

Operation Eagle Eye: racist dragnet

With typically racist arrogance, Paul Condon, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, accused black people of being responsible for 80 per cent of all muggings in London. This outrageous statement was made in a letter inviting leaders of the black community to meet with him to discuss the "problem" of crime and aiming to solicit their support for the launch of the Met's Operation Eagle Eye (OEE). OEE's "crackdown on crime" amounts to a racist dragnet that systematically targets blacks and other minorities. Condon's suggested meeting date was 28 July, the second anniversary of the cop killing of black Jamaican-born mother Joy Gardner.

Condon's racist crackdown received the "full support" of Tory Home Secretary Michael Howard, and within its first four weeks, community groups had reported "a tripling in the number of complaints"

(*Observer*, 27 August). Even before Operation Eagle Eye, young black men were ten times more likely to be stopped and searched than their white counterparts. But now backed up by the Criminal Justice Act the cops feel they can go swanning into any place they please, swinging their truncheons with impunity. One report in the *Observer* (27 August) described a race equality worker pulled over in his car and arrested for failing to prove his identity. He was then dragged from the car and beaten.

Earlier this year Brian Douglas, a 33-year-old black man, was savagely beaten to death by cops in South London using newly acquired American-style police batons. His killers walk free today as do those of Joy Gardner. British capitalist society is a living nightmare for all the oppressed. A survey of black people carried out in the *Weekly Journal* (2 March)

showed that of those surveyed, over 40 per cent had personally experienced racial abuse from the police and 67.3 per cent knew someone who had experienced physical abuse from cops! Blacks make up some five per cent of the population but over 16 per cent of the prison population. There has been a dramatic rise in police cell deaths, at least 25 in the past year alone. A massive proportion of those who die in police cells are black or from minority communities.

The latest cop crackdown is a green light for murderous attacks on blacks and Asians by fascist and racist terrorists. Over the last few years these attacks have increased alarmingly. In 1993, Stephen Lawrence, a young black student, was killed and Muktar Ahmed and Quaddus Ali were beaten near to death by fascist-inspired attacks. The trade union movement must stand in defence of all the

minority communities. For trade union/minority mobilisations against racist terror!

Capitalist Britain delivers increased misery and poverty for working people and it hits hardest at minority communities. In London, 62 per cent of young black men are unemployed (*Guardian*, 20 March). The ruling class' only "solution" is to savagely increase attacks against the oppressed while supplying their thugs in blue with more weapons of terror. Tony Blair's Labour Party vies with the Tories in promoting capitalist "law and order". The Criminal Justice Act passed through parliament without so much as a peep of opposition from the Labour Party. Recently Blair's shadow Home Secretary, Jack Straw, signalled that Labour in power would introduce draconian new measures to protect "the law-abiding

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No to imperialist diktat in the Balkans!

Down with Britain/US/UN/NATO attack on Bosnian Serbs!

The article reprinted below is dated 5 September. It is adapted from Workers Vanguard no 628, 8 September 1995.

- For workers revolution to overthrow all the bloody nationalist regimes!
- For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

The massive NATO air attacks directed by Washington against the Bosnian Serbs mark a major escalation in the four-year-long Balkan wars. With over 500 bombing sorties thus far, this is the biggest military action ever undertaken by the Western imperialist alliance. This is not an isolated raid having little effect on the war but a move to change the balance of forces in favour of the US and German clients in the region, Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims. After a four-day pause during the latest round of negotiations, the bombing is now continuing. As one senior NATO commander declared at the outset: "Our total strategy is to take away their military capability."

US intervention to destroy or cripple the Bosnian Serb forces is emboldening the American ruling class in the belief that it can terrorise the peoples of the world at will, from colonial-type occupations as in Somalia and Haiti to the bombing of Third World capitals from Libya to Iraq, to imposing economic blockades on countries which refuse to bow to Washington's dictates. When the Bosnian Serbs shoot down NATO warplanes, they are not only justly defending themselves and their homeland but are

acting in the interests of working people and oppressed nations throughout the world.

The International Communist League has opposed the nationalist bloodletting on all sides in the ethnic civil wars in the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, we have always opposed all of the many imperialist interventions, including the

UN "peacekeepers" and economic embargo of Serbia. It has been quite clear in recent months, beginning with the deployment of the so-called rapid reaction forces last spring, highlighted by the American engineered and controlled Croatian offensive in early August, and now with the mass murder bombing by the US and NATO, that this has become

an imperialist war against the Serbs. *We call for defence of the Bosnian Serbs against Britain/US/NATO imperialism and its puppets of the Muslim-Croat alliance.*

As the Pentagon war machine was unleashed in the Balkans, the ICL called emergency demonstrations in a number of cities, including New York, London, Berlin and Paris.

In the Spartacist leaflet calling the London protest of 5 September, we noted that:

"The United Nations is the frontman of imperialist intervention in the region. We oppose UN sanctions against Serbia (which are real, unlike the phoney arms embargo of Bosnia). Tony Benn's Committee for Peace in the Balkans calls for an end to direct military intervention, but supports the UN presence: in other words they want to provide an alternative route for imperialist domination."

A wanton act of imperialist bloodlust

The capitalist counterrevolutions which swept across Eastern Europe in 1989-91 led to the bloody break-up of Titoist Yugoslavia along national lines. The Serbs—the largest and militarily strongest nationality in the region—quickly gained the upper hand, controlling a third of Croatia and 70 per cent of Bosnia. But American imperialism refused to accept a Greater Serbia established in defiance of its will, and the German Fourth Reich was pushing for a Greater Croatia.

Three years ago, the Western powers
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Invasion of Krajina by fascist Croatian regime led to "ethnic cleansing" of 200,000 Serbs.

Eagle Eye...

(Continued from page 1)

citizen" from "aggressive begging of winos, addicts and squeegee merchants" (*Guardian*, 5 September)!

While Condon was launching the cops' racist dragnet, the government was putting into place its new anti-immigrant measures aiming to enlist everyone from school authorities, to benefit offices to hospital administrators in a campaign to spot "illegals" and deny them access to housing, health care or education. The government piloted its new measures in the London borough of Hackney where it used a stolen list of council employees to target and harass those with African names (*Guardian*, 27 June). We demand: *Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families! Down with the racist immigration and nationality laws!*

Unlike the reformists of the SWP and Militant who preach that the cops are

"workers in uniform" we stand by what Russian revolutionary leader VI Lenin taught: the police, army and courts are the capitalists' state machinery for the suppression of the working class and the oppressed. This state cannot be reformed but must be smashed and replaced by a workers state.

We call on our readers to support the following cases.

Free Oliver Campbell!

Oliver Campbell is a 24-year-old black man serving a life sentence for a murder that he did not commit. There is no forensic or material evidence linking him to the crime. Oliver is a victim of a racist frame-up!

Contact: Justice for Oliver Campbell Campaign, PO Box 6580, London E6 3TL.

Free the M25 Three!

Three young black men—Raphael Rowe, Michael Davis and Randolph Johnson—are serving a life sentence for the death of

a man on the M25, without a shred of forensic, identificational, confessional or direct evidence.

Contact: M25 Three Campaign, 28 Grimsell Path, Camberwell, London SE5 0TB.

Free Satpal Ram!

Satpal Ram has languished in jail for nine years now, serving a life sentence, on a conviction of murder. But Satpal Ram acted in self-defence against an attack by six white racists. An appeal in his case is currently pending. We demand his freedom now!

Contact: Free Satpal Ram Campaign, c/o 101 Villa Road, Handsworth, Birmingham B19 1NH. Tel: 0121 551 4518.

Free Winston Silcott!

Winston Silcott was framed for the 1985 murder of PC Blakelock during the police riot at Broadwater Farm. He has since been acquitted of that murder but remains in prison on a life sentence for a separate case where he acted in self-defence.

Contact: Winston Silcott Defence Campaign, PO Box 6796, London N15 4PB.

Make financial donations to: WSDC Account no: 91155962 (40-06-20) Midland Bank plc, 448/454 High Road, Tottenham, London N17.

Free Raghbir Singh!

Raghbir Singh is a Midlands journalist and editor of a Punjabi-language newspaper. He is currently in jail, threatened with deportation as a "threat to national security". Raghbir has never been charged with any offence or appeared before a court.

Contact: Raghbir Singh Defence Campaign, c/o Birmingham NUJ, c/o 723 Pershore Road, Birmingham B29 7NY.

Free Kani Yilmaz!

The British government arrested Kani Yilmaz, a representative of the Kurdistan Workers Party, whilst he was on his way to address MPs at Westminster in October 1994. If Kani Yilmaz is extradited to Germany, he faces the threat of deportation to Turkey where his life would be in severe danger.

Asylum rights for victims of reactionary repression!

Operation "Vigipirate" in France, colonial repression in Tahiti

Down with the French bourgeoisie's racist terrorism!

We reprint below a le Bolchévique leaflet issued on 10 September 1995 by the Ligue trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the ICL. Our comrades' hard class stance against their own ruling class represents a powerful statement of proletarian internationalism. Revolutionary Marxists in this country stand opposed to the anti-French chauvinism peddled by the CND and "left" Labourites with their call to "Boycott France".

The LTF has called for a united-front demonstration on 15 September on the slogans: Down with Chirac's anti-immigrant pogroms and racist state of siege! French cops and troops out of immigrant neighbourhoods and out of Tahiti!

The Chirac government started the new political year by showing the true face of the French bourgeoisie: racist and imperialist state terrorism. Soon after having participated in the bloody UN/NATO aggression against the Bosnian Serbs, they brought down brutal colonialist repression on the revolt in Tahiti; at the same time they put "metropolitan" France in a racist state of siege, swarming not only with cops but also with the army.

It is the duty of the workers movement to mobilise right now all the social power of the working class for massive, militant actions (like strikes and demon-

strations) against the racist terror which is raining down on immigrant communities in France and the Polynesian people.

Tahiti: freedom now for the imprisoned trade unionists and demonstrators! Independence now for the French colonies

From De Gaulle to Mitterrand, the *force de frappe* [French nuclear arsenal] was targeted on the major cities of the USSR. While the social-chauvinists of the SP [Socialist Party] and the PCF [French Communist Party] supported this terrorist arsenal, we Trotskyists, who defended the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism (while always calling for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy)—we opposed the *force de frappe* from the outset. Now that the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR has opened the Pandora's box of inter-imperialist rivalries, Chirac, by deciding to restart nuclear tests, is brandishing his arsenal of death as a threat against all the potential rivals of French imperialism who might threaten its "vital interests", but also against all the neocolonial peoples who would not accept the imperialist yoke.

This arrogant decision has provoked an outcry across the whole world, and particularly in the French colonies of the Pacific. The mobilisations which have taken

place in Polynesia since June have turned into a veritable uprising against the colonial "order" which crushes these islands. The demonstrations of 6 and 7 September confronted a throng of police. This is the way that Chirac commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the imperialist massacre at Setif, in Algeria, by once again launching his thugs against a colonised people. The blows of colonial "justice" immediately rained down: around ten protesters were sentenced to several months in prison and today some twenty pro-independence trade union militants have just been arrested. *The workers movement must demand their immediate release and the dropping of all the charges. French imperialism has also carried out acts of piracy against Greenpeace ships. Chirac, hands off the Greenpeace activists! We Trotskyists say: Down with the French force de frappe! Not a penny, not a man for the bourgeois army! Down with the attack by France, the UN and NATO on the Bosnian Serbs! Down with the racist, colonialist terror of French imperialism! French imperialism: out of the Pacific! Independence for Polynesia and all the French colonies of the DOM-TOM [overseas departments and territories]! Eloi Machoro, Rainbow Warrior, Ouvea—the working class must avenge the crimes of French imperialism!*

Down with Operation Vigipirate! Down with the racist state of siege!

The Chirac government is using the criminal bombings which have bloodied the streets of Paris and Villeurbanne to unleash a huge racist operation, unprecedented since the dirty war in Algeria. Racist identity checks, round-ups, deportations, charter flights shipping out "illegals".... By giving the operation the name "Vigipirate" (like during the bloody imperialist Gulf War in 1990-91), the government clearly shows its main aim: to terrorise the immigrant communities.

In the name of the racist, chauvinist "holy alliance" "against terrorism", Chirac wants to prepare the population for arbitrary mea-

asures, and for repression against anyone who fights its measures of social reaction. The anti-immigrant policies of the bourgeoisie are the spearhead of its totally reactionary politics. Chirac whips up hysteria against immigrants and their children to avoid a social "third round" [ie after the two rounds of the Presidential elections in June], which the strikes in the spring threatened. The bourgeoisie wants to divide and rule. *The workers movement must make the struggle against racist terror and segregation central to its fight.*

Stop the charter flights and the deportations! Defend the right of asylum! Cops out of the ghetto housing estates! Crush the fascists before they crush us! Worker-immigrant defence guards based on the factories! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

No to class collaboration! For a workers government!

The current leaders of the workers' movement have so far not lifted a finger in defence of the Polynesians or of immigrants and their children. Quite the opposite: as loyal servants of their own bourgeoisie, they defend the imperialist interests of France, forming part of the racist consensus. The PCF leadership has even engaged in an obscene flirtation with the neo-Gaullist Chirac: a way for them to recall the "good old days" when PCF ministers sat in the government of De Gaulle which massacred the Algerians at Setif. The struggle against racist and colonialist terror poses point blank the need to build a multiracial, internationalist revolutionary workers party, which must be the tribune of all the oppressed.

Only the establishment of a workers government, a bastion of the world socialist revolution, will be able to put an end to all the barbarity of capitalism—from racist and imperialist terror to the threat of a nuclear holocaust. ■

WORKERS HAMMER



For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles!
For a Socialist United States of Europe!

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To end racist oppression requires the dispossession of the ruling class and the establishment of workers republics!

We reprint below the Spartacist leaflet issued on 21 July 1995.

The judicial killing of black American political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is planned for 17 August. An innocent man framed up, a writer and activist, supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organisation, and formerly a member of the Black Panther Party, Jamal has languished on the "Death Row" of Pennsylvania for thirteen years. He is behind bars in closest isolation, facing death, because this "voice of the voiceless" has always refused to fall silent. The Philadelphia police are crying for his blood, with the backing of high-up politicians all the way to Clinton's White House.

As revolutionary Marxists, whose fight for communism is the fight for mankind's emancipation from all oppression and injustice, we are struggling with all our forces to win FREEDOM FOR MUMIA ABU-JAMAL, who cannot receive justice from the courts and cops of the US. In the leaflets and publications of the Partisan Defence Committee you can read the history of the persecution of Jamal, of the fight in the courts and on the streets to stop this legal lynching, and of the international support from major trade unions and other forces for the campaign. It is the duty of every supporter of black freedom, every death penalty abolitionist, every trade unionist and every socialist to join the crescendo of international protest demanding: save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The state's determination to silence Jamal springs from their recognition of his role as a radical black leader. In 1968, J Edgar Hoover declared, "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to

understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." This policy was written in blood as 38 Black Panthers were killed in the extra-judicial COINTELPRO campaign of the FBI, a programme of disruption, provocation and death designed to extinguish the struggles of the best of a generation of fighters for black liberation. Today the long hand of COINTELPRO still rests on Mumia Abu-Jamal.

If Jamal can be freed from this ghastly march to death by world-wide protest, it will strike a blow against capital punishment in the US, and knock back all the bourgeois politicians, Democrat and Republican, who are playing the racist card of "law and order". The case of Jamal stands at the heart of the fight to ABOLISH THE DEATH PENALTY, which is a barbaric institution, inherently racist in its intent and application.

The death penalty is a weapon of capitalist state repression bearing down on the working class, upon minorities and fighters against colonialism. The histories of American and British imperialism are filled with examples of political executions: the execution of the Easter 1916 combatants, including revolutionary socialist James Connolly; the judicial murder of the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927 in the US; the execution of thousands of independence fighters from Kenya to India to Malaya; the killing of the Rosenbergs in 1953, sacrificed at the altar of imperialism's Cold War against the Soviet deformed workers state.

Black oppression is fundamental to US capitalism. Chattel slavery, begun in English colonial times, was abolished in the US by the Union victory in the Civil War, in which over 200,000 black sol-

diers and sailors (a fighting force to be respected and feared) turned the tide. But the foul legacy of slavery still lives on, despite the formal ending of Jim Crow segregation. Vicious, murderous racism is the programme of North American capitalism, present in every facet of government policy, legislation and police activity. The racist vendetta against the MOVE commune culminated in 1985 with the police bombing of an entire neighbourhood, leaving eleven MOVE members, including five children, dead. The brutal beating of Rodney King at the hands of the LA Police Department, captured on amateur video, was just one glimpse of the sickening reality of capitalist America. The death penalty is the nightstick and the police pistol sanctified, the KKK lynch rope in official guise.

American capitalism was built upon the maintenance of a reserve army of labour, which as a result of deindustrialisation is now deemed expendable. Today in the US we witness deadly attacks on welfare programmes, the endless strengthening of the police and the building of more prisons (in a country where over 1.5 million people are behind bars!), Crime Bill upon Crime Bill (to the point where a man can be and sometimes is imprisoned for 25 years for taking a slice of pizza). This escalating campaign of repression and abuse enforces the status of black people who are to be isolated and segregated in the ghettos. It will take a third, socialist American revolution to finish the Civil War: to fill the nominal equal rights claimed by bourgeois "democracy" with the real content of social equality, and to end permanent racist oppression through working-class rule. We stand for revolutionary integrationism—the integration of black people

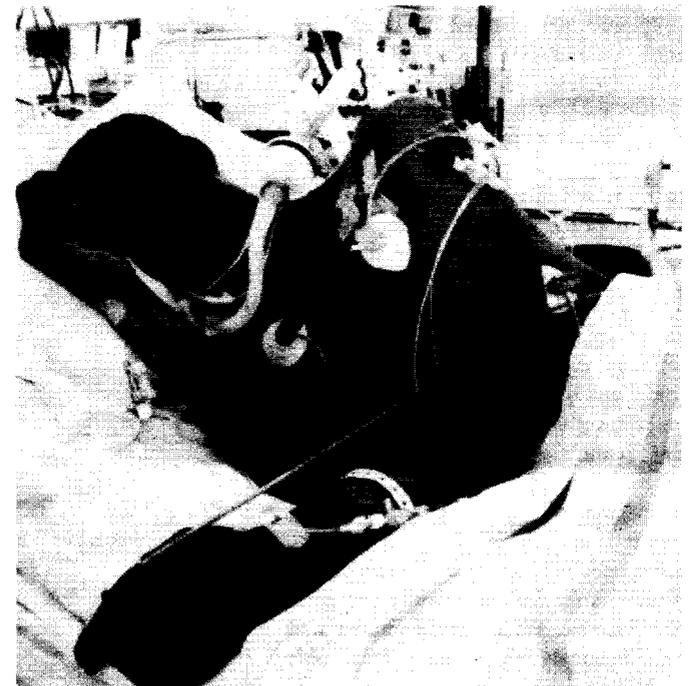
into an egalitarian socialist society. And so long as the US bourgeoisie successfully exploits racism and anti-immigrant chauvinism to divide the working class, so long will the general oppression of the whole working class go on.

Britain and the US: a counter-revolutionary compact

The British ruling class held the world in its grip with plundered gold and gunboats for a century before subsiding into the role of junior partner to its American cousins—the handing over of the "white man's burden". The British Empire was a giant prison-house of colonial slaves, pumping billions into the City of London. It rested on brutal force, combined with a policy of divide and rule, whose bloody consequences have been visited on millions in the neo-colonial era of formal independence, as in the partition of India after World War II. Between them, and through the slaughter of millions in two imperialist world wars, America and Britain have drawn vast profits from the exploitation of the world's working people. Each of them, in their time, made the enslavement of African people the very foundation of their might. Each of these capitalist ruling classes is saturated with arrogant racism. Their "special relationship" is a counterrevolutionary compact of thieves and murderers, of oil barons and financiers equipped with nuclear bombs.

From day one of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, these two powers, along with France and Germany, were the vicious and determined enemies of the Soviet workers state. They sent armies of intervention to assist the White Guards who provoked civil war after the revolution

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Workers Hammer

no credit

Partisan Defence Committee-initiated demonstration in London 22 July demands "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!" Brian Douglas (right), killed by racist capitalist state.



Jewish workers' self-defence unit, Odessa 1918. Bolshevik Revolution purged Russia of Black Hundreds reaction.

SL leaflet...

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tion. Despite this the Red Army won the war, although much of the working class that had formed the base and staff of the Soviet regime in 1917, was dispersed or killed during the destruction and economic collapse caused by the monumental struggle against the counterrevolutionaries. This in turn helped the formation of a separate and privileged bureaucracy, with Stalin at its head, which came to political power in 1924 on a defeatist and isolationist programme of "socialism in [only] one country".

As Trotskyists our tendency unconditionally defended the Soviet Union against attack or threat from imperialism, from Hoover, Churchill through Hitler to Atlee, Kennedy and then Thatcher and Reagan. Unlike the capitulator Tony Cliff (head of today's SWP), we defended North Korea and China against the Anglo-American attack which left two million dead by the end of the Korean War in 1953. And from the beginning of Stalin's rule the Trotskyists fought to return the USSR to the Leninist road: first through inner-party struggle, and then through the call for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and restore workers democracy, equality and the goal of world revolution.

Today we defend the remaining deformed workers states of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea while fighting for political revolution. The next period could well see terminal crises of these states, albeit played out in very different ways. The Chinese Stalinists are paving the way for a cold restoration of capitalism, supported by Japanese and American imperialism, who in turn are rivalling each other for the spoils.

We opposed attempts at internal capitalist restoration, like that of Polish Solidarność, heavily endowed with imperialist dollars and Deutschmarks. We called on the Soviet workers to come out and stop Yeltsin's counterrevolution in 1991, which succeeded in toppling the demoralised and eroded Stalinist regime, bringing the disaster of capitalist restoration on the heads of the working people. American president Bush and British premier Major gave their blessing by phone to Yeltsin on the day of his bid for power, more than seventy years after Lloyd George, Wilson and Poincaré had sent their armies in to strangle the revolution at birth.

The bloody histories of American and British imperialism are intertwined throughout the twentieth century. Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism,

inevitably leads to war, in which working-class youth are used as cannon fodder. Today the vastly reduced British bourgeoisie is tearing itself apart in a bitter debate over whether to stick with America or work more closely with Germany. Increasing inter-imperialist rivalry is being asserted in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union—a rivalry that ultimately threatens a new world war, this time with nuclear weapons. One way or the other, the ruling class, presiding over its investments from London, will remain the architect of want, war and repression.

In ex-Yugoslavia, the horrors of internecine conflict are the authentic face of counterrevolution, instigated and presided over by the rival imperialist powers.

The "Workers Aid to Bosnia" crew, slavishly friendly to bellicose social democrats, are in cahoots with open imperialist warmongers in the Alliance for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Echoing the line of Margaret Thatcher and the US Republican right, they call for imperialist arms to flow to the Bosnian government, as the US, France and Britain prepare air strikes against the Serbs.

None of these so-called socialists can find a decent word to say about Tito and the struggle of the Communist Partisans in

World War II, which successfully battled the occupying Nazi Wehrmacht, as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and the Serbian royalist Chetniks. The Titoist regime undermined the achievements of the Yugoslav revolution by the later policy of "market socialism", widening national and regional divisions and opening the door to capitalism.

Today Marxists oppose all sides in the squalid nationalist blood-bath that has ripped apart the former Yugoslavia. A military advance for any side necessarily means murderous attacks on other ethnic groups. Britain, US, France, UN, NATO: out of the Balkans! We defend Serbia against imperialist attack; we are for socialist revolution throughout the region, and for the building of internationalist communist parties that will struggle without compromise against all forms of nationalism.

The capitalist state: armed bodies of men defending bourgeois property

In Britain the death penalty for murder has been abolished, although capital punishment still remains available for "treason", a reminder of the importance of the monarchy in the unwritten, anti-democratic constitution. The queen's Privy Council is an unelected body which includes the "great and the good" of the treacherous Labour Party. This emergency powers government-in-waiting has a Judicial Committee, which acts as the final court of appeal for the legal system of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, which retain and use the death penalty. The death penalty has been abolished but...the British state has not stopped killing black and Asian people. Harry Cohen MP recently documented the fact that almost 70 people have died in police custody in the last eight years, the overwhelming bulk of them from the minority communities in the inner cities. No one has been charged in any of these cases. On the streets of South London in May, the police killed Brian Douglas, a black man. Two years ago Joy Gardner, a black mother, was throttled to death by the police and immigration officials, who were let off without punishment of any

kind. A Nigerian man, Joseph Nnalue, fell to his death when being pursued by the same forces earlier this year. Countless black and Asian youth have suffered murderous attacks at the hands of the fascists, whom the state protects. As these cases and the anti-Irish frame-ups of the Guildford Four and Birmingham Six show, there can be no justice from the British state, any more than for Mumia Abu-Jamal in the US. Support for the campaign to free Jamal echoes the angry demonstrations that have taken place against the racism of the British state.

The capitalist state is, at its core, armed bodies of men devoted to the defence of bourgeois property. To believe that this state will or can defend workers interests, or protect minorities from racist attacks or the assaults of fascist gangs is a terrible illusion. This idea is pumped out non-stop by the Labour Party, and by various groups and committees which tag along in its wake. For example, the appeals of the Anti Nazi League to John Major and Bexley Council to close down the fascist BNP headquarters go hand-in-hand with the lie that voting Labour in council elections in the East End has somehow dealt a blow to the fascist race-terrorists. Since when did a vote stop a racist murderer? The call on the state to "deal with the fascists" or to "prosecute the racist killers" backs up the moves by the Tories and Blair's Labour Party for stronger police powers, helping to create a climate in which the cops and the courts can ban left-wing marches and meetings under the guise of "preserving public order". The state protects the fascists as a reserve force to crush the workers movement. These "public order" powers aimed primarily at picket lines and minorities have been strengthened in the Criminal Justice Act. Suicidal calls on the state run counter to the need for independent, working class and minority mobilisations to stop the fascists by running them off the streets, and for workers defence guards to defend minority communities and the labour movement from fascist attack.

Even as Greenpeace and Green Anarchists are targeted by the state, the Green Party, a bourgeois party, pushes the lie

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The revolutionary, red republican tradition of Chartism



Mass Chartist meeting at Kennington Common: Chartists represent the revolutionary traditions of the British working class.

"I hate long discussions and disquisitions upon the rights and privileges of the oppressed. I hate such arguments as go to prove that hawks should not prey upon doves; wolves on lambs; or the idlers of society upon the productive classes; I hate all appeals to the morality of monsters...."

"We have had enough of moral and learned strictures upon abstract rights and duties, which have left the respective parties *in statu quo*—the one plundering, the other being plundered...."

"My motto is... 'What you take you may have'. I will not attempt to deal with the abstract question of right, but will proceed to show that it is POWER, solid, substantial POWER, that the millions must obtain *and retain*, if they would enjoy the produce of their own labour and the privileges of freemen."

—Chartist leader James Bronterre O'Brien, 1837

Thatcher, Blair and the "defend Bosnia" fake left:

On the imperialist warpath

The massive terror bombing of the Bosnian Serbs, including the use of cruise missiles, is the largest imperialist onslaught since the Gulf war in 1991. One might think that socialists in the attacking powers, especially those who call themselves "revolutionary" and "Marxist", would be out on the streets in angry protest against the war moves of the capitalist murderers. Indeed, within days of the start of the bombing, the US, French, German and British sections of the International Communist League had organised emergency demonstrations. On 2 September the Spartacist League/Britain put out a protest statement calling for Britain, US, UN, NATO out of the Balkans, and for defence of the Bosnian Serbs against imperialist attack, advertising the London protest on the 5th.

No other left group has initiated protest of any kind against the UN/NATO bombardment. The Bosnia Solidarity Campaign (BSC—formed in July, just before the Croatian blitzkrieg expelled 200,000 Serbs from the Krajina) is a pro-war popular frontlet. It unites the WRP and the rest of the "defend Bosnia" crowd with a bourgeois clot of warmongers called the Alliance to Defend Bosnia-Herzegovina (ADBH). The fake-left groups in the BSC have a pro-imperialist "Defend Bosnia" stance: they line up with Margaret Thatcher and US Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole, demanding that the Western powers openly supply arms, matériel and training to the Bosnian government's army. This is called "lifting the arms embargo" (which is in fact more like a sieve than a blockade). They demand "end UN collusion with genocide!": in plain English meaning that the UN should back the Bosnian government with military force. These positions are simply echoes of the dominant pro-Bosnia, pro-war faction of the Labour Party, led by Tony Blair. The NATO bombing raids are the logical endpoint of the labours of WP, the WRP etc in their campaign for imperialism to ship arms to the Bosnian government. Now the Serbs are getting what the fake lefts howled for: high-tech murder.

The larger, left social-democratic groups like the Socialist Workers Party and Militant Labour have refrained from such blatant enthusiasm for the US/German client states of the Croat-Muslim alliance. Before the bombings started they correctly stated that there was nothing to choose between the competing, murderous nationalist regimes in former Yugoslavia, from a working-class standpoint—but they never came out against the UN blockade of Serbia, and remained silent on the need to take a side in military defence of the Serbs in the event of imperialist attack.

While advocating the overthrow of all the contending governments through workers revolution, we defend the Bosnian Serbs both against NATO and the UN, and today that means against the Bosnian Muslim/Croat forces which are now subordinated to the imperialists. This is a revolutionary defensist position. Not so the SWP and the Militant. As in the Gulf war against Iraq, these groups refuse to take a side with the victims of imperialist aggression. Their "neutrality" between imperialist terror bombers and the Bosnian Serbs who are being bombed, lays the basis for unity with the Labour lefts on the pacifist slogan "Stop

the bombings", while conveniently ignoring the support of Benn for the UN, which is responsible for imposing a starvation blockade upon Serbia.

Since the bombing started, the British left has leapt with great relief on the issue of French nuclear tests in the Pacific. We oppose these tests because they reinforce the military capacity of an imperialist power, which can only be used for reactionary ends. We support the demand of the enraged Tahitian protesters for independence of French Polynesia from colo-

big meeting after the demonstration was dominated by fervent Bosniac nationalism. The Bosnian ambassador got a huge standing ovation". When an anti-war statement "from leftist groups in the Serb capital of Belgrade" was read out in Serbo-Croat "there was uproar"... because it came from Serbs. The report points out that the WRP chairman, Dot Gibson, "said...nothing to cut against this anti-Serb chauvinism. In fact, they encouraged it, by describing the war as one against 'fascism'".

SL demo: Down with UN/NATO bombings!



nia rule. We vehemently oppose the chauvinist, "collective guilt" garbage of "Boycott France", raised here by the CND.

The British left, however, is doubly comfortable with the anti-test protests. They are against the French, which is certainly easier than standing out against your "own" bourgeoisie—and the protests are nothing to do with the actual war being prosecuted by the British ruling class under NATO auspices and US tutelage, right now, every day in the Balkans.

Bosnia Solidarity Campaign succours imperialism

The real interests of those in and around the Bosnia Solidarity Campaign were freshly exhibited in the last two months. On 22 July (the day after a full NATO conference was held in London where the imperialists confirmed that air attacks would be launched on the Bosnian Serbs in the event of a suitable pretext) Workers Aid to Bosnia and the ADBH took to the streets to egg on imperialist intervention under the slogan "Stop the rape of Bosnia".

The demonstrators declaimed "UN abets genocide". According to a shamelessly frank report in *Socialist Organiser* (27 July), "calls from the platform for the UN to get out, because it was more of a hindrance than a help, and calls for the UN to blast the Serbs, both got enthusiastic applause at the meeting—from the same people". Hardly a contradiction, if you understand that the favoured strategy of the assembly for "blasting the Serbs" amounted to: pull the UN troops out of harm's way, start the NATO bombing, and ship in the high-tech weaponry, aka the demo's third slogan: "Lift the arms embargo".

Socialist Organiser reports that "the

As if this farrago of reaction and chauvinism was not enough, the demonstration attracted the support of the Muslim Solidarity Committee, whose contribution was a leaflet defending the Sudanese Islamic government against the attacks of Amnesty International on its policies of stoning to death, hand cuttings and crucifixion.

On the same day the Partisan Defence Committee-initiated united front demonstration in defence of Mumia Abu-Jamal took place. Both WP and the AWL sent token contingents to the Jamal demo, but their hearts were very much elsewhere. The virtual boycott of the Mumia demonstration by these groups showed that their highest priority is the pro-imperialist campaign for "poor little Bosnia", even when counterposed to the urgent need to save the life of a black political prisoner who was facing the threat of execution in less than a month, from the same ruling class responsible for the Balkans terror bombings.

The AWL, flatly lying to cover its tracks, would have you believe that the Alliance to Defend Bosnia-Herzegovina, who co-organised the 22 July demonstra-

tion and a later one on 5 August, are "leftists...people like Branka Magas and Quintin Hoare". Well maybe, if writing for *New Left Review* makes you a leftist. (Branka Magas nowadays spends her time in cosy round-table discussions with the likes of the head of the East Adriatic desk of the British Foreign Office).

In fact the ADBH contains an entire fauna of reactionaries. Its journal *Bosnia Report*—which outfits like the AWL cite like the word of god—is indeed a revelation: its pages include a message from...Margaret Thatcher, calling for tightening the blockade of Serbia and lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia and an article reprinted from the *Chicago Tribune* under the headline "Bosnia: Hands Off, Arms In". Much of its contents seem to appear first in the mouthpiece of the Catholic church hierarchy, the *Tablet* (for the Croatian fascist Ustashi were nothing if not devout).

Workers Power: fig leaves in tatters

In a 5 September statement of their Central Committee, WP echo Benn's call to "Stop the bombings", but deny that the NATO bombardment is a decisive intervention by imperialism on the side of the Bosnian government! According to them, for this to happen "would involve a large scale clash between the ground forces of imperialism and the Bosnian Serbs, and a concomitant absorption of the BiH [Bosnian government] forces into a rudimentary joint command structure." Since when have Marxists refused to take up the military defence of a people under attack from their "own" imperialism on the grounds that only bombs and artillery are used, and not infantry!? Of course the Sarajevo government has launched fresh attacks on the Bosnian Serbs under the umbrella of the NATO air strikes, but this obvious reality is far too "rudimentary" for Workers Power.

With a flash of mirrors and a puff of smoke WP disappear the elementary proletarian internationalist task of combatting the British and other imperialist bourgeoisies by defence of the Bosnian Serbs. WP openly say, "in the war between NATO and the Republica Srpska, revolutionaries continue to take a revolutionary defeatist position on both sides". That is, in an imperialist war against a small nationality they are ostensibly neutral and in fact have a hefty pro-imperialist bias. Their justification reads: "Each side's strategic goals are reactionary", which

continued on page 8

Message from Baroness Thatcher

to the International Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina

organised by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and Bilkent University International Relations Department Ankara, 17-19 April 1995

Turkey is one of the few countries which has understood the gravity and significance of events in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Americans must be lifted immediately. We should appropriate that Bosnia should be the situation in standing reproach which has both prevented the vict instead of condem

aggressors who have been responsible for mass murder, torture and ethnic cleansing, the international community has chosen to treat what is happening in Bosnia as a 'civil war' in warring... should as ne

BOSNIA REPORT

Newsletter of the Alliance to Defend Bosnia Herzegovina

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Tell me who your friends are...

100 years since the death of Friedrich Engels

Engels explains the historical roots of British capitalist rule

This 5 August marked the hundredth anniversary of the death of Friedrich Engels, who together with his close comrade Karl Marx laid the foundations of scientific socialism. Their 1848 pamphlet, *The Communist Manifesto*, pointed to the working class as the force for eliminating capitalist exploitation and oppression and ushering in a classless society. They fought to organise an international party of the working class, first in the *Communist League* (1847) and then the *First International* (1864). Engels made a definitive contribution to the struggle for women's emancipation with his 1884 book *On the Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, uncovering the roots of women's oppression in the family and class society. While many reformists pay lip service to Engels, they scorn the concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat and materialist dialectics which he defended and developed. In honouring the memory of this founder of the communist movement, we reprint below extracts from the *Special Introduction to the 1892 English edition of Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*.

I hope even British respectability will not be overshocked if I use, in English as well as in so many other languages, the term "historical materialism", to designate that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another....

The long fight of the bourgeoisie against feudalism culminated in three great, decisive battles.

The first was what is called the Protestant Reformation in Germany. The war cry raised against the Church by Luther was responded to by two insurrections of a political nature: first, that of the lower nobility under Franz von Sickingen (1523), then the great Peasants' War, 1525. Both were defeated, chiefly in consequence of the indecision of the parties most interested, the burghers of the towns—an indecision into the causes of which we cannot here enter. From that moment the struggle degenerated into a fight between the local princes and the central power, and ended by blotting out Germany, for 200 years, from the politically active nations of Europe. The Lutheran Reformation produced a new creed indeed, a religion adapted to absolute monarchy. No sooner were the peasants of North-East Germany converted to Lutheranism than they were from freemen reduced to serfs.

But where Luther failed, Calvin won the day. Calvin's creed was one fit for the boldest of the bourgeoisie of his time. His predestination doctrine was the religious expression of the fact that in the commercial world of competition success or failure does not depend upon a man's activity

or cleverness, but upon circumstances uncontrollable by him. It is not of him that willetth or of him that runneth, but of the mercy of unknown superior economic powers; and this was especially true at a period of economic revolution, when all old commercial routes and centres were replaced by new ones, when India and America were opened to the world, and when even the most sacred economic articles of faith—the value of gold and silver—began to totter and to break down.



Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: "they taught the working class to know itself and be conscious of itself, and they substituted science for dreams." (VI Lenin, "Frederick Engels", Autumn 1895).

Calvin's church constitution was thoroughly democratic and republican; and where the kingdom of God was republicanised, could the kingdoms of this world remain subject to monarchs, bishops and lords? While German Lutheranism became a willing tool in the hands of princes, Calvinism founded a republic in Holland, and active republican parties in England, and, above all, Scotland.

In Calvinism, the second great bourgeois upheaval found its doctrine ready cut and dried. This upheaval took place in England. The middle-class of the towns brought it on, and the yeomanry of the country districts fought it out. Curiously enough, in all the three great bourgeois risings, the peasantry furnishes the army that has to do the fighting; and the peasantry is just the class that, the victory once gained, is most surely ruined by the economic consequences of that victory. A hundred years after Cromwell, the yeomanry of England had almost disappeared. Anyhow, had it not been for that yeomanry and for the plebeian element in the towns, the bourgeoisie alone would never have fought the matter out to the bitter end, and would never have brought Charles I to the scaffold. In order to secure even those conquests of the bourgeoisie that were ripe for gathering at the time, the revolution had to be carried considerably further—exactly as in 1793 in France and 1848 in Germany. This seems, in fact, to be one of the laws of evolution of bourgeois society.

Well, upon this excess of revolutionary activity there necessarily followed the inevi-

table reaction which in its turn went beyond the point where it might have maintained itself. After a series of oscillations, the new centre of gravity was at last attained and became a new starting-point. The grand period of English history, known to respectability under the name of "the Great Rebellion", and the struggles succeeding it, were brought to a close by the comparatively puny event entitled by Liberal historians "the Glorious Revolution".¹

The new starting-point was a compro-

middle-class were sufficiently attended to. And these economic interests were at that time powerful enough to determine the general policy of the nation. There might be squabbles about matters of detail, but, on the whole, the aristocratic oligarchy knew too well that its own economic prosperity was irretrievably bound up with that of the industrial and commercial middle-class.

From that time, the bourgeoisie was a humble, but still a recognised component of the ruling classes of England. With the rest of them, it had a common interest in keeping in subjection the great working mass of the nation. The merchant or manufacturer himself stood in the position of master, or, as it was until lately called, of "natural superior" to his clerks, his workpeople, his domestic servants. His interest was to get as much and as good work out of them as he could; for this end they had to be trained to proper submission. He was himself religious; his religion had supplied the standard under which he had fought the king and the lords; he was not long in discovering the opportunities this same religion offered him for working upon the minds of his natural inferiors, and making them submissive to the behests of the masters it had pleased God to place over them. In short, the English bourgeoisie now had to take a part in keeping down the "lower orders", the great producing mass of the nation, and one of the means employed for that purpose was the influence of religion....

In the meantime materialism passed from England to France, where it met and coalesced with another materialistic school of philosophers, a branch of Cartesianism.³ In France, too, it remained at first an exclusively aristocratic doctrine. But soon its revolutionary character asserted itself. The French materialists did not limit their criticism to matters of religious belief; they extended it to whatever scientific tradition or political institution they met with; and to prove the claim of their doctrine to universal application, they took the shortest cut, and boldly applied it to all subjects of knowledge in the giant work after which they were named—the *Encyclopédie*. Thus, in one or the other of its two forms—avowed materialism or deism—it became the creed of the whole cultured youth of France; so much so that, when the Great Revolution broke out, the doctrine hatched by English Royalists gave a theoretical flag to French Republicans and Terrorists, and furnished the text for the Declaration of the Rights of Man.⁴ The Great French Revolution was the third uprising of the bourgeoisie, but the first that had entirely cast off the religious cloak, and was fought out on undisguised political lines; it was the first, too, that was really fought out up to the destruction of one of the combatants, the aristocracy, and the complete triumph of the other, the bourgeoisie. In England the continuity of pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary institutions, and the compromise between landlords and capitalists, found its expression in the continuity of

judicial precedents and in the religious preservation of the feudal forms of the law. In France the Revolution constituted a complete breach with the traditions of the past; it cleared out the very last vestiges of feudalism, and created in the *Code Civil*⁵ a masterly adaptation of the old Roman law—that almost perfect expression of the juridical relations corresponding to the economic stage called by Marx the production of commodities—to modern capitalistic conditions; so masterly that this French revolutionary code still serves as a model for reforms of the law of property in all other countries, not excepting England....

To return to our British bourgeois. The French Revolution gave him a splendid opportunity, with the help of the Continental monarchies, to destroy French maritime commerce, to annex French colonies, and to crush the last French pretensions to maritime rivalry. That was one reason why he fought it. Another was that the ways of this revolution went very much against his grain. Not only its "execrable" terrorism, but the very attempt to carry bourgeois rule to extremes. What should the British bourgeois do without his aristocracy that taught him manners, such as they were, and invented fashions for him—that furnished officers for the army, which kept order at home, and the navy, which conquered colonial possessions and new markets abroad? There was indeed a progressive minority of the bourgeoisie, that minority whose interests were not so well attended to under the compromise; this section, composed chiefly of the less wealthy middle-class, did sympathise with the Revolution, but it was powerless in Parliament....

While the Revolution ensured the political triumph of the bourgeoisie in France, in England Watt, Arkwright, Cartwright and others initiated an industrial revolution, which completely shifted the centre of gravity of economic power. The wealth of the bourgeoisie increased considerably faster than that of the landed aristocracy. Within the bourgeoisie itself, the financial aristocracy, the bankers, etc., were more and more pushed into the background by the manufacturers. The compromise of 1689, even after the gradual changes it had undergone in favour of the bourgeoisie, no longer corresponded to the relative position of the parties to it. The character of these parties, too, had changed; the bourgeoisie of 1830 was very different from that of the preceding century. The political power still left to the aristocracy, and used by them to resist the pretensions of the new industrial bourgeoisie, became incompatible with the new economic interests. A fresh struggle with the aristocracy was necessary; it could end only in a victory of the new economic power. First, the Reform Act⁶ was pushed through, in spite of all resistance, under the impulse of the French Revolution of 1830. It gave to the bourgeoisie a recognised and powerful place in Parliament. Then the Repeal of the Corn Laws,⁷ which settled, once for all, the supremacy of the bourgeoisie, and especially of its most active portion, the manufacturers, over the landed aristocracy. This was the greatest victory of the bourgeoisie; it was, however, also the last it gained in its own exclusive interest. Whatever triumphs it obtained later on, it had to share with a new social power, first its ally, but soon its rival.

The industrial revolution had created a class of large manufacturing capitalists, but also a class—and a far more numerous one—of manufacturing workpeople. This class gradually increased in numbers, in proportion as the industrial revolution seized upon one branch of manufacture after another, and in the same proportion it increased in power. This power it



Histoire des Révolutions

Oliver Cromwell, leader of the English Revolution. From Cromwell, to Robespierre to the Bolsheviks, regicide was necessary for the advancement of humanity.

proved as early as 1824, by forcing a reluctant Parliament to repeal the acts forbidding combinations of workmen.⁸ During the Reform agitation, the workingmen constituted the Radical wing of the Reform party; the Act of 1832 having excluded them from the suffrage, they formulated their demands in the People's Charter,⁹ and constituted themselves, in opposition to the great bourgeois Anti-Corn Law party,¹⁰ into an independent party, the Chartists, the first workingmen's party of modern times.

Then came the Continental revolutions of February and March 1848, in which the working people played such a prominent part, and, at least in Paris, put forward demands which were certainly inadmissible from the point of view of capitalist society. And then came the general reaction. First the defeat of the Chartists on the 10th April, 1848, then the crushing of the Paris workingmen's insurrection in June of the same year, then the disasters of 1849 in Italy, Hungary, South Germany, and at last the victory of Louis Bonaparte over Paris, 2nd December, 1851. For a time, at least, the bugbear of working-class pretensions was put down, but at what cost! If the British bourgeois had been convinced before of the necessity of maintaining the common people in a religious mood, how much more must he feel that necessity after all these experiences? ...

The industrial and commercial middle-class had, therefore, not yet succeeded in driving the landed aristocracy completely from political power when another competitor, the working class, appeared on the stage. The reaction after the Chartist movement and the Continental revolutions, as well as the unparalleled extension of English trade from 1848-66 (ascribed vulgarly to Free Trade alone, but due far more to the colossal development of railways, ocean steamers and means of intercourse generally), had again driven the working-class into the dependency of the Liberal party, of which they formed, as in pre-Chartist times, the Radical wing. Their claims to the franchise, however, gradually became irresistible; while the Whig leaders of the Liberals "funked", Disraeli showed his superiority by making the Tories¹¹ seize the favourable moment and introduce household suffrage in the boroughs, along with a redistribution of seats. Then followed the ballot; then in 1884 the extension of household suffrage to the counties and a fresh redistribution of seats, by which electoral districts were to some extent equalised. All these measures considerably increased the electoral power of the working class, so much so that in at least 150 to 200 constituencies that class now furnishes the majority of voters. But parliamentary government is a capital school for teaching respect for

tradition; if the middle-class look with awe and veneration upon what Lord John Manners playfully called "our old nobility", the mass of the working people then looked up with respect and deference to what used to be designated as "their betters", the middle-class....

In fact, in England too, the working people have begun to move again. They are, no doubt, shackled by traditions of various kinds. Bourgeois traditions, such as the widespread belief that there can be

but two parties, Conservatives and Liberals, and that the working class must work out its salvation by and through the great Liberal Party. Workingmen's traditions, inherited from their first tentative efforts at independent action, such as the exclusion, from ever so many old Trade Unions, of all applicants who have not gone through a regular apprenticeship; which means the breeding, by every such union, of its own blacklegs. But for all that the English working class is moving.... It moves, like all things in England, with a slow and measured step, with hesitation here, with more or less unfruitful, tentative attempts there; it moves now and then with an over-cautious mistrust of the name of Socialism, while it gradually absorbs the substance; and the movement spreads and seizes one layer of the workers after another. It has now shaken out of their torpor the unskilled labourers of the East End of London, and we all know what a splendid impulse these fresh forces have given it in return. And if the pace of the movement is not up to the impatience of some people, let them not forget that it is the working class which keeps alive the finest qualities of the English character, and that, if a step in advance is once gained in England, it is, as a rule, never lost afterwards. If the sons of the old Chartists, for reasons explained above, were not quite up to the mark, the grandsons bid fair to be worthy of their forefathers.... ■

Footnotes

These footnotes are taken from the 1954 Progress Publishers edition.

[1] *Glorious Revolution*, in English bourgeois historiography, is the name for the coup d'état of 1688, which deposed the Stuarts and established a constitutional monarchy (in 1689), with William of Orange at its head. The monarchy was based on a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the big bourgeoisie.

[2] *The Wars of the Roses* (1455-85) were waged between two feudal Houses struggling for the throne. They were the Yorks, whose badge was a white rose and the Lancasters, whose badge was a red rose. The Yorks rallied around them some of the big feudal lords from the southern, more economically developed, part of the country, and also the knighthood and the townspeople; the Lancasters were supported by the feudal aristocracy of the northern counties. The wars resulted in the almost complete extermination of the old feudal families and culminated in the establishment of the new dynasty of the Tudors, who set up an absolute monarchy in England.

[3] *Cartesianism*—the doctrine of Descartes and a trend in 17th-18th century philosophy and natural science which developed his ideas. It was called after the Latinised name of Descartes—Cartesius.

[4] Engels has in mind the Declaration of the Rights of Man adopted in 1789 by the Constituent Assembly. It set forth the political principles of a new bourgeois system and was included in the French Constitution of 1791.

[5] *Code Civil*—one of the five codes compiled in France in 1804-10 under Napoleon I (hence known as the Code Napoléon). It represented a general systematisation of bourgeois law. Engels called the Civil Code adopted in 1804 a classical code of laws of bourgeois society.

[6] The reference is to the reform of the franchise, the Bill for which was passed by the House of Commons in 1831 and finally endorsed by the House of Lords in June 1832. The reform was directed against the political monopoly enjoyed by the landed and financial aristocracy and opened the doors to Parliament for the representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie. The proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, who were the main force in the struggle for the reform, were deceived by the liberal bourgeoisie and did not receive electoral rights.

[7] *The Corn Laws*—heavy duties imposed on the importation of corn by Parliament in 1815 in the interest of the landowners. They adversely affected the condition of the poor sections of the population and were also disadvantageous to the industrial bourgeoisie as they made labour dearer, reduced the capacity of the home market and hampered the development of foreign trade. In the late thirties the English bourgeoisie organised the Anti-Corn Law League headed by Cobden and Bright. The agitation against the Corn Laws led in 1846 to their repeal.

[8] In 1824, under pressure of the mass movement, Parliament was forced to pass an Act which removed the ban on the trade unions. In 1825, however, Parliament passed a Law on "workers' combinations" which, while reaffirming the removal of the ban on trade unions, at the same time imposed severe restrictions on their activities. In particular, mere agitation for the workers joining a trade union and for their participation in strikes was regarded as "violence" and "molestation" and was punishable as a criminal offence.

[9] *The People's Charter* containing the demands of the Chartists was published on May 8, 1838, in the form of a petition to be presented to Parliament. It consisted of six clauses: universal adult male suffrage, annual elections to Parliament, vote by secret ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of property qualifications for Parliamentary candidates and payment of members. Three petitions by the Chartists demanding the adoption of the People's Charter were rejected by Parliament in 1839, 1842 and 1849.

[10] *The Anti-Corn Law League*—an organisation of the English industrial bourgeoisie founded in 1838 by the Manchester manufacturers Cobden and Bright. The League demanded unrestricted free trade and repeal of the Corn Laws (see footnote 7) as a means for reducing workers' wages and weakening the economic and political positions of the landed aristocracy. The League tried to use the working masses in its struggle against the landowners. But by that time the advanced British workers had taken the path of an independent labour movement which had taken political shape (Chartism). After the Corn Laws were repealed the League ceased to exist.

[11] The reference is to two political parties in England founded in the 70s-80s of the 17th century. The Whig Party expressed the interests of the financial and commercial bourgeoisie and the bourgeois aristocracy. Later the Whigs formed a new party, the Liberal Party.

The Tory Party was a party of big landowners and the high clergy of the Church of England. Later it became the Conservative Party.

Imperialists demand IRA disarm

“Peace” fraud strains at the seams

- British troops out of Northern Ireland!
- Not Orange against Green but class against class!
- Peace will only come with working class rule!

Illusions in the Northern Ireland “peace process” have been evaporating during a harsh summer of reality. Orange parades in the Loyalist marching season; British imperialist demands that the IRA agree to “decommission” its weapons before Sinn Féin can enter the next round of “peace” talks; the election of hard-liner David Trimble as Ulster Unionist party leader: all speak to the real message of the imperialist “peace” fraud. The British troops will stay, the IRA must be disarmed and the Union (ie Protestant ascendancy) retained without term. The Catholic minority is supposed to accept its oppressed status, with Gerry Adams cast in the role of Michael Collins.

In July a massive Orange Order mobilisation, headed up by ultra reactionaries Ian Paisley and David Trimble (who in his role as new leader of the Ulster Unionists has stated he will not support Major in a parliamentary vote of confidence) laid siege to Portadown, demanding their “right” to bang their drums through a Catholic area. When it was announced that the Orange march was to be silent going through the Catholic streets, Loyalist mobs rioted against the RUC for being complicit in the “peace process”, which they view as a sell-out to the southern Irish state. From Derry to Belfast, the viciously sectarian RUC launched attacks on Catholic protesters at every flashpoint and protected the Loyalists. In Belfast’s

Lower Ormeau Road, Catholics tried to prevent an Orange march from going through their neighbourhood, and were met with a hail of plastic bullets and beaten by police batons. As Sinn Féin tried to control the crowd, one demonstrator captured an increasingly common sentiment: “The ceasefire is rubbish. You have to sit on the road, allow the RUC to knock the hell out of you, and there’s no IRA there to get them later” (*Irish Times*, 14 August).

Sinn Féin’s nationalist strategy, with or without the “armed struggle”, is to pressurise the imperialist butchers (who are currently engaged in massive bombing raids against the Bosnian Serbs, in the name of “peace”) to broker a “solution”. Before the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, petty bourgeois nationalist groups like the PLO, ANC and Sinn Féin were able to jockey for position between imperialism and the Soviet Union and its allies. Sinn Féin hopes to exploit certain tactical divisions between British and US imperialism, which do exist, but such differences can never be relied upon to benefit the oppressed.

The imperialist-sponsored “peace process” in fact necessarily reinforces communal divisions between impoverished Protestant and Catholic workers through a form of the “divide and rule” strategy beloved of the British ruling class. The British demand for the IRA to surrender their weapons is not new—it is a continuation by other means of their years-long attempt to defeat the IRA militarily, which reached a stalemate. Disarming the IRA was repeatedly raised by the press and British politicians in the run up to the ceasefire. The present dispute over whether disarming the IRA should begin before, during or after “negotiations”, only

reflects uncertainty over how quickly and effectively Gerry Adams can deliver the weapons without provoking a split in the IRA ranks. Tony Blair is in lockstep with Major: the IRA must agree to disarm before any “talks”.

Within the population of Northern Ireland there is widespread fear of the renewal of sectarian violence on a far greater scale than before, if the ceasefires do not hold. There has been a dramatic increase in attacks on Catholic churches and Orange halls. The British press feigned shock when Gerry Adams recently quipped that the IRA “has not gone away”, but neither have the Loyalist death squads, and there is a massive number of legally held weapons in the province, mainly in Protestant hands. We call for integrated, programmatically based workers militias to combat both Army/RUC rampages and sectarian terror from both sides.

The huge political pressures building up on all sides have been present from the outset. The British army is still firmly in place and intends to remain there; the RUC routinely terrorises Catholics in their homes and in the streets; they cannot be other than a sectarian force. The capitalist state in essence consists of “special bodies of armed men”, formed to serve the interests of the oppressor. Talk by Sinn Féin about “taking all guns, including those of the army, RUC and Loyalists, permanently out of Irish politics” (*Independent*, 14 August) is ludicrous, bespeaking deadly illusions in imperialism. Calls for “community control” of the RUC, used by reformist groups like Militant, are contrary to the *abc* of Marxism. The only way to disarm the repressive forces of the capitalist state is for the working class to seize power, and to create its own, new

revolutionary armed force. We say: British troops out of Northern Ireland now! Not Orange against Green but class against class!

The Catholic minority in Northern Ireland are systematically discriminated against by the sectarian Orange statelet. Across the border Catholics are an overwhelming majority, and the working class in both places are impoverished and heavily exploited. The Dublin government presides over a capitalist-clericalist state. The coalition government of Fianna Fáil, Labour and Democratic Left is notorious for its anti-working class austerity and for repression against Republicans and Travellers. Abortion is illegal, and the prospect of legalising divorce (after four years of separation) has incurred the wrath of reactionary clericalist forces. The struggle for free abortion on demand, and for separation of church and state and for the breaking of the church’s stranglehold on schooling and health care, is an integral part of the strategy for workers revolution in Ireland. INLA prisoners have been on hunger strike in Portlaoise jail, and Republican Sinn Féin have been subjected to police dragnets. We say: Free all the Republican prisoners! Travellers have been subjected to systematic, deadly pogromist attacks throughout the south, both in cities like Dublin and in rural backwaters like Wicklow and Westmeath. For workers defence guards to defend Travellers against fascistic mobs!

We Marxists oppose forcible unification of Ireland, which would reverse the terms of oppression against the Protestant community, who are separate and distinct from the Irish Catholic nation. We fight for an Irish workers republic, and for a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles. ■

Warpath...

(Continued from page 5)

effectively reduces imperialism to a question of policy. With this method, they would support the NATO imperialists if only they hardlined it and demanded the forcible integration of the Bosnian Serb people into a unitary “multi-ethnic Bosnia”, run by the Muslim-dominated government, whose side WP does take. WP retails the Bosnian government’s lie that it is “defending multi-ethnic Bosnia”, put forward to bolster its territorial claims. In fact it has a policy of Islamicisation—seeking to be the oppressor of all the other peoples in the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina. WP urges Izetbegovic to pursue this goal via further acts of “ethnic cleansing”, proclaiming: “The military defeat of the Pale regime, up to and including their expulsion from all the territory they have unjustly occupied, is a justified war aim of the Muslim and multi-ethnic population, the only oppressed community in Bosnia” (*Workers Power*, July/August 1995).

In a passage which could have been lifted from a speech by Thatcher, WP declaim:

“End the Arms Embargo! Send heavy artillery, tanks and planes to the BiH army with no conditions!”

This core demand is the reactionary thread which ties the WRP, WP and the AWL, via the Labour Party right wing, to the most bellicose interventionists among the US and British bourgeoisie.

Workers Power is a centrist group habituated to the defence of the indefensible, adept at lengthy and contorted pseudo-Marxist rationales for reactionary positions. Its failure to defend the Bosnian Serbs against imperialist attack fits in with a long record of abandoning the class independence of the proletariat in favour of the most revolting appeals to and blocs with the British and other capitalists.

At the time of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in early 1980 Workers Power gave up an openly anti-communist state capitalist “Third Camp” position in favour of nominal Soviet defencism. However, starting with their opposition to the Soviet intervention itself, WP proceeded to prove that they are the political step-children of Tony Cliff’s SWP. Throughout the renewed anti-Soviet Cold War of the 1980s, WP’s Stalinophobia (the attitude that the Stalinist bureaucracy, rather than imperialism, was the “main enemy”) echoed the social democrats. Ever since the 1917 October Revolution parties like the Labour Party have been hostile to the existence of a society where capitalism was uprooted. The ICL defended the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution and fought for prole-

tarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats. Not so Workers Power.

1989: Echoing all the imperialist powers, Workers Power demands the withdrawal of the Red Army from East Germany.

1990: WP called on Margaret Thatcher’s government to send “goods requested” “without conditions” to the far-right nationalists of the Sajudis party in Lithuania.

1990: WP (along with the AWL) organised a speaking tour for one Yuri Butchenko, an operative of the British/American-backed Russian fascist group, the NTS, which had fought alongside the Nazis in World War II. Butchenko appeared at a press conference alongside Roy Lynk, the head of Thatcher’s scab “union”, the UDM. Even after this WP concluded “We stand by the political reasons for organising and then terminating the CSWEB tour”. As WP admitted, they knew all along that Butchenko favoured the destruction of the planned, collectivised economy, and were aware of his NTS sponsorship.

1991: WP supported Yeltsin’s August counter-coup on the grounds that it would safeguard “democracy”. Never mind the counterrevolution that ensued: Russia would indeed be “safe for democracy”—CIA-style.

1994: WP called on the British “government to provide unconditional emer-

gency aid” to Rwanda: right after humanitarian aid was used as the pretext for the US colonialist occupation of the Somalian capital of Mogadishu.

1994: In the context of the imperialist peace fraud in Ireland (designed to disarm the IRA altogether), the Irish Workers Group turned to the gombeen Dublin government with the nutty demand that it “open the arsenals...to equip the committees of self-defence”.

This “Make the bourgeoisie fight” line has become a recurrent, bizarre and uniformly reactionary component of the politics of Workers Power.

With this track record (documented in *Workers Hammer* over the years and available to readers on request) it came very easily to Workers Power to join the campaign for imperialist intervention to support the Bosnian government.

They backed the German-sponsored drive to separate Croatia, demanding in 1991 that Slovenia and Croatia’s declarations of independence be immediately recognised. The war that ensued on Croatia’s declaration shattered the former Yugoslav deformed workers state in an orgy of nationalist atrocities and forced expulsions.

By the following year WP’s Austrian group, the Arbeiter-Innenstandpunkt (Ast), seemed to be in the driving seat. In the September/December 1992 issue of

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Balkans . . .

(Continued from page 1)

imposed a punishing economic embargo against Serbia—sanctioned by the United Nations, that den of imperialist thieves and their victims—in order to force Belgrade nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic to abandon his support for the Croatian and Bosnian Serbs. In recent months that is exactly what Milosevic has done. At the same time, Washington and Bonn moved to build up the military capacity of the Croatian regime and Bosnian Muslims. In early August, the Croatian dictatorship of Franjo Tudjman—which openly solidarises with the pro-Nazi Ustashi regime of World War II—carried out a blitzkrieg against the Serbian-populated region of Krajina, an act cynically hailed by the US and Germany as a step towards “peace”.

As some 200,000 Croatian Serbs were driven from the land where their ancestors had lived for centuries, the Clinton gang launched a diplomatic offensive for an imperialist-imposed settlement among the contending Balkan nationalists. The Bosnian Serbs—now on the strategic defensive, with their former protector Milosevic doing the imperialists’ bidding—were willing to go along. Two days before the NATO onslaught, “hard-line” Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic declared that “the American initiative takes account of the minimum interests of the Serbian side”. The one party dragging its feet on the way to the negotiating table was the Sarajevo Muslim regime, which now believes it has the military means to drive back the Serbs. While the Serbs are the direct targets and victims of the NATO attack, Washington is also sending a message to the Muslim leaders to fall into line.

The immediate pretext for the NATO onslaught was the explosion of two artillery shells in central Sarajevo, killing and wounding over 100 people. The Serbian military command disavowed responsibility for this and clearly had no interest in such an attack at this juncture. According to UN investigators, the shells were fired from an area where there are both Bosnian government and Serb troops. It would not be the first time that the Bosnian Muslim regime has shelled its own people in order to provoke the Western powers into attacking the Serbs. In any case, the NATO terror bombing is an act of sheer gratuitous bloodlust. It is simply to show the murder-

ous big stick of American imperialism.

The NATO air offensive was politically prepared by years of anti-Serb warmongering by American and European politicians and in the Western media and was echoed by much of the so-called left. The Serbs have been portrayed as bloodthirsty monsters bent on terrorising peace-loving Croats and Bosnian Muslims. Certainly, the Serbian forces have committed terrible crimes, including gang-raping Muslim women. Yet, as in all such communalist wars, atrocities abound on all sides among people engulfed in fear, hatred and lust for vengeance.

If the scale of atrocities has been greater on the side of the Bosnian Serbs, it is only because up until now they have been militarily dominant. But that military dominance can be quickly reversed, depending mainly on the ever-shifting policies and even whims of the Western imperialists, centrally the US. This was clearly and dramatically demonstrated last month when the Croatian army, advised by Pentagon generals, carried out the biggest single act of “ethnic cleansing” in the four-year-long Balkan blood-bath.

The Bosnian Muslim army is now substantially larger than the Bosnian Serb forces and increasingly well armed. The UN arms “embargo” is hollow except as war propaganda. Recently retired American Air Force general Charles Boyd, a former deputy commander of the US European Command, judges that “the Muslims have gained significant military parity with the Serbs while maintaining the image of hapless victims in the eyes of much of the world” (*New York Times*, 9 August). If Washington and Bonn decide to unleash the Muslim army allied with the Croats on the ground, and backed by the massive use of NATO air power, the Bosnian Serbs could suffer heavy losses. This would depend, as it did in Croatia, on agreement with Milosevic that the Serbian army not intervene.

For the moment, the Western powers and Yeltsin’s Russia favour some kind of deal among the contending Balkan nationalists centring on a partition of Bosnia. But any imperialist-engineered “peace plan” will necessarily perpetuate national oppression and injustices, laying the basis for new wars when the internal and international balance of forces change. These wars will not only involve

the peoples of the region but also the Western powers and Russia, whose conflicting interests have historically made the Balkans the powder keg of Europe.

The New World Disorder and the Balkan Wars

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union convinced the American ruling class that it was now the unchallenged master of a “one superpower world”. During the build-up to the terror bombing of Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War, George Bush proclaimed a “New World Order”. To demonstrate their stature as the only superpower, America’s rulers have intervened in conflicts around the world even where they have no strategic interests. And while the US still has massive military power, it no longer has the economic strength to act as global gendarme and simultaneously compete successfully with its imperialist allies/rivals, Germany and Japan.

Fear of American casualties, along with differences with the West European powers and Yeltsin’s Russia, deterred Washington from direct military intervention in the Balkans. However, the seemingly interminable Balkan conflict, and particularly the defiant attitude of the Bosnian Serbs, made a mockery of the American rulers’ claim to be masters of a “New World Order”. Republican Congressional leaders have lambasted Clinton as a wimp for not stopping Serbian “aggression” against the Bosnian Muslims. “Arm and support the Muslims against the Serbs” has been a major campaign theme of leading Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole. A few weeks ago a top White House official admitted, “I don’t think the President relishes going into the 1996 election hostage to fortune in the Balkans, with the Bosnian Serbs able to bring us deeper into a war.” So NATO warplanes are now killing Bosnian Serbs in order to help Clinton get re-elected as US imperialist commander in chief by giving him a suitably macho military image!

For the past few years the US has posed as the great power champion of the Bosnian Muslims, in good part to strengthen Washington’s neocolonial ties to “moderate” Islamic states in the Near East such as Saudi Arabia and Turkey. While the Pentagon’s terror bombing of Iraq in 1991 was directly and obviously about US control

over the Persian Gulf oil fields, NATO’s terror bombing of the Bosnian Serbs is indirectly also linked to the geopolitics of oil.

However, a key problem for US imperialism in ex-Yugoslavia is that the Bosnian Muslims are not only the smallest of the contending nationalist forces but also the least capable of forming a viable nation-state. There has never been a Bosnian nation and there is no “Bosnian people”. Bosnia is a region of three closely related and formerly thoroughly intermingled people—Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims.

With the break-up of Yugoslavia along national lines, the regional balance of power points to the partition of Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia. This has always been the policy of the German Fourth Reich and Yeltsin’s Russia. And perhaps seeking to maintain a decisive role in European power politics via NATO, Washington is now moving in the same direction. This would reduce the Bosnian Muslims to a statelet around Sarajevo dominated by Croatia. As the *Independent* (22 August) explained: “The new US peace map for the former Yugoslavia envisages a series of land swaps which attempt to carve the former Yugoslavia into new ethnically pure territories, with Croatia standing to gain.” This exposes the hypocrisy of those liberals and so-called leftists who vocally support imperialist anti-Serb warmongering and military intervention in the Balkans in the name of defending a “multiethnic, secular Bosnia”.

Left face of imperialist warmongering

The most extreme anti-Serb warmongering in the Western imperialist countries has come not only from the right wing of the political spectrum, as one would normally expect, but also from liberals, social democrats and even the “far left”. In the US, such rad-lib notables as Susan Sontag and Christopher Hitchens have long called for bombing the Serbian forces in Bosnia. In Britain, many so-called “Marxists” (like the Workers Revolutionary Party, Workers Power and Socialist Organiser) have joined demonstrations calling for an end to “UN collusion in genocide” in Bosnia, peddling the myth of ethnic harmony under the Bosnian Muslim government. They support the call of Thatcher and the US Republicans for arms to be sent to that government,

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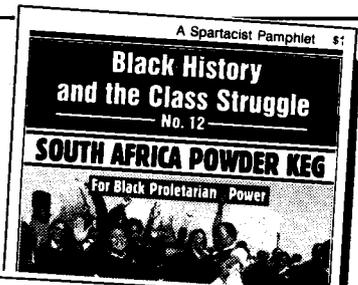
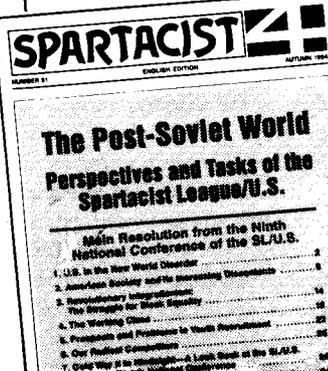
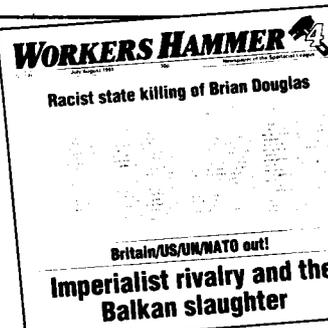
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Balkans...

(Continued from page 9)

which is allied with US-backed Croatia. These demonstrations (which followed the NATO war conference and meeting of the US, British and French chiefs of staff in London in July) egged on the imperialist military attack of the last three days. These people, who join hands with high Tory warmongers like Norman Stone in the "Alliance to Defend Bosnia & Herzegovina", are the "left" tail of the Labour Party's warmongers.

The most active agency on the left for promoting imperialist military intervention against the Serbs is the WRP. Their paper, *Workers Press* (19 August), responded to the Croatian blitzkrieg and mass expulsion of the Krajina Serbs like a communiqué from the US state department or German foreign ministry: "There

is no doubt that the military offensive of Tudjman's Croatian forces has created a more favourable military situation for the fight of Bosnia against Karadzic's forces."

A major pretext for the imperialist intervention in Bosnia is ensuring that food and other basic matériel can be delivered to the "safe havens". French general Bernard Janvier, the UN commander in Bosnia, declared that the NATO air offensive against the Serbs would not be stopped until they opened the roads into Sarajevo and withdrew their artillery from around the city. This is substantially the same programme as that of Workers Aid. So these fake leftists are now getting what they wanted: the imperialist terror bombing of the Serbs.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

It was the victory of Tito's Commu-

nist Partisans against the German Nazis and Croat and Serb nationalists in World War II which made possible the overthrow of capitalism and brought two generations of peace and relative ethnic harmony to the peoples of Yugoslavia. Yet only the extension of socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe could provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impoverished Balkans.

However, the Stalinist bureaucratic deformation of Titoist Yugoslavia combined with "market socialism", which opened Yugoslavia to increasing imperialist economic penetration, reinforced and widened disparities between the various regions, fuelling resurgent nationalism and eventually paving the way for capitalist counterrevolution. The resulting massacres, forced population trans-

fers and other atrocities are inherent in the drive to form bourgeois nation-states on the ruins of what had been a multi-ethnic society made up of closely intermingled peoples. Within the framework of capitalist counterrevolution, there can be no national justice for the peoples of Bosnia and the other former Yugoslav republics.

Any imperialist-imposed settlement on the contending Balkan nationalists will not bring peace but only lay the basis for future wars. The first step towards a just and lasting peace in the region is the formation of proletarian-internationalist parties capable of winning the masses away from the reactionary demagogues on all sides—the Serbs Milosevic and Karadzic, the Croat Tudjman and Bosnian Muslim Izetbegovic—in the fight for workers revolution and a Socialist Federation of the Balkans as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

SL leaflet...

(Continued from page 4)

that the state can be reformed away from destruction of the planet and perhaps from racism, capitalist exploitation and misery.

The case of Parachute Regiment private Lee Clegg, a proven murderer who was freed not even four years after he killed a young Irish woman with a fusillade of rifle fire, demonstrates the class nature of British state injustice. The message was clear: that British imperialism offers more of the same to the oppressed and repressed Catholic population of Northern Ireland. The current "peace" deal is an imperialist fraud, designed to disarm and crush Republican opposition to the British presence, and maintain Unionist dominance and discrimination, with the complicity of the Sinn Féin leadership and the gombeen Dublin government. It will no more bring peace or satisfy the rights or guarantee the livelihoods of workers in Ireland than the alliance of the ANC with the National Party in capitalist South Africa will end black oppression. Likewise the Middle East "peace" deals have created Palestinian bastions headed by PLO leader Arafat.

We are for the unconditional withdrawal of all British troops from Northern Ireland. The systematic discrimination against Catholics and the economic devastation of the province's industry, which has meant dire poverty for the Protestant working class as well, simply cannot be resolved within the framework of capitalism. We are opposed to forced unification which would simply reverse the terms of oppression, galvanise the Protestants behind the Loyalist bigots and lay the basis for intensified communalism. We fight for a workers republic in Ireland within a socialist federation of the British Isles.

The revolutionary, internationalist traditions of the British working class

We look to the revolutionary, internationalist traditions of the British working class in our fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. There were large-scale protests in this country against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in the 1920s, and also for the Rosenbergs in the 1950s, as part of international campaigns of working-class defence. The early British Communist Party was instrumental in the successful fight to black military shipments being sent to Poland for the imperialist-backed war against Soviet Russia.

British workers also mobilised in defence of the Irish independence movement after the First World War, just as their Chartist forefathers had demanded the repeal of the 1801 Act of Union. These acts of international solidarity contrast starkly with the pro-NATO, pro-imperial role of the Labour Party in power: the party which sent troops to fight against North Korean workers and peasants and the Chinese workers state; supported the US in Vietnam, and sent the troops into Northern Ireland.

Marx and Engels, along with other socialists and working-class activists, successfully agitated for support to the Union side in the American Civil War among the workers of Britain, even though their jobs, particularly those of textile workers, were threatened by the blockade of the Confederate slave states, which was stopping off the flow of raw cotton into the Manchester mills. As Karl Marx wrote: "Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

A generation earlier, the British working class, brought into being by the upheaval of the Industrial Revolution, forged the first mass, independent workers movement, the Chartists. Unlike its successors—the Independent Labour Party, the Labour Representation Committee and the Labour Party—the Chartists did not bow their heads before the monarch, and were not filled with awed respect for the state and the civilised barbarians who run this country. To the contrary. The powerful left wing of Chartism was republican, internationalist (forming an international federation with émigré revolutionists and radical democrats from all over Europe), and revolutionary-minded.

The mass processions of Chartist workers paraded with pikes and muskets in hand, asserting the right of the people to bear arms that the ruling classes fear so much. The Chartists bitterly opposed the imposition of the new, semi-military professional police in working-class districts across the country. How much better they understood the class nature of the state than today's milk-and-water "socialists" like the SWP and Militant, who believe that sections of the police can be won over to the side of the working class, or who think (as Workers Power also does) that police "strikes" for more weapons, more money and a free hand, would somehow lead to the weakening of the state!

The revolutionary spirit of Chartism, like the anti-royalist determination of Cromwell's New Model Army, should be an inspiration to Marxists today, who aim to build a party in the working class capa-

ble of leading the overthrow of capitalist rule, in the course of which all the anti-democratic royal and aristocratic vestiges will be swept out. Despite numerous adjustments to the suffrage, the current structure of British capitalist rule is fundamentally the same "King-in-Parliament" which the republican Tom Paine attacked in the context of Britain's counterrevolutionary war against France at the turn of the eighteenth century. Marxists fight for the abolition of the monarchy, the House of Lords, and the established churches as part of the struggle for a federation of workers republics in the British Isles.

The British Parliament is the bourgeois ventriloquist's dummy, a cacophony of phoney debate covering the real exercise of power. Questions are resolved there which affect the lives of the masses—but they are always resolved in the interests of the ruling class. Even when parliament may swing to the "left", for example the Atlee government in 1945 which carried out extensive nationalisations, it can never expropriate the capitalist class.

This ultimate gentlemen's club is the graveyard of any honest instincts that might have crept in unnoticed. The rule of the working class will not be accomplished by filling green leather seats with better-intentioned progressives and reformists, but in revolt against the Palace of Westminster, its Lords and Commons, bishops and bankers.

The working class is the only class that

has the social power to smash the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression, by taking power in its own name through revolution. Miserable British capitalism, a sea of poverty and oppression. Miserable British Labourism, a puddle of cowardice and betrayal. It would be hard to dream up two better arguments for the perspective, to which we are committed, of building a revolutionary Marxist party.

Such a party will be a multi-racial vanguard. It will draw on the lessons of the Bolsheviks' struggle for all the oppressed in the fight to overthrow capitalism. Those who labour must rule! For a workers government, based on workers councils and a workers militia!

Down with the reign of capital! Down with the monarchy, rallying point for reaction! For the separation of church and state: abolish the established churches! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families! For the right of self-determination for Scotland and Wales! British troops out of Northern Ireland! Not Orange against Green, but class against class! For a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles! Down with the bosses' "Fortress Europe"! For a Socialist United States of Europe!

21 July 1995

Spartacist League

British section of the

International Communist League

(Fourth Internationalist)

Defend the Welling protesters!



Workers Hammer

PDC-inflated protest at New Scotland Yard, 5 March 1993, defends Welling anti-fascists against police/media witch hunt. Now the bosses' courts have handed down sentences on those found guilty of "riot". The working class must defend these anti-fascists! Free the Welling protesters!

Warpath...

(Continued from page 8)

Trotskyist International (journal of WP's international grouping, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International—LRCI) they declared: "Support for Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims is little more than support of the interests of the Austrian ruling class". True enough: but the Ast's conclusion was to organise a "united front" demonstration dominated by Serbian monarchists and genuine Chetnik fascists. It ended up with Ast members being chased into a pastry shop by a mob of enraged anti-communists. After this shocking and absurd example of the so-called "anti-imperialist united front", the LRCI plumped firmly for a safe pro-Brit-

ish Labour Party, pro-imperialist position, discovering that since autumn 1992 the Bosnian Muslims "have been engaged in a just struggle against genocide" (*Workers Power*, May 1994).

Now that capitalist counterrevolution has destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state and the Eastern European deformed workers states, and working people's lives are being ravaged by capitalist immiseration, WP insists on referring to these countries as "moribund workers states". This is an attempt to deny the real meaning of their support to Yeltsin: that they supported capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR at a critical juncture. The LRCI continues to devote many pages of *Trotskyist International* to tortured explanations to themselves of this "analysis". They would probably have more success trying to square the circle: when

transposed to the Balkans their position means calling for an imperialist-backed "Bosnian moribund workers state" to smash a "Serbian moribund workers state"!

The basic criterion for WP's position on the former Soviet bloc is the social-democratic rationale that nationalised industry (or in the moribund WP variant, the alleged lack of effective private banks!) equals some kind of "socialism". They deny the Leninist position on the state as an instrument of class rule. Who in the world believes that any of the nationalist regimes in ex-Yugoslavia stands for the defence of a planned, collectivised economy? This reformist line of argument, the bastardised inheritance of the 1945 Labour government, is at the root of WP's vaunted "transitional method". It leads to the kind of clap-trap to be found in a recent article headlined "We need a na-

tional minimum wage!":

"Low pay reduces millions to desperation. It leaves homes sparsely furnished, kids ill-fed and ill-clad, workers exhausted and without the chance of a decent holiday or entertainment. *Yet a simple law could abolish it overnight.*" (our emphasis)
—*Workers Power*, September 1995

Even self-proclaimed reformists would not pretend that a "simple law" could abolish the poverty endemic to capitalism.

During the anti-Soviet Cold War drive in the 1980s WP took the plunge into the imperialist crusade for "captive nations". Now it is captive, reduced to pathetic coverups for bloody imperialist intervention and sordid excuses for nationalist crimes. The only constant in all this is WP's undying loyalty to social democracy, from the Cold War to the New World Order of interimperialist rivalry. ■

Mumia...

(Continued from page 12)

years before the frame-up which led to his conviction and death sentence.

Many who have joined the protests for Jamal centre their demands on the call for a "fair trial", which they feel would surely result in reversal of the death sentence. There are more than adequate grounds for invalidation of the guilty verdict and granting of a new trial—failure by the prosecution to disclose evidence favourable to the defence, for one example, let alone coercion of witnesses. But the capitalist legal system is heavily weighted against such an outspoken opponent of racism and exploitation.

A description of the Philly cops packing the courtroom during the hearings was given in a speech at the 22 July London demonstration for Jamal by Matthew Ryder, a British barrister who witnessed it: [The cops] all have T-shirts printed up saying, 'Kill Mumia'.... It's very aggressive." When Wolkenstein protested at the FOP thugs waltzing into the courtroom each day *armed*, (while Mumia's family was repeatedly harassed) Sabo responded that they were "protecting" him.

As Jamal's case captured front pages across America, a huge scandal in the Philadelphia police department came to light. As many as 100,000 arrests over the last ten years could be investigated amid widespread charges of police racism and corruption. These revelations, like those surrounding the tapes of the sadistic, racist retired Los Angeles police detective Mark Fuhrman, the latest bombshell in the OJ Simpson trial, hardly surprise millions of black Americans accustomed to frame-ups, cop terror and judicial railroading,



London, 22 July: 300-strong PDC-initiated united-front demonstration marches through London.

which are inherent in the capitalist system of racist injustice. It will take massive social struggle, tapping the power of the organised working class, to win Jamal's freedom. Nothing short of workers revolution will destroy this repressive machinery—and with it the racist death penalty—and open up the vista of freedom from oppression and human degradation.

For united-front defence of Jamal

Amid growing worldwide protest, top bourgeois politicians including French president Jacques Chirac, German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel, the Belgian government and the Italian parliament have called for stopping the execution. In South Africa militant trade-union protests have repeatedly taken up Jamal's case and President Nelson Mandela wrote to Pennsylvania governor Ridge urging him to

commute Jamal's death sentence. Journalists' unions in Germany and South Africa along with the NUJ in Britain made Jamal an honorary member. The NUJ has written to MPs and to affiliates of the International Federation of Journalists urging them to defend Jamal.

The Partisan Defence Committee has always stressed the centrality of mobilising the trade union movement in the fight for Jamal. In early August, a series of united-front demonstrations initiated by the PDC from New York, Oakland, Chicago and L.A. to Toronto and Vancouver, Canada and Melbourne and Sydney, Australia brought out key trade unions including teamsters, hospital and municipal workers in New York; and dockers and service workers in Oakland, California. Trade unions also have responded to the urgent call for funds for Jamal's legal defence, with the Scottish Region of the Fire Brigades Union setting an excellent

example with a donation of £1000, bringing the total funds raised thus far through the PDC (Britain) campaign to over £5000.

The question of what strategy militants should adopt in the fight to free Jamal has been debated in the US and elsewhere. Anarchist groupings in the US have advocated acts of civil disobedience; in Britain they have staged stunts to get arrested in hopes of publicising Jamal's plight. What these "radical" proponents of "direct action" share with liberals is a lack of any perspective of mobilising mass support for Mumia. In particular, they despair of bringing out the forces of the organised trade union movement, which has been hamstrung by its pro-capitalist leadership (in Britain, the miserable Labour Party-loyalists) while the bosses have decimated the unions in their war against the working class and minorities. But as a PDC speaker at the 3 August New York City rally for Mumia remarked, "The struggle for workers' rights and black rights must go forward together or we will all fall back separately."

The PDC and the Spartacist League have fought continuously for the perspective that the trade union movement must *make Mumia's fight its own*. The fight to free Winston Silcott, the fight to smash the fascist thugs who kill and maim minority youth, the fight against vicious state racism like the killings of Joy Gardner and Brian Douglas, the fight to abolish the racist US death penalty—these are not "single issues" on which to campaign. These battles require that the power of the working class be mobilised in its own interests, which is inseparable from the question of revolutionary leadership. *Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

Join the campaign!

The international campaign of protest has temporarily stayed the executioner's hand, but Mumia Abu-Jamal is still under the shadow of death. The struggle for his freedom continues. As Mumia said himself in "The Stay", Judge Sabo's 7 August ruling was an attempt "to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement.... Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

1 Organise protest! Pass motions demanding Jamal's freedom in your unions, campus, community and church organisations. Get your union or organisation to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicise Jamal's case in your union or organisation's newsletter. Get on the Partisan

Defence Committee phone tree to organise in your area.

2 Spread the word! The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the new PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* and *The Frame-up Mumia Abu-Jamal*, 20 copies of either publication for £6. For only £1, buy the PDC's new badge: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for £15 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of

£5 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

3 Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120, USA. Ridge changes his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone 1 717 789-2500; fax 1 717 783-3369.

4 Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today:** send/make payable to Partisan Defence Committee and write "Jamal legal defence" on the back of the cheque. All such funds go entirely to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal in New York, without deduction for administrative costs.

5 Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

For more information: Partisan Defence Committee, BCM Box 4986, London WC1N 3XX Tel: 0171-485 1396

WORKERS HAMMER



International outcry wins stay of execution

Battle for Mumia's freedom

The following article is adapted from Workers Vanguard no 627, 25 August.

The international campaign for black American journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal won precious time when Judge Albert Sabo on 7 August announced an indefinite stay of execution. Jamal, fighting to reverse the frame-up conviction and death sentence for the 1981 shooting death of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner, had been scheduled for legal murder by the state of Pennsylvania on 17 August. Mumia is up against the racist Philly cops,

would not have been possible for the stay to be granted."

While the big business press has sneered at the movement for Jamal as only a rehash of 1960s "radical chic", the American ruling class has clearly been taken aback by the scope of the international protests, which enlist broad sections of the labour movement and even include leading capitalist politicians. On 12 August, some 8000 marched through Philly for Mumia. But the backlash from the bourgeoisie is underway. Mumia warned

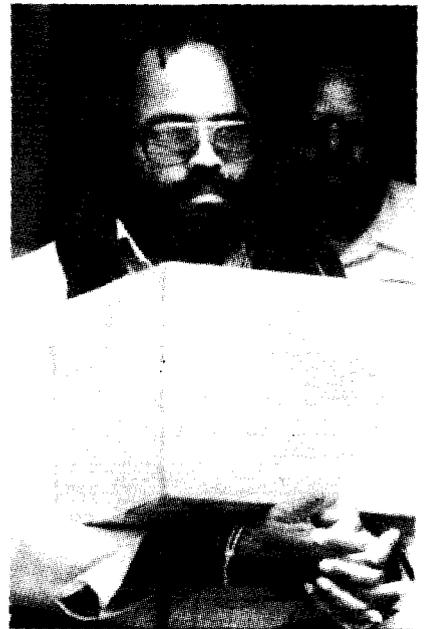
"counterterrorism" bill, which Clinton promoted using the hideous Oklahoma City Federal Building bombing as a pretext, guts *habeas corpus* protections against wrongful imprisonment, the primary means by which death sentence reversals have been achieved.

The huge campaign of protests for Jamal has been an acute embarrassment for the US bourgeoisie, sections of which would now prefer to see him locked away for life rather than put to death and rendered a martyr. Leading mouthpieces for the American rulers, such as the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, along with the Philadelphia dailies, have voiced these views. These views are echoed by those in the British press kowtowing to the "special relationship" between the US administration and their British counterparts (in either the Tory party or the Labour leadership). The 1982 "trial" was a blatant frame-up based on a tissue of lies, presided over by Judge Sabo. It was held in a climate of vicious cop persecution of the black MOVE group, who in 1985 were to suffer eleven dead when the Philly cops, in league with the FBI, bombed their West Philly home. Getting Mumia was part of the cops' campaign to destroy MOVE, and was the culmination of years of FBI/cop targeting of Jamal going back to the government's war on the Black Panther Party.

Sabo: "Justice is just an emotional feeling"

In the face of outrageous hostility from the court, Jamal's legal team, headed by Leonard Weinglass, has been battling to overturn the 1982 conviction and sentencing. During the PCRA hearing, recessed on 15 August and scheduled to resume on 11 September, Sabo routinely ruled against defence demands for discovery of information which the prosecution has kept covered up. Sabo, a "retired" member of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, ruled for the prosecution and against the defence on virtually every objection raised in the hearing, at one point telling Weinglass, "Objection is overruled, whatever it was." When Rachel Wolkenstein objected, on 2 August, to the quashing of subpoenas and disallowing of any evidence challenging Pennsylvania's death penalty on the grounds of racial bias, Sabo ordered her handcuffed and jailed. On 11 August he fined Weinglass \$1000 for taking "too long" to hand over autopsy slides. "Explaining" these blatant attempts at intimidation, Sabo told the defence, "Counselor, justice is just an emotional feeling."

Several witnesses came forward to give evidence that Jamal did not shoot Faulkner. William Singletary testified that he



Jamal entering court in handcuffs.

saw another man shoot the cop and flee, and that Jamal approached Faulkner asking if he could help him. Singletary described being pressured into giving false testimony by the cops who threatened to beat him if he didn't write what they commanded. Another witness, William Harmon, testified that two men shot the cop. Prosecutors attacked his testimony, pointing to his criminal record. But three out of four key prosecution witnesses in the 1982 "trial" had criminal records, and they all stood to benefit by giving lying testimony. In contrast, Harmon, a black man currently in state prison, risks being denied parole for another six years as a result of speaking out.

The final 1982 eyewitness to be called was Robert Chobert, a white cab driver whose licence had been revoked and who had a prior conviction for arson, a fact which Sabo kept from the jury in 1982. Chobert first reported to the police that he saw the shooter run away. This could not have been Jamal, who was found sitting on the kerb bleeding from his wound. Chobert changed his testimony for the trial, claiming that Jamal was the shooter. At the PCRA hearing, he admitted that then-prosecutor Joseph McGill had promised to "look into" getting his driver's licence back. (Chobert never did get it back but drove without it for the next ten years without being charged.)

Sabo ruled "irrelevant" the 800-pages of FBI files on Jamal, detailing years of FBI/cop surveillance and "dirty tricks" against him, including a 1973 failed attempt to frame him for a murder in Bermuda. These files prove that Jamal was targeted by the Philly cops and FBI for

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July 26 march to the US embassy in Pretoria protested threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

a prosecutor maniacally committed to pursuing the death penalty whenever she can, and the notorious hanging judge Sabo who has sent far more people to death row than any other judge in America. They want to silence the impassioned, articulate "voice of the voiceless". Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man who should never have spent a day in prison. And class-conscious workers and all opponents of the barbaric, racist death penalty around the world must not rest until Jamal is freed.

Sabo has maintained, since the Post Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) hearing in his courtroom began on 12 July, that he would not be moved by international protests in defence of Mumia. But it is clear that, as Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) staff counsel and one of Mumia's lawyers remarked on 7 August, "without the international support coming from all quarters, from trade unionists, from civil libertarians, from authors and writers and students, it

of this in his column, "The Stay":

"The state of Pennsylvania still has every intention of killing me—just not right now.

"Thus, the stay is a limited victory, not just for the Jamals and the Africas, but for thousands and tens of thousands of people from every corner of the globe....

"Although many radicals and progressives expressed joy at news of the stay, other political analysts saw it as a clever move by a clever judge, who did what higher courts would've done and, in so doing, attempted to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement... thereby stymieing a series of planned demonstrations.

"Whatever the reasoning, let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all! *Down with the racist U.S. death penalty!*"

Protests against the racist American "justice" system have been occurring while both the Democratic and Republican parties are driving to beef up police powers and speed up executions. The new