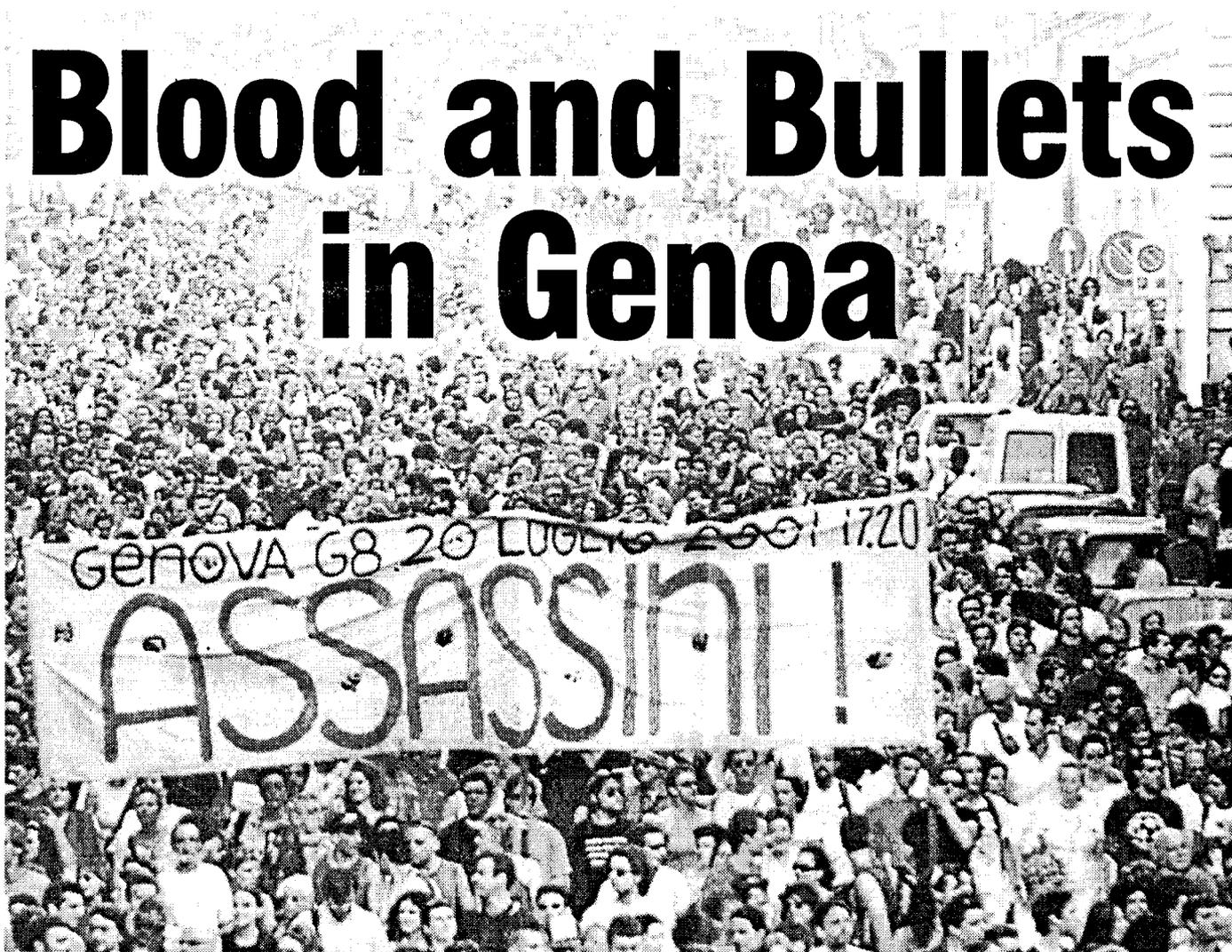


Blood and Bullets in Genoa



AP

Killing of leftist protester Carlo Giuliani in Genoa sparked mass protests throughout Italy, including 30,000 in Rome on July 24. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia intervened in the protests, calling for workers strikes against bloody state repression.

The following article, based on eyewitness reports by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), is adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 762, 3 August.

* * *

As the imperialist rulers met in palatial surroundings at the Group of 8 (G-8) summit in Genoa, 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 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.

The outrage provoked by the massive police repression 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

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

news. In the days that followed, cities and towns throughout Italy were rocked by spontaneous outpourings against state repression and the right-wing government of Prime Minister

(continued on page 13)

New TL Pamphlet in French:

“Quebec: National Question and Class Struggle”

The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste is proud to announce the publication of a new French-language pamphlet, “Québec: Question nationale et lutte des classes” (“Quebec: National Question and Class Struggle”). This pamphlet is a result of our commitment to bring revolutionary Trotskyism to Québécois workers and youth and to lay the programmatic groundwork for the future establishment of TL branches in Quebec. We chose to bring out material on the development of the Quebec national question and its impact on the class struggle in the 20th century, as a means to provide a Marxist understanding of the social reality of Canadian and Quebec society and a revolutionary, internationalist perspective to cut through the national divide.

Canadian nationalism, and its concomitant chauvinism toward Quebec, is the chief obstacle to the anti-capitalist unity of the working class on both sides of the Ottawa River. A crucial task for revolutionaries in English Canada is to break the working class from Anglo chauvinism. The Québécois nationalism which it has fueled is the immediate obstacle preventing the Quebec working class from acquiring the consciousness of its revolutionary tasks. The pamphlet’s introduction, reprinted below, deals primarily with the impact of nationalism on Quebec society, as well as outlining our major differences with the Quebec left.

Contact the TL/LT to order a copy of the pamphlet, or back issues of *SC* containing the contents in English.

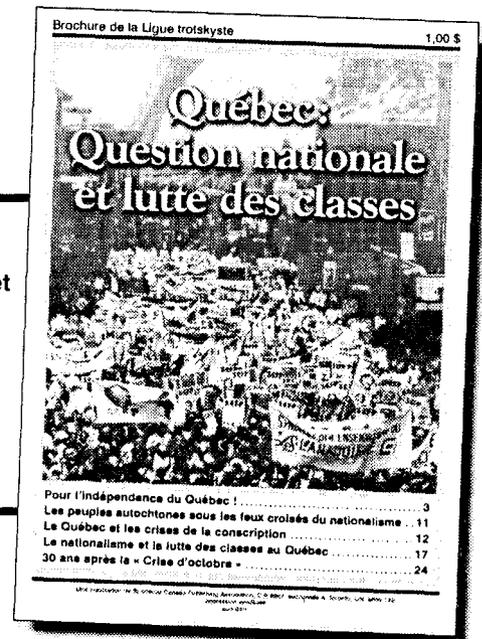
* * *

For decades now, the course of class struggle in Canada has been decisively influenced by the fact of an oppressed, French-speaking nation forcibly retained within a unitary state dominated by the English Canadian bourgeoisie. Far from assimilating into English Canada, francophone Quebec society has increasingly diverged and consolidated. A Québécois bourgeoisie has emerged, seeking to become the predominant exploiter of “its own” proletariat. The Quebec national question thus permeates all aspects of the country’s political and social life. As the capitalists scratch and claw

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for advantage on both sides, a yawning gulf has deepened between French- and English-speaking workers bitterly divided by national chauvinism spread, not least, by their own pro-capitalist union leaders. In this poisonous atmosphere, deliberately fostered by the bourgeois rulers, democratic language rights, the rights of Native people and immigrants and others, are trampled.

The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste calls for Quebec independence in order to abolish the national oppression of the Québécois by the Anglo chauvinists. Such a bourgeois-democratic resolution of the national question will undercut the historic foundations of national chauvinism, allowing the working people of both English Canada and Quebec to come to see their respective capitalist rulers as the enemy, and not one another.

We Marxists are *internationalists*: with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, we believe that “the workers have no country.” Thus, we oppose nationalism, a bourgeois ideology which blinds working people to their objective class interests and prevents them from grasping their world-historic mission of overthrowing capitalism through socialist revolution. To this end, we fight to build a revolutionary vanguard party which can bring revolutionary consciousness to the proletariat of English Canada and Quebec and lead it in the struggle for state power. An important step down this road is cutting through the net of chauvinism and nationalism which currently entangles the working people.

Our call for an independent Quebec is first and foremost a weapon against the insufferable Anglo chauvinism of Ottawa’s “national unity” crusade and its forcible denial of Quebec’s democratic right to self-determination (i.e., separation). At the same time, independence will help to break the grip of Québécois nationalism on the workers of Quebec, who have been impelled by Anglo bigotry and arrogance into the arms of the bourgeois péquistes and Bloc. These

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SPARTACIST CANADA

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Hands Off OCAP!

The Tory government of Mike Harris is targeting the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) in a vicious state vendetta aimed at silencing protests against growing poverty and homelessness. Nineteen OCAP supporters were arrested following a June 12 protest at the Whitby office of finance minister Jim Flaherty. Some were grabbed by the cops three days later after a 400-strong OCAP rally in downtown Toronto, a kickoff for a series of fall protests aimed at "economic disruption" of the Tory regime. Two OCAP organizers, John Clarke and Sean Lee-Popham, were initially refused bail and held in jail for weeks. Together with other OCAP supporters, Clarke and Lee-Popham also face charges stemming from the June 2000 anti-poverty protest at Queen's Park which was brutally attacked by cops wielding truncheons and pepper spray. Defend OCAP! Drop all the charges!

Clarke's court appearance was replete with lurid accusations of "terrorism" by the prosecutor, while bail was initially denied on the basis that he would be a "danger to the public" if released. While this is ludicrous on the face of it, make no mistake: these are libels which can kill. When the supremely violent capitalist state, in the person of its Crown Prosecutor, labels someone a "terrorist" and a "danger to the public," the cops have a green light to target them as someone to whom *anything* can be done.

The Whitby action, a mock "eviction" that moved some of Flaherty's office furniture out on the street, was in protest of the huge number of evictions currently taking place in Ontario—a staggering 2,000 per month in Toronto alone. The homelessness and poverty which are so evident today are not simply the result of the cold-hearted vindictiveness of the Tory government, but are a direct product of a social system based on huge profits for the few and grinding exploitation and misery for the many.

While targeted for repression by the government, cops and courts, OCAP has also come under fire from the NDP and union bureaucrats for its failure to stick to toothless "peaceful, legal" tactics. Buzz Hargrove, the self-proclaimed "militant" leader of the Canadian Auto Workers, pulled all CAW

funding from OCAP after the Whitby protest, claiming its actions were "designed to encourage or create violence and destruction of property." Nonetheless, several CAW locals sent delegations to OCAP's June 15 rally, while the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) voted to continue funding OCAP and to back its fall protest campaign, starting with a mass rally on Bay Street on October 16.

OCAP's "direct action" militancy is attractive to many youth and unionists seeking to turn back the attacks of the Harris regime. Many hark back to the Days of Action, the one-day citywide strikes and mass rallies which marked the Tories' first term. The Days of Action certainly gave a taste of the potential power of organized labor to take action on behalf of all the oppressed. But from the start, the labor tops' central purpose in calling these protests was to refurbish the thoroughly discredited New Democrats, whose 1990-95 government under Bob Rae began the attacks on labor and the poor which Harris deepened with a vengeance.

At first, NDP spokesmen didn't dare raise their heads at the Days of Action, but by the end the protests had become virtual campaign rallies for the New Democrats, as party leader Howard Hampton (who jailed striking postal unionists as attorney general in the Rae government) gladhanded protesters and bellowed from the podium. By late 1998, the Ontario Federation of Labour bureaucracy shelved the Days of Action altogether in order to campaign for the NDP in the provincial election.

Today, OCAP says its struggle "won't end until working and poor people take society and its resources into their own hands" (*They Call It Struggle for a Reason*, June 2001). But another article in the same journal looks as a model to the city government of Liverpool, England in the mid-1980s. OCAP claims this government introduced "startling social changes" including cuts in health care costs and unemployment.

In fact, the Liverpool council, run by Labour Militant (now known as the Socialist Party, parent group of Socialist Alternative in Canada), was a classic example of how social

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Reformists Preach Reliance on Racist “Justice” System

Smash the Frame-Up! Free Mumia Now!

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* (No. 763, 31 August), newspaper of the *Spartacist League/U.S.*

* * *

On August 17, attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal appeared before Pennsylvania state judge Pamela Dembe in an attempt to present dramatic new evidence of Jamal's innocence, centered on the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner in 1981 (see “New Jamal Legal Papers Rip Frame-Up to Shreds,” *Workers Vanguard* No. 762, 3 August). Judge Dembe ordered Mumia's new defense team to submit legal papers by September 7 arguing why the new evidence—detailed in a 272-page Post-Conviction Relief petition and related affidavits, including by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein—should even be heard by the court. In July, federal judge William Yohn refused to hear the new evidence as he prepares his ruling on Jamal's *habeas corpus* appeal.

With his very life on the line, Jamal was barred from the hearing. In a protest read to the court by attorney Marlene Kamish, Jamal denounced the “long and tortured history” of the denial of his right of representation, stating that “through no fault of my own, 18 years ago Judge Sabo unjustly banned me from virtually half my trial. Today I am banned from a proceeding in my name, in my defense, without reason or justification.”

Protests organized by the Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Socialist Action (SA), Refuse & Resist and the Workers World Party (WWP) drew some 1,000 outside the Philadelphia court hearing while 500 gathered the next day in San Francisco. The Revolutionary Contingent organized by the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club and Labor Black League for Social Defense in San Francisco carried signs reading “New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up! Free Mumia Now!” and “There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!” As a speaker for the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, stated in addressing the San Francisco rally:

“The greater the evidence of Jamal's innocence, the more the courts are speeding up the process to execute him, the more they refuse to hear the evidence.

“This powerful black journalist, this MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman is a symbol of defiant opposition to racist repression. The capitalist rulers are determined to execute him as a warning to all those who challenge cop terror, to all those who stand up for labor's rights and to all those who protest U.S. imperialism's mass murder abroad.

“The new legal papers and new affidavits, including by the Partisan Defense Committee's general counsel, expose the truth. But in this capitalist system of injustice, the truth is insufficient to secure Jamal's freedom. What we need is not



Workers Vanguard

U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. His conviction throws into stark relief the machinery of capitalist repression.

just more truth but more social power. The day after Carlo Giuliani was killed [in Genoa], the Italian working class came out by the thousands—300,000—to protest this vicious assault. It is this social power—multiracial, international, proletarian—mobilized not only in demonstrations but in political strikes that we have to mobilize on behalf of Jamal. And to unleash this power, we have to do something that hasn't been talked about much here today, which is mobilize the workers independently of the capitalist class, independently of the Democrats, independently of the Republicans, independently of the Greens.”

Mobilize Labor/Black Power!

The new evidence of Jamal's innocence must be a clarion call for mass mobilizations centered on the power of the labor movement demanding freedom for Mumia. But far from using the Beverly confession to expose the capitalist frame-up system and mobilize fresh forces from among workers and ghetto and barrio youth, the reformist left portrays it as just another legal argument for deliberation by the courts which railroaded Mumia to death row in the first place.

In *Socialist Action* (June 2001), Jeff Mackler extensively reports the confession and other affidavits, only to conclude that they provide “ample support for Mumia's new petition to secure a second Post Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) hearing.” Mackler co-signed a statement for the San Francisco

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“New Politics Initiative”: A Reformist Trap

The protests against the Summit of the Americas in Quebec City last spring illustrated the broad and heterogeneous youth radicalization now going on in this country. There was a clear divide between mostly youthful demonstrators who faced the police rampage near the security wall, and the mainstream protest organizers of the trade-union bureaucracy and its social-democratic and bourgeois-nationalist partners who led the People's Summit and March of the Americas. While thousands of youth were motivated by felt opposition to the poverty and oppression that are the result of the repressive capitalist system, the union tops and their allies pushed support for this same system in the guise of upholding “fair trade,” “democracy” and “Canadian sovereignty.”

The growth of anarchist-inspired “direct action” has produced a plethora of cynical initiatives aimed at diverting radicalizing youth back onto the shoals of bourgeois parliamentarism. Dissident union bureaucrats like Buzz Hargrove of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) have long mused about leaving the NDP to form a new, more activist party. Others have promoted a “Rebuilding the Left” movement, initiated by the New Socialist Group (NSG) and incorporating disaffected New Democrats and Canadian nationalists. Even Maude Barlow's bourgeois-nationalist Council of Canadians has had a makeover. Once a genteel Liberal Party lobby group, it now postures as an activist organization complete with vinegar-soaked bandanas.

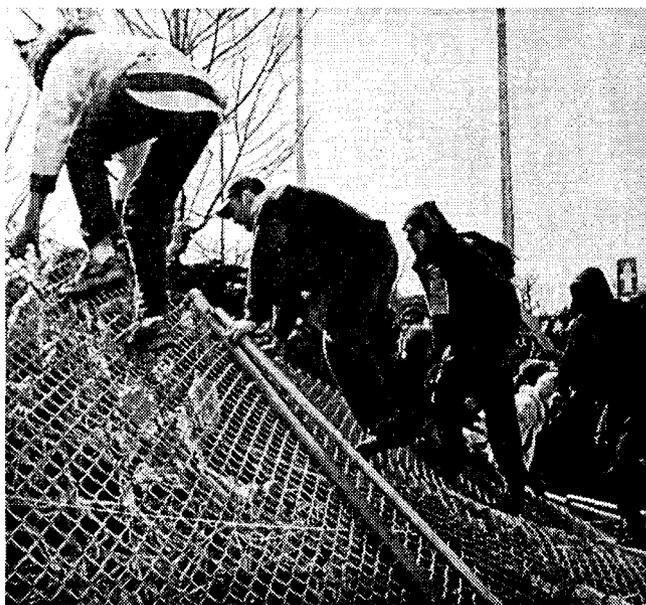
The antics of prominent “left” NDP MP Svend Robinson are a chemically pure example of all this. Robinson used his parliamentary rostrum to denounce the “violent actions of a very small number of protesters” in Quebec City as “reprehensible and unacceptable.” At the same time, scrambling to co-opt a layer of youth to the party, Robinson was central in building an NDP contingent in Quebec City, and even had a pair of perfectly good pants ruined by a plastic bullet near the wall. Now he has got together with senior CAW bureaucrat Jim Sandford and ex-“Marxist” turned media maven Judy Rebeck to launch something called the New Politics Initiative (NPI), which calls for the NDP to re-invent itself as a new party drawing in activists from the “anti-globalization” movement and other “grassroots” organizations.

The NPI's aim of sidetracking leftist youth into bourgeois



Shaun Best/Reuters

NDP MP Svend Robinson (left) designs new cage for militant youth like those who stormed the wall in Quebec City.



CP

parliamentarism is explicit. Its founding statement declares:

“The incredible protests, from Seattle to Quebec City, are proof that there is energy and support for progressive alternatives—an energy that is attracting a new generation of activists. A growing political movement needs a strong political party to roll back corporate power, and restore decency, sustainability, and real democracy to our lives....

“We believe the NDP can and should become that party. If it will, it can recapture the energy and the moral authority to launch a new era of social change. If it will not, progressive Canadians will become increasingly disconnected from electoral politics.”

Nothing horrifies the “left” apostles of reformism like the prospect that radical youth and workers might question the value of the ballot box or even reject the whole shell game of bourgeois democracy. The Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin put it well in his 1917 pamphlet *The State and Revolution*: “To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism.”

Robinson & Co. have won support from a raft of so-called “Marxist” groupings who stand to the right of the impulses of the more radical youth in Quebec City and elsewhere. Acting as “left” shills for pro-imperialist social democracy, the aim of the International Socialists (I.S.), NSG, Socialist Action and Socialist Alternative is to help put an activist gloss on the New Democrats, the better to ensnare workers and radical youth. The I.S. paper *Socialist Worker* (23 May) sums up their perspective:

“If Robinson and Davies [another “left” NDP MP] lead the
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Defend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution!

Falun Gong: Force for Counterrevolution in China



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

Racist American Senator Jesse Helms, patron of sinister Falun Gong. Right: Anti-Communist Falun Gong rally in Washington, July 19.



This March, U.S. Senator Jesse Helms hosted the annual Heritage Foundation "International Religious Freedom Award" in Washington. 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. Former president 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 footbinding 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 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 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 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, U.S. 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-sponsored Solidarność counterrevolutionaries in Pope Wojtyla’s native Poland. 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 plunder-



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.



ing 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 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
(continued on page 8)

Falun Gong...

(continued from page 7)

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 Skimpy 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 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., Canada 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



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

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. But 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.

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 “bare-foot 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



Joseph Abeles Collection



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

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 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

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Falun Gong...

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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 philosophy 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 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 represented 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 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 scien-

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Reuters

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

tific, 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 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 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, as one wing embraced pro-imperialist "democracy" while others pushed the most retrograde Great

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Falun Gong...

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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-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 China to super-power 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 cointhinkers 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 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 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.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 762, 3 August

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE FORUMS	
Toronto	Overthrow the Imperialist Butchers
	For Global Workers Rule!
	7:30 p.m., Saturday September 29 Trinity-St. Paul’s Centre 427 Bloor St. W. (just west of Spadina subway) More information: (416) 593-4138 or spartcan@on.aibn.com
Vancouver	Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
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Genoa...

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Silvio Berlusconi.

But the reformist leaders of the working class—the Democratic Left (DS) of Massimo D'Alema, Fausto Bertinotti's Rifondazione Comunista (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 Bloc." 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 "trouble-makers" 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. We wrote:

"The imperialist rulers gathered in Genoa to intensify exploitation and starvation of the working masses were thirsty for blood, and they got it.... 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 strikes in Italy and beyond against the bloody state repression.*"

This call 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. 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 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 bloodthirsty 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 non-violence. 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 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 internationalist 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 encroachments promoted by the Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms."

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 conditions of

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Reuters

Genoa, July 20: riot cops charge past body of Carlo Giuliani. Right: COBAS union contingent in Genoa.



Genoa...

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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 long was completely encircled by a four meter high metal barrier. Police within the red zone carried out continuous searches of apartments and 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.

On July 19, the first of three days of protests, there was a large anti-racist demonstration of some 50,000 people. Though immigrant communities 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. 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!"

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 Centre, 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.

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. 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 Bloc 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.

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

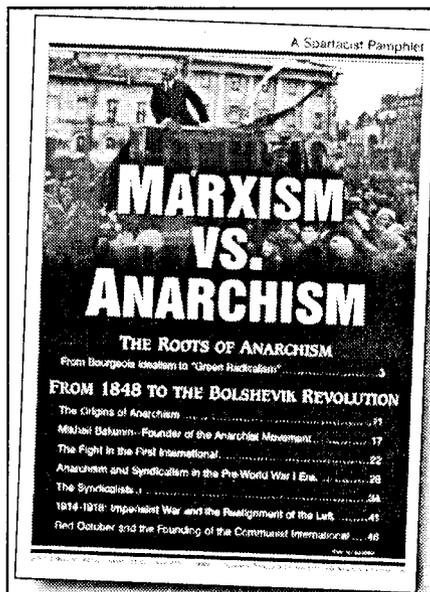
In the wake of the Genoa events, there has been a furious outcry internationally—not against the evident, widespread, murderous violence perpetrated by the cops but against the "violence" of anarchist and other leftist protesters. Going into Genoa, Britain's Blair urged Berlusconi and other capitalist 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 tight," 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," taking 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 Bloc. In Britain, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP, parent group of the Canadian International Socialists) attacked the Black Bloc'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 SWP supporters and members of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French section of the United Secretariat. 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 Bloc."

Earlier, in the immediate aftermath of the shooting of anti-globalization protesters in Sweden, ATTAC spokesman Susan George alibied the state terrorists and blamed the victims for their own repression, saying she was "sick and tired of these groups...who turn up at demos like venomous flowers in order to cause destruction." LCR leader Alain Krivine chimed in that he was "sickened

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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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Genoa...

(continued from page 15)

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 Genoa." 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 appeals to their "own" bourgeoisies. Their "movement" aims not to overthrow capitalism but to mask its monstrous reality.

As organizers of a 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 SWP-dominated Globalise Resistance in Britain pleaded, "We call on Tony Blair, and other political leaders, to condemn this killing." The 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"!

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 Bloc 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.

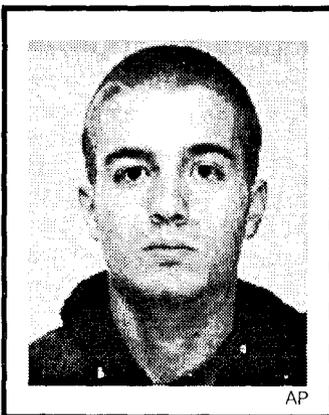
"This is exactly what we reject.

"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



Toronto, July 21: TL contingent at protest against police killing of Carlo Giuliani.



SC photo

Social Democrats and Anarchists After Genoa

In the wake of the Genoa protests, the International Socialists (I.S.) predictably joined the chorus denouncing anarchist "violence." Among the reports in the 1 August Canadian *Socialist Worker* is a disgraceful article titled "Italian Security Forces Create Brown Shirt Bloc" which insinuates that the "so-called" Black Bloc acted in Genoa as fascist provocateurs under police protection, and claims that the Black Bloc "gave the security forces and the G8 leaders the media visuals they needed to attack the credibility of the movement."

The I.S. act as press agents for the mainstream nationalist/reformist forces who predominate in the anti-globalization protests and whose politics they largely share. While smearing the anarchists, *Socialist Worker* regularly hails the Maple Leaf nationalist Council of Canadians and its leader, Maude Barlow. They do not so much as mention her organization's calls to defend "Canadian sovereignty." After the Quebec City protests, the I.S. turned a blind eye to her denunciation of "the violence that happened, including the rocks thrown at police and the vandalism" (*Toronto Star*, 29 April). They also reported enthusiastically on the labor bureaucracy's People's Summit in Quebec City, which was built in explicit counterposition to the left-wing Carnival Against Capitalism and which received substantial funding from the Canadian government.

A July 23 "Statement by Members of the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (CLAC)" pointedly refused to join the chorus against the Black Bloc in Genoa. CLAC is the group that organized the Carnival Against Capitalism, which drew 5,000 of the most radical activists in Quebec City (but not, of course, the I.S., who were otherwise engaged). They write: "We also reject the attempt by G8 leaders, the corporate media, and certain mainstream NGOs to divide the anti-capitalist movement between 'good' protesters (i.e. 'non-violent') and 'bad' protesters (i.e. 'violent' or 'anarchist')."

CLAC here shows considerably more principles and

backbone than the I.S. But their statement also tellingly illustrates the contradictions and limitations of even the most left-wing anarchists. On the one hand, CLAC stands apart from those—including the hardened reformist/nationalist mainstream of the "movement"—who rail against "violence." On the other hand, lacking an independent program and perspective of its own, CLAC is compelled to "reject" divisions in this "movement."

In fact, it is *crucial* for radical youth and workers to break politically and organizationally from the nationalists and reformists who dominate the anti-globalization protests, if their struggles are to have a revolutionary outcome. Genoa provided a concrete and murderous demonstration of the highly organized and ruthlessly efficient forces of the bourgeois state. To prevail against that might requires an organized and disciplined vanguard party that can mobilize the power of the one class that can defeat capitalist rule—the proletariat. Only the working class has the social power and objective interests to liberate mankind from oppression. The purpose of a revolutionary party is to infuse the proletariat with that understanding.

It is little wonder that many radical youth embrace anarchism out of revulsion against a social-democratic left which masquerades as Marxist. But revulsion and anger are not a guide to action. The anarchists embrace a latter-day version of the "propaganda of the deed" of a century ago, the idea that their acts of moral courage will impel others to emulate them and thus build a mass movement against capitalism. It is no accident that those drawn to anarchism are largely white, middle-class youth. Self-sacrifice and individual heroics are not very inspiring to young workers and the oppressed for whom brutal exploitation and cop terror are a daily reality. What is needed is a party like that of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks which can inspire the working people and oppressed with the prospect of victory over the system that is the source of their exploitation and repression. ■

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!" ■

Quebec...

(continued from page 2)

parties, with the help of their allies in the union bureaucracy, in turn foster and perpetuate nationalist false consciousness in order to divert and derail class struggle.

Currently, under the hammer blows of PQ austerity, some *indépendantiste* union leaders have chosen to take some distance from "their" party. Their social-democratic camp followers, like the fake-Trotskyist Gauche Socialiste, propose reformist "alternatives" like the Union des Forces Progressistes. But peddling illusions that you can reform a system based on the exploitation of the proletariat—which is necessarily maintained through reinforcing national, racial and other divisions among the workers—only serves to *reinforce* this same system and its many oppressions. Not surprisingly, in Quebec these forces paint nationalism as "progressive," thus adding one more roadblock to proletarian consciousness and struggle.

Other political trends effectively propose to ignore national oppression. For instance, the neo-Maoist organization Action Socialiste [now the Revolutionary Communist Party (Organizing Committees)] loudly denounces Quebec independence in the name of a currently *fictitious* "class unity" among English Canadian and Québécois workers. Their position amounts to a virtual endorsement of the Anglo-chauvinist status quo.

Many of the anarchist-influenced youth who have militantly demonstrated against "globalization" also oppose Quebec independence. Their starting point is a good one: opposition to their immediate oppressors, the Quebec bourgeoisie and its PQ government. But the only class which has the necessary social power to overthrow the capitalist system—the working class—is right now imbued with nationalism and chauvinism. Simply "rejecting" nationalism without addressing genuine national oppression is entirely ineffectual. Indeed, many anarchists more or less openly deny that the organized proletariat is the only motor force of

socialist revolution.

For militants in Canada who seek to overthrow the brutal system of imperialist exploitation, a correct orientation to the Quebec national question is crucial. This pamphlet is a contribution to that political struggle. It consists of articles previously published in *Spartacist Canada*, newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). The first article, "Independence for Quebec," is our main programmatic statement on the Quebec national question; it is the product of an intensive internal discussion in the TL/LT and throughout the ICL in 1995. Its short companion piece deals with the oppression of Native people in the context of the bitter national divide. This article includes a call for the "right to the fullest possible regional autonomy" for Native people, a flawed formulation potentially implying that aboriginal oppression can be fundamentally ameliorated under capitalism. This was corrected in the *Programmatic Theses* adopted by the TL/LT's 1998 National Conference, which emphasize:

"Only the destruction of capitalism can hold out the possibility of voluntary integration, on the basis of full equality, for those aboriginal peoples who desire it, and the fullest possible regional autonomy for those who do not. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste demands that whatever residual rights Native peoples have been able to maintain, whether through treaty agreements or otherwise, be respected.... Only a workers government will guarantee these conditions."

The other articles reproduced here deal with key episodes in the historical development of the Quebec national question and its impact on working-class struggle. These range from the conscription crises of the First and Second World Wars, through the postwar eruption of union struggles, to the military occupation of Quebec ordered by Liberal prime minister Trudeau during the "October Crisis" of 1970, and the explosive Quebec general strike of May 1972. The articles "Nationalism and Class Struggle in Quebec" and "30 Years After the 'October Crisis'" appear here in French for the first time. ■

OCAP...

(continued from page 3)

democrats in office act as the administrators of capitalist class rule. Seeking to ward off strike action by city workers in the midst of the great 1984-85 British miners strike, the Liverpool council struck a deal with the Tory government to increase local taxes by 17 per cent in order to finance a higher wage settlement, and arranged to call out bailiffs against tax debtors. A year later, in a supposed "tactic" aimed at staving off Tory attack, the council distributed 31,000 layoff notices to city workers! (See the Spartacist League/Britain pamphlet "Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State" for the full story.)

We stand with OCAP against state repression, in the tradition that "an injury to one is an injury to all." At the same time, we have a very different political perspective. Our purpose is the revolutionary conquest of state power by the proletariat in order to abolish capitalism; theirs, in practice, is one of reform backed up by militant protest in the street. We fight to forge a revolutionary vanguard party rooted in the working class, a perspective which crucially includes sharp struggle

against left-talking labor fakers like CUPE Ontario president Sid Ryan, an OCAP ally who often speaks at their rallies.

As revolutionary Marxists, we of course fight against the destruction of welfare and other social programs which benefit the working class and poor. But our goal is not to reintroduce programs that were designed to sustain the unemployed in permanent poverty. Under the egalitarian, planned economy which will follow a proletarian socialist revolution, everyone will have a place in social and economic life. The working class has the numbers, the organization and the power to win all those things the capitalist rulers expropriate for themselves: decent health care, education, housing. Only by sweeping away capitalist rule can we put an end once and for all to poverty, homelessness and racist degradation.

The Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League, sent a protest to the Ontario attorney general following the latest arrests of OCAP members and has contributed to OCAP's legal defense. We urge our readers, and especially union locals and community and student groups, to do the same. Make checks payable/send to: OCAP, 249 Sherbourne St., Toronto ON M5A 2R9. ■

Mumia Abu-Jamal...

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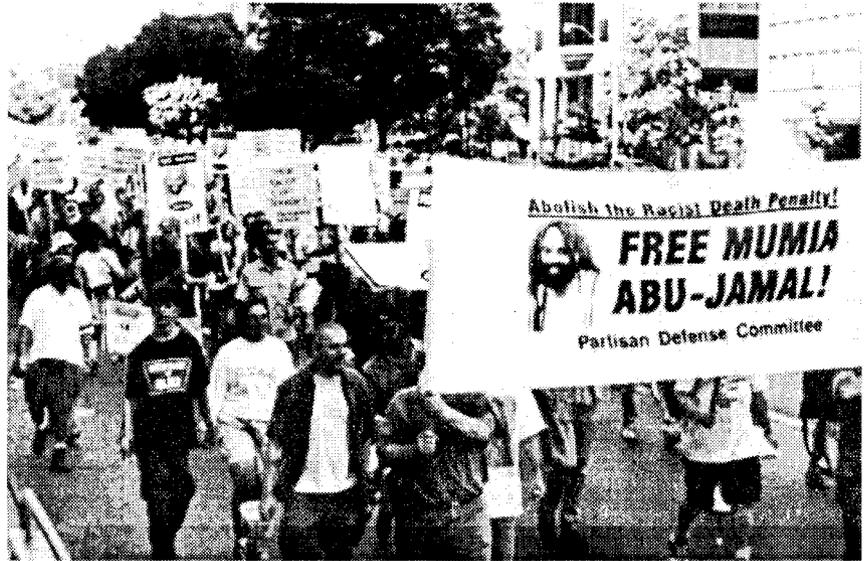
protest declaring: "We must fight to make the price of Mumia's legal lynching too high to pay in regard to a fundamental loss of confidence in the so-called criminal justice system." There you have the consummate expression of the reformists' central concern: that the masses will lose confidence in the "justice" of the capitalist courts. In contrast, the PDC speaker in San Francisco declared: "Jamal's defense is all about building that loss of confidence. Jamal's defense is about making conscious the understanding of the capitalist state as organized violence and repression *against* the working class, *against* the oppressed."

The reformist left's strategy was—and continues to be—based on appealing to Democratic Party liberals whose concern was that the blatant frame-up methods employed against Jamal tarnished the image of impartial, "blind" justice. To that end, for years the reformists focused not on the call for Mumia's unconditional freedom but for a "new trial." Their treacherous reliance on the capitalist state only demobilized support for Jamal: Why seek to bring out labor/black power on the streets if Jamal can receive justice in the capitalist courts?

Ever since the Spartacist League and PDC first took up Jamal's defense some 14 years ago, we stressed that his case was symbolic of the barbaric, racist death penalty in the U.S. The *New York Times* (21 May 2000) acknowledged that truth with a photo caption reading "Mumia Abu-Jamal, the face of capital punishment in America." A host of bourgeois liberals added their name to Mumia's cause, such as Jesse Jackson, who appeared at Jamal's August 17 court hearing. But in recent years, most liberals have abandoned Jamal, even as popular opposition to the death penalty has increased. Why is this?

The overwhelming support for the death penalty in the U.S. has been shaken by the numerous cases of those who barely escaped execution after proving their innocence. In Illinois, Republican governor George Ryan implemented a moratorium on executions early last year, and now other states (including in the Southern "death belt") have started to provide some minimal funding for legal defense for indigent death row prisoners and to introduce provisions for DNA testing. Even Supreme Court justice Sandra Day O'Connor, a strong backer of the death penalty, voiced concern that "the system may well be allowing some innocent defendants to be executed." The liberals see things moving toward "cleaning up" the system's "excesses," and they do not want to be tainted with the case of a dreadlocked former Black Panther who considers himself a revolutionary, writes biting critiques of American imperialism and was convicted of killing a cop.

Representative of this type is Marc Cooper, a contributing editor for *The Nation*, who last year wrote a scurrilous piece titled "What's Mumia Got to Do With It?" which appeared in *Mother Jones*. Cooper smeared Jamal as a "politically dubious cult-groupie" and argued that the fight for his freedom is bad for the broader anti-death penalty movement. Cooper



SC photo

1995 Toronto demonstration to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty in the U.S.

demanded of Mumia's supporters: "Find another movement to be a part of!" The social democrats of *In These Times*, through the writings of one David Lindorff, have openly solidarized with the state's effort to legally lynch Jamal. Vilifying the Beverly confession in the 11 June issue, Lindorff echoes the D.A.'s lie that "Abu-Jamal was as much part of the decision not to use Beverly as were his two erstwhile attorneys," Leonard Weinglass and Dan Williams—a key argument used by Judge Yohn in ruling against admitting the confession as evidence.

Reformists Bow to Capitalist Courts

In a statement to rallies on his behalf on May 12, barely a week after Beverly's affidavit was filed, Jamal declared: "Many of you have said that you don't believe in the system, yet, in your hearts you refuse to let it go.... And, if you by chance choose not to join me, I have one simple request: don't get in my way." The reformists' belief in "the system" was more than evident at those protests. They abetted the bourgeois media's blackout of the Beverly confession because it lays bare the workings of the racist frame-up system and runs against their ingrained belief in capitalist "justice." In Philadelphia, speakers from the WWP and its International Action Center did not even mention the new evidence, while in San Francisco Mackler presented a "legal update" without once referring to it!

This was simply a continuation of their reaction when Williams published a perfidious "inside account" of the case, *Executing Justice*, leading Mumia to fire Williams and Weinglass. The main purpose of the book was to preemptively discredit the Beverly confession, which Weinglass and Williams had suppressed for two years. Mackler alibied Williams' dismissal of Beverly's testimony as some kind of deranged conspiracy theory in *Socialist Action* (April 2001). And in a February 22 letter to Mumia, Weinglass noted that Refuse & Resist leader "Clark Kissinger, according to Dan, found nothing wrong with the book."

The reformists eventually felt compelled to publicize the new evidence because to not do so would thoroughly discredit them in the eyes of those fighting for Mumia's freedom.

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Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 19)

Yet they are squirming because it doesn't exactly jibe—to say the least—with the illusions they sow in the capitalist courts. Explaining the reluctant decision by “the movement” to put aside the call for a new trial, Steve Bloom writes in *Solidarity's Against the Current* (July/August 2001): “With the decision by Mumia and his attorneys to now put forward a clear alternative theory of events this choice to focus politically on the call for Mumia's unconditional release would seem to be even more of a political imperative.”

A “theory”? Bloom can't stomach the *truth* the new evidence illuminates: that lying “testimony,” coercion of witnesses and fabricated “evidence” are standard operating procedure for the cops, prosecutors and courts, wielded with particular vengeance against those like Jamal who are seen as a challenge to the racist rulers. Even in the face of the new evidence, Bloom continues to appeal to liberals who deny Mumia's innocence: “It remains necessary to continue mobilizing support from those for whom questions may remain about Mumia's guilt or innocence, but who are still willing to protest against the original farce of a trial and agree that his conviction should be set aside.”

Earlier, Guerry Hodderson, on behalf of the Freedom Socialist Party National Committee, issued a letter to Judge Yohn pleading:

“Surely, the courts should have gone beyond the idea that the ‘only good Red is a dead Red,’ the mentality that gave rise to Sacco and Vanzetti's executions and the persecution of Abu-Jamal.

“I do not believe you have anything to lose and much to gain

by holding an evidentiary hearing. At the very least you will regain an appearance of fairness in a case that has come to symbolize the racist, anti-radical abuses of America's court system.”

One would have to look hard to find a more chemically pure example of prostration before the bourgeois state. What America's rulers think of “reds” and all opponents of racist capitalism can be seen in the FBI's COINTELPRO program that murdered 38 Black Panthers; in the 1979 massacre of five leftist union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina by the Klan in collusion with the FBI; in the 1953 execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

The drive to execute Mumia throws into stark relief the machinery of capitalist repression which is directed at any perceived threat to a system based on the exploitation of the many by the few, a class system which in the U.S. is rooted in the forcible subjugation of black people at the bottom of society. We seek to imbue the working class with an understanding of not only the nature of the capitalist state as a force for organized violence against the exploited and oppressed, but also the unity of the interests of labor with the fight for black freedom in America. To paraphrase Karl Marx, a slave who understands that he is a slave and understands his relationship to the master is half free. The core question is who shall rule society: the capitalist exploiters or the multiracial working class, taking power through socialist revolution. ■

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

Klein...

(continued from page 24)

and layoffs.

The worldwide system of modern capitalism is called imperialism. Dominated by a handful of industrial, financial and military powerhouses—the U.S. and Canada, West Europe and Japan—imperialist capitalism sucks the lifeblood from the masses of the underdeveloped world. Especially in the imperialists' impoverished neocolonies, grinding exploitation is backed up by murderous state terror against left-wing activists and union organizers. Therefore, any fundamental progress for working people and the oppressed in places like the Philippines, Guatemala or Indonesia entails more than getting rid of imperialism's bloodier local henchmen—a Marcos or a Suharto. It requires the abolition of capitalism through workers revolution. In turn such struggles, to be successful, must go hand in hand with a fight to overthrow the imperialist powers which dominate the “Global South” economically and militarily. This is the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution.

Key to this perspective is defending the gains that workers around the world have already won. Most importantly, this includes those countries where capitalism has already been abolished—China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea. The revolutions that threw out the imperialists and local capitalists from these countries were deformed from the start, installing bureaucratic-nationalist, Stalinist regimes. Nevertheless, the destruction of capitalism opened huge vistas of

social progress to the poor and oppressed—literacy, medical care, freedom of women from all sorts of medieval bondage. Capitalist counterrevolution today threatens all these gains. We stand for unconditional military defense of these countries against imperialism and counterrevolution, and we fight for workers political revolution to oust the ruling Stalinist parasites who are leading them to disaster.

The reappearance of sweatshops in China, which Klein denounces in *No Logo*, is the direct result of the ruling bureaucracy's “market reforms.” Against massive working-class resistance, these “reforms” are pushing the country toward a full-blown capitalist restoration. Such an outcome would turn the world's most populous country into one vast sweatshop for Nike and the rest. You might expect our radical activist to oppose counterrevolution on that basis alone. Not so. In fact, Klein complains that the imperialist powers “have been largely unwilling to impose meaningful sanctions on such documented human rights violators” as China.

Naomi Klein is in thrall to the myth that liberal democracy equals the supremacy of the people, a power above and beyond classes. Whenever she talks about “democracy,” it's to obscure the truth: democracy is always a form of supremacy of one class over another. Bourgeois democracy, as demonstrated in Quebec City and Genoa, means democracy for the bourgeoisie. What everyone else gets is the more-or-less open *dictatorship* of the bourgeoisie, enforced by the capitalist state—government, bureaucracy, cops and army, courts and prisons. We fight for the *workers* democracy of a *workers* state—the dictatorship of the proletariat over the shattered remnants of imperialism.



Minnesota Historical Society

The Battle of Deputies Run, Minneapolis, 1934. Striking Teamsters took on cops, courts, government in open class war.

This communist program horrifies Klein the liberal democrat. When she rails against sweatshops in China, she echoes the anti-Communism of the imperialist powers. She told the British left social-democratic journal *Workers' Liberty* (January 2001, Web posting) that she doesn't even like to call herself "anti-capitalist," because "the problem is the assumption then that you are pro-Communist." In her *Globe and Mail* "Unlabelled" column (6 October 2000), Klein even claimed that Western journalists who were in the Soviet Union when the degenerated workers state collapsed a decade ago were "part of a revolution." Actually, they were part of the series of capitalist counterrevolutions which have brought destitution and nationalist war to the countries of the former Warsaw Pact and Yugoslavia. As the International Communist League pointed out when the IMF met in the Czech Republic last September, "Were it not for the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed East Europe and the former Soviet Union a decade ago, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund would not be meeting in Prague!"

Liberalism, Reformism and Human Rights Imperialism

Klein's utopian program for getting rid of sweatshops boils down to establishing Western-style "liberal democracy" in the Third World. This supposedly would allow the workers to organize and confront the bosses "directly," with the help of laws passed by elected governments. After all, she claims, that's how we did it here! "In the twenties and thirties," she writes in *No Logo*, "when the crises of sweatshops, child labor and workers' health were at the forefront of the political agenda in the West, these problems were tackled with mass unionization, direct bargaining between workers and employers and governments enacting tough new laws." This is a wild liberal rewrite of what really happened.

The notion that North American labor struggles were characterized by some kind of fighting alliance of unions

and governments is just plain loopy. Everything working people won in the 1930s was won in explosive class battles *against* "democratically elected governments." Here's what James P. Cannon, an American communist who helped lead the 1934 Minneapolis General Strike, had to say in his *History of American Trotskyism*:

"The strikes of that period brought the government, its agencies and its institutions into the very center of every situation. A strike leader without some conception of a political line was very much out of date already by 1934. The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn."

In the 30s, labor had to take on the whole capitalist apparatus of repression. Across North America, hundreds were killed by strikebreaking cops, troops and hired gun thugs; thousands more were framed up and imprisoned in open class war over union rights and working conditions. And the "tough new laws" that Klein touts quickly

turned out to be weapons in the bosses' arsenal, as the rulers sought to contain and derail the workers' class warfare by making the capitalist state itself the "referee." Needless to say, the ump was more than a little biased. Labor boards, state arbitration and the like were all used to *prevent* the power of labor from being mobilized in a fight to overthrow the capitalist system itself.

If that was the case in North America, applying Klein's version of "old-fashioned unionism" to the Third World of brutal dictatorship and death-squad democracy is worse than crazy—it's suicide. Perhaps aware of this at some level, Klein demands "the enforcement of existing International Labor Organization treaties," suggesting that all would be well "if compliance with those treaties were observed with the same commitment that the World Trade Organization now shows in its enforcement of the rules of global trade." "Enforced" how? Klein is explicit in her call for United Nations or other imperialist economic sanctions against "abusive" regimes:

"The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights already recognizes the right to freedom of association. If respecting that right became a condition of trade and investment, it would transform the free-trade zones overnight.... In countries like the Philippines and Indonesia, governments would enforce these standards, and their own laws, or fear the economic repercussions."

Unfortunately for her project, the United Nations is not a convention of radical liberal journalists and the imperialists are not social workers. The UN is a conclave of imperialist thieves, their lackeys and their victims. It is an organization which was created to enforce the bloody imperialist status quo. Beginning with Korea in the 1950s, UN "police actions" and "peacekeeping missions," often with Canadian troops in the forefront, have brought death and destruction to wide swaths of the Third World. What do "economic sanctions" against "abusive regimes" mean in real life? Look

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Klein...

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at Iraq. The ongoing United Nations blockade established at the time of the 1991 Persian Gulf war has killed more than one million Iraqis, mostly children and the elderly—more than the war itself and the subsequent daily terror bombings put together. We say: Down with the UN starvation blockade of Iraq!

And if the “meaningful sanctions” Klein demands fail to bring a stubborn regime to heel, what then? Then...her notion of “enforcement” takes on a whole new meaning: direct imperialist military intervention. The 1999 NATO terror bombing of Serbia showed how calling on “democratically elected” imperialist governments to protect “human rights” abroad provides an alibi for their wars of domination. And if you think the idea of Naomi Klein screaming for war is a bit of a stretch, consider the company she keeps in the “movement.”

During the Quebec City anti-FTAA protests Klein chaired the mainstream “People’s Summit,” set up by the social democrats and trade-union bureaucrats to compete with the anarchist-inspired “Carnival Against Capitalism.” NDP “left” MP Svend Robinson was there. He supported NATO’s war against Serbia in the name of “human rights,” and urged European ground forces to occupy Kosovo. Leaders of the Canadian Labour Congress were there too, and they also supported the war. CAW president Buzz Hargrove, currently positioned a half step to the left of his colleagues, called for UN-sponsored troops to invade the Balkans. We Trotskyists opposed the war aims of our own ruling class, without giving one ounce of political support to the regime of the Serb-nationalist strongman Milosevic. We stood for the defense of Serbia against the NATO blitzkrieg, and called to defeat imperialism in the only way you can—through workers revolution.

For Revolutionary Internationalist Leadership!

Naomi Klein is often at pains to insist that she has no political program. But as we have seen, she does have one—a reactionary, utopian perspective of democratizing imperialism. Utopian, because imperialism is not a policy, but an economic system whose very existence requires it to bleed the maximum profits from the whole world’s working people. Reactionary, because her liberal program leads militants into the embrace of the enemy, the imperialist ruling classes. Keep up the democratic pressure, urges Klein, compel your government to stand up to the corporations. Except it’s not “our” government, it’s theirs; and capitalism doesn’t respond well to “pressure” when fundamental things like profits are involved.

Klein’s politics lead into a very old blind alley. It’s a path littered with the used-up political corpses of many who started out wanting to fight for revolutionary change. When she and her co-thinkers in “the movement” bemoan the “undemocratic” power of the “multinationals,” the IMF, the WTO, they are in fact acting as “radical” image consultants for their own blood-soaked rulers. Klein feeds her fans an ideological soup of liberal moralism, assuring them that their militant protest can recapture a lost golden age of “democratic accountability” when “our” governments could play a progressive role.

Such fantasies are death to revolutionary struggle, and they are meant to be. The ideological role of the Naomi Kleins in the “movement” is to obscure and deny the need



Rick Wood

“Meaningful sanctions” in action: UN blockade of Iraq has killed over one million, mostly children and elderly.

for revolutionary program and organization. Klein told *The Nation* (June 2000) that:

“When critics say that the protesters lack vision, what they are really saying is that they lack an overarching revolutionary philosophy—like Marxism, democratic socialism, deep ecology or social anarchy—on which they all agree. That is absolutely true, and for this we should be extraordinarily thankful.”

There is more than a little smoke-blowing hypocrisy in all of this. While Klein has often declared herself “allergic” to political parties, when the NDP New Politics Initiative came on the scene earlier this year—boosted by senior CAW officials and Svend Robinson—Klein welcomed it in her “Unlabelled” column. The NPI, she wrote, is “an idea about what a new party could and should be: more internally democratic, committed to electoral reform, tied to grassroots movements” (*Globe and Mail*, 13 June). In fact, the NPI is exactly the kind of party that workers, youth and the oppressed don’t need. Its whole purpose is to herd the “movement” back into the corral of respectable parliamentary opposition.

Marxist revolutionaries fight to **destroy** imperialism, not give it a makeover. Against the hodge-podge liberalism cooked up by Naomi Klein—with her enthusiasm for “culture jamming” stunts and her whining over “loss of metaphorical space” (whatever that means)—the Spartacus Youth Clubs counterpose a coherent view of the world and strategy for changing it. That view and strategy is Marxism, the historically tested doctrine of international workers revolution. We fight to embody that program in a revolutionary internationalist workers party which can lead the working people, at the head of all the oppressed, in a victorious assault on the whole imperialist system.

The world’s oppressed urgently need a party that will act as the “tribune of the people.” The phrase is Lenin’s. In October 1917, he and his Bolshevik Party comrades led the Russian working people to power, mobilizing behind them the poor, the masses of small peasant farmers, and all the many nations oppressed by tsarism. The Russian Bolsheviks and the Communist International they founded are our model. For us, as for them, the goal is world socialist revolution and the new world of genuine equality and freedom it offers. We won’t settle for anything less. If you won’t either, join the Spartacus Youth Clubs. ■

NPI...

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fight to transform the NDP or create a coalition of the NDP with the anti-globalization movement, it would be electric.

"Thousands of young activists, trade unionists and working people would be drawn to such a call. It could shift the terrain of debate in Canada and generate a much more coherent electoral challenge to the left of the Liberals."

The "NDP Socialist Caucus," a flaccid reformist outfit initiated and led by Socialist Action, brays that the NPI would "provide a unified and inspiring political voice." And Socialist Alternative, the tiny Canadian adjunct of Peter Taaffe's British Socialist Party, has also come on side in trying to sell the NPI to disaffected youth.

Workers, Oppressed Need a Revolutionary Party!

From Seattle to Quebec City, the "anti-globalization" mobilizations have incorporated everything from militant youth to flag-waving protectionists and China-bashing anti-Communists. What worries the NPI's founders is that, as the "movement" has developed, a not-insignificant minority is recoiling from both the dominant nationalism and the respectable electoral channels of social protest.

The NDP has earned the disdain of young activists and also many unionists through its flagrant attacks on workers, minorities and the poor while ruling B.C., Saskatchewan, Manitoba and, earlier, Ontario. Its strikebreaking and attacks on immigrants and Native people have been no different in substance from those of the Liberals or Tories. Meanwhile, its social-democratic and Labourite cothinkers who govern much of West Europe (Britain, France, Germany) act as hardline enforcers of racist capitalist austerity.

Parties like the NDP are *bourgeois workers parties*: linked to the working class via the bureaucratic leaders of the unions but thoroughly pro-capitalist in program and practice. Like the Bolsheviks, we Trotskyists seek to build a revolutionary workers party in sharp opposition to the social-democratic traitors, who decisively demonstrated their loyalty to imperialism as far back as 1914 when they supported their "own" bourgeois rulers in the carnage of World War I. The working-class base of these parties must be broken from the pro-imperialist tops in the course of the class struggle.

NPI standardbearer Robinson is a proud supporter of Canadian imperialism, and a strident anti-Communist to boot. He cheered on the bloody 1999 NATO bombardment of Serbia and today joins protests demanding the imperialists take action against China to enforce "human rights." The NPI "Vision Statement" prattles about an "independent foreign policy," claiming that "Canada was once respected globally as an independent voice for world peace and development." Really? The vaunted "independent foreign policy" hailed by the NPI meant, to cite only a few examples: joining in the bloody Korean War against insurgent Communist-led workers and peasants in the 1950s; hailing the "holy war" of the viciously anti-woman Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats against the Soviet Red Army in the 1980s; and the torture and murder of black African youth in Somalia by Canadian Airborne "peacekeepers" in the early '90s.

The fake-left's support to the NPI is a measure of their own embrace of pro-imperialist anti-Communism, expressed vividly in their support to the counterrevolutionary destruc-

tion of the Soviet Union a decade ago. During NATO's brutal war on Serbia, Socialist Action and Socialist Alternative echoed the imperialists' war propaganda by claiming the issue was defense of the Kosovo Albanians. Meanwhile the I.S. called to build an "antiwar movement" with the likes of CAW head Hargrove...who was demanding Canadian ground troops be sent to the Balkans!

The inclinations of many newly politicizing youth are to the left of these pro-imperialist "socialists," not to speak of the bigger-time social democrats of the NPI or the likes of Maude Barlow. Many youth currently look toward anarchism as the alternative to bankrupt bourgeois parliamentary rule and its fake-Marxist tails. But, as we explain more fully elsewhere in this issue, for all its radical, anti-authoritarian posture of "resistance," anarchism cannot even begin to chart a course toward the overthrow of oppressive capitalism. That requires a revolutionary perspective centered on the proletariat. The working class must be broken from its existing, pro-capitalist leadership and its immense potential social power unleashed to lead all the oppressed in anti-capitalist struggle. And that requires a fight for a new, revolutionary leadership—a vanguard party like the Bolsheviks who led the Russian workers to power in the 1917 October Revolution.

In our interventions in Quebec City and other "anti-globalization" protests, we Trotskyists have fought the prevailing nationalism and protectionism, saying: "The main enemy is the capitalist class at home!" We stand foursquare against Canadian imperialism and denounce the dangerous fraud that it can be a force for "human rights" anywhere. On the home front, we defend the rights of all the oppressed—women, immigrants and Native people, the Québécois. We call for independence for Quebec, denouncing the dominant Anglo chauvinism while working to break Québécois workers from their own bourgeois nationalist exploiters.

Together with our comrades throughout the International Communist League, we aim to build a proletarian revolutionary vanguard party, part of a reformed Fourth International. To youth and workers who seek a road forward against bankrupt capitalism and don't want yet another round of NDP-style parliamentary windbagery and betrayal, we say: Join us—You have a world to win! ■

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB EVENTS

SYC Forum

Marxism vs. Anarchism

Toronto	Vancouver
5:30 p.m., Wednesday, Sept. 12 Room 430, Student Centre, York University	7:00 p.m., Wednesday, Sept. 12 Room 211, Student Union Building, UBC

SYC Class Series

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism

First class: **The Communist Manifesto: A Guide to Action**

Vancouver	7:00 p.m., alternate Wednesdays starting September 19 First class: Room 211, Student Union Building, UBC Phone (604) 687-0353 or email tlit@look.ca for readings and other class locations.
Toronto	5:30 p.m., alternate Wednesdays starting September 19 First class: Room 313, Student Centre, York University Phone (416) 593-4138 or email spartcan@on.aibn.com for readings and other class locations.

Naomi Klein's "Unlabelled" Liberalism

The response of capitalist governments to the emergence of militant youthful radicalism within the "anti-globalization" protest movement has been to unleash deadly state repression. Demonstrators shot down in Göteborg, Sweden; Carlo Giuliani murdered in Genoa, Italy; beatings, tear gas and jail for countless others from Seattle to Quebec and London—as the blood dries and the smoke clears, many are asking themselves: What now? How do we fight, and for what? These are vital questions of *political program*. Victory in the battle against capitalist oppression hinges on their correct solution.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs struggle to win young anti-capitalist militants to the program of revolutionary Marxism. Marxism is based on the logic of the class struggle in capitalist society. The class of

Young Spartacus

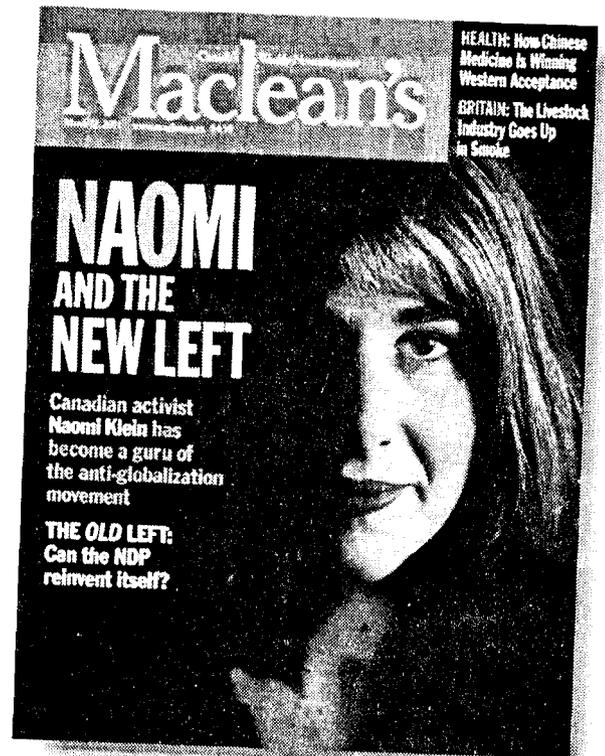
wage workers, the proletariat, owns nothing but the ability to work. In order to live, therefore, they have to hire out to the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, which owns all the productive wealth—mines, mills, factories. The bourgeoisie buys the workers' labor power and sets the proletariat to producing the profits it hoards for itself.

Because they are the source of capitalist profits, only the proletariat has both the historic interest and the potential power to overthrow the whole system. Through its daily struggles, the proletariat can wrest concessions from its class enemy. But as long as the bourgeoisie remains in the saddle, every reform will be partial and reversible. To free itself, and all of society, once and for all, the workers must overthrow the bourgeoisie through world socialist revolution. We Trotskyists are dedicated to the task—begun by Marx himself and continued by Lenin's Russian Bolsheviks and Trotsky's Fourth International—of building a worldwide revolutionary workers party to organize and lead that fight.

This perspective—the only revolutionary one—is diametrically opposed to the illusions in capitalist democracy on offer from influential leaders in the "movement." Naomi Klein is one such leader, long on righteous indignation, but at best unable to approach the real questions of how to fight to win. Her book, *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies* (Toronto: Vintage, 2000) is an international bestseller, her "Unlabelled" column in the *Globe and Mail* regularly tweaks the nose of corporate capital. Read her and you know what she's against. But what is she *for*, what's her *program*? Let's have a look...

Sweatshop Labor: The Real Face of Capitalism

Much of what Naomi Klein has to say has to do with the connection between "First World" capitalist corporations like Nike and "Third World" sweatshop labor, mixing some compelling accounts of the conditions and struggles of Asian and Latin American workers with descriptions of Western boycott campaigns against prominent



Lionized by capitalist media, journalist and "anti-corporate" activist Naomi Klein lends fresh face to old reformism.

"multinationals." While Klein admits that simply exerting pressure on a few companies like Nike won't end sweatshop labor, she portrays the super-exploitation of workers in neocolonial countries like the Philippines as a "corporate abuse" that can be redressed by a revamped "democratic" capitalism. But it's not, and it can't.

"If companies make deals with brutal dictators, sell off their factories and pay wages too low to live on," Klein writes, "it's because there is nothing in our international trading rules to prevent them." Wrong. Sweatshops are not some sort of loophole in international law. The owners of industry, in their cutthroat competition for markets, must squeeze the maximum profit out of the working class. Thus they constantly seek out the cheapest possible labor. Where labor isn't cheap enough, the capitalists will try to drive the price down through union busting and strikebreaking, unemployment, plant closures

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