



Would-Be Czar Boris' Bloody Monday

Yeltsin Coup Serves Imperialism



Reuters



AP

Boris Yeltsin, goaded by imperialist rulers, IMF paymasters, ordered October 4 storming of Russian parliament.

As flames leapt from the Russian parliament on Monday, October 4, the capitalist rulers from Washington to Bonn cheered on their man in Moscow, Boris Yeltsin. Hundreds were killed and some 1,600 arrested as a state of siege was imposed on the Russian capital. Ten oppositional newspapers ranging from the so-called left to the nationalist right were banned, and all other media placed under strict censorship. All political organizations involved in demonstrations defending the parliament have been banned. Some Yeltsinite "democrats" are demanding a ban on all communist symbols such as the hammer

and sickle. The smoke-charred "White House" and the blood in its corridors are the face of the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union, the homeland of the October Revolution of 1917.

Just over two years ago, Yeltsin stood outside the same building as he seized power from the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy which for decades ruled the Soviet degenerated workers state. This ushered in a period of counterrevolutionary chaos as the capitalist-restorationist regime, in the absence of

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Outrage Over Cops' Abuse of Jamaican Woman

Racist Strip Search in Toronto

On a hot summer's evening in August Audrey Smith, a 37-year-old Jamaican tourist and mother of five, sat minding her own business on a street-corner bench in Toronto's integrated, working-class Parkdale district. Out of the blue, a police cruiser pulled up. The cops, engaged in their usual racist harassment of black people under cover of a "war on drugs," belligerently accused her of carrying crack cocaine. Before she knew it, Audrey Smith was handcuffed and thrown in the back of the police car. With the cops ignoring her protests of innocence, in desperation she volunteered to be searched. The cops ordered her back outside and up against the wall of a nearby bank where, under a bright security light and in full public view, a policewoman wearing rubber gloves stripped her naked, ordering her to bend over while she looked between her buttocks with a flashlight. "There I was, naked as the day I was born on the street. I have never felt so ashamed and humiliated in my life," said Smith. At the end, she added, the cops walked off with "no apology and no explanation at all."

Atrocities like this are an everyday occurrence in this sick racist society, especially for black youth. But Audrey Smith decided to seek justice, and went public with a bitter protest. After recovering from her shock and humiliation, several days later she returned to the scene of the cop assault and found an independent witness, an ex-policeman from Jamaica named Lycon Nelson. Nelson later told the *Toronto Star* (18 September): "I worked on a radio car in Kingston and I saw some terrible things, but this is the most disgusting thing I have ever seen.... Can you imagine the uproar if Jamaican police stripped a white Canadian woman tourist naked on the streets of Kingston?"

This grotesque racist strip search caused a huge uproar in Jamaica, and received considerable news coverage here at home. So the cops began their cover-up. An "anonymous police source" leaked a story to the *Toronto Sun* claiming that Audrey Smith removed her own clothes and, what's more, that this was "a common practice among Jamaican women rounded up in drug busts, both as a way of showing disrespect to the police, and as an attempt to embarrass or intimidate them." These

outrageous lies backfired, and a wide range of organizations from the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) to the Black Action Defence Committee (BADC) issued public statements in support of Audrey Smith.

The cops then produced a 108-page investigation report, which Smith's lawyer says makes clear that his client was strip searched "in much the same way she describes it." Now there is to be a public inquiry by a three-member board including a police representative. This will be just as much of a whitewash

as all the other "inquests" and "inquiries" like the ones around the police killings of Lester Donaldson and Raymond Lawrence.

Toronto police have gunned down eight black people in the last four years, and for every person they kill there are scores more who are attacked, beaten, kicked unconscious or abused like Audrey Smith. Recently Robert Gentles, a young black inmate of Kingston Penitentiary, died after being physically removed from his cell by guards, sprayed with Mace and dragged into a prison shower. Another inmate told the *Star* (28 October) that



Mahler/Toronto Star

Audrey Smith bravely stood up to racist Toronto cops.

Gentles "was beaten by guards so badly after being dragged out of his cell that he begged them to stop. The inmate says that Gentles was later dropped down a flight of stairs with his wrists and ankles shackled."

On October 3, about 200 protesters, mainly black, gathered at the site of the racist atrocity against Audrey Smith and marched on the downtown police headquarters. BADC leaders, among others, called for sacking top cop McCormack, bringing in the RCMP to investigate and holding a public inquiry. This strategy will not and can not stop cop terror, as the last several years have shown time and again. Worse yet, OFL president Gord Wilson called for a public inquiry in order "to restore the credibility of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force, nationally and internationally" (*Share*, 30 September). The police can't be reformed; their job is to be the armed enforcers of the racist status quo.

Anti-Immigrant Hysteria Against Minorities

In contrast to those who preach illusions in "solutions" that can't solve anything, many of the marchers that day chanted
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Free Arrested Yellowknife Strikers!

In the dead of night on October 16, RCMP officers in Yellowknife arrested Roger Warren, a striking member of the Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW) at the Giant gold mine. The victim of one of the largest manhunts in Canadian history, the 49-year-old Warren, well-liked and widely respected as one of the best drift miners in the Territories, faces nine counts of first-degree murder in connection with the September 1992 underground explosion which killed nine scabs.

The next day police arrested two other CASAW strikers, Tim Bettger and Al Shearing. They face seven charges including break and enter, setting an explosive device, possession of explosives and a prohibited weapon, and "uttering threats to cause death." Warren, Bettger and Shearing join their brothers James Mager and James Fournier in jail for the "crime" of being militant unionists. Drop all the charges! Free these courageous union brothers now!

The charges against these unionists are a dagger aimed at the entire labor movement. They come on top of more than 100 other arrests of CASAW members throughout their bitter 17-month strike against Royal Oak Mines. The bosses have spent more than \$2 million hiring scabs and turning the mine site into an armed camp complete with Pinkerton strikebreakers, attack dogs and night-vision cameras. And striking workers have told SC of the RCMP shotgun volleys and tear gas barrages unleashed against their picket lines.

Ever since last September's explosion made headlines across the country, the capitalist media have whipped up a massive violence-baiting onslaught against CASAW, seeking to hang the union. Frame-up "murder" and "bombing" charges like those leveled against Roger Warren have long been a staple of the bosses' anti-labor crusade in North America. Back in 1886 the Haymarket Martyrs, pioneer fighters for the eight-hour day, were framed on charges of bombing a police contingent at a Chicago labor demonstration. One year later they were executed. In 1911 the McNamara brothers, organizers for the Iron Workers in Los Angeles, were charged with dynamiting the *Los Angeles Times* building. Their case galvanized the labor movement, as demonstrations of 20,000 came out in their support. But when defense lawyer Clarence Darrow induced them to change their plea to "guilty," the tide was turned. The McNamara boys were thrown behind bars, one for life, and the L.A. bosses rode high in an "open shop" town for decades.

Union locals throughout Canada have sent substantial contributions to the CASAW Local 4 strike fund. But solidarity telegrams and a few hundred bucks are not what wins strikes. From day one, what was necessary to win the Royal Oak strike was to *spread* it, through hot cargoing, solidarity strikes and other militant labor action. Instead, the labor misleaders have abandoned the Giant strikers to the bosses. Two other Royal Oak mines in Timmins, Ontario and Hope Brook, Newfoundland are organized by the United Steelworkers of America—yet the USWA tops won't organize strike action there. Together with the federal NDP, the leadership of the Canadian Auto Workers (to which CASAW is affiliated) successfully pushed Local 4 to agree to "arbitration" under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour in Ottawa. Instead of waging hard class struggle, the pro-capitalist union leaders spend their time begging the bosses' governments to enact "anti-scab" laws, while leaving strike after strike to go down to defeat.

Today, the fight to defend Roger Warren and the other arrested Yellowknife CASAW strikers must be the fight of the entire labor movement. The only "crime" of these strikers was to fight to defend their union against massive police-enforced strikebreaking. As the old IWW slogan said, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Yet the same union leaders who kept the CASAW strike isolated are now abandoning Roger Warren and the other



Southam/Edmonton Journal

Union-busting RCMP arrest striker Robert Warren.

arrested strikers to years in jail. This includes the current leadership of CASAW Local 4 itself, who are ready to trade the freedom of strike militants for a stinking deal with the Royal Oak bosses. Their October 18 statement on the arrest of Roger Warren grovels that: "the Union Executive and the Union members have remained adamant—if the explosion at the mine was caused by an individual, then that individual must be brought to justice."

The local union leadership even boasts of "cooperating in all respects" with the RCMP—the same RCMP which strike pickets outside the Giant mine have long termed the "Royal Oak Mounted Police"! And while CASAW leaders plead with Royal Oak to resume negotiations, the vindictive, emboldened mine bosses are now calling on the Ministry of Labour for "a complete investigation of this local union and its activities."

The Yellowknife miners strike, despite its extreme geographic isolation, has been a major battle for all of Canadian labor against the bosses' union-busting offensive. Roger Warren and his union brothers are heroes of this struggle. As Kentucky coal miners have vigorously insisted on more than one occasion, would-be strikebreakers better realize that "Scabbing can be hazardous to your health!" The blame for the plight of the militant CASAW strikers lies with the labor tops whose "strategy" of lie-down-and-die legalism has produced defeat after defeat for the union movement.

Free Roger Warren, Tim Bettger, Al Shearing, James Mager and James Fournier! Drop all charges against CASAW strikers! Oust the bureaucrats—The unions need a new leadership committed to all-out class struggle! ■

Union Locals Endorse Vancouver Anti-Fascist Defense

Support is growing for the six Vancouver militants, five of them trade unionists, who face trumped-up charges of assault for the "crime" of defending themselves and others against fascist provocateurs. The six were among 60 protesters—unionists, blacks, Asians, Jews, gays, youth and socialists—who successfully mobilized on May 6 against a meeting of the notorious white-supremacist "Canadian League of Rights."

The Vancouver and Toronto locals of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) have both passed motions demanding "Drop the charges against the May 6th anti-fascist protesters!" Officials and stewards from the woodworkers, telecommunications, autoworkers and transportation unions, as well as students, leftists and leaders of community organizations, have also endorsed this demand. In just a few weeks several thousand dollars have been raised or pledged to help pay the costs of beating back this attack.

The May 6 united-front action, initiated on less than a day's notice by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Trotskyist League, struck a real chord in the Vancouver area. Many cheered when they saw the widespread local TV coverage of the protest. They also saw how the protesters repeatedly had



SC Photo

Union member Glenn Mason, one of Vancouver Six, addresses students at UBC defense demonstration.

to fend off attacks by the would-be Hitlers, one of whom was armed with an iron bar. Three months later the six anti-fascists were arrested, directly at the behest of the Nazis. The police "information" includes a ranting 13-page complaint by infamous racist and anti-Semite Jud Cyllorn, who admits arming himself with the iron bar on May 6.

The police report says "charges are warranted in this matter to assist in sending a message...[to] 'pressure groups,' or radical activists." Defendant Tom Hansen, a member of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), got the cops' message at 5 a.m. on August 10, when he was woken up by police pounding

on his door and dragged off to jail for eight hours. "I get attacked by those holding the meeting and then I get arrested," Hansen told the *Vancouver Sun* (31 August). "This is clearly a political prosecution," he added, "a move on behalf of the police to intimidate unionists, socialists, communists and others from having demonstrations."

Another defendant, independent anti-fascist John Lipscomb, has been hosting public screenings of a secretly made police video of the demonstration. This video features anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry on the part of the cops, who express open sympathy with the Nazis.

PDC spokesman Miriam Scribner, also a member of CUPE and an anti-fascist defendant, stated: "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. It is in the clear interest of the workers movement to stop these outrageous charges." Last year Nazi skinheads in Montreal murdered a gay man, while Toronto fascists have terrorized the Tamil community with murderous assaults. In Vancouver race-terrorists have firebombed the homes of South Asian and Chinese families and burned a cross outside the home of Iranian immigrants. A synagogue was defaced with Nazi slogans and swastikas, and a gay bookstore was bombed.

Mobilize the Power of Labor!

Last January 22, 3,000 anti-racist protesters prevented Nazis of the Canadian Liberty Net from holding a rally at the Vancouver Art Gallery. The PDC and 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. Telecommunications Workers Union member Glenn Mason, one of the anti-fascists charged after May 6, emphasized: "There are many powerful integrated unions in Vancouver and the Lower Mainland. United in action with minority groups and all the intended victims of fascist terror, we have the power to drive these rats back into their holes."

This requires political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor misleaders, who preach reliance on the capitalist cops and courts, and against the NDP social democrats who today run B.C. on behalf of the bosses. Last year the NDP government alibied the cops who brutally beat Chinese worker Zhang Feng Hua, giving them a green light for continued violence against Asians, Natives and other minorities. Today they are trying to squelch *any* social protest in the province, from breaking a Vancouver teachers strike to rounding up 700 Clayquot Sound environmental protesters on Vancouver Island. The PDC says "Hands off the Clayquot Sound protesters," who have been subjected to mass trials and outrageous sentences of jail and fines. And we demand that charges be dropped against other anti-fascist protesters targeted for state repression, including two young militants charged after the January 22 demonstration in Vancouver and four supporters of the Anti-Racist Action group in Toronto.

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Britain: Cops Protect Fascists Against Anti-Racist Demonstrators

More than 50,000 people marched through southeast London October 16 in the largest anti-fascist demonstration in Britain in two decades. As protesters attempted to follow the march route to the fascist British National Party (BNP) headquarters, hundreds of riot cops blocked their way, wading into the crowds with batons flailing and following up with charges by police on horseback. Dozens of marchers were taken to hospitals with blood streaming from their heads. But for two hours, outraged anti-fascist militants stood their ground against the racist thugs in blue, forcing the cops to pull back several times under a hail of sticks, rocks, bricks and paving stones. Police dragged off 31 of the anti-fascist protesters.

Just four weeks earlier, on September 19, hundreds of anti-racist protesters succeeded in breaking through a police cordon in the East End's Brick Lane to land some solid blows against a handful of the "BNP scum." The BNP's race-hate "newspapers" and a huge Union Jack were ripped out of their hands and burned. The fascists were pelted with rotten fruit, eggs and bottles, leaving several of the would-be Hitlers sprawled on the pavement. This militant rout of the fascists, largely organized by the Anti Nazi League (ANL) and Youth Against Racism in Europe (YRE), marked the first time in 15 years that the BNP thugs had not been able to stage weekly race-hate provocations there.

Following this victory, the vindictive cops arrested 23 of the anti-racist youth. Earlier, on September 10, nine Bengali youth were arrested as cops attacked a vigil outside the Tower Hamlets hospital where 17-year-old Quaddus Ali lies in a coma after a murderous assault by racist thugs. And in the aftermath of October 16, the police are threatening even more arrests on the basis of videotape IDs of demonstrators. The Spartacist League/Britain and Partisan Defence Committee demand that all charges against all the anti-fascist fighters be dropped immediately!

The day before the October 16 march, the area had been placed under a virtual state of siege. Police invoked the Public Order Act to overrule the march route past BNP headquarters announced weeks earlier by the ANL and YRE protest organizers. On Saturday, thousands of cops lined the march route and side streets, blocking off all streets within a half mile of the BNP headquarters, where a handful of fascists sat cowering behind steel doors. As ANL organizers "negotiated" over allowing a token delegation through the police blockade, angry protesters tore down a brick wall to arm themselves against the cop onslaught. Demonstrators chanted, "Police protect the fascists!"

In the weeks leading up to the march, the Spartacists fought against suicidal illusions in the bourgeois state being pushed by the reformist ANL/YRE organizers. A September 26 SL/B leaflet raised the call: "The Trade Unions, Minorities and the Left Must Mobilise by the Thousands: Drive the Fascists Off the Streets!" Raising the slogan "Remember Cable Street!" the



Workers Hammer

Riot cops attack mass anti-fascist demonstration in southeast London, October 16.

leaflet evoked the memory of a 1936 mobilization by hundreds of thousands of workers, many of them Jewish, which stopped an attempted fascist march through the East End.

SL/B supporters fought for this perspective, including at a September 28 meeting called by the YRE and the local Tower Hamlets Trades Council. On October 16, the Spartacist League and supporters marched behind the banner, "Not Wretched Appeals to the Capitalist State! For Trade Union/Minority Mobilisations to Smash the Fascists!"

Mass Outrage Over Fascist Terror

The huge outpouring on October 16 reflected widespread outrage throughout the country over the deadly rise in fascist terror, including the murder of black student Stephen Lawrence in April. When the BNP scored an electoral victory in winning a seat to the local Tower Hamlets council only days after the near-murder by racist thugs of Bangladeshi youth Ali on September 8, Asian youth took to the streets under the slogan, "Self-defence is no offence!"

The sentiment for powerful labor-centered mobilizations to stop the racist terrorists was revealed in a number of symbolic actions by sections of the working class. Tower Hamlets public employees staged a half-day political strike against the BNP, British Telecom phoneworkers voted to pull the plug on the BNP headquarters in nearby Bexley and a number of other unions endorsed anti-fascist demonstrations, including a September 26 protest that brought out some 2,000 people in Brick Lane. The Spartacist leaflet for that demonstration, later reprinted in a special *Workers Hammer* supplement of which 9,000 copies were distributed to the October 16 march, spelled out what's needed:

"Now is the time to drive the fascists off the streets, out of the minority areas! Avenge Quaddus Ali and every victim of
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Britain...

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racist terror! We want to see serious, lasting victories in the fight against fascism. Weld the militancy of the youth to the power of the *organised working class*, black, white and Asian, and deal a decisive blow against the BNP!...

"The BNP can be stopped in its tracks. We are not talking about weak-kneed protests, and we are not talking about courageous street fights pitting a few tens or hundreds of leftists and youth against the fascist thugs. We are talking about determined *mass actions*. The labour movement in this country is still strong and well-organised, despite the defeats of the last years. It must get off its knees and start to struggle, *as a class!* Defend and steward anti-fascist meetings and marches with disciplined trade union defence guards: it is time the *fascists* went in fear!"

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Yet while there was a sprinkling of public employee banners at the October 16 march, the trade unions did not mobilize for a display of social power which would have taught the BNP fascists a lesson and made the cops think twice before attacking the demonstrators. The Labour Party and Trades Union Congress (TUC) tops instead threw their efforts into a deliberately diversionary "Anti-Racist Alliance" rally—which attracted barely 3,000 people—miles from the BNP's terror nest. And the reformist YRE and ANL organizers had neither a perspective nor a strategy for mobilizing the heavy battalions of the working class, *because they refuse to take up a sharp fight against the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who hold back and strangle the labor movement.*

For months, the ANL has been pouring all its energies into vapid pleas to the Bexley council Conservatives—who appeal to the same racist constituency as the fascists—to shut down the BNP headquarters. Under immense pressure from thousands of young people who want to clean out the fascists, the ANL and YRE leaders talked out of both sides of their mouths, calling for militant action against the BNP while pleading with or petitioning the capitalist state. On the one hand, the chief political force behind the YRE, the *Militant* (8 October) of Peter Taaffe, declared: "Militant Labour does not depend on or want the state to ban the BNP." Yet a week later, the *Militant* wrote, "we do campaign for local authorities to refuse to allow their premises for meetings and to use local planning regulations to close down the BNP bunkers." In similar fashion, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP—parent group of the Canadian International Socialists), which dominates the ANL, stated: "We cannot rely on the state to stop the Nazis"

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(*Socialist Worker*, 9 October). But in the same issue they declared, "If our pressure succeeds in getting Bexley Tory Council to close down their headquarters it will be an enormous victory."

Denouncing the October 16 cop onslaught which left her bloodied, ANL chief steward Julie Waterson said: "Today has shown the police in their true colours protecting the BNP" (London *Sunday Times*, 17 October). But only three weeks earlier, when the cops took 57 BNPs into custody on September 26 to prevent a repeat of the bashing they received a week before, ANL spokesman Claire Dissington crowed: "We welcomed the police action, but it should really have come sooner. We wanted them to stop the BNP selling their newspaper in the area long ago" (London *Independent*, 27 September).

And now, as the bourgeois media seeks to whip up a witch-hunt against the anti-fascist demonstrators, ANL honcho Paul Holborow joins in the violence-baiting smears: "Those involved in skirmishes were not representative of the 98 per cent of the demonstrators that went along with the publically stated aim of a peaceful demonstration" (London *Guardian*, 18 October). This is the real tradition of the ANL. Faced with a similar witchhunt following a militant anti-fascist demonstration in Lewisham in 1977, the Cliffites formed the ANL as a popular-frontist vehicle to curry favor with Anglican vicars and Labourite politicians. When the fascist National Front marched through the East End in 1978, the ANL organized an "anti-racist" Carnival *ten miles away*, deliberately preventing thousands of anti-fascist militants from confronting and defeating the NF.

Despite their current venter of on-again, off-again militancy, both the SWP and Militant are *reformist* organizations. As the September 26 SL/B leaflet noted:

"At the end of the day they want popularity with left Labour MPs and celebrities: they don't want a consistent, hard fight for the interests of the working class. They don't believe that the workers can win state power. Their real maximum goal is to get Labour into government on a more left-wing sounding programme."

Until recently, Militant had been buried deep inside the Labour Party for *decades*. Militant argues that a "left-wing" government of the dyed-in-the-wool pro-capitalist Labour Party, if armed with "emergency powers," will bring socialism. For all their occasional anti-Labour rhetoric, Militant and the SWP *always* call for a vote to the Labour traitors—even when the Labour Party is up to its neck in strikebreaking. *And both groups argue that the cops should be part of the labor movement!* Two years ago, Militant offered to turn over names of protesters against Thatcher's hated poll tax who defended themselves against mounted police charges.

Tens of thousands of young people throughout West Europe are today becoming radicalized in response to the upsurge of fascist terror fueled by growing interimperialist rivalry and the triumph of counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union. They are looking for a revolutionary answer to the ravages of capitalism. As our comrades of the SL/B declared:

"The labour movement needs a revolutionary leadership which fights as hard and as long for working-class victory as Thatcher fought for her despicable, parasitic capitalist class. The workers, the women, the black, Asian, Jewish and gay targets of BNP terror need a *workers government*, so that all people can have a decent and secure life, in a society free of exploitation and racism."

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 586, 22 October

Remembering Bill Whitney

On August 29, over 40 people attended a Vancouver memorial meeting for our comrade Bill Whitney, for six decades a fighter for international workers revolution (see SC No. 93, September/October 1993). Family, friends and comrades who had worked with Bill over the years joined together to make the afternoon a warm and fitting tribute.

Greetings, fond reminiscences and testimonials from Norway, Australia and across Canada paid honor to Bill, as a dedicated communist and as a friend and neighbor. A boyhood story Bill had told to Lillian, his lifelong comrade and spouse, "How Our Family Went Into the Chicken Business," was read, provoking much laughter—it was vintage Whitney.

Displays of photos, leaflets, correspondence, newspapers, party bulletins and books highlighted the achievements of Bill's political life. As a letter read at the meeting from John Masters of the Trotskyist League Central Committee noted: "More than 60 years ago, burning hatred for the capitalist system of war, racism and oppression impelled Bill on the road of struggle for a communist future. Today, a new generation of youth is beginning to enter the same

road, confronting the same, ever more bankrupt, system. The precious heritage of comrades like Bill Whitney, who fought all their lives, as best they could, for communism, will be an inspiration to this new generation. We are determined to honor him by carrying forward the work to which he dedicated his life."

Bill's life was defined by revolutionary optimism and resolve. And it was with optimism and spirited resolve that Lillian Whitney concluded the meeting: "I can only hope at this moment that the fires that burned in Bill, and others like him, will help to mount such a fire, such a conflagration, that this old, rotting and evil system that holds the world in its terroristic grip will come crashing down.... No more the bombings of great cities and small villages, the homelessness, the joblessness, all the evils that surround us. But a newer, finer system will arise based on cooperation and compassion and the brotherhood of man and woman and all races. And then we shall all know, as Trotsky said, that 'Life is beautiful. Let the future generations cleanse it of all evil, oppression, and violence and enjoy it to the full.'" ■

Strip Search...

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"Hey hey, ho ho, racist system's got to go!" It's the whole capitalist system which is racist to the core. Last year the bosses' media waged a vicious racist campaign against Jamaican-born blacks in Canada who were portrayed as "deadly exports," some kind of drug-running "criminal enterprise." At that same time the then-Tory government brought forward its new anti-immigrant law, slamming the door on desperate refugees and targeting thousands for deportation to destitution and death.

Now it's the turn of the Liberal Party which is spearheading a vile crusade against black Somali refugees. Only two days after Jean Chrétien's election, Ontario Liberal leader Lyn McLeod was retailing Immigration Department allegations that "Somali organizers" are "importing refugees to systematically pillage our vulnerable and exposed social welfare system" in order to "buy weapons for use in the power struggle in Somalia" (*Globe and Mail*, 28 October).

This is part and parcel of an international offensive against immigrants and refugees by the imperialist rulers of North America and West Europe. With their economies in increasing crisis, and having no further use for cheap, superexploited labor from the Third World, the capitalists are stepping up their racist, anti-immigrant campaign. The cops are unleashed to routinely terrorize minorities and the foreign-born, and the fascists grow, proclaiming themselves the "strong arm" of the racist rulers.

The bosses also seek to divert working-class struggle against capitalist decay into nationalist chauvinism, to split the working people along national and race lines. The pro-capitalist union bureaucrats and New Democrats play their part in this deadly crusade, pushing "Canada first" protectionism as they wave the Maple Leaf. In sharp contrast, we Trotskyists fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants. From Toronto to Berlin and Paris, we seek to mobilize the labor movement in powerful protest actions against racist terror. In opposing nationalism



SC photo

October 3: Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club joined protest against police assault on Audrey Smith.

and chauvinism of all stripes, we champion *internationalist workers unity against capitalism*.

In her speech to the October 3 anti-racist protesters, Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Asha Jugdutt emphasized that it will take a revolutionary transformation of society by the powerful, multiracial working class to bring true justice, removing once and for all the conditions of poverty and exploitation that breed racism and women's oppression. A key role in this struggle will be played by workers who have come here from other countries, who so often have been in the leadership of labor struggles and who form an important part of the labor force in such key sectors as auto and transit. Only workers revolution can create a society of genuine equality for all, a socialist society where people like Audrey Smith will not be abused and reviled because of the color of their skin. ■

Yeltsin Coup...

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working-class resistance, managed to cohere a bourgeois state apparatus, although weak and fragile. At the same time, the capitalist-restorationist forces split into bitterly hostile factions, headed by the Yeltsin presidency and the Russian parliament presided over by Aleksandr Rutskoi and Ruslan Khasbulatov. By destroying the parliament, Yeltsin has also taken aim at the layers of ex-Soviet bureaucrats in regional councils around the country. A bloody curtain has now been drawn on the initial, "democratic" phase of the counterrevolution.

The tank shells slamming into the "White House" on the morning of October 4 were the opening shots of a bonapartist regime aimed at brutally suppressing any kind of resistance to "free market" immiseration. For months, Western capitals and the world bankers cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have been pushing Yeltsin to clear out the obstacles to deepening the economic "shock treatment," whose next stage is mass layoffs of millions of workers and devastation of industry. Two days before Yeltsin decreed the dissolution of the parliament on September 21, the IMF put a scheduled \$1.5 billion loan to Russia on hold until the government carried out promised economic "reforms." The U.S. threw its full backing behind Yeltsin's coup. Hours before the military assault on the parliament, the view from Washington, according to an ABC-TV correspondent, was that they would "be quite happy" to see Yeltsin "break a few eggs to make this omelet."

Only hours after arresting Rutskoi and Khasbulatov, the Kremlin issued decrees vastly expanding the state of emergency. Security forces were authorized to conduct searches without court warrants and to set up checkpoints on main roads and at transportation facilities. Moscow mayor Yuri Luzhkov said the capital would be "cleansed" of "undesirables." Hundreds of supporters of parliament were detained in a sports stadium in Krasnaya Presnya district. The banned groups range from various "Communist" parties to the "left-right" National Salvation Front and the fascistic Russian National Sobor. The outlawed papers range from the chauvinist *Sovietskaya Rossia* and the virulently anti-Semitic *Den* to *Pravda*, formerly the premier organ in the Soviet Union and now connected to the Communist Party-Russian Federation, which was established in February of this year as a claimant to the legacy of the old CPSU.

A racist hysteria has been whipped up against darker-skinned people from Central Asia and the Caucasus, who are reviled by Russian racists as "blacks" and turned into scapegoats for the astronomical rise in street crime which has accompanied the restoration of capitalism. Moscow authorities seized on the state of siege to launch a pogromist dragnet, officially expelling over 7,500 non-Slavic people and terrorizing many thousands more into leaving in the space of two weeks. Police have indiscriminately broken into hotels and apartments and ransacked street markets which are predominantly run by Central Asians



AP

October 3: Anti-Yeltsin forces rolled over riot police, but pro-capitalist parliament leaders feared civil war and Western disapproval.

and Caucasians, beating people, stealing their possessions and dragging the victims off to be loaded onto trains and planes out of the city.

Rutskoi/Khasbulatov and the fascist-infested "red-brown" coalition that supported them are no less hostile to the working class than is Yeltsin. But, as we wrote last March, when the squabbling capitalist-restorationist factions were heading for a showdown: "*The working class must oppose moves from any corner to place its neck in the yoke of a bonapartist dictatorship*" ("Dogfight in Moscow," *Workers Vanguard* No. 572, 26 March). Today the already widespread fear and distrust of would-be czar Boris has been enormously intensified. Even Western correspondents report overwhelming popular hostility to Yeltsin's "bloody Monday" massacre. The urgent and immediate task of the working class and its allies is to prevent Yeltsin, in the wake of this coup, from consolidating an effective police state. Class-conscious workers must demand an immediate end to the state of siege, to the censorship, to the ban on political parties, and call for the immediate release of all anti-Yeltsin prisoners.

A massive anti-communist witchhunt is now under way. In the longer term, the real purpose of Yeltsin's coup is to ward off the spectre of working-class resistance to the ravages of capitalist restoration. Watching the results of the September 19 Polish elections—where a population fed up with three years of capitalist "shock therapy" threw out the IMF-backed Solidarność parties and handed a resounding victory to the former Stalinists—the imperialists were worried at the prospect of the "Polish scenario" spreading to Russia.

Today, Yeltsin is firmly in the saddle in Moscow. Whether or not elections for a new rubber-stamp "legislature" take place as scheduled in December, and even if they are combined with a presidential vote, today's masters of the Kremlin and their imperialist backers are intent on riding roughshod over any political opposition and imposing dictatorial rule. In our article, "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled" (*SC* No. 90, Winter 1992/93), we warned: "For Yeltsin and other restorationists to nail down a solid capitalist regime, sooner rather than later a bloody reckoning is likely, signaling to the masses

that there is a new order.”

But as they carry out their draconian economic program, and Russia's far-flung regions flagrantly disregard Moscow's writ, there will be continued turmoil. The Russian bourgeois state remains weak and fragmented, a stable capitalist class has yet to be congealed and the ever-deepening immiseration of the working people can well lead to explosions of class struggle in the coming period. The overriding necessity for the multinational Soviet proletariat lies in forging the nucleus of an internationalist vanguard party, which fights for socialist revolution to sweep away Yeltsin and all the would-be exploiters.

Split in the Counterrevolutionary Camp

The Western media describes the anti-Yeltsin forces centered on the Russian parliament as a “hard-line,” “conservative” opposition to “free market reforms” who somehow want to restore the old Soviet system. In his speech announcing the storming of parliament Yeltsin railed that the forces opposing his *diktat* were “Communists seeking revenge,” and that “Those waving red flags have once again covered Russia with blood.” In reality, Rutskoi and Khasbulatov were once key Yeltsin supporters, standing shoulder to shoulder with him on the White House barricades in August 1991 as he seized power following the botched Kremlin coup.

Since then, however, the forces of capitalist counterrevolution have divided into two rival camps, though their differences are by no means irreconcilable. While personally a total opportunist, Yeltsin has taken on the role as the main agent of Western imperialism in transforming Russia into a subservient neocolony of Wall Street and Frankfurt. Rutskoi and Khasbulatov put themselves forward as spokesmen for more nationalistic forces, occasionally demagogically denouncing the IMF and Western capitals for seeking to degrade and impoverish Russia. They wanted to appeal to elements in the military, who chafed at seeing the one-time global superpower turning into a neocolonial vassal of the West; and to the corporatist faction of industrial managers, who didn't want to see their plants shut down on the altar of IMF monetarism.

So why didn't the parliamentary opposition succeed in rallying support from either the officer corps or the industrialists? And given the increasingly desperate economic straits of the masses, why was there no popular outpouring of opposition to Yeltsin's presidential coup? To answer these questions we must look at the various contending forces in post-Soviet Russia.

The nationalist-corporatist faction of the nascent Russian capitalist class, whose chief political representative is Civic Union leader Arkady Volsky, seeks to maintain the core of the existing industrial structure. Given the non-profitability in the world capitalist market of the giant enterprises built to function in a centrally planned Soviet-wide economy, the only way to presently keep them afloat is by massive subsidies from the central bank, leading to a hyperinflationary budget deficit. For the last couple of years, Volsky & Co. have been engaged in a tug of war with the “shock treatment” economists represented by Yegor Gaidar, Yeltsin's former prime minister. Using the parliament as a battering ram against the president, they put in one of their own, Viktor Gerashchenko, as head of the central bank, and achieved a momentary victory by forcing Yeltsin to dump Gaidar last December.

The present political showdown began when Yeltsin, under pressure from international financiers, named Gaidar last deputy prime minister a few days before decreeing the dissolution of parliament. A former chief economist of the World

Bank, Stanley Fischer, observed: “The IMF's tough stance in recent weeks has had a positive effect because it has helped persuade Yeltsin that it was time to act, both in getting back Gaidar and confronting his opposition in parliament” (*Financial Times*, 23 September). Moreover, immediately upon dissolving the Russian parliament, Yeltsin's first military move was to surround the central bank with troops and take it over. One would think that Volsky & Co. would have strongly supported the parliamentary opposition. Instead, the corporatists pushed for a compromise solution, to combine parliamentary and presidential elections, and ended up in Yeltsin's camp. Why?

As capitalist forces, in the first place the “industrialists party” requires social and political stability. Volsky and his fellow managers know that even a “slowed-down” introduction of the market will produce massive unemployment and potentially



Aleksandr Rutskoi (left), former Yeltsin ally turned rival, was key player in capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the USSR. In Yeltsin's 1991 countercoup, Rutskoi organized defense of Moscow's “White House.”

explosive social unrest. Thus they have always sought a solid “united front” of the nascent bourgeoisie, and have been pushing for a bonapartist regime, whether headed by Rutskoi or Yeltsin or someone else. But when parliament's defiance of Yeltsin was taken to the streets the weekend of October 2-3, threatening to ignite a civil war, this pushed Volsky & Co. from neutrality into Yeltsin's arms. Moreover, these well-versed businessmen are fully aware that they need massive infusions of Western cash even to maintain, much less modernize, Russian factories. The imperialists hold the dollars and D-marks, and Yeltsin is their man. But the imperialists are not irrevocably wedded to IMF-style monetarism, and might acquiesce to a more corporatist policy, particularly in light of the Polish elections.

Even more than looking to the industrialists, former air force general Rutskoi counted on support from the military. If anything, a significant section of the officer corps is undoubtedly more sympathetic to Rutskoi's brand of hard Russian nationalism than Yeltsin's subservient accommodation to the U.S. However, after Yeltsin's September 21 pronouncement the military high command declared “strict political neutrality,” which under the circumstances clearly favored Yeltsin.

But it was by no means given that the military would move to disperse the parliament. Senior generals had declared their
(continued on page 10)

Yeltsin Coup...

(continued from page 9)

reluctance to use the military, and many troops from Moscow had been sent out of the city to harvest potatoes and keep them away from the political showdown. The military high command feared the prospect of a civil war which would lead to a split in the army and a total disintegration of the Russian state. This fear sharpened after the Kremlin issued its ultimatum that the parliament be cleared out. On Sunday, October 3 a protest of some 15,000 people organized by the "red-brown coalition" broke through police lines and armed Rutskoi supporters launched attacks on the Moscow mayor's office and the Ostanino television complex.

At a meeting of the collegium (council) of generals late that evening, the top military leaders saw the spectre of division of the army. "Even so, the top council had lengthy deliberations before finally throwing its support wholeheartedly to Yeltsin," said military sources, according to the *Washington Post* (5 October). In the final analysis, the key was who controlled the payroll. A Reuters dispatch (4 October) by Carol Giacomo observed: "Senior U.S. officials have said the military backed Yeltsin because their leaders understand Khasbulatov and Rutskoi do not have any better answers than Yeltsin about the economy and realise Yeltsin has the support of the international community and thus access to financial aid."

"Red-Brown Coalition" Repels Working Class

The decisive factor conditioning the character and the outcome of the showdown between the Russian parliament and Yeltsin was the absence of the working class as an active force. Commenting on the prevailing mood on the streets of Moscow, the *Los Angeles Times* (23 September) remarked, "Suppose they had a coup and nobody cared?" The long-running feud between the Kremlin and the White House is generally (and rightly) regarded as a squabble between corrupt and cynical factions. Insofar as Rutskoi et al. are identified with any political line, it is extreme Russian nationalism, which is linked to reactionary social policies. For example, last summer the parliament proposed to outlaw the right of abortion, which was legal and free under the old Soviet system.

Among the militant defenders of the Russian parliament

were a host of ostensibly communist groupings, including the RKR of Viktor Anpilov and ex-general Albert Makashov, who were key leaders in the streets, and the RPK of Anatoly Kryuchkov, who appeared at Rutskoi's side on the White House balcony. From the outset, these remnants of the petty-bourgeois Stalinist bureaucracy have supported the restoration of capitalism. When the crowd gathered at the Lenin statue in October Square and headed off toward the parliament on October 3, there were many red flags flying—along with the monarchist black, yellow and white banner. This time they forcefully smashed through the thin lines of riot police, who offered little resistance, and some of whom went over to the demonstrators. The *New York Times* (4 October) was venomous in bemoaning the "relative ease with which Mr. Yeltsin's enemies were able to move through the police lines Sunday afternoon."

For almost two weeks there had been a stand-off between the rival capitalist-restorationist factions. The parliament was an impediment to the consolidation of power in Yeltsin's hands; his move against it was taken in the service of imperialism. What was called for was a mobilization of the working class against Yeltsin's bonapartist moves, beginning with his September 21 dissolution of parliament. With the fight taken to the streets, the fragility of the weak capitalist state was underlined, but the working class saw neither side as fighting for its interests. Absent was a revolutionary vanguard, rooted in the proletariat, which could have credibly fought to *independently* mobilize the working class and its allies. What was called for in the fighting on October 3-4 was a *military bloc* with the Rutskoi/Khasbulatov forces in opposition to Yeltsin's moves to complete his August 1991 power grab and seal his victory in blood. If a significant split had developed in the military and state apparatus, it would have provided an opportunity for rallying the thus-far passive masses in opposition to the economic and social devastation being wrought by capitalist restoration. Such a military bloc would not entail an iota of political support nor would it preclude the possibility of quickly sweeping away these momentary allies against Yeltsin on the road to establishing organs of proletarian political power (i.e., soviets).

In the present confrontation, a massive outpouring of the working class would have shattered the existing political alignments. But the unrest did not reach that point, for both wings feared the spectre of civil war.

For all their red flags the Stalinist "patriots" are tightly bound to the monarchist/fascist scum and act as lackeys for the corporatist wing of the fledgling bourgeoisie. They are hostile to the independent mobilization of the working class, opposing every strike, from the air controllers last year to the recent Ukrainian miners strike. Their crude mix of Russian chauvinism, virulent anti-Semitism and racism against minorities from the Caucasus and elsewhere has made them despised by all but the most backward, lumpenized elements of the working class.

The ex-Stalinist official "union" federation, the FNPR, is part and parcel of the corporatist faction and a constituent element of Volsky's Civic Union. The newspaper *Rabochaya Tribuna*, one of those banned by Yeltsin, was jointly published by the FNPR "unions" and the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. At the beginning of the two-week standoff, the FNPR made some noises about considering strikes to defend democratic institutions, but following Volsky's tack, on the morning of October 4 they issued a call for pro-Yeltsin "law and order." A spokesman for the paper protested its banning by pointing out: "This newspaper has done its best to keep workers off the streets" (*Financial Times*, 6 October).

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Workers struggles in ex-USSR will produce revolutionary fighters, proletarian internationalists, the nucleus of a new Bolshevik party.

Given the passivity of the working class, acquiescence to the West has fundamentally conditioned the outcome of power struggles among the Moscow ruling elite since the post-Brezhnev years, consistently tilting the balance in favor of those forces who are more pro-Western, and more acceptable to the West. Thus in 1987 Gorbachev came out on top of his "hard-line" opponent Yegor Ligachev, who was initially a principal architect of perestroika. The same was true in August 1991 when Yeltsin faced off against the "gang of eight," elements of the Gorbachev regime who sought a gradual transition to capitalism, carried out through the bureaucratic apparatus, while maintaining a unitary USSR. At bottom, this was a by-product of Stalin's "socialism in one country," which denied the possibility of proletarian revolutions in the imperialist West and preached the pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence." Now, in the nascent capitalist state, the backing of U.S. imperialism was more than ever a decisive factor securing the victory for Yeltsin over his more nationalist challengers on October 3-4.

Post-Soviet Russia: Immiseration, Looting and Chaos

When Yeltsin took over the Kremlin and then announced the dissolution of the Soviet Union in late 1991, Western governments and the media proclaimed a new era of "democracy" and "free market" capitalism. The reality has been economic collapse and social chaos. The breakdown of social order has reached a point that deadly diseases like cholera and diphtheria have reappeared, especially in regions of the former USSR ravaged by ethnic blood feuds and civil war such as the Caucasus and Central Asia. The *Washington Post* (20 August) summed up the condition of Russia after two years of capitalist counterrevolution:

"Unemployment looms as antiquated Soviet factories teeter on the edge of bankruptcy. Already, 4 out of 5 Russians are said to be living below the poverty level. Secessionist pressures are mounting inside Russia, while civil strife threatens its borders. A power struggle in Moscow has nearly paralyzed the government...."

Yeltsin now clearly has the whip hand in Moscow. But Moscow is not Russia. The economic chaos engendered by capitalist counterrevolution has unleashed disintegrative forces through-

out society—political, social, economic and regional. Vast quantities of raw materials are being smuggled out of the country by black market "entrepreneurs"; the effective currency is the dollar, not the ruble; regional bureaucracies jealously husband their industrial and extractive resources for their own benefit with little regard to the central non-government.

This situation cannot continue indefinitely. Western imperialism demands counterrevolutionary order in Russia, not counterrevolutionary chaos. Putting the Russian capitalist house in order will mean first and foremost teaching the workers that capitalist exploitation functions on the twin threats of starvation and repression. As Yeltsin—or his successor—moves to crack the whip against the working class and national minorities, what is posed

in the coming period is a series of defensive struggles against mass layoffs and against attacks on women's rights and further bonapartist measures. Out of these struggles will come a new layer of revolutionary fighters, proletarian internationalists, to provide the kernel for a Bolshevik party worthy of the name.

The task facing genuine communists in Russia is to wage an arduous propaganda struggle to overcome decades of Stalinist poison which atomized and paralyzed the Soviet working class, as it rooted out its revolutionary traditions and sapped even the most elementary class consciousness. The Russian revolutionary workers movement—out of which the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky was crystallized—was steeled through years of patient Marxist education, illegal organization and combative mass struggles, not only around the immediate economic interests of the working class but against all manifestations of tsarist autocracy and pogromism. Not for nothing did Lenin insist that the proletarian party must serve as a "tribune of the people." Only on the basis of the most deep-going proletarian internationalism could the workers of tsarist Russia and their Leninist vanguard strive to effect a socialist revolution in one of the most backward countries of Europe and bring together more than a hundred disparate nationalities in common class struggle.

The current generation of Soviet workers must now retrace the steps of their predecessors. As we wrote in "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled":

"What is required above all is a revolutionary leadership capable of overcoming the divisions inspired by chauvinism and nationalism, clearing away the decades of false consciousness fostered by Stalinism, and linking the struggles in the ex-USSR to that of the world proletariat."

The International Communist League fights to build a Soviet section of a reborn Fourth International. We demand: End the ban on all newspapers and organizations! Free all anti-Yeltsin political prisoners! Stop the racist dragnet against non-Russian minorities! Down with would-be czar Boris, tool of the Western banks! For *socialist revolution* to sweep away all the new exploiters and the bloody starvation regime!

—As revised by the International Secretariat
of the International Communist League
from Workers Vanguard No. 585 (8 October)

Corporate Canada...

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offensive will require sharp class struggle against the capitalists' war on our wages, our working conditions and social benefits. It will require fierce resistance to their attempts to divide working people through racist anti-immigrant reaction and anti-Québécois chauvinism. Out of this struggle we can begin to build the necessary instrument for breaking the bosses' power once and for all—a revolutionary workers party.

NDP: Social-Democratic Treachery Comes Home to Roost

The New Democrats got what they deserved. Holding only nine seats, all of them west of Ontario, they were driven out of such trade-union strongholds as Oshawa, Windsor and Sudbury and lost all but two of their seats in B.C. The imposition of the "social contract" in Bob Rae's Ontario, which erased collective bargaining at a stroke, betrayed the hopes of many thousands of workers that the NDP in power would be sympathetic to their aspirations. Long before the federal election, embittered party members and whole union locals, led by the giant Canadian Auto Workers local in Oshawa, were quitting the Ontario party en masse. In B.C. and Saskatchewan, too, the New Democrats have wielded the knife of "fiscal restraint" on behalf of the bosses.

The ballots were hardly counted before longtime Windsor MP Steven Langdon, who lost his seat to the Liberals, called for Rae's resignation. (Rae responded by breaking a Sarnia-area teachers strike the next day.) Langdon's self-serving attack was meant to help restore the party's image among its hemorrhaging working-class base. But Rae's anti-working class austerity is only an expression of the manifest bankruptcy of social democracy. Four days into the campaign, federal leader Audrey McLaughlin was already pleading for a parliamentary bloc with the Liberals, whose rhetoric had co-opted the bulk of the NDP's electoral program.

From its inception, the NDP has been a *bourgeois workers party*—aspiring to administer capitalism for the bosses of Bay Street, while linked to the trade-union movement via its bureaucratic misleaders. During the decades of the Cold War, when the imperialists targeted the Soviet Union for destruction, the deeply anti-Communist NDP and labor bureaucracy enlisted wholeheartedly in the anti-Soviet crusade. In that period the ruling classes in Canada and worldwide were prepared to grant some concessions to the workers to ensure "class peace" on the home front. But today the Soviet degenerated workers state is gone, destroyed by unrelenting imperialist military and economic pressure from without and Stalinist betrayal from within. Now the victorious imperialist rulers mean to bring their New World Order home.

The imperialists' crowing over the supposed "death of communism" is supplemented by plans for the "death of the welfare state." In this country as elsewhere, there is a bourgeois consensus against any sort of "progressive reforms." The capitalist rulers view everything from medicare to collective bargaining as an unnecessary overhead expense. And, especially in Europe, the bosses regard the particular historic talent of social democracy—suppressing working-class discontent and diverting it into safe parliamentary channels—as increasingly irrelevant.

Pro-capitalist social democracy is adapting itself to suit the times. In Britain, the Labour Party under John Smith has



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Hated ex-Prime Minister Mulroney with his former Quebec lieutenant Lucien Bouchard. Bouchard's Bloc is a nationalist trap for Quebec workers.

sharply cut back the union bloc-vote at party conferences, as Labour tries to remake itself in the image of the U.S. Democrats. Chiding Audrey McLaughlin's rosy view of the NDP's electoral disaster as a mere "setback," the *Globe and Mail* (28 October) archly notes: "Social democratic parties around the world have managed to redesign themselves to conform with a changing world. Spain's Felipe Gonzalez embraced free trade with the rest of Europe. Australia's Paul Keating pushed deregulation and attacked the deficit.... If it starts now, the NDP can remake itself along similar lines."

But long before Bob Rae came on the scene the NDP was already one of the world's most right-wing social-democratic parties. While defeated New Democrat candidates, union bureaucrats and demoralized "leftists" hope for the "rebirth" of the party, this is a dead end for workers and the oppressed. It's clear today that even the most elementary social struggles require a new leadership, forged in struggle against the NDP traitors and pro-capitalist union tops, and committed to a no-holds-barred fight against the bosses.

Reform Party Pushes Racism, Anti-Québécois Chauvinism

The NDP's betrayals have now borne bitter fruit, as masses of white English-speaking workers are drawn deeper into a racist, reactionary vortex, to the bosses' benefit. For years, the social democrats' flag-waving "Canada first" protectionism has pointed the finger of blame for huge job losses at dark-skinned workers in Asia, Mexico and the U.S. For years, the NDP's chauvinist refusal to defend the national rights of the Québécois has driven a wedge between English- and French-speaking workers across the country. Now the Reform Party, led by fundamentalist Christian Preston Manning, is reaping the whirlwind of populist discontent.

The Reform Party began as a viciously right-wing Alberta-based populist "movement." Riding a wave of anti-Quebec chauvinism and anti-immigrant racism, Reform quickly became a lightning rod for the most sinister reactionary forces—anti-francophone bigots, anti-abortion terrorists, outright Nazis.

As the election approached, and with it the prospect of big-time bourgeois respectability, Manning moved to "weed out" his most embarrassing supporters. But the party has hardly changed its stripes. The day after the election, defeated Nova Scotia Reform candidate John Tillman wrote to his Tory counterpart to rave in degenerate delight: "Gone are the days of catering to radical women's groups, minority groups, etc. Gone are the days of protecting these and other parasites of society" (*Globe and Mail*, 29 October).

Some bourgeois pundits have likened Reform to the post-WWI Progressive movement. The analogy is a deliberately misleading attempt to bathe Reform in the glow of "democratic" populism. The Progressives were the political voice of the United Farmers of Ontario (UFO), in alliance with Western graingrowers. In the 1921 federal election, they reduced the Conservatives to third-party status. But their parliamentary caucus was swiftly co-opted by Liberal prime minister Mackenzie King, and after the defeat of a UFO government in Ontario in 1923, the movement split into two wings. One became a base for right-wing Social Credit in Alberta, the other provided an impulse for the formation of the social-democratic CCF (forerunner of the NDP) in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

The Reform Party contains no such contradiction. Its vicious social policy has become a magnet for reactionary petty-bourgeois despair at the decline of Canadian capitalism. Its economic program is mainstream capitalist austerity. Manning's pledge to eliminate the federal deficit in three years by dismantling the "social safety net" is simply capitalist policy baldly stated. Especially with the Tories' self-destruction, significant sections of the ruling elite have embraced Manning & Co. as a credible, right-wing "mainstream" party. Thus the *Globe and Mail*, pre-eminent voice of the Bay Street establishment, urged the electorate to "vote tactically" for Reform as the best choice for a "fiscal and democratic" "leash" on a Liberal government.

Nationalists on the Upswing in Quebec

The wave of English-Canadian reaction spearheaded by Reform has helped fuel the growth of right-wing bourgeois nationalism in Quebec. On October 25, Lucien Bouchard's "sovereignist" Bloc Québécois shattered the Tory hold, winning enough seats in Quebec alone to form the official opposition in parliament.

The British Tory magazine *The Economist* (23-29 October) describes the Bloc as "left of centre" and Bouchard himself as a modern-day version of Charles Stuart Parnell, the nineteenth-century Irish nationalist who fought for Home Rule. Well, for the high-Tory *Economist* anyone west of Margaret Thatcher is left of center. And the thought of Lucien Bouchard organizing militant rent "boycotts" or endorsing nocturnal "moonlighting" raids by Quebec farmers—watchwords made famous by Parnell's movement—should raise a smile. In fact, Bouchard was Brian Mulroney's chief Quebec lieutenant before defecting to set up his own party, the better to pursue the goals of an increasingly self-confident Québécois bourgeoisie.

Together with the Parti Québécois, the Bloc seeks to win increased room for political maneuver for Quebec capitalism, in "association" with English Canada and in the context of increased economic integration with the U.S. Hence their fulsome support for the FTA and NAFTA "free trade" deals (while defending protectionist tariffs on behalf of Quebec's farmers).

In the 1960s and '70s, resistance to the national oppression of Quebec impelled the growth of the most militant labor movement in North America, leading to the near-insurrectionary General Strike of 1972. With the chauvinist NDP rightly despised in Quebec, the left-talking labor tops directed the workers' anger into support for the bourgeois-nationalist PQ of René Lévesque. Once in power, Lévesque's *péquistes* proceeded to cut the workers' throats in the most massive union-busting campaign in Quebec history.

Today the Quebec union leaders support "their own" capitalists without even a veneer of socialist rhetoric. Union-sponsored nationalist demonstrations regularly feature banners touting the most grotesque anti-immigrant racism. Quebec's working people have again been led into a nationalist trap—only this time it will be sprung by Bouchard's cabal of disaffected Tories, who don't even bother to disguise their ruling-class interests and aims.

The doubly oppressed francophone working people—not to mention the hundreds of thousands of English-speaking and immigrant workers in Quebec—have nothing to gain from the bourgeois demagogues of the Bloc and PQ. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste unconditionally defends Quebec's right to independence, combating Anglo chauvinism among

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SC94

Will Offley? Not Likely

Several left groups ran candidates in the federal election, and not one of their campaigns was worthy of even the most savagely critical support. Take as one example Socialist Challenge's candidate in Vancouver East. Will Offley's election tabloid entirely accepts the framework of capitalism, offering up nearly every two-bit reform and utopian liberal posture that ever warmed the cockles of social-democratic hearts. "Adopt a genuinely nonaligned foreign policy." "Introduce a corporate profits tax." "Set UIC levels at 75% of earnings." "Disband the Army." And this from page one: "Replace the student loan programme with a programme of grants and bursaries tied to national service (eg., militia, reforestation, housing construction)." So, youth who want an education will have to sign on as indentured servants of the bourgeoisie. They can either do unionized construction workers out of a job in Vancouver, or they can join SC's proposed "citizens militia" to...build golf courses on Mohawk land down Oka way?

It gets worse. Even after the horrors of capitalist counter-revolution in East Europe are clear for all the world to see, Offley and his cohorts still revel in their Cold War anti-Sovietism. In another piece of campaign literature, a recycled 1990 magazine article, Offley equates the anti-Communist leadership of the Woodworkers union with the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union. But there's hope, says Offley, "one bright spot. Actually, there are quite a few bright spots. East Germany! Poland! Czechoslovakia! Hungary! Rumania!" Bright spots!? Capitalist restoration in East Europe has brought miserable poverty, wholesale unemployment and bloody civil war. By proudly backing counterrevolution, SC hopes to worm its way up the butt of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy and the NDP.

"Vote for us, not for them!" says Socialist Challenge. Socialist Challenge doesn't know the difference between "us" and "them." The working class needs a revolutionary leadership that does. ■

Corporate Canada...

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English-Canadian labor. At the same time we oppose Québécois nationalism, which can only lead the working people into the arms of the francophone exploiters.

The coming period poses the danger of another sharp rise in national antagonisms. To date, relations between English- and French-speaking workers have not become so poisoned as to make united class struggle impossible. As recently as the federal public-sector strikes of 1991 English-Canadian and Québécois workers fought side by side for their common interests. Our strategic perspective is to build on such joint struggle—to forge class unity across national lines and throughout the continent in the fight for a socialist North America.

The Elections and the Left

Predictably, the election period saw most of the left indulging their twin passions of tailing the NDP in English Canada and championing the nationalists in Quebec. Socialist Challenge (English-Canadian supporters of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat) called on workers to "Hold your nose and vote NDP." So deeply ingrained is SC's loyalty to the New Democrats that their token "independent socialist candidate" in Vancouver East spent the campaign wondering aloud if he was going to vote for himself or for the "official" social democrat!

Simultaneously, SC's Quebec co-thinkers in Gauche Socialiste (GS) have mired themselves in the mud of right-wing nationalism. As the *indépendantistes* adopt an increasingly racist, right-wing coloration, GS has simply absented itself from anti-racist actions and protests against anti-immigrant cop terror. They declined to vote for Bouchard & Co. only because these *hauts bourgeois* aren't nationalist enough, vowing to "unmask" the Bloc's "pseudo-sovereignism" (*La Gauche*, September 1993).

The International Socialists' *Socialist Worker* catalogues the various crimes the Rae/Romanow/Harcourt provincial NDP regimes have committed against the workers on behalf of the Bay Street bosses and concludes: vote NDP anyway. Loudly denouncing the anti-Quebec chauvinism of the New Democrats, it calls on workers in Quebec to...support them just the same!

The I.S.'s favored slogan this election was "Kick Out the Tories"—and if you think that's a backhanded way of saying "vote Liberal," you're not far wrong. In the run-up to the election I.S.ers spent their time scurrying around with petitions demanding "Health Care, Not Helicopters!" Did they get Jean Chrétien to sign, we wonder?

The fake-lefts' argument for always and everywhere voting New Democrat is that the NDP is based on the trade unions. The NDP social democrats are able to betray the workers on behalf of capital precisely *because* of their links to organized labor through the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. The function of "left" social democrats like Socialist Challenge and the I.S. is to emphasize and reinforce this link. Communists seek to shatter it, to destroy the NDP politically by winning away its working-class base to a program and party of class struggle leading to socialist revolution.

Certainly, communists sometimes call for *critical* support to bourgeois workers parties like the NDP in elections, but only when these parties run independently of the bourgeois forces and are not decisively identified with openly anti-working class or pro-imperialist policies. The sole aim of this tactic is to create better conditions for *breaking* the grip of the social democrats when masses of workers have illusions in them. In such circumstances, as Lenin put it, the communists support the social democrats "as a rope supports a hanging man." But this obviously has nothing to do with the present situation of the NDP, which has amply displayed its treachery, or with the bankrupt policy of the fake-left.

The workers and oppressed of this country have no need of a "labor" party which in office acts just like the Tories. And they have no need of "socialists" whose only program is the increasingly futile perspective of cosmetic reforms. With unemployment through the roof, poverty endemic—and with the capitalists determined to make it worse the better to line their pockets—the fight for a revolutionary workers party is starkly posed. We of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fight to build such a party: a party that will unite the working people in struggle against their class enemies, that will defend the rights of immigrants, the Québécois, all oppressed, that will act as a "tribune of the people" in the fight for working-class rule. That is the only way forward. ■

"Electoral Reform" Targets Democratic Rights Hands Off the Communist Party!

On September 27 the federal government announced that the Communist Party of Canada and a number of other small parties had been "de-registered" under Section 31 of the new Canada Elections Act. The government is demanding that the CP stop all political activity, sell off its assets and turn the balance over to Revenue Canada. If they refuse, the feds can simply seize the party's property.

The government's move against the right of the CP to exist and function as a political party is aimed against all dissenters to the dictates of capital. This draconian act must be opposed by all partisans of the working class and defenders of democratic rights! After being denied a court injunction against the government's action, CP leader Miguel Figueroa asked:

"How, pray tell, is a political party to be reasonably expected to conduct a campaign when it is barred from receiving donations from its supporters, and when it is prevented from spending funds to conduct its campaign?"

"How are we to raise funds to pay our lawyers for defending us against Section 31? How are we to proceed when even the desks we're working on, and the telephones on top of them, are now property of the Crown?"

The new elections act was passed in late June with all-party support—including that of the NDP. It means you can't have your party's name on the ballot unless you run in at least 50 ridings and put up a \$1,000 deposit for each candidate, which you'll forfeit if you don't get 15 percent of the vote. This is in effect a property qualification, going back toward the days when you had to be rich, white and male to run for office. Small working-class organizations, who have no big-business backing, are especially hit by this law.

The effective banning of the CP has provoked protest even in the capitalist media. An editorial in the *Toronto Star* (1 October), headlined "Banning Commies from the ballot," stated: "The spectacle of the 72-year-old Communist party being stripped of its official status and barred from political activity harkens back to a dark era. From 1931-34, Communists were banned from the ballot by the Tory government of R.B. Bennett. Half a century later, they're being bullied by another Tory government—with the concurrence of the opposition Liberal and New Democratic parties."

There's more than a whiff of McCarthyism here. As the CP's *People's Voice* (September 1993) noted: "Ironically, all the parties which collaborated in passing this legislation were in the news declaring socialism and the ideas of Marx dead and discredited." Party leader Miguel Figueroa added: "If we're so dead, why the elaborate plans to shut us down and shut us up?" As a matter of fact, the Communist Party of Canada ditched the revolutionary program of Karl Marx decades ago. The CP hasn't been a revolutionary organization for a very long time. Since the 1930s they have scoured the nation in a quixotic search for "progressive" capitalists to support. Today the party still pushes its tired old reformist line: "Elect a Pro-People Majority, Dump the Tories, Block the Right."

But the issue here isn't the CP's bankrupt political program and practice. The government's outrageous anti-democratic decree seeks to muzzle dissent against the capitalists' war on working people. It must be resisted by every defender of the rights of the poor and oppressed. Hands off the Communist Party! ■

Vancouver Anti-Fascists...

(continued from page 4)

The trial of the Vancouver Anti-Fascist Six is set to begin on May 30, 1994. Prosecutors say they intend to call 13 cops and as many as ten "civilians," many of them undoubtedly avowed Nazis and white supremacists. While favoring all possible legal proceedings for the cases it supports, the PDC places all its faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the "justice" of the courts. What's needed is powerful protest action by the organized labor movement along with all the fascists' intended victims. Trade unionists jamming the courtroom on May 30 would "send a message" to the cops, the courts and the government: Drop the charges against the May 6th anti-fascist protesters!

We need your support to help beat back these charges. Raise motions of solidarity, demanding "Drop the Charges," 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 together with urgently needed financial donations—for legal fees, publicity, phone bills and much more—payable to the Partisan Defense Committee, earmarked "Anti-Fascist Defense," to the PDC at: Box 4932, Main P.O., Vancouver BC, V6B 4A6, or Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON, M5T 2W1. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Fundamentals of Marxism

**Workers to Power:
The Bolshevik Revolution
of 1917** Thurs., 4 Nov.

**How the Soviet Workers State
Was Strangled** Thurs., 18 Nov.

**Build a Revolutionary
Workers Party!** Thurs., 2 Dec.

Toronto

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

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

Vancouver

7:30 p.m.
Room 224,
Student Union Building,
University of British
Columbia

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



SC photo

Bernard Brault/La Presse

St. Catharines autoworkers (left), Montreal media workers protest capitalist austerity. Liberal government will intensify bosses' attacks. For fighting unity of Québécois, English-Canadian workers!

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Corporate Canada Hires Jean Chrétien

The October 25 elections expressed the widespread discontent of a fed-up Canadian population, who overwhelmingly repudiated the existing government parties in Ottawa and the provinces. Most notably, the despised federal Tories were reduced to two seats in the biggest parliamentary massacre in Canadian history. Jean Chrétien's Liberals were the chief beneficiaries of the Tories' huge defeat, sweeping to a majority government, but popular anger flowed in many directions.

Three years ago it was the NDP social democrats who profited from the simmering discontent, winning three provincial elections. But with New Democratic governments now carrying out Tory-style austerity programs in Ontario, Saskatchewan and B.C., this time they too were a target of voter wrath, collapsing to seven percent of the vote. The big winners were the racist yahoos of Preston Manning's Reform Party, who surged through the West scapegoating immigrants, minorities and Quebec as the enemy. In addition, Reform finished second in over half the ridings in Ontario. For their part, Quebec voters gave the finger to Ottawa by turning overwhelmingly to the conservative Bloc Québécois nationalists.

At bottom, these results signify a shift to the right in the spectrum of Canadian bourgeois politics. They threaten to exacerbate already heightened national antagonisms, and they herald *intensified* attacks on working people and the poor. Pathetically, NDP-loyal union bureaucrats like Canadian Labour Congress chief Bob White are claiming the election result as a defeat for the "corporate agenda." Nancy Riche, executive vice-president of the CLC, gushes that the Liberals "got elected with a center-left platform." A lot of workers may have fallen for Chrétien's "jobs, jobs, jobs" con game and voted Liberal, especially in Ontario. But the fact is that the corporate rulers got what they wanted on October 25—a strong government, without the stench of corruption and scandal that plagued the long-ruling Tories, to implement their reactionary program.

Chrétien's "commitments" to "protect" medicare and "create jobs" are so much cynical posturing. They will be thrown to the wind at the first opportunity. Moreover, the capitalists have a whole regiment of deeply conservative Reformers to keep their government focused. Turning back the coming Liberal-led

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