

Oppose domestic repression, imperialist "retaliation"

## Attack on the World Trade Center



Peter Morgan/Reuters

SEPTEMBER 15 — Immediately after the indefensible attack on the World Trade Center and hijacking of civilian planes, Tony Blair made it crystal clear that he will fully support whatever military action the US government takes in revenge. Foreign Secretary Jack Straw declared the government's intention to put Britain under "increased security of a kind people in Northern Ireland have had to live with for decades". For workers, minorities and immigrants this means the bloody police-state repression that oppressed Catholics suffer from the British Army and the RUC. Ominously, Blair told parliament: "We are under threat and we must react". He threatened that civil liberties may have to be sacrificed to ensure people could live "free of terror".

Labour's draconian Terrorism Act will undoubtedly be invoked. The Act bans a whole swathe of mainly immigrant and Islamic organisations but ultimately it is aimed at all opponents of British imperialism, the entire workers movement and the left. The government is setting up British Muslims as targets but all Asians and anyone of Near Eastern origin are under threat: already a number of Sikhs have been attacked. The only state-funded Muslim school in Britain and several private schools have closed down after receiving threats and a group of Muslim infants have been harassed on their way to school by racists

saying they should "go back where they came from". Fascist graffiti against Muslims appeared immediately on Tuesday. This comes on top of murderous attacks by fascists and police occupation of the Asian communities in the North of England in the summer. Now police in Bradford chose the days after the attack in the US to arrest twelve Asian youths in dawn raids. The Spartacist League/ Britain says: *Workers and minorities must defend the Muslim population and all victims of Labour's racist witch hunt!*

These police-state measures against immigrants and minorities are the domestic reflection of the impending murderous NATO retaliatory war measures. On Wednesday, 12 September, NATO took the unprecedented measure of invoking Article Five, which compels all NATO powers to join in a united military response to an attack on any one NATO member. Blair, who is 100 per cent with the US government, took the lead in working for imperialist "unity" in Europe in support of the US, to back murderous military strikes against Afghanistan or whoever is put in the cross-hairs. At the same time, Israel is on a killing spree in the West Bank, murdering eleven Palestinians on 12 September alone. We say: Defend the Palestinian people!

The equation of Muslim = "terrorist" is a racist lie being pushed by the deeply unpopular Labour government and the

Indefensible attack on World Trade Center targets civilians. Imperialists are using this as pretext to wage war on the world's oppressed and exploited, like the 1998 bombing of Iraq (right).



AFP

media, in the same spirit of the decades-old equation of Irish = "terrorist", to foster chauvinist poison and divide the working class. One of the fruits of this divide-and-rule policy can be seen in the horror that faced Catholic children on their way to school in the Ardoyne, Belfast, as they were besieged by Loyalist bigots. We say: British troops out of Northern Ireland now!

While we condemn this insane act of terrorism, which has claimed the lives of countless innocent people in the US we in the SL/B warn that the British state itself is an international force for terrorism — it carried out colonial massacres in Ireland, Asia and Africa. This Labour government were front-runners in the bombing of Serbia and the continuing bombing and starvation blockade of Iraq. Justified anger against the terrorist atrocity in the US is being cynically manipulated by imperialist mass murderers. A banner hung outside the US embassy in Berlin captured the knowing fears of one protester: "No revenge, please. No World War III!"

Ethnic and national minorities are not the only domestic targets in the sights of the capitalist state. It would be very convenient for the bosses and the Labour government if working-class anger over attacks on working conditions, health and education were to be displaced by a racist orgy of patriotic gore. For their part the trade union bureaucrats seized the opportunity to sacrifice the class interests of the workers to the bosses on the bloody altar of "national unity": TUC misleaders used this as an excuse to abandon their "battle" — which only amounted to a war of words — with the Labour government over privatisation of public services. The French Communist Party has supported the suppression of civil liberties by the popular-front government who re-activated *Vigipirate*, unleashing thousands of paramilitary forces throughout the country — this will chill working-class dissent and self-de-

fence. Italian union leaders called reactionary strikes "against terrorism and for democracy", joining forces with bonafide fascist heirs of Mussolini in the Alleanza Nazionale. Australian and Italian trade union tops called off planned strikes to make a united stand with the capitalist rulers. Such acts will only embolden the bourgeoisie to exact greater sacrifices from working people.

Already after Genoa, the European rulers announced the formation of a multinational police force. With the horrific and indefensible terrorist acts against the US, the Italian Interior Minister now wipes the blood of Carlo Giuliani off his hands by announcing that the "Genoa affair" is "closed". With economic recession looming, it should be clear that those bullets fired at anarchists in Goteborg and Genoa were aimed by EU powers at the workers of Europe!

The Socialist Workers Party condemns the terrorist acts while noting that "Tony Blair also sent British planes to bomb in Serbia and Kosovo, killing civilians and refugees" (*Socialist Worker*, 15 September). But *Socialist Worker* says nothing about the racist dragnet, which the Labour government is about to unleash under the pretext of fighting "terrorism". The SWP fuelled the climate for today's ominous state repression by refusing to defend the Black Bloc anarchists after Genoa and the fact that they don't call for British troops out of Northern Ireland. The SWP perennially stand behind their own bourgeoisie, particularly when Labour is in power. As part of the Socialist Alliance they supported the re-election of "bomber" Blair's imperialist Labour government. When US and British imperialism were arming and supporting the fundamentalist *mujahedin*, including Osama bin Laden, in a proxy war against the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan, the Cliffites enthusiastically cheered them on: "Just as socialists

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# Globalise Resistance mobilise anti-China protest



Workers Hammer photos

Dublin, 3 September: Anti-communist protest. We say: Defend China against imperialism and capitalist restoration!

Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji's visit to Ireland at the beginning of September sparked an outpouring of anti-Communist vitriol from the Labour Party, liberals and the fake left including the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Socialist Party and Workers Solidarity Movement. The leader of the Labour Party Ruairi Quinn

boycotted the state dinner with Zhu in protest and the reformists criticised the government for welcoming what the Socialist Party called the "leader of a regime which is no manner, shape or form Socialist and has an appalling human rights record". A motion voted at the Socialist Party's first youth conference on

the eve of Zhu's visit stated "We demand that the [Irish] government explain, how they on the one hand, can do deals with a bureaucratic and totalitarian state and on the other, condemn the anti-capitalist movement en bloc for the violence in Genoa protests." The Socialist Party and SWP take their cue from Labour and side with Irish capitalism against the Chinese workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed, in which capitalism was overthrown by the 1949 revolution.

ment) Joe Higgins railed: "The fact that workers who try to organise free trade unions are brutally repressed; that religious freedom is brutally denied and that executions are rife seems not to matter a whit to [Irish Prime Minister] Mr. Ahern." The churches control 99 per cent of national schools in Ireland. While the death penalty was abolished in Ireland four months ago, the Irish state has executed more than 40 people since its foundation, in addition to extralegal state murder like that of John Carthy who was shot by the cops at his house in 1999. And while the Socialist Party is so concerned about the "human rights" record of China, they deny that the Catholics in Northern Ireland are oppressed, support the "right" of the Orange Order bigots to march through Catholic neighbourhoods and are notorious for debating Loyalist paramilitary Billy Hutchinson who has lately been cheering on the vicious attacks on Catholic schoolgirls in Ardoyne, Belfast.

On Monday 3 September the SWP front group Globalise Resistance held a 250-strong protest against Zhu's visit. Their leaflet said "The Chinese government is responsible for acts of serious repression against its people and neighbours. The Irish government is complicit in its silence." The "democratic" Irish state represses workers, women, Travellers and immigrants and contributes forces to imperialist "peace-keeping" missions from the Balkans to the Near East and East Timor! The counter-revolutionary protest was dominated by Tibetan flags and signs demanding "Free Tibet"—which has been an imperialist rallying cry for counter-revolution in China for decades—and supporters of the Falun Gong movement mixed in with SWP placards declaring "No welcome to the butchers of Tiananmen Square", a Socialist Party banner and anarchists including the Workers Solidarity Movement. When a group of about 30 Chinese youth with a banner in Chinese reading "Welcome Zhu Rongji" started to shout pro-China slogans the organisers of the anti-Communist protest urged people to go around behind "the Chinese" in order to intimidate them. The Falun Gong supporters carried dozens of posters demanding freedom for Zhao Ming, a former Trinity College student who is allegedly imprisoned in China because of his support to Falun Gong. Falun Gong is but the latest in a long line of religious movements used by the imperialists as battering rams for capitalist counterrevolution.

By demanding that the capitalist Irish state condemn the Chinese deformed workers state, the SWP and Socialist Party cover up the crimes of their own bourgeoisie. The uprising centred on Tiananmen Square in 1989 was an incipient proletarian political revolution which we supported against brutal repression by the Stalinist bureaucracy. However, by condemning the Stalinist butchers while refusing to defend the Chinese workers state against counter-revolution the SWP joins with their own bourgeoisie in elevating bourgeois "democracy" above what is central for Marxists: the class character of the state. Zhu Rongji could have denounced the clericalist Irish state for the total lack of abortion rights for women, the brutal repression of Irish Travellers and the racist deportations of immigrants; not to mention the exploitation of the working class. However, Zhu and the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy are more interested in conciliating imperialism and implementing "market reforms". The International Communist League fights for the unconditional military defence of China against imperialism and internal capitalist counterrevolution. The working class in China needs a Leninist-Trotskyist party, part of the reformed Fourth International to sweep away the parasitic bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution. Only through extending socialist revolution to the imperialist centres will the threat of capitalist re-enslavement be eliminated once and for all and the basis laid for the development of China in a socialist Asia. ■

During the anti-Soviet Cold War the Irish state based its foreign policy on trying to "preserve Christian civilisation" and to defend "the free world" against communism. In 1955 Frank Aiken, the future Fianna Fail Minister of External Affairs, stridently condemned the "aggression" of "Red China" in Tibet. It says volumes about the "left" in Ireland that they regurgitate the same anti-Communist rubbish as the Irish bourgeois nationalist cold warriors.

Socialist Party TD (Member of Parlia-



TROTSKY

## Trotsky on revolutionary youth

*From race terror in Britain to capitalist murder in Genoa to preparations for imperialist slaughter to revenge the WTC attacks, barbaric capitalism targets a new generation of youth, impelling them into struggle. In this letter Trotsky warns that the combative spirit and revolutionary energy of youth will be dissipated into opportunism unless grounded in Marxist theory and the Marxist programme. The Spartacus Youth Groups aim to provide*



LENIN

*Marxist training for young revolutionaries and to recruit them to the Trotskyist party.*

A revolutionary party must of necessity base itself on the youth. It can even be said that the revolutionary character of a party can be judged in the first instance by its capacity to attract to its banner the working class youth. The basic attribute of socialist youth—and I have in mind the *genuine* youth and not old men of twenty—lies in its readiness to give itself fully and completely to the cause of socialism. Without heroic self-sacrifice, courage, resoluteness, history in general does not move forward.

But self-sacrifice alone is not enough. What is necessary is to have a clear understanding of the unfolding course of development and the appropriate methods of action. This can be gained only through theory and through living experience. The most flaming enthusiasm soon cools off and evaporates if it does not find timely support in a clear understanding of the laws of historic development. How often have we not observed how young enthusiasts, having bumped their heads, become wise opportunists, how disappointed ultraleftists turn in very short time into conservative bureaucrats, just as an outlaw settles down and becomes transformed into an excellent gendarme. To acquire knowledge and experience and at the same time not to dissipate the fighting spirit, revolutionary self-sacrifice, and readiness to go to the very end—that is the task of education and self-education of revolutionary youth.

—Leon Trotsky, "To the Conference of the Young People's Socialist League" (July 1938)

## WORKERS HAMMER



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

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## SWP/ANL whitewash Labour

# Labour government fuels racist terror!

Tony Blair's Labour government has placed itself in the forefront of George Bush's "crusade" against so-called "global Islamic terrorism" which is being stoked up to white heat following the criminal attack on the World Trade Center (see main article). The domestic side of this is a wave of racist violence against minorities. In London, an Afghan taxi driver was attacked and paralysed from the neck down; in Dover, an Afghan asylum-seeker was seriously injured; in Swindon, a young Muslim woman was attacked with a metal baseball bat. A slogan daubed on a wall near a mosque in South Shields read "Avenge USA — Kill a Muslim Now". An Oldham mosque was attacked with bricks and in nearby Bolton petrol bombs were thrown at a mosque while people were inside. This is an escalation of racist terror in which the Asian minority, particularly in former textile towns like Oldham, Burnley and Bradford were subjected to orchestrated assault by police and fascists during the summer followed by state repression against Asian youth.

As desperate refugees from the world's poorest countries risk their lives to enter Britain, Labour ministers compete with the Tories over who can be more racist. Among Labour's anti-immigrant measures are fines of £2000 on rail companies for each "illegal" immigrant found on trains from France. In response, Eurotunnel tried but failed to force the French government to shut down the Red Cross refugee centre at Sangatte on the French side of the tunnel, where over 1500 refugees — mainly Afghans and Iraqi Kurds — are held. Under pressure from Britain, the French government scrapped plans to open a second Red Cross centre nearby. Asylum-seekers in Britain are routinely jailed while their applications are pending, which has led to hunger strikes and protests in jails. To Labour's fury, the High Court ruled that Oakington immigration centre in Cambridgeshire "breaches human rights". Following acrimonious exchanges about which country was "soft" on immigrants, Labour home secretary David Blunkett and French interior minister Daniel Vaillant agreed to allow British immigration cops to do joint patrols in Calais train terminal, as they already do in Paris, and that even tougher anti-immigrant measures will be introduced in all EU countries. Even more wide-sweeping attacks on civil liberties will be effected.



Bradford, July: Police protected fascist thugs, attacked Asian youth. For the right of self-defence!

## For a multiethnic revolutionary workers party!

In August Firsat Yildiz, a 22-year-old Kurdish refugee — dispatched under Labour's "dispersal" scheme to a hellish council estate in Glasgow — was murdered by a racist gang. In Bradford on 7 July the fascists of Combat 18, the National Front and the BNP assembled and Kasel Altaf, a young Asian man, was brutally assaulted in the city centre in broad daylight as the police looked on. This was what happened in Oldham in May. It is standard operating procedure for the police to protect the fascists, just as they protected the killers of Stephen Lawrence. In July, police shot and killed Derek Bennett, a young black man, in London's Brixton, claiming he was carrying a gun which in fact was a cigarette

lighter. In Bradford Asian youth were joined by black and white youth who battled heroically for two nights against the police and fascist assault. The bourgeois press howled with rage against the embattled Asians. Police swamped minority areas and arrested large numbers; fully two months later, within days of the attack on the World Trade Center, they arrested twelve Asians in dawn raids. We say: Drop all the charges against anti-racist protesters! We support the right of self-defence. For trade union/minority mobilisations to stop the fascists!

Capitalising on Labour's anti-immigrant crusade, the fascist BNP polled more than 15,000 votes in Oldham and Burnley in the election. Their aims are racist violence and murder; they openly campaign for mass expulsion of immigrants, for "repatriation" of blacks and Asians. They have campaigned for segregation of residential areas such as in Oldham where a fence has been erected separating Asians from whites in the poorest area of this town. Thus isolated, the Asian minority is extremely vulnerable to racist attack and police occupation.

The Blair government's racist rule serves the social and economic interests of British capitalism. Since counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, Western European governments, mostly led by social-democratic parties, have been dismantling welfare programmes and excluding dark-skinned immigrants, fuelling racism against minorities while increasing the rate of exploitation and attacking the rights of all workers.

In response to anger among union members over Labour's anti-immigrant racism, TGWU bureaucrat Bill Morris calls for immigration quotas to fulfil shortages in certain areas of the labour market. This would do nothing to counter racism. Immigration quotas were established in the 1960s, supposedly based on criteria such as skills, but did nothing to alter discrimination against blacks and Asians as preference was given to white Commonwealth and European citizens. Capitalist immigration laws are inherently racist.

Today's black and Asian youth, who have no hope of ever finding a decent job, are viewed by the capitalist masters as expendable, and as a potential source of social unrest. The government whips up racism to scapegoat them for the economic decay of Britain. Asian youth today are being subjected to the same treatment dished out to black youth in Brixton and Tottenham in the Thatcher years — they were vilified and branded as "criminals", as a pretext for state repression. Now after the attacks in the US, these youth are under even greater threat.

The Spartacist League/Britain said: "No vote to Labour, imperialist butchers!" and when Asian areas of Oldham were under police occupation during the election campaign we issued a leaflet which said:

"Urgently needed is trade union-centred protest against the police occupation of the Asian community. This means drawing in the power of the urban working class of the Manchester area so that besieged minority youth in this enclave of Oldham, a run-down former mill town, are not left to go it alone against the organised violence of the state, its cops, courts and prisons."

— reprinted in *Workers Hammer* no 177, Summer 2001

We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, that is, for all those who succeed in getting into this country, regardless of whether the state regards them as "refugees", "economic migrants", "legal" or "illegal" immigrants.

Fascists are race-terrorists whose ultimate aim is the destruction of the workers movement. They are kept in reserve by the capitalist class to be unleashed in times of social crisis or working-class upheaval. However, any strategy to deal with the growth of the fascist menace and to combat the racist terror which is endemic to capitalist society must be linked to a programme for the overthrow of the capitalist system that breeds it.

We seek to win minority workers and youth who are disgusted by Labour and by racism to our revolutionary perspective. Britain's social and economic deterioration will only be redressed through socialist revolution and the working class can and must be mobilised against British imperialism and its Labour henchmen. Minority workers are a strategic part of the proletariat and an integral component of the only force capable of destroying the racist system of British capitalism; they are also a bridge to the workers and peasant masses of the neocolonial Third World, a living link in an international socialist perspective. Workers of immigrant origin have the least illusions in the chauvinist Labour Party — illusions which are the primary

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Ford Dagenham workers on 1984 miners support march. Forging a Trotskyist party is key to mobilising the social power of the multiethnic working class.

# Attack...

(Continued from page 1)

welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan" (*Socialist Worker*, May 1988).

In contrast to this kind of Labourite and anti-communist politics we Trotskyist internationalists consistently draw a *class line*: against the capitalist rulers at home and in solidarity with our class brothers and sisters abroad in the fight for world socialist revolution, the only solution to bigotry, backwardness, religious obscurantism, and the ever more imminent threat of world war. We are honoured to reprint the statement by our comrades of the Spartacist League/US, written under difficult circumstances and from inside a wounded and dangerous imperialist beast.

*the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors!*

The ruling parties — Democrats and Republicans — are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule. It's an opportunity for the exploiters to peddle "one nation indivisible" patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of this society away from themselves and toward an indefinable foreign "enemy," as well as immigrants in the U.S., and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people. This is particularly convenient as hundreds of thousands more jobs are being axed — adding to the mountain of human poverty, misery and all-sided degradation that has been created by the American ruling class over the past decade with the destruction of social programs benefiting the work-



Wreckage of pharmaceuticals factory in Sudan hit by US cruise missiles in 1998 in "retaliation" for bombings of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

## Statement of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/US

SEPTEMBER 12 — Yesterday's attack on the World Trade Center, carried out through the hijacking of civilian airliners that killed hundreds of passengers and crew, was an indefensible act of criminal terror. While it may be viewed as a symbol of the wealth and global reach of U.S. imperialism, the World Trade Center had workers of all races, ethnicities and religions who were employed there. And at 9 a.m. on a workday morning,

ing class, minorities and the poor.

The theme is "rally 'round the flag" as Republican president Bush, with complete bipartisan support from Congress, readies the Pentagon war machine for terror attacks and worse against the people of those countries they claim "harbored" the terrorists. The last such "retaliation," following the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, rained 80 cruise missiles down on Af-

nuclear incineration of a *quarter-million people* in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

As communists in the belly of the imperialist beast, we fight to mobilize the working people here in opposition to the war aims and military adventures of the American rulers abroad. We stood for the military defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism during the Gulf War and in the face of the subsequent terror bombing, and opposed the starvation blockade — an act of war — from the outset. Likewise, in the face of the U.S.-led NATO onslaught against Serbia two years ago, which destroyed the entire infrastructure of that country, we raised the banner: Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia! In the case of both Iraq and Serbia, we said that it was the task of the workers of those countries to overthrow the bloody nationalist regimes that oppress them.

In the wake of the World Trade Center attack, various concocted "incidents" have been flying fast and furious in the bourgeois media. Stories that the plane which crashed in Pennsylvania was on its way to Camp David (how would they know?), that a bomb had been planted at the Washington Monument, that the military had shot down a plane over Washington, D.C. — all vanished almost as soon as they were reported. This is standard imperialist war propaganda, just like the manufactured Gulf of Tonkin incident which the U.S. used to escalate its war against Vietnam, killing three million Vietnamese before the heroic workers and peasants of that country defeated the American behemoth.

The attack on the World Trade Center has been attributed to the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Islamic groups like Hamas, the Afghan Taliban government and Osama bin Laden. All have vehemently denied any responsibility. But even if it were bin Laden, now the all-purpose enemy of U.S. imperialism, he is the creature of the American imperialist rulers who bought and paid for his services in the Islamic "holy war" against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. We *hailed* the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, not-

ing that this was one of the few genuinely progressive acts by the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, offering the possibility of extending social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution particularly to the hideously oppressed women of Afghanistan. The purpose of bin Laden and his CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists was to perpetuate barbarity and enslavement in Afghanistan.

But it is not simply the apparently ubiquitous and unidentifiable "enemy without" that they are gearing up to brutally repress. The capitalist rulers will also seize on the attack on the World Trade Center to dramatically increase the powers of their state — the cops, courts, prisons and armed forces — against the "enemy within." In the aftermath of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, Clinton's Democratic Party administration enacted the "Omnibus Counterterrorism Act" under which immigrants and all "aliens" can be subjected to star chamber proceedings in secret trials without any charges even being presented. The Democrats, with the full support of the Republicans, also enacted the Effective Death Penalty Act greatly extending the number of crimes punishable by death.

The most immediate targets of the forces of repression will be any and all people of Near Eastern descent, as this chauvinist hysteria goes into overdrive. This is true not only in the U.S. but in West Europe where, for example, the French government has flooded the subways with paramilitary police forces to terrorize those of North African and Near Eastern origin. More fundamentally, the purpose is to intimidate and constrain the multiracial working class from any social struggle. To be sure, the bourgeoisie's labor lieutenants in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy — who tie the workers to the parties of their exploiters, particularly the Democrats — do their utmost in this regard. But as the gap between the handful of filthy rich who profit from the increasingly brutal exploitation of labor and the rest of the society grows exponentially, the rulers fear that even the spark of protest could provoke a social conflagration. Continu-

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**Afghan mujahedin transport British blowpipe missiles for use against Soviet Red Army. Osama bin Laden was among murderous Islamic "holy warriors" armed and financed by CIA during the 1980s. The ICL fought to defend USSR, extend gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples.**

thousands of other workers — transit, construction, office and countless others — were traveling through or in the vicinity of the Twin Towers.

It is not simply that the target wasn't even an institution representing the brutal and murderous U.S. imperialist rulers. Those who perpetrated this horrific attack (and there is no evidence at all as to who that was) *embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America — identifying*

ghanistan and on a pharmaceuticals plant in Sudan. Previous to that, there was the all-out war against Iraq in 1991, a war which continues with regular U.S. bombing raids, while over one and a half million Iraqis have been killed by the UN starvation blockade. The capitalist media recalls "Pearl Harbor" in blaring headlines. But it was U.S. imperialism that was the first and only country in the world to use atomic weapons in the 1945

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# Genoa: witch hunt against anarchists serves imperialist rulers

We print below an article from *Workers Vanguard* no 763, 31 August 2001.

In the month since the murderous police attack on “anti-globalisation” protesters in Genoa which left at least one demonstrator—23-year-old Carlo Giuliani—dead, reports continue to emerge of the terror and torture inflicted by the cops. While almost all of the 300 arrested in Genoa in mid-July have finally been released, up to 15 protesters remain in prison, at least a dozen people are reportedly still missing, and some could well have met the same fate as did Giuliani. Chillingly, the Italian press reported the finding of the strangled corpse of a prominent woman trade-union leader, who was active in the Genoa demonstrations, in a river near Padova. Meanwhile, those who were released face potentially serious criminal charges. *Drop the charges against all arrested protesters! Free those imprisoned now!*

In the immediate aftermath of the police killing of Carlo Giuliani, the International Communist League issued an urgent call for “workers protest strikes in Italy and beyond against the bloody state repression”. In contrast, the reformist and centrist “left” groups who long ago sold their political souls to the Social Democratic governments now ruling most of Europe provided their services to the capitalist state’s vendetta against the Black Bloc anarchists. In Britain the Socialist Workers Party wrote: “There is now overwhelming evidence that the Black Bloc was given free rein to do anything it wanted in Genoa” (*Socialist Worker*, 4 August). In France, ATTAC, the anti-globalisation umbrella organisation—which includes members of Alain Krivine’s Ligue communiste révolutionnaire, French affiliate of the United Secretariat—issued a 20 July statement that criticised the Italian cops because “they deliberately closed their eyes to the preparation and arming of several hundred provocateur elements of the so-called Black Bloc”.

On 20 August, demonstrations were held in cities throughout Europe and elsewhere to honour and remember Carlo Giuliani. Among the 1000 who demonstrated in Berlin was the Revolutionary Contingent organised by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), marching behind a banner reading, “Down With the Imperialist Butchers! Workers to Power Worldwide!” The putative left organisations who also participated in this demonstration came not out of solidarity with the Black Bloc anarchists against the organised violence of the bourgeois state but to demonstrate to their Social Democratic masters their own “peaceful, legal” credentials.

In contrast, SpAD placards proclaimed, “The Witchhunt Against the Black Bloc Plays into the Hands of SPD Top Cop Schily.” Indeed, interior minister Otto Schily and his Italian counterpart Claudio Scajola have called on other European Union (EU) governments to join in a multinational “Riot Police Squad” to target “violent rampagers”. The same day as the protests in Berlin and elsewhere, a front page article in the *Independent* headlined, “EU’s secret network to spy on anti-capitalists”, noting that this would involve “an unprece-

**Free all imprisoned protesters now! Smash imperialist butchers—workers to power worldwide!**

ented degree of surveillance”. In the US, \$30 million has been allocated for “security”, including the deployment of an additional 3000 cops, to suppress protests in Washington, DC against a meeting of the International Monetary Fund beginning 29 September.

## We need a “power-hungry vanguard” to smash the capitalist state!

A statement by a German anarchist *autonome* on the Indymedia website described a late-July meeting in Berlin on Genoa:

“The meeting was organised by ostensible marxists. The speakers at the podium agitated against the Black Bloc.... Even police officers in Italy were accused of being anarchists. Among these marxist organisations was only one that defended the anarchists: Spartakist.”

Following the 20 August Berlin rally,

the 1917 Russian Revolution. Leading anarchists such as Victor Serge travelled to Soviet Russia to support the new workers state. In a letter to his French anarchist friends, he motivated the need for a Leninist party:

“It is the revolutionary elite, powerfully organised, disciplined, obeying a consistent direction, marching towards a single clearly defined goal along the paths traced for it by a scientific doctrine. Being such a force, the party is the product of the necessity, that is the laws of history itself. That revolutionary elite which in a time of violence remains unorganised, undisciplined, without consistent direction and open to variable or contradictory impulses, is heading for suicide.”

— *La Vie ouvrière*, 21 March 1922, reprinted in Cotteril, ed, *The Serge-Trotsky Papers* (1994)

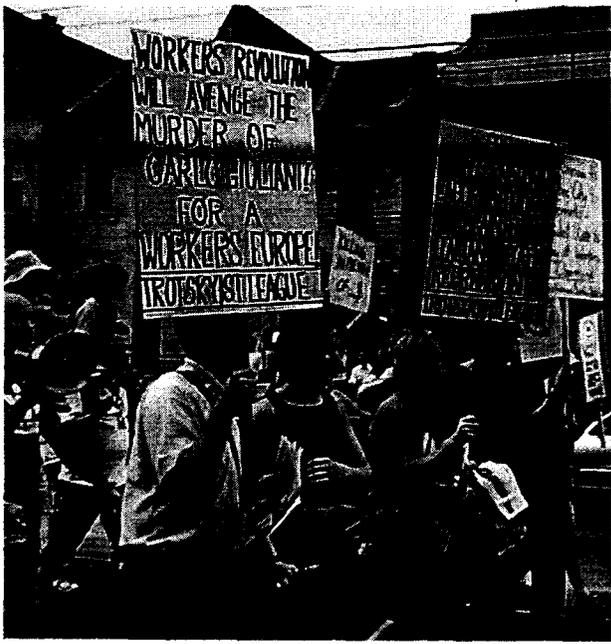
It is little wonder that many radical youth embrace anarchism out of revulsion against a social-democratic left which

that there is something of a revival of anarchist sympathies among radicalised youth. These run the gamut from those who genuinely want to fight for the overthrow of imperialist rule to those who see the imperialist powers as a potential force to bring “freedom” to the oppressed masses around the globe to outright anti-communist thugs. What they all share is opposition to any state, including the dictatorship of the proletariat—the necessary first step towards the withering away of the state through the creation of a classless communist society.

Echoing the lies of the capitalist rulers, the anarchists equate the remaining workers states with the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracies that threaten their very existence. At the 20 August demonstration in Berlin, the SpAD Revolutionary Contingent carried signs proclaiming: “Defend China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea Against Imperialism, Internal Counterrevolution!” It is a testament to the gains achieved through the establishment of a planned economy, however bureaucratically mismanaged, that while the rest of the Caribbean is mired in poverty and starvation, Cuba has a literacy rate of 99 per cent, an infant mortality rate that is less than New York City’s, and free health care. And the victory of imperialist-backed counterrevolution in China would throw women back to the bondage of the past and reduce a population of 1.2 billion to abject penury. Just look at the former Soviet Union, where the victory of capitalist counterrevolution has brought untold misery. A devastating measure of the effects of the destruction of this former workers state can be seen in the fact that life expectancy has dropped by ten years.

The imperialists’ military and economic might is aimed at the destruction of those workers states that still exist. What stands in the way of their defence is the ruling bureaucracies whose nationalist programme of trying to find “peaceful coexistence” with the imperialist rulers has undermined the gains of these revolutions and blocked the road to their extension internationally. We Trotskyists fight to defend and extend the enormous gains embodied in the planned, collectivised economies, particularly through their extension to the imperialist centres.

*continued on page 9*



Spartakist Canada

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

the German Indymedia site was filled with complaints from anarchists about how prominent Spartakist signs, chants and soapboxing speeches were at the protest. The “power-hungry vanguard”, observed one anarchist, would not have been “so dominant if ‘we’ had not been so few”, noting he “did not see a single [anarchist] placard”.

It is a telling statement that the anarchists who are the immediate target of state repression are politically disarmed in the face of this sinister witch hunt. Genoa provided a concrete and murderous demonstration of the highly organised and ruthlessly efficient forces of the bourgeois state. To prevail against that might requires an organised and disciplined vanguard party that can mobilise the power of the one class that can defeat capitalist rule—the proletariat. Only the working class has the social power and objective interests to liberate mankind from oppression. The purpose of a revolutionary party is to infuse the proletariat with that understanding. That was a lesson learnt by the best elements of the anarchist movement in the aftermath of

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

The resurgence of anarchism is a by-product of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe a decade ago. In an ideological climate conditioned by the imperialist rulers’ celebration of the “death of communism” and derision of Marxism as a “failed experiment”, it is not surprising

## Defend arrested Genoa protesters!

Donations for the defence of protesters arrested in Genoa are urgently needed. The following organisations are collecting funds for those still imprisoned and for many others facing charges carrying long prison sentences. Send international money orders to: Genoa Legal Forum, Via Caffa no 3, 16129 Genoa, Italy or Rote Hilfe, PSF 32 55 37022 Göttingen, Germany

# —Reforging the Fourth International—

## Introducing *Spartacist South Africa*

We extend an internationalist salute to our comrades of *Spartacist South Africa* on the launching of their new press. Below we reprint the introductory article from the first issue, dated July 2001.

*Spartacist South Africa* is the first issue of the newspaper of the South African section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). We seek to build a revolutionary workers party like the Bolsheviks under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky that led the Russian working class to power in 1917. We fight for new October Revolutions as the precondition for an egalitarian socialist society in which those who labour rule. As a fighting propaganda group, we publish our polemical press as the main way to deepen, develop and expand the Leninist vanguard party.

In South Africa, we are at the epicentre of the AIDS pandemic. HIV/AIDS is spreading exponentially around the world, with the overwhelming majority of the 36 million people infected with the disease concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa. The scope of the AIDS disaster threatens the survival of the human species in the cradle of mankind. We have therefore devoted this extraordinary first issue of *Spartacist South Africa* to the battles unfolding over HIV/AIDS — an agonising and polarising social crisis that is tearing the country apart. In so doing, we lay bare the anti-working-class, anti-woman, anti-poor nature of the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress-led capitalist government. This pamphlet brings together dispatches from South Africa with two other related articles, all of which were originally published in *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the American section of the ICL. We seek to break the wall of silence surrounding AIDS, which threatens the most economically active sections of the population, the newly born and African women especially.

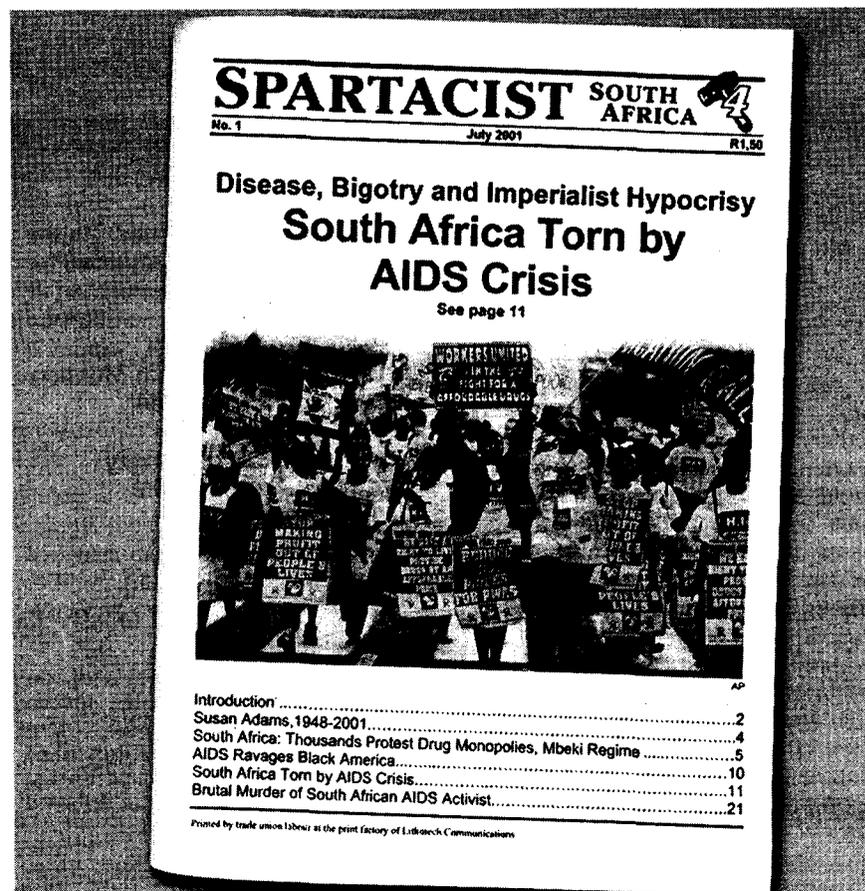
Every step of the search for any treatment for HIV/AIDS has been undermined by the profit-driven capitalist system and the backward, racist, anti-gay and anti-woman ideologies it spawns. People with AIDS are viciously stereotyped, ostracised and stigmatised. Because it is a sexually transmitted disease, the repressive taboos, guilt and shame

over sex that subjugate women in the repressive bourgeois family play a key role in sabotaging any scientific approach to a cure for AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). In Africa, like other parts of the so-called Third World, women often have very little control over their reproductive lives. How many children they have, or whether to have sex with a condom — many women have very little say over these matters. Rape and other forms of sexual violence also contribute enormously to the HIV epidemic. Some AIDS sufferers blame a girlfriend or wife for “witching” them with the disease. *Lobola* (bride price) treats women in southern Africa as chattel to be sold from father to husband. Female genital mutilation is still practised openly in rural areas and secretly in the townships. Polygamy based on the economic subordination of women still occurs.

Women who have talked openly about the HIV/AIDS epidemic courageously challenge deeply patriarchal customs where any woman mentioning sexual life runs contrary to “tradition”. After announcing she was HIV-positive on World AIDS Day in December 1998, activist Gugu Dlamini was beaten to death by a rabid mob in eastern KwaZulu-Natal. We wrote “Brutal Murder of South African AIDS Activist” in February 1999 [see *Workers Vanguard* no 706, 5 February 1999], which to our knowledge was the first protest statement in the country.

South African President Thabo Mbeki’s anti-scientific diatribes — reflecting the ANC bourgeois-nationalist government policy — have sparked bigoted attacks on people infected with AIDS and ignited a furore at the international conference on AIDS in Durban in July 2000. Following the AIDS conference, comrade Karen Cole of *Spartacist South Africa* presented a talk, “South Africa Torn by AIDS Crisis” [*WV* no 749, 5 January], which takes head-on the ignorant statements challenging scientific evidence that HIV causes AIDS and underlines the need for international socialist revolution to overthrow the capitalist exploiters.

Since then, broad protests drawing in unionists, gays, women, blacks and youth around the world have focused attention on the fight for cheap anti-retroviral



Subscribe to *Spartacist South Africa* £2.50 for four issues. Order from/pay to: Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU.

drugs. Extortionate Western drug companies have sought to protect patent rights and super-profits by overcharging millions who are dying from the disease. Integrated demonstrations in March demanded access to affordable treatment and drugs, pitting people against the capitalist system, which in its drive for profits necessarily exacerbates the AIDS pandemic ravaging sub-Saharan Africa. The first article in the paper, “South Africa: Thousands Protest Drug Monopolies, Mbeki Regime” [*WV* no 759, 25 May], looks at the South African events and includes a polemic against the reformists of “Labor’s Militant Voice” in the U.S., who were linked to the Democratic Socialist Movement in South Africa (formerly Marxist Workers Tendency). These small-time social democrats retail anti-scientific obscurantism, reinforcing social backwardness in the U.S. and falling in line behind the reactionary crusade of the anti-gay bigots.

Although the pharmaceutical giants finally withdrew the lawsuit denying production of cheap anti-retrovirals under the pressure of international protests, the ANC-led capitalist government has refused to do anything to make the anti-AIDS drugs available. The ANC government has withheld drugs like AZT and Nevirapine from the desperately impoverished masses as mother-to-child transmission of the virus is daily adding to the toll of those dying who could be saved by even minimal access to these drugs. While the epidemic spreads, government privatisations of public enterprises means patients lie on the floor at Johannesburg and Chris Hani Baragwanath hospitals, waiting for beds and physicians as services are slashed. Not surprisingly, struggles over access to quality health care and affordable drugs continue to erupt across the country.

In the early stages of the epidemic in America, AIDS was largely stigmatised as a “gay disease” and therefore research

and treatment were ignored, despite the far vaster resources available to American capitalism. Today, even those privileged few with access to expensive anti-retroviral cocktails continue to endure diverse forms of social discrimination. At the same time, American racism denies access to existing treatments for ghetto and barrio residents, among whom AIDS is now growing most drastically. As the accompanying article shows, “AIDS Ravages Black America” [*WV* no 759, 25 May]. Blacks and Hispanics account for two-thirds of new AIDS cases. Black women in particular account for 64 percent of all new infections among women in the U.S.

Under capitalism, the availability and quality of health care for the masses of working people will always be subordinated to the drive for profit. As Marxists, we understand that scientific progress cannot rise above or be separated from class interests in any society. The modern gains of science will be put fully in the service of humanity when world socialist revolution sweeps away capitalist rule. The AIDS epidemic underscores the irrationality and cruelty of capitalism and imperialism. The International Communist League fights to build the revolutionary workers party necessary to lead a workers revolution to victory. As revolutionary Trotskyists, we do not simply seek to expose the exploitation of workers in the factories, but always to champion struggles against every manifestation of social oppression and police tyranny. As Lenin emphasised in *What Is To Be Done?*, a revolutionary socialist aims not to be a trade-union official, but a “tribune of the people”: “[H]e is no Social-Democrat who forgets in practice that ‘the Communists support every revolutionary movement,’ that we are obliged for that reason to expound and emphasise general democratic tasks before the whole people, without for a moment concealing our socialist convictions.” ■

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# Join the Spartacus Youth Group!

## WHAT WE FIGHT FOR

The Spartacus Youth Group (SYG) exists to intervene into social struggles as the student/youth auxiliary organisation of the Spartacist League, British section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). It is a transitional organisation where youth can train in Marxist politics, through study and active political intervention on the campuses and among workers and the oppressed. The SYG is organisationally independent of the Spartacist League and fights alongside it on the basis of our common proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist programme—the programme of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky—for new revolutions like the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

If you agree with the programme below and want to fight for a socialist future free from capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter, join us!

## JOIN THE SYGI

1. Mobilise youth and students behind the social power of the multiethnic working class! The trade union bureaucracy are “labour lieutenants of capital”: agents of the capitalist class within the workers movement—for a class struggle leadership of the unions! Picket lines mean don’t cross! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programmes! For union control of hiring! Jobs for all at union wages! Organise the unorganised! Down with multi-tier wages which pit younger and older workers against each other! No to New Deal “work for dole” schemes and all benefit crackdowns! Cops, screws and security guards out of the unions! Keep the capitalist government and courts out of the unions! For class struggle to smash the anti-union laws!

2. For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland! The existing tie between Northern Ireland—a sectarian, Orange statelet created by imperialist partition—and the British state can only be oppressive to the Catholic population. Labour’s imperialist “peace” deal is a lie,

based on military repression by maintaining these troops. We oppose any imperialist “peace” deal! No to the forced reunification of Ireland which would reverse the terms of oppression against Protestants! For the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, the Catholic clericalist state in the South and the Orange statelet in the North! For an Irish



February 20: Spartacus Youth Group campus protest as US/Britain bomb Iraq.

workers republic, part of a voluntary socialist federation of the British Isles!

3. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Down with racist immigration laws! Shut down the government’s refugee detention centres! No deportations! Defend all victims of state repression: free Satpal Ram and Winston Silcott! The capitalist state is inherently racist. No reliance on the capitalist cops and courts! Ethnic minorities form a strategic part of the working class, not only are they at the forefront of class struggle here but they form a crucial bridge to the working class abroad. For mass trade union/minority mobilisations to stop the fascists and race terrorists! Fascist terror is not a question of free speech! Smash the NF/BNP/Combat 18!

4. The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons and the standing army—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organised violence by the capi-

talists against the working class and the oppressed. The capitalist state is not neutral and cannot be reformed—it must be replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat! Defend the victims of racist cop terror and police frame-ups! Down with Labour’s Terrorism Act! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! No illusions in “community con-

trol” of the police! For the right to bear arms and the right to self-defence!

5. For women’s liberation through socialist revolution! For free abortion on demand! For free, quality 24-hour child care! Equal pay for equal work! We oppose the privatisation of the NHS and welfare system! For free, quality health care for all! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Government out of the bedroom: all forms of consenting sexual activity are private matters! Down with anti-gay Section 28 and all family values and anti-gay legislation! Full democratic rights for gays! Down with Labour’s reactionary witch hunt against so-called “sex offenders”! Down with all laws against “crimes” without victims—prostitution, consensual sex, drugs!

6. Abolish the monarchy, the House of Lords and other reactionary relics of the feudal system! For separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Down with the licensing laws! Down with English chauvinism! For the right of self-determination for the Scottish and Welsh nations, including the right to independence! At the present time, we advocate common class struggle for workers in the British Isles. For a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles!

7. For free quality education for all! No tuition fees! For an end to streaming! Keep religion out of schools! For open university admissions with a state-paid living grant! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there! Drive police and army recruiters off the campuses! For the right of people to be educated in the language of their choice!

8. Britain is an imperialist country in chronic capitalist decay. The British bourgeoisie, living off superprofits extracted from toilers around the world, is the main enemy of the working class in Britain! For the defeat of British imperialism through workers revolution! We

oppose the European Union—not for national-chauvinist, protectionist reasons—but because it is an imperialist trade bloc, a vehicle for capitalist co-operation against all the working classes of Europe. Down with racist “Fortress Europe”! No to a European imperialist Rapid Reaction Force! All British/UN/NATO/OSCE troops out of the Balkans, East Timor and the Persian Gulf! Down with the terror bombing and the starvation blockade of Iraq! Imperialist troops are the bloody enemies of the world’s workers and oppressed!

9. Defend the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which smashed the rule of landlords and capitalists, and collectivised property! For unconditional military defence of China and the other deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy based on the power of workers councils and revolutionary internationalism! Workers of the world unite! For international working class solidarity!

10. The Labour government rules for racist British imperialism! Labour is the

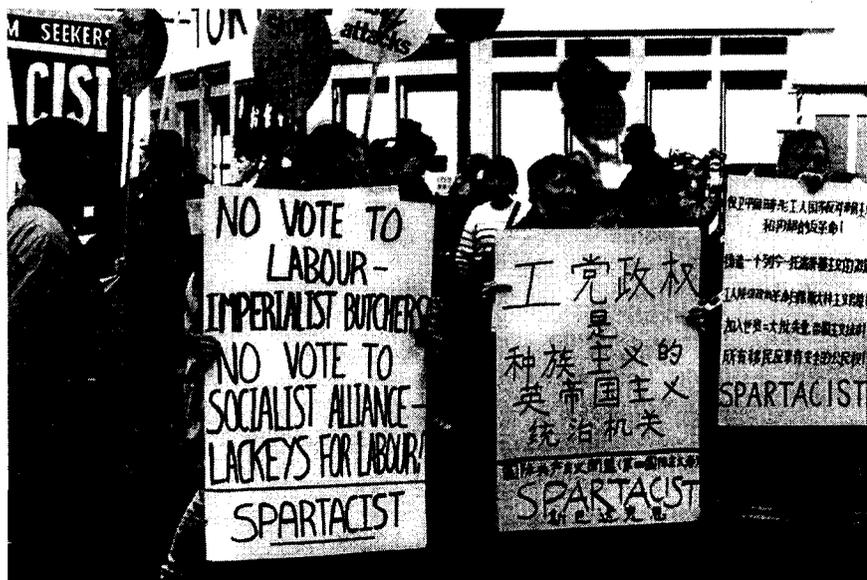


Тов. Ленин ОЧИЩАЕТ  
ЗЕМЛЮ ОТ НЕЧИСТИ.

V Deni and M Chremnykh

Soviet cartoon after Bolshevik Revolution shows Lenin sweeping away kings, priests, capitalists.

historic barrier to proletarian revolution in Britain, tying workers and the oppressed to the bourgeoisie. It is a bourgeois workers party, with a working-class base and a pro-capitalist leadership. We seek to split the working-class base away from these leaders. Break with Labour—Build a Bolshevik party! For the expropriation of the whole capitalist class! Old Labour-style nationalisation of failing industries amounts to a cash bailout of the capitalist owners at the expense of workers and fuels national chauvinism. Down with the poison of protectionism! For a revolutionary, multiethnic workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October revolutions! For the international dictatorship of the proletariat! ■



London, 8 April: Chinese community demonstrate against racism in Blair’s Britain. Spartacist placards include: Defend the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

# Racism...

(Continued from page 3)

obstacle to revolutionary consciousness among the working class in this country. They will therefore play a role in the revolutionary party which is out of proportion to their size in the workers movement. The Spartacist League fights to build the multiethnic revolutionary workers party which is essential for revolution. It will be built by splitting Labour, a bourgeois workers party, and winning the working class to a revolutionary programme.

## SWP whitewashes Labour

In the midst of an hysterical media blitz blaming Bradford's Asians for the "worst rioting for 20 years", Blair endorsed the police and fascist rampage by condemning Asians for "simple thuggery". Home secretary David Blunkett said this is "simply a law and order issue", meaning there's no racism on the part of the cops and fascists. *Asian Xpress* (12 July) exco-

council elections in May is to win seats in the north west and use that as a springboard to grow across Britain. A mass carnival in Oldham will play an important role in pushing the Nazis back. It will boost the anti-Nazi majority in the town and isolate the hardened BNP supporters" (*Socialist Worker*, 25 August). The TUC is clearly gearing up for voting Labour in the spring elections — its resolution calls for "leafleting, by Labour Parties and others" against the "far right" and for "consideration of a TUC led mobilisation in spring of next year" (Resolution passed on 21 July, published on the Labournet website).

Trade union members in the region potentially have the social power to stop the fascists' race-hate provocations. Indeed a mass mobilisation of trade unions/minorities is the only way to stay the hand of the police who protect the BNP, but such a mobilisation is not within the SWP's perspective because it would require a head-on political fight against the union bureaucracy and against Labour. The need for a union-

call on the police and the state to take action against the fascists. An ANL leaflet (for the 1 September Burnley Carnival) says:

"The 500-strong Anti Nazi League meeting held on 28 June agreed that we need to stop BNP Nazis spreading their race hatred, and stop them operating in Burnley by shutting down their headquarters. We call on the borough council and home secretary David Blunkett to use whatever legal or political means necessary to do this."

Marxists understand that all calls on the capitalist state to act against the fascists are suicidal. Indeed state bans, if enforced, are primarily used against the left as they have been most recently against the ANL. Any party that does not fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system cannot have a programme to rid society of fascism or racism. Lenin, whose Bolsheviks led the working class to power in October 1917, wrote the book "State and Revolution" to equip revolutionaries for the task of overthrowing the rotten capitalist system. He explains that the society we live in is defined by the existence of two classes — the capitalists and the working class, and these classes have irreconcilable interests. The bourgeois state exists to enforce the rule of the capitalist class.

## For a multiethnic revolutionary workers party!

Bradford has always been a battleground for Britain's Asian population, who arrived there during labour shortages in the textile mills of Northern England after World War II. With the world capitalist recession (and under a Labour Government) in the 1970s the fascists organised large marches in Oldham when mills started to close. Then as now, Labour tightened the immigration laws; they grotesquely introduced "virginity" tests for Asian women at British airports.

In Britain as a whole, more than 100,000 jobs have been cut in the manufacturing sector since the start of the year, most of which will never be replaced. Workers of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin are among the poorest in Britain, many of whom have no hope of finding decent jobs. In Bradford, Asians (the majority of whom are of Pakistani origin) make up 20 per cent of the population. In the area around Bradford (Yorkshire and Humber) 10,000 manufacturing jobs were lost in the year to March 2001. On 3 August, when 200 textile workers in Bradford were laid off, spinner Zafer Hussain said: "I've worked in textiles for a long time and as each mill has closed, I've moved on to the

next. Now that this one has gone, I think that the industry is finished in Bradford — there are no more mills any more" (*Morning Star*, 4 August).

The main form of racial integration in this country is the workplace despite de-industrialisation. British blacks, Asians and other minorities are more heavily represented in the trade unions than their weight in the population would suggest. The workforce is integrated in the car plants of the West Midlands, Luton and Dagenham, the railway and transport system in every major city, London Underground as well as hospitals. These jobs are increasingly at risk and the trade union bureaucracy have been selling jobs down the river, telling workers their only option is to pressure Labour. This perspective of class collaboration goes hand-in-hand with national chauvinism, which fuels racism. The union bureaucracy built the Rover demonstration in April 2000, a gross anti-German outpouring which aimed to deflect anger over job losses away from Labour and British capitalism. The fake-left groups which make up the Socialist Alliance also built this demonstration, which again shows their political bankruptcy.

Under Labour, British society has become more polarised — the gap between rich and poor is growing, as is the North-South divide and racial segregation is increasing. The chronic decline of British capitalism and Labour's gutting of education, health and housing, hit hardest at the poorest sections of society. Cities like Bradford are now derelict, just like former mining areas and former industrial cities such as Glasgow, Liverpool and Belfast. The situation cries out for a socialist revolution, to regenerate society and economic life.

The organised working class is the only force in society with the social power and the direct interests to overthrow the capitalist state and the rotten system it exists to protect. What prevents this, and acts as the greatest obstacle, is the social-chauvinist Labourite misleaders who have sworn their loyalty oath to British imperialism for the price of a few crumbs from the princes and capitalists. They are the primary purveyors of racist bourgeois ideology within the working class.

The overthrow of capitalism will finally confine the imperialists and their Labour servants to the dustbin of history. We seek to build a Trotskyist revolutionary and internationalist party. Only a new revolutionary leadership can unite the working class in opposition to the class enemy and its racist system. Only such a party can win to the side of workers revolution the immigrant workers and the new generation of activist youth. ■



Workers Hammer

SL contingent at 16 October 1993 anti-fascist mobilisation in Welling, London.

riated Blair — an article headlined "Blair's Britain" showed riot police attacking Asian youth and prominently asked: "So Prime Minister, you think this is simply a 'law and order' issue?" It pointed out that "while Asians are branded thugs by the so-called leader that so many of them voted for, the NF terrorists behind this summer of discontent are described by the PM as merely the 'far right'" (12 July). Shahid Malik, an Asian member of the Labour Party National Executive Committee, was brutally attacked by cops and was interviewed on TV still bloodied. The fact that the cops attacked such a prominent figure so publicly with not a word of protest from party leaders is a green light to both the cops and the fascists.

We said no vote to the Socialist Alliance in the election because their campaign was subordinate to electing Labour. The reformist SWP try to corral workers and youth who want to fight racism and capitalism into the Labourite swamp. The rallying cry of the SWP (the leading force in the Socialist Alliance) was "vote socialist where you can, vote Labour where you must".

The SWP have joined with the bureaucrats in the North West Regional Council of the TUC to sponsor a "Respect Festival" (sic) in Oldham on 20 October. Their concern is to dissuade racists from voting for the BNP in the council elections next spring. Taken together with their slogan "Don't vote Nazi", this scurrilous exercise is described as "isolating" the "hardened BNP supporters". The Anti Nazi League leaflet for the Oldham festival says: "The BNP's number one aim for the local

centred fight against racist terror is linked to the need for a class battle for jobs for all at no loss in pay, a perspective which challenges the framework of capitalism. This must be waged against the Labour government and requires ousting the trade union bureaucracy who are tied to Labour and to capitalism. This is in stark contrast to the SWP's target of "pushing the Nazis back" on the electoral front. The fascist programme is one of genocide — they will not be stopped at the ballot box.

The dividing line between reformists and revolutionaries is their attitude to the capitalist state. Thus the reformist SWP

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## Attack...

(Continued from page 4)

ing to build up their forces of domestic repression, which they have long deployed against the hideously oppressed ghetto and barrio masses, is crucial to maintaining their class rule.

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the former Soviet Union, a workers state which however bureaucratically degenerated did represent an alternative to capitalist exploitation and oppression, the U.S. boasted of being the "world's only superpower" and the American imperialist rulers thought they would face no challenge as they run roughshod over the rest of the world. It

within by the working class in the U.S., which includes large numbers of black, Latino and, increasingly, immigrant workers from the Near East, the Indian subcontinent and East Asia.

The pusillanimous reformist "left" in this country, particularly typified by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), now points a finger at the American rulers' support to bin Laden and the Afghan Taliban as "freedom fighters" during the Cold War. Left unsaid is the ISO's own support for these reactionaries against the Soviet Red Army. In Europe, the groups that were once called the "far left" long ago sold their political souls to their "own" bourgeoisies. For them, railing against American imperialism as the "main en-

might of the U.S. imperialists, and the genocidal Zionist rulers they bankroll and arm, some see little alternative than to strap their bodies with explosives and hurl themselves against their perceived oppressors.

Whoever the perpetrators of the suicide attack on the World Trade Center, it demonstrated the mindset of those who, typically religious fanatics, believe they have a god-given mission to exterminate all "non-believers." Such Islamic zealots see trade unionists, leftists and unveiled women as infidels deserving of god's wrath. In its essence, their outlook is no different than that of Christian fundamentalist bigots who bomb abortion clinics in the U.S., where the domestic secret police, the FBI, was until recently headed by Louis Freeh, a member of the truly sinister Catholic Opus Dei. Nor is this outlook any different than that of fascist Zionists who seek to "cleanse" the Palestinian nation from what is deemed to be the Jewish "holy land."

Terrorist bombings tend to be carried out by nationalist or religious forces because they are at best indifferent or at worst hostile to the entire population they consider to be the enemy. The World Trade Center attack was and could only have been aimed at the indiscriminate slaughter of as many — ordinary, multiethnic, working — people as possible.

As Marxists, we oppose terrorism as a strategy, even that which derives from real, if misguided, anti-imperialist impulses and takes as its target genuine institutions of state repression, which was manifestly not the case in the attack on the World Trade Center. Substituting individual acts, however heroic in particular circumstances, is counterposed to proletarian class struggle and the consciousness the working class needs if it is to stand at the head of all the oppressed in the revolutionary overthrow of the entire system of imperialist exploitation and repression. Rather, such terrorism serves mainly to provide a pretext for the bourgeois state to intensify repression.



Workers Hammer

**Spartacists protest Labour's 1998 terror attack on Iraq.**

In the aftermath of capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, the American imperialist rulers have sought to find a surrogate for the war against "godless Communism" in the spectre of "Islamic terrorism." This is the new external enemy against which they have sought to rally the population, and they aim to use the attack on the World Trade Center for furthering public support for their imperialist terror abroad, fostering the lie that the working people of the U.S. have a common interest with their capitalist exploiters. We say: U.S. imperialism hands off the world! The main enemy is at home! Our purpose is to build the proletarian, internationalist, revolutionary party that will infuse the working class with the understanding of its social power and historic interests as the gravedigger of U.S. imperialism. ■



Shannon Stapleton/Reuters

**New York fire fighters carry survivor from wreckage of World Trade Center.**

is a measure of the intense hatred for U.S. imperialism that the destruction of the World Trade Center, at the cost of likely thousands of innocent lives, could be greeted enthusiastically by many around the world. It is also a measure of the lack of any perceived possibility of defeating U.S. imperialism from within. The men who run Wall Street and Washington can and must be swept away from

enemy" is simply an alibi for their fealty to the social-democratic governments that were installed to carry out massive austerity against the working class.

In the neocolonial countries, where the masses of people are confronted with the complete bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois nationalism, there has been a growth of religious obscurantism, particularly Islam. In the face of the armed

## Witch hunt...

(Continued from page 5)

Achieving that aim requires a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist misrulers that sit atop the deformed workers states and building a revolutionary communist international like that established by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks.

### The real face of capitalist democracy

The left's cynical denunciations of the new Berlusconi right-wing government as "fascist" are merely a rallying cry for a new bourgeois government of reformist parties and "democratic" capitalist parties. This is the game of Rifondazione Comunista (RC), which served for years as a crucial prop to capitalist rule in Italy. RC leader Fausto Bertinotti condemned the police for allowing the Black Bloc to carry out "aggressive and destructive acts" (*Liberazione*, 21 July). In an ominous attempt to redirect the many COBAS workers who last month protested the cop terror into goons against anarchist youth, a spokesman for a COBAS teachers union loosely affiliated to RC called for future COBAS contingents to be armed "with sticks to defend ourselves from the Black Bloc and the police" (*Corriere della Sera*, 8 August).

Luca Casarini, a spokesman for the *Tute Bianche* (White Overalls), allied to

the Genoa Social Forum, declaimed: "The anarchist label is too easy. Appearances are misleading. I only say that some hundreds of these figures were able to destroy the city undisturbed. The water hoses, gas and bullets were reserved for us" (*Corriere della Sera*, 21 July). Such cop-baiting against the Black Bloc soon translated into gangsterist attacks. On 13 August, Italian press reported that six *Tute Bianche* members in Marghera (near Venice) beat up supporters of the anarchist Revolutionary Committee who were collecting funds for legal defence and distributing leaflets denouncing the Genoa Social Forum for refusing to defend the Black Bloc. Despite Casarini's best efforts to distance himself from the Black Bloc, he and the *Tute Bianche* are now themselves threatened by the sinister "*Digos*" political police, who charge them with "a large part of the responsibility for the incidents and illegal behaviour" in Genoa (*Corriere della Sera*, 26 August).

A statement by Marco Ferrando, leader of Proposta, a current within RC which seeks to sucker leftist youth by posturing as a Trotskyist alternative to the reformist Bertinotti leadership, demonstrated that they are nothing but the "left-wing" ideologues for the violent attack by the *Tute Bianche*. At the end of a lengthy statement, Ferrando declaimed that the Black Bloc has to be "fought", "and in the most radical terms" but "any proposal to place this problem in the hands of the repressive force of the bour-

geois state, ie the class enemy, has to be rejected" (*Proposta* supplement, 27 July). This is merely centrist window-dressing for Ferrando's argument that the left should create goon squads to police protests against "every form of aggression", both from the state and "from marginal, violent and vandalist fringe elements".

Ferrando & Co are concerned to keep the "anti-globalisation" protests safely within the bounds of bourgeois respectability, and anarchist assaults on the symbols of imperialism are an affront to that. Faithful water boys for RC that they are, Proposta makes no bones that the ultimate aim must be to "throw out the Berlusconi government, for a class alternative", which in the total absence of a perspective to overthrow the bourgeois order can only mean another popular-front government, more or less "leftist", to administer the interests of the capitalists.

The Lega trotskista d'Italia, section of the ICL, has solidarised with the Black Bloc anarchists in the face of state repression and "left" witch hunting and joined in collecting funds for the defence of those arrested. Speaking during the discussion period at a 24 August "globalisation" debate in Brescia which featured Casarini as well as RC spokesmen on the platform, an Ltd'I comrade declared:

"Blood and death in Genoa have torn away the mask of democracy and we saw the real face of capitalist democracy; this system of exploitation, imperialist domi-

nation and racist oppression is not based on a struggle of ideas, but on the repressive machine of the capitalist state that defends it. No amount of pressure, prayers or threats can change it. It must be overthrown by a workers revolution giving power to those who labour.

"It's really hypocritical for RC to invoke Marx and Rosa Luxemburg when from the very first day after Genoa they and the trade-union bureaucrats have run to support the capitalist state, laying the blame for repression at the door of the 'provocation' by 'subversive' and 'violent' anarchists and the Black Bloc. They are running a poisonous campaign to criminalise the Black Bloc by saying they are all fascists or cops. As for Casarini, he likes to make tirades against parties and vanguards, but he is actually a member of the Green party, the 'heroic' bombers of Kosovo. And the *Tute Bianche* have even attacked some anarchists in Venice who were collecting money in support of the arrested.

"Those who attack the symbols of capitalist exploitation have their hearts in the right place, and such acts of anger and frustration against oppression are perfectly understandable. However, the anarchists themselves have no programme of any sort to overthrow the capitalist system. The working class has the social power to do it.

"These struggles must not be channelled into support for yet another capitalist government including DS [Democratic Left] and RC. What we need is a revolutionary workers party. Smash the imperialist butchers through workers revolution! Workers to power throughout the world!" ■

# Genoa...

(Continued from page 12)

the workings of the capitalist system. To do away with imperialist exploitation requires a political mobilisation of the proletariat in a thoroughgoing socialist revolution. The large workers contingents on the streets of Genoa in solidarity with the anarchist youth against the state, and also in defence of immigrant rights, point to the potential for realising this revolutionary perspective. But it is

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

Today, the proletariat has been hurled

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

The police attacked the middle of the demonstration, cutting off the RC and

ting a leaflet she had written giving her eyewitness account of the cop rampage. The leaflet concluded: "I am starting to think that maybe we live in a society that is only apparently democratic and that showed itself on this occasion for what it really is."

Sections of the bourgeoisie are worried that there is no effective reformist force with the influence to restrain and control the working class. Reflecting this, RC has simultaneously rallied to defence of bourgeois "law and order" while making an appeal to the youthful



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



Action Press

necessary to combat the obstacles that stand in the way: the trade-union bureaucracies and the reformist political parties, which currently govern many of the capitalist states in Western Europe, as well as the false, anti-proletarian consciousness of the anarchist youth.

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

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

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

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

## State of siege in Genoa

When our comrades arrived in Genoa on 18 July, they found a ghost town. An inner "red zone" four kilometres long was completely encircled by a 12-foot-high metal barrier. Police within the red zone carried out continuous searches of apartments and harassment of the heavily immigrant population. Reports of letter bombs and attempted bombings were wielded to fuel a huge anti-terrorist campaign by the bourgeois media. In preparation for the arrests, an anonymous police official told *La Repubblica*, "The Bolzaneto barracks were transformed into a 'lager' [concentration camp]" by the Mobile Operational Group (GOM), an elite unit formed under the popular-front government in 1997 and headed by a former chief of the military secret service. He reported that arrested protesters "had their heads smashed against the wall" and were "beaten when they refused to sing 'Faccetta Ner' [a fascist hymn]". Protesters were also forced to shout "Viva il Duce!"

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

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

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

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

Labour struggle is likely to grow as the Berlusconi government moves to carry through attacks on pensions, public education, health care and workers' living standards. And there is enormous turmoil within the left as many radicalised youth are looking around, and not necessarily to the traditional reformist parties like RC. One young woman was seen on the subway in Milano distribu-

protesters, writing in *Liberazione* that "a new generation is building itself an alternative political identity: it refuses the existing order of things and dreams of another kind of world. This is the reason they attack it with savage violence."

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

The reformist misleaders used the upsurge of workers struggles that brought down the previous Berlusconi government in 1994 to usher in a series of popular-front governments, bringing together D'Alema's DS and openly bourgeois forces, generally propped up by RC. This bloody cabal of fake "socialists" and ex-"communists" presided over Italian imperialism's participation in the US-led 1999 Balkans War. And it was the former DS-dominated government that organised the arrangements for the G8 summit.

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

What's needed is a new, revolutionary

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

### "Left" finger-men for the world bourgeoisie

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

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

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

As organisers of the "anti-globalisation" movement that is being attacked by the governments they support, these groups try to walk both sides of the street. But even when they denounce the police violence, it is from the standpoint of bolstering the "democratic" credentials of the imperialist rulers. In a 20 July statement on its website, the Cliffite-dominated Globalise Resistance in Britain pleaded, "We call on Tony Blair, and other political leaders, to condemn this killing." The French LCR even appealed to Berlusconi, Fini & Co, declaring in a leaflet co-signed with the anarchist Alternatives Libertaines and others: "We call on the Italian govern-

ment to publicly condemn the methods employed by the forces of order!"

The conflicting opportunist appetites buffeting the USec and Cliffites were most evident in the right-centrist Workers Power (WP) and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI). A statement posted on the WP/LRCI website on 23 July was headlined, "After Genoa Repression Turn to the Working Class". In the mouth of WP, this means suckering militant anarchist youth back into the social-democratic fold and "left" Labourite parliamentarist lash-ups like the Socialist Alliance, which WP helped build in the recent British elections. Thus, the WP/LRCI



Italian riot police attack Genoa protester. Fake lefts have joined in witch hunt against anarchist militants facing state repression.

statement calls for a revolutionary party "free of all the filth of Stalinism"—but has not a word about the Labourite "filth" in which WP wallows.

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

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

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

For our forthright statement in defence of the anarchists against state repression, our comrades in Genoa were likewise denounced as "provocateurs" by the social-democratic trade-union bureaucrats. And one of our comrades was attacked as a "provocateur" at a 28 July protest in Berlin for denouncing a plat-

form speaker from Schröder's Green coalition partners as a representative of the German imperialist state.

### Anarchism v Bolshevism

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

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

national companies are symbolic actions. Nevertheless we do not agree with the destruction and looting of small shops and cars. This is not our policy....

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

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

the misleaders who have a stake in preserving the capitalist system. We seek to exacerbate the contradictions between the aspirations of the workers at the base and the pro-capitalist politics of the tops in order to break the workers from reformism and win them to a revolutionary perspective.

For those who genuinely seek the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, anarchism's appeal is a healthy rejection of the parliamentary reformism of the social democrats, the ex-Stalinists and the fake leftists who prop up and maintain the capitalist order. In *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder*, which aimed at winning the best of the anarchists and syndicalists of his day to Bolshevism, Lenin remarked: "Anarchism was not infrequently a kind of penalty for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement." The Russian Revolution redefined the left internationally, and its final undoing is having a similar impact in reverse.

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

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

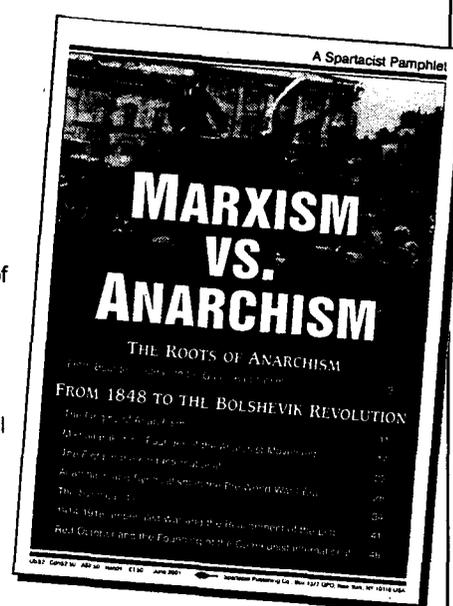
"In order for the workers struggling at the head of all the oppressed to win and to uproot the rotten capitalist system, we need a revolutionary leadership that fights irreconcilably against class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and their governments. The ICL fights to build such a multiethnic, revolutionary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

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

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

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## Overthrow the imperialist butchers— for global workers rule!

# Blood and bullets in Genoa

The following article is based on eyewitness reports by our comrades of the *Lega trotskista d'Italia (Ld'I)*. It first appeared in *Workers Vanguard* no 762, 3 August 2001 and is abridged here.

MILANO, 30 July — As the imperialist rulers met in palatial surroundings at the Group of 8 (G8) summit in Genoa (Genova), the rest of the city was subjected to one of the biggest “security” build-ups in Italy since the downfall of Mussolini’s fascist regime and the end of World War II. Cops killed at least one young protester in cold blood on 20 July and carried out repeated rampages against thousands of others. On Saturday, 21 July, after the “anti-globalisation” demonstrations in Genoa had come to an end, the police staged Gestapo-style raids in the dead of night against a number of protest headquarters, including the Genoa Social Forum (GSF), smashing into sleeping protesters with their night-sticks and leaving the floors and walls spattered with blood.

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

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



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



Silvio Berlusconi.

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

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

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

### Genoa draws a blood line

The massive and murderous police repression in Genoa was on a level usually seen in the suppression of work-

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

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

In the wake of Genoa, there is now a clear left-right division — written in blood — within the “anti-globalisation” movement. That division is not primarily over protest tactics, or “violence” versus “nonviolence”. Rather, at root what is at issue is the question of the “democratic” legitimacy of the existing parliamentary capitalist governments. On that question, we stand with the anarchists against the left social democrats, including those who occasionally masquerade as Marxists or Trotskyists. Having capitulated to their own bourgeoisies from the Cold War against the Soviet Union in the 1980s to the 1999 US/NATO war against Serbia, these pseudo-Marxists take their stand with the capitalist state.

The question before the huge numbers of young radicals who have been drawn to the “anti-globalisation” protests of recent years is: how do you change the world? While the protests have succeeded in forcing the imperialists to schedule future meetings in isolated backwaters, this does nothing to impede

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