

## “Free Market” Misery Fuels Exodus

# Explosion Builds In China



John Gittings



Girard/Contact

**Impoverished peasants leave the countryside, lining up for railroad tickets to Beijing (left), as pro-capitalist economic policies widen gulf between rich and poor.**

The dramatic sight of a ship jammed with Chinese emigrants disgorging its human cargo as the *Golden Venture* ran aground off New York City in June highlighted the plight of the many thousands fleeing the effects of capitalist market “reforms” in the People’s Republic of China. The smuggler ship’s name aptly captures the aspirations of the new Chinese millionaires and foreign investors who see a clear field for exploitation in the country’s burgeoning “free market.” But the cracking of the “iron rice bowl”—the guarantee of lifetime employment and social welfare ushered in by the 1949 Revolution—has meant untold misery for hundreds of millions of workers and peasants in the Chinese bureaucratically

### **For Workers Political Revolution!**

deformed workers state. A couple of months ago, it seemed as if every major U.S. newspaper featured a “special report” on China’s booming economy. Long gone are Western recriminations over the bloody suppression of the Tiananmen uprising four years ago. Hailing “China: The Emerging Economic Powerhouse of the 21st Century,” *Business Week* (17 May) gushed that “The Chinese are rushing toward prosperity—and there seems no stopping their momentum,” and urged the Clinton administration to embark on “A New China Policy for a New China.” The *New York Times* (23 July) headlined: “China, Barreling Along the Capitalist Road, Now Posts  
*(continued on page 15)*

# **PDC** Partisan Defense **DC** Committee

## Defend Vancouver Anti-Fascist Protesters!

On May 6, 60 protesters—blacks, Asians, Jews, unionists, gays, youth and socialists—successfully mobilized against a Vancouver meeting of the notorious white-supremacist “Canadian League of Rights.” Now, three months later, six of the anti-fascist demonstrators, including five trade unionists, have been arrested on trumped-up charges of assault for the “crime” of defending themselves and others against the fascist provocateurs of the CLR.

As clearly shown in the widespread local TV coverage of the May 6 demonstration, the protesters repeatedly had to fend off attacks by these would-be Hitlers, one of whom was armed with an iron bar. Miriam Scribner, one of the defendants and spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, stated: “These arrests are an outrage! It is no crime to stop the fascist scum. Sweeping the fascists from the streets is a life and death matter for all those the fascists have lined up in their sights. These racist killers ‘speak’ with the lynch rope, gas chambers and death camps.”

Like the rest of the country, Vancouver has been the scene of stepped-up racist and fascist violence. Race-terrorists have firebombed the homes of South Asian and Chinese families and burned a cross outside the house of Iranian immigrants. A synagogue and a cemetery were defaced with Nazi slogans and swastikas, and a gay bookstore was bombed. The charges against the May 6 protesters are clearly intended to intimidate all those who would actively oppose the rise of fascist terror.

Last January 22, 3,000 anti-racist protesters prevented the Nazis from holding a rally at the Art Gallery. The Partisan Defense Committee and the Trotskyist League mobilized disciplined union contingents that evening in response to our widely distributed, urgent call: “All Out to Stop the Fascists!” This was a vindication of our strategy of mobilizing the power

of labor to sweep the two-bit Hitlers from the streets.

The PDC and TL, who initiated and organized the May 6 demonstration, demand that the charges against the six anti-fascist protesters be dropped immediately. We also

demand that charges be dropped against other anti-fascist protesters who have been targeted for state repression, including two young anti-Nazis arrested on January 22 in Vancouver, and four supporters of the Anti-Racist Action group in Toronto arrested following a June 11 protest there against the Nazi Heritage Front.

Five of the six anti-fascists charged following May 6 are trade unionists. They are Miriam Scribner and Tom Hansen of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Glenn Mason of the Telecommunications Workers Union, Bob McBurney of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, and Oliver Scribner of the Office & Technical Employees Union. Also charged is John Lipscomb. CUPW member McBurney said: “It is vital that the integrated unions of this city stand up against the fascists, who seek to target all working people. They want to split us apart along race lines in order to crush us. But united in action the working class has the strength to stop the Nazis cold.”

### Who Are These Nazis?

The Canadian League of Rights’ Vancouver meeting was part of a B.C. “tour” by CLR founder Ron Gostick. The Canadian Jewish Congress has called the CLR “perhaps Canada’s leading antisemitic organization.” The CLR figures prominently in the sinister World Anti-Communist League behind which are Taiwan, South Korea, the Moonies and defenders of South African apartheid. Gostick is intimately associated with the likes of Ernst Zundel, James Keegstra, David Irving and others who obscenely lie that Hitler’s Nazis did not exterminate six million Jews. They “deny” the Holocaust because they want to perpetrate genocide again.

Attending Gostick’s meeting (and cited by the police as an alleged assault victim) was one Ernest Britskie. The *Vancouver Sun* in May 1989 exposed him as an open supporter of the deadly white-supremacist terrorist Aryan Nations based in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Britskie has organized meetings at his home for swastika-tattooed skinheads and “Sieg Heil!”-saluting Nazis. They brag about their stockpiles of weapons which they

*(continued on page 12)*

## **SPARTACIST** CANADA

Newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste  
Canadian section of the International Communist League  
(Fourth Internationalist)

EDITORIAL BOARD: John Masters (Editor), Russell Stoker (Production Manager), Jane Clancy, Charles Galarneau, Miriam McDonald, Peter Stegner, Oliver Stephens.

CIRCULATION MANAGER: R. Nassir

BUSINESS MANAGER: M. McPherson

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.*

*Printed in a union shop by union labor.*

Published six times a year by:

Spartacist Canada Publishing Association,  
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6

Return postage guaranteed Publications Mail Reg. No. 8161 ISSN: 0229-5415

September/October 1993

Date of issue: September 1993

### How You Can Help

We need your support to help beat back these charges. Raise motions of support, demanding “Drop the charges against the May 6th anti-fascist protesters,” in your union local, community or student group or other organization. Send protest statements to: Attorney General Colin Gabelmann, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, BC, V8V 1X4; fax number (604) 387-6411. Send copies to the PDC at one of the addresses below.

Turning back this state attack will cost a lot of money—for legal fees, publicity, phone bills and much more. Send your messages of support and donations to the PDC at either: Box 4932, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC, V6B 4A6, or Box 314, Station B, Toronto, ON, M5T 2W1. Make checks payable to the Partisan Defense Committee, earmarked “Anti-Fascist Defense.”

# Bill Whitney, Veteran Canadian Trotskyist

Our comrade Bill Whitney, for six decades a fighter for revolutionary Marxism, died at home on June 23. He was 80 years old, and had been ill for many years.

Bill joined the Trotskyist International Left Opposition in Vancouver in 1932. At the time he was an activist in the Young Socialist League (YSL), the youth group of the Socialist Party. Bill was recruited to the Left Opposition by another YSL militant who had himself just been won to Trotskyism. The YSL, which had about 600 members and encompassed many different political tendencies, continued to prove a fertile ground for revolutionary intervention, and Bill helped to recruit more youth to the banner of communism. Among these was a talented young woman fighter, Lillian, who became his life-long comrade and spouse.

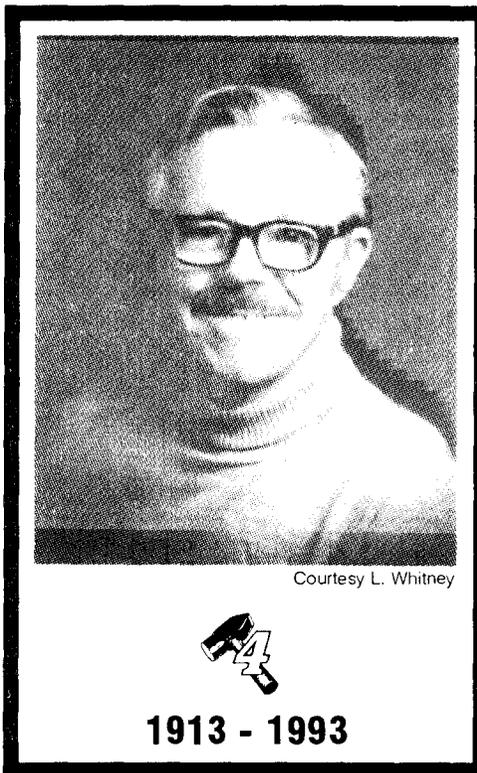
The young Trotskyists formed a chapter of the Spartacus Youth League in Vancouver and managed to occasionally publish a newsletter. They continued to intervene in the YSL, and for a time Bill was B.C. Provincial

Organizer. On at least one occasion in the mid-1930s the YSL managed to close down a fascist meeting being held at a theater. A group of anti-Nazi militants stormed the stage, grabbed the mike and drove the fascists from their own platform.

The Trotskyists also sought to do political battle with the much larger Stalinized Communist Party. The relatively open political atmosphere in Vancouver in this period put something of a damper on the Stalinists' typical gangsterism, so the comrades were able to do quick sales and distributions outside CP meetings—though as Bill put it, "Mind you, I might have got spit at and pushed around." Once, Bill managed to make his way into a Stalinist meeting where he sat in the balcony and managed to challenge the speaker about the CP's betrayals. CPers threatened to throw him over the balcony, there was some pushing and jostling, some punches thrown, but Bill was able to pull it off. He was a feisty man.

This was an extremely active period for the Trotskyists. Bill later described how the leading Vancouver cadre met virtually every night of the week, often starting at 10 p.m. and not finishing until well into the night. "Half the time," he recalled, "I never went home after these meetings. I would lay my head on the desk and sleep until someone woke me up in the morning."

While Bill authored a number of documents and articles over the years, where he really excelled was as a speaker and debater. He sought to teach and convince others, and he was persistent about it. Many years later, after he had retired, a



family friend produced a hand-drawn cartoon showing Bill, volume of Trotsky in hand, lecturing—a man who didn't give up.

One of Bill's first jobs was as a printer's apprentice, but he ended up working for the Canadian National Railway as a car numberer and freight clerk for many years. He became well known in the local labor movement, serving for a time as secretary of the Vancouver Labour Council of the Canadian Congress of Labour. The pro-capitalist union bureaucrats hoped at various points to co-opt him, but Bill hated the labor fakers, tersely noting that he couldn't work with "those guys."

Bill, who had little in the way of formal education, was a voracious reader. He remembered that Trotsky's writings on China had a big impact on him and others in the branch in the early 1930s. Stalin and his henchmen had the Chinese CP dissolve their independent organization and subordinate themselves to the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek. This led to a bloody massacre in 1927 when Chiang

turned on the disarmed CP and massacred tens of thousands of Communist fighters. Trotsky repeatedly warned against Stalin's disastrous policy, counterposing the independence of the working class and its vanguard in the struggle for socialist revolution, as in the Russian Revolution of 1917. Despite the bloody defeat in China, the Left Opposition was able to win key cadre of the Chinese CP to its ranks, including founding party leaders Chen Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-tse.

The year 1938 saw the founding of the Fourth International by Trotskyist forces worldwide; Bill and Lillian were among the founding members of the Canadian section. The following year, the onset of World War II placed tremendous political pressures on the cadre of the new International. In the U.S. a petty-bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) led by Max Shachtman and James Burnham capitulated to widely prevalent anti-Soviet hysteria in the wake of Stalin's short-lived pact with Hitler and the entry of Soviet troops into Finland and eastern Poland. Abandoning the fundamental Trotskyist position of defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and counterrevolution, Shachtman, Burnham & Co. quit the SWP, taking with them a large section of the membership.

In Vancouver, there was a parallel development as a large section of the branch deserted the Fourth International and the cause of proletarian revolution. Some of these characters went

*(continued on page 4)*

## Bill Whitney...

(continued from page 3)

on to become vile apologists for Canadian and British imperialism. Bill fought tooth and nail against these renegades.

While unconditionally defending the Soviet Union, the Trotskyists opposed the inter-imperialist slaughter of World War II. They understood that the Canadian, American and other capitalists were not waging a "war against fascism"; rather this was at bottom a struggle among competing capitalist powers to redivide the world. In Canada, as elsewhere, the Trotskyists suffered a wave of repression at the hands of the government. Bill himself was among those targeted by the RCMP. Forced to function in conditions of illegality, unable to publish a newspaper, the Trotskyists nearly ceased to exist as an organized political force in Canada. The Vancouver branch, terribly isolated and having almost no contact with either the Toronto center or the U.S. SWP, essentially disintegrated for a period. Under these difficult circumstances, Bill left active politics for a while.

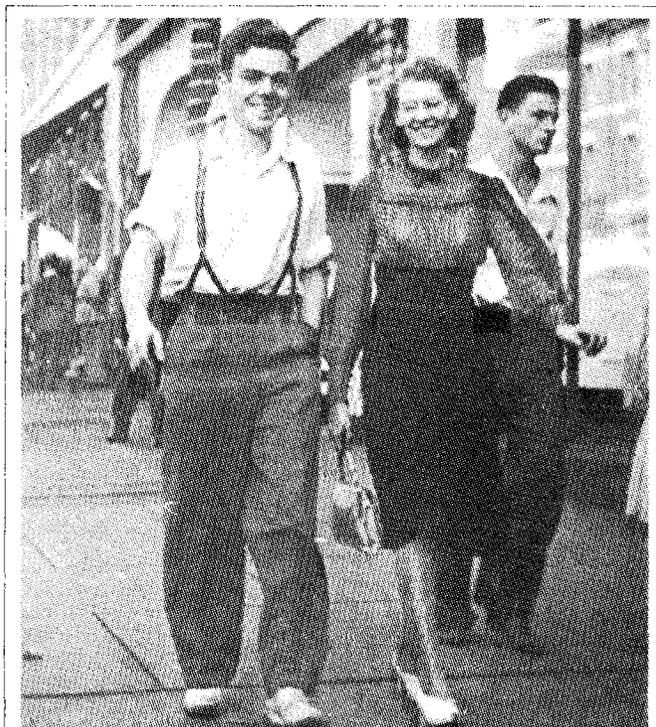
In 1944 he was drafted and shipped around the country, ending up after the war at a base in the Prairies. There he took part in a revolt of Army draftees against their conditions, one of a number of such actions that shook the Canadian military.

Upon his discharge, Bill rejoined the Vancouver branch, which had been reconstituted. Soon after, he was made branch organizer, and later was elected to the National Committee (NC) of the Canadian section. Bill recalled how the first big internal discussion at this time centered on the debate in the British section over whether to enter the Labour Party. "One of the comrades had been in the English party," Bill remembered, "and we felt quite close to the discussion." Debates about orientation toward the Canadian social democrats, then organized in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), were a recurring theme in the section.

In 1946 the Trotskyists reorganized themselves as the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP). Within a couple of years the Vancouver local had grown to about 40 members, including supporters in the Boilermakers and Woodworkers unions. Among the latter, however, were a couple of fellows who became leading officials in one of the International Woodworkers of America's locals. Increasingly acting as opportunists and careerists, they eventually ended up playing a despicable role in at least one strike, where they sided with the company against a CP-led picket line. Bill led the fight to throw these traitors out of the party, against internal opposition from some members who were capitulating to social-democratic "anti-Stalinism."

Perhaps Bill's most important political accomplishment was the crucial role he played in Canada in the fight against Michel Pablo's liquidationist revisionism in the early 1950s. Following the destruction of much of the pre-war Trotskyist leadership at the hands of the Nazis and/or the Stalinists (including the assassination of Trotsky himself by a Stalinist agent in Mexico in 1940), the impressionistic Pablo came to head the weakened forces of the postwar Fourth International.

With the military victory of the Red Army over Nazi Germany and its puppet regimes in East Europe, the former rulers fled to the nearest American headquarters leaving behind a power vacuum which was filled by the Soviet army. With the onset of the Cold War, the Stalinists were forced to establish bureaucratically deformed workers states in these countries as a "buffer zone." These were cold social revolutions from the top down, and the structures set up paralleled those which issued from the



Courtesy L. Whitney

Bill and Lillian Whitney in the 1930s.

Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union. But the Pablo leadership adapted to the apparent stability and geographical extension of Stalinism, projecting a "new world reality" in which the Stalinists could be forced to play an "objectively revolutionary role." Thus the very need for revolutionary leadership, i.e., Trotskyist parties, was obviated. (For more details see the new *Prometheus Research Series* bulletin, "Yugoslavia, East Europe and the Fourth International: The Evolution of Pabloist Liquidationism.")

In March 1950, Pablo's International Secretariat called on the Canadian section to undertake an entry "of a long duration" into the CCF. This was part of its international policy for "deep entry" into Stalinist and social-democratic parties aimed not at winning and splitting off a revolutionary wing to the banner of the Fourth International but at building a so-called "broad left wing." At the RWP's Second National Convention in July 1951 Bill, who was a delegate, strenuously opposed the Canadian leadership's assertion in their draft political resolution that the CCF would necessarily become the revolutionary party in Canada. "This was removed on my insistence," Bill later wrote, "although the convention did not agree that the social democratic party would not become the party of the Canadian revolution."

Bill also opposed, on tactical grounds, entering the CCF at that time. In a 1962 letter to a friend he recalled:

"I had to be satisfied that experience and further investigation...would resolve the matter in future.

"And the future did resolve the matter. The Liquidationists of that convention later split during the Pablo struggle on this very question, at the time of the 'Militant' [U.S. SWP paper] article which opened up the question internationally. The entire N.C. of the Canadian Party, except me, supported Pablo."

Indeed, the entire Toronto membership and a majority of the Vancouver branch initially backed Pablo. But fairly soon Bill won over all the Vancouver comrades, who remained

solid throughout the ensuing struggle against Pabloist liquidationism which was led, albeit belatedly and partially, by the American SWP.

Reportedly around this time, SWP leader James Cannon, worried about the Canadian section, asked "Where's Whitney on this?" Bill replied, "Against Pablo!" adding, "and where's Cannon been" in this fight? Bill was never shy in strongly expressing his opinions.

Bill also learned first-hand of Pablo's "method" of taking extreme bureaucratic actions against those he disagreed with. Seeking to curry favor with the new Stalinist regime which came to power in the Chinese Revolution of 1949, Pablo grotesquely portrayed the heroic Chinese Trotskyists imprisoned by Mao Tse-tung as "refugees from the revolution." He suppressed their appeal demanding freedom from Mao's jails and left at least one Chinese comrade stranded without any resources in Canada. Bill and Lillian welcomed him wholeheartedly and opened their home to him and another comrade, and established a lifelong friendship. It was during the anti-Pablo fight that Bill began to carry on a correspondence, which lasted many years, with Peng Shu-tse, founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and leader of the Chinese Trotskyists.

Mired in the CCF through the deeply anti-communist 1950s, the Canadian group's activities were fairly circumscribed. But Bill was very proud of an anti-racist action they were able to carry out in Vancouver in 1959. On July 22 the Downtowner Motel on Thurlow Street threw Lowell and Lorna Richards out of their room because they were a "mixed couple"—he was white and she was black. Two days after this was revealed in the press, the Vancouver branch organized a 20-strong picket of the motel on Friday, August 7. The action received wide publicity and by Sunday, "More than 75 persons, including five Negroes and several Chinese, took part in the picket line" which included mothers pushing baby carriages and over two dozen teenagers (*Vancouver Sun*, 10 August 1959). News of the protest even spread to Winnipeg where an unaffiliated motel with the same name reported numerous calls from people protesting racial discrimination.

Severely damaging to this activity was the fact that the Vancouver branch had been bureaucratically split in two by the Ross Dowson leadership in Toronto in connivance with a local anti-Whitney minority. Fueled by deep, long-standing personal antagonisms and disagreements over the proper orientation to the social democracy, there existed two branches for several years. Bill struggled hard to push for a programmatic and political fight, but was met with stony silence and a campaign of innuendo. Despite dissolving their own branch and declaring their loyalty to the League for Socialist Action (LSA—the new name adopted by the Canadian group in 1961), the Whitney group was effectively summarily expelled in January 1962.

We first met Bill and Lillian in 1974, shortly after establishing our Vancouver local. When the LSA, by now thoroughly reformist, excluded two supporters of the Trotskyist League from its public meetings in early 1977, Bill and Lillian joined the protest against this outrageous violation of workers democracy. Bill and Lillian declared themselves sympathizers of our tendency in the late 1970s. Although distance and their advanced age separated us from much active collaboration, we were able to get together periodically, and they helped out wherever they could. In September 1992 Bill and Lillian became consultative members of the TL and the International Communist League. They declared in their application:

"Coming from the Trotskyist League of the past as we do,

we find it wonderful that you are there—an authentic Trotskyist Party holding to the same positions that we have always held. Of main and specific note is the defense of the Soviet Union and the need to build the cadre and the Revolutionary Party capable of completing the historic tasks of the working class, that is to say, its own emancipation and that of all of humanity."

Bill found new political energy in his association with the ICL. In November 1990, he and Lillian spoke at a Trotskyist League forum in Vancouver celebrating the anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution and the fusion of the TL with a group of comrades who had broken from Ernest Mandel's United



SC photo

Bill addressing Trotskyist League fusion forum in 1990.

Secretariat (the successor of Pablo's revisionist outfit). The same year, at the age of 77, Bill helped out our Australian comrades on a campus sale in Melbourne while on holiday there. In the summer of 1992 he accompanied comrades distributing Trotskyist literature to striking pulp workers on Vancouver Island.

Bill never ceased to urge the comrades, especially the young comrades, to read and study. He generously donated precious volumes of Marxist works to our branch library as well as valuable archival material, forming part of the documentary record of Trotskyism in Canada. Whenever we discussed the tumultuous events of the past few years, Bill always wanted to know first about how the party was faring: have we made any contacts, any recruits? Right to the end, Bill was a party man. When Lillian called the Vancouver comrades to congratulate us for our successful anti-fascist action on May 6 of this year, Bill could be clearly heard in the background, belting out the "Internationale."

It was the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the fight to defend and extend its gains that won Bill, at age 19, to devote the rest of his life to the struggle for the communist future. With forthright honesty and a critical eye, Bill wanted to pass on the lessons he had learned. He was a living link between the earlier generations of revolutionary Trotskyists and those who today stand on their shoulders.

To Lillian and to all of Bill's family we extend our heartfelt condolences. We miss him too. ■

# U.S. Restaurant Chain Hit By Protests Against Denny's Racism

On July 3, several hundred people joined picket lines at Denny's restaurants across the United States, demanding "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's! For equal treatment, good service and food for *all!*" The demonstrations were initiated by the Labor Black League for Social Defense in the San Francisco Bay Area and called by the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Labor Black Leagues at six locations around the country. In Los Angeles and the Bay Area, Chicago, Atlanta, the Washington, D.C. area and Boston, integrated protests were held at selected Denny's restaurants: after noontime rallies, demonstrators went in to eat, to insist on equal treatment for all.

Denny's non-union chain of some 1,400 restaurants aims to drive blacks out. Among Denny's racist tricks: charging blacks-only "cover charges," demanding blacks and Hispanics "pre-pay" before getting their food, seating whites first, lousy service or no service for minorities, even closing down to avoid "blackouts" (management's racist term for too many blacks in the place).

"Denny's: Anti-Black, Anti-Latino, Anti-Gay" read one of the demonstrators' signs. Another declared, "Jim Crow Racism, Anti-Union Open Shop—Legacy of the Slavocracy." The Partisan Defense Committee carried signs saying, "No Confidence in the Capitalist Courts—For Mass Labor/Black Action to Defeat Racist Attacks!" Organizers recalled the sit-ins against segregated lunch counters at Woolworth's in 1960-61. As the rallies concluded, protesters sang Civil War anthems of the struggle for black freedom.

## "Fight This Racist Open Shop— Unionize Denny's!"

Significant support for the protests came from integrated unions. The Bay Area protest of over 150 picketers at the Denny's in Emeryville, California included members from more than a dozen local unions, including a group of Bay Area Rapid Transit workers from SEIU Local 790 (whose BART chapter endorsed the protest) and ATU Local 1555. Utility workers from AFSCME Local 444, another endorser, brought a union banner. Alameda Central Labor Council delegate Willie Lee Bell came down, as did Daniel Farrell, president of the Oakland Black Firefighters. Protesters' signs and chants underlined the close connection between the fight for minority rights and the struggles of labor.

In Chicago, where former Negro National Baseball League players "Smokin' Joe" Barnes and Bobby Robinson endorsed, 50 picketed outside the Denny's in suburban Oak Lawn. ACTWU local president Katie Jordan told the protesters: "If Rosa Parks had sat back and waited for someone else to do it, we'd still be at the back of the bus." She added, "The labor



Workers Vanguard  
Spartacist League/U.S., Labor Black Leagues initiated country-wide demonstrations (above, in California) against Jim Crow at Denny's.

movement cannot very well say that it is for working people unless it is involved in the whole idea of what happens to minorities who are outside of the union movement. The labor movement needs to put on a nationwide campaign to organize Denny's."

## Denny's-NAACP Deal for Black Capitalism

Denny's management flew in spokesmen from their headquarters in Spartanburg, South Carolina who distributed statements publicizing their "historic" agreement with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) for minority franchises, purchasing, marketing and managers. Spartacist spokesman Alison Spencer was quoted in the *Washington Afro-American* (3 July): "They signed an agreement with the Justice Department in April and there are still complaints against Denny's. A few token faces in high places and additional Black-owned franchises won't mean anything to the customers who are being discriminated against."

At the Chicago rally, Johnnie Jackson of the Coalition of Labor Union Women commented tersely, "That little concession that they made with the NAACP yesterday doesn't mean a hill of beans. If we are treated inferior when we go into Denny's, how do you think the workers in there are treated? They need to be unionized." Jeffrey Raffo, a staff organizer for hospital workers in Kentucky, who spoke at the demonstration, ended his remarks with the call, "Workers of the world unite!"

The fight to end Jim Crow at Denny's was also a fight for *revolutionary integrationism* vs. the NAACP's accommodation to the racist rulers. Denny's claims it will spend over a billion dollars in the next seven years to promote black managers, develop minority franchisers, place ads in black-centered media, purchase supplies from black-owned companies, and hire black

(continued on page 14)

# Labor: Defend Immigrants and Refugees! Apartheid Canadian-Style



Aigis Kemezis/NOW



Ron Bull/Toronto Star

**In suburban Toronto, Somali refugees are under racist siege in their own homes. Security guards with attack dogs patrol their Dixon Rd. apartment complex.**

"It's like a police state, we're all so frustrated, we couldn't take it anymore."

"They've turned this place into a mini-South Africa."

—Somali refugees in suburban Toronto

The scene is an apartment complex on Dixon Road in Toronto's western suburbs, a short drive from the international airport. Thousands of Somalis and their families eke out an isolated and meager existence here, far from stores, parks, community centers or other amenities. Over the past two years, management and condo owners have hired an army of goons to prowl the grounds and corridors like prison guards, stopping and questioning dark-skinned residents, or entering their homes on any pretext.

Then on July 30, the beleaguered Somali community exploded in anger. That afternoon, guards accosted a Somali visitor in front of the complex, subjecting him to racist abuse and then a full-scale physical assault. After several residents gathered to rescue the visitor, more guards appeared, unleashing a vicious attack dog. Among the four Somalis brutalized in the attack was Maryam Abdi, 27, a bystander who was hospitalized with a gaping bite wound in her leg. Police arrived...to arrest three of the Somalis.

That evening hundreds of enraged demonstrators closed off the street in protest. "People are very angry—they've absolutely had it," said protester Ibrahim Bihi. "All they want is to be treated fairly and equally." But fairness and equality are the last thing the rulers of this sick capitalist society have in mind. From Ottawa to Washington, Paris and Berlin, the imperialist rulers are stepping up a racist war of terror, repression and deportation against foreign-born workers. While slamming shut the borders to desperate refugees they are whipping up nativist hatred against "foreigners," seeking to scapegoat them for capitalism's worst global economic crisis in decades. We say:

Labor must mobilize to defend immigrants and refugees! Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!

## **Racist Frenzy Against Minorities**

In recent decades, immigration from Asia, the Caribbean and Africa has changed the face of the major Canadian cities. Once a lily-white WASP bastion, Toronto is now, in the words of a United Nations report, the most "ethnically diverse" city in the world, with more than half the school-age population speaking a first language other than English. The government and media hype the city as a tolerant, multicultural alternative to big-city racial conflict south of the border. But today racist terror against this city's multiplicity of minority communities is sharply on the rise.

While Somalis face a virtual siege in the western suburbs, young Filipinos trying to buy a hamburger or see a movie at the Scarborough Town Centre mega-mall to the east are being systematically rounded up and expelled by uniformed goons. Those who object are abused with racist slurs, photographed, and forced to sign statements promising not to enter the mall for life—or face criminal charges. One of the victimized youths commented: "I didn't even know I was Filipino until I was banned; I thought I was Canadian" (*Philippine Reporter*, 1-15 August).

On August 21, hundreds of angry Filipinos rallied in protest in front of the mall. But when they tried to carry their message inside, they found every entrance locked tight by the same racist rent-a-cops, this time backed up by armed RCMP thugs.

Meanwhile at the downtown CityHome complex at Bathurst Quay, a security company is using attack dogs, handcuffs and

(continued on page 12)

# Quebec Labor: Stop Le Pen's National Front!

The French fascist Front National (National Front—FN) of Jean-Marie Le Pen has announced a rally in Montreal on September 22. Le Pen, a veteran of France's dirty, losing colonial war in Algeria, is a sadistic fascist for whom the Nazi Holocaust against the Jews was a "detail." His FN, now the largest fascist party in West Europe, incites murderous violence against immigrants and unleashes its thugs to assault left-wing activists. Now it is trying to spread its filth in Quebec. It must be stopped!

Workers in France and the French colonies have already set an example. When Le Pen tried to "visit" the black Caribbean islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique in 1987, trade unionists and other militants organized to blockade the airports of Fort-de-France and Pointe-à-Pitre. A humiliated Le Pen was forced to fly back to Paris without touching down. This year, on March 14, pro-Communist miners, minority youth and other residents combined to chase FN thugs out of the southern French town of Gardanne when the fascists attacked leftist paper salesmen.

The key to stopping the Nazis is the mobilization of all their intended victims behind the power of organized labor. Back in December 1981, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France initiated a labor/minority united-front demonstration against FN gangsterism in Rouen, a maritime industrial center northwest of Paris. A contingent of 200 trade unionists made up nearly half the march, continuing a tradition of aggressive anti-fascist struggle by the Rouen working class. As the demonstration passed through the city, the local FN hangout—a café called the Métropole—was closed up tight. This kind of action can stop Le Pen's bandits in Montreal, too.

## Xenophobic Nationalism and Racist Terror

The FN's appearance in Quebec at this time is no accident. Their trademark in France is their call to expel immigrants and their families. Similarly, nationalist demagogues in Quebec see immigrants as a threat to their dream of a unilingual French society based on the "pure laine"—the *habitant*-descended "old stock." Following significant immigration to Montreal, today a quarter of the city's population has neither French nor British ancestry, including hundreds of thousands of people of African, Asian and Middle Eastern descent. At the same time, the steady decline of Quebec industry has created a mass of permanently unemployed white francophone Québécois whom the fascists seek to whip up with their racist demagogy.

Canadian capitalism is founded on more than two centuries of oppression of the Québécois people and of francophones throughout the country. As recently as 1990, dozens of Ontario cities banned municipal services in French in a vicious "English only" campaign. Such Anglo chauvinism has helped fuel the growth of nationalism in Quebec—and today this nationalism has a particularly ugly face as an increasingly self-confident Québécois bourgeoisie stirs up xenophobic reaction in its quest to become "*maîtres chez eux*" (masters in their own house).

This right-wing nationalism has summoned the fascists out of the sewers of Montreal. For several years now, bigots demanding an end to non-francophone immigration have been

able to parade freely in large nationalist demonstrations. At a June 14 rally organized by the Mouvement Québec Français and the three main union federations, a leftist group distributing literature in English (as well as French and other languages) was removed by police; meanwhile two Nazis handing out leaflets calling for "Quebec for the real Québécois" were left unmolested. And while psychotic Québécois skinheads sport the fleur-de-lys alongside the swastika, the Toronto-based Heritage Front, with its Maple Leaf and Confederate flags, is also taking aim at Montreal. Their 200-strong "Rock for Racialism" rally on Montreal's heavily anglophone West Island on August 14 drew busloads of Nazis from as far as Kansas.

Anti-fascist action is an elementary act of self-defense for working people and the oppressed. Last November Nazi skinheads murdered Yves Lalonde, a 51-year-old gay man, in Montreal's Angrignon Park. In 1991 a racist mob riddled with



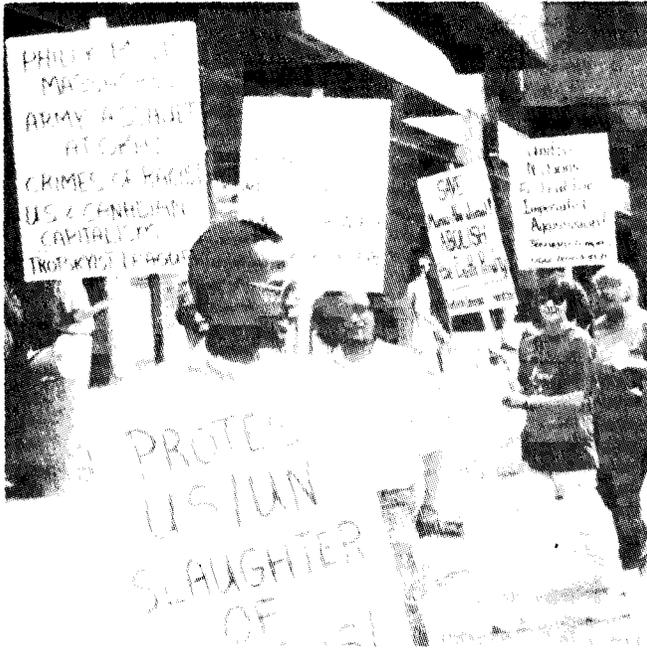
AFP

French fascist leader Jean-Marie Le Pen.

skinheads attacked Somali refugees in east-end Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, driving them out of the neighborhood. The KKK of Michel Larocque incited rock-throwing mobs against Native people during the police/army siege of the Mohawks in 1990.

Stopping the National Front can be the first step in a counteroffensive against mounting racist terror in Quebec. But effective resistance to the fascists requires a rejection of nationalism in all its forms. The chauvinism of the English Canadian labor tops and the NDP, who for decades railed against Quebec's right to self-determination, has helped drive Québécois workers into the arms of their "own" nationalist demagogues. The labor movement in English Canada must decisively reject this chauvinism and unconditionally defend Quebec's right to self-determination, i.e., to independence. At the same time, Quebec labor must break from nationalism, which is both a

(continued on page 11)



SC photos

Spartacus Youth Club initiated Vancouver anti-imperialist protest on June 26 (left). In Toronto, TL/SYC joined with outraged Somalis to protest U.S./UN attack on Mogadishu. U.S./UN troops out of Somalia! Imperialist butchers: Hands off the world!

## Vancouver SYC Pickets Kim Campbell's Office

### “Protest Imperialist Slaughter of Somalis!”

Chanting “Protest U.S./UN slaughter of Somalis—Imperialist ‘peacekeepers’ get out and stay out!” over 30 demonstrators picketed new prime minister Kim Campbell’s office in Vancouver on June 26. Initiated by the newly founded Vancouver Spartacus Youth Club and the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, the united-front protest included African, South Asian and Caribbean militants. In addition to SYC and TL speakers, a representative of the International Federation of Iranian Refugees and Immigrants Councils and a member of the rump Communist Party of Canada (CP) also spoke.

Signs and chants proclaimed, “Canada’s ‘Peacekeepers’: Torture and Murder in Somalia.” Since mid-June, U.S. and United Nations forces have turned the streets of Mogadishu into a killing field, as the people of this small East African country have become the target of an escalating colonial war. From the beginning of “Operation Restore Hope” Washington’s Canadian junior partners have played a full role in the racist occupation of Somalia. In February Canadian soldiers fired on unarmed demonstrators in Belet Huen. On March 4 Canadian Airborne Regiment troops shot down two unarmed Somalis who entered the Belet Huen military compound, murdering one with a shotgun blast in the back as he lay wounded on the ground. Two days later Shidane Omar Arone, who was arrested for trying to get food from the Canadian barracks, was beaten to death by paratroopers in his cell.

Until a medical officer spilled the beans, these brutal racist murders were covered up by the federal government, in which

Campbell was then Minister of Defense. The military was instructed to keep a lid on it so as not to impede Campbell’s campaign for the PM’s job. Now it’s been revealed that the Airborne is shot through with an organized nest of Nazis and that paratroopers’ barracks back home in Petawawa, Ontario are “decorated” with swastikas. As an SYC placard on the June 26 protest read: “Canadian Airborne: Kim K Campbell’s Killers—Imperialist Butchers Hands Off the World!” We say the Airborne assassins should be turned over to the families of their Somali victims!

We Trotskyists denounced the imperialists’ occupation from the start, unlike much of the fake-left which echoed Washington and Ottawa’s “humanitarian” rhetoric. In response to the CPer at the demo who called for “left unity,” a TL spokesman pointed out that the American CP had *supported* the imperialist invasion of Somalia. SYC spokesman Nevin Morrison told the demonstrators:

“As the bloodbath in Mogadishu makes deadly clear, the U.S., Canadian and UN imperialists’ ‘Operation Restore Hope’ never had anything to do with delivering food relief to the starving people of Somalia.... Imperialism is not a ‘policy,’ something that can change with the governing party, but an economic system—capitalism in its death agony. We fight to put an end to war and famine by eliminating the worldwide capitalist system....

“Anyone who wants to help build the party that will lead the struggle to sweep away imperialism through international workers revolution should join the Spartacus Youth Club!” ■

# UBC Student Bureaucrats: Big Brother Wannabees

## Hands Off *The Ubyyssey!*

The student newspaper of the University of British Columbia (UBC), *The Ubyyssey*, has been censored by the student bureaucrats of the Alma Mater Society (AMS). After publishing continuously for 75 years, *The Ubyyssey* was shut down for five months. Their crime: offending the bourgeois sensibilities of the AMS.

In February, *The Ubyyssey* published an article giving students tips on how to avoid paying the extortionate fares for public transit. Big deal, right? Transit should be free! In response, the AMS issued a public "apology," cringing before bourgeois "law and order." But this was just the tip of the iceberg for these cretinous bureaucrats.

The next edition of *The Ubyyssey* was a fun issue, entirely devoted to sex, featuring erotic sexual fantasies (complete with photos), an article on drag queens and essays on consent and homosexuality. Reactionary advertisers pulled out of the paper and the puritanical fatecats in the campus administration put the heat on their slavishly loyal AMS lapdogs to punish *The Ubyyssey*. The Anti-Mutual Satisfaction bureaucrats quickly appointed themselves the campus morality police, and cracked down on the "crime" of openly discussing sex by killing *The Ubyyssey!*

The AMS has "allowed" for *The Ubyyssey* to resume publication this fall—provided the editorial board follows an AMS-imposed draconian "constitution" that only codifies further censorship. This is an outrage! The Spartacus Youth Club protests this blatant censorship and demands that the AMS get its hands off *The Ubyyssey!*

The AMS Big Brother wannabees act like UBC is their own private fiefdom. The Student Administrative Commission (SAC) of the AMS is so notorious for attempting to deny club status to virtually any student group that it has been popularly dubbed "Students Against Clubs". They threaten to call the cops on any group found distributing literature without their "permission," claiming that the *Student Union Building* is private property—theirs! And now these megalomaniacs want to export their despotic realm to Simon Fraser University by threatening legal action against *The Peak*, the SFU student newspaper, for printing articles by the censored *Ubyyssey* editorial collective! First UBC, tomorrow the world....

These Arrogant McCarthyite Suckholes, in their own little way, are doing the job of the bourgeoisie on campus, consciously aping the actions of the capitalist state by punishing young people for thinking about sex. Premarital, group, kinky, teenage and homosexual sex are seen as a direct affront to the nuclear family, a key pillar of capitalism. The student bureaucrats want to be the administrators and technocrats of the capitalist class tomorrow and see this elite university as their training ground. Prime Minister Kim Campbell kicked off her career in bourgeois politics in the AMS sandbox, as did the strikebreaking B.C. Labour Minister, NDP'er Moe Sihota.

The pretentious AMS gnats deserve to be swatted. But the capitalist class they aspire to serve is a truly dangerous enemy of human freedom. The SYCs fight for a socialist revolution to take them down for good. Join us! ■

## Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Events

### Trotskyist League Forum Imperialist Butchers: Hands Off the World!

Vancouver  
Friday, 1 October  
7:30 p.m.  
Room L3, Britannia Community Centre  
1661 Napier St. (off Commercial)  
For more information call (604) 687-0353

Toronto  
Saturday, 2 October  
7:30 p.m.  
St. Paul's Centre,  
427 Bloor St. West  
(west of Spadina)

For more information call (416) 593-4138

### Demonstration

Vancouver  
Drop the Charges Against the May 6th  
Anti-Fascist Protesters!

12:30 p.m.  
Wednesday, 15 September  
SUB South Plaza, University of British Columbia  
To help build the protest or for more information, contact the  
Spartacus Youth Club at (604) 687-0353

### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series Fundamentals of Marxism

(Alternate Thursdays starting 23 September)

Toronto  
7:00 p.m.  
International Student Centre,  
U of T, 33 St. George Street  
(just north of College)

For more information call  
the SYC at (416) 593-4138

Vancouver  
7:30 p.m.  
Room 212A,  
Student Union Building,  
University of British Columbia

For more information call  
the SYC at (604) 687-0353

## National Front...

(continued from page 8)

cudgel against immigrants and other minorities, and a dangerous trap for the working class.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the workers of Quebec were the most militant and class conscious in all North America. This combativity was fueled in part by opposition to national oppression, including systematic discrimination against the use of French. The militancy of Quebec labor boiled over in the general strike of 1972, which took on semi-insurrectional proportions as striking workers took over a number of small industrial and mining cities. But the Quebec labor bureaucrats channeled the workers' aspirations into support for the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois of René Lévesque, which came to power in 1976 with substantial labor support.

In 1982, the PQ cut the workers' throats, especially in the public sector, with the largest union-busting offensive in Quebec history. Then-finance minister Jacques Parizeau was among those leading the charge. And today the same labor bureaucrats are leading Quebec workers into another nationalist cul-de-sac, as they fulsomely embrace the same Parizeau, now PQ leader, along with Lucien Bouchard and his Bloc Québécois.

### Labor, the Left and the Rise of Nazi Terror

Mired as they are in reactionary nationalism, the Quebec labor tops at best turn a blind eye to racist terror and the fascist threat. Their "leftist" camp followers, like the newspaper *l'aut' journal* and the Gauche Socialiste (GS) group, follow suit. GS, the branch office of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, barely even acknowledges the existence of racist violence in its newspaper, *La Gauche*; indeed it denounces those who do for denigrating the Québécois nation!

The Maoists of Action Socialiste (AS) and Mobilisation do at least recognize the reactionary nature of today's nationalist "movement," and oppose the rise of racist terror. But they reject a perspective of militant *labor-centered action* to stop the fascists. Their strategy is at bottom a moral appeal to "the community" to "reject" the fascists' ideas. Thus on August 14, as the Heritage Front held its Nazi "concert" on the West Island, AS and Mobilisation joined various liberal groups in sponsoring a "meeting against intolerance" miles away in downtown Montreal. These groups had no intention of building mass action to shut the Nazis down, as Mobilisation's Bertrand Loiselle made clear when he counseled anti-fascists to "be prudent" and washed his hands of any potential confrontation: "If some people want to demonstrate, we cannot prevent them" (*La Presse*, 6 August).

In English Canada, the International Socialists (I.S.) also specialize in impotent liberal marches which have no intention of stopping the fascists. Today, I.S.ers in Ontario are distributing leaflets calling to demonstrate against Le Pen. But look at their track record: back in March 1992, the Vancouver I.S. let Nazi skinheads strut unmolested through an anti-racist demonstration, calling on participants to rely on the police for protection! Worse yet, in Ottawa on May 29 the I.S. openly collaborated with the cops to split a 600-strong anti-fascist mobilization which had trapped a Heritage Front rally of at most a few dozen. I.S. organizers and others linked arms in

front of the cops to hold back angry demonstrators, then worked frantically to siphon protesters away from the fascist rally, finally leaving a much smaller group of militants, including a Trotskyist League contingent and youth from Anti-Racist Action (ARA), alone to face the cops and fascists.

Now *Socialist Worker* (July 1993) rants against so-called ARA "provocations" and cynically lies that "the demo organizers negotiated an end to the Nazi concert with the manager of the building." The Nazis were *not* shut down. Instead, after the I.S. & Co. sabotaged the demonstration Heritage Front thugs continued their "concert" under police protection until they emerged to rampage against anti-fascists in the streets!

In sharp contrast to the I.S.'s sabotage, the Trotskyist



French Trotskyists on 1988 anti-Le Pen demo call for worker/immigrant mobilization to crush the fascists.

League/Ligue trotskyste demonstrated the effectiveness of our labor-centered strategy to stop the fascists on January 22 in Vancouver. Together with the Partisan Defense Committee we mobilized solid contingents of longshoremen, postal workers and other unionists as the militant core of a 3,000-strong anti-racist mobilization which prevented a threatened Nazi rally.

### Stop the Fascist National Front!

Following public protest, the National Front was forced to change the advertised site of its September 22 meeting in Montreal. Roger Alacoque, the FN's Quebec spokesman, blustered: "Don't think it's out of fear. If there were any problems, I could count on about fifty thugs who will do everything for me. Fight and even more" (*La Presse*, 3 August). But a large and determined labor-centered mobilization, drawing in all sectors of the oppressed, would make short shrift of these fascist thugs!

Only a proletarian internationalist perspective can get us out of worldwide capitalist misery and oppression and rid us of the fascist scum for good. Socialist revolution will create the material basis to do away with racism, anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry once and for all. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fights to construct a binational, multiracial revolutionary workers party in this country, part of a reformed world party of socialist revolution. For labor/minority mobilization to stop Le Pen's National Front! ■

## Anti-Fascist Protesters...

(continued from page 2)

lust to use against minorities and anyone else these demented fascists consider "unfit."

The meeting was held at the offices of the "Procult Institute" run by Jud Cyllorn, another infamous racist and anti-Semite. In his self-published book "Stop Apologizing," Cyllorn raves against Jews, blacks, Native people, gays and socialists. This is directly echoed in his police complaint alleging he was assaulted, where he rants dementedly against "queers," "Afro-Americans...dressed like they were ready to do a Coke commercial" and the "Trotsky philosophy to 'Destroy Everything.'" Cyllorn's "book" is prominently advertised in far-right-wing publications. A "spiritual" advisor to former Social Credit premier Bill Vander Zalm, Cyllorn has openly admitted arming himself with an iron bar on May 6.

"It is no surprise that the Vancouver police are doing the fascists' dirty work," stated the PDC's Miriam Scribner. "The police 'serve and protect' the rich white capitalist rulers of this country. The police routinely beat Asian and Native people in the streets of Vancouver. Twice they have arrested John Koza-chenko, an AIDS activist, to prevent him from attending leftist demonstrations. And now they are targeting anti-fascist militants. Meanwhile the NDP government has given the green light to cop violence against minorities, proving once again that the social democrats serve the interests of the capitalist rulers."

The racist anti-immigrant frenzy pouring from the top corridors of power in Ottawa has put wind in the race-terrorists' sails. These attacks are part of an international assault on



SC photo

May 6 demo against Canadian League of Rights fascists.

working people, minorities, the sick, the young—attacks that are a product of the capitalist counterrevolution that swept Eastern Europe, combined with worldwide capitalist economic crisis. From Russia to Germany to Canada the fascists are growing. It is necessary to stop them while they are still small. We need to build a multiracial, revolutionary party that will bring to power the working people who have built all the world's wealth and put an end to the decrepit capitalist system and the fascist menace it breeds once and for all. ■

## Apartheid Canadian-Style...

(continued from page 7)

surveillance cameras to "protect" the building grounds from "trespass" by black residents in neighboring housing co-ops, after white yuppie residents complained about "loitering." Black youth who place so much as one foot on CityHome property are harassed and threatened with arrest. What's next, South African apartheid "pass laws"?

These state-sanctioned moves to enforce racist segregation have been accompanied by ongoing cop terror against minorities, especially blacks, as well as a new surge of fascist violence. In April, Toronto cops gunned down black youth Ian Coley, adding yet another victim to the tally of black people tried, condemned and executed by the police in the past five years. And this summer Nazi skinhead psychopaths have targeted Tamil refugees for deadly attack: one was murdered and two others badly injured in racist assaults.

It's not just Toronto. In Winnipeg, too, the local Filipino community has staged mass protests against racial slurs and bannings by store owners. In Vancouver on June 16, police beat motorist Donald Lee unconscious with nightsticks in the latest in a series of brutal assaults on Chinese men. And in Montreal, Haitian immigrant Ernst Prophète was battered to death by prison guards at Bordeaux jail in early August, hours after the cops arrested him at Mirabel airport for unpaid parking tickets.

### Slamming the Doors on Desperate Refugees

The Tories' new Bill C-86 anti-immigrant law has brought down the shutters against refugees seeking to come to Canada.

In one of her first acts as prime minister, Kim Campbell created an Orwellian "Ministry of Public Security" to scour every highway, airport and harbor in search of any dark-skinned man, woman or child who might make their way to this country. And to prevent asylum-seekers from getting even that far, Ottawa is putting the finishing touches on a new agreement with Washington to "harmonize" refugee determination processes on both sides of the border—i.e., to make sure that refugees are sealed out of Fortress North America altogether.

We are seeing an unprecedented wave of mass deportations, dubbed by one refugee an "assembly line out of Canada." A Montreal refugee advocate described how immigration cops "are showing up at people's workplaces and homes, virtually taking people away in their pajamas" (*NOW*, 24 June). "I feel like a priest escorting prisoners to the execution chamber," said a Toronto immigration lawyer trying to defend asylum-seekers before government-appointed Refugee Board members, who declare they will not be bound by United Nations definitions, guidelines or handbooks about the right to asylum. Grooving on their power to play god with the stroke of a pen, these sadistic "hanging judges" have dispensed one death sentence after another. For example:

- Mohadi Abdelrahman, a 5-year-old Sudanese boy suffering from cerebral palsy. Immigration officials ordered him deported along with his parents February 16, complaining that the child would make "excessive demands on Canada's health system."
- Clara Elizabeth Palacios, a Salvadorean woman who tested positive for the AIDS virus, for which no treatment is available in her home country. She was ordered deported July 31 with her Canadian-born son.
- Jegatheswaran Ponnunthurai, a Tamil refugee. Deported

on July 30, he was arrested and imprisoned at Colombo airport by the blood-soaked Sri Lankan government security forces shortly after his arrival from Canada.

### Anti-Immigrant Hysteria in the "New World Disorder"

The onslaught against immigrants in Canada is part of a worldwide upsurge of racist hysteria and xenophobia. Underlying this are the combined effects of counterrevolution in East Europe and capitalist economic crisis in the West. During the Cold War, Western imperialist countries including Canada often struck a "democratic" posture against Soviet "totalitarianism," and made a show of welcoming "refugees" from Soviet-bloc countries in order to subvert these bureaucratically ruled workers states.

But with the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe, the imperialists have slammed shut the doors in the face of the biggest wave of refugees since World War II. Italian gunboats now patrol the Adriatic to stop Albanian boat people from coming ashore. Following months of officially inspired and tolerated racist terror and pogroms, the German Bundestag has revoked the constitutional right of political asylum. In France, the new right-wing Balladur government has declared the goal of "zero immigration." Reviving Vichy-era images of Jews being loaded into boxcars, the government announced plans to load "illegal" immigrants onto trains for deportation. And the U.S. has shut its borders to Chinese immigrants, while American ships scour the Caribbean to hunt down Haitian refugees.

In West Europe, especially Germany, immigrant communities have become the target of triumphalist nationalism heightened by NATO imperialism's victory in the Cold War. The ominous growth of Nazi skinhead gangs in the German Fourth Reich is a byproduct of the capitalist reunification which swallowed up and laid waste to the former East German workers state. Over 7,500 violent attacks on foreigners have taken place since 1990, including at least 30 racist murders in 1992 alone!

The expansion of the postwar economy in much of the imperialist West was vitally dependent on the large-scale importation of cheap foreign labor. In Canada, millions of workers were able to immigrate—first from Southern Europe, later from Asia and the Caribbean—chiefly to work in low-pay service industries. But now, with the capitalist world mired in a deepening global recession, the bosses have no more need for foreign-born workers. If you want to move to this country today, you pretty much need a quarter million dollars to invest in a Canadian business, or perhaps a degree from M.I.T. And to save on the costs of unemployment insurance, medicare, welfare and other social programs, the bosses particularly want to keep out refugees and would-be migrants from their hideously poor Third World neocolonies.

At the same time, anti-immigrant racism is being used to divert working-class anger, as "foreigners" are blamed for the deteriorating economic conditions. The labor bureaucrats and social democrats play right along with this racist game, blaming Asian and Mexican workers for the loss of "Canadian jobs" and pushing flag-waving protectionism. Grotesquely, Bob Rae's Ontario NDP government is set to end all medicare coverage for refugee claimants, foreign students and domestic workers.

### Defeat Anti-Immigrant Racism Through Class Struggle!

However, the immigrant communities are far from helpless in the face of fascist terror or government attacks. In Canada

as elsewhere, despite the economic recession foreign-born workers retain *strategically powerful* positions in the economy—Turks in Germany's heavy industry; North Africans in France's auto plants; South Asians in the sawmills of B.C.; black and Asian workers in the car plants and the transit systems of Southern Ontario. Thus the struggle against anti-immigrant racism in all its manifestations—from fascist terror to government deportations—is necessarily centered on the struggle to mobilize the working class against the decaying capitalist system.

Sections of the International Communist League in Europe and North America have actively intervened in the struggle



SC photo

Protest against "banning" of Filipino youth from Scarborough Town Centre, August 21.

against racist attacks, calling for mobilizing the social power of labor. In France last June, the CGT union federation called for a protest against the government's plans to load "illegal" immigrants onto trains for deportation. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France mass-distributed a leaflet headlined "Down with Mitterrand-Balladur's Racist War! No Expulsions! Railroad Workers Have the Power: Stop the Expulsion/Deportation Trains!" The LTF agitated for "*working-class demonstrations at every scheduled departure, to stop the trains,*" emphasizing that "Through these mobilizations against racist/fascist terror and against the bourgeoisie's anti-working class offensive, the working people must build a leadership armed with the revolutionary program to lead them to victory."

Here in Canada too the integrated, organized working class must mobilize in defense of our foreign-born brothers and sisters. Not pleas to the bosses to "ban" racism or adopt a more "humanitarian" posture, but powerful *class struggle*—that is the road to fairness and equality for all in a socialist future. Capitalism has now dragged out its terminal sickness through nearly a century, inflicting destruction and immiseration on untold millions of human lives. In foreseeing the need for world socialist revolution as the answer to capitalism's limitless power to inflict misery, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* that "The working men have no country":

"In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to....

"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!" ■

## Denny's...

(continued from page 6)

consultants. But for the workers at Denny's, who are without a union—not a red cent! This is a graphic illustration of the program of black capitalism, aimed at creating a narrow layer of black entrepreneurs while the vast majority of the oppressed are driven further into devastation.

### Finish the Civil War!

"We chose the July 4th weekend to expose the hypocrisy of the so-called 'Liberty Weekend'," said Bernard Branche, spokesman for the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League. "What July 4th really means is racism and capitalist exploitation." In Los Angeles a sign said, "Rodney King Beating and Whitewash Trial, Waco Holocaust—There Is No Justice in Capitalist America!" There was a speaker for the committee for the outspoken barber who was wantonly killed by the police in Pasadena. At Emeryville, speakers recalled another victim of racist police murder—Jerrold Hall, shot in the back by a transit cop who is still on the job.

Denny's would like to portray its deal with the NAACP as supposedly wiping out racism at the restaurant chain, making all further protests and victims' complaints irrelevant. But even the government's own people weren't buying it—on July 8, the black Secret Service men who had been denied service at the Denny's in Annapolis, Maryland announced they were expanding their legal complaint into a class action suit, because of the flood of victims' complaints which have poured in since their case drew wide attention.

Democratic rights are indivisible. Racism at Denny's is just the tip of the iceberg of the racist reality of America today. This

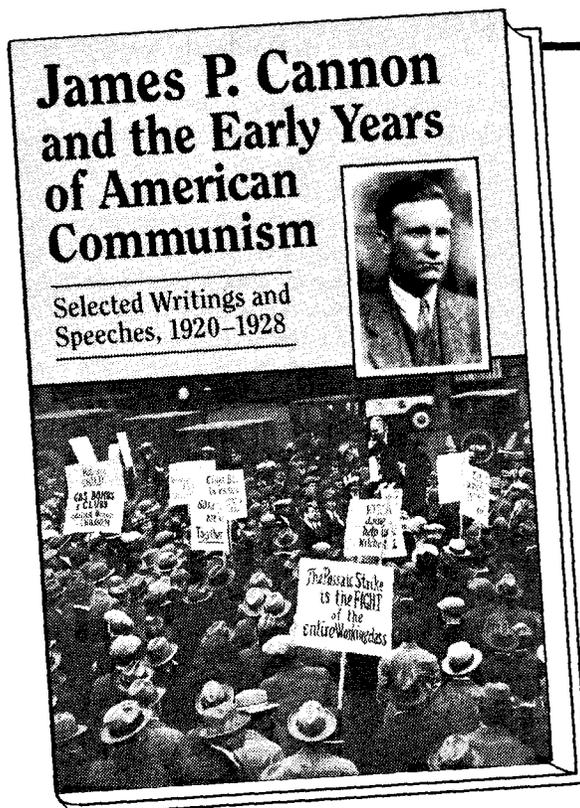
campaign got its power from the intersection of blacks, reds and organized labor. With the established black "leadership" under the sway of the racist, capitalist Democratic Party, along with the ossified, racist union bureaucracy, it is the communists—armed with a program of class struggle that can mobilize the power of labor—who defend rights of the oppressed.

The bottom line is there can be no liberation of black people, or Latinos and other oppressed minorities, without socialist revolution. Today a whole generation of ghetto youth are facing a future without jobs or decent education. But while suffering pervasive de facto segregation as an oppressed race-color caste, blacks are integrated into American capitalism at the bottom, with the black workers occupying a strategic position in the organized labor movement.

As Don Alexander of the Spartacist League summed up: "We in the Spartacist League have fought and are fighting to smash this viciously racist capitalist system that breeds racial oppression like spoiled meat produces maggots, and in which the working class is brutally exploited.... Why do black people have to continually fight for the most elementary democratic rights in the U.S.? Why are blacks outcasts in the so-called 'free world' of savage racial and class oppression? It is because we live under a democracy for the rich; and the Civil War of 1861-1865 was never finished.... It will take a third American revolution—a workers revolution—to finish the Civil War by smashing capitalist rule and building a revolutionary workers state that will destroy racism and class exploitation root and branch."

A demonstration organizer noted, "Today's protests are a small example of how real gains are won in this racist society: through militant struggle, not backroom deals with corporation lawyers." In the Bay Area, by the end of the rally four people had joined the Labor Black League for Social Defense.

—Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 580, 16 July



### Prometheus Research Library Book

## James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928

624 pages, Smyth-sewn binding in paper,  
the book includes:

- Extensively documented introduction
- Explanatory footnotes for Cannon's text
- 16 pages of rare historical photographs
- Glossary of names and terms with over 200 entries
- Bibliography of Cannon's works, 1912-1928
- Index

Order directly from:  
Spartacist Canada Publishing Association,  
Box 6867, Station A,  
Toronto, ON, M5W 1X6.

Paperback: \$18.50

Mail orders please add \$4.00 shipping and handling.

Paper: ISBN 0-9633828-1-0

# China...

(continued from page 1)

Strict Speed Limits." And the mouthpiece of the Swiss bankers, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (23 March) asked, "China's Economy as a Model of Reform?"

By dismantling central economic planning, loosening monetary controls and opening huge swaths of coastal China for foreign exploitation over the past 14 years, Deng Xiaoping's "socialism with Chinese characteristics" had seemingly created a fifth "Asian tiger," potentially dwarfing Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines. To keep population growth down, the bureaucracy imposed mandatory birth control and sterilization policies, restricting families to one child each. The International Monetary Fund and the CIA now rank Deng's China as the world's third largest economy, trailing only the U.S. and Japan. Disgruntled ex-bureaucrats in the former Soviet Union and imperialist spokesmen alike see in the "Chinese road" of creeping capitalist restoration tightly controlled by the ruling Communist Party apparatus a positive model in contrast to the chaos of Yeltsin's Russia.

The London *Independent* (30 November 1992) remarked last year: "As Russia's economy sinks deeper into crisis, many are now looking with envy at Peking's successful reforms." But eight months later, the same paper wrote, "As Russia stumbles to its feet, the 'Chinese model' is collapsing" (*Independent*, 22 July). What is behind this shift?

The steady accumulation of enormous contradictions in China's economy and society has turned the country into a pressure cooker waiting to explode. Deng's injunction that "to get rich is glorious" has fueled the rise of a layer of greedy speculators and entrepreneurs, most of them drawn from the *taizidang*—the "prince's party" of privileged offspring of top bureaucrats who are well-situated to rake in payoffs for their

*guanxi* (connections) in the apparatus. Deng's "open door" policy, grotesquely recalling the imperialist encroachment at the turn of the century, has turned much of the coastal region into "special economic zones" rife with corruption and exploitation. This in turn has exacerbated skyrocketing disparities between town and country and from area to area, leading to the growth of regional "warlordism."

Seething unrest among the peasantry has erupted in more than 200 disturbances in the past year alone, including a virtual revolt by 10,000 farmers in Renshou county last June. Laid-off workers have taken to attacking and even killing their factory directors. At the same time, frustration is growing among small-time speculators scrambling to get on the gravy train. In one incident last August, 50,000 would-be investors rampaged through the southern city of Shenzhen near Hong Kong when they were cut out of an advertised release of new stocks. Capital flight surpassed \$30 billion last year, up two-thirds from the year before, while the trade deficit doubled over two months this spring. Inflation is running at 21 percent in the cities, and a cash shortage in the countryside means that workers' remittances to their hard-pressed peasant families are being "paid" with worthless chits.

Worried bureaucrats in Beijing are now scrambling to halt the *guo ri* (overheating) of the economy which could make the boom go bust in short order. At the beginning of July, Communist Party head Jiang Zemin announced a new effort to slow down the runaway economy and fight corruption among state officials. Liberal deputy prime minister Zhu Rongji, who some call "China's Gorbachev," took over direct control of the People's Bank. Zhu threatened to "cut off the heads" of bureaucrats who withheld cash from the peasants, and dispatched "investigation teams" throughout the country to whip local bureaucrats into line. But the party's authority, almost nil

(continued on page 16)

## Spartacist Canada/Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

For Labor/Minority Mobilization  
to Stop Racist Terror!

Trotskyist League of Canada



SC photo

### Special!

A free literature packet or pamphlet with full subscriptions to both *Spartacist Canada* and *Workers Vanguard*.

### 2 September - 6 October Quotas (in points)

Toronto	400
Vancouver	200
National Total	600

- \$3/6 issues of *Spartacist Canada* (overseas airmail \$8)
- \$10/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard*, biweekly newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.
- \$12/10 issues of *Le Bolchévik* (surface \$8)
- \$4/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- \$3/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español)

SC and WV subscriptions include English-language *Spartacist*  
*Le Bolchévik* subscriptions include French-language *Spartacist*  
*Espartaco* subscriptions include Spanish-language *Spartacist*

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Province \_\_\_\_\_

Postal Code \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Order from/pay to: SCPA, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 1X6

## China...

(continued from page 15)

among the working people after the 1989 crackdown, is rapidly diminishing among regional officials, who chafe at new restrictions on spending and investment while attempting to lure foreign capital into joint ventures. As a London *Independent* (2 July) columnist noted:

"Fear of widespread social unrest may be growing in the corridors of power. The 1989 democracy movement won support from people furious with inflation and corruption. This time both problems are accompanied by far bigger regional disparities in wealth and much broader dissatisfaction among the peasants. Added to that, poorly paid state industry workers are losing the old life-long benefits of the 'iron rice bowl' system and becoming more strident."

The fate of the Chinese Revolution hangs in the balance, and the situation is moving very quickly. Since a burgeoning workers revolt was headed off by bloody repression in June 1989, the situation in China has only worsened. Today more than ever, only the overthrow of the sellout nationalist bureaucracy through political revolution by China's powerful proletariat—uniting behind it the hundreds of millions of poor and displaced peasants and linking up with proletarian struggle in Korea and Japan—can halt the march toward capitalist restoration and anarchy. The task for revolutionary intellectuals and militant workers who want to fight for a socialist future in China is the building of an authentically Leninist vanguard party, part of a reborn Trotskyist Fourth International.

### Chinese Stalinism at a Dead End

The looming crisis in China is the direct result of more than a decade of "market socialist" reforms. Following the anarchy of Mao Tse-tung's "Cultural Revolution" and the subsequent purge of the "Gang of Four," the Deng Xiaoping regime sought to achieve the "Four Modernizations" (in agriculture, industry, technology and the military) by discarding central economic planning for a hybrid mix of state industries and privately owned plants dominated by foreign capital. State industries

were subjected to "profit" accountability with the aim of increasing efficiency. Agricultural communes were liquidated and private commerce encouraged in the countryside. Millions of dislocated peasants flocked to the new "special economic zones" (SEZ), reminiscent of the foreign concessions held by colonial powers in prerevolutionary China, to slave up to 16 hours a day with no union protection and at wages well below those in Hong Kong and Taiwan. In a highly publicized January 1992 tour of the booming SEZs of Guangdong province, Deng voiced his approval by calling on "reformers" to "do it faster."

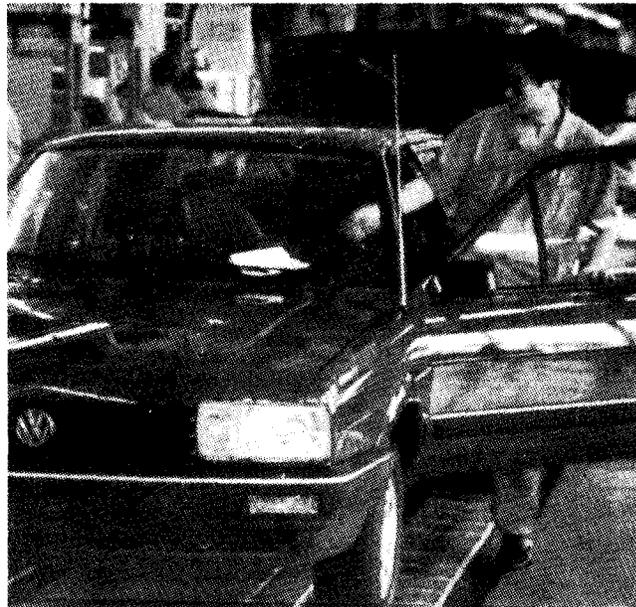
As China's economy continues to expand by more than 10 percent annually, the Stalinists in their Zhongnanhai compound have become the envy of former Soviet bureaucrats (and are seen as a model by the beleaguered Stalinist regimes in Hanoi and Havana). Unlike Yeltsin's Russia, Deng's China is attractive to investors, especially Chinese capital in Hong Kong and Taiwan, who seized on the country's literate but low-paid workforce to turn coastal China into a "production platform" for the "little tigers" of Southeast Asia. To the Chinese Stalinists, a steadily booming economy meant they could buy off the population with rising incomes, hoping to avoid the fate of their Soviet counterparts. Right-wing American journalist Robert Novak enthuses about the "new China": "Somber old Shanghai is returning to its prewar splendor as the Paris of the Orient. The people, dressed in a riot of color, endlessly pursue the profit motive" (*Washington Post*, 19 July).

But the "miracle" of Deng's "socialist market economy" is an illusion waiting to be shattered. The outdated physical plant and machinery of China's state industries simply cannot compete head to head with new plants built by Taiwanese or Japanese capital, which moreover don't have to pay the same social overhead expenses like pensions and schools for workers' children. The result is that state industries are faced with massive "restructuring"—i.e., layoffs and cutbacks in social programs—while foreign investment is skyrocketing. Japanese investment grew by 250 percent in 1992 alone, and American firms from the Big Three automakers to AT&T have been piling into the Chinese market.

Today, centrally controlled state-run industries account for



Der Spiegel



Gerhard Joren

Antiquated state-owned industry, such as steel mill (left), starved of investment, as bureaucracy turns to capitalist "joint ventures" such as VW plant (right).



DeMaria/NY Times

**Desperate Chinese immigrants, whose ship ran aground off New York, arrested by Immigration and Naturalization Service. Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee protested at federal building in Manhattan, June 8.**



Workers Vanguard

no more than 50 percent of all economic activity, and their share is shrinking fast. Regionally and locally run enterprises make up one-third of output; the rest comes from privately held capitalist concerns. The "socialist market economy" has been enshrined in the constitution, and government spokesmen now talk of moving to a full-fledged market economy by the year 2000 (when Beijing hopes to host the Olympic Games). The old Chinese bourgeoisie, their mainland holdings expropriated in the wake of the 1949 Revolution but allowed to move operations to Taiwan and elsewhere, is returning with a vengeance. This year, Beijing held its first official talks with representatives of the offshore Nationalist regime. Symbolizing the new rapprochement, the general who commanded Chiang Kai-shek's last stand in Shanghai in 1949 was recently welcomed back to oversee a Taiwanese investment project.

Despite the fact that its rate of privatization of industry is far higher than that of Russia, China remains a deformed workers state. The Stalinist bureaucracy and the Communist Party remain firmly entrenched in power, while the People's Liberation Army remains intact and has embarked on a modernization drive centered on massive arms purchases of sophisticated weaponry from Russia. However, it is clear that the abandonment of central economic planning, the selling of large chunks of coastal China to the imperialists, and other market measures generating vast disparities in wealth have enormously strengthened the forces for capitalist counterrevolution. The contradictions of the "socialist market economy" will be resolved either by the intervention of the working class to stop capitalist restoration and extend socialist revolution to the rest of Asia, or by the destruction of the workers state and the transformation of China into a superexploited neocolony completely subordinated to world imperialism.

### The Masses Raise Their Heads

Following Deng's 1992 Guangdong tour, authorities called on state factories to "crack the three irons"—inflexible wages, permanent jobs for officials and lifetime jobs for ordinary laborers. A leading official in the Labor Ministry recently called for dismantling the "traditional labor employment system" in

favor of "market-oriented employment mechanisms." The National Coal Corporation has already laid off 100,000 workers and plans to get rid of another 300,000 in the next two years. The giant Wuhan Iron and Steel works has announced plans to lay off two-thirds of its 120,000 employees.

Adding insult to injury, millions of workers recently had up to a month's wages docked to "buy" government bonds whose interest rate was too low to attract investors. A new burden on the working class is the destruction of the *dang wei* (work units) in the factories, schools and countryside. A worker who is laid off now loses not only his job but the health care, housing and other social benefits that came with it. Women workers, who have made tremendous gains since 1949, are being especially targeted for dismissal by managers who don't want to pay for maternity leave.

Politically atomized, the working class is lashing back in any way it can. In late March, 300 workers at the Canon copier plant in the Zhuhai SEZ in Guangdong struck for three days to win pay increases, though the company finally granted a raise far below the inflation rate. When a state ball-bearing plant in Harbin was turned into a joint venture with a Hong Kong firm, workers demanded early retirement by getting certificates of mental illness! Since the State Council authorized state enterprises to decide their own wages and work rules last July, there has been a steady stream of strikes, sit-ins, protests, disruptions of production, and attacks by dismissed workers against managers and equipment. One Wuhan factory manager was killed by laid-off employees, another at a Liaoning province oil refinery was stabbed by a worker, the head of a Shanxi province factory was shot, etc.

The workers' outrage has reportedly led the authorities to stop promoting the slogan of "cracking the three irons." Cities like Shanghai are now implementing special funds to help offset inflation, and a new regulation orders state factories to place laid-off workers in new jobs. As the deputy secretary general of the Wuhan municipal government remarked, "We can't just throw people into the streets.... If they can't move from one iron rice bowl to another, we have to at least give them a rice bowl

(continued on page 18)

## China...

(continued from page 17)

made of mud" (*New York Times*, 11 May). At the same time, the bureaucracy has reportedly made "secret plans to quell worker unrest," issuing a directive that "security work should be strengthened at factories, oilfields, mines and other key state projects to prevent people with ulterior motives from stirring up workers to riot" (*Chicago Tribune*, 15 October 1992).

Reported widespread peasant unrest adds a powerful mix to the seething anger in the working class. Even Deng has warned that the peasants' "burden has already surpassed the limits of their endurance." Due to government investment policy, which since the mid-1980s has been directed away from rural areas and toward the cities to develop industries attractive to foreign capital, as many as 80 million peasants have flooded into the cities to get jobs as low-paid day laborers.

Peasant incomes average half of urban incomes and continue to drop. While most city residents pay no taxes, peasants are subject to arbitrary levies by local officials to finance pet projects or simply to add to their personal wealth. So now tax collectors are being attacked throughout the country. The Renshou county riots erupted after the local government tried to collect taxes to finance a road construction project. Peasants in central Henan disrupted traffic on a new rail line to protest building costs, while in Guangdong several thousand peasants blocked a highway with their trucks in June to demand more compensation for land taken from them along the road.

Along with unemployment and a growing gap between haves and have-nots, "market reforms" have brought a whole range of social scourges which had been wiped out after the 1949 Revolution. Corruption has become a way of life particularly among the despised *taizidang* children of the bureaucracy. Crime is booming in coastal areas, where police get their take from smuggling consumer items. The suicide rate is on the rise, while the number of mental patients has doubled in the last decade. The slave trade in women has been revived, as 19,000 young women were reportedly kidnapped last year and sold to peasants as "wives." A *Boston Globe* (16 May) article on "The

Great Boom of China" noted:

"Corruption is at levels inconceivable in the days when true believers in communism and socialism dominated the country, and it is spreading wildly. So are financial and real estate speculation, prostitution and begging in the streets."

Also tearing at the fabric of the Chinese deformed workers state is the regionalism spawned by a decentralized economy. It was the "market socialism" introduced by Tito in multinational Yugoslavia that spurred secessionist appetites in the economically more advanced regions of Slovenia and Croatia, touching off the nationalist bloodletting which destroyed the deformed workers state. In China, the main threat may be from regional "economic warlords" who could care less what directives Beijing issues. Local officials take part in joint ventures with foreign capitalists, and some are building up their fiefdoms by selling state property outright. Cantonese-speaking Guangdong, home to 50 percent of foreign capital investment in China, is economically and culturally bound to capitalist Hong Kong. To the north, Fujian province is dominated by Taiwanese capital. At the same time, the old clans have been making a comeback. A political crisis in Beijing could tear these areas away from the center.

The lure of private enterprise has also infected the People's Liberation Army (PLA), which "now amounts to a highly diversified corporate conglomerate with ventures ranging from hotels to motor works to herbal medicines" (*Boston Globe*, 17 May). A recent article in Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post* (7 July) pointed to the growing rift between army commanders busily enriching themselves and demoralized rank-and-file soldiers who are on the outside looking in. On the occasion of the PLA's 66th anniversary in late July, its two top commanders warned in a major article in the *People's Daily* of "a growing tide of corruption, money worshipping and hedonism." While the PLA may be the last centralized component of the Chinese state, its command structure is divided regionally. The headline in the 3 July *Liberation Army Daily*, "Strictly Control the Army," shows Beijing's fear of these centrifugal forces.

There are also genuine national questions among the Mongol, Tibetan, Turkic and other minorities, whose rights to autonomy are acknowledged by the constitution but have never been fully honored. In May, Tibet was wracked by protests against inflation that quickly took on political demands against the central government, as 4,000 Tibetans attacked police and Han Chinese businessmen who have flocked to this remote mountain area in search of quick riches. North of Tibet, the Muslim Uighurs of Xinkiang are closely related to the peoples of the former Soviet Central Asian republics, now facing rising Islamic fundamentalist forces.

There is yet time for an aroused proletariat to enter the political field and pose a socialist alternative to the chaos that lies ahead. A revolutionary workers and peasants government would expropriate foreign capital and reverse the disintegrating effects of the decentralized economy by establishing genuine workers democracy as the basis for reviving the planned economy. It would grant full rights of self-determination to the country's national minorities and would come to the aid of beleaguered Vietnam, making amends for the criminal invasion launched by China in 1979 as a cat's paw for U.S. imperialism.

Most importantly, it would promote the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the region, from the capitalist statelets of Hong Kong and Taiwan to Russia, South Korea and the imperialist industrial powerhouse of Japan. Only through



Slave market in Zhejiang province: women wearing price tags are offered for sale.

integration into a socialist Asia can real modernization for both the cities and the countryside be achieved, and living standards raised to the highest level.

### Lessons of the Tiananmen Upeaval

China's working class showed its capacity for militant struggle during the 1989 Tiananmen events. As we noted at the time, it was the entry of the workers into the student democracy protests that threw the Stalinist regime into crisis, opening up the possibility of proletarian political revolution. This was despite the hostility of student leaders who sought to bar workers' delegations from the main protest area in Tiananmen Square. We noted that the repression following the suppression of the protests, including the meting out of dozens of death sentences, was aimed particularly at worker militants:

"The Western media usually describes the oppositional forces in China as 'the student movement for democracy.' But it was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature. Organized workers' contingents started to participate in the marches, and it was the threat of a general strike which led Li Peng to order martial law in mid-May."

—"Defend Chinese Workers!," *Workers Vanguard*  
No. 480, 23 June 1989

Now a new book confirms that it was the mobilization of the proletariat which drove the regime into a frenzy and led to the crackdown:

"There was no massacre in Tiananmen Square on the night of June 3. But on the western approach roads...there was a bloodbath that claimed hundreds of lives when the People's Liberation Army found its path blocked by a popular uprising that was being fueled by despair and rage.... What took place was the slaughter not of students but of ordinary workers and residents—precisely the target that the Chinese government had intended."

—George Black and Robin Munro, *Black Hands of Beijing* (John Wiley & Sons, 1993)

Pro-socialist workers often carried placards with portraits of Mao Tse-tung. The meaning was clear: while things got pretty crazy in Mao's time, at least they had jobs, rice and housing, and everybody wasn't out to get rich by screwing the next guy. Even today, a Beijing resident viewing an exhibit honoring the 100th anniversary of Mao's birth commented: "Mao is still revered by the ordinary people. But most of his ideas have been abandoned—class struggle, egalitarianism and a collective life and economic and diplomatic self-reliance."

Actually, Mao's policy was always based on class collaboration and nationalist autarky. But just as the Russian yuppies who flocked to Yeltsin's counterrevolution were the heirs to Brezhnev, so too Mao's China led to Deng's "open door" to imperialism, spawning the *taizidang* would-be exploiters of the Chinese masses. Despite the enormous gains of the 1949 Revolution, the Chinese workers state was deformed from its inception, ruled by a nationalist bureaucracy that prevented the worker and peasant masses from exercising political power. After it took power, the CCP initially banned strikes and for several years maintained a "coalition government of four classes" including representatives of the bourgeoisie.

For many years, "Communist China" was the *bête noir* of American imperialism. Pentagon hardliners urged nuking the "Chicom" during the Korean War. During the 1960s, as nationalist antagonisms between the Stalinist regimes in Moscow and Beijing grew, Khrushchev's Kremlin sought to ingratiate



Reuters

**Beijing, May 1989: Chinese workers defended student protesters and opposed Deng's pro-capitalist "reforms."**

itself with Washington in the name of "peaceful coexistence," while Mao struck a more militant posture. But as we noted then, Maoism was "Khrushchevism under the gun," and in the historic long run, the Soviet Union was the fundamental obstacle to imperialist designs to reconquer all the deformed workers states.

Based on the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," Mao's rule blocked the socialist development of China by aligning with so-called "progressive" capitalist regimes, ultimately embracing an alliance with U.S. imperialism. Even as American B-52s rained death on the Vietnamese people, Mao toasted war criminal Nixon in the Great Hall of the People. In this criminal alliance with the U.S., Mao allowed the CIA to establish "listening posts" along the Soviet border. Deng was simply following in Mao's footsteps when China invaded Vietnam in 1979, only to be ignominiously defeated. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Beijing played a key supporting role in the biggest CIA operation in history, supporting the reactionary *mujahedin* cutthroats against the Soviet-backed Kabul government.

On the economic front, Mao's attempt to achieve rapid industrialization of this backward peasant country on its own through the "Great Leap Forward" led directly to economic collapse and the starvation of millions of peasants in the early 1960s. The misnamed "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—in reality a faction fight by Mao and the PLA leadership under Lin Biao to regain supremacy in the party—wreaked havoc from 1966 to 1976, shutting down high schools and universities and greatly depoliticizing the population. Today foreign corporations are setting up special programs to train technicians and managers among the "lost generation" of

(continued on page 20)

## China...

(continued from page 19)

barely educated people in their mid-30s to mid-40s.

A truly revolutionary communist party will look nothing like Mao's party. Socialist militants can look instead to the early years of the Chinese CP, founded in 1921 by revolutionary intellectuals and workers inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. From a handful of militants, the party grew by tens of thousands as class struggle broke out, for example the 1922 Hong Kong seamen's strike and general strike, the first labor strikes against imperialist exploitation in China. In 1925, a strike against the foreign concessions in Canton immediately spread to Hong Kong, shutting down the finance center and signaling the beginning of the Second Chinese Revolution. In contrast, today the CCP acts as compradors for British, U.S. and Japanese capital, promising to maintain capitalism after Britain's lease on the Hong Kong colony runs out in 1997.

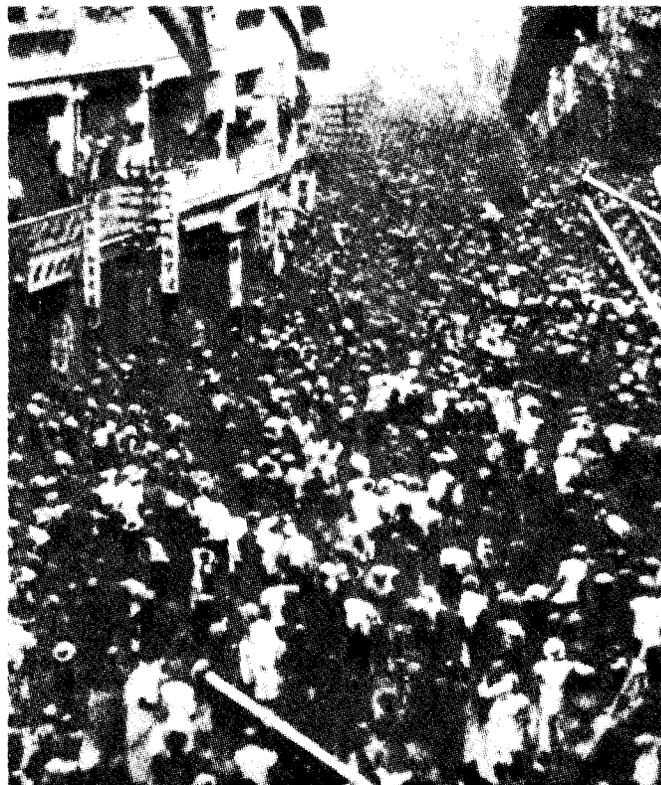
Mao's party was the product of the defeat of the Chinese proletariat in 1927, prepared by Stalin's policy of subordinating the CCP to the bourgeois Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek, who turned on the Communist workers and butchered tens of thousands in Shanghai. Its proletarian base shattered, the CCP under Mao was rebuilt in the countryside as a peasant-nationalist party and guerrilla army. But some dozens of party cadres, including former CCP general secretary Chen Tu-hsiu, were won to the Left Opposition of Leon Trotsky, which alone fought Stalin's disastrous policies. In 1952, the Mao regime rounded up the Chinese Trotskyists, many of whom had led strikes against capitalist employers in defiance of the Stalinists' policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie (see Wang Fan-hsi, *Chinese Revolutionary* [1957]).

### For an Internationalist Communist Vanguard!

During the Tiananmen events, student protesters erected a "goddess of democracy" and showed evidence of considerable illusions in the West. Today many of these privileged student veterans of Tiananmen have made their peace with the Deng regime. As one told the *Washington Post* (23 June): "My friends and I don't even talk about politics anymore. There's no use. Money, that's what we want." Like their earlier Russian counterparts, these would-be yuppie ex-"dissidents" entertain illusions that full integration into the imperialist world market will provide them a life of luxury and turn their country into an advanced economic power. But as the fate of the ex-USSR demonstrates, what the imperialists have in mind in fomenting counterrevolution is not the development of new capitalist competitors but the creation of low-wage neocolonies to expand their own arenas for exploitation.

Now that the former Soviet Union has been destroyed, the imperialists have begun shifting away from their earlier benign and supportive attitude to China's regional "great power" ambitions. At the height of Mao and Deng's despicable anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism, we warned that Washington would quickly go after the far weaker Chinese deformed workers state if the Soviet Union was defeated. That is now happening. The ASEAN countries, Southeast Asia's analogue to NATO's European Community, have been clamoring about an increased military threat posed by China. Japan's foreign minister recently mooted the possibility of developing a nuclear arsenal.

Now sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie, like the *New York Times*, scream for punitive measures against China, putatively



Joint Publishing Co.

**In 1922 Communists launched seamen's strike against British colonial rulers of Hong Kong. In contrast, after taking power in 1949, Mao-Stalinist regime maintained Hong Kong as capitalist enclave.**

in the guise of "humanitarian" concern over its use of prison labor for producing exports. The provocative sale of advanced F-16 fighter jets to Taiwan last year "reflected the Pentagon's belief that the United States needs to do something to confront and rein in China's growing military power. U.S. defense sources say that over the past two years, since the breakup of the Soviet Union, there has been a growing tendency among some Pentagon officials to treat China as a potential enemy" (*Los Angeles Times*, 15 June).

The only road forward for China lies in internationalist revolutionary struggle. A workers political revolution really would send peals of thunder out of China. It would electrify the massive Japanese working class, which for the first time in postwar history is confronted with the threat of serious unemployment, and provide a beacon to the proletarian masses throughout capitalist Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim, who chafe under the stranglehold of robber-baron police-state regimes. For years, the Stalinist regime tolerated Hong Kong—which controls 60 percent of China's foreign trade—as a capitalist enclave on its periphery, a staging ground for the revanchist ambitions of the Chinese bourgeoisie. But this gateway for imperialist expansion into China can also be an avenue for bringing revolutionary propaganda to the Chinese working class.

While the Chinese proletariat suffered a defeat at Tiananmen, it was not crushed. What the International Communist League said in June 1989 holds every bit as true today: "*The central lesson of the Beijing spring and the urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard.*"

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 582, 13 August

# From the Snake Pit of Anti-Spartacism

This summer we have produced a new issue of our *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* series. The subject matter is a bulletin titled "Bureaucratic Centralism in the IBT," the product of a recent split in the "International Bolshevik Tendency" between its two main North American centers (Toronto and the San Francisco Bay Area). Published by the Bay Area ex-BTers, the 130-page

## Split in the BT



Fox Photos Ltd.

bulletin is esoteric, apolitical, personalist and grotesque. Yet it has been the source of some real reading pleasure at least for members of our organization, who have relished its recasting of *Darkness at Noon*-vintage anti-communism as a *Peyton Place* soap opera. This collection of documents and other communiqués from inside the BT demonstrates, and in their own only too colorful words, that everything we have ever said about them is more than true.

Regular readers of *Spartacist Canada* and *Workers Vanguard* will be familiar with the BT. A small collection of embittered ex-members who left our organization coincident with the opening of imperialism's "Cold War II" against the USSR, for the past ten years the BT has been animated by a fanatical hatred of, and pathological obsession with, the Spartacist League/U.S. and other sections of the International Communist League. To cover for their own cowardly departure from our organization, the BTers came together (in some cases after having voted for each other's expulsions) to retail lurid tales of Spartacist "degeneracy and bureaucratism." But if ever there was a degeneration product of the ICL, the BT is it.

The reflection of every flinch and deformation produced by the pressures of the racist and anti-Soviet ruling class, they attracted to their ranks some of the worst elements who ever spent any time in our organization. It is not an easy thing to get expelled from the Spartacist League, but the BT managed to collect a high proportion of those who were. We urge the curious among our readers to order the new bulletin and see for themselves that the BT and their erstwhile comrades of the ex-BT ("Communist Workers Group") are, as we have always said, a collection of petty bureaucrats, thieves, liars, brutes and sociopaths.

While shot through with references to the Spartacists as the ultimate "bureaucratic" evil, the reader will find in the bulletin a squalid tale of a real bureaucratic snake pit. There are no financial guidelines, no organizational rules, no codified rights for sections or locals much less the (minuscule) membership. They can't even decide if they have one or two "sections" in North America! The "International Secretariat" simply makes up the rules as it goes along to feed their egos and/or serve perceived factional advantage.

### A Falling Out Among Thieves

The opposition in the Bay Area BT was headed by Gerald Smith and Fred Riker. They went into revolt over the production of their own local journal, *1917 West*. Met with resistance by the BT's "International Secretariat," they simply took the

money and ran to the printers. This was hardly a novel course of action for these two birds. Both of them were expelled (separately) from the Spartacist League on charges of financial chiseling and malfeasance, following a history of generally behaving as abusive bullying pigs. The BT, claiming our charges against these "victims" were inventions of the SL's "bureaucratic regime," demonstrated their regard for Riker by making him the Bay Area treasurer (meanwhile Gerald was made a full member of their "International Executive Committee").

Now here's how Fred responds to charges of "misappropriating" funds for the *1917 West* affair: "Fred said that he would 'deck' any comrade who used the word 'misappropriate'.... Fred's parting words to Boyd were to the effect: 'If you use that word I'll blow your head off.'" Later, Fred resigns, cutting off the Bay Area BT's computer linkup and holding the phone and bank account (both in his name) hostage. Then there's Gerald. He abstains on a motion that he refrain from calling a woman comrade "a bitch." Later he gets into a fistfight at 14th and Franklin Streets in downtown Oakland with the local BT organizer.

Despite the BT/ex-BT fascination with things financial, the documents presented in the new bulletin don't mention an earlier split among their German comrades, which similarly took place over money. To summarize this tale, the Germans (who are scarcely mentioned in the bulletin in any context) rushed to "regroup" with a couple of swindlers who had stolen a car and a bank account of our German section. Our comrades had alerted the public in an article, "They Stole the Wrong Car." But this only egged on the BT, which published a lengthy joint document with these elements. Less than a month later, the Germans had put out a new edition of this document with a postscript explaining that "alien elements, careerists" whose "only tie to Trotskyism" was their "justified later stand against the slanders of the ICL" (i.e., our public exposure of their theft), had just departed after swiping "sizeable sums of party money"!

Representing the BT's "International Secretariat" in the light against the Bay Area is Tom Riley, who has long claimed

(continued on page 22)

## Snake Pit...

(continued from page 21)

he was the victim of a major "purge" in the Trotskyist League of Canada in the early 1980s (in fact, he quit). The new bulletin shows Riley to be a preening, strutting martinet who makes up the "rules" as he goes along. Thus, in his pronouncement on the fistfight between Smith and the Bay Area organizer, he devises guidelines for when it is justified for one member to slug another first! This was certainly convenient given that the leadership-loyal local organizer threw the first punch—he was "criticized" while Gerald was suspended from membership.

In the documents, Riley complains of Gerald's "verbal abuse, unruliness, rudeness and other forms of non-socialist behavior which have moreover sometimes been accompanied by expressions of social backwardness on the gay question and particularly the woman question." But everyone recognized that Gerald and Fred were pigs; indeed Riker wore it as a badge of honor, belching out that he and Smith "are what passes for here as worker intellectuals." But none of it ever bothered the priggish Riley until Riker and Smith got in *his* way.

### The "Politics" of Ego and Opportunism

Riley is the strutting editor *máximo* of the BT, who evidently demands that any and every piece of copy produced by every BTer anywhere pass through his computer for editing before publication. He can't understand why Smith and Riker got so uppity over this, particularly given his close collaboration in the production of Riker's *Militant Printer*. Riley fondly remembers "the considerations and suggestions that I made regarding the tricky tactical questions which arose last year in connection with the pensioners and the health care plan." The result was an article proposing to ax the retirees from the union's medical plan (see "BT Sleazeball Says: Ax the Pensioners," *Workers Vanguard* No. 550, 1 May 1992).

In fact all sides agree that, with the exception of one article, every piece in *1917 West* was thoroughly edited by Riley. This was purely a manifestation of bureaucratic egotism, for the BT's political line, such as it is, is determined by unrestrained local opportunism. So when Gerald wanted to make time with the

anarcho-liberals of "Copwatch"—a "police reform" group in Berkeley—*1917 West* (October 1992) was devoted to an article which, pandering to California yuppie fear and loathing of the black and Hispanic masses following the 1992 L.A. upheaval, obscenely offered "socialism" as the answer to "fighting crime" (see "Cops, Crime and the BT," *Workers Vanguard* No. 569, 12 February). Similarly during the Persian Gulf War, the Bay Area BT repeatedly revised a leaflet to ditch whatever parts (e.g., the demand to "break the blockade of Iraq") might offend the "yellow ribbon" popular front.

Such political matters did not impinge on the BT split according to the documents. What gored Riley's ox about *1917 West* was that he saw it as competition with *his* journal, *1917*. In revenge, Riley demanded the Bay Area local foot the bill for *1917*, modestly writing that "A local that thought it had enough money to do a flashy printing job on a local paper with a circulation of 300 or so, could and should be tapped for money for the publication of the world's best Trotskyist journal."

### Welcome to "Billstown"?

Running through the melodrama of the Bay Area "worker intellectuals" vs. His Editorship in Toronto is another element: the ascendancy of one Bill Logan. Logan was expelled from our organization by the delegates to our international conference in 1979, on charges of being "a proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions." An extensive investigation culminated in a trial by an International Control Commission which heard hours of painful testimony, in particular from our Australian section where Logan had served as the national chairman. Recognizing that this man was unfit for membership in any working-class organization, we took the unusual step of making the internal bulletins documenting the evidence against him available to the public in Australia and New Zealand.

Within the past few years, Logan moved in on the BT, which happily embraced him as the ultimate "victim" of the Spartacist "regime." But the new bulletin shows him practicing his old tricks, with the members of his "Permanent Revolution Group" in New Zealand as his guinea pigs. A report by the PRG organizer says: "Bill came up with the idea of a one-off session, which we have called 'Communist Criticism', where all comrades were expected to comment openly and frankly on the good and bad characteristics of other comrades.... The criticism session was held on a whole Sunday and then over two normal meeting nights." This new "idea" for intimidating, humiliating and manipulating the membership is nothing but the old "criticism/self-criticism sessions" given currency among New Leftists during the Maoist "Cultural Revolution." Now the BT internationally is invited to admire Logan's creative views of the organizational question as he subjects his New Zealand followers to *three days* of this torment.

What next for this unsavory outfit? In the short run, nothing much has changed, as—despite a vicious split where both sides have nailed their antagonists as liars and thieves, bureaucrats and bullies—*both* groups come out to our public meetings and denounce us as a "bureaucratic cult"! But new conflicts of ego and appetite are surely in store for this small snake pit of self-inflated "leaders" of the "International BT." We invite you to obtain our new issue of *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* as we all await the next installment in the sordid BT saga.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 582, 13 August

### The International Communist League Makes Available the Polemics of Its Opponents on the Left

#### Just Out!

#### Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League No. 8

\$7.50  
(includes postage)  
137 pages

Order from/pay to:  
Spartacist Canada  
Publishing Association  
Box 6867, Station A  
Toronto, ON M5W 1X6

#### Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League

— a bulletin series of opponent material

NUMBER 8

The Bolshevik Tendency:  
From the Snake Pit of Anti-Spartacism

Introduction

The Communist Workers Group:  
"Bureaucratic Centralism in the IBT and the  
Intervention of the Working Committee"

(continued; published in May 1993)

Spartacist Publishing Company  
Box 1212 970  
New York, New York 10116

July 1993  
\$7.50  
137 pages

## Revolutionary Party...

(continued from page 24)

their "opposition" is exemplified by the "action" taken by the national leadership of the Canadian Auto Workers. These long-time pillars of social democracy rebuked the Ontario NDP by cutting their financial support to a bare minimum and sending the rest to...the federal NDP!

The shopworn cry of the union hacks to "Vote NDP" (echoed by sham-leftists like the International Socialists and Socialist Challenge) rings hollower with each episode of New Democratic viciousness. Most recently, the B.C. NDP brought down a strikebreaking order against rail workers, and announced that medical procedures they deem "clinically unnecessary" will no longer be covered by medicare.

Two years ago, during the federal public-sector strike wave of fall 1991, some hard class struggle could have brought the Tory government to its knees. Instead, the union misleaders saved Brian Mulroney by isolating the simultaneous government worker, postal and Toronto transit strikes from one another, bowing to court orders and diverting the anger of the membership toward the polling booths for the New Democrats. The results are all too clear.

In the first half of 1993, almost two-thirds of all unionized workers who signed contracts had their wages frozen or rolled back. And that's *before* Rae's "social contract"! In Ontario, public-sector union leaders howled at Bob Rae's perfidy... then rolled over with hardly a whimper. Paul Macdonnell, secretary of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 279 in Oshawa denounced the very idea of a province-wide transport strike against the "social contract": "We have a legal, binding contract and we expect to honor it" (*Toronto Star*, 20 July). This, even as the NDP was suspending *all* public-sector collective agreements and ramming a 4.4 percent wage cut down the throats of ATU transit workers in Toronto!

### For Class Struggle Against Tory/NDP Attacks!

The labor movement can and must fight back. But to be effective, workers' struggles must forge a new leadership committed to using all the weapons of class struggle. What the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote of the unions in 1940 remains true today: "The trade unions of our time can serve either as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing revolution, or, on the contrary, can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay").

No decisive gain of the working people was ever won through an act of parliament, or in a bourgeois court of law. The question is power, and there are only two forces in this society that count in fundamental struggles: capital and labor. The capitalists have their ownership of the wealth and their state with a monopoly of repressive violence—their cops, who smash picket lines and brutalize black youth, Native people and gays; their courts, bringing down the strikebreaking injunctions, jailing workers when they resist; their army that moves from occupying Quebec in 1970 to suppressing the just struggles of the Oka



SC photo

July 11: Ontario workers march against Bob Rae's "social contract." Sellout NDP rules for Bay Street!

Mohawks to murdering black Somali civilians.

Working-class power is based on the simple fact that we produce all the wealth of this and every other country. We need a party that is ready and determined to *use* that power: a genuine workers party dedicated to the overthrow of bankrupt capitalism. Such a party will take up the cause of all oppressed—immigrants, women, gays, Native people. It will reject the labor bureaucrats' flag-waving protectionism, fighting instead for internationalist class struggle against the common capitalist enemy of the world's workers. It will unflinchingly oppose English Canadian chauvinism and defend Quebec's right to self-determination, while simultaneously combating the hold of bourgeois nationalism on the Québécois working class. Forging workers' unity across national barriers, it will lead the fight for socialist revolution throughout North America and beyond.

For millions of us and others around the world, it's fight or starve. The Bay Street fatcats and their political frontmen in Ottawa and the provinces (the NDP very much included) offer only more misery. Now is the time for militant workers and their allies to begin the task of building a revolutionary workers party to lead the fight for workers rule. ■

### Contact the Trotskyist League/ Ligue trotskyste

**Montréal:** ..... 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

## “Pick Your Poison” Elections

# For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Unelected Conservative prime minister Kim Campbell is “going to the people” in a fall federal election. But whether the Tories, Liberals or (fat chance) the NDP win, working people and the oppressed can only lose. Just look at the “choices” we’re given.

Campbell is trying to distance herself from the despised Brian Mulroney, pretending she’s an outsider to the “old boys” pork-barrel patronage network. What a farce! Campbell served loyally in Mulroney’s cabinet, first as Justice Minister and then as Minister of War, overseeing the murder of Somali civilians by Canadian troops. Liberal leader Jean Chrétien is a holdover from the Trudeau era of country-wide wage controls and martial law, imposed on Quebec under the War Measures Act in 1970. Chrétien is trying to out-Tory the Tories with an economic “plan” to drive working people into a low-wage, non-union ghetto under the rubric of “supporting small business.”

The reality of Canadian capitalism is ugly enough already. Officially, nearly 2 million people are out of work. Two million more struggle to get by on part-time wages. One child in six lives in poverty (despite a Swiftian Tory proposal to make them richer by changing the definition of poor). All the postwar social reforms are on the chopping block: the Tories have already gutted UI, with universal medicare next on the list. Women, minorities and youth are, as always, hit the hardest. Black and Asian immigrants, and especially their children, run a daily gauntlet of racist outrages. Unemployment among women is a staggering 20 percent, a rate comparable to that in Vatican-dominated southern Italy! And youth, most of whom can get McJobs at best, now face university tuition hikes of up to 50 percent.

### Giveback Bureaucrats, NDP: Enemy Agents for the Bourgeoisie

The trade-union bureaucrats of the Canadian Labour Congress have only one answer: Vote NDP. A few years ago



Jim Merrithew/Time

**Federal public-sector workers could have brought down Mulroney/Campbell Tories in 1991. NDP-loyal union bureaucrats sold out PSAC, CUPW, ATU strikes.**

populist revulsion for the Tories and Liberals, the official parties of capitalist greed, translated into electoral success for the New Democrats. Today the NDP—a bourgeois workers party which shackles its trade-union base to ruling class interests through its pro-capitalist program—governs openly on behalf of the Bay Street robber barons in Ontario, B.C. and Saskatchewan.

The imposition of the “social contract” in Bob Rae’s Ontario has shattered the illusions of millions who hoped that by voting NDP they could elect a government dedicated to the interests of working people. Embittered party members and whole union locals are quitting the Ontario NDP in disgusted droves. Audrey McLaughlin’s federal party languishes at a derisory eight percent in the polls, as party strategists scramble to save enough seats to stave off electoral extermination.

Feeling the heat and desperate to save their party from being wiped off the political map, the labor tops have begun to make disapproving noises in the direction of Queen’s Park. But

*(continued on page 23)*