

Bankrupt Stalinism Opens Floodgates to Capitalist Restoration

Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!



Laski/Sipa

August 21—Pro-Yeltsin crowd in front of Russian “White House” during short-lived coup attempt. Bush and Yeltsin (above right) congratulate themselves earlier this year.

AUGUST 27—The working people of the Soviet Union, and indeed the workers of the world, have suffered an unparalleled disaster whose devastating consequences are now being played out. The ascendancy of Boris Yeltsin, who offers himself as Bush’s man, coming off a botched coup by Mikhail Gorbachev’s former aides, has unleashed a counterrevolutionary tide across the land of the October Revolution. The first workers

state in history, sapped and undermined by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, lies in tatters. The state power has been fractured, the Communist Party—its bureaucratic core—shattered and banned from the KGB and armed forces, the multinational union is ripping apart as one republic after another proclaims secession.

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Stalinism: Gravedigger of the October Revolution

More than half a century ago, Leon Trotsky warned that Stalinism was a mortal danger to the survival of the Soviet Union. Having usurped power from the Soviet workers by gutting the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, the nationalist bureaucracy headed by Stalin proceeded to undermine the gains of the 1917 October Revolution and sabotage revolutionary struggle worldwide.

While demoralized "anti-Stalinists" simply wrote off the first workers state, Trotsky's Left Opposition fought to restore soviet democracy and Bolshevik internationalism to the USSR. As Trotsky emphasized time and again, the only alternative to capitalist restoration was a proletarian political revolution to defend the remaining gains of October by ousting the treacherous bureaucracy. Now the utter collapse of Soviet Stalinism has opened up the floodgates of bloody capitalist counterrevolution. The key to defense of the Soviet working people against Bush/Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary onslaught is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party.

* * *

Under the conditions of the transitional epoch, the political superstructure plays a decisive role. A developed and stable dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes that the party functions in the leading role as a self-acting vanguard, that the proletariat is welded together by means of trade unions, that the toilers are indissolubly bound up with the state through the system of soviets and, finally, that the workers' state is aligned through the International into a fighting unit with the world proletariat. In the meantime, the bureaucracy has strangled the party and the trade unions and the soviets and the Communist International....

Which is closer: the danger of the collapse of the Soviet power that has been sapped by bureaucratism or the hour of the consolidation of the proletariat around a new party that is capable of saving the October heritage? There is no a priori answer to such a question; the struggle will decide. A major historical test—which may be a war—will determine the relation of forces. It is clear, in any case, that, with the further decline of the world proletarian movement and the further extension of the fascist domination, it is not possible to maintain the Soviet power for any length of time by means of the internal forces alone. The fundamental condition for the only rock-bottom reform of the Soviet state is the victorious spread of

the world revolution....

Every political tendency that waves its hand hopelessly at the Soviet Union, under the pretext of its "nonproletarian" character, runs the risk of becoming the passive instrument of imperialism. And from our standpoint, of course, the tragic possibility is not excluded that the first workers' state, weakened by its bureaucracy, will fall under the joint blows of its internal and external enemies. But in the event of this worst possible variant, a tremendous significance for the subsequent course of the revolutionary struggle will be borne by the question: *where* are those guilty for the catastrophe? Not the slightest taint of guilt must fall upon the revolutionary internationalists. In the hour of mortal danger, they must remain on the last barricade.

Today the rupture of the bureaucratic equilibrium in the USSR would almost surely serve in favor of the counter-revolutionary forces. However, given a genuine revolutionary International, the inevitable crisis of the Stalinist regime would open the possibility of revival in the USSR. This is our basic course....

The problem of the world revolution as well as the problem of the Soviet Union may be summed up in one and the same brief formula: *The Fourth International*.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933)



Pathfinder Press

Leon Trotsky addressing Red Army soldiers.

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The Hammer and Four

With this issue of *Spartacist Canada* we have adopted a new masthead incorporating the hammer and four symbol of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

The hammer is an instrument for change: for reshaping and constructing through force of human action. The worker's hammer was joined with the peasant's sickle as the symbol of the Russian Revolution of 1917, of the new Soviet state and of Communist parties throughout the world in the early years of the Communist International.

The figure 4 in our new masthead insignia symbolizes our fight to reforge the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938 to continue the fight for world revolution in the face of the Comintern's Stalinist degeneration.

B.C. Elections:

NDP Vows to Rule for the Bosses

For 16 years B.C. has been ruled by the viciously anti-labor, racist, right-wing yahoos of the Social Credit party. In the early 1980s Bill Bennett, son of original B.C. Socred dynast W.A.C. (Wacky) Bennett, launched a union-busting war against the militant labor movement. Then came the demented bigot Vander Zalm who installed a prayer room in the parliament building, tried to tear up abortion rights (telling pregnant women to rely on Jesus Christ instead), reveled in anti-Semitic "jokes" and preached that the "suffering everyone is going through...is going to pay good dividends." He became such an embarrassment that diehard Socreds quit the party in disgust. Vander Zalm was finally forced to quit when he got caught taking a cash kickback for selling his Fantasy Gardens biblical theme park. Given the chance to install a "mainstream" right-wing leader, the Socreds instead chose Vander Zalm loyalist Rita Johnston, favorite of the bible-thumpers. So now the NDP think they can win the coming provincial elections.

The media has focused on never-ending Socred scandals, but the real story is what the capitalists have done to the people of B.C. Unemployment is soaring as mines, sawmills and pulp mills close down. Skilled mechanics are lucky to find work at even pitiful wages, and single mothers can scarcely feed their kids. Food banks can't handle the load, more and more people are being driven into homelessness and sick people are denied hospital beds in the name of "restraint." In Vernon retired couples have to live in vans or welfare hotels—there's not a single apartment to rent if you're not damn near a millionaire. Even a unionized journeyman's job can't keep the wolf from the door: after paying \$50 for a tank of gas and \$5 for a pack of smokes, you come home to a mortgage that used to buy a mansion, not the "do-it-yourselfer" you were lucky to find.

Socred reaction has spawned a dangerous social climate. Black CFL football stars Brian Warren and Larry Willis were held at gunpoint by Vancouver cops. Chinese women have been accosted by thugs on city buses as the government whips up anti-Asian hysteria. Gay men are routinely attacked on the streets and in their homes. Abortion clinics have been under sustained attack from both Vander Zalm and the woman-hating bigots in the streets: in May 10,000 anti-abortionists staged a march in Vancouver. No wonder pro-Nazi skinheads, who have wielded knives, baseball bats and tear gas to terrorize East Indians, Latin Americans and others, find B.C. fertile ground for new stormtrooper recruits.

But it doesn't have to go on like this! Time and again in the last decade the militant B.C. working class fought back. Telephone workers electrified labor across North America when they occupied B.C. Tel for five days in February 1981, and the next month half of Vancouver Island was shut down in solidarity with their strike. In 1983 Bennett's union busting and cutbacks in social services provoked mass demonstrations which nearly became a province-wide general strike as all of B.C. labor was on the verge of joining teachers on the picket lines. Then in 1987 to protest the Socreds' draconian anti-labor laws, 300,000 workers hit the bricks and shut down the mines, mills, ports, newspapers, schools and transport for 24 hours.



Ian Smith

Caped crusader for bosses' austerity: NDP leader Harcourt wrapped in B.C. flag.

Woodworkers president and NDP heavy Jack Munro was key to knifing the 1983 struggle. "In my mind," he recalled in his autobiography *Union Jack* (!), "if you call a general strike you'd better be in good enough shape to win it—which means basically overthrowing the government." Any hard-fought labor battle means going up against the capitalist state, its strikebreaking cops and courts who are there to defend the profits and property of the capitalist class. But that's the last thing the pro-capitalist NDP and the labor tops like Munro have in mind. Their fealty to the bosses' laws and their fear of working-class militancy paved the way for the Socreds' anti-labor onslaught. Now they're trying, yet again, to channel working-class discontent and hatred of the Socreds into votes for the NDP.

The biggest strikebreaker in B.C. history wasn't a Socred, but the NDP's Dave Barrett who as premier in 1975 ordered 60,000 pulp and paper workers, railworkers, supermarket employees and truckers back to work. As Vancouver mayor in 1981, present NDP leader Mike Harcourt scabbed on a city workers strike, denouncing CUPE strikers for demanding too much. And in 1987 Harcourt opposed the one-day shutdown, complaining that it was "illegal." IWA chief Munro, who has overseen the destruction of some 19,000 forestry jobs, is now a mouthpiece for the lumber barons as chairman of the "B.C. Forest Alliance" anti-environmentalist lobby group. He's

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Halifax: Police Riot Against Black Youth

On the evening of July 18 the black community of Halifax got a sharp taste of racist cop terror. It all began when a number of bars in the city's downtown Citadel district instituted an apartheid-style ban denying entry to black youths. They were told they violated "dress codes"—by virtue of their skin color! A spontaneous street protest denounced this blatant racism; and then the cops moved in. By night's end, berserk gangs of police in riot gear were charging through city streets looking for any black person they could find. "I saw police just hitting people," said one witness, "and they didn't seem to care who they were hitting" (*Toronto Star*, 20 July). Black youth had to defend themselves with whatever they could find.

Behind Halifax's night of rage lie centuries of segregation, exclusion from jobs and decent housing and other forms of systematic discrimination against the black population of Nova Scotia. The first black man to come to Nova Scotia, Matthew Decosta, arrived more than 350 years ago and served as an interpreter between the French and Micmac Indians. Slavery brought others in the early 1700s. At the time of the American Revolution thousands more came north, attracted by the local British administrators with promises of land (subsequently broken). These settlers were immediately and forcibly segregated from the white community in isolated settlements. Betrayed by their British "allies," left with few means of survival and little hope for the future, over half the black population abandoned Nova Scotia permanently in the 1790s to settle in the new British colony of Sierra Leone in Africa.

Other events in this grim cycle have taken place in living memory of the province's 40,000 black residents. In 1946 a black woman was arrested for sitting in the "whites only" section of a New Glasgow theater. Legally enforced school segregation was only abolished in 1954—almost 40 years later,

one community is still attempting to have its local all-black school integrated!

As late as 1964 black workers on CN's eastern railroad passenger services could only get jobs as sleeping car porters and were segregated into separate union locals. When the color bar was finally broken it was, as always, black workers who got screwed: according to Bridglal Pachai, head of the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, not a single black Nova Scotian has been hired on the passenger service since 1979! And then there is the atrocity of Africville. This Halifax black neighborhood was cleared by bulldozers in the 1960s, with residents' belongings piled onto garbage trucks as the city authorities forced them off the land they had occupied for over a century.

Last year, when racist taunts against black students provoked a brawl in a Dartmouth schoolyard, local police taught their own "lesson"—by arresting the black students only. On top of being victims of cop terror, today these kids face a black unemployment level as high as 80 percent. One former resident, returning to Halifax after years of absence, remarked: "You are where Arkansas and Mississippi was in the 1950s."

Thirteen hundred people marched through downtown Halifax on August 1 in an anti-racist protest four times larger than even the organizers expected. Gertrude Jeffries, a 52-year-old black homemaker-aide and lifelong city resident said she'd never joined a demonstration in her life; now she was marching "to show the powers that be there is a problem in this city, and we need to do something about it." What we need to do is mobilize the power of the integrated labor movement of North America to serve warning to the racist hate-mongers, in uniform and out, that the working class will stand up for black rights against this system of racist capitalism. ■

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SC/WV helped build Labor/Black Mobilization to stop the KKK in Philadelphia, 5 November 1988.

Killer Cops on the Loose

Montreal: Reactionary Nationalism Fuels Racist Terror

On July 3, Marcelus François, a 24-year-old black shipping clerk, was riding in a car with three of his friends through the financial district of downtown Montreal. The car was cut off by an unmarked police car then surrounded by other unmarked cars and by vans from the Montreal cops' "tactical" hit squad. Four plainclothes cops walked toward the car; one approached the side where François was sitting, pulled out his gun, took aim at close range through the window and shot him in the head. Two weeks later Marcelus François was dead.

"They shot him and dumped him in the hospital like an animal" cried François' anguished mother. Indeed, when they dropped François' half-dead body at a local hospital, the cops identified the black man they had just shot only as "X" (the brand once used by white slaveowners to identify the blacks they held as human chattels). These blue-uniformed murderers glibly wrote the whole thing off as a case of "mistaken identity," claiming they were looking for two other black men who they allegedly wanted to arrest.

Marcelus François had no police record. He was a young black immigrant from the Caribbean, the father of two children, who had been a Canadian citizen for six years. Now he's dead, the victim of a wanton racist murder by the Montreal cops. And what of the "suspects" the cops claim they were looking for? Apparently the bullets used to kill Marcelus François were intended for them. No innocent until proven guilty, no trial, no nothing: just death because the men they wanted were black.

Racist Cops: Judge, Jury, Executioner

Across the country the racist cops have increasingly appointed themselves judge, jury and executioner—particularly against blacks and other minorities. In Toronto the last few years the cops have gunned down one black person after another—Lester Donaldson, murdered in his bed as he ate his dinner; high school student Michael Wade Lawson, shot dead through the rear window of a car with an illegal hollow-point bullet; Sophia Cook, crippled by a police bullet in late 1989. In Montreal, the cold-blooded murder of Marcelus François follows the 1988 cop murder of 18-year-old Anthony Griffin who was also shot in the head, at close range, in a police station parking lot. In every case, the racist killers-in-blue walked free, deemed "innocent" of any wrongdoing.

At a July 26 demonstration protesting the murder of François one black militant declared, "We're going through hell in this place.... We can no longer suffer this kind of injustice." While the black community in Montreal responded with righteous outrage, Quebec Immigration Minister Monique Gagnon-Tremblay took the opportunity to announce a freeze on immigration levels for the next two years. Openly playing the racist card, she cited the current "social consensus," claiming immigrants to Quebec are perceived as a "threat to economic security."

As if on cue, that same evening a racist mob armed with baseball bats, rocks and beer bottles went on a rampage against Somalian refugees in the east end of the city. A crowd of up to 400 looked on as these racist thugs, including skin-heads in Nazi T-shirts, screamed "white power" and "Damn n----s, go back to Haiti!" and smashed the windows of the black youths' basement apartment. Cops in riot gear arrived



Pierre Obendrauf/Gazette

Montreal, July 26: Angry protesters denounce murder of Marcelus François. Stop racist police terror!

on the scene to "restore order"—by dragging away the young blacks who were under attack. "It's as if they never saw the whites," said the white girlfriend of one of the young men. Her car was firebombed by the howling mob when she attempted to stop the racist onslaught.

The rising tide of xenophobic nationalism in Quebec—whipped up by an increasingly self-confident Québécois bourgeoisie who want to become "masters in their own house," and enflamed by increasing Anglo chauvinism in the rest of the country—has fueled a deep racist reaction. Last year the Quebec government sent in the cops and called out the Canadian army against the Mohawks defending their historic burial ground at Oka. In Châteauguay, white mobs of up to 5,000, mobilized by a former Quebec provincial cop, burned Natives in effigy and screamed for blood while waving the *fleur de lys* flag and chanting "Vive le Québec libre" and "Québec aux Québécois."

Nationalist reaction, combined with increasing economic
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N. American Imperialists Gear Up for Global Trade War

Stop U.S. "Free Trade" Rape of Mexico



Alexanian/Woodfin Camp

Impoverished shantytown surrounds "free trade zone" factory in Nogales, Mexico.

We print below a joint declaration by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Trotskyist League of Canada, sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). It was first published in Workers Vanguard No. 530, 5 July.

Unite U.S., Canadian and Mexican Workers in Class Struggle!

Fresh from his Persian Gulf oil grab and bloody slaughter of Iraq, George Bush is moving to impose a "New World Order" of renewed U.S. imperialist domination. The American president's two immediate declared objectives are to pass an "omnibus crime bill" greatly expanding police powers and use of the death penalty in federal cases, and to get a "Free Trade Agreement" (FTA) with Mexico. On May 24, the U.S. Congress approved the so-called "fast track" procedure allowing the White House to negotiate tariff deals without legislative amendment, and on June 12 talks with Mexico got under way in Toronto. While strengthening the U.S. bourgeoisie against imperialist trade rivals, an FTA will also subject the working masses of the Americas to greater exploitation. We call on Mexican, U.S. and Canadian workers to join in opposing this

anti-labor pact.

The Bush administration is forging ahead with negotiations for a treaty to eliminate, over the next decade, most tariffs and many investment curbs standing between Mexico and the United States. U.S. and Canadian trade unions fear a flood of Mexican goods produced by cheap labor and a wave of "run-away plants" heading south, particularly in low-skill industries like textiles. Mexican unionists fear imports of cheaper and more technically advanced U.S. goods will bankrupt whole industries, especially in consumer durables and steel. Overall the stronger U.S. economy would have the upper hand. In addition, American capitalists want to use the FTA to gut labor and environmental regulations on both sides of the border. Yankee imperialism wants to turn Mexico into a giant *maquiladora*, or free trade zone—"free" of unions, and "free" for capital.

Far from "freeing" trade internationally, the pact is aimed at setting up a private hunting preserve for the American imperialist bourgeoisie, their Canadian junior partners and their lackeys in the Mexican ruling class. Already at the time of the First World War, Lenin noted that the narrow limits of the capitalist nation-state had become a fetter on the development of the productive forces, producing a struggle over redivision of the world. The various "common markets" in no way overcome this, but instead intensify interimperialist

rivalries. We Trotskyists, communists, struggle for the economic integration of the world on a socialist basis. But the FTA is a reactionary move toward global trade war (and from there to a shooting war). The trade pact with Mexico is U.S. imperialism's answer to the Fourth Reich and Japan Inc.

U.S. imperialism sees the incorporation of Mexico in a free trade zone as a club against Japanese-led competition from the sweatshops of Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea. The FTA is also a response to the European economic and political union scheduled for completion in 1992. But its purposes are not just economic. It is an expression of the U.S. ruling class' belief in its "Manifest Destiny" to dominate the Western Hemisphere. Last June Bush proclaimed his "Initiative for the Americas," a call for a hemispheric free trade area. And at the height of the Persian Gulf War preparations, he traveled twice to Latin America to promote this new edition of the Monroe Doctrine. Characteristically, Latin American bourgeois rulers (particularly Argentina's Menem) are falling all over each other trying to get in on the feast as U.S. capital prepares to carve up the economies of its southern "neighbors."

From the rape of Grenada and the contra war against Nicaragua to the invasion of Panama and the "drug wars" aimed at terrorizing the Andean countries of South America, the U.S. is wielding the "Big Stick." Emboldened by a "big win" in the Persian Gulf, these cops of the world now have their sights set on Castro's Cuba. For 30 years U.S. rulers have smarted at their humiliating defeat by the Cuban workers and peasants at the Bay of Pigs, and sought to destroy Cuba through economic blockade and CIA intrigue. The very existence of this (bureaucratically deformed) workers state, where festering poverty has been abolished and health and literacy levels have reached "First World" levels, is an incitement to rebellion throughout the hemisphere. Now abandoned by Gorbachev, Havana is facing Washington's fury full-blast. We call on all class-conscious workers to unconditionally defend Cuba against Yankee imperialism.

While Yale grad Bush links arms with Harvard man and Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari in selling "free trade," the Canadian social democrats of the NDP wave the Maple Leaf flag and the bourgeois populist Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas wraps himself in the Mexican tricolor. Yet they only beg for better terms from Washington. The main opposition to the trade pact has come from the openly racist and protectionist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which treacherously sets U.S. workers against their Mexican and Canadian brothers and sisters. There is a burning need for an *internationalist* proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault. The Canadian, U.S. and Mexican sections of the International Communist League are dedicated to building a revolutionary vanguard that can unite the working masses of the continent

in common class struggle.

U.S., Canada: No to Racist Protectionism!

Coupled with the 1989 trade pact with Canada, the FTA is designed to establish a "Fortress North America" as a weapon against a German-led Europe and a Japanese-dominated Far East. The American bourgeoisie dreams of salvaging the rusting U.S. economy through establishing a protected \$6-trillion common market encompassing 360 million people—substantially bigger than the European Economic Community—stretching "from the Yukon to the Yucatan." "To hear George Bush tell it, a free-trade pact between the U.S. and Mexico would be the next best thing to a free lunch," reports *Time* (3 June). The Texas mafia in the White House salivates at the prospect of raking in superprofits from a wholesale U.S. takeover of the Mexican economy. They doubtless fantasize about buying up the land south of the border like the land grab that stole half of Mexico's territory outright a century and a half ago.

The American ruling class wants to pick up the Mexican economy in one huge buyout—at bargain basement prices. Certainly decaying American capitalism can't produce anything decent any more, after a decade of looting the economy for trillion-dollar Pentagon budgets and now to bail out the S&L crooks. In a graphic example of the deindustrialization of America, the Dow Jones stock index just replaced USX (U.S. Steel) with Walt Disney! However, the reactionary AFL-



Espartaco

Combative Ford workers march in Mexico City on May Day, 1991.

CIO bureaucracy aims its guns not at their capitalist masters, but at the workers of Mexico and Japan. For years there has been a barrage of racist, protectionist poison from the auto, garment and textile union tops blaming foreign workers for "stealing American jobs." Yet these same labor lieutenants of capital fork over billions in givebacks to U.S. bosses and go along with millions of layoffs while knifing U.S. workers' struggles in the back.

As the U.S. and Mexican economies are increasingly interpenetrated, there is a tremendous opportunity for internationalist labor struggle. The current plant occupation (sit-down strike) by garment workers in El Paso, Texas should be used

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Free Trade...

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to spark an organizing drive for unionization of workers on both sides of the Rio Grande/Río Bravo.

The jingoism of the labor traitors is echoed by reformists like the Communist Party USA, whose headlines scream "Maquiladora: A Monster Devouring U.S. Jobs." Their counterparts in the Canadian CP oppose the FTA as a "sellout of Canadian sovereignty" and because "it's a bad deal for Canada" (*Pacific Tribune*, 29 April). These "Communists" can't seem to distinguish between Canadian bosses and Canadian workers. In the U.S., a soft-core version of this social-chauvinism emanates from social-democratic groupings like *Labor Notes* (March 1991), which highlights opposition to the FTA "either out of self-interest or a sense of international solidarity," while not even mentioning protectionism, the main theme of their pals in the labor bureaucracy.

This is deadly poison—the young Chinese American Vincent Chin was bludgeoned to death on the streets of Detroit a decade ago because a Chrysler foreman thought he was Japanese and blamed him for "stealing jobs." The AFL-CIO's anti-foreign-worker policies are so grotesque, denouncing a free trade agreement for serving to "increase illegal immigration," that even George Bush denounces it for racism against Hispanics. We say that anyone who has made it to the U.S.



Pacific Tribune

CAW chief Bob White leads chauvinist demo, pushing anti-American, anti-Japanese protectionism.

or Canada has the right to work and live without the fear of being kidnapped by *la migra*! For full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Stop the deportations! Smash the racist Simpson-Rodino immigration law! Mexican workers as well must come to the aid of Central American refugees who, fleeing bloody repression by the U.S. client regimes, are brutally exploited and victimized in southern Mexico.

In a *Wall Street Journal* (18 April) column denouncing the trade pact, AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland hypocritically condemned the *maquiladora* plants, where "more than a half-million Mexicans...were joining the ranks of the most crudely exploited humans on the planet." But Kirkland and the rest

of the American labor bureaucracy haven't lifted a finger to aid the organization of Mexican workers, not even in industries like auto, where 75,000 work in the Big 3 plants south of the border. GM alone has 25 plants in Mexico—it is the largest private employer in the entire country. Instead, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, infamous among class-conscious workers throughout the hemisphere for decades of dirty work for the CIA from Chile to Central America to the Dominican Republic, has backed to the hilt the bloody U.S.-backed dictatorships which have enslaved the workers and peasants of the region.

The 1989 "free trade" agreement between Canada and the U.S. has been in place for two years, and has accelerated the war on unions and social benefits on both sides of the border. Coupled with the recession, it has meant the loss of at least a quarter million manufacturing jobs. Unemployment has soared to an official rate of 10.5 percent as Canada has lost 15 percent of its manufacturing jobs. When Caterpillar announced in April that it was moving operations from its plant north of Toronto to North Carolina (where wages are \$7.50 an hour less), workers occupied the factory. But the Canadian Auto Workers bureaucracy, which left the UAW in a nationalist split four years ago, coaxed the workers out of the plant with empty promises of severance pay! The pro-capitalist CAW tops only bind Canadian workers closer to their "own" English Canadian bourgeoisie—while supporting the U.S./Canadian anti-Soviet military alliances.

Mexico: For Class-Struggle Unionism!

In April, Mexican president Salinas toured Canadian and U.S. cities beating the drums for the trade pact, while at home he pushes an avalanche of "privatizations." Salinas has staked his regime on the FTA, declaring "Mexico has decided to join the New World Order." What the New World Order means for Mexican workers and peasants is literal starvation, as this Harvard-educated technocrat has instituted his economic program called *la apertura*, the "opening" to the Yankee colossus to the north. Years of unrelenting attacks on the Mexican working class on behalf of the imperialist banks saw real wages slashed by 60 percent between 1982 and the end of the decade (*El Cotidiano*, April-May 1991), so that they are now lower than in the late 1930s! While foreign investment is skyrocketing (to an expected \$4-5 billion in 1991), 77,000 Mexican companies have closed in the last five years (*La Jornada*, 28 April).

In 1982 when the "debt crisis" exploded, Mexico owed roughly \$80 billion to foreign creditors. Over the last eight years, the governments of the perennially ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) have squeezed over \$80 billion out of Mexican workers, and today—after a \$10 billion reduction last year through renegotiation—Mexico owes...\$80 billion. A government official bragged that "Now there is life after debt." Not for the poor and working people, who face a daily struggle for survival. Most workers make the minimum wage or less—under four dollars a day. Yet prices for meat, fish, fruit and many vegetables are as high as in the U.S. Consumption of meat has fallen drastically and malnutrition is rampant. While Cárdenas and his PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution) plead for a "moratorium" on the debt, we call for renouncing it outright—not one cent to the bloodsucking banks!

Meanwhile, Salinas is "privatizing" the economy at a break-neck pace—three-quarters of the 1,200 state-owned industries

have been merged, closed or sold off, including steel mills, mines, the telephone system and both national airlines. Eighteen major banks will be sold off this year and next. Often, as at Aeroméxico, this selloff has included smashing the union and firing the entire workforce. Strikes have been broken with army scabherding at the Sicartsa steel mill and the Cananea copper mine. In the case of oil workers and most recently the port of Veracruz, it has meant a frontal attack on the old-guard labor bureaucracy, with its corporatist powers and privileges. Yet on May Day, these *charros*, the corrupt union bureaucrats of the Confederation of Mexican Labor (CTM), long a pillar of the PRI, once again dragged a million workers to Mexico City's Zócalo to pay obeisance to the president and demonstrate for the "free trade" rape of Mexico.

The battle for union democracy at the Ford plant in Cuautitlán near Mexico City highlights the stranglehold of imperialist companies, the Mexican government and corporatist "unions," which will be a model for "labor relations" under a "free trade" pact. Ford ripped up the contract in 1987, and in January 1990 a group of gun thugs brought in by the company and the CTM stormed the plant, killing one worker, Cleto Nigno. After Ford attempted to fire 2,400, a court required a recount vote for union affiliation. While most workers supported the COR (a dissident labor federation), the CTM "won" in a June vote carried out under the guns of police grenadiers, with workers required to verbally declare which union they supported in front of government officials, supervisors and video cameras! Afterwards, 90-year-old CTM leader Fidel Velázquez vowed that over 1,100 workers who voted for the rival union would be thrown out.

The Cuautitlán Ford struggle is one of the sharpest labor battles on the continent, and should have received the support of solidarity strikes by U.S. and Canadian auto workers.

Two areas of Mexico's economy long considered untouchable have been the nationalized oil industry, Pemex, and the *ejidos*, communally owned lands encompassing 60 percent of farmland, whose peasants were long a base of support for the ruling party. From the 1940s to the early '60s, Mexico managed to achieve self-sufficiency in food production. But with the economic crisis, credits to rural small producers were slashed and now Salinas is moving to allow the sale of communal land. As *ejidatarios* face ruin from a flood of U.S. grain, the subsidized tortillas that keep millions of poor just above starvation will be a thing of the past. And though the PRI denies any plans to allow U.S. and European oil giants to invade Mexico's rich offshore fields, it is already privatizing processing and transport, while Bush (the former head of "Zapata Oil") and his fellow oil men want to undo Mexico's 1938 nationalization of petroleum.

In Mexican industry, the average worker is paid 57 cents an hour, *one-twentieth* of the average industrial wage of \$10.84



Tim McKenna/Toronto Star



Gamma-Liaison

Bush, with his junior partner Brian Mulroney, looks forward to bleeding Mexico dry. Mexican president Salinas de Gortari is only too happy to help.

in the U.S. In the highest-paid industry, transportation equipment, this rises to one-seventh of U.S. wages. But in the 2,000 *maquiladora* (free trade zone) plants, almost half a million workers, four-fifths of them women, slave 48 hours for an average wage of \$28 a week. This is one of the lowest industrial wages in the world, far below Singapore, Hong Kong and Korea. Working conditions in many *maquilas* are unspeakable—child labor, brown lung, toxic wastes—and workers are crowded by the tens of thousands into shantytowns ringing the plants. The women workers of the *maquiladoras* and throughout Mexico have fought in militant strikes to organize against this brutal superexploitation. A class-struggle labor leadership would champion the rights of these doubly oppressed workers—fighting for free day care and for free, safe abortion on demand. This is literally a life-and-death question, as many thousands of Mexican women die yearly from illegal abortions.

The fight against the FTA is a battle against American imperialist domination of Mexico. The U.S. ambassador, John Negroponte, was known in his previous posting in Honduras as "The Proconsul" for his role in running the Nicaraguan contras. In a confidential memo, Negroponte declared that a "Free Trade Agreement will institutionalize acceptance of a North American orientation to Mexico's foreign relations" (*Proceso*, 13 May). Salinas had already lined up with the American-engineered blockade of Sandinista Nicaragua and, in addition to the notorious activities of the American DEA inside Mexico, today U.S. military planes routinely enter the country "in hot pursuit" of alleged drug smugglers. Using the same "drug wars" pretext, Washington is increasingly militarizing the border with Mexico, as U.S. officials and racist vigilantes escalate violence against Mexican immigrants in the border region.

Negroponte's memo also saw the FTA as "an instrument to...guarantee continued policies of economic reform in Mexico beyond the Salinas administration." The U.S. capitalists want to continue to buy up Mexican properties at will. The Salinas administration, in turn, is looking more and more like the government of Porfirio Díaz at the turn of the century, during whose reign American investments in Mexico exceeded

(continued on page 10)

the country" (*El Socialista*, 1st fortnight of June 1991).

Lenin denounced such capitulation with contempt:

"Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the 'most just,' 'purest,' most refined and civilized brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism, the amalgamation of all nations in the higher unity, a unity that is growing before our eyes with every mile of railway line that is built, with every international trust, and every workers' association that is formed."

—"Critical Remarks on the National Question"
(October-December 1913)

The "free trade" assault on Mexico poses pointblank the need for building Trotskyist parties as part of a revolutionary Fourth International which can lead the proletariat of the region to power. A document of the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, "Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism," noted that economic rivalries were the opening shots of the second imperialist world war:

"The 'good neighbor' policy is nothing but the attempt to unify the Western Hemisphere under the hegemony of Washington, as a solid bloc wielded by the latter in its drive to close the door of the two American continents to all the foreign imperialist powers except itself. This policy is materially supplemented by the favorable trade agreements which the United States seeks to conclude with the Latin American countries in the hope of systematically edging its rivals out of the market....

"The struggle against American imperialism is therefore at the same time a struggle against the coming imperialist

war and for the liberation of oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Hence, it is inseparable from the class struggle of the American proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie, and cannot be conducted apart from it....

"Only a union of the Latin American peoples, striving towards the goal of a united socialist America and allied in the struggle with the revolutionary proletariat of the United States, would present a force strong enough to contend successfully with North American imperialism."

The International Communist League has always recognized that the fate of the Mexican and U.S. proletariats are closely intertwined. As we stressed in "Mexico Atop the Volcano" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 429, 29 May 1987): "The fight for workers revolution in Mexico and the U.S. is directly linked, including by the human bridge of millions of Mexican and Central American workers who have 'gone north.' Mexico's proximity to the U.S., which has cost it half its territory and subjected it to repeated Yankee aggression, can be a powerful lever for international socialist revolution. The Spartacist tendency seeks to construct an authentically communist vanguard to lead it, forged in the fight for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International."

Grupo Espartaquista de México,
Spartacist League/U.S.,
Trotskyist League of Canada,
sections of the
International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

B.C. Elections...

(continued from page 3)

working cheek to jowl with Burson-Marsteller, a PR outfit that was paid millions to whitewash the General Videla torture regime in Argentina and to alibi Union Carbide whose Bhopal, India chemical plant killed and maimed thousands!

In recent memory the NDP and labor tops have upheld the sanctity of only one picket line—the one they set up in 1981 in "Solidarity with Solidarność," calling on Polish sailors in Vancouver harbor to jump ship. That's the same Solidarność which today is starving the Polish workers and trying to outlaw abortion in the name of "free enterprise." The labor frontmen for capitalist misery and imperialist war, this March the NDP *unanimously* backed a Socred resolution endorsing the bloody assault on Iraq even *after* the U.S.-led forces had terror-bombed and strafed fleeing Iraqi forces. Expressing their satisfaction with the imperialist carnage, the NDP voted "sincere appreciation" of the Canadian troops in the Gulf.

Given the viciousness of the Socreds, many working people figure that "anything's got to be better." Harcourt thinks he can coast to victory as long as nothing happens to spoil his precious "respectability" in the eyes of some of the bosses and their Chambers of Commerce. The NDP isn't promising much beyond vague "pro-choice" sentiments, "fair taxes," a "balanced approach to the environment and land claims," and the repeal of Socred public-sector wage control legislation. Above all Harcourt is determined to prove his responsibility to the powers-that-be: even Bob Rae's Ontario NDP is too left-wing for him. His promises to "balance the budget" and his opposition to the Socreds' paltry new corporation tax have the press calling him a "fiscal Tory." The NDP has refused to clearly oppose Socred Johnston's racist law-and-order

campaign which targets foreign-born workers for state harassment and persecution. In fact with their flag-waving "Canada first" protectionism, the NDP and the labor bureaucracy have stoked the fires of racist terrorism.

Like Ontario's Bob Rae, the B.C. NDP strives only to prove it can manage the province on behalf of the bosses. Having made that crystal clear even before the official election call, the NDP should get not one iota of support from militant workers. Nevertheless the watchword for the fake left is "Vote NDP!" From the misnamed (and deeply split) Communist Party to the fake Trotskyists of Socialist Challenge to the International Socialists, electoral support to the NDP is a matter of principle. Just as they did after Barrett's strikebreaking in 1975, so today these outfits have snapped to attention.

We need a new, class-struggle leadership that can break the stranglehold of the labor tops and social democrats. In B.C., with its long history of anti-Asian racism, militants must particularly champion the rights of minorities against racist attack, as an integral part of an anti-capitalist program which fights for jobs for all, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of working people internationally and defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist counterrevolution.

The NDP exists to channel any working-class militancy into the dead end of parliamentary maneuvers. For every dollar of personal wealth in Canada, 50¢ fills the pockets of the richest ten percent, while the poorest forty percent scramble over 2¢. The NDP pushes the myth that unemployment, racial oppression, poverty can be "reformed" away. But they can't. That requires a thoroughgoing socialist revolution that sweeps away the entire rotting system of capitalism and replaces it with the rule of the working class. We need to build an internationalist, multiracial workers party that can make it happen. ■

Defeat Yeltsin-Bush!...

(continued from page 1)

But while Yeltsin & Co. now see a clear field to push through a forced-draft reintroduction of capitalism, *the outcome is not yet definitively decided*. As the imperialists rejoice and the pro-capitalist petty bourgeoisie exult, Soviet workers are facing a disaster of catastrophic proportions: every gain for which they, their parents and grandparents sacrificed is on the chopping block. An explosion of even greater nationalist strife is looming. The lash of capitalist exploitation being introduced amid universal economic dislocation threatens widespread hunger and mass unemployment in the coming winter. The Soviet proletariat, whose capacity for militant action was dramatically shown in the miners strike of the summer of 1989, has not been heard from. Opposition from the factories against the ravages of capitalist assault could throw a giant wrench in the works and prevent the rapid consolidation of counterrevolution.

Soviet Stalinism has breathed its pathetic last gasp. Even up to the coup, many of the most advanced workers, who opposed Yeltsin's plans for wholesale privatization and Gorbachev's market reforms, looked to the so-called hardline "patriotic" wing of the bureaucracy. *There is no room anymore for such illusions*.

The coup's collapse and the ascendancy of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union buttresses, for the present moment, Bush's proclaimed "New World Order" militarily dominated by the U.S. Following its annihilation of Iraq, the triumphalist and vengeful American ruling class threatens to turn its wrath, unrestrained by the deterrent of a powerful USSR, against myriad peoples of the world. Cuba, in particular, is in Bush's cross hairs, and its defense is more than ever a duty of all opponents of Yankee imperialism.

From the time of Stalin's bureaucratic usurpation of power in 1924, Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition waged an unrelenting fight for the internationalist program of the Bolshevik Revolution. Under the deadly blows of Stalinist terror and slander, the Trotskyists persevered as the best and only

consistent defenders of the remaining revolutionary gains. Today the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) continues this struggle.

Stalinism was the political rule of a bureaucratic caste parasitically sitting atop the proletarian property forms created by the October Revolution of 1917. Whether during the bloody purges of the 1930s or the myriad "reforms" from Khrushchev and others, this system based on lies and repression of the working class not only blocked further progress toward socialism but clogged every pore of Soviet society. After decades of self-sacrifice extracted from the proletariat in the name of building "socialism in one country," Gorbachev's perestroika was the last desperate attempt of the Stalinist bureaucracy to preserve its position by adopting capitalist measures. But like Nikolai Bukharin's appeals to the rich peasants (kulaks) in the late 1920s to "enrich yourselves," perestroika fueled the forces of capitalist restoration which have now reached their fruition with Yeltsin's counter-coup.

Boris Yeltsin is not a "Westernizer"—he is an extreme Russian chauvinist who intends to *sell out* the Soviet Union to the West. He is connected to a far-right, racist outfit in the U.S. called the "Free Congress Foundation" (whose East European operatives include notorious Nazi collaborators) which takes credit for "training" him and his staff on how to seize power. His laws are being drawn up by advisers supplied by the U.S. government. One of Yeltsin's first acts as Moscow party chief in the mid-'80s was to legitimize the anti-Semitic Pamyat fascists when they emerged from their ratholes. While he promises working people that the free market will bring them prosperity, in fact it will lead to the elimination of what every Soviet worker considered a right until recently: a stable job, free health care, an education for their children—gains which all rest on the collectivized economy.

The alternatives posed before the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state have always been: counterrevolution or Trotskyism. Today Stalinism is dead. The key to frustrating the bloody plans of Bush, Yeltsin and their counterrevolutionary cohorts is the early forging of a Trotskyist nucleus in the Soviet Union, regrouping those elements in the workers

Spartacist

Red Square: Soviet tank facing the Kremlin during the coup attempt.



movement, the army and throughout society who would fight for the program of October.

Perestroika Coup Fiasco

As the crowd of yuppies, students and assorted Russian nationalists, including fascists and priests, gathered at the start of the coup outside the Russian parliament, Yeltsin's "White House," a call on Moscow workers to clean out this counter-revolutionary rabble was in order. Yet the coup plotters not only did not mobilize the workers, they ordered everybody to stay at work and at home. The working class did, and Yeltsin's call for a protest strike fell flat. But the free-enterprise "cooperativists" and petty-bourgeois self-styled "democrats" intoxicated by the allure of dollars and D-marks thronged into the streets. And the impotent "state of emergency committee" (GKChP) did nothing. Any class-conscious Soviet worker who saw the urgent need to halt the capitalist-restorationist forces would certainly have been against Yeltsin, but critical of the coup—which wouldn't stop Yeltsin, and was therefore doomed to failure.

The ineptitude of the coup plotters astounded even imperialist commentators. It was reported that they had ordered 250,000 handcuffs from a factory in Pskov as well as stacks of blank arrest orders, but they failed even to seize the man who would clearly be the focus for a pro-imperialist counter-coup. Washington spokesmen ascribed this failure to follow the first rule of coup-making and arrest Yeltsin to a "miracle." They didn't even cut off his phones, and incredibly allowed TV to report Yeltsin's appeals for soldiers to disobey their orders! But these apparent stupidities were no mere oversight. The coup authors staked everything on a neutral acceptance of the coup by the imperialists, hinting that Gorbachev might be brought back and leaving Washington's darling Yeltsin untouched. The GKChP's statement vowed to "support private enterprise" and to observe every treacherous commitment to the imperialists by Gorbachev. Its chief economic spokesman Tizyakov insisted that "the policy of the reforms toward a market economy will not be reversed." There was no mention of "Marxism-Leninism," "communism," or even "socialism."

For this was a "perestroika coup." For months there had been calls for a crackdown coming from hardline Stalinist/nationalist "patriots" like the "black colonels" of Soyuz. But what moved the coup leaders, all of them Gorbachev appointees, to action was the imminent signing of a new union treaty, which would have ceded significant central powers to the republics. The coup was not so much by the military, which largely stayed out of the fray, but by top administrative and party hacks of the central apparatus whose bureaucratic fiefdoms were threatened. Their avowed program was martial law to keep the USSR from breaking apart, which comes down to perestroika minus glasnost: the introduction of the market but not so fast, and shut up. Thus one of the "gang of eight," Prime Minister Pavlov, was the Gorbachev regime's main spokesman for the new law allowing widescale privatization



Anatoly Sapronyenko

Hardliners of the OFT labor federation brandish portrait of Stalin during May Day parade this year. Illusions that any sector of Stalinist bureaucracy would resist counterrevolution are now brutally exposed.

of industry, and was notorious for tripling food prices last spring. At the time, he told a British journalist:

"I must be very firm and say that privatisation has always been on the agenda of economic reform, and it was always, for obvious reasons, very closely linked with the liberalisation of prices.... We want to bring about the normal situation of capital as in other countries."

—London *Independent* (18 April)

Not exactly a program to inspire Soviet workers to support the plotters' bid for power! The coup leaders conspicuously avoided any mention of the October Revolution, or for that matter even the "Great Patriotic War." Instead they looked to the traditions of the tsarist empire—which Lenin called a "prison house of peoples"—declaring: "Our multinational people have lived for centuries, proud of their Motherland." But in appealing to Russian nationalism, Yeltsin held the stronger hand.

Nor did the coup organizers manage to assuage Washington and Wall Street. As soon as Bush took a hard line backing Yeltsin (and incidentally demanding Gorbachev's return), the coup began unraveling. In the aftermath, there has been a lot of hoopla about the outpouring of popular support for "democracy." While up to 150,000 (out of a city of ten million), undoubtedly including many workers, turned out at one point to hear Yeltsin, the fabled barricades outside the "White House" were purely symbolic, generally having only a few thousand hanging around them. "They were mainly young ones, like myself, students, intellectuals, professionals," said one participant. In addition to a couple dozen Russian republic police, Yeltsin's bodyguards were rent-a-cops from a private security company (like the strikebreaking Pinkertons in the U.S.). At most there were a dozen tanks, dispatched by pro-Yeltsin commanders, in front of the building. Speaking of a possible assault, a Yeltsin "commander" said: "Of course, we could not hold them off for more than five minutes." But there was no serious assault.

Emboldened by the paralysis of the coup leaders, the reactionary mob heaved Molotov cocktails at young tank drivers.

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Defeat Yeltsin-Bush!...

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And then, barely two and a half days after the action began, the army withdrew. At this point frenzied Yeltsinites began rampaging through the city. A lieutenant colonel who attended the demonstrations was shocked: "I am surprised by how many of the young are thirsting for blood." Their first target was the statue outside KGB headquarters of Feliks Dzerzhinsky, a Polish Communist and founder of the Cheka, the Bolsheviks' fighting arm against White Guard subversion. The next day they toppled the statue of Yakov Sverdlov, a Jewish Communist and first president of the Soviet republic. There, the pro-Hitler NTS distributed a leaflet that called for the very measures that Yeltsin decreed the next day. The Russian Orthodox Patriarch presided over the burial of three who died assaulting the tanks. British TV reported, "The images today were of old Russia, pre-revolutionary, a country throwing itself back 75 years."

In the wake of the botched coup, Yeltsin, the former bureaucratic hack turned capitalist-restorationist, moved quickly and ruthlessly against his opponents. In the best tradition of Stalin, Yeltsin dragged the politically enfeebled Soviet "president" Gorbachev before jeering members of the Russian parliament to crudely humiliate him. Aping the tsar, the "democratic" Russian president Yeltsin haughtily issued a *ukase* (decree) banning activities of the Communist Party on Russian soil and outlawed *Pravda* and other CP newspapers. The CPSU Central Committee and Moscow offices were sealed and surrounded by bloodthirsty gangs. Flaunting his power over Gorbachev, Yeltsin named the new head of the Soviet army, KGB and interior ministry, who promptly outlawed Communist Party activity in these pillars of state power. The next day Gorbachev not only resigned as general secretary of the CPSU but called for dissolution of the disintegrating party and confiscation of its property.

Yeltsin may wield the pen and the microphone, but his

orders came on the direct line from the White House on the Potomac to the "White House" on the Moskva. Less than 24 hours after Bush expressed dissatisfaction with Gorbachev's appointment of General Moiseyev as the new defense minister, Moiseyev was out. The Russian demagogue Yeltsin is portrayed as a great hero of "democracy." This "democrat" is calling for the formation of a new Russian army, the "National Guard," whose first decoration would be the Order of St. George—the tsarist emblem and banner of the Russian fascists. A former White House official called Yeltsin "a Slavic edition of Huey Long" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 August), the right-wing Louisiana demagogue who in the 1930s used populist rhetoric to build up a personal, authoritarian regime. Even many pro-Western, "free market" intellectuals in the Soviet Union fear Yeltsin as a potential dictator who will ride roughshod over them. Like Poland's Lech Walesa, admirer of the nationalist dictator Pilsudski, he will try to use his popularity to impose capitalist "shock treatment" on the workers.

The imperialist media are exultant, hailing "The Second Russian Revolution." The *New York Times* sneeringly refers to V.I. Lenin as "little more than a demagogue with a lisp." (The *Times* is so intent on portraying a counterrevolution victorious that its copious coverage never once mentions the Soviet workers.) But in the Soviet Union, even some of the more liberal Yeltsinites are beginning to get nervous about reaping the whirlwind they have sown. *Ogonyok* editor Vitaly Korotich is now warning of a "third force, which may be represented by certain young people of the fascist persuasion." The leaders of the "democratic revolution" are already promoting the tsarist watchword of "Russia, one and indivisible." Leningrad mayor Anatoly Sobchak lambastes centrifugal forces pulling apart the USSR: "This is insanity. We are a nuclear country." Yeltsin aides talk of destabilization of the economy and warn Ukrainian secessionists that "these lands were settled by Russians."

Meanwhile, thousands of Muscovites have been lining up to visit the Lenin mausoleum, worried that this may be their



AP



Reuters

Yeltsin-Bush "democratic" counterrevolution on the march: Anti-Semitic monarchists (left) parade portrait of tsar Nicholas II. Uniformed Pamyat fascists (above) burn the Soviet flag outside the Moscow headquarters of the Communist Party.

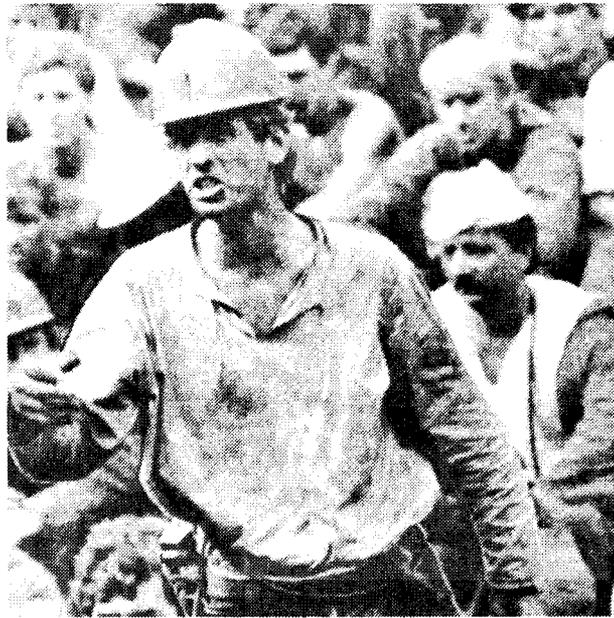
last opportunity to pay their respects to the founder of the Soviet state.

Fight Capitalist Enslavement!

For decades, the Stalinists and imperialists have joined together in identifying the system of bureaucratic rule installed by Stalin and his henchmen in 1924 with Leninism. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky carried out the October Revolution as the first step of the world socialist revolution. Backward Russia, the "weak link" of imperialist rule, was the scene of the first workers revolution, but it had to be completed by the proletariat in the advanced imperialist countries if it was to sustain itself and lead to socialism, a society of equality based on abundance. It was on the basis of the defeat of the European revolutions, centrally in Germany, in the 1918-23 postwar period, that the usurpers Stalin/Bukharin "discovered" the profoundly anti-Marxist notion that it was possible to construct "socialism in one country." Trotsky denounced this nationalist dogma as writing off the world revolution, and predicted it would be the undoing of the Soviet Union if the bureaucracy was not swept away by the resurgent working class.

In his decisive analysis of Stalinism, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), Trotsky asked prophetically, "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?" In developing this, he elaborated the program of proletarian political revolution led by a Bolshevik party to re-establish Soviet democracy. The planned economy would be subordinated to the will of the workers, freeing it from the arbitrary zigzags of the faceless, grey bureaucrats. And instead of the conservative anti-revolutionary policies of Stalin's Kremlin, the Soviet Union would again become the headquarters of international socialist revolution. He also spelled out the bleak alternative:

"If—to adopt a second hypothesis—a bourgeois party were to overthrow the ruling Soviet caste, it would find no small number of ready servants among the present bureaucrats, administrators, technicians, directors, party secretaries and privileged upper circles in general. A purgation of the state apparatus would, of course, be necessary in this case too. But a bourgeois restoration would probably have to clean out fewer people than a revolutionary party. The chief task of the new power would be to restore private property in the means of production. First of all, it would be necessary to create conditions for the development of strong farmers from the weak collective farms, and for converting the strong collectives into producers' cooperatives of the bourgeois type—into agricultural stock companies. In the sphere of industry, denationalization would begin with the light industries and those producing food. The planning principle would be converted for the transitional period into a series of compromises between state power and individual 'corporations'—potential proprietors, that is, among the Soviet captains of industry, the émigré former proprietors and foreign capitalists. Notwithstanding that the Soviet bureaucracy has gone far toward preparing a bourgeois restoration, the new regime would have to introduce in the matter of forms of



TASS

Soviet workers have not entered the scene in this hour of deadly peril. 1989 miners strike threw up incipient workers councils (soviets), showed potential power of multinational USSR proletariat.

property and methods of industry not a reform, but a social revolution."

Every Soviet worker, collective farmer, pensioner and soldier will immediately recognize that this process of counterrevolution is well under way. The state monopoly of foreign trade has been scuttled, the planned economy abandoned. In their stead, imperialist corporations from Pepsi-Cola to Chevron oil have made encroachments on the Soviet economy. The Russian federation's new "land reform" lays the basis for destroying the *kolkhoz* collectives, promising rural poverty for the many and riches for the new kulaks. "Cooperative" profiteers and black market speculators have grown explosively in the vacuum of the collapsed distribution system. But this is only the beginning. Yeltsin now intends to ram through capitalist restoration at breakneck pace. Yavlinsky, co-author of the Harvard-designed "grand bargain" to sell out the Soviet Union to the imperialists, is now in charge of the economy. But for the Soviet working masses, the "magic of the marketplace" holds the promise of hunger and homelessness. In an insiders' newsletter, the major Wall Street brokerage firm Merrill Lynch hints at the truth being hidden from the Soviet masses:

"Although there is likely to be a surge in optimism among the Soviet people as a new political order emerges, expectations about the new order's ability to turn around the economy are likely to exceed what is realistically possible. If the experience of eastern Europe is any indication, the next several years will be painful for the Soviet economy as workers lose lifetime jobs and state-owned enterprises are restructured."

—*Wednesday's Global Report*, 21 August

Up until now Yeltsin has been able to blame the economic chaos and immiseration of perestroika on Gorbachev's "half-measures" and the sabotage of the old Stalinist apparat. The Russian demagogue talks out of both sides of his mouth, visiting strikers one week and approving anti-strike laws the next. But now Yeltsin will seek to implement his real program, to impose brutal capitalist austerity on the Soviet working class. He will be held responsible for closing down "unprofitable" enterprises, throwing millions of workers into the streets, raising rents and the price of food, shutting down

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Defeat Yeltsin-Bush!...

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childcare centers and attacking Soviet working people in all ways. At the same time, it will be very difficult in the next several months to use the army, KGB or police to break strikes or break up popular protests.

Despite Yeltsin's present ascendancy and the mood of anti-Communist hysteria among the petty bourgeoisie, it will not be that easy to carry out a capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. In fact, one might expect a higher level of strike action than took place under Gorbachev's perestroika. During this period the Soviet working class has been politically disoriented and confused by the ever-shifting lineup of Yeltsin vs. Gorbachev vs. the "hardline" Stalinists. Now the lines of battle are hard, and raw. But the absence of genuinely communist leadership represents the greatest obstacle, leaving the working class prey to confusion, false polarizations and defeatism in the face of their class enemies.

Both the Yeltsinites and the "hardliners" compete on the terrain of counterrevolutionary Russian nationalism. Starting with Stalin himself, vicious Great Russian chauvinism has characterized the bureaucracy, undermining the multinational USSR. The Pamyat anti-Semites' rise was protected by sections of the Gorbachev bureaucracy, in particular Yeltsin's wing. Meanwhile, the nationalist secessionists—mostly from the better-off republics—yearn to be pawns of imperialism today, as many of their forefathers were for the Nazis. In the last fight of his life, Lenin insisted, against Stalin, that the revolutionary Soviet state be a voluntary union based on equality of nations.

It is urgently, indeed desperately necessary for the working class to now establish organizational forms to mobilize its power to resist and overthrow the forces of capitalist counter-revolution.

- As every hustler is out to "get theirs," workers will be anxious to protect their own threatened livelihoods. *Independent workers committees* must be formed in factories, mines, railroad yards and other enterprises to prevent layoffs and privatization by taking over the plants and controlling production. Such workers committees can be the basis for genuine *soviets*, drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers,

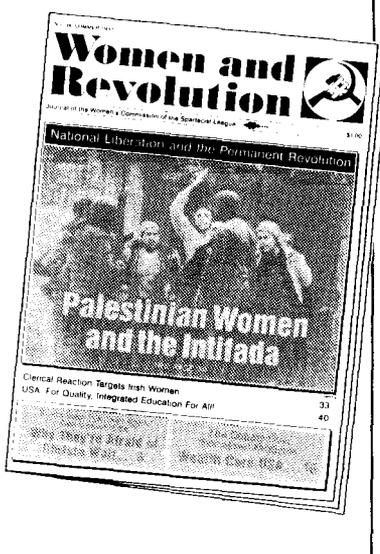
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VIVO institute

Jewish workers' self-defense unit in Odessa, April 1918. The Bolshevik Revolution purged Russia of pogromist Black Hundreds.

old-age pensioners—all those who will be victimized by the "new order."

- Yeltsin & Co. have already begun purging the officer corps of the military. This has nothing to do with democracy. He wants to turn the Soviet army which defended the Soviet people against the Nazi scourge into a compliant tool for internal repression in the interests of the new capitalist masters. *Committees of soldiers and officers* must be formed to oppose the purges and prevent the army from being used to attack the workers' interests.

- The anti-Communist mobs are the shock troops of a budding fascist movement, the future strikebreakers, jailers and torturers of militant workers and leftists. Already the NTS, former WWII quislings of the Hitlerite invaders, have raised their heads at the Yeltsinite mobilizations. The blackshirted Pamyat fascists are burning red flags. Next they will be staging deadly anti-Semitic pogroms. *Workers militias* must be formed, aided by Red Army officers and soldiers loyal to socialism, to defend against and crush the lynch mobs and pogromists.

- Illegalization of the Communist Party will be used as a precedent to ban all groups claiming to stand for socialism or communism. The red purge will be used to victimize militant workers who lead strikes against layoffs and privatization. *Down with the witchhunting ban on the CP! Don't let them drag away Jewish or Communist coworkers!*

- The escalating nationalist secessionist movements in the various republics are fueling fratricidal slaughter among the deeply interpenetrated Soviet peoples. It is urgently necessary to organize *multinational defense guards* to ward off communalist butchery. As Leninists, i.e., proletarian internationalists, we stand for full equality of all nations and nationalities in a genuinely socialist federation.

Working women, who have suffered most under perestroika's economic misery, must be in the forefront not only of the battle to stop the closures of childcare centers, but in the forging of a genuinely communist nucleus. In Poland and the former DDR (East Germany) women are being driven from

their jobs and abortion is considered a criminal act. Reawakened women workers of the Soviet Union—who have the most to lose under capitalist counterrevolution—must play a leading role as their grandmothers and great-grandmothers did in the Bolshevik Revolution.

The youth, many shocked into political awareness for the first time in recent days, must find their way to the program of revolutionary internationalism. Reversion to the Slavophilic backwardness of Yeltsin & Co. precludes the genuinely open intellectual and artistic climate that so many young people yearn for. Make no mistake: life for youth in the West does not resemble a music video! The reality for working-class youth under capitalism is a nightmare of uncertainty, unemployment, hopelessness with the very real prospect of being cannon fodder in the next imperialist war. The young Soviet republic in the days of Lenin and Trotsky fought for women's emancipation, for every kind of social emancipation, against censorship, for freedom from state intervention in one's personal affairs.

Workers and soldiers soviets (councils) must orient to defeating the counterrevolutionary Yeltsin regime and establishing a government based on soviet democracy such as was established by the October Revolution of 1917. In this hour of dire need more than ever, the key to successful defense of the Soviet proletariat is the forging of a new, authentically communist vanguard party of the working class. Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

For Revolutionary Regroupment!

With the evident and total collapse of Stalinism, there is a crying need for regroupment among the numerous would-be communist groupings on the left fringe of the CPSU. Many of the most communist-minded workers have had illusions in the "patriotic" elements of the Stalinist bureaucracy, who frequently appealed to Great Russian chauvinism and conciliated or embraced outright anti-Semites, fascists and tsarists. But for example Soyuz leader Colonel Viktor Alksnis denounces Gorbachev not for introducing the market, but for introducing "democracy": "My model is the market first and democracy later." This is known as the "Chilean option," modeled on the bloody Pinochet coup, whose vaunted fake "economic miracle" was built on the corpses of tens of thousands of leftist workers and peasants.

In late July activists from the "patriots" milieu initiated a workers conference in the capital which drew over 500 delegates from 400 major Moscow-area plants. A representative of the International Communist League addressed this gathering:

"Today the imperialists and the native restorationists strive to dismember the USSR by splitting, paralyzing the Soviet proletariat with nationalism. This is their greatest weapon. But the proletariat has its own weapon—internationalism. We need to forge a party that mobilizes against all forms of discrimination, nationalism and anti-Semitism!"

—*Workers Vanguard* No. 532, 2 August

During the coup, the Moscow workers council which came out of this July conference issued a call to: "Form workers militias for the preservation of socialized property, for the preservation of social order on the streets of our cities, for the control of the carrying out of the orders and instructions of the State Committee on the Emergency Situation." There was not one word of criticism of the GKChP. A call for workers militias to smash the counterrevolutionary Yeltsinite demonstrations

was certainly in order. But if the Emergency Committee had consolidated power, it would have attempted to disband any such workers militias, which would otherwise have inevitably and rapidly escaped its political control. The last thing these degenerate Stalinists wanted to see was the independent mobilization of the working class.

Those communist-minded leftists who looked to the "patriotic" wing of the Communist Party and armed forces are now understandably in a state of political trauma. They cannot understand what happened. In fact, they cannot understand what has happened since Gorbachev became leader of the CPSU in 1985. The economic chaos and miseries of perestroika, the abandonment of East Europe, the endorsement of the American destruction of Iraq in the name of Bush's "New World Order"—these are not simply a result of spinelessness, corruption or stupidity on the part of Gorbachev and his collaborators. They are the legacy of more than six decades of Stalinist perversion of the October Revolution: the bureaucratic usurpation of workers rule, the high-handed bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy, the Great Russian chauvinism at the expense of national minorities, the stifling of free expression and creativity, the political demobilizing of the working class.

After the relative stagnation of the last Brezhnev years, in their own way the dominant sections of the Kremlin bureaucracy came to recognize there can be no "socialism in one country," that the Soviet Union must be integrated into the world economy as part of an international division of labor. Since the core of the Stalinist ideological outlook is the rejection of socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, this meant integration into the world *capitalist* system. The intent of Yeltsin and Gorbachev—who both began as typical young, up-and-coming apparatchiks under the Brezhnev regime—to sell the Soviet Union to Wall Street and Frankfurt is the *logical culmination* of the Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country." Gorbachev's neo-Bukharinite "market socialism" was the antechamber to counterrevolution.

(continued on page 18)



Spartacist
At Soviet miners conference in Donetsk last October hundreds of copies were sold of Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* calling for defense of collectivized property against capitalist restoration.

Defeat Yeltsin-Bush!...

(continued from page 17)

Despite the anti-Communist hysteria now raging in the Soviet Union, there are large numbers of workers and even a few intellectuals who want to defend socialism and communism. They must understand that Trotskyism is the genuine expression of Bolshevism today, that a Trotskyist party must be built to lead the struggle against the counterrevolution. Stalin's first step in consolidating his regime, aided by Bukharin, was to purge and persecute the Left Opposition, and eventually to murder the entire surviving Old Bolshevik cadre, the leaders of October.

The disastrous effects of "socialism in one country" on the world revolution and on the USSR soon made themselves felt. Stalin/Bukharin collaborated with the British social-democratic labor bureaucracy who then sabotaged the 1926 General Strike. They supported the Chinese nationalist general Chiang Kai-shek, who then drowned in blood the revolutionary proletariat. As the 1927 *Platform of the Opposition* stated: "The defeat of the revolution in China, following the defeat of the British General Strike, has inspired the imperialists with the hope that they may succeed in crushing the Soviet Union." Only a few years later, the German CP, on Stalin's orders, allowed Hitler to come to power unchallenged.

Having rejected Trotsky's call for a principled workers united front to defeat the fascists, as Nazi Germany became an obvious threat to the USSR, Stalin called for a "popular front" with the so-called "democratic" imperialists of France and Britain. In the name of this "popular front," the Stalinists sabotaged a prerevolutionary situation in France and strangled the revolutionary Spanish working class, paving the way for Franco's victory. Then, by beheading the general staff of the Red Army during the bloody 1936-38 purges and relying on his "non-aggression" pact with Hitler, Stalin was directly responsible for the catastrophic losses in the initial stages of World War II.

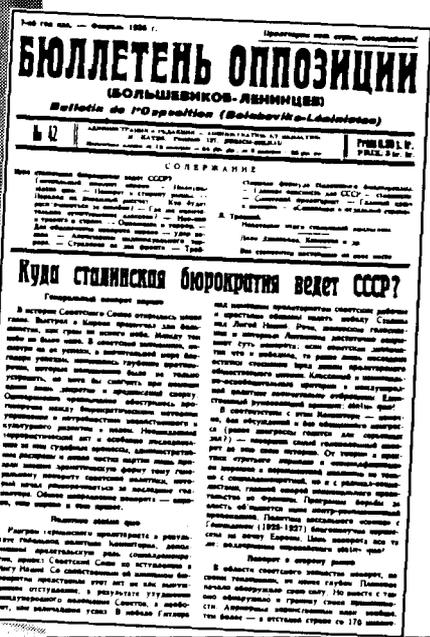
More than 20 million Soviet citizens were killed defending the homeland of October and liberating all of Europe from the nightmare of Nazism. On the basis of the Red Army's destruction of the Third Reich, subsequent threats to the USSR by nuclear-armed American imperialism led the Kremlin to undertake bureaucratically deformed social, i.e., anti-capitalist, transformations in East Europe as a defensive measure. But now East Europe is being handed back to the imperialists.

We Trotskyists Have Defended the Soviet Union

Today the Soviet Union faces being dismembered and its constituent republics turned into neocolonies of Washington, Berlin and Tokyo. The present collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracy has its immediate origins in the renewed Cold War offensive launched by American imperialism after its ignominious defeat in Vietnam. In every key battleground of Cold War II—Afghanistan, Poland, the German Democratic Republic (DDR)—the International Communist League (ICL, formerly the international Spartacist tendency) has stood resolutely in defense of the Soviet Union against the capitulation of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Where the Soviet Stalinists waged a halfhearted war against CIA-armed Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan, ultimately selling out and withdrawing, we said "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan Peoples!" When in late 1981 Polish Solidarność, under the guidance of Reagan and Pope John Paul Wojtyla, made a bid for power in the name of "bourgeois democracy," we raised the call: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" General Jaruzelski's countercoup temporarily spiked these clerical-nationalist front men for Wall Street and Washington. But the Stalinists had neither the moral authority nor the program to undercut counterrevolution, and eight years later the same Jaruzelski, with Gorbachev's approval, abdicated political power to Walesa & Co.

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Leon Trotsky shortly before his assassination by Stalin's agents in Mexico, 1940. Left Opposition intransigently defended USSR against threat of capitalist restoration. Right: Trotsky's 1935 article "Where is the Stalin Bureaucracy Leading the USSR?" in *Bulletin of the Opposition*.

When in late 1989 the Honecker regime in East Germany fell and the Berlin Wall was opened, the ICL threw its forces into the fight for the perspective of a red Germany of workers councils. We initiated the call for the giant Treptow anti-fascist demonstration of 3 January 1990, which drew 250,000 people to honor the Soviet soldiers who died liberating Germany from the Nazis. Then, as Gorbachev gave the green light to a reunified Fourth Reich of German imperialism, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany were the *only* party which clearly and unambiguously opposed capitalist reunification.

Within the Soviet Union representatives of the ICL have fought for a revolutionary internationalist perspective. Thus at a coal miners congress last October in Donetsk, we helped block the effort of right-wing, Yeltsinite forces advised by the American "AFL-CIA" federation to enlist Soviet miners in the international anti-Communist witchhunt against British miners leader Arthur Scargill. The imperialist rulers hate Scargill because he led the 1984-85 British miners strike—which Soviet workers generously aided. This momentous class battle gave the lie to the self-serving Stalinist myth that workers in advanced capitalist countries are incapable of hard-fought class struggle.

We urgently seek to bring the program of Trotskyism to the Soviet proletariat and socialist-minded intelligentsia with our Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin*, containing in addition to key documents of the ICL the section on the USSR from Trotsky's Transitional Program. In recent months, we analyzed the mounting crisis in our article "Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" (*Workers Vanguard* Nos. 520, 521 and 522, 15 February, 1 March and 15 March), including a program of struggle for genuine soviet power.

It's Desperately Necessary to Fight

Writing in 1935 on "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism," Trotsky noted: "The inevitable collapse of Stalinist Bonapartism would immediately call into question the character of the USSR as a workers' state." This has now occurred. He added: "The fate of the USSR as a *socialist* state depends upon that *political* regime that will arise to replace

Stalinist Bonapartism." The imperialists and their flunkys such as Yeltsin want to accelerate the consolidation of a capitalist state. But it will not be so easy. This is not East Germany, a compact, homogeneous country which was taken over by the existing German bourgeoisie, which simply moved in its state apparatus, laid waste to the DDR economy and put half the working population on welfare. When the cost turned out to be higher than expected, Bonn kept pumping in billions of D-marks.

The Soviet Union, in contrast, is a huge country, with over 100 nationalities, a tremendous potential for chaos and no one to finance a capitalist takeover. The U.S. could probably buy the country for a few tens or hundreds of billions of dollars, but the American ruling class is as ideologically opposed to that as it is to financing a decent social welfare or health care system at home. Soviet petty-bourgeois yuppies believe in a utopian capitalism, dreaming that they will suddenly achieve a standard of living like Scandinavia. In fact, economically and politically their fate under capitalism would be more akin to Mexico, or worse, with deep impoverishment of the masses presided over by an authoritarian state. The forces backing Yeltsin would like to be a capitalist class, but they are not yet one. Even in Poland, where the state is capitalist from top to bottom, a capitalist class has not yet congealed because they lack...capital.

And there are additional obstacles: for one, the Soviet economy is organized on an all-Union basis and the departure of major components, particularly if the Ukraine pulls out, will wreak havoc. Moreover, many Soviet workers believe that the country belongs to them, and they have a deep reservoir of commitment to egalitarianism which must be rooted out for capitalism to be implanted. Thus although events are moving at breakneck speed, these factors may allow enough of a window for the Soviet proletariat to go into struggle before the counterrevolution consolidates. Should that happen, revolutionaries must seek to intervene to provide leadership, seeking above all to cohere a new revolutionary vanguard party, the necessary instrument for victory.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 533, 30 August

Montreal Racism...

(continued from page 5)

misery, has provided a fertile breeding ground for fascist gangs (see opposite). In Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, the site of the racist pogrom against the young Somalian refugees, fascists have for months been seeking to foment nativist reaction among the poor and now often lumpenized French-speaking population. In this economically devastated district, 40 percent of the population lives below the official poverty line. Unemployment levels, at close to 25 percent, are among the highest in the country. Now, blacks and other minorities are being made the scapegoats for the increasing immiseration of the working class.

As one local resident, herself a French-speaking Québécoise, said in disgust, "The people around here are just plain racist.... Anybody who happens not to be white and franco-phone isn't welcome." The day after the pogromist rampage, the police solved the "problem" of blacks in a white neighborhood—by forcibly removing the refugees from their apartment and transporting them to another part of Montreal! Yet Hochelaga-Maisonneuve was once a hotbed of labor militancy; it is still a site of union-organized May Day demonstrations. That it now provides the staging ground for howling racist mobs is bitter testimony to the betrayals of the nationalist labor bureaucrats.

Over the past decade, the once left-talking Quebec union tops have sapped the militancy and combativity of the proletariat—channeling it into support for the labor-hating bourgeois nationalists of the Parti Québécois and Bloc Québécois. The Quebec working class, which in 1972 waged a near-insurrectionary general strike and which was often the spark for Canada-wide strikes, has seen its jobs, wages, living and working conditions ground down, if not destroyed.

The labor bureaucrats have done nothing to mobilize the unions in strike action against this onslaught. Instead they bring the ranks out under the banner of the *fleur de lys* in one nationalist demonstration after another—chaining labor to the interests of the emergent Québécois ruling class who are campaigning for independence so they can better exploit their "own" working class.

The forcible national suppression of the Québécois was one of the cornerstones of Canadian confederation. For decades, French speakers, in Quebec and elsewhere, have been on the receiving end of vicious English chauvinism and bigotry. In the



Gilles Renaud

Racist Montreal cops attack black man on downtown street on the night of July 21.

early 1970s, the fight against national oppression helped fuel the combative labor struggles in Quebec. Now virulent Québécois nationalism, combined with economic depression, is fueling racist attacks on anyone who is not "pure laine" (of pure Québécois stock).

For Labor/Minority Mobilization Against Racist Terror!

The mobilization of the power of labor could stop the racist terrorists dead in their tracks. But the protests against the murderous racist attacks in Montreal have largely been limited to the embattled black community and anti-racist militants. Just as the arrogant Anglo chauvinists of the NDP and labor bureaucracy in English Canada allowed Trudeau to send the army in to occupy Quebec in October 1970, so the nationalists in the Quebec labor bureaucracy are letting the cops and skinhead punks literally get away with murder. By refusing to come to the defense of blacks and other minorities the labor movement is simply slitting its own throat, dividing and weakening the working class while strengthening the hand of the bosses against the unions.

Meanwhile in English Canada, anti-Québécois bigots stomp on Quebec flags before TV cameras and dozens of Ontario communities pass reactionary "English only" language laws. Far-right outfits like Preston Manning's Reform Party—once dismissed as the lunatic fringe from Alberta—now have the wind in their sails as they seek to capitalize on widespread hatred of the Tories to rally the forces of Anglo reaction. While they fan the flames of nationalist hatred and anti-immigrant racism, the Reform Party's economic program of Reagan/Thatcherite fiscal austerity is aimed at the increased impoverishment of the working class through busting the unions.

If the labor movement is to defend itself against the ravages of capitalist exploitation and oppression it must champion and defend the rights of all minorities and nationalities. In English Canada, this means the unconditional defense of the national

Contact the Trotskyist League

Correspondence for:

Address to:

Edmonton	PSSE P.O. Box 9605 Edmonton, AB T6E 5X3
Montreal	C.P. Les Atriums B.P. 32066 Montréal, QC H2L 4V5
Toronto	Box 7198, Station A Toronto, ON M5W 1X8 (416) 593-4138
Vancouver	Box 2717, Main P.O. Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2 (604) 687-0353

KKK Targets Quebec Leftists

On September 30 last year, a gang of neo-Nazi and skinhead punks tried to intimidate and threaten participants in an anti-racist demonstration called by the organization Montréal-Debout. When the fascists' leader, one Michel Larocque, started taking photographs of the demonstrators he was rightly stopped. Now two anti-racist militants have been charged and taken to court by the Nazis! Larocque, *führer* of "Longitude 74," a race-terror outfit associated with the Ku Klux Klan, is trying to imprison Martin Thériault and André Querry on frame-up charges of "theft" of a camera and other items. Defend these anti-racist militants! Drive the Nazis back into their ratholes!

The fascists are a deadly threat to labor, minorities and all decent people. Last winter an Aryan Nations thug murdered a Native trapper in Saskatchewan (see *SC* No. 84, Summer 1991). Neo-Nazi skinheads have terrorized blacks, gays and other minorities in cities throughout the country. Quebec has seen an especially virulent growth of Nazi activity since the brutal state assault on the Mohawk Warriors in the summer of 1990. The KKK and other fascists moved in to organize racist vigilantes in Châteauguay and Lasalle, pelting Native women and children with rocks as they tried to escape the battle zone, while the cops looked the other way.

The neo-Nazis feed off today's pervasively nationalist climate in Quebec. Larocque himself is a former member of the right-wing nationalist Chevaliers de l'Indépendance and Parti Indépendantiste. For months now, the nationalist stronghold of east-end Montreal has been flooded with Aryan Nations and KKK leaflets and posters. In the midst of the imperialist mass murder in Iraq, a band of two dozen skinheads rampaged in the city on the night of 12 January, attacking and wounding one Arab and two black men. Mosques and synagogues have

been defaced. On July 8, only days after the cop murder of Marcelus François and the pogrom against black refugees, Nadège Riché, a teenage black woman, was savagely beaten by two KKK skinheads in a local bus.

Thériault and Querry are being targeted because they took the elementary step of defending anti-racist demonstrators against these scum. This case is reminiscent of the 1983 frame-up of Paul Schneider and Mike Mares, two anti-fascist unionists and supporters of the Trotskyist League in Toronto who were charged with "assault causing bodily harm" by KKK "intelligence director" William Lau Richardson and Nazi George Graham. Schneider and Mares had defended themselves and others against fascist provocation, harassment and intimidation of a rally in defense of abortion rights. They were finally acquitted after significant sections of the labor movement, including the 800,000-strong Ontario Federation of Labour, endorsed their defense.

In the United States, our comrades of the Spartacist League together with the Partisan Defense Committee have organized mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the KKK fascists in their tracks, from Detroit to Washington and Philadelphia. Labor has the social power to stop the race-haters. In Montreal, integrated contingents of trade unionists from postal, transit, city and other unions could rid the city of these vermin.

The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League, has sent a message of solidarity and a donation toward the defense of Martin Thériault and André Querry. We urge our readers to do the same. Write to: Centre canadien sur le racisme et les préjugés, C.P. 505, succ. Desjardins, Montréal, Québec H5B 1B6, or ACEF de Laval, 231 boul. des Laurentides, Laval, Québec H7G 2T7. ■

and language rights of the Québécois—including the right to secede. In Quebec, it means fighting against the nationalism that has spawned virulent racism. Across the country, it means mobilizing the power of labor together with minorities in mass actions to stop the race terrorists. All of this requires a fight against the labor bureaucrats whose national chauvinism has kept the binational and multiracial working class of North America divided and strengthened the hand of the capitalist rulers, of whatever national stripe.

Isolated and embattled, some leaders of the black community are calling for a "judicial inquiry" into the police murder of Marcelus François. But the cops have made it clear they won't be hindered by such inquiries, by civilian reviews or "independent investigations," even by eyewitnesses or unintended survivors of their racist atrocities.

Remember the case of Rodney King, the black Los Angeles resident who was beaten, clubbed, stomped and kicked by a gang of sadistic L.A. cops in early March—all captured on videotape by an amateur cameraman and shown on TV throughout North America. You couldn't miss the connection to Bush's (and Mulroney's) "New World Order." In big cities all over this continent, the cops are cutting a swath of racist terror, as they seek to intimidate, jail, and ultimately eliminate whole sections of the oppressed, especially among the black population.

Nothing short of socialist revolution is going to stop these

racist terrorists-in-blue for good. We need a fight for *power*: a workers party that will organize the working people to overthrow this whole bankrupt system and open the road to freedom for black people and us all. ■

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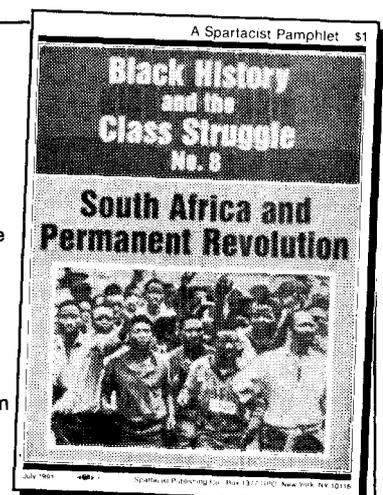
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Labor...

(continued from page 24)

laws, court injunctions, cop attacks. It was an "illegal" postal strike that won the right to strike in the public sector back in 1965. And in many strikes since, postal workers have come up against the full range of capitalist state measures: jailings, police beatings, raids on union offices and more.

Management is hellbent on breaking the union, and damn the costs. They've turned sorting plants into armed camps with ten-foot fences, set up helicopter mail runs costing \$25,000-plus a day and recruited scabs with promises of \$17.50 an hour. In the early hours of August 24, a scab truck trying to run the lines injured the vice president of the Scarborough local. Three days later, management goons assaulted the Vancouver local president. Court injunctions have been slapped down to "restrict" picketing in Toronto. But CUPW members have shown they're ready to fight back. Chanting "Strike, strike, strike!" nearly 2,000 rallied and marched in Toronto August 17. Unionists from Halifax to Edmonton and Victoria hit the bricks as soon as the midnight strike deadline arrived. Would-be scabs at South Central in Toronto and Gateway in Mississauga got a lesson that picket lines mean "don't cross." In Montreal, flying squads shut down scab mail depots.

In strikes of the 70s and 80s the leaders of CUPW and the former Letter Carriers Union signed rotten mutual scabbing pacts to cross each other's pickets, thus weakening the power of all postal workers. Now, merged into one union, they should be acting as one fist. But the national leadership kept members working without a contract for two years, went along with the bosses' conciliation gambit and now plays the game of rotating strikes. While others walked the lines, workers in large and militant locals like Vancouver were kept chained to the job for days. The Toronto local rebelled against national instructions to "rotate back" and stayed on the lines. So did Montreal CUPW, demanding an all-out strike and defiance of any back-to-work legislation. **Shut down Canada Post—One out, all out! For militant mass pickets that nobody crosses!**

And spread the strikes to win, to PSAC and beyond! Toronto transit workers have a September 8 strike deadline. Montreal municipal blue collar workers have been staging rotating walkouts for months. A strike that wins big could galvanize the whole labor movement, turning back the tide of layoffs, shutdowns and givebacks (like the 14.5 percent pay cut just surrendered by Steelworkers leaders in Sault Ste. Marie). Rally other unionists, the unemployed, minorities to beef up the picket lines!

When the government legislated CUPW back to work in 1978, and threw national president Jean-Claude Parrot in jail for his initial call to defy the strikebreaking, the Canadian Labour Congress bureaucrats didn't lift a finger to help. This time, if the Tories try back-to-work legislation it must be met with a wave of coordinated strike action involving the entire labor movement from Newfoundland to B.C.! **The only "illegal" strike is one that loses—Bust union-buster Mulroney through class struggle!**

This is the first major country-wide strike since the new rise

of national antagonisms between English Canada and Quebec. The chauvinism of the CLC tops and the NDP (including decades-long refusal to defend Quebec's right to self-determination) has helped drive Québécois workers into the arms of nationalist labor-haters like Parizeau and Bouchard. Yet Quebec labor has often taken a lead in militant struggle which united workers of both nations, including past postal and rail strikes and the 1976 one-day general strike against wage controls. Today, solid postal and PSAC strikes coast to coast can help to *break down* national barriers among the working people and point the road to broader, united struggle against the capitalist rulers from Ottawa and Bay Street to Quebec City and the bank towers of Montreal's Rue St.-Jacques.

CUPW, with its many women, black and Asian members,



SC photo

Toronto, August 10: Thousands protest at federal Tory convention. Hard class struggle can bring down hated Mulroney government.

must take up the cause of all the other victims of capitalist oppression. In '87, management recruited desperate Tamil and Haitian refugees as strikebreakers in Montreal, and some local picketers reportedly carried racist placards and taunted scabs with racial slurs. This kind of disgusting crap has no place in the labor movement! Blacks and other minorities are being gunned down by the very same cops who try to bust strikers' heads. The bosses regularly use racism to "divide and rule" and smash the unions. A fight by labor against racist terror, to organize and defend the rights of their foreign-born class brothers and sisters, would strike a powerful blow against the union-busters.

The road to victory lies through relying on labor's *own* power, forging a fighting leadership that doesn't preach cowardly legalism and isn't beholden to the capitalist system. That includes understanding who belongs in the labor movement and who doesn't. For example, PSAC members include many tens of thousands of government workers, but also customs and immigration cops and jail guards who are direct tools of the racist capitalist state. These people should have no place in labor's ranks!

NDP on the Side of the Bosses

When the government again legislated CUPW back to work in 1987 and the national leadership ordered the ranks to comply, Jean-Claude Parrot tearfully told the media: "In two

years from now, we'll still be here, but this corrupt government will be gone." Like the rest of the CLC tops, Parrot's line was, and is: vote NDP to get rid of the Tories. Well, four years later the corrupt Mulroney government is still with us, and the union misleaders still push reliance on the NDP as the "alternative" to the kind of no-holds-barred class struggle that can win the workers' battles.

The NDP isn't the solution, it's part of the problem. To be sure, they're not a direct party of big business like the Tories and Liberals. But while they (sometimes) *talk* about being "for the workers," the NDP regularly *acts* for the bosses. In 1987 they voted with the Tories and Liberals to fast-track the strike-breaking legislation against postal and rail workers. Only two months ago they did the same thing to help break the grain handlers strike in Vancouver. Ontario premier Bob Rae won't even make the minimal gesture of not using Canada Post while CUPW is out—in other words, he's *scabbing* on the strike. Why? Because like their allies in the labor bureaucracy the social democrats accept and uphold the framework of capitalism.

Today the bosses and their kept media crow about the supposed "death of communism," seeking to use the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the USSR as a stick to beat the workers at home. Munching smoked salmon sandwiches in their posh hotel suites, Canada Post spokesmen claim CUPW has an "ideological agenda" of class struggle which "has no future." But it is *capitalism* which offers no future for millions of ordinary working people.

Capitalism means poverty, oppression and war—remember how Bush, with Mulroney's support, murdered more than 100,000 Iraqi men, women and children! Here at home, it means sharply increased unemployment, homelessness, poisonous racism. Today the Yeltsins and Gorbachevs are selling out the Soviet Union, home of the world's first workers revolution, to the imperialist bankers and bloodsucking profiteers. In the former East Germany, the return of capitalism has brought devastated social services, a threatened ban on abortion and 50 percent unemployment. Stalinism—the rule of a bureaucratic caste sitting atop a workers state—is dying. But as long as the working class is compelled into struggle, com-



John McNeill/Globe and Mail

Toronto transit workers on 1989 Labour Day march. We need a fighting workers party!

munism will live—the fight to overthrow a system which condemns billions the world over to lives of misery, and to establish a rational egalitarian society through the workers' class rule.

Bob Rae, Audrey McLaughlin & Co. act as mere props for the present bankrupt system, as do the nationalist leaders of the Quebec union centrals. This postal strike, like every major union struggle, poses sharply the need to oust the sellout labor tops and forge a new leadership which will not bow to the bosses' state, which can lead the workers to victory. The fight of the Trotskyist League is for a *revolutionary workers party* to unite labor and the oppressed in struggle, on the road to socialist revolution.

Victory to CUPW! For militant mass pickets and an all-out country-wide strike! All labor must rally to the picket lines! Smash Canada Post/Mulroney union-busting!

—29 August 1991

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Toronto

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Britannia Community Centre,
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For more information: (604) 687-0353

Vancouver

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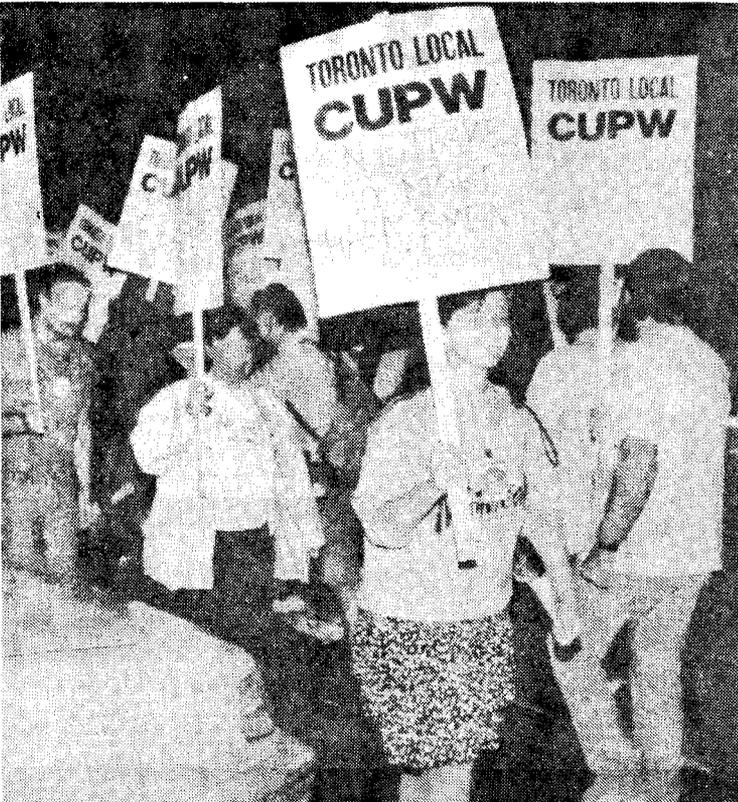
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1. Victory to the Postal Workers!
2. Video Showing: "The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!"
3. "New World Order" Targets Palestinians
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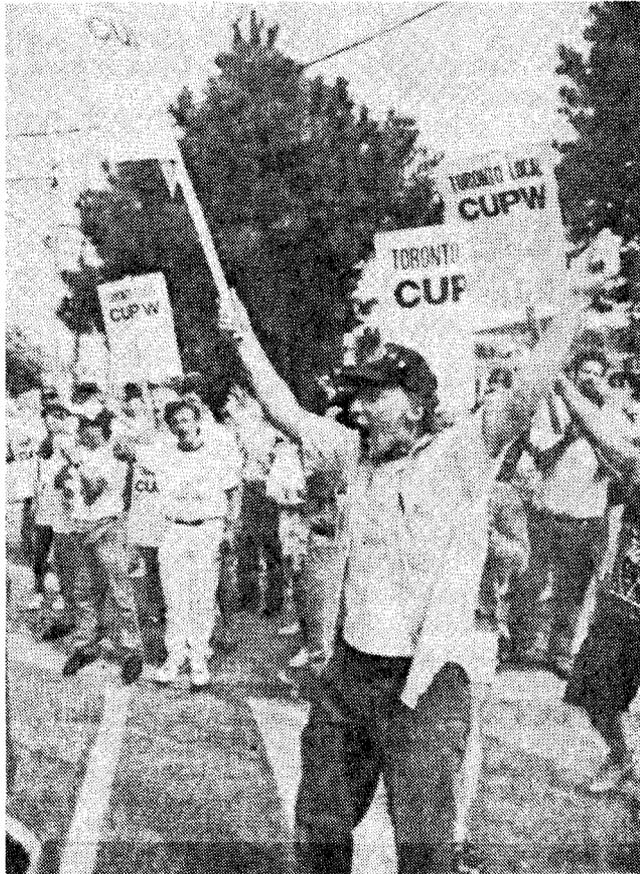
Victory to CUPW! Bust the Union-Busters!

Labor: Now's the Time to Strike Back!



Mike Slaughter/Toronto Star

Postal pickets in Toronto stop scab mail. Labor's gotta play hardball to win—For mass pickets nobody dares cross!



Ken Faught/Toronto Star

We reprint below a Trotskyist League leaflet distributed in English and French at Labour Day rallies and postal workers' picket lines in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton and Vancouver.

* * *

When members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers set up picket lines at midnight on August 24 they began a battle that must become the cause of all labor. Workers and the poor have been getting it in the neck for far too long: from skyrocketing unemployment, inflation, the GST, a rise of racism from Halifax to Montreal and more. CUPW's 46,000 members haven't had a raise since 1988 and face accelerating harassment, job losses and union busting as Canada Post contracts out work and replaces full-timers with low-paid part-time and casual labor.

Over the past decade and more, the absence of hard class struggle has allowed the bosses and their governments to get

away with murder. But now CUPW members, who live and work in every city and town across the country, have begun a fight that could unite all the working people—English Canadian, Québécois, immigrant—in action against the hated Tory government. And 110,000 Public Service Alliance members at airports, government offices and elsewhere are poised to join them on strike as early as next week. **Victory to the postal workers! For an all-out CUPW/PSAC strike!**

The key to victory lies in understanding that this will necessarily be a *political* battle, between the power of the working class and the forces of the capitalist state (the government, courts and cops) who stand foursquare behind Canada Post. Accepting the bosses' rules, pleading for "moderation," keeping picket lines leaky and tame: this is a road to defeat. The postal unions were formed in outright defiance of the bosses'

(continued on page 22)