inquiry into the abuse scandal, a sop intended to refurbish Canadian imperialism's sham “humanitarian” credentials.

Successive governments have passed ever more draconian “anti-terror” legislation, starting with the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001, whose provisions are so sweeping as to encompass almost anyone whose political views run afoul of the ruling class. At the same time, the decades-old “security certificate” law—under which non-citizens have been detained indefinitely on the basis of secret “information” to which neither the detainees nor their lawyers have access—has been used to intern several Muslim men based on the flimsiest of suspicions. When the Supreme Court deemed the law unconstitutional, the Harper regime merely enacted a new one with virtually all of the earlier provisions intact.

In the first instance, the “war on terror” targets immigrants and ethnic/religious minorities, especially Muslims. But its ultimate aim is to go after opponents of the capitalist status quo, and particularly the workers movement. Leftist organizations such as the Communist Party of the Philip-

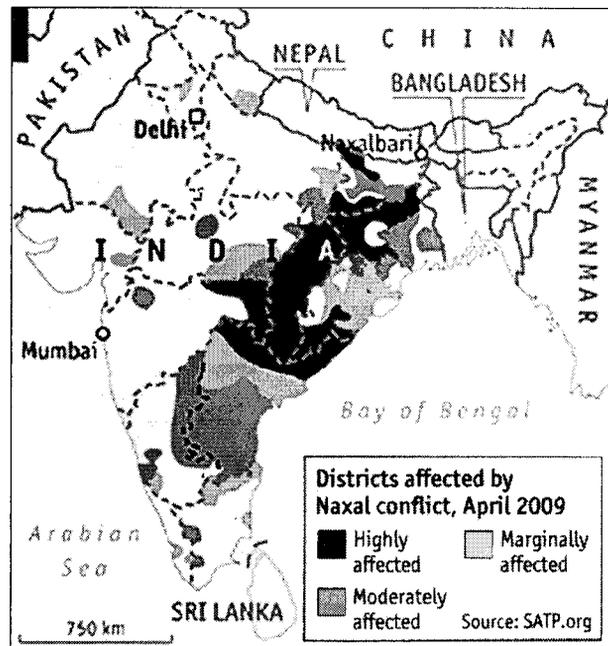
ines, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Colombian FARC have been made illegal under Canadian “anti-terrorism” legislation. The banning of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam under the same law is now being invoked to fuel racist hysteria against some 500 Tamil refugees who made it to the shores of British Columbia (see “Asylum for All Tamil Refugees!”, page 3).

What the ruling class can get away with in its repressive drive depends on the level of social struggle. What is urgently needed is the independent mobilization of the working class, with its tremendous potential social power, to beat back the “war on terror” attacks. As part of our defense of Omar Khadr and all the targets of the government's repressive hysteria, we seek to bring to the fore the Marxist understanding that the capitalist state cannot be reformed to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed. The trappings of “democracy” under capitalism are a mask to obscure the naked class interests of the ruling class. Only proletarian revolution can sweep away the repressive machinery of the bourgeois state, a perspective that requires the building of a multiethnic revolutionary party that champions the rights and causes of all the oppressed. **Free Omar Khadr! U.S. out of Guantánamo!** ■



Jeremy Veverka

Maoist Naxalite guerrillas (above) are active in one-third of India's administrative districts. Map at right shows India's "red corridor" in the eastern and central regions of the country.



Adapted from Economist map

India...

(continued from page 24)

population in all of India. Tribal villages in the forests and jungles have almost no schools or hospitals, or access to modern sanitation. The literacy rate is less than 25 percent, and only 14 percent for women, while malnutrition is rampant. The CPI (Maoist) has a record of defending the adivasi population against rapacious landlords and brutal police incursions. On April 6, they successfully ambushed a heavily armed patrol, killing 76 paramilitary cops.

Five years ago, the state government in Chhattisgarh set up a vigilante outfit called the Salwa Judum ("peace hunt") to forcibly depopulate hundreds of tribal villages, claiming this was for economic development. Salwa Judum mobs financed by the Tata and Essar industrial conglomerates, who seek to grab huge swaths of the area's land and resources, burned down homes and interned tens of thousands in squalid detention camps. Such actions only produced deeper revulsion toward the authorities and increased support for the Maoists. Now the Indian rulers are expanding their attacks into an all-out war. Their goal is to bring the tribal districts back under central control, which would allow for the forcible seizure of land and the handing over of vast mineral riches to Indian and international corporations.

This area has immense untapped resources including rich reserves of iron ore, coal and limestone as well as bauxite deposits worth an estimated \$4 trillion—more than three times India's entire annual gross domestic product. As prominent Indian author Arundhati Roy commented in an insightful article in *Outlook India* (9 November 2009):

"Right now in central India, the Maoists' guerrilla army is made up almost entirely of desperately poor tribal people living in conditions of such chronic hunger that it verges on famine of the kind we only associate with sub-Saharan Africa....

"If the tribals have taken up arms, they have done so because a government which has given them nothing but violence and neglect now wants to snatch away the last thing they have—their land. Clearly, they do not believe the government when it

says it only wants to 'develop' their region. Clearly, they do not believe that the roads as wide and flat as aircraft runways that are being built through their forests in Dantewada by the National Mineral Development Corporation are being built for them to walk their children to school on. They believe that if they do not fight for their land, they will be annihilated."

Soon after its reelection in May 2009, the UPA government banned the CPI (Maoist) under draconian "anti-terrorist" laws. Others have been targeted merely for speaking out against state repression. Arundhati Roy herself has been investigated for prosecution under the Special Public Security Act following another *Outlook India* article reporting on her visit to a Maoist-controlled area. Meanwhile left-wing activists are gunned down by police in extrajudicial "encounter killings." Protest the state witchhunt! Down with Operation Green Hunt!

Permanent Revolution vs. Stalinist Class Collaboration

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) denounces the Indian government's war against the CPI (Maoist) and adivasi villagers, which is being waged at the behest of the venal Indian bourgeoisie and the international mining magnates. The working class in India and internationally must take up the defense of the Maoists and tribal peoples against the bloody state offensive.

But the political strategy of the CPI (Maoist) provides no way forward for India's oppressed masses. Like all the many variants of Indian Stalinism, the Maoists seek an alliance with a mythical "progressive" wing of the capitalist class in the "first stage" of a "two-stage" revolution. Party general secretary Ganapathy made this explicit in an interview:

"We have a clear-cut understanding to unify all revolutionary, democratic, progressive, patriotic forces and all oppressed social communities including oppressed nationalities against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. Our New Democratic United Front (UF) consists of four democratic classes, i.e. workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie."

—Sanhati, January 2010

The strategy of allying with a wing of the bourgeois exploiters—whether dubbed “national,” “patriotic” or “progressive”—has produced defeat after defeat for the workers and oppressed, in India and around the world. *All* wings of the Indian capitalist class are tied by a thousand threads to the imperialist powers of Europe, North America and Japan; *none* are in any sense potential allies of the working class and oppressed. In *The State and Revolution* and many other works, V.I. Lenin, leader of the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, savaged the idea that the class interests of the bourgeoisie and proletariat are anything other than irreconcilable.

The Russian workers were able to take power in 1917 thanks to the Bolsheviks’ intransigent struggle for class independence from the capitalists. The result was a workers state, a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry. Key to cementing the workers’ alliance with the peasants was the Bolsheviks’ support for peasant seizures of the landed estates and the division of the land among those who worked it. The Bolsheviks also won widespread support among the peasantry through their revolutionary opposition to the first interimperialist war, in which countless hundreds of thousands were killed among the working-class and peasant base of the army.

The perspective of permanent revolution, first developed by Leon Trotsky during the 1905 Russian Revolution and vindicated by the October 1917 proletarian seizure of power, outlines most clearly the road to liberation for the Indian masses. Like tsarist Russia, present-day India is marked by combined and uneven development, with stark contrasts of wealth and poverty, modern industries directly abutting unspeakable squalor. Myriad forms of special oppression—based on sex, caste, nationality, religion—are among the heritages of a pre-industrial past that were reinforced and deepened by nearly two centuries of brutal British colonial rule. This culminated with the British partition of the Indian subcontinent into India and Pakistan, which unleashed communalist slaughter and the forced migration of millions of Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus. Since independence, and mainly under the rule of the nominally secular Congress Party, the

Indian bourgeoisie has continued to fan the flames of every kind of murderous division.

National and social liberation for the masses cannot be carried out by, or in alliance with, India’s capitalist exploiters. What is required is the smashing of capitalist class rule and the creation of a workers and peasants government. The Indian proletariat is the only social force that can lead such a struggle. Due to its central role in production—where its collective labor in the factories, mines, transport systems and other industries is exploited by the capitalists for profit—the working class has vast potential power.

The essential instrument for victory is an internationalist Leninist vanguard party of the working class. Rejecting the centrality of the working class, the CPI (Maoist) bases itself on the rural peasantry. But the peasant masses, highly stratified and dispersed in small villages all over India, are incapable of cohering an independent social policy. There are only two decisive classes in capitalist society: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The peasants are part of a heterogeneous intermediate layer, the petty bourgeoisie. Their immediate felt interests are centrally proprietary, for the defense or acquisition of land. Thus peasant parties are at bottom pro-bourgeois or bourgeois, even though sections of some of such parties may be won to the side of the revolutionary proletariat.

Especially in countries like India where the working class is numerically smaller than the peasantry, the question of agrarian revolution is a key component of the program for proletarian state power. The working class must win the support of the masses of poor and/or landless peasants, including through demands for expropriation of the landlords and land to the tiller, while seeking as much as possible to neutralize the middle and upper strata of the peasantry.

Freedom from the imperialist yoke, the destruction of all forms of oppression, economic development in the interests of the vast majority—these urgent tasks require proletarian revolution and its extension to the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan. A socialist revolution in India would reverberate throughout South Asia and the world over, finding powerful allies in the proletariat

of the imperialist centers as well as that of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. A crucial task of an Indian workers state supported by the peasantry would be to generate the material basis to end poverty and hunger, including through the collectivization and modernization of agriculture. Success in this endeavor hinges on the resources that would be made available by socialist revolution in the imperialist heartlands.

A revolutionary workers party in India would champion the cause of all the downtrodden, including the rural and urban poor, oppressed castes and tribal peoples. It would intransigently fight for the liberation of India’s hideously oppressed women and defend persecuted national and religious minorities, notably Muslims targeted by Hindu chauvinism. Such a party can only be forged through political struggle against the class-collaborationist programs of the various Stalinist organizations. The political outlook of the petty-bourgeois CPI (Maoist)—a species of “reformism with guns”—provides no alternative to the overt parliamentary reformism of the longstanding mass Stalinist parties, the

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Reuters

September 2009: Labourers in village near southern city of Hyderabad break coal to be used for steel production.

India...

(continued from page 19)

Communist Party of India and Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Indian Stalinism's History of Betrayal

The CPI (Maoist) is the largest of India's remaining Naxalite organizations, named for the Naxalbari district of West Bengal, the site of a major peasant revolt in 1967. Formed largely through splits from the CPI (Marxist)—which itself issued from the unitary CPI a few years earlier—the Naxalite movement attracted thousands of educated urban youth misled by the “revolutionary” rhetoric of Mao's China during the late 1960s. In opposing the crass parliamentarism of the CPI and CPI (Marxist), these youth abandoned the cities for the countryside and upheld a perspective of peasant-based “people's war.”

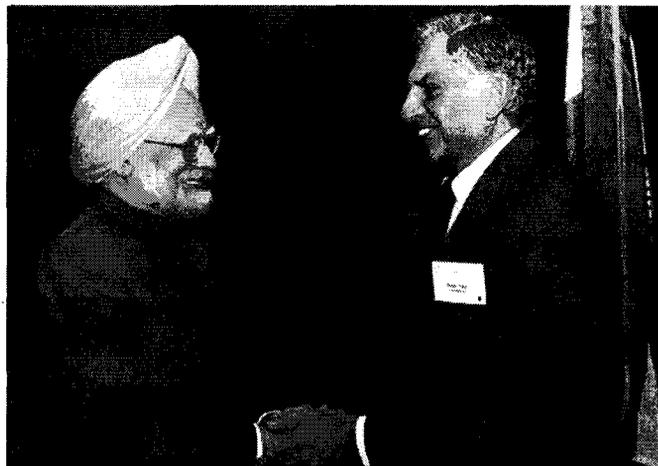
The initial peasant uprisings were largely defeated by the early 1970s and China later renounced the Naxalites. The Indian Maoists soon fractured into dozens of competing outfits, some of which ended up centering their activities in urban slum districts rather than the countryside. Today the urban-based Maoist groups are in considerable decline and disarray. The largest remaining rural-based groups united in 2004 to form the CPI (Maoist), setting the stage for the present expanded insurgency.

Indian Stalinism has a long and sordid history of class collaboration. As early as 1926, under the guidance of the Indian pseudo-Marxist adventurer M. N. Roy (then a close ally of Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin in the leadership of the Communist International), the CPI began building a cross-class “Peasants' and Workers' Party” in Bengal. This party in turn operated as a pressure group on the bourgeois Indian National Congress of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Roy urged the CPI to go even further and create “a loyal nationalist party with a radical republican programme (Peoples' Party)” (cited in *History of the Communist Movement in India*, Volume 1, Communist Party of India [Marxist], 2005).

From the mid 1930s on, the CPI time and again gave political support to the bourgeois-nationalist Congress. For a period during World War II, they even renounced the struggle for Indian independence in favor of an alliance with the “democratic” British imperialist oppressors. (For more detail, see “The ‘Quit India’ Movement 50 Years On—Stalinist Alliance with Churchill Betrayed Indian Revolution,” *Workers Hammer* Nos. 131 and 132, September/October and November/December 1992.)

Today the CPI and CPI (Marxist) act as overt supporters of Indian capitalism. Since 1977, these Stalinists have controlled the state government in West Bengal, wielding its repressive powers in defense of private property and profit against the poor and oppressed. In recent years, the “Left Front” regime headed by the CPI (Marxist) has repeatedly seized land from the peasants at the behest of Indian and international capitalist corporations, provoking widespread popular resistance.

In December 2006 the West Bengal government expropriated land in the Singur district on behalf of Tata Motors, one of India's largest capitalist conglomerates. Those who resisted were severely beaten and arrested while a young woman activist was brutally raped and murdered. The fol-



Office of the Prime Minister
Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh (left) greets Ratan Tata, chairman of Tata industrial conglomerate, during U.S.-India Business Council meeting in Washington, D.C., November 2009.

lowing March, thousands of police and armed CPI (Marxist) cadre assaulted peasants resisting a forced expropriation in Nandigram. At least 14 were killed and over 200 injured. (See “India: The Nandigram Massacre,” *Spartacist Canada* No. 159, Winter 2008/2009, reprinted in *WV* No. 929, 30 January 2009.)

More recently, the West Bengal regime has mobilized police to attack adivasi villagers protesting expropriations in Lalgarh on behalf of the Jindal Steel and Power conglomerate. And today the CPI and CPI (Marxist) support the central UPA government's bloody offensive against the Maoists. Such is the political logic of the program of “revolution by stages”: the masses remain brutally oppressed by capitalism, and the second, supposedly socialist, stage never comes.

From the beginning, the Naxalite forces have upheld a variant of the same Stalinist class collaborationism. Calling for a “People's Democratic Revolution,” founding leader Charu Mazumdar wrote in 1970 that “the majority of the business community will come with us. They are a large part of the national bourgeoisie” (quoted in Sumanta Banerjee, *India's Simmering Revolution: The Naxalite Uprising*, 1980).

While talking of “worker-peasant unity,” in retreating to the countryside the Naxalites turned away from the working class and transformed themselves into a petty-bourgeois, peasant-based movement both in composition and political outlook. Their model is the “people's war” waged by Mao's Chinese Communist Party in the 1930s and '40s. Mao's retreat from the cities to the countryside followed the defeat of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution, during which Stalin and his henchmen—prominently including M. N. Roy—ordered the Chinese Communists to subordinate the workers to the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang. The result was a bloodbath of tens of thousands of Communist-led workers in Shanghai and other cities.

In polemicizing against the peasant-based perspective of the Chinese Stalinists in the 1930s and upholding the independent class mobilization of the urban proletariat, Leon Trotsky wrote:

“The peasant movement is a mighty revolutionary factor insofar as it is directed against the large landowners, militarists, feudalists, and usurers. But in the peasant movement itself are very powerful proprietary and reactionary tendencies, and at a certain

stage it can become hostile to the workers and sustain that hostility already equipped with arms. He who forgets about the dual nature of the peasantry is not a Marxist. The advanced workers must be taught to distinguish from among 'communist' labels and banners the actual social processes."

—"Peasant War in China and the Proletariat" (September 1932)

It was only under the highly exceptional circumstances of the immediate post-WWII period that Mao's peasant-based People's Liberation Army was able to take the cities and smash capitalist class rule in 1949. These included the collapse of the corrupt Guomindang forces, the absence of the working class as an immediate contender for power and, crucially, the existence of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, as an economic and military lifeline. From the outset Maoist China was not a "New Democracy" based on a "bloc of four classes"—the standard parlance of the Stalinists—but a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the Chinese workers state was bureaucratically deformed from its inception, ruled by a nationalist bureaucracy hostile to the independent struggles of the working class and the necessary perspective of international socialist revolution. This was shown clearly in China's counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union during the 1970s and '80s.

Despite the bureaucratic rule of Mao and his successors, the Chinese Revolution was a beacon for millions of oppressed toilers in Asia. China's collectivized economy has brought immense gains for workers, peasants and women, not least an end to centuries of chronic starvation in the countryside. This stands in stark contrast to developments in capitalist India. Today, U.S. imperialism sees India as a strategic ally in its drive to overturn the gains of the Chinese Revolution. The ICL stands for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and counterrevolution. At the same time, we call for a proletarian political revolu-



no credit

1927 Shanghai massacre, marking defeat of Second Chinese Revolution, was prepared by liquidation of Communist Party into bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang, a policy ordered by Stalin and his henchmen.

tion to oust the nationalist, Stalinist ruling caste in Beijing and create a regime based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

The Revolutionary Potential of the Indian Working Class

As we wrote in the 1998 ICL "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program":

"The partial character of the anti-capitalist revolutions in the colonial world leads us to reaffirm the Marxist-Leninist concept of the proletariat as the only social force capable of making the socialist revolution. The ICL fundamentally opposes the Maoist doctrine, rooted in Menshevism and Stalinist reformism, which rejects the vanguard role of the working class and substitutes peasant-based guerrilla warfare as the road to socialism."

—*Spartacist* (English-language edition)
No. 54, Spring 1998

The Naxalite movement misdirected a generation of leftist Indian youth, who abandoned the struggles of the urban working class in favor of the chimera of rural guerrillism. The bankruptcy of this perspective is even more evident today with the substantial growth of the Indian proletariat.

While over two-thirds of the population still lives in rural areas and slightly over half the workforce is engaged in agriculture, both the urban population and manufacturing output have grown rapidly over recent decades. Some 14 percent of the overall workforce toils in industries ranging from textiles, chemicals and food processing to steel, transportation equipment, machinery production and more. There are thousands of large factories and major industrial concentrations throughout the country.

Despite the misleadership of the CPI and the CPI (Marxist), as well as the influence of the bourgeois Congress Party and various regional and caste-based parties, the Indian working class has repeatedly demonstrated its social power. An article titled "Deadly Labor Wars Hinder India's Rise" in the *Wall Street Journal* (24 November 2009) described how recent strikes and occupations have been "fueled by the discontent of workers, many of whom say they haven't partaken of the past decade's prosperity." Last year alone, major strikes hit companies from the domestic automaker Mahindra

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AP

October 2009: Auto workers protest in Gurgaon, outside New Delhi, after worker was killed in clash with strikebreakers.

India...

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& Mahindra to plants owned by Finland's Nokia, South Korea's Hyundai and the Nestlé food conglomerate.

In September 2009, a six-week strike by over 2,000 workers at an Indian-owned auto supplier in the Gurgaon-Manesar industrial belt near Delhi left the U.S. auto giant Ford without transmission parts, leading to production shutdowns at plants in Canada and the U.S. More than 100,000 workers at upwards of 70 plants in the Gurgaon-Manesar area joined a one-day walkout to protest the murder of a striker by company thugs. The direct impact of the strike on Ford's North American operations underlines the need for active solidarity by U.S. and Canadian workers with their class brothers and sisters in India.

In the first few months of this year, hundreds of thousands of telecommunications workers and coal miners struck against privatization and job cuts, while unions staged a countrywide one-day general strike on April 27 against soaring price rises for essential goods. An even larger general strike on July 5, organized by a tacit alliance of the Stalinist Left Front parties and the Hindu-chauvinist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), was called to protest rising fuel prices.

The Maoists *at best* confine the restive urban working class to the role of passive spectator of their rural "people's war," leaving the workers in the clutches of the overtly pro-capitalist Left Front parties and bourgeois forces like Congress and the BJP. Meanwhile, the CPI (Maoist) has extended the Naxalite policy of "annihilation of class enemies"—the executions of individual landlords and state agents—to the kidnapping and killing of cadres of rival Stalinist parties, including union leaders, whom they label "social fascists." Such murderous violence against other left and working-class parties, so typical of Stalinism, is repugnant and must be condemned.

The Maoists also regularly seek alliances with one or another openly capitalist party. During the protests against the Singur and Nandigram atrocities, they made a scarcely concealed alliance with the right-wing Trinamool (Grass-roots) Congress of Mamata Banerjee, the main parliamentary rival of the Left Front in West Bengal. Having joined the UPA government in New Delhi, Banerjee & Co. have now endorsed the armed offensive against the Maoists.

Mass Plebeian Revolt in Nepal

The logic of Maoist class collaboration has played out clearly just to the north in the Himalayan country of Nepal. Over the past two decades, Nepal has been wracked by a deep-going revolt centered on the oppressed peasantry and again led by Maoist forces. A major impetus for this struggle was opposition to the monarchy. By 2006, Maoist forces, which significantly include a large number of women, controlled up to 80 percent of the countryside, where they enacted significant social reforms including legal equality for women, incursions into the caste system, the establishment of schools and road construction. Following a period of mass demonstrations including a prolonged general strike in 2006, they were able to entrench themselves in the capital, Kathmandu.

The Maoists then entered a bourgeois coalition government, and in 2008 emerged as the largest party in parliamentary elections that led to the end of the monarchy. After leaving the government a year later following a standoff over the dismissal of the army chief, this May the Unified Communist

Party of Nepal (Maoist)—UCPN (Maoist)—launched an "indefinite general strike" for a new "national unity government." The strike was soon abandoned, and the Maoists then signed a deal to continue negotiations toward a new government, while a rival Stalinist-derived outfit, the Unified Marxist-Leninists, remained in the interim regime. Maoist guerrillas are confined to camps, nominally under United Nations control, while their leaders seek their integration into the bourgeois armed forces.

The organization now known as the UCPN (Maoist) has always had close links to India's Naxalites and upholds a similar dogma of "revolution by stages." Its 2001 "Common Minimum Policy and Programme" demanded a "people's democratic dictatorship with the participation of all the progressive classes including the national bourgeoisie." While running the government in 2008-09, the Maoists explicitly upheld capitalism and supported legislation to ban strikes. Reporting that "the government is planning to restrict bandhs [street protests] and strikes in industries and essential commodities," the *Himalayan Times* online (10 April 2009) quoted Maoist finance minister Baburam Bhattarai: "We are in a new political set-up and it demands a new outlook in business and industries also."

Unlike India, Nepal has very little in the way of an industrial proletariat. Three quarters of the workforce is involved in agriculture and 90 percent of the urban labor force works in the "informal" sector, largely small family workshops. While trade unions organized by various parties claim hundreds of thousands of members, what industrial activity there is mainly involves the processing of agricultural products like pulses (e.g., lentils), jute, sugar cane, tobacco and grain. The garment industry, largely based on primitive handicraft technology, once employed as many as 300,000 workers but has now almost entirely collapsed. About three million Nepalese—over 10 percent of the population—have moved abroad to seek work, including important concentrations in India and elsewhere in Asia.

The oppressed masses of Nepal need a *Marxist-internationalist* perspective that links the struggle for social modernization and liberation to the class struggles of the proletariat in more advanced countries beyond the country's borders. A workers revolution in neighboring India would have a massive immediate effect on Nepal, posing a struggle for a socialist federation of the subcontinent. Conversely, a huge plebeian upheaval in Nepal drawing in its small working class could help to spark a proletarian upsurge in India.

Sharply opposing such a perspective, the petty-bourgeois UCPN (Maoist) pushes retrograde Nepalese nationalism, including against so-called "cultural pollution" from India. The Maoists' "40 Point Demands," issued in 1996 on the eve of their armed insurgency, includes calls for the Nepal-India border to be "controlled and systematized," for cars with Indian license plates to be banned, and for the suppression of Hindi-language films, videos, magazines and newspapers. In a series of recent pronouncements, the Indian Maoists have criticized their erstwhile comrades in Nepal for their "dangerous reformist positions." But the Nepalese Maoists are only carrying out the logic of Mao-Stalinist nationalism and class collaboration.

Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

India's vaunted development over the past two decades has benefited only a small section of the population: the filthy rich



Novosti

Soviet government issued "Decree on Land" expropriating landed estates one day after proletarian seizure of power in October 1917 Revolution. Right: Uzbekistan peasant receives land and livestock certificate.

bourgeoisie and a petty-bourgeois technocratic/managerial stratum in the cities. The working class faces horrific working and living conditions and poverty-level wages, while squalid slums expand everywhere as displaced peasants descend on the cities to seek work. Caste, religion, language and other divides are fostered by the rulers to maintain their oppressive hold.

The situation cries out for the kind of perspective fought for by Lenin and Trotsky in the 1917 October Revolution: the workers seizing power at the head of the oppressed masses, agrarian revolution to liberate the peasantry, the socialization and rational reorganization of the economy in the interests of human needs not profit, and the fight to extend socialist revolution internationally, especially to the imperialist heartlands. In India, such a perspective alone can lay the basis for planned economic development that benefits, rather than destroys the lives of, impoverished populations like the adivasis.

Social liberation in South Asia will not come through isolated struggles in the forests and jungles, but requires the mobilization of the urban proletariat under revolutionary leadership. In the fight to forge such a leadership, crucial lessons can be drawn from the work of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India (BLPI), Indian section of the Trotskyist Fourth International, during World War II. While the Stalinists backed British imperialism and opposed the struggle for Indian independence, and later returned to subordinating the workers to the bourgeois Congress, the BLPI fought heroically for a Marxist proletarian perspective.

This proud history was later squandered, starting with the dissolution of the BLPI in 1948 to pursue a liquidationist entry into the thoroughly reformist Socialist Party of J. P. Narayan. Over the following years, the remnants of the once powerful Indian Trotskyist cadre were assimilated into social democracy. Thus when a new wave of youthful radicalism appeared in India in the late 1960s it was led into the dead end of Naxalite Maoism. The small ostensibly Trotskyist groups that operated from the 1970s on, generally associated with the revisionist "United Secretariat" (USec) of the late Ernest Mandel, continued to push abject accommodation to non-revolutionary forces. By the mid 2000s, the Indian USec section collapsed and disappeared.

The ICL fights to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. Militants in India seeking the road to revolutionary Marxism must examine the program of Trotskyism and the record of the early BLPI, which uniquely chart a path to the Indian workers revolution and a socialist federation of South Asia. As the BLPI wrote in its founding program, issued in 1942:

"The peasantry, the largest numerically and the most atomized, backward and oppressed class, is capable of local uprisings and partisan warfare, but requires the leadership of a more advanced class for this struggle to be elevated to an all-national level. Without such leadership the peasantry alone cannot make a revolution. The task of such leadership falls in the nature of things on the Indian proletariat, which is the only class capable of leading the toiling masses in the onslaught against Imperialism, landlordism and the Native Princes....

"But the leadership of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution poses before the working class the prospect of seizing the power and in addition to accomplishing the long overdue bourgeois-democratic tasks of proceeding with its own socialist tasks. And thus the bourgeois-democratic revolution develops uninterruptedly into the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only state-form capable of supplanting the dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie in India....

"The ultimate fate of the revolution in India, as in Russia, will be determined in the arena of the international revolution. Nor will India by its own forces be able to accomplish the task of making the transition to Socialism. Not only the backwardness of the country, but also the international division of labor and the interdependence produced by capitalism itself—of the different parts of the world economy, demand that this task of the establishment of Socialism can be accomplished only on a world scale. The Indian proletariat will, of course, proceed with the socialist transformation of society to the extent that this is possible in the concrete circumstances, but the establishment of the socialist society will depend on the course of international revolution. The victorious revolution in India, however, dealing a mortal blow to the oldest and most widespread Imperialism in the world, will, on the one hand, produce the most profound crisis in the entire capitalist world and shake World Capitalism to its foundations. On the other hand, it will inspire and galvanize into action millions of proletarians and colonial slaves the world over and blaze the trail of World Revolution."■

India: Down With War on Maoists, Tribal Peoples!



Indian Vanguard



AFP

Left: Mass rally of Maoist supporters in Hyderabad, September 2004. Right: In crackdown on Maoists, paramilitary troops arrest villagers in West Midnapore district, West Bengal, June 2009.

The article below is adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 962 (30 July), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

In a military offensive that began late last year, the government of India has mobilized up to 100,000 heavily armed police backed by the army in an attempt to crush Maoist guerrilla forces in the country's eastern and central interior. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of the Congress Party, which leads the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) coalition regime, has called the insurgency led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist)—hereafter referred to as CPI (Maoist)—“the single biggest internal security challenge ever faced by our country.” Government sources state that the Maoists are active in nearly a third of India's administrative districts, stretching from the northern border with Nepal south to Andhra Pradesh.

The offensive, dubbed Operation Green Hunt, has brought a bloody campaign of terror. One report described how:

“Early one morning last October police forces surrounded the residents of Gompad, a remote village in the state of Chhattisgarh in eastern India, and attacked. Sixteen people were killed, including an older couple and their 25-year-old daughter,

who was stabbed in the head with a knife and had her breasts sliced off. Her 2-year-old son survived, but three of his fingers were chopped off.... The cops suspected the villagers of sympathizing with Maoist insurgents, believing that some were informants.”

—Megha Bahree, “India's Dirty War,”
forbes.com, 10 May

For all the hype about India becoming an economic superpower, the intense poverty suffered by most of the population has been made worse by the neoliberal reforms instituted by the country's rulers starting in 1991. While a small layer of capitalists has accrued immense profits, the working class and urban and rural poor have been hit by savage cuts to public spending and the dismantling of price supports for agricultural products. Land dispossession and debt peonage led to at least 183,000 peasant suicides from 1997 to 2007—one every 30 minutes. Tens of millions of displaced peasants have migrated to the cities where most live in fetid slums. Poverty is so entrenched that more than 40 percent of India's children under the age of five suffer from malnutrition.

The Maoists' base of support is among the roughly 80 million adivasi (tribal) people, the poorest and most dispossessed

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Only Workers Revolution Can Liberate the Indian Masses