

## Overthrow the Imperialist Butchers— For Global Workers Rule!

# Blood and Bullets in Genoa

The following article is based on eyewitness reports by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I).

MILANO, July 30—As the imperialist rulers met in palatial surroundings at the Group of 8 (G-8) summit in Genoa (Genova), the rest of the city was subjected to one of the biggest “security” buildups in Italy since the downfall of Mussolini’s fascist regime and the end of World War II. Cops killed at least one young protester in cold blood on July 20 and carried out repeated rampages against thousands of others. On Saturday, July 21, after the “anti-globalization” demonstrations in Genoa had come to an end, the police staged Gestapo-style raids in the dead of night against a number of protest headquarters, including the Genoa Social Forum (GSF), smashing into sleeping protesters with their nightsticks and leaving the floors and walls spattered with blood.

At least 49 people remain under arrest. Hundreds more were tortured by cops screaming fascist slogans, while for days political police prowled the hospitals looking to round up those who were injured. Initial reports of a second demonstrator, a young woman, killed by the cops have been utterly buried by the bourgeois media. But with dozens still reported as “missing,” there is no way of knowing how many protesters may actually be dead. *Il Manifesto* (25 July) reported that a doctor had told Rifondazione Comunista (RC) parliamentarians that a young woman named Lisa had been killed. It also reported that a protester in Alessandria Prison “had seen a woman being shot in the throat with a tear gas canister, fall down and get hit by a police jeep,” adding that he was “sure she was dead.” A subsequent article reported that 18 of the “disappeared” might still be held in police barracks because “evidence of beatings on their bodies was too serious and too visible” to let them be seen in public (*Il Manifesto*, 28 July).

The outrage provoked by the massive police repression in Genoa has created a sharp polarization within Italian society. The day after the killing of 23-year-old protester Carlo Giuliani, the son of an official in the CGIL trade-union federation, a demonstration expected by organizers to bring out 100,000 drew as many as three times that number, as workers took to the streets in outrage when they heard the news. In the days that followed, cities and towns throughout Italy were rocked by spontaneous outpourings against state repression and the



Riot cops in Genoa charge past body of Carlo Giuliani, July 20. Killing sparked mass protests, including 30,000 in Rome (below) on July 24.



right-wing government of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi.

But the reformist leaders of the working class—the Democratic Left (DS) of Massimo D’Alema, Fausto Bertinotti’s RC and the trade-union bureaucracy—aimed their fire not at the uniformed killers of the capitalist state but at anarchist protesters in the so-called “Black Block.” DS withdrew its support for the Saturday demonstration, while Bertinotti solidarized with the “forces of order” and complained that the police had not stopped the “troublemakers” and “anarcho-insurrectionists.”

Our leaflet “Berlusconi and the G-8: Imperialist Butchers!”—produced through the night under conditions of a state of siege—was the first statement to be issued in response to the killing. Our call for massive protest strikes against the deadly police rampage went down well with the many members of the FIOM metal workers union who joined in the

Saturday demonstration and with marchers in the syndicalist-influenced COBAS union contingents. “When is the strike?” one FIOM worker asked. Another said that we’re absolutely right in saying that the bullets that struck down Carlo Giuliani were directed against the working class. Workers listened attentively as one of our comrades leafletting the union contingents soapboxed, “What will we have after Berlusconi? This struggle must not end in another five years of capitalist popular-front government. We should

fight for workers power and for socialist revolution!”

### Genoa Draws a Blood Line

The massive and murderous police repression in Genoa was on a level usually seen in the suppression of working-class upheavals or popular insurgencies in the neocolonial “Third World.” Yet here it was directed at a protest movement which does not in any immediate and direct way threaten the material interests of the Western imperialist bourgeoisies. Behind the bloody crackdown on the streets and the hysterical uproar over “anarchist hooligans” lies the climate created by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe. Drunk with glee over the “death of communism,” the capitalists and their social-democratic lap dogs imagined that there would no longer be left-wing tendencies that rejected the ultimate authority of bourgeois parliamentary rule.

The re-emergence of anarchism as a militant and growing current among young radicals was an unexpected as well as repellent development for West European ruling circles, especially for the social democrats, who regarded their political/ideological victory over Communism as final and irrevocable. In their eyes, the very existence of a militant anarchist movement is a crime against the natural (i.e., bourgeois) order. Internationally, the most blood-thirsty defense of the repression in Genoa came from social-democratic rulers like British Labour prime minister Tony Blair. Echoing the imperialist butchers were the reformist organizers of the mainstream “anti-globalization” protests, who denounced the cops for not being hard enough against “violent” protesters or smeared the anarchist youth as “provocateurs.”

In the wake of Genoa, there is now a clear left-right division—written in blood—within the “anti-globalization” movement. That division is not primarily over protest tactics, or “violence” versus “nonviolence.” Rather, at root what is at issue is the question of the “democratic” legitimacy of the existing parliamentary capitalist governments. On that question, we stand with the anarchists against the left social democrats, including those who occasionally masquerade as Marxists or Trotskyists. Having capitulated to their own bourgeoisies from the Cold War

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### Falun Gong: Force for Counterrevolution in China

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# Israel Shahak Opponent of Zionist Repression

Israel Shahak died on July 2 from complications caused by diabetes. He was 68 years old. Shahak was a courageous opponent of the semi-theocratic Zionist state and its bloody repression of the Palestinian people, a declared enemy of racism, chauvinism and injustice wherever he found it. His scathing exposures of the Nazi-like persecution meted out by the Israeli state, forged through the dismemberment of the Palestinian people, were informed not only by his perceptive and thorough knowledge of Zionist history and current affairs but by his own experience as a survivor of the Nazi Holocaust. A scientist by profession, he was an acidly analytical and richly informed opponent of religious fanaticism and obscurantism, especially Jewish fundamentalism.

Shahak excoriated secular cant and hypocrisy as well, especially that of the so-called Zionist "left" as embodied in the thoroughly bourgeois "Labor" Party. His was a rare voice against the seeming chauvinist consensus among Israel's Hebrew-speaking population. Though not

a Marxist, he stood head and shoulders above those fake leftists who capitulate to the pretensions of "Laborite" Zionism or the Zionist "peace camp" exemplified by Meretz. He denounced the U.S.-brokered 1993 sham "autonomy" agreement between Labor prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir Arafat, hailed by such groups as a step toward peace. In a typical statement in a May 1995 article attacking the 1993 accord, he wrote that "Labor's version of Jewish racism has always been much more hypocritical and hence more dangerous than Likud's." Regarding Arafat, Shahak pointedly titled one of his articles following the accord, "Oslo Agreement Makes PLO Israel's Enforcer."

Born in Warsaw in 1933, seven years later Israel Shahak and his family were among those Polish Jews consigned to the hell of the Warsaw Ghetto. With the Nazi suppression of the heroic Warsaw Ghetto uprising and the razing of the ghetto in the spring of 1943, he and his parents were transported to the Poniatowo concentration camp.

His father would die in the Holocaust. Israel and his mother managed to escape and bribe their way onto a register for Jewish citizens of foreign countries, but were soon re-arrested and sent to a compound for foreign nationals in the Bergen-Belsen extermination camp. Though not himself subject to the "selection" process that led to the gas chambers, the young Shahak watched the heaps of naked corpses being dragged daily to the crematorium.

Liberated from the horrors of Hitler's Third Reich, Shahak and his mother immigrated to Palestine, then still under British rule, in 1945, three years before the creation of the Zionist state. After completing his studies, Shahak went on to become a renowned and popular professor of organic chemistry at Jerusalem's Hebrew University, where he taught for 25 years before he was compelled by illness to retire in 1990. But when Israel seized the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, as Shahak later put it, "I ceased being just a scientist and became a political being."

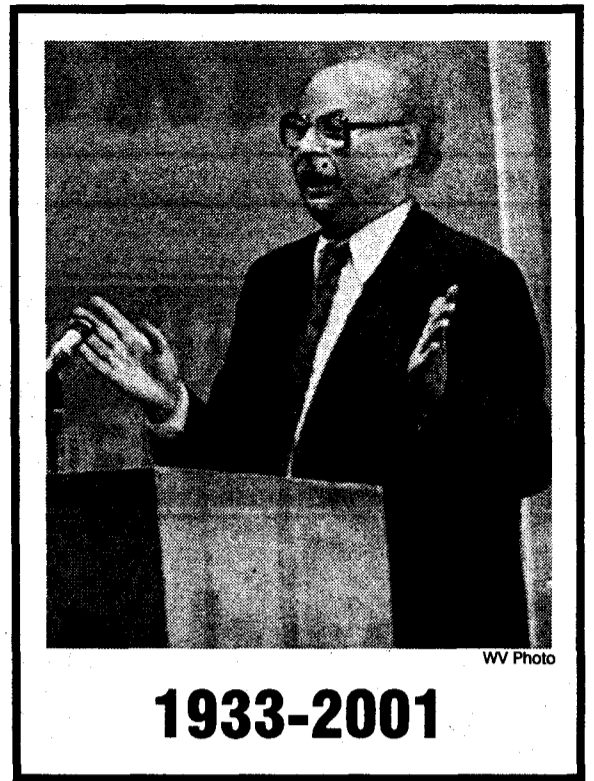
Though raised in a Zionist family, Shahak had been critical of Israel's expansionist policies at least from the time of the 1956 invasion of the Sinai peninsula, carried out in league with the British and French imperialist attack on Egypt. But the conquest of the Occupied Territories, which led immediately to the razing of Palestinian homes and the construction of fortified Zionist "settlements," turned him into an active opponent of Zionism. In 1968, he became head of the Council Against House Destruction, one of the first organizations to oppose the Israeli occupation. Two years later, he was elected chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, which had been founded in 1937 by Arabs and Jews to support a prisoners hunger strike against the British colonial administration.

In the years that followed, Shahak prodigiously documented and indicted the Zionist rulers' genocidal drive for a "Greater Israel" over the living body of the Palestinian nation and their support to reactionary regimes around the world, including through such books as *Israel's Global Role: Weapons for Repression* (1982), *Open Secrets: Israeli Nuclear and Foreign Policy* (1997) and *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel* (1999). He also compiled monthly mailings of key articles from the Israeli press that he translated and circulated to opponents of Zionist repression around the world until he became too ill to continue several years ago.

Beginning in 1977, *Workers Vanguard* also had the benefit of direct correspondence and interviews with Shahak. One of these, under the headline "Israel Shahak: I Accuse!" (WV No. 314, 1 October 1982), was published immediately after Ariel Sharon, then head of the Israeli army and now prime minister, orchestrated the infamous September 1982 pogrom of over 2,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. Shahak compared the death squads recruited by Israel from the Lebanese fascist Phalange with those, like the Croatian Ustashi, recruited by Hitler from indigenous fascist forces in the occupied Baltic republics, the Ukraine and East Europe:

"As I can testify, those forces were fully armed and their special units had a very important role in the extermination of Jews (and of course in the extermination of other peoples), and were much more horrible and much crueler than even the SS."

Shahak denounced as "presumptuous



TROTSKY

## Origins of Chinese Communism

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) marked the 80th anniversary of its founding congress in July by inviting capitalists into the party. Today, the CCP is an instrument of the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, key elements of which are openly pushing for the restoration of capitalism. Revolutionary-minded Chinese workers and intellectuals should look for inspiration to the early CCP, which was based on the revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist program of



LENIN

Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International. This was evident in a November 1920 draft manifesto which helped cohere the founding cadre of Chinese Communism.

The goal of Communists is to create a new society in accordance with communist ideals. In order to make the realization of our ideal society feasible, the first step is the elimination of the present capitalist system. The elimination of the capitalist system requires strong power to defeat the capitalist countries. The power of the laboring masses—the proletariat—is growing stronger and is becoming more concentrated. This is precisely the result of class conflicts within capitalist countries. The form that this power takes is class struggle....

The CP is to guide the revolutionary proletariat to fight against capitalists and to seize political power from them. This power is used to maintain the capitalist system. Instead, power will be placed in the hands of workers and peasants, just as the Russian CP did in 1917....

The dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia only demonstrates that in one part of the world victory has been achieved in the struggle between the proletariat and capitalist. It would be a major mistake to believe that a single communist state can be established within the boundary of Russia at a time when the proletariat in other countries is still struggling against capitalism and has yet to achieve victory. Since the Russian proletariat cannot immediately establish a communist state, and since capitalism has already been overthrown, the proletariat has to defend itself against enemies within the country and without. This is obvious. Therefore only through the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat can the enemies within the country and without be successfully resisted. That is to say, the power of one class is used to create communist society. Furthermore this class will make the society of the future. The fulfillment of this task is ordained by history.

—"The Manifesto of the CCP," November 1920; reprinted in *The Rise to Power of the Chinese Communist Party: Documents and Analysis* (1996)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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and racist" those who sought to exploit the Nazi Holocaust in order to amnesty Zionist terror against the Palestinians and to brand all gentiles with "collective guilt." He was wont to observe that, like many other Polish Jews, he and his mother were hidden by a Catholic family after their escape from Poniatowo concentration camp, while the Jewish ghetto police were no less guilty of collaboration with the Nazi extermination machine than were Polish anti-Semites.

Shahak endorsed a number of labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee to stop Nazi/KKK provocations in the U.S. His voice was particularly important in countering attempts to sabotage these mobilizations by American Zionist organizations like the misnamed Anti-Defamation League, who seem to think of the Nazis as a lesser evil than black militants and reds. This never surprised Shahak, who observed that the American Zionists backed the most fanatical, racist and militaristic policies of the Israeli Zionists. For exposing Israel's sinister ambitions for a "Greater Israel" and its role as a regional gendarme for U.S. imperialism, he earned the hatred not only of the Israeli ruling class but of the American Zionist establishment.

Characteristically, one of his last acts was to write a letter to *Ha'aretz*, Israel's leading bourgeois daily, protesting the introduction of the religious dogma that the universe is but 6,000 years old into a school physics exam. Shahak embodied many virtues of the Enlightenment and in that tradition was truly "a citizen of the world."

Israel Shahak was a humanist, "an old-fashioned liberal," in the words of an obituary in the *London Guardian* (6 July). Naturally, we had a range of political differences with him, including when he argued that the presence of imperialist "peacekeeping" forces in Lebanon would have prevented the Sabra/Shatila massacre. But his love of a good argument was an essential ingredient in his willingness and ability to stand up to the stultifying climate of hysterical chauvinism and fanatical obscurantism that dominates Israeli society. The hellish fires of the Warsaw Ghetto and Bergen-Belsen might have left little more than an infirm, burnt-out shell. But in the case of Israel Shahak (and not him alone, though these are exceptional people), they forged a character that drew its sustenance from resistance. They fought not simply to live, but hung on to life in order to defy. ■

## NOTICE

*Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.

Our next issue will be dated August 31.

WORKERS VANGUARD



## British Elections

# Blair Victory Means Racist Rampage, War on Unions

The following article is reprinted from Workers Hammer No. 177 (Summer 2001), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.

### WORKERS HAMMER

The 7 June general election returned Prime Minister Tony Blair's New Labour to office with their huge parliamentary majority intact. But they are hated by millions of workers, youth and minorities. For most of the population the election was mind-numbingly boring; the outcome was a foregone conclusion and both Labour and Tories promised the same thing. Not surprisingly, the turnout was the lowest since 1918. We gave critical support to Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP) who ran against Blair's anti-working-class New Labour and we used the opportunity to engage SLP members and others with our Marxist programme for international workers revolution. Our campaign found a resonance among workers and youth who were often horrified to learn that Socialist Alliance's "anti-Labour" campaign was subordinate to getting Labour elected.

For four years Labour has been waging unremitting attacks on the poor and the oppressed. Their record includes: privatisations, hundreds of thousands of job losses; a bigoted witch hunt against "sex offenders" and a huge assault on civil liberties. They eagerly participated in the bombing of Serbia in 1999; now they plan to send additional troops to the Balkans and to Northern Ireland. We say: British troops out now!

The bourgeois political establishment and media were near unanimous in support of Blair's re-election, saluting the job he has done so far. The deeply-divided Tories ran almost exclusively on xenophobia and were trounced at the polls. Labour matched the Tories, both in racist policies and demagogy. This culminated in a huge escalation of racist terror and an ominously high level of electoral support for the fascist British National Party (BNP). In Oldham they polled 11,643 votes—almost 16 per cent—and got significant support in nearby Burnley. Asian areas in both towns have suffered fascist provocations and police occupation. We issued a leaflet calling for mobilising the social power of the working class to defend the Asian community in Oldham. We call for trade union/minority mobilisations to stop fascist provocations and fight for full citizenship rights for all



Cops in Bradford attack Asian youth who defended their community against fascists in July. Below: Amid widespread economic devastation, Northumberland coal miners face imminent layoffs.



immigrants as part of the fight for workers revolution.

Unemployment levels in these and other former industrial towns in northern England are phenomenal, which makes them a breeding ground for fascism. Britain is increasingly divided along ethnic lines as well as geographically. The north/south divide—the bloated City of London and southeast versus Scotland, Wales and the north of England—has been exacerbated by economic destruction and anti-working-class attacks begun by Thatcher and pursued by Blair.

Today's Asian youth are the descendants of immigrants recruited during labour shortages but when the capitalists shut the factories and can no longer make

profit from these workers they are dumped on the scrapheap and subjected to racist terror. The multiethnic workers movement must take up the fight against racist terror, linked to a struggle for jobs for all through a shorter working week with no loss in pay, under a leadership that fights for what we need, not what capitalism can afford.

In Northern Ireland the election results showed a growing communalist polarisation. David Trimble's Ulster Unionists lost to Ian Paisley's more hardline Democratic Unionists, while among Catholics Sinn Fein gained at the expense of the "moderate" Social Democratic and Labour Party. A wave of Loyalist attacks on Catholic school children in Belfast broke out in June. This prefigures the annual violent onslaught against Catholics during the Orange "marching season." From the outset, we have opposed the "peace" fraud and warned that any imperialist deal would necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority and contrary to the interests of working-class Protestants. We call for British troops out of Northern Ireland now and fight for workers revolution on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea.

#### For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

New Labour is despised by workers and minorities but many simply do not see an alternative. We said loud and clear:

"No vote to Labour: imperialist butchers!" and "No vote to Socialist Alliance, lackeys of Labour!" Ditto for their partners in the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP). The SA/SSP did *not* oppose the election of Labour. On the contrary, in the vast majority of constituencies there was no SA candidate and in these areas the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) said vote Labour. Their line was: "Vote Socialist where you can, vote Labour where you must" (*International Socialism*, Spring 2001).

We were pleased to give critical support to the SLP. Unlike the wretched Socialist Alliance, the SLP opposed voting for Labour and ran against Labour "lefts" such as Jeremy Corbyn and against Socialist Alliance. We seek to break the working class from Labourism and to win them to our revolutionary programme. As the Spartacist League/Britain statement of 14 May said:

"The key question is what kind of party and programme does the working class need to represent its interests and those of all the oppressed—minorities, women, gays and youth—in the struggle against capitalism. We seek to build a party which is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist, modelled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the great October Revolution of 1917.

"The SLP, which raises many supportable demands, at bottom is nothing but a party of nostalgia: 'Clause IV socialists' looking to a Labourite past, not a socialist future."

Exemplifying our critical support to the SLP, on 19 May we issued a supplementary statement saying no vote to one SLP candidate—Gordon Potts—who is a probation officer and thus part of the capitalist state's apparatus of repression.

Labour are so right wing that bourgeois nationalist parties such as the Scottish National Party (SNP) and Plaid Cymru in Wales, as well as the Liberal Democrats, are able to pose as a "left" alternative—the latter just won the seat formerly held by Labour "left" Tony Benn. The SA and SSP go with the flow of national chauvinism on each terrain: the SA is a convergence of Labourite organisations based in England, dominated by the SWP and incorporating Workers Power, the Alliance for Workers Liberty and *Socialist Outlook*. The SSP is an equally reformist party created by Scottish Militant Labour who until the early 1990s were part of the English-chauvinist Labour Party but today tail the SNP. The Socialist Alliance demonstrated their fealty to British imperialism by consciously removing the call for British troops out of Northern Ireland from their election leaflets and from their Web site. Dave Nellist, SA chairman and leading light in Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party (SP), pointedly refused to call for it at the press conference which launched the SA's campaign. This is not new—the SP (like the SWP and AWL) never call for British troops out of Northern Ireland.

Laying bare their parliamentary reformist framework, the Socialist Alliance responded to the racist terror in Oldham with the slogan: "Don't vote Nazi." They chose not to stand in Oldham, so this meant vote Labour. This is gross. Fascists are genocidal race-terrorists whose "policies" are the firebomb and the lynch

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UNISON public service workers protest Labour government cuts, privatization schemes.

**Spartacist League Said: Vote SLP—Against New Labour and Socialist Alliance**

# Defend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution!

## Falun Gong: Force for Counterrevolution in China

This March, Senator Jesse Helms hosted the annual Heritage Foundation "International Religious Freedom Award" in a Foreign Relations Committee hearing room. This racist bible-thumper was not honoring some Christian fundamentalist, as might be expected, but a Chinese man named Li Hongzhi, founder of the bizarre mystical group Falun Gong. American politicians, both Democrats and Republicans, have championed this reactionary outfit ever since it was banned by the Chinese government in July 1999. Clinton's secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, denounced the suppression of Falun Gong in the United Nations Human Rights Commission and George W. Bush's State Department has imperiously lectured Beijing to respect "freedom of religion, freedom of belief and freedom of conscience."

Claiming roots in Buddhism and Daoism, Li preaches that miracles of health can be attained by following his brand of *qigong* exercises and adhering to "moral" precepts larded with the vilest racist, anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry. The sinister nature of Falun Gong jumps out from the swastika prominently displayed on its Web site. His supporters try to dismiss it as simply an ancient Buddhist symbol, but Li's racist notions are certainly not far removed from Nazi ideology. He denounces interracial marriage as degenerate and has no place in his "heaven" for "a person of mixed blood," envisioning a segregationist paradise with separate worlds for "white people," "yellow people," etc. No wonder Jesse Helms likes this bunch!

High on the list of evils denounced in Li's book *Zhuan Falun* (Turning the Wheel of Law) are "homosexuality, sexual freedom, and drug abuse." Lashing out at abortion as "killing," in a March 1997 lecture Li also attacked "advocacy for women's liberation" as a sign of "degeneration." And he's not talking just about the contemporary movement for women's equality. Li wants to go right back to the days when "men knew how to treat their wives," ridiculing the "notion" that "women were oppressed in ancient times," when Chinese women were subjected to the barbaric practice of foot-binding and were so degraded that they generally did not even have names.

While Li claims that his movement is not political, early last year his followers tried to hang a giant portrait of their "master" over the painting of Mao Zedong, founder of the People's Republic of China, that overlooks Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Two months later, in

the midst of almost daily Falun Gong demonstrations in Beijing, the *Wall Street Journal* (20 April 2000) salivated over how "Falun Gong faithful have mustered what is arguably the most sustained challenge to authority in 50 years of Communist rule."

As this imperialist mouthpiece makes clear, Falun Gong is the latest weapon in the American bourgeoisie's crusade to

reforms" have encouraged the growth of new millionaires entwined with the bureaucratic "princelings" while attacking previously guaranteed jobs, health care and other social benefits, driving the masses of workers and peasants into anger and despair. This has led to massive labor struggles on the one hand and created a following for the sinister Falun Gong on the other. The growth of the

sponsored *Solidarność* counterrevolutionaries in Pope Wojtyla's native Poland.

In Vietnam, following the defeat of French colonialism in 1954, the CIA and Vatican hatched the "Virgin Goes South" campaign aimed at weakening the North Vietnamese deformed workers state by promoting the exodus of almost one million Catholics to the capitalist South ruled by the brutal Ngo Din Diem regime,



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

**Racist Senator Jesse Helms, patron of sinister Falun Gong. Anti-Communist Falun Gong rally on Capitol Hill, July 19.**



AP

overturn the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which ripped China out of the clutches of imperialist exploitation and drove out the Chinese bourgeoisie. The victory of Mao's peasant-based guerrilla forces resulted in a workers state which, despite its bureaucratic deformation under the rule of the Stalinist Chinese Communist Party (CCP), created a planned, collectivized economy that led to massive gains for the workers and peasants, especially women. Ever since, the imperialists have sought to reconquer China, repeatedly threatening nuclear attack, massively arming capitalist Taiwan as a bastion for counterrevolution and supporting pro-imperialist forces on the mainland.

From the standpoint of unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state, the International Communist League opposes Falun Gong as a counterrevolutionary menace. Needless to say, to root out such reactionary forces we do *not* look to the venal bureaucracy, which has no moral authority to combat religious reaction and pro-imperialist "dissidents." The CCP regime's "market

forces of counterrevolution underscores the burning need for forging a Leninist-Trotskyist party to sweep out the Stalinist bureaucracy and defend and extend the gains of the Chinese Revolution.

### Li Hongzhi: Bigot and Hustler

Falun Gong is but the latest in a long line of religious movements used by the imperialists as battering rams for capitalist counterrevolution. In 1950, Cold Warrior John Foster Dulles proclaimed: "The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us." Since 1959, the CIA has sponsored the Dalai Lama's "Free Tibet" movement, which harks back to a Tibet of rampant slavery (sexual and otherwise), nonexistent medical care and an illiterate population. In the early 1980s, Washington (joined by Beijing) funded the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* cutthroats fighting the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, as well as the Vatican-

which included the infamous Catholic zealot Madame Nhu. More recently in China, the Vatican has provocatively canonized 120 Catholics, many of whom died fighting for the imperialists during the Opium Wars and the Boxer Rebellion. Meanwhile, the Bush administration, rife with right-wing Christian bigots, has denounced Beijing's moves to suppress underground Protestant "house churches."

Imperialist propagandists point to the growth of religious movements in China to argue that the CCP regime faces a new version of the revolts which shook the Qing Dynasty: the Taiping Rebellion of the mid-19th century and the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Such comparisons are utterly false. While the Taiping leaders embraced Christianity, their revolt was based on an egalitarian program—including giving land to all peasants and special measures to liberate women—and was aimed against a decrepit imperial state in thrall to and militarily propped up by the West. And while the Boxers believed that *qigong* would protect them from bullets, their fire was directed against the imperialists who were plundering China. In contrast, Falun Gong is a tool of the imperialists.

But when Li Hongzhi got his start as a snake-oil salesman in the early 1990s, it was with the support of the Beijing bureaucracy. As Peter Carlson noted in the *Washington Post* (27 February 2000), "The post-Mao government had lifted restrictions on religion and encouraged entrepreneurship.... Scores of self-proclaimed *qigong* masters competed for followers, frequently touting their mystical healing powers." Based in the northeastern city of Changchun, Jilin province—a center of state-owned mining and machine production hard hit by



Reuters

**Beijing display shows deluded Falun Gong members after January self-immolation; Falun Gong follower arrested in Tiananmen Square.**



factory closings—Li gave public lectures sponsored by the state-controlled “China Qigong Research Society,” and was soon addressing police and military audiences. Money rolled in from sales of cassettes, videos and books and *Zhuan Falun*, published in 1994, became a best seller.

When the government turned against Li, banning his books and curtailing meetings of his followers, he left the country. He arrived in the U.S. in 1996, in possession, curiously enough, of a permanent residency visa for himself, his wife and daughter. Li eventually settled in Queens, New York, where he runs a worldwide enterprise. When 10,000 Falun Gong followers massed outside the CCP leadership’s Zhongnanhai compound in Beijing in April 1999, the regime was faced with what looked like a mass opposition with evident support in the highest echelons of the party, police and military. After Falun Gong was banned, its adherents carried out almost daily protests in Tiananmen and elsewhere, leading to thousands of arrests.

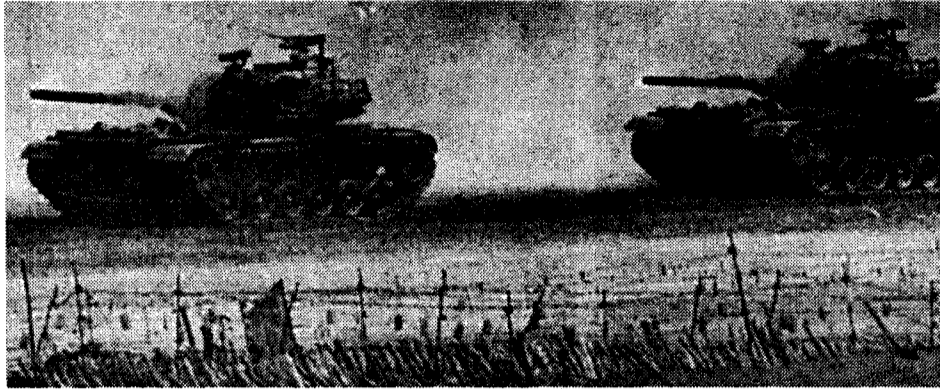
Whatever the immediate cause for Li’s disfavor, Beijing was clearly fearful that the growing popularity of his mystical nonsense was detrimental to the task of advancing technology and modernization. The most prominent spokesman against Falun Gong is a theoretical physicist named He Zuoxiu, a pioneer in developing China’s nuclear weapons in the 1960s. He is a self-professed Marxist who has lashed out against “market reforms” for steering China away from the socialist path. Today he is spearheading the regime’s propaganda campaign against Falun Gong, most prominently in a 1999 article in the magazine *Science and Technology for Youth* that denounced Li for disseminating pseudoscience. In response to that article, Li’s followers began hounding He and his family and then staged their mass protest in Beijing in April 1999.

“Pseudoscience” hardly captures Li’s outlandish “cosmology,” based on the “Dharma Wheel” which, as the *New York Times* (5 July) reports, “he says he installs telekinetically in the abdomens of all his followers, where it rotates in alternating directions, throwing off bad karma and gathering qi [vital bodily energy].” Li insists that he (and the magician David Copperfield!) can fly, that fox and weasel spirits take over human souls, that extraterrestrial aliens have invaded Earth and that the French have discovered a two-billion-year-old nuclear reactor which is proof of an ancient civilization that practiced Falun Gong! He simultaneously preaches that “the story of Noah’s Ark is true” and “the theory of evolution doesn’t hold at all.”

The ideological offensive against Li’s quackery accompanying the regime’s suppression of Falun Gong has clearly had an effect on the Chinese masses, as the *New York Times* (23 July) acknowledged in an article headlined, “Falun Gong Manages Skippy Rally; Is Sect Fading?” But what particularly horrified many Chinese was watching the scene on national news of several Falun Gong followers setting fire to themselves and a 12-year-old girl in Tiananmen Square in late January, after being urged by their master to “let go of all worldly attachments (including the attachments to the human body).” The following month, the Ministry of Education, Communist Youth League and All-China Women’s Federation jointly launched a book titled *Say No to the Cult*, which exposes Falun Gong as “anti-humanity, anti-society and anti-science.”

The suppression of Falun Gong indicates the fragility of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the face of any opposition. But what the regime most fears is a challenge to its power by the combative Chinese proletariat. In May, the CCP leadership issued a report openly acknowledging its “tense” relations with the masses in the face of a huge upsurge in labor struggles, particularly in state-owned industry, against the ravages of “market reforms.” When 10,000 miners and their families

**Pentagon spokesman defends U.S. spy plane provocation against China in April, as capitalist Taiwan engaged in provocative military exercise using U.S.-supplied tanks.**



Reuters

blocked a railway line in northern China last month to demand unpaid wages, riot police summoned to the spot made no move to clear the protesters.

While pushing ahead with pro-capitalist measures, now even inviting capitalists to join the CCP, the Beijing bureaucracy is fearful that violent repression against striking workers could provoke a generalized upheaval of the kind that rocked the regime when the working class entered into the student protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989. That would immediately raise the prospect of a proletarian political revolution that ousts the privileged bureaucratic caste and ushers in a government of workers, peasants and soldiers councils (soviets). To bring to the Chinese workers the consciousness needed to wage a victorious struggle for political power requires the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party based on a program of proletarian internationalism, linking defense of the Chinese Revolution to the struggle for socialist revolution from South Korea and Japan—the industrial powerhouse of the region—to the U.S. and other advanced countries.

### “Market Reforms” Roll Back Health Care

Notably, many of those drawn to Li’s crackpot schemes for a healthy life are urbanized and well-educated. Many live in provinces ravaged by the privatization or closure of state-owned industries, which have left laid-off workers without the medical, education and housing benefits that came with such jobs.

The enormous gains in health care after 1949 have long stood as a signal achievement of the planned economy, in stark contrast to capitalist India and other “Third World” countries where the abject misery of the masses is reinforced by imperialist subjugation. Even the most remote villages received basic care by “barefoot doctors”—medical personnel (often minimally trained) who in 1975 numbered some 1.6 million. Even a die-hard opponent of the 1949 Revolution

like Hong Kong *South China Morning Post* columnist Jasper Becker acknowledges in his book *The Chinese* (Free Press [2000]):

“When the Communist Party came to power, it embarked on a series of patriotic health campaigns especially directed at exterminating ‘the four pests’—birds, rats, insects and flies. Other campaigns targeted specific health problems such as the snails in rice paddies which spread schistosomiasis (snail fever). Mass campaigns to improve sanitation by the digging of public latrines and to make the boiling of drinking water commonplace helped control many diseases, in particular tuberculosis, a leading cause of death, typhoid, neonatal tetanus and leprosy.

“By contrast, since Deng came to power in 1978, statistics suggest that there has been a decline in public sanitation. In 1997, 400 million still lacked access to safe water and 76 per cent lacked access to safe sanitation. Five years earlier the World Bank reported that there were ‘substantial parts of China where the decline in diseases has slowed or even been reversed’.”

As a result of the “market reforms” initiated by Deng Xiaoping, medical care is now priced out of the reach of many workers, to say nothing of the far poorer peasants who make up the vast majority of the population. Often, hospital staff first ask a patient what he can pay before deciding what treatment he will get. Becker reports that “90 per cent of the peasants are not covered by any form of health insurance. In urban areas too, where so many state-owned enterprises are losing money, fewer and fewer people are covered by adequate insurance.”

The central government has increasingly fobbed off responsibility for medical care and schooling to regional and local authorities, which often divert funds to business enterprises. With 80 percent of health care expenditures going to large urban hospitals, cuts in state funding have hit the peasant poor particularly hard and many skilled medical personnel have abandoned the countryside for the cities. In 1986, the “barefoot doctor” title was abolished, part of rural “reforms” whose centerpiece was the destruction

of collectivized agriculture in favor of individually tilled family plots. Adding to the shortage of health care personnel is the legacy of Mao’s “Cultural Revolution,” which shut down high schools and universities for years beginning in the mid-1960s and often persecuted Western-educated doctors.

A particular health problem in China’s rural areas is iodine deficiency, which can cause goiter, mental retardation and other maladies. The *Wall Street Journal* (20 June) reports:

“By the 1980s, Chinese officials had made headway in fighting iodine deficiency by providing iodine injections in villages with a high incidence of goiter. But the same years brought economic liberalization and an explosion of private enterprise, including manufacturers flooding the market with usually cheaper noniodized salt. By the early 1990s, this unregulated salt trade, combined with little official oversight, was erasing the public-health gains of the command-economy days.”

But the fact that China is still based on a nationalized economy means that the country can marshal its resources to tackle such problems. Reversing its previous policy, Beijing is now enforcing a state salt monopoly to provide even remote villages with iodized salt.

### Women’s Gains Under Attack

The resurgence of religious reaction in China is a direct threat to women. It is a measure of the political bankruptcy of the Beijing bureaucracy that it has stoked a revival of Buddhism, Daoism and even Confucianism, which enshrined the subjugation of women as household slaves and was wielded by China’s dynastic rulers to instill unquestioning loyalty to emperor, father and husband. That oppression was only deepened by the Western imperialists who subjugated China in the 19th century and set up networks of Christian missions and schools to recruit local agents who would defend the West’s “civilizing” mission.

The overthrow of capitalist rule in 1949 resulted in enormous advances for women—a leap of centuries accomplished in a matter of years—the right to be educated, to have a job, to marry the husband of their choice. These advances were a measure of the power of the planned economy. But from the outset, they were constrained and undermined by the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. As the regime built up the planned economy, the number of women working in industry soared from 600,000 in 1949 to 50 million by the mid-1990s, though they were largely excluded from skilled labor. In the countryside, the “Great Leap Forward” of the late 1950s created rural communes that included communal kitchens, helping to relieve the burdens on peasant women. But Mao’s utopian attempt to catapult China to the level of an advanced industrial society within the nationalist framework of “socialism in one country”—using mass levies of peasant labor to make up for the lack of technology—collapsed after a few years, leading to a horrific famine.

Unlike the Russian October Revolution, the 1949 Chinese Revolution was not carried out by a conscious proletariat led by a Leninist vanguard party. Mao’s CCP was modeled not on the Bolshevik

*continued on page 14*

Katharina Hesse

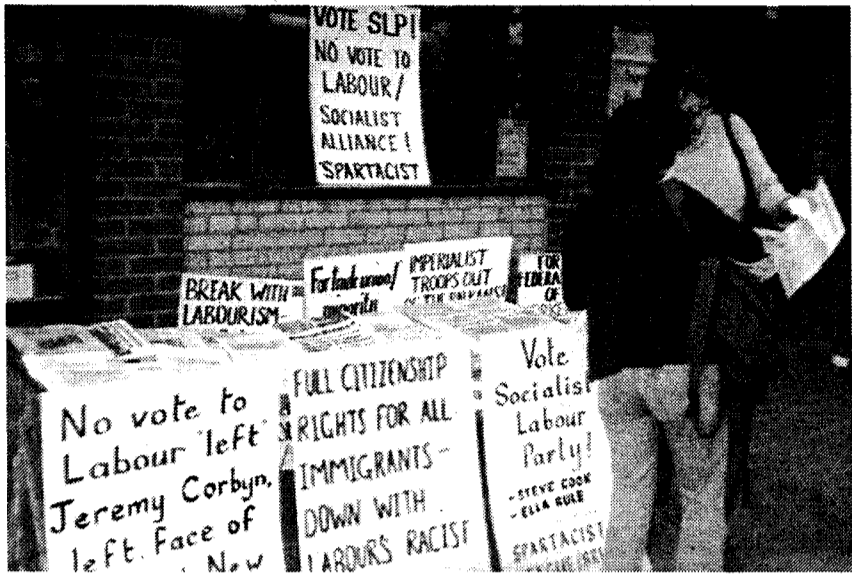


**AIDS prevention poster in Beijing hospital. Right: “Market reforms” kill—funeral for AIDS victim in Henan province, where profit-making bloodbanks have caused spread of HIV infection.**



Rosenthal/NY Times

# Young Spartacus



Workers Hammer photos

## How Revolutionists Use Tactic of Critical Support

# Britain: Exposing Blair's New Labour

The following is an edited presentation given by James Palmer of the Spartacist League/Britain to a meeting of youth from SYCs in the U.S., as well as internationally, in New York on June 11.

I'm going to tell you about our campaign of critical support to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) in Britain in the election that's just taken place. The situation is: Tony Blair, the Labour Party leader, had called the general election (elections for Parliament as a whole) a little bit over a month ago. He's just been returned after his first term. He won a landslide victory in '97, after about 17 or 18 years of Tory government.

What's basically happened since then is that the Conservative Party in Britain has been very much marginalized by the fact that the overt policies of the Labour Party have been gradually shifting to the right over the last few years. The traditional image of the Labour Party is the party that's supposed to represent the working class in Britain; now that no longer stands in many ways. And the Labour Party, which has now become "New Labour," is quite open in the way it's publicly aspired to become a party that represents big business rather than pretending to actually represent the working class in any way.

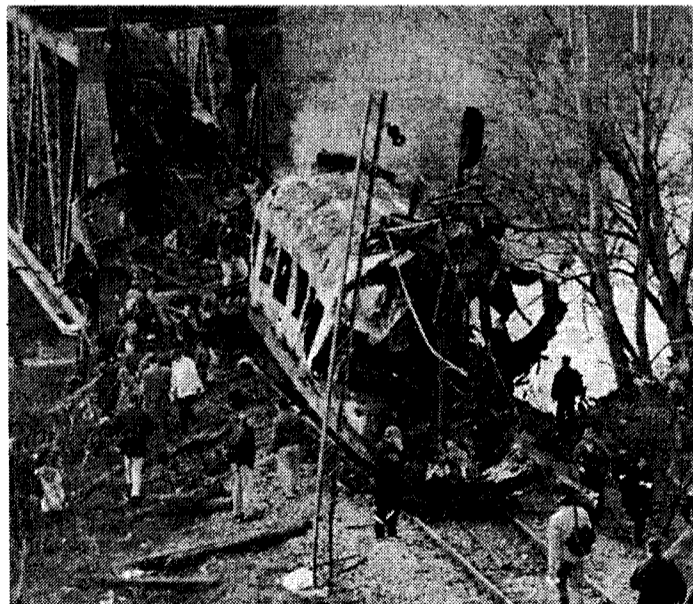
When the Labour Party was elected in '97 a lot of people had a lot of illusions in them and they felt that things might be beginning to change. But, not surprisingly, the Labour Party has ended up ruling effectively for the capitalist class, as the Conservative Party (the Tories) had done. The bourgeoisie didn't actually feel any need to support the Conservative Party in these elections because the Labour Party now is openly ruling quite comfortably for them.

Since '97 there's obviously been an increase in popular dissatisfaction with the Labour Party which is reflected in the unions as well. The Labour government's campaign to privatize what remains of nationalized services has led one of the major unions, the Communications Workers Union (CWU), which organizes the postal workers, to vote at their last meeting to break all ties with the Labour Party if they go any further ahead in their plans to privatize the Post Office.

For those of you who don't come from countries where you have a social democ-

cracy, it's important to understand that in Britain the Labour Party has been the historical barrier to building a revolutionary party for the working class. The Labour Party is what Lenin called a bourgeois workers party, consisting of a proletarian base but a thoroughly pro-capitalist lead-

supposedly as an alternative to Tony Blair because at the end of the day they knew there was no real threat of them causing the Labour Party to lose an election. So they could make a pressure group to the left of Tony Blair, which is completely in line with their reformist aims,



Blair's Labour government: imperialist butchers! Labour was backer of 1999 U.S./NATO war which devastated Serbia. Passenger train destroyed by NATO bombs, April 1999.

ership and program. It has always tied the working-class movement to the bourgeois parliamentary system. And all the rest of the "family of the left" and the fake-Trotskyist groups have refused to oppose the Labour Party—groups like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of the International Socialist Tendency (until recently affiliated with the American International Socialist Organization) and Workers Power.

What you had at this election, when these organizations knew very well that the Labour Party was in for a decisive victory, was that they felt quite comfortable in being able to stand candidates

without actually having to challenge the Labour Party.

### The Socialist Alliance

So what you have is the Socialist Alliance, which has emerged basically since about this time last year. It was first formed during the mayoral elections in London in support of Ken Livingstone—then it was called the London Socialist Alliance. Livingstone had a reputation as a leftist in the Labour Party in the 1980s. But he supported the bombing of Serbia in 1999. He's no leftist or friend of the workers—he has appointed Bob Kiley, former CIA man and notorious union-

buster in the New York subway system—to run the London Underground.

The Socialist Alliance has been expanded since then and has been used in various local by-elections, which is when they elect members of Parliament when one dies or goes out of action for some reason. And at the general election the Socialist Alliance has been mobilized on a concerted campaign, which is supposedly offering an alternative to New Labour and their capitalist policies. They're representing it as a socialist alternative and their slogans are things like "Oppose New Labour's Tory Policies." The component organizations of the Socialist Alliance include the Socialist Workers Party, Workers Power, the Socialist Party and various other reformist and centrist groups on the left in Britain. In Scotland, where Tommy Sheridan leads the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP)—which was until recently affiliated with Socialist Alternative in the U.S.—and it has much more influence, the SWP is quite happy to have their branches in Scotland actually liquidate into the SSP.

What the Socialist Alliance doesn't do is draw any sort of clear class line at all. Their presentation of left-wing politics is always as "ordinary people" versus fat cats. They don't talk about the working class versus the ruling class. They certainly don't use the traditional language that we do in terms of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The nature of the Socialist Alliance is also very much characterized by their tactics in the election on where they won't stand and where they will stand candidates. They're quite happy to stand against safe Labour seats. They won't stand against marginal seats where they're likely to be seen to cause the Labour Party to lose seats to the Conservatives. That's completely out of the question for them. And they also won't stand against Labour "lefts," like Jeremy Corbyn. So, with all of their pretending to offer an alternative to the Labour Party, in no way will they actually make an effective challenge to them. It is entirely a pressure group on New Labour. Where they are not actually standing candidates, which was about three-quarters of all the seats, they are effectively calling for a vote to the Labour Party.

## Build a Revolutionary Party!



This was exposed particularly in the material of the SWP. John Rees wrote an article in *International Socialism* (Spring 2001) several months beforehand saying, and I quote, "Vote Socialist where you can, vote Labour where you must." That was the whole perspective of the campaign. It was, entirely subordinate to a Labour victory in the elections and they would very much like to have actually said, "Vote Labour," but the situation in Britain is such that if they had called openly for a vote to the Labour Party most of their membership, certainly the youth members, would have been quite keen to leave.

An example of how they blur the class line is that they won't ever mention the "R" word. Revolution isn't mentioned in their meetings. At a meeting to launch the whole of the Socialist Alliance campaign several months ago, one of our comrades asked Dave Nellist of the Socialist Party, who's basically the leader of this whole Socialist Alliance milieu, whether or not he stood for revolution. He came back with an obscure answer. "It depends what you mean by revolution," he said, "there's a revolution in education, the Internet revolution, a shopping revolution." He couldn't choke out even a nominal reference to workers revolution. So their form of "socialism" is an entirely parliamentary vision based at the moment on pressuring the Labour Party. You can sit for an entire meeting of the Socialist Alliance for hours and they won't talk about revolution or the proletariat, they'll just talk about the excesses. Their support to the Labour Party is completely counterposed to a Leninist perspective.

The same article in *International Socialism* by John Rees argues that, because Labour is based on the trade unions, the SWP will always vote for it. He says: "We will always support the party of the trade unions against the open and unashamed party of the bosses, we want to build a real socialist alternative to both." But Labour is not the party of the trade unions, as Lenin made clear in 1920 in a speech to the Second Congress of the Communist International. Rather, it is the party of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy.

Lenin argued that, by itself, the composition of the Labour Party does not



SLP head Arthur Scargill (front, right) led 1984-85 miners strike, biggest class struggle in living memory in Britain.

determine its political character. That depends on its leadership and political program, and, as Lenin said, "Regarded from this, the only correct, point of view, the Labour Party is a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who act quite in the spirit of the bourgeoisie. It is an organisation of the bourgeoisie, which exists to systematically dupe the workers..." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 258).

Lenin wrote "*Left-Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder*" in 1920 to help provide tactics for Communists to intervene into reformist parties, to split them and win workers to the Communist parties. Most workers in Britain were members of Labour, but they were also electrified by the Russian October Revolution and wanted a system similar to the Soviet system, which they knew was superior to capitalism. In an attempt to undercut the appeal of the Bolshevik example and stave off the threat of working-class radicalization, the Labour Party came up with what was called Clause IV. This is an article written into the Labour Party's constitution after the Bolshevik Revolution promising that they would achieve socialism simply by nationalizing major industry in Britain.

This was done to try to deceive workers into believing that it is possible to achieve socialism through parliamentary means. Lenin proposed a number of tactics, including critical support against openly capitalist parties in elections, to expose the Labour Party, to show that once in power they would defend the interests of the capitalists and not the workers. During the recent campaign, the Socialist Workers Party encouraged some of their comrades who questioned their position on the elections to read "*Left-Wing Communism*" with the idea that this kind of argument applied in this situation. If anyone in Britain today thinks that the Labour Party is offering anything to workers that sounds even vaguely socialist, they are completely wrong; nobody feels that—even the least class-conscious workers do not feel the Labour Party stands for anything radical in terms of working-class politics.

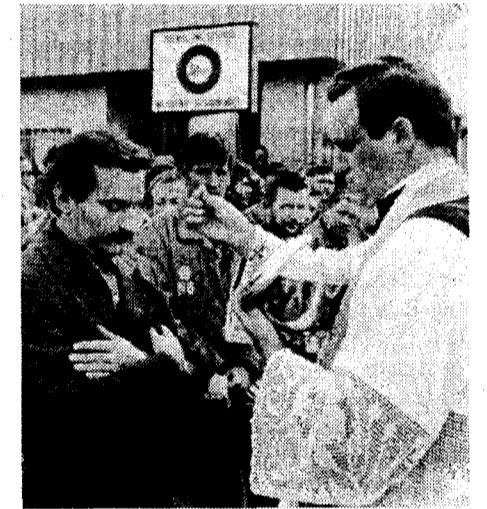
### The Tactic of Critical Support

In the recent elections we extended critical support to the Socialist Labour Party, which means we called for a vote to the SLP and helped campaign for them while counterposing our revolutionary politics at every step. We used this tactic to point out the contradictions in the SLP's program, which is to the left of Labour on some questions but offers no solution to the problems of the working class. Why should we support the SLP in these elections? Is it not also a reformist party? The answer to that is yes, the politics of the SLP are Labourite reformism. However, what the SLP did do was, by appealing to the more advanced workers with its propaganda, it brought in people with the political consciousness that we want to intersect. The Socialist Labour Party took a crude class line. They talked about the working class and the need to abolish capitalism. They won't make it clear how they feel that should be done except through parliamentary methods, of course.

But they do talk about the working class as distinct from the capitalist ruling class. They do make basic demands all

socialists should support and they do talk about British imperialism. They call for British troops' out of Northern Ireland, which is something that other groups on the left will not do, and we think this is very significant. More important is that they were clearly against calling for a vote to the Labour Party. They were not saying "you can vote Labour if you want where we're not standing." These fundamental differences are the basis for our critical support of them.

Having said that, the SLP's program is also old Labour politics and it is Clause IV parliamentarism, which can't offer a solution to the working class. We know very well that the only solution for the working class is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has to come through a revolutionary smashing of the state. The SLP combines old Labourism with elements who adulate Stalinism. To give you an example, and they downplay this publicly, but in their internal meetings you have people like Harpal Brar (who is pretty much number two after Arthur Scargill himself in the SLP) who at a recent meeting, which was reported in the *Weekly Worker*, was actually quoted as being in favor of the 1930s Moscow trials. He completely defends the killing of Trotskyists and finishes up the whole thing saying that actually he would have quite liked to conduct a Moscow trial himself. This is the kind of people we are dealing with. The Stalinism and the



Der Spiegel  
Lech Walesa of Solidarność, CIA/Vatican-sponsored force for Polish counterrevolution. To his credit, Scargill denounced Solidarność as anti-socialist.

Labourite program go hand in hand, because they are both expressions of reformism, nationalism and class collaboration. So, we have a basis for support for them but we also have a massive basis as well to be very critical of them.

These clear contradictions mean that critical support is actually a quite useful tool, and the SLP is as an organization virtually tailor-made for our use of critical support as a tactic. Through our campaign of critical support to the SLP we were able to intersect and work with more class-conscious workers and militant (or disaffected) youth to whom the SLP had some appeal. As well we are meeting

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## Harvard Law Students Victimized for Defending Campus Workers

The Boston Spartacus Youth Club submitted the following letter of protest on July 24 to Professor Richard D. Parker, the chairman of the Harvard Law School Administrative Council, and Lawrence Summers, the president of Harvard. For more on the Harvard Living Wage Campaign, see our article "Sit-In Protests Sweatshop Wages at Harvard" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 760, 8 June.)

The Boston Spartacus Youth Club strongly protests the draconian punishment meted out by the Harvard Law School Administrative Council against four students for taking part in the Living Wage Campaign occupation of Massachusetts Hall. For nothing more than taking part in this protest, which drew international attention to the fact that Harvard pays many of its workers sweatshop-level wages, Faisal Chaudhry, Fatma Marouf, Ashwini Sukthankar and Aaron Bartley were reprimanded by the Law School—a punitive measure that permanently labels them as dissidents, in a move reminiscent of the McCarthyite witch-hunts. This vindictive retaliation will be a permanent part of their record, a

scarlet letter following them when they apply to the bar or try to get a job. Such punishment stands in contrast even to the other Schools, such as Harvard College and the Kennedy School of Government, which did not opt for such severe, permanent repression. This is an insidious maneuver obviously aimed at sabotaging any future student activism at Harvard.

In a star-chamber trial which no doubt required all the sage legal wisdom of the Law School to concoct, the "Law School Four" were railroaded for the alleged "misconduct" of protesters, including chanting and smelling too foul for the refined tastes of the Harvard administration, even though there was no contention that they even participated in the alleged deeds! The real reason, however, for this guilt-through-association punishment remains unsaid: the Living Wage Campaign highlighted the regular, systematic exploitation and oppression that lies at the heart of Harvard's race and class elitism. As a socialist group, the SYC says: Protesting low wages is no crime! Hands off the "Law School Four"!

### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

#### BAY AREA

Thursday, August 23, 6:30 p.m.

#### Meet the Marxists on Campus

Caffe Strada, 2300 College Avenue, Berkeley, (Corner of Bancroft and College)  
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

#### NEW YORK CITY

Wednesday, August 8, 7 p.m.

#### For a Workers Party that Fights for Socialist Revolution!

322 West 48th Street, 1st Floor  
Take the C or E Subway to 50th St.  
Between 8th & 9th Avenues

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

#### CHICAGO

Saturday, August 11, 3 p.m.

#### Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home

University of Chicago, Cobb Hall Rm. 102  
5811 S. Ellis Avenue  
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

#### BOSTON

Friday, August 3, Noon

#### The Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power

Harvard University, Loker Commons  
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

# British Elections...

(continued from page 3)

rope. They cannot be stopped by electoralism; moreover Labour's racist administration has emboldened them. The urgent question in Oldham was how to defend the embattled Asian community but the slogan "Don't vote Nazi" was not directed at the victims of racist terror, it was an appeal to potential BNP voters! *Socialist Worker* (16 June) scandalously gave sympathetic interviews to BNP supporters, supposedly attempting to win the argument "with people who voted for the BNP that we need black, white and Asian unity to fight for better living conditions for everyone." The article pretends that: "The majority of people who voted for the Nazis are not hardcore racists. Some fell for the idea that voting BNP was a protest vote." In other words these "soft-core" racists are "lapsed" Labour voters whom the SWP seeks to win back into the fold.

## Critical Support in Action

Arthur Scargill had a field day making fun of the Socialist Alliance—for their support to Blair, their constant whining about the SLP "splitting the left vote" and their appeals to the SLP to join the Alliance. At a 4 June SLP meeting in London, there was laughter as he banged the table saying the groups who now form SA have in the past wanted to join the SLP, but they also wanted to continue supporting New Labour: "You're almost like an unrequited lover," he shouted, "We don't want you.... For Christ's sake get it through your heads."

Our critical support met contradictory responses. Some SLP branches were split down the middle over whether to accept our offer to canvass for their candidates. Two London branches—Islington North and Hornsey/Wood Green—rejected, saying they wanted "full support" not "critical support." But in the spirit of the united front we used our own leaflet and made placards calling for votes to the two SLP candidates there—Steve Cook and Ella Rule. Rule belongs to the Stalin-worshipping wing of the SLP and is vehemently anti-Trotsky. Our comrades joked that the placard for her should read: "Vote for Stalinist MisRule!" By contrast, Manchester SLP members welcomed our comrades. We helped distribute SLP election leaflets door-to-door and they expressed their appreciation by publishing a photograph of the canvassing team on their Web site. In most areas the SLP did little or no campaigning and thus were able to tap into only a fraction of working-class anger against Blair.

Many members of the SLP come from a Stalinist background and some got their first introduction to genuine Trotskyism in the campaign. We Trotskyists uniquely fought against counterrevolution in the USSR. In August 1991 we sought to mobilise Soviet workers to defend and preserve the gains of the October 1917 revolution which had been betrayed by decades of Stalinist misrule, but not over-

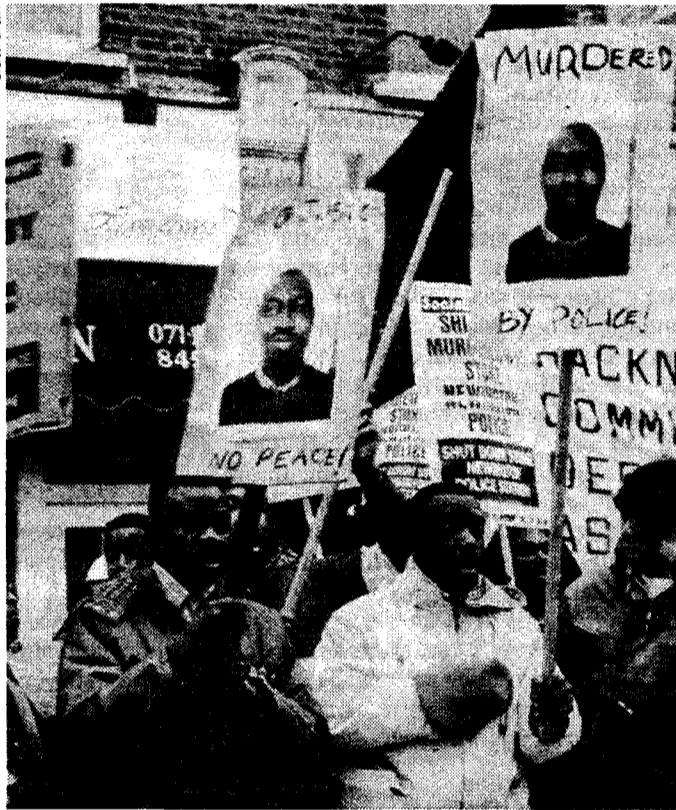


Truckers' protests against Blair government over exorbitant fuel prices last November were widely popular.

thrown until 1991-92. We fought for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe against imperialism and capitalist restoration. This is also our programme today for the remaining deformed workers states—China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam. We call for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, whose conciliation of imperialism and "market reforms" weaken the planned economy and increase the danger of counterrevolution.

Union itself collapsed, as a culmination of three decades of Khrushchevite revisionist betrayal of, and departure from, the principles of Marxism-Leninism..." (*Lalkar*, January/February 2000). A political counterrevolution occurred in the USSR in 1923-24 when a privileged bureaucratic layer led by Stalin usurped political power and then embraced Stalin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." This was a qualitative political break from the internationalism of the Bolsheviks and was used to alibi gross betrayals of the proletariat inter-

Protest against 1994 police killing in London. Blair government has intensified racist "war on crime."



The fake-Trotskyist outfits all joined with their own capitalist rulers in fighting for the destruction of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European deformed workers states and today refuse to defend China against imperialism. Within the SLP, the dominant force on the Russian question is the Indian Workers Association (IWA) which regards China as a "socialist" country and opposes counterrevolution but has no programme to prevent it. According to the IWA, the problems in the USSR began with Khrushchev, Stalin's successor, thus they say that in 1991 "the once-mighty Soviet

nationally such as selling out the British general strike in 1926 and the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. Stalin and his heirs destroyed the revolutionary consciousness of the Soviet proletariat and ultimately delivered the degenerated workers state to imperialism.

## For Revolutionary Leadership of the Unions

Labour's privatisation plans have been met by strikes in the Post Office and London Underground. Workers in the public sector are also threatening to break the unions' historic link to Labour by withholding their donations. The issue is being debated within the ranks of several major unions: the RMT and ASLEF rail unions, Unison (health and local government workers—the largest union in the country), the CWU postal workers union and the Fire Brigades Union, who pay several million pounds to Labour each year. Glenn Kelly, a supporter of the Socialist Party, aptly described the process as "feeding the hand that bites us" (*Independent*, 22 June). Blair is also threatening to sever Labour's link to the unions and to refashion Labour from a bourgeois-workers party into an open bourgeois party along the lines of the Democrats in the U.S. By 1998, donations to Labour from big business equalled the contribution paid by the trade unions.

Actions to stop union dues being poured into the coffers of New Labour are certainly supportable. However, the

recognition that the relationship between Labour and the unions can no longer go on in the same old way begs the question: what kind of party does the proletariat need to represent their interests, independently of the capitalists. What's vital is not simply an organisational but a *political* break from Labourism—the programme which ties the working class to their exploiters. We believe the working class needs a revolutionary internationalist party. This will be built through struggle, not least in the unions to oust the sell-out bureaucrats and to forge the unions as fighting organisations of the working class on the basis of a revolutionary programme.

The reformist Socialist Party uses the slogan "free the funds"; however they uphold the principle that the unions should fund a political party. They are wedded to the Labourite model of a reformist party to which trade union members affiliate en bloc. Labourites regard the existence of such a party as the natural order of things, indeed the SLP copied this structure. This organisational arrangement befits a reformist party but is antithetical to building a proletarian revolutionary party, which must be a party of the most class-conscious elements of the working class capable of translating the historic interests of the proletariat into a fight for socialist revolution. As we wrote:

"A Leninist vanguard party is counterposed to Karl Kautsky's conception of the 'party of the whole class,' of which the Labour Party and its organisational setup is a particular example. A party 'of the whole class' necessarily submerges the most advanced layers of the class into the most backward ones; hence such parties are inevitably chauvinist, based on the dominant ethnic grouping and tied to the defence of the imperialist interests of its own ruling class."

—*Workers Hammer* No. 158, September/October 1997

Key sectors of the proletariat are willing to resist Labour's attacks through class struggle, but the union bureaucracy is tied to Labour. Sensing the anger against Labour among union members, Sir Ken Jackson, head of the engineering union, has called for a ban on strikes in the public sector and TUC General Secretary John Monks, fearing that Labour's arrogance will provoke a confrontation with the unions, warned Labour politicians:

"I could not believe it. I say to them 'Look at the lessons of history. Look at 1978-79, when there was such a confrontation and it was an electoral disaster for Labour and trade unionism.' We still walk with those ghosts of 20 years ago."

— [London] *Times*, 13 June

The ghosts haunting the trade-union bureaucrats are previous class battles, most importantly the miners strike of 1984-85. The problem was *not* that this mighty class confrontation took place, but that the miners were isolated, stabbed in the back and sold out by the TUC and Labour Party misleaders. We seek to impart the lessons of that battle to British workers today, and to combat the lie that working-class struggle is a ghost from the past. Scargill led the NUM in a heroic and militant class battle against the full might of the capitalist state but could not win on the merits of trade union militancy alone. We fought to extend the strike to other unions, calling for rail and the dockers to strike with the miners and to shut down the country. Our perspective is one of fighting for working-class power; Scargill's perspective was a Labour government.

The tasks facing the unions today are similar to those described by Leon Trotsky in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940):

"The trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e. ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either

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## Critical Support...

(continued from page 7)

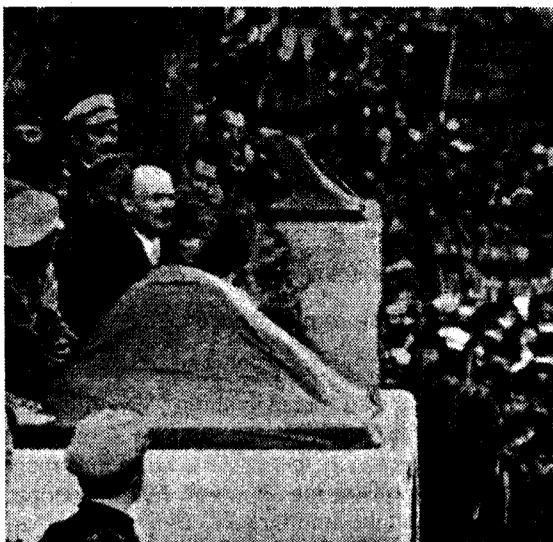
some of the youth in groups like the SWP and the other component groups of the Socialist Alliance. The clear contradiction in the SLP's politics makes it quite easy for us to argue and expose them on their Stalinism and their Labourite reformism. So, that's the basis for critical support as a tactic.

### The SLP and the Campaign

The SLP itself was formed by Arthur Scargill. This was prior to the last election in 1997, where he also stood against the Labour Party and we also gave him critical support. Arthur Scargill was the leader of the great miners strike in 1984-85 in Britain. That strike was defeated because the Labour leaders and the trade-union bureaucrats stabbed it in the back by leaving the miners union to go it alone against the state. At the time, Arthur Scargill was tied to the Labour Party and was very much limited by that.

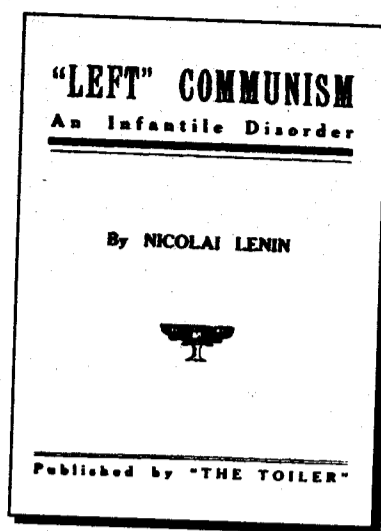
But to give you an idea of Arthur Scargill's status, the miners strike was the biggest class struggle in living memory in Britain. It went on for a year, and Arthur Scargill was virtually worshipped by sections of the working class. The children of miners drew pictures of King Arthur which were pinned up in the school, and they depicted him walking on water with a halo and things like that. That is how he was viewed, because he was the only person who was actually representing their families, and the children thought that was great.

Only months before the strike began, Scargill was denounced and vilified by the Tories, the capitalist press and the Labour leaders for correctly stating



V.K. Bulla

Lenin at time of Second Comintern Congress, 1920. He wrote *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder* for Second Congress to guide interventions into mass reformist workers parties to split them, win workers to Bolshevism.



that the counterrevolutionary "union" in Poland, Solidarność, was anti-socialist. This was against the cheering support for Solidarność by the British Labour Party and its apologists, including anti-soviet fake leftists like the SWP and Workers Power. That is very much to his credit, and something that we remember.

The SLP is an entirely electoral party. They only have a few hundred members but they had over 100 candidates standing, so that didn't leave very many canvassers in relation to the number of candidates!

We only obtained their manifesto just over a month before the election. We produced a leaflet about it, saying why we were giving them critical support, and what we thought was good about what they were saying, their supportable demands, and what we disagreed about. Our critical support met contradictory responses from the SLP. Some SLP

branches were split down the middle over whether to accept our offer to canvass for their candidates.

We received their newspaper and it listed all of the candidates. Now, there was a bit of a surprise here. When we looked through the list of the candidates one of our comrades spotted that one of the candidates—his name is Gordon Potts—is a tutor in the probation service and that he's been active in supporting the National Association of Probation Officers, a cop "union." This wasn't a characterization of the whole organization, as this was one candidate, but it showed that the SLP did not see the class line, so we added a box to our leaflet. We decided it wasn't the basis for withdrawing the critical support to the other SLP candidates. In fact, it was very much to our advantage because it showed a clear contradiction within the organization and something that we can use to draw a much, much

serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

### Down With Protectionist Poison

Among the fundamental disagreements between a revolutionary and a reformist outlook, the issue of protectionism is a sharp difference we have with Scargill's SLP. Intervening at an SLP election rally in London on 4 June, a Spartacist comrade challenged Scargill, citing his nationalist rant at a meeting in Leicester:

"You were very upset about French water and German car manufacturing, etc. We differ there because we are not for national chauvinism—'British jobs for British workers' or 'American jobs for American workers' or 'German jobs for German workers.' What's necessary is for international struggle across borders for jobs for all, which requires a fight to overthrow the capitalist system."

Scargill replied:

"Let me make it absolutely clear to you, we are in favour of import controls and we're in favour of controlling our own economy and we're in favour under a socialist society of imposing import controls. I'll tell you why. I don't want to see a situation ever again where the Third World in Africa has its agricultural industry destroyed by the dumping policies of the European Union and its Common

Agricultural Policy. That's why import controls would have saved millions of lives. Don't preach to me about internationalism. I know about internationalism. Internationalism is best practised by defending our own class here and that those workers abroad see by our example that it's time, not to work with child labour producing coal, but to overthrow their own system and establish a socialist system of society in their country."

Invoking internationalism and the fight for socialism abroad, Scargill sounds worlds away from the German-bashing chauvinism of the union bureaucrats who organised the Rover demonstration in April 2000, but his line boils down to shared support for import controls to "protect" British jobs. The notion that this would constitute a blow against child labour and poverty in underdeveloped countries is absurd. Imperialist powers are deadly enemies of workers in the Third World; their world market starves the oppressed masses, creating and deepening the abject poverty which forces desperate families to send their children out to work for a pittance instead of going to school. Workers revolution in Britain will indeed strike a huge blow against imperialism in the Third World, but proletarian revolution is not the SLP's goal or programme. Instead its perspective is Labour's "Clause IV" which referred to "common ownership" of the means of production, under capitalism.

Since the bourgeoisie will not willingly submit to being expropriated and has at its disposal the apparatus of state repression—army, police, jails, judiciary—to protect its profits, the socialisation of the means of production can only be realised through revolutionary class struggle culminating in the seizure of working-class power. The SLP's model for "common ownership" is the nationalisation programme of the post-World War II Labour government. Labour was swept to power then by a proletariat anxious for a pay-back for the sacrifices and privations of

the war. But Labour's nationalisations of coal, steel and rail were a giant state bailout of the most inefficient and failing industries, nonetheless vital to the capitalist economy as a whole, in order to make British industry more competitive. Nationalisations by the capitalist state meant massive handouts to the bosses and bleak austerity for the working class. At the end of World War II, the Stalinists and social democrats in Europe had to work hard to prevent the kind of working-class upheavals that followed World War I. The possibility existed to mobilise the proletariat in a revolutionary struggle to expropriate the bourgeoisie and set up a workers government to implement a planned economy. This would have pitted the proletariat against the Labour government whose bailout schemes saved British capitalism.

Protectionism is a reactionary utopia which cannot defend the British working class from the effects of the world market. It diverts the working class from struggle for full employment and higher living standards across national boundar-

clearer line in our interventions against them, and in our discussions with their members about the nature of the state and how they're blurring that line.

We sent comrades up to Manchester to canvass with the SLP, and we were able to meet up with some of their people and have very productive and interesting discussions. We'd also sent our people to a meeting that they were at down in Brighton, where there is a large number of students and the SLP has a big influence.

The campaign wrapped up with Arthur Scargill's meeting in London which was held a couple of days before the election. A comrade had been to a previous meeting and had gotten a flavor of what Scargill's delivery would be; it was highly protectionist and nationalist. He'd basically condemned French imports and other foreign imports, he talked about French mineral water and condemned that—it was coming from basically every angle. So we knew pretty much what to expect. He knew we were at the meeting and he wasn't quite as keen to bring up those kinds of issues again when we were there, but a comrade made an intervention about it, and denounced him for it. He came back and tried to defend his protectionism by going on to the issue of imported coal during the miners strike. That blurred the issue: we were against imported coal at that time because it was scab coal; we wouldn't have been against imported coal because it was from overseas. It had been brought in directly to undermine the strike. But his nationalism and protectionism is inherent to all of Labourite politics and goes much deeper than just that.

We engaged in this election campaign with the perspective of fighting to win the working class, minorities and youth to the understanding of the need for a revolutionary workers party, and that the "parliamentary road" is no road at all. ■

ies into competition against foreign capital and against workers in other countries in alliance with their "own" bourgeoisie. What's needed is international socialist economic planning for human need and an international division of labour, but capitalism is based on production for private profit and on the nation state, which are fetters to the further development of the productive forces. In order to realise profits the capitalists must have markets for their products but these can only be obtained at the expense of their rivals, so inevitably the imperialist powers come into open conflict. Import controls lead to trade wars, which lead to shooting wars and the final tariff negotiators are the generals.

Only socialist revolution on a world scale can prevent the outbreak of renewed inter-imperialist war and barbarism. In Britain, the Spartacist League fights to break workers from Labourism, for the perspective of a new October Revolution. For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! For a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

## WORKERS HAMMER

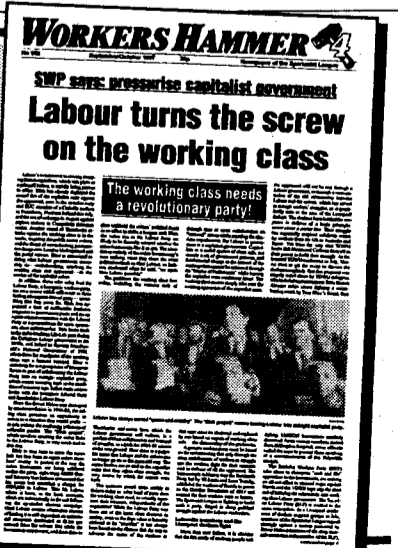
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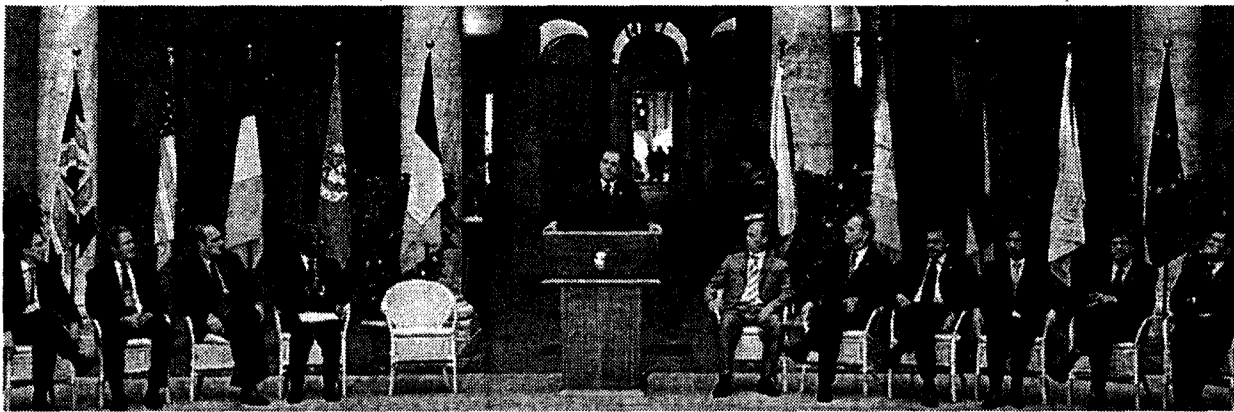
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Imperialist rulers gather in palatial setting in Genoa, while world's working masses face exploitation and poverty. DPA



Action Press

## Genoa...

(continued from page 1)

against the Soviet Union in the 1980s to the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia, these pseudo-Marxists take their stand with the capitalist state.

The question before the huge numbers of young radicals who have been drawn to the "anti-globalization" protests of recent years is: how do you change the world? While the protests have succeeded in forcing the imperialists to schedule future meetings in isolated backwaters, this does nothing to impede the workings of the capitalist system. To do away with imperialist exploitation requires a political mobilization of the proletariat in a thoroughgoing socialist revolution. The large workers contingents on the streets of Genoa in solidarity with the anarchist youth against the state, and also in defense of immigrant rights, point to the potential for realizing this revolutionary perspective. But it is necessary to combat the obstacles that stand in the way: the trade-union bureaucracies and the reformist political parties, which currently govern many of the capitalist states in West Europe, as well as the false, anti-proletarian consciousness of the anarchist youth.

The International Communist League fights for the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. Our perspective is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist. We recognize that the fundamental conflict in society is the struggle between labor and capital. Because of its central role in production, the proletariat has the social power to bring down the capitalist exploiters and their whole system of racism, sexism, class exploitation, national oppression and imperialist war. The proletariat has the power and the class interest to create a society based on collectivized property and a rational, planned international economy, a workers state leading to a classless, communist society and the withering away of the state. To achieve this goal requires the construction of an international Leninist-Trotskyist egalitarian party. We struggle to become the party fit to lead socialist revolutions internationally.

Integral to our fight is holding on to proletarian conquests already wrested from the capitalist class. That is why we Trotskyists fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe against imperialist attack and capitalist restoration. In East Germany in 1989-90 and then in the Soviet Union, we fought to rouse the workers in a political revolution to defend the collectivized property forms and replace the Stalinist misleaders with the rule of workers councils. This perspective is urgently posed in China today in the face of renewed imperialist military machinations and economic encroachments promoted by the Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms."

Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. Today the basic premises of authentic Marxism must be motivated against the false and prevalent misidentification of the collapse of Stalinism with a failure of communism. Stalinist rule was not communism but its grotesque perversion. The Stalinist bureaucracy, a parasitic caste resting atop the workers state much like a labor bureaucracy sits atop a trade union, arose in the Soviet workers state under condi-

tions of economic backwardness and isolation due to the failure to extend the revolution to any of the advanced capitalist countries. The Stalinists claimed they were going to build "socialism in one country," an impossibility, as Leon Trotsky (and before him Marx and Engels) explained, since socialism is necessarily international in scope. "Socialism in one country" was a justification for selling out revolutions internationally in order to appease world imperialism.

Today, the proletariat has been hurled back worldwide. Unhindered by Soviet military might, the U.S. imperialists ride roughshod over the planet. America's imperialist rivals, especially Germany and Japan, no longer constrained by Cold War anti-Soviet unity, are pursuing apace their own appetites for control of world markets and concomitantly projecting their military power. These inter-imperialist rivalries outline future wars; with nuclear weapons, this threatens to extinguish life on the planet. The task of wresting power from the capitalist exploiters is more urgent than ever.

### State of Siege in Genoa

When our comrades arrived in Genoa on July 18, they found a ghost town. An inner "red zone" four kilometers (nearly three miles) long was completely encircled by a 12-foot-high metal barrier. Police within the red zone carried out continuous searches of apartments and



Liberazione

### COBAS union contingent in Genoa protest.

harassment of the heavily immigrant population. Reports of letter bombs and attempted bombings were wielded to fuel a huge anti-terrorist campaign by the bourgeois media. In preparation for the arrests, an anonymous police official told *La Repubblica*, "The Bolzaneto barracks were transformed into a 'lager' [concentration camp]" by the Mobile Operational Group (GOM), an elite unit formed under the popular-front government in 1997 and headed by a former chief of the military secret service. He reported that arrested protesters "had their heads smashed against the wall" and were "beaten when they refused to sing 'Facetta Ner' [a fascist hymn]." Protesters

were also forced to shout "Viva il Duce!"

On July 19, the first of three days of protests, there was a large anti-racist demonstration of some 50,000 people. Though immigrant contingents were largely lacking due to the fear of repression, there were some contingents from the CGIL and COBAS trade unions. The next day, police gunned down Carlo Giuliani as he, along with many others, stood up to a cop rampage against a demonstration called by the COBAS to coincide with a general strike. Many workers now consider this government to be composed of murderers. A number of workers telephoned *Radio Popolare*, a leftist radio station in Milano, objecting to "nonviolence." One said, "I am nonviolent. I was in Genoa and got shot with a tear gas canister from a police helicopter. My family was attacked. Next time, I will defend myself."

On July 21, workers poured into the streets in defiance of the reformist misleaders and the DS-dominated union officialdom, as did many RC members. Thousands of metal workers, not only from the CGIL-affiliated FIOM but also from the more "moderate" CISL and UIL union federations, joined hands with the protesters against the police. There was a lot of anger, and whenever a police helicopter circled overhead there were chants of "Assassini, assassini!"

The police attacked the middle of the demonstration, cutting off the RC and trade-union contingents, which came under heavy attack and a constant barrage of tear gas. Demonstrators seeking refuge or trying to find their way back to their buses were hunted down by police squads whose orders were clearly to injure as many as possible. In one case, a youth was seized by police, dragged away and beaten. He then fell ten feet into the riverbed. When he managed to scramble up, the police shot him with a tear gas canister at pointblank range; he was saved only by the intervention of other protesters.

That night, police went on a massive rampage. Mounted police entered the Convergence Centre in Piazzale Kennedy while cops smashed their way into the Media Center, headquarters of the Genoa Social Forum and the Indymedia Internet news service, destroying computers and equipment and seizing film and evidence of police brutality. At the same time, hundreds of police surrounded and smashed into the Diaz school and the Casa dei Popoli, bloodying the GSF demonstrators sleeping there. People were dragged along the ground. *Il Manifesto* compared it with Chile under Pinochet's reign of terror. Of the 92 people arrested, fully 62 had to be hospitalized. The "Digos" (political police) also searched the homes of many protesters to seize photos and other evidence of police violence. Even the Genoa offices of *La Repubblica*, a leading bourgeois daily, were searched.

Tuesday, July 24, saw huge mobilizations with FIOM and CGIL banners prominent everywhere: 40,000 in Venice, 30,000 in Bologna, thousands more in towns and cities from north to south. In Rome, 30,000 marched screaming "Assassini!" In Milano, as many as 50,000 or more chanted; "Berlusconi resign!" In Genoa, 10,000 marched with a big banner reading "You Believe That You Killed Him, but Carletto Lives Through Us." In Brescia, workers at the Stefana steel plant struck for two hours to

protest the arrest of a FIOM shop steward at the march in Genoa on Saturday.

Labor struggle is likely to grow as the Berlusconi government moves to carry through attacks on pensions, public education, health care and workers' living standards. And there is enormous turmoil within the left as many radicalized youth are looking around, and not necessarily to the traditional reformist parties like RC. One young woman was seen on the subway in Milano distributing a leaflet she had written giving her eyewitness account of the cop rampage. The leaflet concluded: "I am starting to think that maybe we live in a society that is only apparently democratic and that showed itself on this occasion for what it really is."

Sections of the bourgeoisie are worried that there is no effective reformist force with the influence to restrain and control the working class. Reflecting this, RC has simultaneously rallied to defense of bourgeois "law and order" while making an appeal to the youthful protesters, writing in *Liberazione* that "a new generation is building itself an alternative political identity: it refuses the existing order of things and dreams of another kind of world. This is the reason they attack it with savage violence."

Many demonstrators tend to see the brutality of the cops as evidence of a turn toward a police state and call for the resignation of the Berlusconi government. The presence of Gianfranco Fini's fascist National Alliance and Umberto Bossi's racist Northern League in the government has surely galvanized the cops, many of whom are genuine fascists. But the reformist misleaders' denunciations of this right-wing parliamentary government as fascist are in the service of building support for a new popular front to "fight the right." In fact, the kind of brutal repression seen in Genoa is part of the normal functioning of capitalist "democracy." In the years following the revolutionary upheavals of the "Hot Autumn" of 1969, the cops assassinated a number of leftist students. Just as DS and RC now rail against "anarchists," their Communist Party predecessor at the time sought to isolate a "violent fringe," thus helping to restabilize the bourgeois order.

The reformist misleaders used the upsurge of workers struggles that brought down the previous Berlusconi government in 1994 to usher in a series of popular-front governments, bringing together D'Alema's DS and openly bourgeois forces, generally propped up by RC. This bloody cabal of fake "socialists" and ex-"communists" presided over Italian imperialism's participation in the U.S.-led 1999 Balkans War. And it was the former DS-dominated government that organized the arrangements for the G-8 summit.

Support for RC in particular as a "lesser evil" is evident within the syndicalist-influenced COBAS unions as well. This is not surprising. COBAS leader Pietro Falanga echoed the reformists in insinuating that the Black Block anarchists are a tool of the cops. While RC lauds "progressive" cops who denounce the government's actions in Genoa, one of the COBAS unions itself has a base among municipal cops and also organizes prison guards. In welcoming the hired thugs of the class enemy into the ranks of labor, the COBAS leaders demonstrate their own confidence in the capitalist state.



# For Workers Strikes to Protest Deadly Police State of Siege!

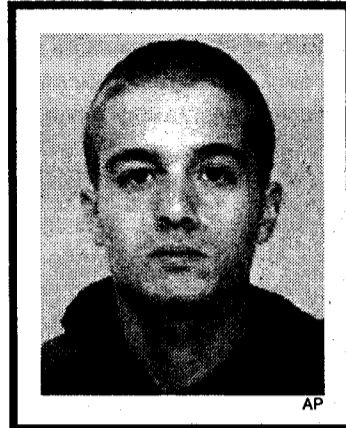
## Berlusconi and the G-8: Imperialist Butchers!

The following statement was issued by our comrades in the Lega Trotskista d'Italia.

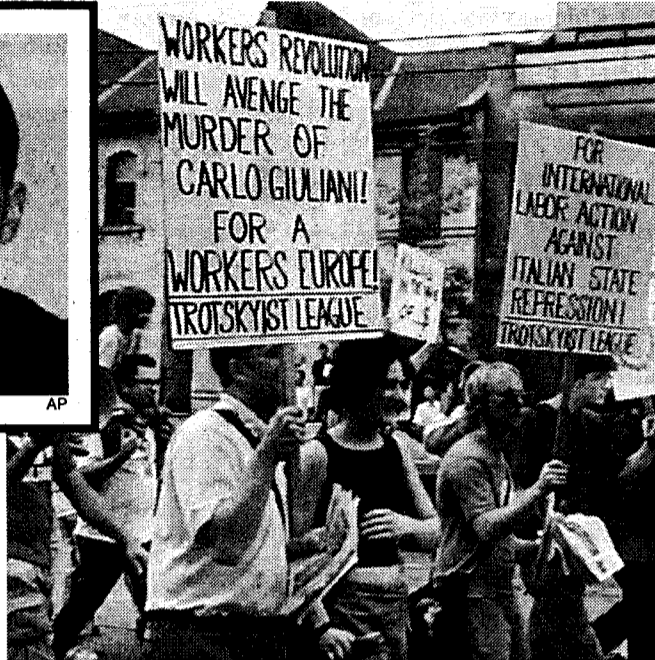
20 JULY—The imperialist rulers gathered in Genova to intensify exploitation and starvation of the working masses were thirsty for blood, and they got it. Two anti-globalization protesters were deliberately killed today by paramilitary police in Genova. One young Italian man, Carlo Giuliani, was shot in the head by the cops, who then drove a police van over his lifeless body. According to French and Austrian media, the second was a young woman killed by a gunshot wound. The imperialists prepared and provoked this lethal terror. As a veteran of the Nazi occupation of Genova stated last week, "They have turned the city into a war zone. I lived here under the Nazis as a young resistance fighter...but there was never this oppressive militarized situation." The G-8 imperialist rulers must be hit where they live—in their profit ledgers. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia says: *We need powerful workers protest strikes in Italy and beyond against the bloody state repression.*

In the weeks leading up to G-8 in Genova, the right-wing government of Silvio Berlusconi ordered that *200 body bags and 500 square meters of freezer space be set aside for corpses.* Having killed two youth, the police continue to rampage through the ghettos set aside as penned protest areas, arresting scores at random. Civil liberties have been suspended, those arrested are being denied access to lawyers; political police (the hated "Digos") prowl hospitals to throw the wounded into jail. Surface-to-air missile batteries have been installed at the airport, warships and submarines patrol the coast, and the city has been turned into a medieval fortress with twelve-foot-high barricades: some "free world"! The Italian borders have been sealed off to thousands seeking to join the protests in Genova. A boatload of Greek protesters was turned back in Ancona by police who declared them

persona non grata and clubbed them back onto the ship. Trainloads of protesters and even bicyclists have been turned back at border crossings. This is the treatment routinely meted out to immigrants and refugees from the imperialists' bloody war in the Balkans



Toronto, July 21: ICL sections joined protests internationally against police killing of 23-year-old Carlo Giuliani in Genoa.



Spartacist Canada

and from their impoverishment of Asia and Africa.

Preparations for capitalist "law and order" in Genova began last month in Göteborg, when Swedish cops fired live ammunition into a crowd of demonstrators, critically wounding a 20-year-old man who was shot in the back as he tried to escape the police onslaught. British Labour prime minister Tony Blair urged more murderous repression in Genova, ranting that Europe's rulers had been "far too apologetic" to anti-globalization protesters and needed to be "a lot more robust." And let's not forget that it was the popular-front government of D'Alema's Democratici di Sinistra (DS), which organized the G-8 gathering in the first place to boost Italy's standing among its imperialist allies. The DS

briefly posed in favor of the protests, but when state terror was unleashed they came out *against* the protesters and banned their own youth from boarding buses to Genova. Rifondazione Comunista (RC) leader Bertinotti echoed this, fulminating that the cops had not taken

leader of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire and member of the European Parliament, chimed in that he was "sickened that a minority could impose its methods of struggle on the majority, with all its media consequences and the increasing threats of repression facing future demonstrations like those in Genova." With such statements these miserable misleaders prove their loyalty to the capitalist class and its police assassins and expose their attacks on "globalization" as rooted in social-chauvinist, reformist support to their "own" bourgeoisies. Their "movement" aims not to overthrow capitalism but to mask its monstrous reality.

While fake "leftists" flinch in the face of the state crackdown in Genova and criminally denounce the anarchists, we Trotskyists stand in full solidarity with the anarchist youth and other protesters against the G-8 in Genova and against state repression, regardless of our political differences. In shooting down the two young protesters, the state is taking aim at the workers of Europe and the rest of the world, an ominous warning against any proletarian challenge to the imperialists' starvation austerity and crushing exploitation. Only hours before the police killings, 15,000 workers organized by the COBAS rank-and-file unions marched through the streets as part of a political general strike against the G-8. A chief order of business at the G-8 conference was to order Argentina's government to push ahead with wage cuts and starvation measures which have already sparked massive workers' struggles. The capitalist rulers are deaf to appeals to act more "humanely" in the "Third World." But a workers strike against the G-8 and the cop terror would open the door to mobilizing broader class struggle against the capitalists, the only road to combatting and sweeping away the imperialist exploiters.

**Drop the charges against all arrested protesters! Down with the police state of siege in Genova! For massive labor protest strikes!**

What's needed is a new, revolutionary leadership of the working class, a tribune of the people and fighter on behalf of all the oppressed. It is necessary to break with the class-collaborationist politics pushed by those who, in the name of a "lesser evil," subordinate the vital interests of the proletariat to those of its capitalist exploiters and oppressors. It's necessary to forge a revolutionary workers party that fights to set up a workers government through socialist revolution against the entire capitalist system.

### "Left" Fingermen for the World Bourgeoisie

In the wake of the Genoa events, there has been a furious outcry internationally—not against the evident, widespread, murderous violence perpetrated by the cops but against the "violence" of anarchist and other leftist protesters. Going into Genoa, Britain's Blair urged Berlusconi and other capitalist rulers "to be a lot more robust" in cracking down on protesters, while German Social Democrat Gerhard Schröder screamed for responding to "violent" protest "decisively and with full force." Positively dancing on the grave of Carlo Giuliani, Blair admonished any who criticized "the Italian authorities for working to make sure the security of the summit is right," while his cabinet member Peter Hain, a former "peace" campaigner, railed against "balaclava-clad demonstrators out there to basically trash the place and bust a skull."

Sections of the ICL around the world

participated in or initiated protests against the bloody repression in Genoa and in solidarity with the anarchist youth under attack. Much of the "left," faking their cue from the social democrats they helped install in power, spat on even the most elementary expression of solidarity with the leftist youth against the capitalist state and joined in the crescendo of attacks against the anarchist Black Block. In Britain, the Cliffite Socialist Workers Party (SWP) attacked the Black Block's actions as "very different from people who defend themselves against police attacks" (*Socialist Worker*, 28 July). In another article in the same issue, SWP honcho Chris Harman favorably quoted a Genoa protester saying, "The police could have chosen to deal with the penetration of the anarchists."

This despicable line was echoed by the French group ATTAC, which includes Cliffites and members of Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French affiliate of the United Secretariat (USec). A 20 July ATTAC statement criticized the Italian police because "they deliberately closed their eyes to the preparation and arming of several hundred provocateur elements of the so-called Black Block." In Germany, Angela Klein, a leading member of the Editorial Board of the USec-connected paper *SoZ* favorably quoted the following rant in her article in *Junge Welt* (23 July): "The black of this Black Block was the black of the fascists, not the black of the anarchists."

As organizers of the "anti-globalization" movement that is being attacked by

the governments they support, these groups try to walk both sides of the street. But even when they denounce the police violence, it is from the standpoint of bolstering the "democratic" credentials of the imperialist rulers. In a 20 July statement on its Web site, the Cliffite-dominated Globalise Resistance in Britain pleaded, "We call on Tony Blair, and other political leaders, to condemn this killing." The French LCR even appealed

to Berlusconi, Fini & Co., declaring in a leaflet co-signed with the anarchist Alternatives Libertaires and others: "We call on the Italian government to publicly condemn the methods employed by the forces of order!"

The conflicting opportunist appetites buffeting the USec and Cliffites were most evident in the right-centrist British Workers Power (WP) and its League for

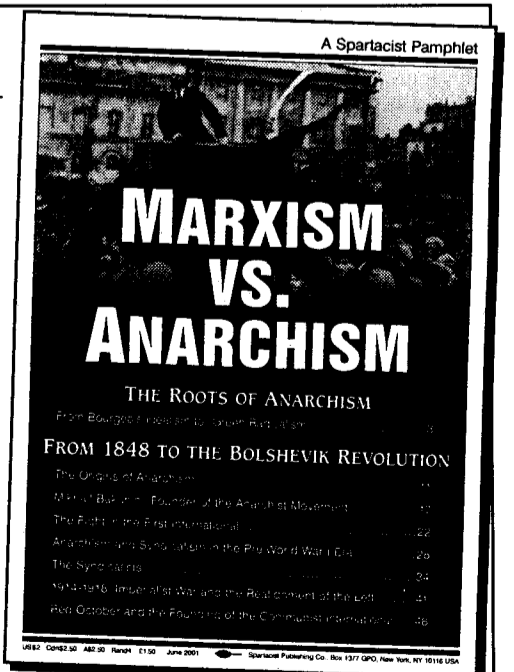
*continued on page 12*

This pamphlet reprints a series by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour originally published in *Workers Vanguard*. It presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Later articles discuss the pre-World War I period and the impact of the war, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism, the communism which animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

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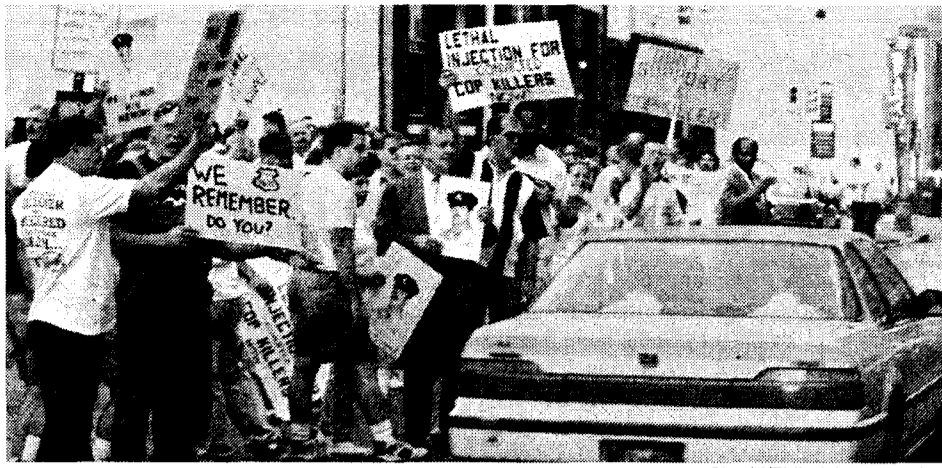
# Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

must be suppressed. In the three months since those affidavits were filed, the mainstream media outside Philadelphia have maintained a complete blackout on this spectacular new development in what is the most prominent death penalty case in the U.S. *We accuse the capitalist courts, the forces of racist "law and order" and their auxiliaries in the media of a conspiracy aimed at lynching an innocent man!*

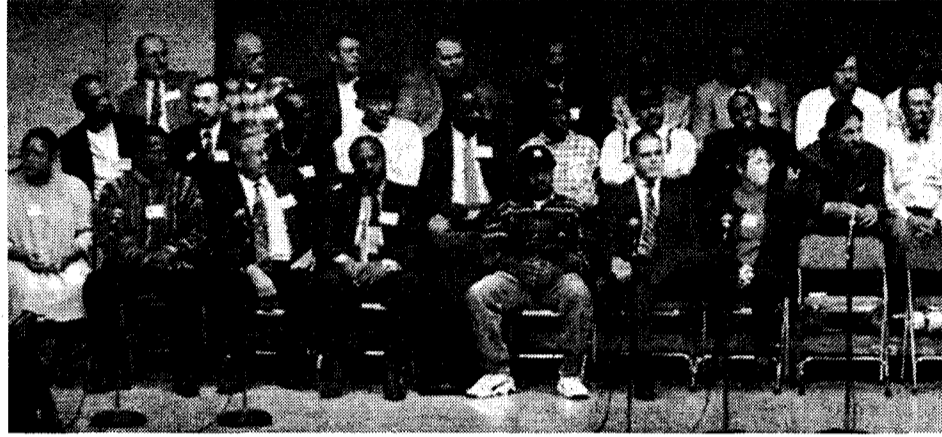
These forces seek to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal because they see in this former Black Panther Party spokesman and MOVE supporter the spectre of "black revolution," because they want to silence forever this "voice of the voiceless" who is renowned for his eloquent journalistic exposures of the racist capitalist injustice system. From the time he was a teenager in the late 1960s, Mumia was targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation, which resulted in the assassination of 38 Panther activists and the frame-up of hundreds more. When they found Jamal at the scene of Faulkner's killing in 1981, they seized the opportunity to set him up for a legal lynching. In arguing that Jamal should be sentenced to death, the D.A. pointed to his past as a member of the Black Panther Party and his reference to the Maoist slogan, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

In barring the Beverly confession, Yohn cited the one-year limit on new evidence mandated by the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act signed into law by Clinton in 1996. Yohn falsely claims, "Petitioner chose not to present this claim to the state court or even to this court until May 2001." The new PCRA papers thoroughly document how former defense attorneys Leonard Weinglass and Daniel Williams refused to present the Beverly confession when it was first secured in 1999. When Beverly passed a lie detector test affirming his confession,



Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

**Philly cops screaming for Jamal's execution besiege union hall, 1995. Below: 1998 Chicago conference featured 30 people released from death row after proving their innocence. Courts, prosecution, media seek to suppress new evidence of Mumia's innocence.**



AP

Weinglass even rejected that, as affirmed by expert polygrapher Charles R. Honts in an affidavit appended to the PCRA filing. The papers establish that "the facts underlying attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams' suppression of this evidence were unknown" to Jamal and that they "misrepresented to him that they were investigating the evidence further when, in fact, they had no intention of ever presenting that evidence in any court."

Mumia fired Weinglass and Williams for disloyalty and conflict of interest last

May after Williams authored a treacherous and mendacious "inside account" aptly titled *Executing Justice*, which denigrates the Beverly confession as "bona fide lunacy," "patently outrageous" and "absurd." The aim of this despicable act, as Weinglass himself admitted in a letter to Jamal appended to the new papers, was to carry out a "pre-emptive strike" against the new evidence should it ever surface—and that is how it has been used by the prosecution. Excerpts from Williams' book made up the bulk of the D.A.'s papers opposing the Beverly deposition.

The D.A.'s reply to the new PCRA papers relies so heavily on Williams' lies that it does not bother to make a single substantial argument against the 272 pages of PCRA material. As Jamal's new attorneys state in the PCRA petition: "Jamal's interest lay in proving his innocence, overturning his conviction and death sentence and winning his freedom. There can be no strategic, tactical or rational reason for his own attorneys to have suppressed the evidence of his innocence."

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal shows what the racist death penalty is all about. A legacy of medieval barbarism and, in the case of the U.S., black chattel slavery, the death penalty is the ultimate sanction in the capitalist state apparatus of repression against workers and minorities. The capitalist rulers want to kill Mumia in order to send a chilling message to all those who challenge cop terror in the ghettos, who stand up for labor's rights on the picket lines, who protest U.S. imperialist mass murder abroad.

The bipartisan rush to speed up the pace of legal lynching, exemplified by the 1996 act now wielded by Yohn against Jamal, led two years ago to the highest rate of executions in nearly 50 years. At the same time, popular support for the death penalty is at its lowest point in more than two decades, as ever more cases come to light of innocent people sentenced to death. The Partisan Defense Committee opposes the death penalty on principle, for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die.

Yohn's decision, as does every previous court ruling in Jamal's case, highlights that fighters for Mumia's freedom can have no illusions that justice will be found in the courts of the capitalist class. Mass protest centered on the social power of the multiracial labor movement is not only urgently needed to win Mumia's freedom but would strike a blow against the whole capitalist frame-up system. ■

# Genoa...

(continued from page 11)

a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI). A statement posted on the WP/LRCI Web site on July 23 was headlined, "After Genoa Repression Turn to the Working Class." In the mouth of WP, this means suckering militant anarchist youth back into the social-democratic fold and "left" Labourite parliamentarist lash-ups like the Socialist Alliance, which WP helped build in the recent British elections. Thus, the WP/LRCI statement calls for a revolutionary party "free of all the filth of Stalinism"—but has not a word about the Labourite "filth" in which WP wallows.

Safeguarding its standing in the eyes of the social democrats, WP made clear that "we organised for non-violent civil disobedience" and attacked the Black Block for "the futile activity of smashing up property." Nonetheless, the statement explicitly denounced "those in the movement who have focused condemnation on the 'black bloc'." But in a new version of the statement distributed at a July 28 London protest, WP expunged even this tepid expression of solidarity with the militant anarchists under attack by the whole of the international capitalist order. Falling into line behind the rest of the Blairite "anti-globalization" crowd, WP now joins in the cop-baiting denunciations of the Black Block as "infiltrated by police who use them to provide an excuse for police repression."

That the police insinuate provocateurs into the workers movement and left-wing protests is a given for anyone at all familiar with the workings of the capitalist state, and there is certainly evidence that undercover cops, and the fascists, engaged in provocations in Genoa. But for the pseudo-Marxists, any affront to the legitimacy of parliamentary "democracy" is deemed a provocation. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin noted in *The*

## State and Revolution:

"The opportunists of modern Social-Democracy accepted the bourgeois political forms of a parliamentary, democratic state as the limit which cannot be overstepped; they broke their foreheads praying before this idol, denouncing as Anarchism every attempt to *destroy* these forms."

For our forthright statement in defense of the anarchists against state repression, our comrades in Genoa were likewise denounced as "provocateurs" by the social-democratic trade-union bureaucrats. And one of our comrades was attacked as a "provocateur" at a July 28 protest in Berlin for denouncing a platform speaker from Schröder's Green coalition partners as a representative of the German imperialist state.

## Anarchism vs. Bolshevism

A 21 July statement by "Black Block activists" stands in refreshing contrast to the fake Marxists' kowtowing to "democratic" imperialism. The statement proclaims:

"Day by day, the capitalist world order produces a diversity of violence. Poverty, hunger, expulsion, exclusion, the death of millions of people and the destruction of living spaces is part of their policy. This is exactly what we reject.

"Smashed windows of banks and multinational companies are symbolic actions. Nevertheless we do not agree with the destruction and looting of small shops and cars. This is not our policy....

"We are angry and sad about the murder of Carlo Giuliani. Let us turn our grief and anger into resistance."

Such militants are motivated by rage against the capitalist murder machine. But trashing the symbols of imperialist power does not constitute a strategy for resistance, much less revolutionary struggle, against the bourgeois order. The point is to *seize* the means of production from the bourgeoisie, to overthrow capitalism and replace it with global workers rule. Personal outrage is no substitute for a mass movement centered on the power of the working class, which alone has the social power to lead all the oppressed in

a revolutionary assault on the capitalist order. Many young radicals do not see the proletariat as an agency for social revolution because they equate the workers organizations with the misleaders who have a stake in preserving the capitalist system. We seek to exacerbate the contradictions between the aspirations of the workers at the base and the pro-capitalist politics of the tops in order to break the workers from reformism and win them to a revolutionary perspective.

Those who call themselves "anarchist" run the gamut from subjective revolutionists who solidarize with the proletariat to right-wing petty-bourgeois thugs who hate the working class and attack communists. At bottom, anarchism is a form of radical-democratic idealism that combines militancy and adventurism with bourgeois liberalism. Rejecting the state in general—and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the revolutionary working class in particular—the anarchists are led to genuflect before the existing, bourgeois state. During the Spanish Civil War, anarchists became ministers in the popular-front government which disarmed and repressed the armed workers struggle against capitalism, opening the road to decades of Franco's dictatorship. Today in Italy, the "official" anarchists of *A* magazine rushed to assure the bourgeoisie of their hostility to the "violent" protesters in Genoa: "We believe that indiscriminate violence and terrorism (even psychological) are tools of the power, not of those who want to effect without coercion a deep social transformation of a libertarian nature.... Those who send bombs, who devastate a town with the help and complicity of the police... have nothing to do with us."

For those who genuinely seek the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, anarchism's appeal is a healthy rejection of the parliamentary reformism of the social democrats, the ex-Stalinists and the fake leftists who prop up and maintain the capitalist order. In *"Left-Wing" Communism*

—*An Infantile Disorder*, which aimed at winning the best of the anarchists and syndicalists of his day to Bolshevism, Lenin remarked: "Anarchism was not infrequently a kind of penalty for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement." The Russian Revolution redefined the left internationally, and its final undoing is having a similar impact in reverse.

The murderous state of siege in Genoa was the mark of an economic system which has become a barrier to technological and social advance. The leaders of international capitalism gathered there preside over an anarchic mode of production which is now rapidly spiraling into a global recession. Behind their scripted statements of agreement lie backstabbing intrigues aimed at furthering the interests of their respective bourgeoisies in the face of declining profits and increasing competition. In a leaflet addressed to the COBAS call for a general strike on the eve of the Genoa protests, the LTd'I declared:

"Many in the anti-globalization movement see the enemy in the 'transnationals' or in the international financial institutions like the IMF, World Bank, WTO, etc. As revolutionary Marxists, we understand that the main enemy is at home! For the Italian workers and oppressed, it's the Italian capitalists, their state, cops and army, courts and prisons. They must be disarmed, overthrown and expropriated. We fight for a system where those who labor rule, not based on bourgeois parliamentarism but on forms of proletarian power, like the Russian soviets in 1917, and where the means of production will be used in the interests of everybody to build a socialist egalitarian society on an international scale....

"In order for the workers struggling at the head of all the oppressed to win and to uproot the rotten capitalist system, we need a revolutionary leadership that fights irreconcilably against class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and their governments. The ICL fights to build such a multiethnic, revolutionary workers party, struggling for workers power worldwide. Join us!" ■



# Three Legs, All Lies

## New Jamal Legal Papers Rip Frame-Up to Shreds

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal represents one of the more chemically pure examples of the frame-up machine, called the "American justice system," which is wielded by the rulers of this country to silence those who are perceived as getting in their way. In this case the means is to be state-sanctioned murder. It matters not to the powers that be in this society that another man, Arnold Beverly, has confessed to the crime for which Jamal has spent the last 20 years entombed in a death row cell. But it had better matter to the rest of us—working people, blacks, immigrants and all those at the bottom of this society who could just as easily be lined up in the sights of the state for opposing the grotesque inequities that define capitalist class rule in the "land of the free."

As we documented in a 1995 article titled "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"), Jamal was framed up by the courts, cops and prosecuting attorneys who coerced false testimony, suborned perjury and manufactured "evidence" to secure a conviction and a sentence of death. The prosecution's case rested on "three legs"—a fabricated "confession" that materialized two months after the fact, lying "eyewitness" testimony coerced through cop terror and phony ballistics evidence. The Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal filed by Jamal's attorneys in Pennsylvania state court on July 3 completely demolishes every last vestige of the discredited "three legs." As the papers state, Beverly's confession that he killed policeman Daniel Faulkner conclusively confirms Mumia's innocence and "destroys the whole edifice of the case which the prosecution constructed" at the 1982 frame-up trial.

**The Prosecution's "Eyewitnesses":** The central premise of the prosecution's case—as articulated by its star "witness," a prostitute named Cynthia White, after she had been subjected to intimidation and coercion by the cops—was that the only people at the scene of the shooting were Faulkner, Jamal and his brother Billy Cook. In fact, of the many witnesses who were at the scene, none testified to having even seen White there at all! Nonetheless, she served as the central witness for the prosecution at both Billy Cook and Jamal's trials. At Cook's trial where he faced assault charges arising out of the case of Faulkner's death, she testified in court that there was a fourth person at the scene, a passenger who got out of Billy Cook's Volkswagen. Significantly, the same D.A., Joseph McGill, who had questioned White at Cook's trial was the prosecuting attorney at Jamal's 1982 frame-up trial three months later. As the PCRA papers state, McGill "knowingly misled the court when, on the back of what he knew was Cynthia White's perjured evidence that there had been no passenger in William Cook's car that night...he had presented the Commonwealth's case to the jury on the basis that there were only two people who could have killed Police Officer Faulkner"—Jamal or his brother.

In an affidavit submitted with the Beverly confession, Cook identified the passenger in his car as his business partner, Kenneth Freeman. Freeman later told Cook that he was part of a plan to kill

Faulkner and had participated in the shooting. The new PCRA papers reveal that Freeman had "specifically told" another man "that Cynthia White had twice picked him out of a lineup" following the shooting. They also attest that Jamal was denied his request to be put in a lineup before alleged "eyewitnesses."

The other key prosecution witness at Jamal's trial was Robert Chobert, a cab driver previously convicted of an arson attack on a schoolyard who was working without a license. Like many other witnesses at the scene, Chobert initially told police that "the man that shot the policeman ran away." The new papers report that in 1995 Chobert admitted to one of Jamal's investigators "that, at the time of the shooting, his cab had been parked at a completely different location to where he had claimed it was at the original trial and that he had been unable to see what he had testified to." When the investigator read him the 1981 police account of what Chobert had supposedly seen, Chobert blurted out, "That's a lie."

Five eyewitnesses reported seeing a man flee the scene the night of Faulkner's shooting, just as Beverly testifies that he did after shooting Faulkner. **This was the original early testimony of the cops on the scene themselves.** The PCRA papers state: These "were not the only people who believed that night that the person who shot Police Officer Faulkner had fled the scene. The police radio transcript makes clear that no police officer at the scene reported to central division that a suspect with a weapon had been found until some 14 minutes after [the first two cops] arrived at the scene. In the meantime, there were radio enquiries and flashes that the suspects had fled with officer's gun."

Four witnesses, **including two cops**, said that they saw a man at the site wearing a green army jacket, just as Beverly testifies that he was wearing when he shot Faulkner. Jamal was wearing a blue and red ski jacket.

**Ballistics:** The new PCRA filing states, "The limited scientific and physical evidence which is available is much more consistent with Arnold Beverly's confessions than it is with the prosecution's case." The location and trajectory of the bullet fragments found at the scene rule out the prosecution lie that Jamal emptied his gun into Faulkner as Faulkner lay on the sidewalk. In fact, there is not one shred of evidence that Mumia's gun was even fired that night, let alone by him. Moreover, as the PCRA papers note: "Similarly, no trace of Police Officer Faulkner's blood was ever identified on the Petitioner's trousers or other clothing. No tests appear to have been carried out, even though [Jamal] allegedly 'blew out Faulkner's brains' as he was standing over him." As for the prosecution's claim that Jamal was shot by Faulkner while standing over the dying police officer, the downward trajectory of the wound to Jamal's chest makes this physically impossible. Again as the PCRA papers note: "The Petitioner would have had to have been doing handstands for Police Officer Faulkner to have shot him in this way from a prone position."

Beverly says that Mumia arrived on the scene after Beverly had shot the cop, and that another cop then shot Jamal. A cop at the scene the night of Faulkner's shooting reported at the time that Jamal had been

shot by arriving cops. This information was suppressed at the 1982 trial. So how could Beverly have somehow concocted this, or other evidence which obviously corroborates the testimony of many others as to what happened that night? In fact, Beverly's account explains the "otherwise inexplicable" fact, as the PCRA filing notes, that none of the prosecution witnesses claimed to see how Jamal was shot. His statement also squares with a police medical examiner's report just five hours after the shooting that Jamal "was shot subsequently by arriving police reinforcements."

As the PCRA papers state: "There is no other explanation for how, in its details, Arnold Beverly's account of what happened finds such close corroboration with so much of the evidence in this case which Arnold Beverly could not possibly have known about."

**Confession:** It has already been more than amply demonstrated that Jamal's purported "confession" was a total invention, concocted **over two months later.** The original **official** police report by Officer Gary Wakshul, who was with Jamal the entire time from his arrest through medical treatment, said that "during this time, the negro male made no comments." Two months later, prosecutor McGill convened a "round table" where he asked the police officers in attendance "to raise their hands if they heard" Jamal confess. Wakshul complied, testifying later that he hadn't recognized the "importance" of Jamal's purported confession at the time. As the new PCRA papers note, the ranking officer at the scene the night of Faulkner's shooting, Alfonzo Giordano, was the first to state that Jamal had confessed. Yet McGill never called on Giordano to testify for the prosecution at Jamal's 1982 trial. Giordano resigned as soon as the trial was over and later went down in the FBI's investigation of police corruption in Philadelphia, as did the two other ranking police officials who constituted the chain of command for investigating Faulkner's shooting.

Beverly's confession and the evidence corroborating it were all available to former defense attorneys Leonard Weinglass and Dan Williams in 1999. The confession and the supporting evidence had been pulled together by Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper, another attorney associated with the PDC, who were also

then on Jamal's legal team. When Weinglass and Williams refused to present this explosive evidence of Mumia's innocence, Wolkenstein and Piper were compelled to resign from Jamal's legal team. Weinglass and Williams tried to justify their treachery to Mumia by claiming that it was "absurd" that the police would kill one of their own and then frame an innocent man for the crime.

Such a scenario is hardly far-fetched. When the cop who blew the whistle on the LAPD Rampart corruption and murder scandal was secretly released from jail last week after serving time for allegedly stealing cocaine from the police evidence room, he immediately went into hiding for fear of being blown away by his former fellow cops.

In Jamal's case, the record is replete with evidence pointing to the fact that Faulkner was set up for the kill. How did it happen that Faulkner was working alone that night, without his normal partner and without his usual bulletproof vest? Why was no ambulance called to the scene? Why did the cop who claimed to have retrieved Faulkner's and Jamal's guns take over two hours to turn them in at the police lab? And why, as Temple University professor and journalist Linn Washington affirmed in another affidavit filed last May, was the crime scene left completely unprotected by the police?

A veteran police reporter, Washington describes being shocked by the "total lack of police" less than five hours after the shooting, saying it brought to mind other instances of "police destruction of a crime scene." Washington refers to the similar cover-up over the 1978 police siege of the MOVE organization's compound, after which nine MOVE members were framed up for killing a cop who by all evidence was shot by "friendly fire" (i.e., he was caught in the crossfire of the cops' own bullets). But here you have a site where a fellow cop was killed—the worst possible crime in the eyes of the police—left completely unsecured. Evidently, Faulkner's fellow cops weren't all that animated about nailing the real perp.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is innocent! The new legal papers and the latest court decision blocking the presentation of Beverly's confession underline the frame-up nature of the whole capitalist "justice" system. The task of the hour is mass, labor-centered protest to demand: **Free Mumia now!** ■

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# Falun Gong...

(continued from page 5)

Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky but on the conservative bureaucratic caste that usurped power from the Soviet proletariat in a political counterrevolution led by Stalin in 1923-24.

The Bolsheviks took what measures they could to replace the functions of the family—the chief institution for the oppression of women in class society—setting up communal childcare, laundry and kitchen facilities. The early Bolshevik regime also abolished all laws discriminating against homosexuals. But under conditions of extreme poverty and hostile imperialist encirclement, the young Soviet workers state could only begin the work of liberating women. The Bolsheviks understood that women could only be fully emancipated in a socialist—i.e., classless—society, necessarily international in scope and premised on a level of technology far higher than that in even the most advanced capitalist countries.

Repudiating the program of international socialist revolution in favor of the lie of “building socialism in one country,” the Stalinist bureaucracy also repudiated the liberating ideals of Bolshevism, not least when it came to women. In his analysis of the Stalinist degeneration, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), Trotsky characterized the bureaucracy’s imposition of a ban on abortion as “the philoso-



Joseph Abeles Collection  
**Woman with bound feet, symbol of barbaric oppression in pre-revolutionary China. 1949 Revolution gave masses of women right to education, jobs.**

and complete prohibition. “The retreat not only assumes forms of disgusting hypocrisy, but also is going infinitely farther than the iron economic necessity demands.”

Trotsky noted that “the most compelling motive of the present cult of the family is undoubtedly the need of the bureaucracy for a stable hierarchy of relations, and for the disciplining of youth.”

In China, the Stalinist regime has always glorified the family as a “fighting unit for socialism.” This particularly rep-



Shanghai Century Publishing

garbage do *not* extend to his diatribes against women and homosexuals. Only this March did the official Chinese Psychiatric Association revise its guidelines to declare that homosexuality was not a “disease.” Stigmatized and fearing “treatment” in state psychiatric institutions, gay men are often forced into seeking furtive meetings in the dead of night in public parks. Such persecution intensified when AIDS hit China, even though the disease has been spread there mainly through drug use, heterosexual contact and blood banks. The city of Chengdu—capital of China’s most populous province, Sichuan—recently enacted a law prohibiting HIV-positive people from working as kindergarten teachers, among other jobs, and even from marrying. This measure is so outrageous that it has come under criticism from the local press.

While the regime victimizes people infected with HIV, its “market reforms” have directly contributed to the spread of the virus. In Henan province, where the government encouraged the growth of private blood collection firms, virtually entire village populations have been infected with HIV. The companies bought blood from poor peasants for plasma production, pooled the collected blood and then re-injected villagers with red blood cells so that they could quickly donate again. More and more villagers began developing AIDS, but the authorities covered up the story for fear they would be held culpable, leaving vastly greater numbers of people open to infection.

A Chinese Trotskyist party would emblazon on its banners the fight for the full emancipation of women and full democratic rights for homosexuals. We wrote in “China: ‘Free Market’ Misery Targets Women” (*Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996):

“As the ‘tribune of the people,’ a vanguard party would fight tooth and nail against the attempt to drive women from their hard-won positions in the workplace and would mobilize working

people to defend women set upon by the purveyors of sexual enslavement. A revolutionary leadership would seek to organize the masses of poor peasants behind the urban working class in struggle for a China of workers and peasants councils (soviets). While fighting to extend the revolutionary struggle internationally, a soviet regime would begin to reconstruct a centrally planned economy under conditions of workers democracy, and undertake the recollectivization of agriculture and the expropriation of imperialist enterprises.”

## Marxism, Stalinism and Religion

Under the headline “China Girds for a Battle of the Spirit,” an article in the *Washington Post* (10 January) noted that the regime’s crackdown on Falun Gong “has been accompanied by exhortations to the public to study Marxism and atheism.” Even as it encourages capitalist free-market measures, the Stalinist regime is capable of occasionally borrowing from the lexicon of Marxism when it suits its purpose. But the CCP’s policies make a mockery of the scientific, materialist worldview of Marxism.

Under Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolshevik regime enforced the separation of church and state and carried out a concerted ideological effort to educate the masses in materialism and to root out religious backwardness, mobilizing Soviet youth in particular through such organizations as the League of the Militant Godless. The revolutionary government nationalized the vast property holdings of the Russian Orthodox church, but the church itself was not banned. The Bolsheviks understood that religion could not be abolished by decree but would disappear only as want and suffering disappeared. As Karl Marx explained in the 1844 “Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right”:

“Religious suffering is at one and the same time the *expression* of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people.”

In regard to religion as in other areas, the Stalinists trampled on Marxism. By the mid-1930s, as Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed*:

“Concern for the authority of the older generation, by the way, has already led to a change of policy in the matter of religion.... The bureaucracy, concerned about their reputation for respectability, have ordered the young ‘godless’ to surrender their fighting armor and sit down to their books. In relation to religion, there is gradually being established a regime of ironical neutrality.”

A few years after Trotsky wrote this, Stalin openly rehabilitated the Russian Orthodox church as he appealed to crude Russian chauvinism against the German Nazi invaders during World War II.

In China, Mao sought to appeal to “traditional” peasant-based culture, fostering the practice of *qigong*. In the 1950s, the CCP prohibited shamans from foisting their superstitious rituals on people in the



Pathfinder Press

**Bolshevik poster shows Central Asian woman rejecting the veil as part of workers state’s struggle against religious and social oppression.**

phy of a priest endowed also with the powers of a gendarme,” continuing:

“The marriage and family laws established by the October revolution, once the object of its legitimate pride, are being made over and mutilated by vast borrowings from the law treasuries of the bourgeois countries. And as though on purpose to stamp treachery with ridicule, the same arguments which were earlier advanced in favor of unconditional freedom of divorce and abortion—‘the liberation of women,’ ‘defense of the rights of personality,’ ‘protection of motherhood’—are repeated now in favor of their limitation

resented a capitulation to prevailing sentiment among the CCP’s peasant base, as we noted in “Maoism and the Family” in *Women and Revolution* No. 7 (Autumn 1974): “Unlike the working class, for whom the family plays no *necessary* economic role, the class interests of the peasantry are essentially limited to consolidating the private ownership of small plots of land, and this requires the maintenance of the family structure.” As in other Stalinist-ruled workers states, Chinese women were still locked into doing “double work,” combining jobs with the responsibility of caring for their families.

The implementation of “market reforms” in the late 1970s has led to a severe erosion of the gains achieved by women as a result of the revolution. With the decollectivization of agriculture and the return to family plots, female infanticide, virtually eradicated after 1949, has returned with a vengeance, as peasant households again put a premium on male offspring. Today, millions of urban women have lost the relative economic freedom they once had, thrown out of their jobs in state-owned textile plants and other industries. The countryside has seen a recrudescence of the age-old practice of buying and selling “wives,” often women who have been kidnapped when they leave their homes to look for work. Women from rural areas make up the bulk of the workforce in the hellish factories in the capitalist Special Economic Zones.

It is notable that the puritanical Stalinist regime’s attacks on Li’s reactionary

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guise of medicine. But as it cut funding for health care, the Beijing regime began promoting shamanism and other superstitious practices rooted in rural backwardness, training doctors in traditional Chinese medicine and extolling the virtues of herbal medicines. In the 1990s, shamans were officially redesignated "traditional medicine practitioners."

In the face of counterrevolutionary agitation by the Dalai Lama, the Vatican and the "house church" movement, the Chinese government sponsors its own brand of Lamaism, its own Catholic bishops (and a "Patriotic Catholic Association") and its own Protestant churches. Beijing's stamp of approval apparently extends to the sinister, anti-Communist Unification Church of Rev. Sun Myung Moon. The *New York Times* (12 September 2000) reported that the church's "International Educational Foundation has been warmly embraced by a range of conservative Chinese officials distressed about their country's slide toward sexual freedom."

In its campaign against Falun Gong, the CCP makes a point of differentiating between "cults" and bona fide "religions." While Falun Gong is truly wacky, it is not different in substance from any other religion, *all* of which are based on anti-materialist dogma and are no less the "opium of the people." Instead of condemning Falun Gong as a counterrevolutionary danger, Beijing compares this racist outfit to the racially integrated



Peter Turnley

**Truckload of workers in Tiananmen Square, 1989. Proletariat's entry into student protests signaled incipient political revolution.**

as one wing embraced pro-imperialist "democracy" while others pushed the most retrograde Great Russian chauvinism. Both contributed to the rise of capitalist counterrevolution, nor were they necessarily counterposed. It was the vaunted "democrat" Boris Yeltsin who, as Moscow party chief in the late 1980s, gave his imprimatur to the anti-Semitic fascists of Pamyat.

The ICL called on the Soviet working people to sweep away these Russian-

China to superpower status, capitalist restoration would mean the imperialist resubjugation of the country and sheer misery for the workers and peasants. The wretched state of the former Soviet Union—mass poverty, falling lifespans, the collapse of science and technology—is a harbinger of what capitalist counterrevolution would mean for China, a far more backward society than the former USSR.

The ostensible Trotskyists of the Hong Kong-based *October Review* long ago abandoned even the pretense of unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state. Their international cothinkers of the United Secretariat tailed all manner of counterrevolutionary forces arrayed against the Soviet Union, even helping run supplies to Polish Solidarność in the early 1980s. Already acting as virtual press agents for CIA-sponsored "labor activists" and "democrats," *October Review* (5 August 1999) also rallies to the defense of the Falun Gong reactionaries against Beijing's "high-handed repression." A subsequent article even uncritically retails claims by Falun Gong followers that "their practice cured them of disease and improved their health" (*October Review*, 30 April 2000). This article also defends the Chinese Democratic Party, an openly pro-imperialist outfit based in the U.S.

Unlike *October Review*, the Pioneer group, another Hong Kong-based outfit calling itself Trotskyist, at least acknowledges that not all of Falun Gong's behavior is "totally pure and normal." Nevertheless, in a 10 February statement, Pioneer calls on "the people to rise up against the persecution of Falun Gong," particularly condemning Beijing's attempt to extend its crackdown into Hong Kong. Pioneer's concern is that "the whole self-governing right of the Hong Kong special region would be

greatly damaged." We Trotskyists hailed the return of the former British colony to China, but we warned that the bureaucracy's maintenance of capitalism in Hong Kong under the rubric of "one country, two systems" was a huge threat to the economic foundations of the deformed workers state. At the same time, Beijing has allowed a degree of openness in Hong Kong as part of the reversion agreement with Britain.

It is in the direct interests of workers in the U.S. and internationally to defend the remaining deformed workers states against imperialism and counterrevolution. It is the task of the Chinese proletariat to oust the bureaucratic caste which undermines that defense and encourages the growth of capitalist-restorationist forces. A Trotskyist party must be forged in political combat against all wings of Stalinism—neo-Maoists and "capitalist roaders" alike—and in sharp opposition to pro-imperialist "democrats."

Communist-minded workers and intellectuals can look back to the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu. At the time of the anti-imperialist May Fourth Movement of 1919, Chen was a radical democrat and linguist who had popularized the goals of emancipation and modernization, including through the literary characters "Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy." Inspired by the



**Tibet's Dalai Lama hosted by George W. Bush. CIA-sponsored "Free Tibet" movement aims at smashing Chinese deformed workers state.**

Branch Davidian group in the U.S., implicitly amnestying the American bourgeois government's slaughter of more than 80 men, women and children in the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas in 1993. As revolutionary opponents of capitalist state repression, the Spartacist League was unique on the U.S. left in vigorously protesting this mass murder by the Clinton administration.

### Break with Nationalism!

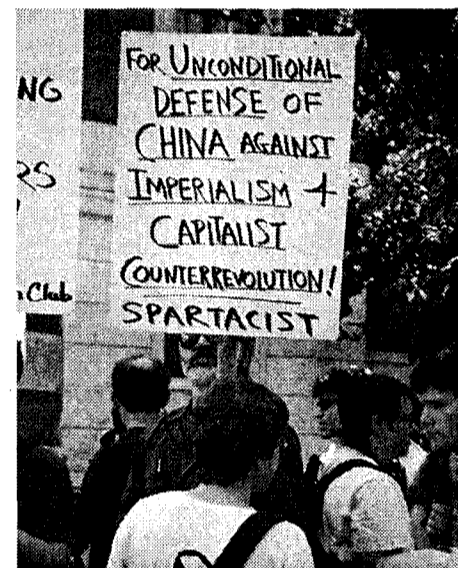
The CCP regime's promotion of Chinese traditions and religions is part and parcel of its inculcation of nationalism among the working people, who are told to suffer through the hardships of "market reforms" for the illusory promise that the country will one day develop into a superpower. In his time, Mao liked to make references to ancient bandit-heroes and great military emperors of China. The nationalism inherent in the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," which means accommodation to imperialism and opposition to world socialist revolution, fuels the growth of reactionary forces.

This was evident in the terminal decline of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy,

chauvinist fascists who posed a deadly threat to the multinational working class of the USSR. We did not look to the Stalinist bureaucracy to "clean out" Pamyat, and in fact pointed out that a workers mobilization against the fascists could be the first step toward a proletarian political revolution to oust the Kremlin misleaders. In August 1991, the same Yeltsin, surrounded by would-be yuppies and Russian Orthodox priests, led the counterrevolutionary coup that ushered in the destruction of the Soviet workers state.

The restoration of capitalism in the USSR and East Europe brought in its wake a cascade of attacks on working people, immigrants, women and youth around the world. It has also led to the flourishing of religious reaction and anti-scientific mysticism. The imperialists now set their sights on capitalist restoration in China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea.

Unlike the USSR, China is relatively ethnically homogeneous, although the large regions of Xinjiang and Tibet are mainly inhabited by minority peoples. Yet nationalist ideology is no less a danger to the Chinese proletariat, serving to bind it to the Guomindang bourgeoisie, which was not destroyed as a class by the 1949 Revolution but fled to Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere. In the name of forging a "greater China," Beijing has invited this same bourgeoisie to again exploit Chinese workers in the Special Economic Zones. Investment by offshore Chinese capital outweighs direct investment in China by the U.S., Japan and other imperialist countries. Far from propelling



WV Photo

**Trotskyists fight to mobilize international proletariat to defend gains of Chinese Revolution.**

Bolshevik Revolution, Chen and other leading radicals became founding members of the CCP. As part of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International, the early CCP sought to wipe out oppression and obscurantism through a socialist revolution, which it saw as part and parcel of a world proletarian revolution. That is the internationalist program that will propel the best fighters against the capitalist re-enslavement of China into a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International, the embodiment of revolutionary Marxism in our time. ■

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