

Jamal Death Sentence Reversed

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Mumia Now!

We publish below a statement issued on December 18 by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Federal district court judge William Yohn today reversed the death sentence that has been hanging over the head of Mumia Abu-Jamal since his 1982 frame-up conviction for the killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Although Yohn rejected the mountains of evidence demonstrating Jamal's innocence—including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly testifying that he had been hired to kill Faulkner—this ruling represents the first crack in the state's

20-year legal vendetta against Jamal. And the forces that have worked overtime to ensure Jamal's execution are literally screaming bloody murder. Maureen Faulkner, who has headed this campaign on behalf of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), condemned Yohn as a "sick and twisted person." Democratic Party District Attorney Lynne Abraham, who has done more than her share to see that more black people are sentenced to death in Philadelphia than any other city in the U.S., immediately convened a press conference to announce that the prosecution will be

appealing Yohn's ruling.

The F.O.P. and the Philly D.A.'s office fear that the explosive new evidence of Jamal's innocence, which the capitalist state and the press have worked hard to bury, could finally be heard in a court of law. Prosecutor Hugh Burns made that clear when he declaimed today, "If there was a new sentencing hearing, it would probably entail the empaneling of a jury...and whatever evidence the defendant wanted to review again would be presented to the jury." Yohn has also worked assiduously to ensure that the

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Against Washington's Green Light to Zionist Butchers

Defend the Palestinian People!

DECEMBER 18—Over the last two weeks, the government of Ariel Sharon has devastated what remained of an "autonomous" Palestinian Authority (PA) established in the Occupied Territories by the U.S.-sponsored 1993 Oslo accord. Israeli bombs and missiles have slammed into PA government buildings, police posts and radio transmitters. Israeli troops and tanks have stormed into one West Bank and Gaza town after another, ruthlessly mowing down any Palestinian perceived to be standing in their way. The Zionist butchers' trail of death and destruction includes hundreds of demolished homes and dozens of Palestinian corpses. And virtually every funeral results in yet another, as mourners are subjected to gunfire by Israeli occupation forces.

Having assured its patrons in Washington that it is not (for now) seeking the physical elimination of PA leader Yasir Arafat, the Sharon government is nonetheless—in a blood-drenched tradition dating back to the original Zionist colonization and the 1948 expulsion of 700,000 Palestinians—"creating facts" on the ground. As Arafat and his immediate coterie are confined to an office surrounded by Israeli tanks, little is left of the PA infrastructure or the trappings of Palestinian "sovereignty" proclaimed with much fanfare on the White House lawn eight years ago.

The pretext for the latest escalation in Zionist butchery is Arafat's alleged failure to crack down on the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas after a number of sui-

Mourners at December 12 funeral in Gaza for Palestinian killed by Israeli occupation forces.



Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

U.S./UN/NATO Out of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Persian Gulf, Near East!

cide bombings in Haifa and Jerusalem in early December. These indiscriminate terror attacks, aimed at killing as many Israeli civilians as possible, were a crime from the standpoint of the proletariat. A week later, Hamas attacked a busload of West Bank "settlers," even gunning down Israeli children as they fled. Such terrorist attacks only add grist to the mill of the

Israeli rulers to wield their far more massive arsenal of terror against Arab men, women and children.

Beyond the immediate pretext lies U.S. imperialism's unexpectedly rapid and easy victory in Afghanistan. Intent on including many of the Arab regimes, and even Arafat's PA, in its "global coalition against terrorism," the Bush adminis-

tration had sought to restrain Sharon. In early October, Bush even voiced support for a Palestinian state. But as the U.S.-backed Northern Alliance forces began seizing Taliban positions in Afghanistan, a mood of imperialist triumphalism swept over the American ruling class and especially the Bush White

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Islam and Science

Bay Area
8 December 2001

Dear WV,

I very much enjoyed the review of *Banquet for Seaweed* in the latest WV (No. 770, 7 December) sketching the reactionary impact resulting from the "enormous power that Islamic fundamentalists have in shaping the social, political and cultural discourse in the Near East." The fundamentalists have moved into a tremendous vacuum created by the "failure of the bourgeois nationalists" and the "betrayals of the Stalinists." I would only add some details on how the growth of Islamic fundamentalism has undermined the pursuit of science.

Pervez Hoodbhoy, a secular-minded Pakistani nuclear physicist, published a book in 1991 called *Islam and Science*, documenting the lamentable impact of fundamentalism on the scientific community, and delving into some central historical questions. When General Zia ul-Haq came to power in Pakistan in a 1977 coup, he introduced the "Islamization" of education, allowing the religious authorities to enforce "Islamic values" in all areas of education. A series of meas-

ures were introduced, such as "alteration of the definition of literacy to mean religious knowledge," "the grant of 20 extra marks for those applicants to engineering universities who have memorized the Qur'an" and "introduction of religious knowledge as a criterion for selecting teachers of science and non-science subjects."

Hoodbhoy gives one horrific example of the result at the prestigious Quaid-e-Azam University, where in the late '80s the selection board interviewed highly qualified scientific specialists who applied for faculty positions with questions like, "What are the names of the Holy Prophet's wives?" and "Recite the prayer Dua-e-Qunoot." Candidates who refused such questions were generally disqualified. Meanwhile the scientific curriculum itself has been undermined by the "principles" laid down by the influential Jamaat-e-Islami party and its Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), such as this one described by Hoodbhoy: "Effect must not be related to physical cause. To do so leads to atheism. For example, says the IPS recommendation, 'there is latent poison present in the sub-heading Energy Causes Changes because

it gives the impression that energy is the true cause rather than Allah. Similarly, it is unIslamic to teach that mixing hydrogen with oxygen automatically produces water. The Islamic way is this: when atoms of hydrogen approach atoms of oxygen, then by the will of God water is produced'."

Hoodbhoy notes with revulsion that "even in the present day, the traditional curriculum of Muslim universities teaches Ptolemaic astronomy, embedded in a frame of geocentric cosmology and philosophy. A modern system is available as an option but presented as a 'hypothesis'."

But it was not always this way: even Western bourgeois scholars have made note of the fact that 1,000 years ago the leading centers of science were in the Muslim world. From the 9th to the 13th centuries, notes Hoodbhoy, the Muslim centers such as Baghdad were the repositories of scientific knowledge:

"The Dark Ages were the dark ages of Europe, not all humankind. In fact, at the time when Europeans were preoccupied with burning witches and disemboweling heretics, Islamic civilization was at its brilliant best."

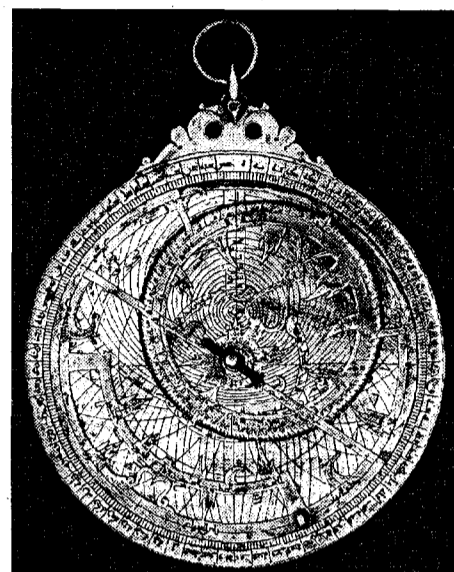
So why did the Muslim world after the 13th century descend into darkness, allowing Western Europe to leap ahead into mastery of the world? "Over the last 200 years—and continuing to this day with undimmed vigour—identifying the causes of civilizational decline has been a major preoccupation for Muslims right across the ideological spectrum," writes Hoodbhoy. The Taliban and Osama bin Laden use this needling question to argue for turning the clock back 1,000 years. But those who want to advance the cause of humanity look for a materialist explanation.

"Asking why the Scientific Revolution did not occur in Islam is practically equivalent to asking why Islam did not produce a powerful bourgeois class," Hoodbhoy writes in a nod to Marxism. He sketches some possibilities, including this:

"Two important elements militated against the growth of an indigenous bourgeois class—the existence of an urban ruling class based on a stable system of extraction from the peasantry, and the absence of autonomous cities and trade guilds which played such an important role in the development of European capitalism.... Caliphs and kings appointed

local governors and officials who ensured that peasants would continue to supply revenue and food [to the cities].... The parasitic dependence of the city on the villages, and the assured supply of food and revenue, substantially reduced the incentive for technological advances in production."

The heavy hand of the Muslim ruling dynasties in city life precluded independent development, whereas "most European cities in the middle ages were legally



Adler Planetarium

Achievement of Arabic science: the astrolabe, one of the most important instruments used by early astronomers.

autonomous, maintained garrisons, and were internally cohesive in the face of external challenges."

Needless to say, this is a subject which cries out for further Marxist analysis. Without a materialist approach to history, many bourgeois scholars lapse into racist biological explanations for the differences in development of cultures. Jared Diamond wrote his excellent book *Guns, Germs and Steel* as an antidote to such racism, giving a convincing and sweeping account of the development of world civilization based on environmental factors. Ultimately, only a socialist society can rationally and consistently apply scientific principles to the study of human development, and liberate us from the dead weight of religious obscurantism.

Mark K.

The Birth of the Zionist State

The Zionist state of Israel has been premised on the national oppression of the Palestinian Arab people since its creation in 1948. As the then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party emphasized, the 1948 War between the Zionist forces and the surrounding Arab bourgeois regimes was reactionary on both sides. Then as now, the conflicting national claims of the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking Jewish peoples, which both lay claim to the same territory, can be equitably



TROTSKY



LENIN

resolved only through proletarian revolution throughout the region, leading to a socialist federation of the Near East.

The present Jewish-Arab war, far from enhancing reactionary Zionism or imparting to it a progressive mission, exposes in glaring manner that the program of a Jewish state in Palestine and the Jewish war for this end—is reactionary and bankrupt from beginning to end. Zionism, far from solving Jewish difficulties, threatens to provoke new pogroms against the Jews and involve them in new calamities. Zionism and the tiny Jewish state must inevitably become a tool of American imperialism and the agency to facilitate the entrance of the Wall Street brigands into the Near East. Furthermore, it is precisely Zionism, which constantly solidifies the position of the reactionary Arab rulers, and enables them to pervert the social struggle in their own countries into a communal struggle between the Arab and Jewish peoples....

Haven't the Jewish people the right to self-determination and statehood as other peoples? Yes—but even if we abstract this question from its aforementioned social reality, the fact remains they cannot carve out a state at the expense of the national rights of the Arab peoples. This is not self-determination, but conquest of another people's territory....

Neither are the Arab rulers conducting a progressive struggle for national independence and against imperialism. The are, by their anti-Jewish war, trying to divert the struggle against imperialism, and utilizing the aspirations of the Arab masses for national freedom, to smother the social opposition to their tyrannical rule. That is why their war against the Jewish state lacks the progressive characteristics of a national war against imperialism and does not deserve the support of the class conscious workers.

— "The Arab-Jewish War in Palestine," *Militant* (31 May 1948)

Support Local 32B-J WTC Victims Fund

We reprint below a letter sent by the Partisan Defense Committee on November 8 to Service Employees International Union Local 32B-32J, which represents 70,000 building maintenance workers in New York City.

The Partisan Defense Committee extends condolences to members and families of SEIU 32B-J. We enclose a check in the amount of \$200 to the 32B-J Relief Fund to aid the families of the 350 union members working in the World Trade Center at the time of the September 11 attack who were either injured or among the 24 union brothers and sisters killed. The members of your union along with countless restaurant, construction and transit workers who survived this horror and worked to rescue those they could are the real unsung heroes barely mentioned in big-business press accounts.

The attack on the WTC which took the lives of thousands of innocent people was a criminal act in the eyes of the working class. Now the ruling class here in America is carrying out a series of escalating attacks both domestically and abroad. At "home," savage layoffs and cutbacks

combined with the earlier shredding of welfare and social programs are wreaking havoc on hundreds of thousands of workers. Draconian laws supported by both Democrats and Republicans alike are being implemented under the rubric of "national security" to severely limit the rights of immigrants, labor and the oppressed. And for us it is an outrage that the bloody acts of September 11 are being used by the imperialist rulers for barbaric reprisals—lashing out against the peoples of impoverished Afghanistan. Certainly many members of 32B-J, having come from countries like El Salvador, Chile, Haiti, Serbia, Bosnia and Iraq, know the horror of being on the receiving end of murderous intervention by the U.S. and forces it has backed.

As we mourn those killed on September 11, we also defend the victims of this bipartisan war of aggression.

* * *

Those wishing to contribute to the Local 32B-J fund can send contributions to: SEIU September 11th Relief Fund, 101 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.



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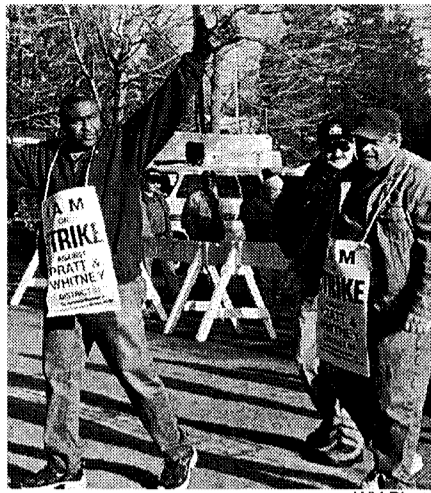
IAM Workers Strike Military Contractor Pratt & Whitney

Defying the current hysterical war propaganda pushed by the government, 5,100 workers at Connecticut defense contractor Pratt & Whitney went on strike December 2. Represented by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) District 91, Pratt workers battled against the largest manufacturer of jet engines in the Western world in order to save their jobs and increase pensions for a workforce whose average age is 49. Besides commercial engines for Boeing, Pratt supplies engines and parts for the military's F-15 and F-16 fighters, B-52 bombers and C-17 transport planes, and has a contract to produce jet engines for the new generation of supersonic fighter jets. Pratt's parent company, United Technologies, also owns Connecticut's Sikorsky Aircraft, manufacturer of Black Hawk helicopters.

The 11-day strike was the first state-

wide strike against Pratt & Whitney in over 40 years, and virtually no strikers crossed the picket lines, while management scabs worked 12-hour shifts vainly attempting to maintain production. On December 13, the striking workers accepted the company's revised contract offer in what was basically a stand-off, with no significant pension gains.

"People may have voted to accept this, but in their hearts they don't," one union negotiator remarked (*Hartford Courant*, 14 December). As a 36-year veteran of Pratt's Middletown plant told the *Middletown Press* (14 December), "We didn't get what people like me were looking for, retirement." On job security, the company's promise to keep current jobs in-state is only good for the three-year life of the new contract (which includes the usual pro-company loopholes like allowing layoffs in case



WV Photo

IAM strikers picket Pratt & Whitney, December 10.

orders drop). For a workforce rapidly approaching retirement age, these are literally life-and-death issues.

The highly skilled workers at these plants have enormous social power, but decades of layoffs, union concessions and collusion by the top AFL-CIO bureaucracy with the bosses' government have obviously taken their toll, as you see middle-aged veterans out on the lines, with few younger workers in the workforce. The strike shows that a lot of workers aren't buying AFL-CIO head John Sweeney's line that "no sacrifice is too great" in the U.S. capital-

ists' reactionary "war on terror."

One striking IAM tube maker and Vietnam veteran told the press, "I have lived in poverty. I refuse to retire in poverty" (*Hartford Courant*, 9 December). With growing bitterness and anger, workers have already seen Pratt & Whitney wipe out 60 percent of the union's jobs in Connecticut in the past decade by shifting production to non-union, low-wage areas like the American South and overseas to Singapore and Taiwan. It's called "job creep," but it's out-and-out union-busting. As the recession deepens, another major Connecticut employer, Aetna insurance, just announced a new round of 6,000 layoffs.

Key to the fight against job losses and layoffs is aggressive union organizing in the South and international solidarity in struggle with workers abroad. What's needed to build real solidarity is a class-struggle leadership in the unions that can break the influence of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, which supports the Democratic Party and promotes reactionary protectionism, pitting workers in the U.S. against their class brothers and sisters abroad. We aim to win the working class to the understanding that the only way forward is to break from capitalist politics and fight for a workers party and a workers government.

"Anti-Terror" War at Home

228 NJ Teachers Jailed for Striking

Striking teachers in the posh suburb of Middletown, New Jersey got a taste of what the "war on terror" means. For courageously defying a back-to-work order, 228 members of the Middletown Township Education Association—teachers, secretaries, nurses and social workers—were hauled out of court in handcuffs and thrown in jail, *the largest mass jailing of striking teachers in over 20 years*.

When the teachers finally walked out on November 29 after working without a contract since June 30, school board member Britt Raynor denounced New Jersey Education Association spokesman Karen Joseph as "the representative of the Taliban." This should be an alarm bell to the entire labor movement about what the bosses' jingoist "national unity" means. Bush's "war on terror" means raining down thousands of bombs and missiles on impoverished Afghan civilians, and at home it means shredding immigrant rights and the rights of all working people.

While the Bush administration subjects hundreds of immigrants to indefinite detention and sets up military tribunals to try non-citizens accused of "terrorism," Judge Clarkson S. Fisher Jr., who presided over the ramming through of the 1998 contract, methodically summoned the teachers in front of court alphabetically by name and sentenced each striker to jail indefinitely—i.e., imprisoned until each agreed to break ranks and return to work.

Additional judges had to be brought in, and county jail officials announced they were preparing "temporary housing" in case the jail cells overflowed. Judge Fisher proclaimed he was prepared to impose "more onerous" sanctions, including the mass firings that the Board of Education was pushing. The Board lawyer said of the school staff, "You can't let a mob simply say they want to do what they want to do." Karen Joseph told *WV*, "They had one goal: to break the union." On December 7, the teachers

Middletown, NJ: Striking teachers defiant as they're dragged off to jail in handcuffs.



Anness/Record

returned to work, with contract negotiations still continuing.

The rapacious American capitalist class has been amassing phenomenal wealth in the past two decades on the backs of working people—slashing benefits and increasing workloads. When teachers, health care workers and other government workers are under attack, working people and the poor suffer from the cutbacks in the social services that these workers provide. In New Jersey as in most states, public employees who strike to defend their jobs immediately come up against the state's no-strike laws and court injunctions, and the cops and other agencies of the capitalist state that enforce them. What's necessary to win these battles is to mobilize the broad power of labor in defiance of these anti-labor laws.

The striking teachers received hundreds of messages of support from U.S. unions and from Canada and Britain. But workers need more than messages of support. While the teachers were sitting in jail, the AFL-CIO brass were wining and dining in Las Vegas at their biennial convention, mouthing hollow words about opposition to the government's ripping up of civil liberties but doing nothing

to mobilize the power of labor to defend the Middletown teachers. The Sweeney bureaucrats hosted Democratic Senator Hillary Clinton, who supported the use of the New York State Taylor Law—which bans all public employee strikes—against a threatened strike by NYC transit workers two years ago. This is a perfect illustration of why labor must break the shackles forged by the union leadership that tie workers to the capitalist Democratic Party and build a workers party.

The worldwide recession which started before September 11 continues to deepen and thousands of layoffs are announced almost daily in virtually every sector of the economy. Meanwhile, the labor misleadership has called off several strikes since September 11 for "patriotic" reasons, including New York City teachers and janitors.

Teachers and other public employees in alliance with the powerful industrial proletariat could strike a blow against the government's increasing repression. What's needed is a class-struggle leadership in the unions to replace the pro-capitalist bureaucrats, as part of the struggle for a workers party and a workers government. ■

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Defend Immigrant Rights—For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!

Defend Afghanistan Against Imperialist Attack!

Some 300 people, including left groups and a number of student groups from various City University of New York campuses, turned out for a November 28 protest at Hunter College in defense of immigrant students. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club endorsed, had a contingent and spoke at the demonstration, which was initiated by the Internationalist Group. We reprint below a New York SL/SYC leaflet issued on November 27 and distributed at the protest.

The American ruling class has cynically seized on the deaths of thousands of ordinary people in the criminal attack on the World Trade Center to extend its military power internationally and sharply diminish civil liberties, aiming to regiment and intimidate the population as millions more face unemployment and hunger due to the deepening recession. As they continue the war against impoverished Afghanistan, the capitalist rulers have taken particular aim against immigrants in their "war on terrorism" at home.

Some 1,200 people, overwhelmingly of Near Eastern and South Asian origin, have been detained without charges; over 5,000 more are targeted for "questioning." Any non-citizen labeled a "terrorist suspect" by the president or his agents may now be tried in secret military tribunals. Under the "USA-Patriot Act," passed with overwhelming bipartisan support, any non-citizen the government deems "may endanger the national security" can be deported without a hearing. Virtually all restrictions on wiretapping and Internet monitoring have been removed.

Administrators at more than 200 campuses, including Columbia University, have handed over foreign students' files to the FBI and INS. Now the CUNY administration aims to drive out so-called "illegal" immigrants by charging extortionate out-of-state tuition fees to those who can't prove their legal status. The New York Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club have endorsed the November 28 united-front protest around the demands: "Down with CUNY's anti-immigrant 'war purge'! Stop racist tuition hike and 'Student Data Collection System'!" Unlike opportunist leftists who

wallow in "unity"-mongering to pursue liberal-reformist politics, we Trotskyists join in common *action* around necessary demands while fighting for our distinct, revolutionary proletarian politics. In this way, we seek to further the political debate necessary for the development of revolutionary consciousness.

We say that anyone who makes it to this country has the right to stay here with full citizenship rights. **For full citizenship rights for all immigrants! For open admissions and no tuition!** Taking



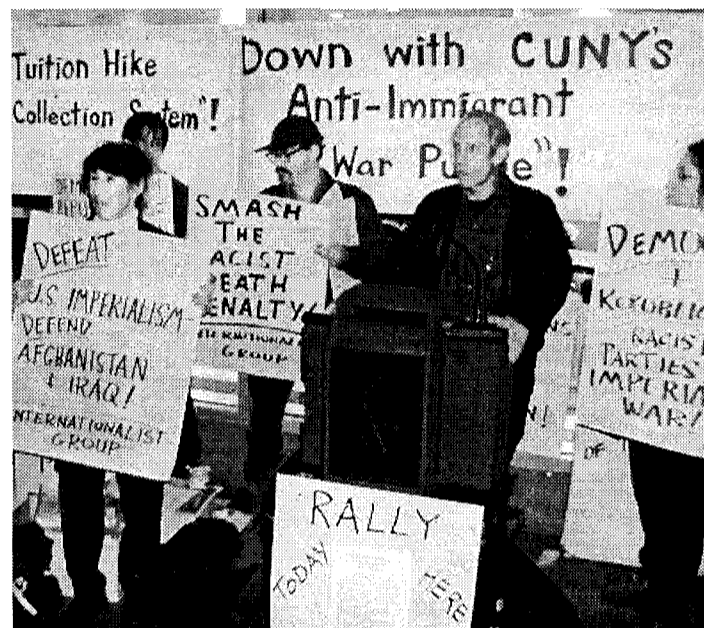
New York City, November 28: Spartacist contingent (left) at Hunter College protest in defense of immigrants, initiated by Internationalist Group.

first aim at immigrants and foreign-born students, the government's deadly new measures use the spectre of "terrorism" in order to strengthen the machinery of its consummately violent state against millions of workers, black people and any perceived opposition to capitalist class rule. A small taste of this can be seen on college campuses. Walter Daum, a supporter of the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), and other CCNY professors were rabidly witchhunted for opposing the war. Meanwhile, the right-wing "American Council of Trustees and Alumni" headed by Lynne Cheney, wife of the vice president, is spearheading the drive nationally against professors "short on patriotism."

Against the jingoist "national unity" promoted by the bosses and their labor lieutenants in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, we say: **Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack! U.S./UN/NATO out of Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Near East! For class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home!** Black and immigrant workers are not just victims of capitalist repression but a vital—and in the case of black workers, strategic—component of the working class that has the power to shatter the rule of American imperialism from within. Our task is to break the chains forged by the labor tops that bind the working class to the parties of the class enemy, particularly the Democrats. Those black workers and youth who have been drawn into supporting "racial profiling" of im-

Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!

Although bureaucratically degenerated, the USSR was a workers state, based on collectivized property forms which represented real gains for the working class internationally. It was the elementary duty of revolutionaries to unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, as it is necessary today to defend the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states—China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea. The Soviet Army's presence in Afghanistan, necessary for defense of the USSR's southern border against a reactionary Islamic insurgency and its U.S. imperialist sponsors, posed the possibility of emancipating women in that miserably backward



WV Photos

migrant "terrorist suspects" should understand that this plays right into the hands of the capitalist rulers who target black people in particular for racist state terror. We seek to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of immigrants, black people and all the oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution.

The reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), an endorser of this protest, starts from the opposite vantage point, one of appealing to the U.S. imperialist butchers for a "peaceful" alternative to war. An article in *Socialist Worker* (12 October) argues, "The U.S. could sharply reduce terrorism by tempering its own thirst for blood." But imperialism is not the product of the appetites of a particularly bloodthirsty set of capitalist rulers, nor is it a question of "bad" policies. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, one marked by increasing competition among the advanced capitalist countries for control of markets and spheres of exploitation and influence.

The ISO has always been guided by its faith in the fundamentally "democratic" nature of imperialism and corresponding anti-Communist hatred for the Soviet Union—which it falsely labeled "state capitalist"—and every other country where capitalism was overthrown. The ISO *hailed* the woman-hating, CIA-backed Islamic *mujahedin* in Afghanistan who fought against the Soviet Army after its entry in 1979 in defense of a modernizing nationalist regime. Likewise, the LRP joined with the imperialists in denouncing the Soviet Union's "imperialist invasion of Afghanistan." In contrast, we Trotskyists declared: Hail

society. The Kremlin bureaucracy's withdrawal of military forces in 1989 was a betrayal that set the stage not only for the coming to power of the barbaric *mujahedin* cutthroats but for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself, which has brought enormous misery to the working people there and an anti-immigrant, anti-labor onslaught internationally.

The centrist Internationalist Group (IG), which initiated this protest, raises the call over Afghanistan to "Defeat U.S. Imperialism!" This is empty rhetoric. The IG elevates military struggle against imperialism over and above the political struggle to mobilize the proletariat to smash imperialism *from within*. Thus they attack our slogan for "class struggle against capitalist rulers at home," writing in the *Internationalist* (Fall 2001) that "the emphasis on 'at home' is counterposed to the call to defeat the imperialists *abroad*." The IG deliberately muddles the question of a military defeat in a particular war with the proletarian defeat of one's bourgeoisie through socialist revolution. Conjuring up the spectre of a military defeat of the U.S., the IG compares the war in Afghanistan with the defeat of French imperialism in the Algerian war of independence. That eight-year-long struggle against colonial occupation bears no resemblance to the current military adventure carried out by the U.S. largely from the air against tribal forces in one of the world's most backward countries.

Magnifying the possibility of a U.S. military defeat in this context, the IG downplays the crucial and related factors of political consciousness and material



Mercer/Record

Paterson, New Jersey, December 5: Feds raid Islamic charity as part of anti-Arab witchhunt.

SYC Initiates Protest at San Francisco State

Defend Immigrant Students!

Some 30 demonstrators gathered at the campus of San Francisco State University (SFSU) on December 12 to demand: Down with SFSU collaboration with the FBI anti-immigrant witchhunt! Defend immigrant rights! The united-front protest was called by the Spartacus Youth Club in defense of immigrant students, who are threatened by a nationwide witchhunt in the wake of the criminal September 11 attack on the World Trade Center in New York.

The administrators of the California State University system have agreed to hand over confidential files of foreign students to the FBI and Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), as have their counterparts at more than 200 campuses nationwide. The San Francisco State administration has already begun complying with this. Meanwhile, INS agents have inaugurated a national sweep by arresting ten Middle Eastern students in San Diego for "visa violations."

Protesters chanted: "Down with *la migra*! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!" As the SYC leaflet building the protest declared: "We say that anyone who makes it to this country has the right to stay here with all the rights accorded to those born here." The government's targeting of immigrants and the panoply of new repressive laws are the domestic face of the "war on terror," in which U.S. imperialism savagely rains bombs on impoverished Afghanistan. The leaflet highlighted the demands: "Defend Afghanistan against



WV Photo

SF State protest demanded: "Down with SFSU collaboration with FBI anti-immigrant witchhunt! Defend immigrant rights!"

imperialist attack! U.S./UN/NATO out of Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Near East! For class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home!"

The protest was endorsed by the campus General Union of Palestinian Students, a number of whose supporters attended. In building the demonstration, the SYC underlined defense of the embattled Palestinians. The Spartacist League speaker at the rally declared: "In the Near East, nuclear-armed Zionists are stepping up their threats of a bloodbath of unprecedented scale against the entire Palestinian population. The call is vitally urgent: **Defend Palestinians against Zionist terror! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories!**"

A representative of the campus group

Committee for a New Colombia spoke to the crowd, pointing out that the U.S. rulers' "war on drugs" means a war of terror against the peasants of Latin America. At least seven high school students from the nearby School of the Arts joined the rally, which the school's principal endorsed, and a young black counselor read a flow (hip-hop-style poem) in solidarity. Other endorsers included Dwight Simpson, an SFSU professor who has received death threats for opposing the war, José Cuellar, professor of Raza Studies, and the Associated Students Women's Center.

The SYC initiated the demonstration in the spirit of the united front, so that diverse political currents are mobilized in a common action, while marching under their own political banners. Sev-

eral reformist left groups endorsed the demonstration, including Radical Women/Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), Socialist Workers Organization and the liberal-reformist UC Berkeley Stop the War Coalition, which the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and other left groups actively work in. At SFSU, however, the ISO vehemently refused to endorse and worked to prevent the ISO-led liberal campus coalition, Students for Peace, from endorsing or attending. On the day, the ISOers on campus boycotted the rally, revealing that their sectarian hatred of communists ranks higher than their paper position of "Stop Racist Scapegoating."

The FSP, which like the other left endorsers did not attend the protest, sent a statement of solidarity. Although laced with increasingly rare (for them) rhetoric about "socialist revolution," it demands that the SFSU administration, whose function is to run the university in the interests of the capitalist ruling class, "immediately enact a policy of non-cooperation" with the Feds. Giving backhanded support to the capitalist Democratic Party, their statement does not even mention the Democrats, referring only to "Bush's obscene 'war on terrorism'."

In contrast, the SYC speaker at the rally raised the call, "Break with the Democrats! For a multiracial workers party that fights for all the oppressed!" and denounced the reformists' "false notion that this state, the capitalist state, can be pressured through the Democrats to stop war. This is a dangerous lie!" As the SL speaker declared: "An independent, multiracial, revolutionary workers party fighting here in the belly of the beast that champions the causes of the oppressed is vital in the fight for an egalitarian socialist society! For class war against the imperialist war! Join us!"

economic reality. Thus the IG dismisses the danger of the rising influence of political Islam among the oppressed masses of South Asia and the Near East, including among the Palestinians. The IG's *Internationalist* sneers that "the SL presents itself as the vanguard fighter against Islamic fundamentalism." Absolutely, and that goes for the fight against Christian, Jewish, Hindu and all other religious obscurantism as well. During the anti-Soviet Cold War, U.S. imperialism consciously encouraged the growth of political Islam as a weapon against "godless Communism." With the demise of the USSR, the rise of political Islam as a mass movement reflects both the absence of a communist alternative and the manifest dead end of nationalism.

The social and national liberation of the working class and oppressed masses from the Near East to South Asia requires the seizure of power by the proletariat, standing at the head of all the oppressed and led by revolutionary internationalist parties. The IG's minimizing of the struggle against Islamic fundamentalism is a measure of its despair of bringing revolutionary consciousness to the proletariat, either in the backward or the more advanced capitalist countries. And this has been the measure of the IG since its inception. Under the pressures of imperialist "death of communism" triumphalism, those who formed the IG defected from the International Communist League in 1996 in search of forces other than the proletariat and vehicles other than an internationalist Leninist vanguard party to serve the cause of the emancipation of humanity from the depredations of the world imperialist order.

Early on, the IG fused with a Brazilian organization that ran an ex-cop for president of a cop-infested union and then dragged that union through the bourgeois courts in order to hold onto their bureaucratic positions. In Mexico, the IG panders to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism, which serve as the central

ideological vehicles for tying the working class to its "own" capitalist rulers, who are themselves beholden to the imperialists. For weeks following the World Trade Center attack, the IG's co-thinkers in Mexico adapted to the anti-American nationalism dominant on the left there, handing out the IG's U.S. statement without a single word against the *Mexican* ruling class. In contrast, our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México distributed a statement sharply polemicizing against a local nationalist organization that heralded the destruction of the World Trade Center as a blow against U.S. imperialism. The GEM statement called for internationalist solidarity with the U.S. proletariat and for class struggle against the right-wing government of Vicente Fox, which has launched its own attacks on Near Eastern immigrants, rebellious peasants and UNAM student activists.

The IG screams that the Spartacist League opposes independence for Puerto Rico. This is a blatant lie, as any perusal of our propaganda would demonstrate. We are uncompromisingly for the right to independence for Puerto Rico. But we are not for imposing this on the population of Puerto Rico which, while seething with opposition to its national subjugation by U.S. imperialism, is very contradicted over the question of independence, fearing that this would simply mean sinking to the level of poverty that defines their independent Caribbean neighbors. As to the IG's stance on national oppression, how about Chechnya? Unlike Puerto Rico, the Chechens have been waging a war to fight for independence from oppressive Russian rule. The ICL has raised the call: "Defend Chechen Independence!" The IG has recently announced a fusion with a group in the Ukraine. Yet nowhere in their fusion declaration do they say a word on this question, which is rather central to combatting Great Russian chauvinism among the substantial Russian-speaking population

in the Ukraine. This is all the more important in the context of the "war on terrorism," as the U.S. drops its hypocritical criticisms of the bloody massacres of Chechens by the Putin regime in Moscow.

Unlike the revolutionary phrasemongers of the IG, we fight to awaken class combativity in the proletariat, and through patient education and in the course of class struggle to imbue the working class with revolutionary class consciousness. Addressing a rally for the Charleston Five at San Francisco's ILWU Longshore Local 10 hall last month, a Spartacist League supporter stated: "The labor movement must wage class struggle at home and defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!" Against attempts to silence her by "left"-talking Local 10 bureaucrat Jack Hey-

man—a favorite of the IG—who was chairing the meeting, she continued: "We believe it is necessary to wage a political struggle within the unions to forge a revolutionary workers party that will fight for black freedom, for immigrant rights and for our class brothers and sisters abroad against U.S. imperialism. Such a party will lead the fight to get rid of the capitalist order and create a workers government and a new society without exploitation. This is the only road to end racism and war forever. Those who labor must rule!"

To that end, the Spartacus Youth Clubs work on campuses across the country to win youth to take a side with the working class and to develop the next generation of leaders in the revolutionary fight against capitalist imperialism. Join us! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. Local Directory and Public Offices

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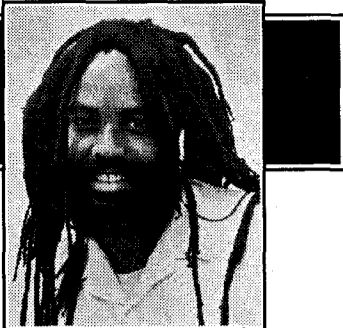
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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

The Enigma of Allies and Enemies



Ally No. 1—Pakistan; and Ally No. 2—Saudi Arabia,—are the prime movers, backers, supporters, and sustainers of the so-called “enemy”: the Taliban.

If 80% of Pakistanis support the Taliban (in a region where one’s ethnicity or tribal allegiances may go deeper than religion!) what can any government—even a military dictatorship—do to suppress that expression?

The American bombing campaign is sowing the pregnant seeds of civil war in Pakistan, and rolling instability in the whole region.

For the closer the U.S. nestles to Pakistan, the more nervous the (democratic!) Republic of India gets. The two nations are already involved in an on-again, off-again, shooting war over the northern Indian (or is it western Pakistani?) province of Kashmir.

Kashmir, with its overwhelmingly Muslim population has been agitating for homerule, and national independence for decades. To the Indians, Kashmiri militants are “terrorists.” To the Pakistanis, they look a lot like “freedom fighters.” (Isn’t that the same thing that was said about the Taliban when they were *mujahadeen* fighting the Soviets?)

The U.S. charges into a thicket, knowing neither its enemies, nor its real friends.

It is a time of danger, that holds dangers not just for the U.S., nor even the region: but the world.

8 November 2001

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Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia’s legal defense, earmarked “Mumia Abu-Jamal,” to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

What a difference a month makes!

As the United States continues to bombard the feudal state of Afghanistan, with the gleeful (yet anxious!) connivance of a bevy of assorted junior partners, the playlist of who’s who seems to get rewritten by the hour. Unperturbed by the Churchillian axiom that a nation has no permanent friends, nor permanent enemies, but only permanent interests, the U.S. has cast a wide, imperial net, to scoop up a bucket-full of buddies.

The resultant quasi-“Coalition” is a reflection of the wide and deep contradictions that emerge, when one considers what the U.S. announces is its foreign policy, and what it is in *realpolitik*. If the U.S. is the target of the “terrorists” because of “its wonderful democracy” (as non-majority-elected President Bush suggests) why is it bundled up with nations that see democracy as a bad word?

Pakistan and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are many things, but democracies they ain’t!

Only one person voted for Gen. P. Musharraf to become President of Pakistan—himself! Because he was General, his was the only vote that counted. In clear, unalloyed terms, Pakistan is a military dictatorship. Worse, it is an unstable state where upwards of

80% of its population support the Taliban of Afghanistan—which exists, in part, because of the machinations of Pakistani military intelligence!

The Saudi Kingdom is, in essence, a theocracy, where the Royal Family rules with an iron hand, and where women aren’t even allowed to drive! The Bin-Laden clan is one of the First Families of the kingdom, builders of many of the structures in the Islamic holy places of Mecca.

The Wahabbi sect of Islam promoted by the Royal House is but a variant of that practiced by the Taliban.

The madrassas in Pakistan (of which there are over 10,000) were, for the better part of two decades, training schools for the Taliban, and, in fact, educated perhaps 75% of its leadership. Pakistan, being a desperately poor, post-colonial nation, cannot afford public education for its teeming young population. The madrassas therefore, being the only free schools in the region, are plush with students, who learn a thorough Koranic education, with history from an Islamic perspective.

The backers of the madrassas? Saudi Arabia.

“OK, Jamal—What’s the point?”, the thoughtful readers ask.

The point is that the two best buds of the USA—

is that he is an outspoken champion of the oppressed and exploited. And he has continued to speak out, unbowed and unbroken, from his death row cell. **Don’t let them bury Mumia alive!** Workers, minorities and all opponents of racist capitalist repression must now redouble their efforts to mobilize mass protest centered on the social power of the labor movement to demand Jamal’s immediate freedom.

From the time the Partisan Defense Committee took up Jamal’s case 15 years ago, we have insisted that the fight to save this innocent man cannot rely on the capitalist courts but must be based on social struggle. What has kept him out of the clutches of the executioner is mass protest and publicity, in this country and internationally, especially by trade unions representing millions of workers. Now more than ever the PDC says: No confidence in the capitalist courts, all confidence in the power of the working people and oppressed!

Jamal’s case throws into stark relief the whole nature of racist American capitalism. His prosecution and conviction were an extension of the COINTELPRO terror campaign by the FBI in which dozens of Black Panthers were assassinated and hundreds more sent to prison. Among them was Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who was finally released in 1997 after 27 years in prison hell for a crime the state *knew* he did not commit. Jamal’s case is a demonstration of the machinery of repression wielded by the capitalist rulers against any perceived threat to a system based on the exploitation of the many by the few, which in America is rooted in the forcible subjugation of the black population at the bottom of society.

As ever more death row and other prisoners are exonerated of false convictions through DNA evidence, popular support for the death penalty has waned and America’s imperialist rulers have faced growing diplomatic embarrassment around the world. And Jamal’s case shows what the racist, barbaric death penalty in the U.S. is all about. On December 2, the Paris city council voted to make Mumia an honorary citizen of the city, an indication of the breadth of support for his cause around the world. This new court ruling comes even as the right-wing Bush administration, invoking the need for “war measures” as it bombs the people of Afghanistan, is gearing up a new

COINTELPRO-style campaign of terror and provocation. Targeting people of Near Eastern descent in the first instance, the government’s “war on terror” is aimed at all immigrants, minorities, labor, leftists and all perceived opponents of the government.

What is needed is a massive struggle centered on the social power of the multiracial working class to fight for Jamal’s freedom! Based on the only significant integration in racist America—the workplace and the factory floor—the trade unions have the social power and the potential to become battalions in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and racial oppression, to shake the foundations of this decaying capitalist system and ultimately topple it. If undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement at the forefront, the fight to free Mumia and to abolish the racist death penalty would be a first, giant step in that direction and would strike a significant blow against the draconian new repressive measures being implemented by the Bush administration with bipartisan support. To that end, labor must break the chains with which the trade-union misleaders have shackled the unions to the political parties—centrally the Democrats—and the state agencies of the enemy class. **No illusions in the capitalist courts! Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!** ■

Mumia...

(continued from page 1)

overwhelming evidence of Jamal’s innocence is buried. His decision affirms the original frame-up murder conviction, which was secured on the basis of “eyewitness” testimony coerced by the police through the promise of favors and outright terror, a manufactured “confession” and completely concocted ballistics “evidence.” Yohn’s ruling only allows for a new sentencing hearing within 180 days which would at best consign Jamal to life behind bars.

As Mumia himself said of life imprisonment in one of his writings from death row: “‘Life’ is thus but a grim metaphor for death, for only death releases one from its shackles. ‘Life,’ it might be said, is merely slow death.” **Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man!** An award-winning journalist, former Black Panther and MOVE supporter, Mumia’s only “crime”

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New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up: Declarations and affidavits of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Arnold R. Beverly, Rachel Wolkenstein and others prove that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man.

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Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up

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Free Mumia Now!

Down With Racist Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!

NYC Holiday Appeal Speech

Some \$10,000 was raised at the Partisan Defense Committee's 16th annual Holiday Appeal benefits held recently in New York City, San Francisco and Chicago and at smaller gatherings elsewhere. The funds will help sustain the PDC's monthly stipend program for 16 class-war prisoners—black activists, labor militants and members of the Philadelphia MOVE commune—and provide holiday gifts for them and their families. We print below the speech of New York Labor Black League spokesman Ed Kartsen at the November 30 benefit in Manhattan.

* * *

In the post-September 11 period, the labor movement faces new dangers. Most of the working people in this country were rightly angered by the destruction of the World Trade Center by people who must have equated the thousands of innocent victims, most of whom were working people, with the bloodthirsty rulers of this country.

So the bloodthirsty rulers who had been seeking to attack democratic freedoms and carry out a crusade against countries like Iraq seized the opportunity provided by the September 11 attacks to marshal the legitimate rage over the killing of thousands of innocent people into a national chauvinist and racist anti-immigrant campaign. A campaign to provide political cover for the massacre of Afghans in bombing raids abroad and the gutting of civil liberties at home. The recent rulings in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal indicate that they intend to use this political environment of anti-terror hysteria to carry out his legal lynching.

The anti-Arab hysteria that exploded after the September 11 attacks parallels the racist terror that black people have historically been subjected to in this country. The American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee has confirmed 520 cases of violent attacks on Arab Americans or those perceived to be Arabs since 9/11. Arab Americans have been expelled from aircraft after or during boarding based solely on the way they look. There have been hundreds of cases of discrimination against Arab Americans in employment since September 11, including terminations, and there have been numerous cases of Arab Americans being searched and questioned by police for no apparent reason other than looking Arab.

This anti-Arab bigotry has been seized on by the government to enact a law targeting the civil liberties of Arab Americans and all immigrants. This law allows for the trial of non-citizens accused of terrorist-related charges in military tribunals, bypassing all legal and constitutional protections. It allows for government eavesdropping on defense lawyers' conversations with defendants. College advisers have basically been deputized to conduct investigations of foreign students. Thousands of Arab students are targeted to be rounded up for questioning on the basis of their ethnicity and national origin. Roughly 1,200 people have already been rounded up and imprisoned. Some 5,000 others are being asked to report for interrogation!

While the immediate targets of the "USA-Patriot Act" are immigrants, this law poses a threat to everyone who challenges capitalist rule. It is a threat to the postal workers who have to conduct class-struggle action like strikes against

the government in order to get the needed medical attention and the same protection as Senators from the deadly threat of anthrax infection. It is a threat to all workers who have to fight the takebacks and layoffs that the capitalist bosses are demanding in the post-9/11 period. It is a threat to those who oppose the bombardment of Afghanistan by the forces of U.S. imperialism. It also threatens those who organize to protest racist cop terror.

Labor, black and immigrant rights move forward together or fall back separately. In recent years, legislative attacks on immigrant rights have been followed



WV Photo

Postal workers at October 1999 NYC anti-Klan mobilization carry signs honoring L.A. postal worker Joseph Iletto, killed by fascist.

by attacks on the gains of the civil rights movement. In November 1994 California enacted Proposition 187, which prohibited social services for non-U.S. citizens. This proposition was passed with a

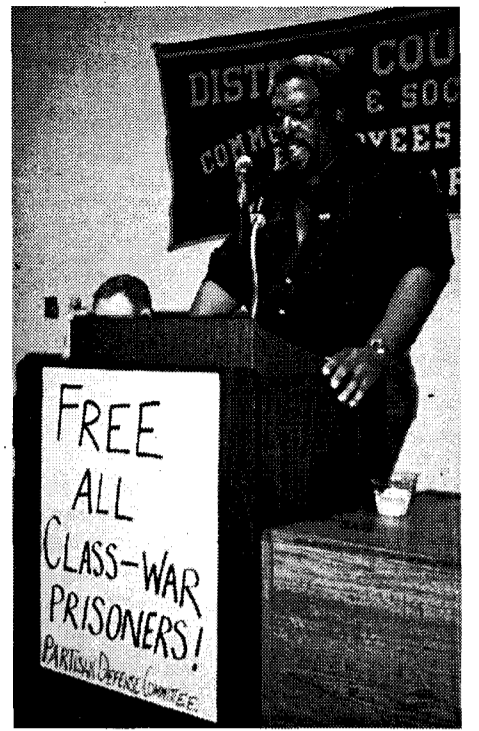
large number of black people backing it. In fact, it would not have been passed if it had not had substantial support among the black population. But this attack on immigrant rights—Proposition 187—paved the way for Proposition 209, which banned affirmative action programs for state and local governments in 1996.

An uphill battle must be waged to ensure that racial profiling against immigrants, particularly Arab Americans, is viewed as just as racist and intolerable as racial profiling against black people. Black workers, however, often perceive immigrants as a threat to their jobs and immigrants are often indoctrinated with the myth that black people are responsible for their own oppression. These lies are perpetuated by black and Latino Democratic Party politicians.

Labor must be in the forefront of the fight for black as well as immigrant rights and in so doing establish an unshakable unity between the black workers who are a strategic component of the American working class and immigrant workers, many of whom bring class-struggle traditions to this country.

This powerful axis could break the back of the conservative labor bureaucracy that chains labor to the capitalist parties. Point Four of the program of the Labor Black League calls for: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants—everyone who has made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

The realization of these demands as well as the demand for the freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal and all class-war prisoners can only be won by unleashing the social power of the working class. On October 23, 1999 we witnessed in downtown Manhattan what the power of the politically organized working class can do. On that day the fascist creeps of the American Knights of the KKK were



WV Photo

LBL speaker at NYC Holiday Appeal benefit, November 30.

forced to cut short their rally by thousands of counterdemonstrators who had at their core militant disciplined workers.

That victory, like all the victories won by labor, was made possible by having a leadership capable of combatting the opposition and sabotage of all of the pro-capitalist political forces thrown up against it. These included the courts, the Republican mayor Giuliani, the cops, the Democratic Party, the black Democrats like Al Sharpton, the *Amsterdam News*, labor misleaders like Dennis Rivera and the Central Labor Council and lastly the International Socialist Organization.

The LBL played its part to build that anti-Klan rally and it seeks to help in the struggle to build the revolutionary workers party which the Spartacist League is the core of. That is, a party which fights for a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners and for the rebuilding of America on the basis of a socialist planned economy! We say: Down with anti-Arab bigotry! We say: Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack! Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and all the class-war prisoners! Join the LBL and build the workers party! ■

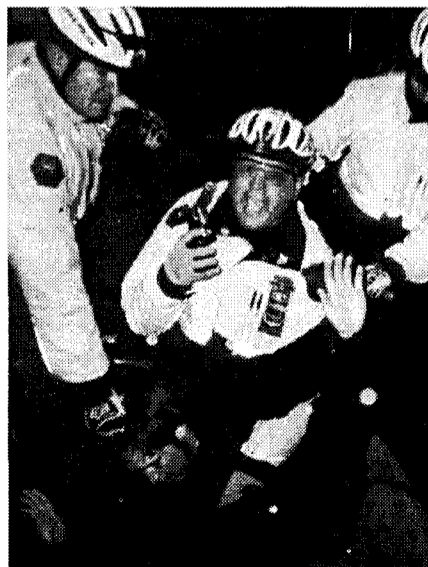
Drop All Charges Against Arrested Protesters!

Cops Attack Philly Jamal Protest

The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following protest letter, dated December 10, to Philadelphia mayor John Street and District Attorney Lynne Abraham following a police attack on supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal two days earlier. The PDC also made a financial contribution to the Philadelphia Direct Action Group to help raise bail for those arrested. To help defray bail costs, send checks earmarked "December 8th Legal Fund" to: PDAG, P.O. Box 40683, Philadelphia, PA 19107.

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the brutal police attack and arrests of supporters of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal this past Saturday.

The police celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the arrest and frame-up prosecution of this innocent man by clubbing and pepper-spraying protesters. One woman had her jaw broken after being dragged through the streets for over a block. Cops pointed their weapons at protesters' heads—threatening them with summary street executions. At least seven of their victims have been arrested with obviously trumped-up charges such as Felonious



AWOL Magazine

Gun-wielding Philly cops terrorize Jamal protester, December 8.

Assault and Felonious Riot and held on exorbitant bail. *We demand that all those under arrest be released and all charges be dropped!*

This ruthless assault on those who fight for Jamal's freedom is part and parcel of the state's 20-year effort to cover up, destroy and silence proof of

his innocence. In recent years dozens of people who have spent years on death row have been freed on evidence proving their innocence. But despite the overwhelming evidence of innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he had been hired to kill Officer Faulkner, Mumia remains under the shadow of death. When it comes to Mumia Abu-Jamal, a courageous voice for the dispossessed, opponent of cop terror and fighter for black freedom, state and federal judges have repeatedly ruled that a court of law is no place for evidence of his innocence.

Emboldening the police in their wanton attack is the onslaught on democratic rights which accompanies the American terror bombing and slaughter of impoverished Afghanistan. The appointment of Tom Ridge, who as governor signed two death warrants for Jamal's execution, as head of the office of "Homeland Security" only underscores that the "war on terrorism" is a thinly veiled war on opponents of U.S. government policies at home and abroad. We say again: Free all those arrested at the December 8 demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Leon Trotsky: “Perspectives and Tasks in the East”

We reprint below an April 1924 speech by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, celebrating the third anniversary of the founding of the Communist University for Toilers of the East in Moscow. The oppressed masses of Asia saw in the world's first proletarian revolution a beacon for their own struggles against imperialist subjugation and social backwardness. In particular, the extension of Bolshevik power to Central Asia—formerly under the rule of Islamic despots—brought the promise of a massive social transformation to this benighted region, not least the liberation of women who had previously been treated as less than property.

At the time of Trotsky's speech, a nationalist bureaucratic caste led by Stalin was already beginning to consolidate control over the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International (CI). This was to take on programmatic expression in late 1924, as the Stalinist bureaucracy propounded the anti-Marxist dogma of building “socialism in one country.” Through its futile pursuit of accommodation with imperialism, the Stalinist bureaucracy undermined the gains of the revolution and ultimately opened the door to capitalist counterrevolution. The final undoing of the October Revolution in 1991-92 has caused enormous immiseration and desperation throughout the former Soviet Union, dragging the Central Asian republics back toward their impoverished, backward past and fueling a resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism.

At the time of his 1924 speech, Trotsky had not yet generalized his concept of permanent revolution from tsarist Russia—an economically backward European *imperialist* power—to the even more economically backward colonial and semicolonial countries. Thus, while warning of the danger that the nascent Communist parties of the East could act as a transmission belt to bourgeois



Wide World

Leon Trotsky addressing Fourth Congress of the Communist International, 1922. His 1924 speech to the Communist University for Toilers of the East was published in Moscow that year in a collection titled *West and East*.

nationalism, he also envisioned a progressive role for some bourgeois-nationalist parties, like the Chinese Guomindang (Kuomintang). Trotsky projected that the Guomindang, in alliance with the Communists, could lead the struggle for national emancipation against imperialism.

When the CI, under the leadership of Stalin and Zinoviev, ordered the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to liquidate wholesale into the Guomindang, Trotsky opposed this. The liquidation of the CCP paved the way for the disastrous defeat of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution (see “The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism,” *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997). In its aftermath, Trotsky drew the lessons of that defeat. He generalized to all backward countries his theory of permanent revolution, which was so clearly verified by the October Revolution: that only the dictatorship of

the proletariat, leaning on the peasant masses and fighting to extend proletarian rule to the imperialist centers, can emancipate the peoples of the East. And he categorically declared that Communist parties must never enter into bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties. Trotsky's own reevaluation of this question underlines the need to critically appraise the history of the Marxist movement.

The following translation was published by New Park Publications (London) in 1973. We have corrected some minor factual errors.

* * *

I have received, comrades, from the bureau of your cell, documents outlining your university's work over three years. At my request the comrades marked out all the most essential points with a red pencil thereby considerably easing my task of becoming familiar with the documents for, and I do not know how to put it—either to my shame or to my loss—I have not had the opportunity of closely following the work of your university either day by day or even month by month: work which has an exceptional and, without at all exaggerating as is common on anniversaries, a world-historical significance.

Comrades, although it is perhaps not customary at anniversary meetings to get involved in theory, nevertheless allow me to present a few observations of a general character which will substantiate my statement that your university is no simple educational establishment, revolutionary as it may be, but forms a lever of world-historical significance....

The whole present-day political and cultural movement rests upon capitalism, out of which it is growing, has grown and which it has outgrown. But capitalism has, schematically speaking, two different facets: the capitalism of the metropolis and the capitalism of the colonies. The classic model of a metropolis is Britain. At the present time it is crowned by the so-called “Labour” government of [Ramsey] MacDonald. As for the colonies I would hesitate to say which one of them is most typical as a colony: this would either be India, a colony in the formal sense, or China which preserves the semblance of independence yet in her world position and the course of her development belongs to the colonial type. Classic

capitalism is in Britain. Marx wrote his *Capital* in London by directly observing the development of the most advanced country—you will know this, though I do not remember which year you cover this in.... In the colonies capitalism develops not out of its own fragments but as an intrusion of foreign capital. This is what creates the two different types. Why is MacDonald, to put it not very scientifically but in quite precise terms just the same, why is MacDonald so conservative, so limited and so stupid?

Because Britain is the classic land of capitalism, because capitalism there organically developed from handicrafts through manufacture into modern industry step by step, by an “evolutionary” road and so yesterday's prejudices and those of the day before and the prejudices of the past and the previous centuries, all the ideological garbage of the ages you can discover under MacDonald's skull [applause]. At first glance there is here some historical contradiction: why did Marx appear in backward Germany, in the most backward of the great countries of Europe in the first half of the 19th century, not counting Russia of course? Why did Marx appear in Germany and why did Lenin appear in Russia on the borders of the 19th and 20th centuries? A plain contradiction! But of what nature? Of one which can be explained by the so-called dialectic of historical development. In the shape of British machinery and in the shape of British cotton cloth, history created the most revolutionary factor of development. But this machinery and this cloth were processed and created by way of a prolonged and slow historical transition, one step at a time, while human consciousness remained in general frightfully conservative.

When economic development proceeds slowly and systematically it tends to find it hard to break through human skulls. Subjectivists and idealists in general say that human consciousness, critical thought and so on and so forth draw history forward like a tug towing a barge behind it. This is untrue. You and I are Marxists and we know that the motive power of history consists of the productive forces which have up till now taken shape behind man's back and with which it tends to be very difficult to smash through man's conservative skull in order to produce the spark of a new political idea there and especially, let me repeat, if the development takes place slowly, organically and imperceptibly. But when the productive forces of a metropolis, of a classic land of capitalism, like Britain, encroach upon a more backward country, as with Germany in the first half of the 19th century, and with ourselves on the watershed of the 19th and the 20th centuries, and at the present time with Asia; when economic factors intrude in a revolutionary way cracking the old regime, when development takes place not gradually, not “organically” but by means of terrible shocks, and abrupt shifts in the old social layers, then critical thought finds its revolutionary expression incomparably more easily and rapidly, providing there is of course the necessary theoretical prerequisites for this. That is why Marx appeared in Germany in the first half of the 19th century and that is why Lenin appeared here and that is why we can observe at first sight the paradoxical fact that in the land of the highest, oldest and most revered European capitalism, Britain, we have the most conserva-



Carrying revolution to the peoples of Central Asia: Bolshevik propaganda train, Soviet troops patrolling Central Asian frontier.

Faber



tive "Labour" party. While on the other hand in our Soviet Union, an extremely backward country economically and culturally speaking, we have—and I say this unashamedly for it is a fact—the best communist party in the world [applause].

It must be said that as regards its economic development Russia stands midway between the classic metropolis like Britain and the colonial countries like India or China. And what distinguishes our Soviet Union from Britain as regards the paths and forms of development shows itself even more sharply in the development of the countries of the East. Capitalism encroaches there in the form of foreign finance capital. There it tosses in ready-made machines shaking and undermining the old economic base and erects upon its splinters the Tower of Babel of a capitalist economy. The action of capitalism in the countries of the East is neither gradual nor slow nor "evolutionary" but abrupt, catastrophic—indeed in many cases far more catastrophic than it was here in yesterday's Tsarist Russia.

It is from this fundamental standpoint, comrades, that one has to examine the fate of the East in the coming years and in the coming decades. If you take such prosaic books as the accounts of British and American banks for the years 1921, 1922, 1923 then you will read tomorrow's revolutionary fate of the East in the figures of the bank balances of London and New York. Britain has once again re-established her role as world usurer. The United States have accumulated an unbelievable quantity of gold: in

is no doubt that if the Chinese Kuomintang party manages to unify China under a national-democratic regime then the capitalist development of China will go ahead with seven-mile strides. And yet all this will prepare the mobilization of the countless proletarian masses who will at once burst out of a prehistoric, semi-barbaric state and cast themselves into industry's melting-pot, the factory. Consequently there will not be the time to conserve and accumulate the rubbish of past ages in the consciousness of the toilers; a guillotine will slice through their consciousness as it were, cutting off the past from the future and forcing them to seek new ideas, new forms and new paths of life and struggle. And so here there must appear on the scene in some countries and broadly and boldly develop in others, the Marxist-Leninist parties of the East: Japanese communists, Chinese communists, Turkish, Indian and so on.

Comrade toilers of the lands of the East! In 1883 there was formed in Switzerland the Russian "Emancipation of Labour" group. Is that such a long time ago? From 1883 to 1900 it is 17 years and from 1900 to 1917 again 17 years, that is in all 34 years—one third of a century, one generation: from the organization of the first theoretical-propagandist circle of the ideas of Marxism during the reign of Alexander III until the conquest of Tsarist Russia by the proletariat there elapsed all in all one third of a century!

For whoever has lived through this it will seem a long and painful period. But from the point of view of the scales of history this represented an unprec-



Revolutionary upsurge in China, 1925: Poster shows student killed in British police massacre of May 30 Shanghai demonstration. Protests sparked general strike which spread across China.

in general this temporary exploitation of Marxism for the aims of a bourgeois-progressive policy characterizes the countries of the Balkan south-east, as it did our own country. Does such a danger threaten Marxism in the East? In part. Why? Because the national movement in the East is a progressive factor in history. The struggle for the independence of India is a profoundly progressive movement; but you and I know that at the same time this struggle is confined to national-bourgeois tasks. The struggle for the liberation of China, the ideology of Sun Yat-sen, is a democratic struggle and a progressive ideology, but bourgeois. We stand for the communists supporting the Kuomintang in China by driving it forward. This is essential but here there is also a danger of a national-democratic degeneration. And likewise in all the countries of the East which form the arena for the national struggle for liberation from colonial slavery. Upon this progressive movement the young proletariat of the East must rest; but it is absolutely clear that in the coming period there is for the young Marxists of the East, a danger of being torn out of the "Emancipation of Labour" groups and dissolving themselves in nationalist ideology.

Wherein, however, lies your advantage? Your advantage over the older generations of Russian, Rumanian and other Marxists is that you are living and will live and work not only in the epoch after Marx but in the epoch after Lenin too. In your newspaper which the bureau of your cell so kindly sent me, with annotations, I read a heated polemic about Marx and Lenin. You polemicize with each other very severely; I say this to you, however, not in reproach. The question was presented there as if, in the opinion of some, Marx was only a theoretician—so the opposing side had depicted this position and it objected: "No, Marx was a revolutionary politician as was Lenin and with both Marx and Lenin theory and practice went hand in hand." In such an abstract formulation of the question this is undoubtedly true and beyond question; but there is still a difference between these two historical figures; a profound difference which grew not only from a divergence in personality but from a divergence of epochs too. Marxism of course is not an academic doctrine but a lever of revolutionary action; not for nothing Marx said: "Philosophers have sufficiently explained the world but now

we must change it." But in the lifetime of Marx, in the era of the First International and then during the time of the Second International was there the opportunity of the movement of the working class utilizing Marxism totally and to the end? Did Marxism find then a genuine embodiment in action? No it didn't. Did Marx have the opportunity and fortune to guide the application of his revolutionary theory to the decisive historical action: the conquest of power by the proletariat? No, he didn't. Marx created his teaching not of course as an academic; he did, as you know, grow wholly out of the revolution, out of his estimation and criticism of the downfall of bourgeois democracy, wrote his *Manifesto* in 1847 and was active on the left flank of bourgeois democracy in the revolution of 1848 evaluating in a Marxist way, or in rather Marx's way, all of its events; in London he wrote *Capital*; he was at the same time the creator of the First International, the inspirer of the policy of the most advanced groups in the working class of all countries; but he did not stand at the head of a party which decided the fate of the world nor even of one country. When we wish to answer briefly the question: who was Marx? we say: "Marx was the author of *Capital*." And when we ask ourselves who Lenin was we will say: "Lenin was the author of the October revolution." [Applause]. Lenin emphasized more than anyone else that he was not out to revise, remake or review Marx's teaching; Lenin came, to speak in the old words of the gospels, not to alter Marx's law but in order to implement it. He himself more than anyone else emphasized this; but he at that time needed to release Marx from underneath the sediments of those generations which separated Lenin from Marx; from underneath the sediments of Kautskyism, MacDonaldism, the conservatism of the labour bosses, and the reformist and nationalist bureaucracy and to apply the tool of genuine Marxism once cleansed of sediments, additives and falsifications totally and wholly to the great historical action. And so your greatest advantage as the younger generation is that you have directly or indirectly participated in this work, that you have observed it, that you are living in the political and ideological environment of Leninism and that you are imbibing this theory which corresponds to practice in the University for Toilers of the East. This makes up your enormous

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Georgy Zelina

Workers in Siberia reading Yakut-language newspaper, 1929. Russian Revolution brought vast social gains, among them literacy, to the peoples of the Soviet East.

the vaults of the Central Bank there is kept gold to the value of 3,000m dollars, that is 6,000m gold roubles. This inundates the economy of the United States. If you ask: to whom do Britain and the United States give loans?—for as you have probably heard they are still not giving loans to us, the Soviet Union, nor do they give them to Germany, they gave France some miserable crumbs to save the franc—so who do they give them to? For the most part they give them to the colonial countries; they go to finance the industrial development of Asia, South America and South Africa. I shall not give you figures: I do have some but this would drag out my report too much, but it is sufficient to say that up to the last imperialist war the colonial and semi-colonial countries received from the United States and Britain probably about half as much in credits as did the developed capitalist countries, yet now financial investments in the colonial countries exceed, and exceed very considerably, investments in the old capitalist countries. Why is this? The causes are many but the chief ones are two: a lack of confidence in old Europe, ruined and bled white, with this furious French militarism at its heart—a militarism which threatens ever fresh upheavals; and on the other hand the need for the colonial countries as furnishers of raw materials and as customers for the machines and manufactured goods of Britain and the United States. During the war we observed and we observe now the headlong industrialization of the colonial, semi-colonial and of the backward countries in general: Japan, India, South America, South Africa and so on. There

edently furious and wild tempo. Yet in the countries of the East the tempo of development will by all indications be even more rapid. So what then is your Communist University for Toilers of the East in the light of the perspectives we have traced—what is it? It is the garden nursery for "Emancipation of Labour" groups for the countries of the East [tumultuous applause].

It is true, and one must not close one's eyes to this, that the dangers facing young Marxists of the East are great. We know, and you will know, that it was in a grave external and also internal struggle that the Bolshevik Party was shaped. You know that Marxism, emasculated and falsified, was for us in the 1890s a school for an all-round political study of the bourgeois intelligentsia, of the Struvians who afterwards became the political henchmen of the bourgeoisie, the cadets, while many then went over to the Octoberists and even further to the right. Economically backward, Russia was in the political sense neither a differentiated nor a fully-formed country: Marxism spoke of the inevitability of capitalism and those bourgeois-progressive elements who wanted capitalism not for socialism but for itself accepted "Marxism" having removed its revolutionary sting. The same thing happened in Rumania. The majority of today's ruling scoundrels of Rumania have passed in their time through the margarine school of Marxism; some of them in France adhered to Guesdism. In Serbia a whole number of today's conservative and reactionary politicians in their youth passed through the school of Marxism or Bakuninism.

This is less observable in Bulgaria. But

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قانون الفصح الداخلي والشار - الأصيل

الأعتداء على مركز التجارة الدولي

بيان من المكتب السياسي للعصبة الاشتراكية بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية

١٢ سبتمبر-الأعتداء الذي نفذ بالأمس على مركز التجارة الدولي بواسطة أنطفاط طائرات مدنية والذي أودى بحياة المئات من الركاب وطواقم الطائرات كان عملاً أرمياً جرمياً لا يمكن تبريره أو الدفاع عنه. أن مركز التجارة الدولي، على الرغم من مكانة أعتباره رمزاً لتجارة الولايات المتحدة وانتشارها العالمي، فإن المبنى يعمل في داخله عمال من مختلف الجنسيات والأصول العرقية والدينية. وفي الساعة التاسعة من صباح كل يوم يعمل مئزر من خلال البرجين التوأمين وما جاورهما آلاف من العمال الآخرين الذين يتكثرون لمختلف القطاعات-بوابلات، بناء، مكاتب وعدد آخر لا يمكن حسره. أن الحقيقة لا تكمن فقط في أن هدف العدوان (مركز التجارة الدولي) ليس هو بالمؤسسة التي تمثل حكام أمريكا الإمبرياليين، بل في أن الذين ارتكبوا هذا الأعتداء المروع (ولا يوجد دليل قطيع عن المتوسمين بل في أن الذين

Palestinian...

(continued from page 1)

House, with administration spokesmen again openly threatening a military assault on Saddam Hussein's Iraq, among other alleged "terrorist" states.

Washington also extended its "war on terror" to include Hamas. On the home front, federal agents seized the assets of the Holy Land Foundation, the largest Muslim charity in the United States, claiming it was channeling money to Hamas. While not explicitly endorsing Sharon's line that the PA is a "terrorist entity" and "irrelevant," the White House has given him the green light to move into the Occupied Territories with U.S.-supplied warplanes and tanks to root out "terrorists." Bush administration "soft cop" Colin Powell cautions that Arafat retains the "mantle of leadership" and the U.S. "will continue to work with him." But it is a measure of the current U.S. policy shift that the liberal *New York Times* (14 December) carried an editorial headlined "Looking Beyond Yasir Arafat."

Arafat's vow on Sunday to outlaw Hamas and other groups that continue the *Intifada* may have won him a bit of a lease on life. The U.S. might yet try to restrain Israel if Sharon carries out a bloodbath of Palestinians that provokes upheaval among the neighboring Arab masses and threatens to plunge the Near East into chaos. Even then, Israel's rulers have repeatedly demonstrated that they do not simply bow to Washington in pursuing their bloody ambitions for a "Greater Israel." The Israeli regime could well move to reimpose direct military occupation in Gaza and the West Bank or to formally annex broad swathes of territory including Zionist settlements and the network of "strategic highways" connecting them, leaving the Arab population to starve in ghettoized enclaves. Months before the current U.S.-led "war on terror," we warned in "Zionist Butchers Escalate War on Palestinians" (*WV* No. 760, 8 June):

"After eight months of Palestinian defiance and an escalating war of terror by the Israeli military and its 'settler' auxiliaries, the ultra-chauvinist Zionist rulers could well be moving toward a bloodbath of catastrophic proportions."

Powerful international protest, centered on the proletariat not only of the Near East but of the imperialist centers, in defense of the Palestinian people is urgently necessary. In France, large numbers of workers of North African origin are integrated into key sectors of industry. There is a significant component of Arab workers as well in the U.S. auto industry, many of whom are themselves threatened by the government's anti-immigrant witchhunt. Significantly, despite the growth of anti-immigrant and anti-Arab chauvinism fueled by the "war on terror," there is also considerable sympathy for the Palestinian cause among black people. **Defend the Palestinian people! Down with Zionist/PA repression of Palestinian opposition groups! All Israeli**



Israel's Ariel Sharon meets George Bush at White House, December 2, one day before ordering missile strikes against Palestinian Authority facilities in Gaza.



Reuters photos

troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories! Hands off Iraq—U.S. imperialism out of Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Near East!

From the Oslo "Peace" Accord to the New Intifada

The backdrop to the ominous situation now confronting the Palestinians lies in the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. Seeking to strengthen their own position vis-à-vis Western imperialism, the Kremlin Stalinists provided a certain amount of military, diplomatic and financial support to Arab bourgeois regimes and petty-bourgeois nationalist movements like the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Bereft of such Soviet support, in 1993 Arafat accepted the U.S.-brokered Oslo "peace" accord, which gave the PLO a few trappings of "sovereignty." But, as journalist David Hirst noted, "For the Israelis, security—theirs, not the Palestinians'—was the be-all and end-all of Oslo. His [Arafat's] job was to supply it on their behalf" (*Al-Ahram Weekly*, 13 December). Palestinian police, trained and overseen by the CIA and Israeli security forces, would carry out the day-to-day policing of the subjugated Palestinian masses while all Israeli settlements remained in place pending an indefinite "final status" agreement. This ignominious deal served to fuel the growth of the forces of Islamic reaction, centrally Hamas, in the West Bank and Gaza, as the PLO (especially Arafat's Fatah) became increasingly discredited.

Various Western reformists, notably the U.S. International Socialist Organization (ISO), enthuse over the growth of such Islamic "radicals." An article in the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (14 December) conspicuously fails to condemn the recent indiscriminate terror attacks in Haifa and Jerusalem carried out by Hamas; more generally, in recent years the ISO has glorified Islamic fundamentalism as an expression of "anti-imperialism."

In fact, Hamas is a vile group of anti-Semitic and anti-woman religious fanatics which originated as an offshoot of the Egyptian-based Muslim Brotherhood following the outbreak of the first Palestinian *Intifada* in the late 1980s. As the *London Times* (6 December) pointed out: "At the time Israeli intelligence saw the movement as a potential rival to Mr Arafat's Fatah group, the dominant faction in the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which was fomenting the first intifada. The Israelis encouraged Hamas and its small group of religious zealots."

In seeking to create an Islamic regime in the West Bank and Gaza, Hamas mirrors the fascistic religious Jewish reactionaries who strive for a fully fledged Old Testament theocracy in Israel and who have themselves perpetrated

repeated terrorist atrocities and pogroms against Palestinian Arabs. Indiscriminate terror against Israeli Jews, whether carried out by Islamic fundamentalists or secular Palestinian nationalists, mirrors on a small scale the genocidal logic of Zionism. In their own way, such outfits subscribe to the same basic position as Sharon: that all Jews, including schoolchildren or teenagers at a disco or shopping mall, are soldiers of the Zionist state.

Terror attacks against the Israeli population serve to strengthen the intense chauvinism which binds the Hebrew-speaking workers—including impoverished and oppressed Sephardic Jews—to their capitalist exploiters. Some Arab nationalists initially maintained that the attack on the World Trade Center was actually carried out by the Israelis in order to turn the outrage of the American people against the Arab/Islamic world. By the same logic, Hamas' attacks against Israeli civilians could just as well have been instigated by the Israeli Mossad secret police, for they serve the aims of the Zionist state. In the early '50s, the Mossad engineered synagogue bombings and other provocations in Near Eastern countries (e.g., Egypt) with the aim of scaring the Jewish populations there to migrate to Israel.

In now demanding that Arafat crack down on Hamas, American ruling circles point out that he did so effectively in 1996, when his police rounded up and imprisoned 300 Hamas leaders and cadre and dismantled much of its military network. But five years ago Arafat still had considerable credibility among the Palestinian masses, who maintained illusions in his strategy of relying on the good graces of American imperialism to bring about an independent Palestinian state.

But these illusions were rapidly evaporating, as conditions of life went from bad to worse. Withdrawal of Israeli troops from small parts of the Occupied Territories was accompanied by the construction of ever more checkpoints and fences, now augmented by trenches surrounding many villages. Along the border between Israel and the West Bank north of Tel Aviv, there is now a multiple barrier of razor wire, high-voltage fence and a ten-foot-high concrete wall that extends for more than a mile, blocking off the adjacent Palestinian town of Tulkarem. As Palestinian day laborers were increasingly denied entry to Israel, per capita income in the West Bank and Gaza plunged to half what it had been before 1993, and less than one-tenth that in Israel.

At the same time, the number of Zionist settlers doubled. East Jerusalem has been increasingly "cleansed" of Palestinians as Arab homes are razed while Jewish-only housing is vastly expanded, particularly in response to the demand that East Jerusalem become the capital of

a future Palestinian state. While many who live in the settlements are either new immigrants forced to move there by the government or attracted by artificially low housing costs, large numbers of those who are not fanatical Zionists have concluded that cheap housing isn't much good if you're dead and have left the settlements. The political core of the settler movement consists of armed fascistic religious zealots who act as auxiliaries to the military occupation forces and idolize the likes of Baruch Goldstein, the Brooklyn-born Zionist who slaughtered some 30 Palestinian worshippers in Hebron in 1994. The construction of new Jewish settlements is accompanied by the expulsion of the Palestinians who formerly lived on the land. Even more Palestinian land has been confiscated in order to build a network of fortified "bypass roads" which are open only to Jews and encircle those enclaves under nominal PA control. **We demand the removal of all anti-Arab fortifications in the Occupied Territories—the settlements and the apartheid highway network!**

These conditions finally exploded into a new *Intifada* last fall—sparked by Sharon's provocative "visit" with hundreds of cops to a Muslim holy site in Jerusalem in September 2000—which was initially led primarily by elements of Fatah in defiance of Arafat. As Arafat, under pressure from Washington, tried to suppress the uprising, he has lost what remained of his base of support. The latest opinion poll indicates that support for Islamist groups has risen to 30 percent while support for Fatah has fallen to 20 percent. Though many Palestinians have turned to Hamas because of its seeming intransigence against the Zionist occupation forces, there has nonetheless been a sharp rise in the influence of religious fundamentalism among the Palestinian people.

This, in turn, is mirrored by growing support among the Hebrew-speaking population for ultra-chauvinist and Jewish fundamentalist parties. Half of all Israelis surveyed in a recent poll support the "transfer"—i.e., forcible expulsion—of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to Arab countries, a position once espoused by only a tiny handful on the fascistic right. The growing rightism of Israeli politics also targets the more than a million Palestinian Arabs who are nominally citizens of Israel. Prominent Arab Israeli parliamentarian Azmi Bishara now awaits trial on treason charges after being stripped of parliamentary immunity because he made a speech in Syria calling for Palestinian resistance.

Faced with Sharon's onslaught and Washington's hostility, Arafat has again looked to the United Nations or the European Union (EU) to broker some kind of deal. The EU has simultaneously echoed the American line demanding that Arafat crack down on Palestinian opposition groups while arguing against any "attempts to weaken or discredit" the PA leader (*London Financial Times*, 15-16 December). Reflecting the more sympathetic posture of the EU imperialists toward the Palestinians, the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) issued a declaration denouncing "the bellicose logic in which the Sharon government has been engaged" and calling "for the setting up of an international force for peace and protection of the population" (*Rouge*, 13 December).

These fake leftists are simply lining up behind the particular imperialist ambitions of Washington's European rivals, who are competing for influence among the oil-rich Arab regimes of the Near East. Even were Israel or the U.S. to allow it to happen, any imperialist "peace-keeping" force, whether under the auspices of the EU or the UN, could only be oppressive to the Palestinian people. It was under a UN partition plan that the Zionist state was created in 1948, and it is through a UN-sponsored starvation blockade that over one and a half million Iraqis have died since 1991.

The only salvation for the Palestinian

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people lies through proletarian revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East. As revolutionary Marxists, we seek to smash the Zionist garrison state *from within*, through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution. Only through the overthrow of the Israeli bourgeoisie as well as the Arab ruling classes can the right of national self-determination of both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples and the many other peoples of the region be equitably realized. We have no illusions that it will be easy to shatter the intense anti-Arab chauvinism of the Hebrew-speaking working class. But it is the task of revolutionaries to utilize every opportunity, every strike, every action that pits the working class against the Zionist capitalist rulers to emphasize the necessity for joint struggle by the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers. In the course of such struggles will be forged the internationalist Trotskyist party which champions the national rights of the Palestinians as part of the fight to place the proletariat in power.

American Imperialism and the Demonization of the Islamic World

Early this month, the *Jerusalem Post* wrote: "The US is not in a diplomatic mode with respect to Islamism; it recognizes that it is at war and Islamism must be defeated. Accordingly, the Taliban were given an ultimatum to either give up Osama bin Laden or give up power. The Palestinian Authority must be given a similar ultimatum with respect to Hamas and Islamic Jihad." It is not only the rabidly Zionist *Jerusalem Post* that proclaims a war on Islamism. Bush administration spokesmen initially invoked the Christian Crusades to justify their "war on terrorism."

During the Cold War, American imperialism also utilized and mobilized the

prominent Cold War academic, provided a new ideology for American imperialism in the post-Soviet world. That world, he argued, still contained enemies of the American state, and, indeed, of Western civilization, but now they were based on deeply rooted national/religious cultures. Huntington's 1993 article "The Clash of Civilizations?", published in *Foreign Affairs*, became a kind of foreign policy manifesto for a significant section of the American bourgeois right, whose views are heavily represented in the Bush administration. The core of Huntington's position is:

"The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future."

For Huntington, the battle lines of the future would pit the United States of America, as the exemplar and champion of Western civilization, against Eastern Orthodox Russia, "Confucian" China and the Islamic states of the Near East.

Such views were espoused by a growing Christian right which had become increasingly influential in the Republican Party. The growth of a nativist, anti-woman Christian right in the U.S. is itself an expression of the rise of all manner of religious obscurantism internationally, especially following the demise of the USSR. The Christian fundamentalist right in the U.S. has become a staunch supporter of Israel as a representative of the "Judeo-Christian" tradition in the Near East.

Huntington arrogantly asserts that the peoples of the Islamic East are "convinced of the superiority of their culture, and obsessed with the inferiority of their



Nati Shohat

Over 100,000 Palestinian residents of Hebron are subjected to military repression while several hundred fascist Zionist settlers are given free rein to rampage.

of the West represented by its American "superpower."

In putting together a "grand coalition" for the war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda, Bush declared this was "not a war against Islam." The conservative London *Economist* (6 October) commented in this regard:

"America may have an even bigger problem in winning the propaganda war: those Americans, largely on the right, who think the country will indeed eventually have to wage war on Islam—or, at least, various chunks of the Muslim world. These voices say that you cannot defeat terror without confronting its backers in Iraq, Iran and to some extent Saudi Arabia and Syria."

For the moment Bush rejected those (including his deputy defense secretary Paul Wolfowitz) who wanted to wage

indefinite military occupation of Iraq.

A *New York Times* (26 November) editorial, "The Wrong Time to Fight Iraq," marshals the compelling military and political arguments against such a course. However, the American ruling class is *not* rational, and the anti-Iraq hawks could prevail. Indeed, such an editorial by the premier mouthpiece of the American bourgeoisie indicates that the imperialists are debating whether to invade Iraq today, and may do so tomorrow.

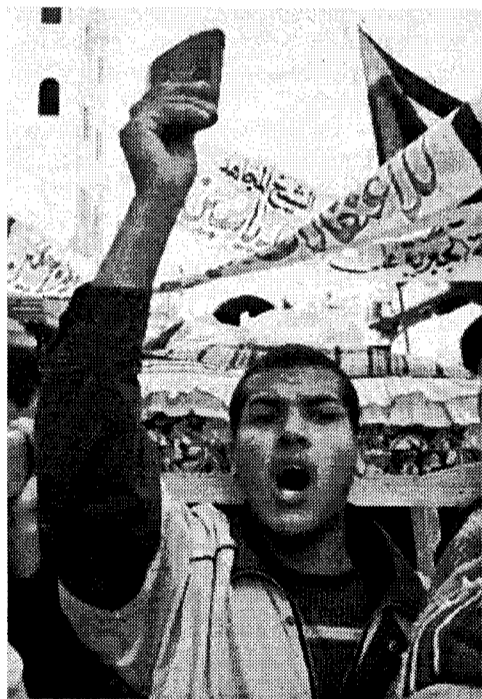
For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Since September 11, the Israeli rulers have pressed to extend Bush's "war on terrorism" to the destruction of the Palestinian national movement. However, that would have political repercussions in the Near East of a far greater magnitude than the destruction of the Taliban by the U.S. and its Northern Alliance henchmen.

The Taliban (which was basically a creation of the Pakistani military) turned out to have many more enemies than friends in the Islamic world. Indeed, the Shi'ite Islamic theocratic regime in Iran has been among the chief backers of the Northern Alliance against the Sunni Taliban. More generally, the fanatically reactionary and repressive nature of the Taliban regime deprived it of broad support in the Arab/Islamic world even in the face of direct U.S. imperialist attack.

But there is broad-based and deeply felt support for the oppressed Palestinian people among the masses of the Arab world and, indeed, among other oppressed peoples throughout the world. To translate the widespread sympathy for the Palestinians among the Arab masses into an effective struggle for their national liberation requires proletarian revolutions to overthrow the neocolonial capitalist regimes in the Near East—whether bourgeois-nationalist or Islamic traditionalist—which serve as the political agents of Wall Street, the City of London, Frankfurt, Paris and Tokyo. A workers revolution in one of the Arab countries, proclaiming the internationalist unity of all working people, would have an enormous impact on the political consciousness of the Hebrew-speaking workers in Israel.

The Near East is a region of deep, all-sided oppression—of women, of national, ethnic and religious minorities. At the same time, the last half century has seen the considerable growth of a proletariat in the urban centers and oil fields throughout the region. This industrial working class has the social power to lead the oppressed masses in struggle to overturn the capitalist order and open the road to socialism, which would necessarily entail extending the revolution to the imperialist centers of North America, West Europe and Japan. The key is forging a revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, on the model of the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky that led the multinational proletariat of the tsarist empire to power in the October Revolution of 1917. ■



AP

forces of Islamic reaction against the Communist parties and Soviet-backed nationalist movements and regimes in traditionally Muslim countries. The Saudi monarchy—the font of Islamic fundamentalism in the Near East—was and remains protected by the American military. Washington instigated the 1965 military coup by the Muslim generals in Indonesia in which half a million workers, leftists and others were massacred, effectively destroying the Indonesian Communist Party, then the largest in the world not holding state power. Bin Laden and his fellow "holy warriors" were originally the creatures of the CIA—using the Pakistani military and Saudi money—to fight the Soviet Army in Afghanistan in the 1980s.

However, the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 posed a certain public relations problem for the U.S. ruling class: how to motivate continued public support for the huge and even increasing Pentagon budget and imperialist military adventures in the absence of the Soviet "threat."

Harvard's Samuel P. Huntington, a



Getty Images

Hamas supporter in Gaza. Indiscriminate terror by Hamas against Israeli civilians, as in December 1 Jerusalem mall bombing, mirrors genocidal chauvinism of Zionist rulers.

power." In reality, American imperialism has sought to demonstrate its global superiority by military attacks against the neocolonial peoples of the Islamic East precisely because they are powerless to resist effectively. Bush Sr. proclaimed a "New World Order" for U.S. imperialism—as the Soviet Union neared collapse—while U.S. warplanes carpet-bombed Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War. And America's capitalist rulers have continued to vilify Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein as an enemy of the U.S. and, indeed, the world.

Saddam Hussein is not, in fact, an Islamic fundamentalist. He is an Arab bourgeois nationalist of the kind hated and despised by pan-Islamic fundamentalists like Osama bin Laden. The Ba'athist movement was originally formed by Christian as well as Muslim Arab nationalist intellectuals, and Iraq's foreign minister is likewise from a Christian Arab family. However, the ideologues of American imperialism have linked together Saddam Hussein and bin Laden, Hamas and the left-nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in order to demonize the Islamic East as an enemy

war then and there against half the states in the Near East. In effect, he said, first we'll destroy the Taliban and then we'll see. But then has become now.

As one Afghan city after another fell to the American-backed forces, members of the Bush gang began talking about getting rid of Saddam Hussein. In fact, significant elements of the American right have been harshly critical of Bush Sr. for allowing Saddam Hussein to remain in power after the U.S. forces routed the Iraqi army in the Gulf War. However, the factors arguing against an invasion of Iraq then are still operating today.

There is no armed oppositional group in Iraq (analogous to the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan) that could overthrow Saddam Hussein given sufficient U.S. air support. The U.S. army would have to go into Iraq in force. And what then? If the Americans just pulled out, Iraq would almost certainly descend into chaos and ethnic/religious warfare, destabilizing the entire oil-rich Persian Gulf region and perhaps toppling the increasingly fragile Saudi monarchy. Alternatively, to install and maintain a U.S. puppet regime in Baghdad would require a large-scale,

Archives...

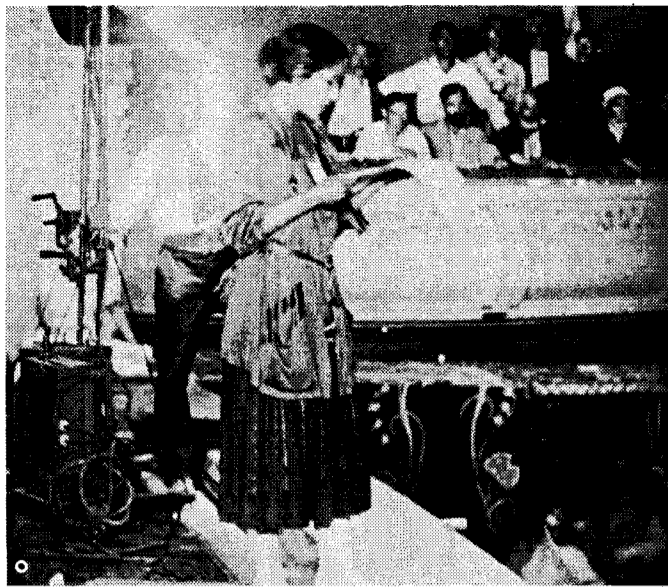
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and inestimable advantage and you must understand it. Although Marx himself could in his theory embrace the course of development of decades and centuries his teaching was then in the everyday struggle whittled down to its separate elements and in parts absorbed moreover in a distorted form. Lenin came along, gathered Marxism together once again and in the new conditions showed this teaching in the action of the greatest historical scale. You have seen this action and you have attached yourselves to it: this places you under an obligation and upon this obligation the Communist University for Toilers of the East has been built.

That is why, comrades, I think that the danger of a national-democratic degeneration which of course exists and which will seize and carry off some people for it cannot be otherwise, that this danger is greatly reduced by the very fact of the existence of the Soviet Union and of the Third International. There is every ground for hoping that the basic nucleus which will emerge from the Communist University for Toilers of the East will occupy its due place as a class leaven, a Marxist leaven and a Leninist leaven to the proletarian movement in the lands of the East. The demand for you, comrades, appears gigantic and it manifests itself, as I have already said, not gradually but all at once, also in its own way "catastrophically." Read over one of Lenin's last articles "Better less but better": seemingly it is devoted to a specific organizational question but it at the same time embraces the perspectives for the development of the countries of the East in connection with the development of Europe. What is the main idea behind the article? The fundamental idea is that the development of the revolution in the West may be held up. How can it be held up? By MacDonaldism, for the most conservative force in Europe is in fact MacDonaldism. We can see how Turkey abolished the Caliphate and MacDonald resurrects it. Is this not a striking example which sharply contrasts in deed the counter-revolutionary Menshevism of the West to the progressive national-bourgeois democracy of the East?

Taking place at present in Afghanistan are truly dramatic events: MacDonald's Britain is toppling the left national bourgeois wing which is striving to Europeanize independent Afghanistan and is attempting there to restore to power the darkest and most reactionary elements imbued with the worst prejudices of pan-Islamism, the Caliphate and so forth. If you weigh up these two forces in their living conflict, it will at once become clear why the East will more and more gravitate towards us, the Soviet Union and the Third International.

We can see how Europe, which through its past development preserved the monstrous conservatism of the bosses of the working class, is more and more undergoing economic disintegration. There is no way out for her. And this finds an expression in particular in the fact that America does not give her loans, rightly not trusting her economic viability. On the other hand we can see too that the same America and the same Britain are compelled to finance the economic development of the colonial countries thereby driving them along the path of revolution at a frantic rate. And if Europe is to be kept back amid the present state of putrefaction of the numskulled, parochial, aristocratic, privileged MacDonaldism of the labour bosses then the centre of gravity of the revolutionary movement is being transferred wholly and entirely to the East. And then it will emerge that although a number of decades of Britain's capitalist development was necessary to act as a revolutionizing factor to raise up our old Russia and our old East on to their feet then it will now be necessary for the revolution in the East to come back to Britain to smash through or, if necessary, smash up some thick skulls and give an



Humber-Droz Archives

Turkish delegate Najiya Hanum addressing 1920 Baku Congress with program for the liberation of women of the East.

impulse to the revolution of the European proletariat [applause]. This is *one* of the historical possibilities. It must be kept in one's mind's eye.

I read in the documents you delivered to me about the gigantic impression a student from your university, a Turkish girl, created in Kazan where the women, some old and illiterate, gathered around her. A small episode it is but it does as an indicator have a profound historical meaning. The sense, the strength and the essence of Bolshevism lies in that it addresses itself not to the labour bosses but to the mob, the underdogs, the millions and to the most oppressed of the oppressed.

That is why it is not through its theoretical content, which is still far from assimilated, or fully thought out, but through its liberating breath of life that it has become the favourite teaching for the countries of the East. It is in your paper that we read ever fresh confirmations of the fact that Lenin is well known not only in the saklias of the Caucasus but in the depths of India too. We know that in China, toiling people, who have probably never in their life read a single one of Lenin's articles, ardently gravitate towards Bolshevism for such is the might of history's breath! They have sensed that here is a teaching which is addressed to the pariahs, the oppressed, the downtrodden, the millions and to the tens and hundreds of millions for whom there lies otherwise no historical solution for whom there is otherwise no salvation. And there is the reason why Leninism encounters such a fervent response in the hearts of toiling women—because there is no more oppressed layer on earth than the toiling woman! When I read how the student from your university spoke in Kazan and how the illiterate Tartar women gathered around her, I recalled my recent brief stay in Baku where for the first time I saw and heard a Turkic girl communist and where I could observe in the hall several tens and possibly hundreds of Turkic girl communists and saw and heard their enthusiasm, this passion of yesterday's slave of slaves who has heard the new words of liberation and has awoken to a new life, and where for the first time I came to a quite clear conclusion and told myself that in the movement of the peoples of the East woman will play a greater role than in Europe and here [applause]. Why? Just precisely because Eastern woman is incomparably more fettered, crushed and befuddled by prejudices than is the Eastern man and because new economic relations and new historical currents will tear her out of the old motionless relations with even greater force and abruptness than they will man. Even today we can still observe in the East the rule of Islam, of the old prejudices, beliefs and customs but these will more and more turn to dust and ashes. Just as a rotting piece of cloth, when you look at it from a distance, it seems to be all of a piece, all the pattern is there and all the folds remain but a movement of the hand or a puff of wind is enough for the whole cloth to turn to dust. And so in the East the old beliefs which appear to be so deep are actually but a shadow of the past: in Turkey they abolished the caliphate and not a single hair fell out of the heads of those who violated the caliphate; this means that the

old beliefs have rotted and that with the coming historical movement of the toiling masses the old beliefs will not present a serious obstacle. And this, moreover, means that the Eastern woman who is the most paralysed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, that she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress; she will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas, a new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the revolution and for the ideas of communism than the awakened woman worker [applause].

Comrades, this is why your University has a universally historic importance. By making use of the ideological and political experience of the West it is preparing a great revolutionary leaven for the East. Your hour will soon strike. Finance capital of Britain and America is smashing the economic foundations of the East, throwing one layer of society against another, cracking the old and giving birth to a demand for the new. You will appear as sowers of the seeds of the ideas of communism and the revolutionary productivity of your work will be immeasurably higher than the productivity of the work of the old Marxist generations of Europe.

But, comrades, I would not like you to draw conclusions in the vein of some sort of Eastern arrogance from what I have said [laughter]. I can see that none of you here has taken me in this way.... For if anyone of you were to be steeped in such a Messianistic arrogance and disdain for the West then from there it would be the shortest and quickest move to dissolving yourself in nationalist democratic ideology. No, the revolutionary communists of the East at their University must learn to study the world movement East and the West from the standpoint of one single great in its whole by juxtaposing and connecting the forces of the objective. You

must know how to couple together the uprising of the Indus peasants, the strike of coolies in the port of China, the political propaganda of Kuomintang bourgeois democracy, the struggle of the Koreans for independence, the bourgeois-democratic rebirth of Turkey and the economic and cultural and educational work in the Soviet republic of Transcaucasia; you must know how, both ideologically and practically, to link all this with the work and struggle of the Communist International in Europe and in particular in Britain where the mole of British communism is slowly—more slowly than many of us would like—burrowing under MacDonald's conservative bastion [applause]. Your third anniversary is of course in itself a very modest anniversary. Many of you are merely on the threshold of Marxism. But your advantage over the older generation lies, I repeat, in the fact that you are studying the ABC of Marxism not inside émigré circles divorced from life in countries ruled by capitalism as was the case with us but upon soil conquered by Leninism, upon soil nurtured with Leninism and upon soil enveloped in the ideological atmosphere of Leninism. You are not only studying Marxism from pamphlets but you have the opportunity to inhale it in the political atmosphere of this country. This applies not only to those who have arrived here from the Eastern republics which constitute part of the Soviet Union but applies too to those—whose importance is of course in no way less!—who have made their appearance here from the oppressed colonial countries. Whether the final year of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism will unfold in one, two, three or five years' time we do not know; but we do know that each year will produce a new crop from the Communist University of the East. Each year will provide a new nucleus of communists who know the ABC of Leninism and who have seen how this ABC is applied in practice. If one year passes by before the decisive events then we will have one crop; if two years pass by then we will have two; if three years pass we will have three crops. And at the moment of these decisive events the students of the Communist University for Toilers of the East will say: "We are here. We have learnt one thing. We know not only how to translate the ideas of Marxism and Leninism into the language of China, India, Turkey and Korea; but we have also learnt how to translate the sufferings, passions, demands and the hopes of the toiling masses of the East into the language of Marxism."

"Who has taught you that?" they will be asked.

"The Communist University for Toilers of the East taught us that." And then they will say what I shall say to you now on the day of your third anniversary:

"Glory, glory and glory to the Communist University of the East" [noisy ovation and the Internationale]. ■

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