

## For Workers' Unity Against Capitalist Attacks!

# Defend Quebec's Right to Independence!



Tessier/Ponopresse



l'aut'journal

**Unions protest attacks on jobs in Ottawa (left), Montreal. United struggle by English Canadian and Québécois labor requires political fight against Anglo chauvinism and Quebec nationalism.**

*The following statement was issued by the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste on August 28.*

With the pro-independence Parti Québécois leading the polls for the September 12 elections, politicians throughout English Canada have unleashed a chauvinist tirade against Quebec's right to self-determination. Preston Manning and his Reform Party yahoos are crusading to "save Canada" from the "separatist traitors." Alberta Tory premier Ralph Klein called on Western Canadians to stand together and face down Quebec nationalism, muttering darkly that parliament should deal with sovereignist Bloc Québécois leader Lucien Bouchard the same way it dealt with Louis Riel.

Not to be outdone, NDP premiers from Victoria to Toronto

are playing the "Canadian unity" card and pandering to the worst anti-Quebec bigotry. In B.C., Mike Harcourt warned that if Quebec decided to separate "we'd be the worst of enemies." Saskatchewan's Roy Romanow vowed that a Yes vote in a sovereignty referendum, which the PQ plans to hold within ten months of taking office, would not be enough to allow secession. And in Ontario, Bob Rae denounced Quebec separatism as an "adventure," pledging to fight against the "destruction of Canada."

Such Anglo-chauvinist ranting is nothing new. When the PQ was first elected in the aftermath of widespread social turmoil in Quebec 18 years ago, the federal Liberal government of

*(continued on page 18)*

## Partisan Defense Committee

### Free Yellowknife Miner Roger Warren!

The bitter 18-month strike (1992-93) at Royal Oak's Giant Gold Mine in Yellowknife was like a chapter ripped from the bloody history of the industrial Robber Barons of the 19th century. Royal Oak spent over \$2 million hiring scabs and turning the mine site into an armed camp complete with Pinkerton strike-breakers, attack dogs and night-vision cameras. The RCMP fired shotgun volleys and unleashed tear gas barrages to break the picket lines set up by the Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW, now merged to become Canadian Auto Workers Local 2304).

But the strikers weren't cowed—they defended themselves with baseball bats, clubs and axes. Strikers drove off the first wave of "security guards" and bused-in scabs, forcing the company to fly them in by helicopter. Women organized in CLASS, the CASAW Ladies Association Support System, and toured the country raising funds and support for the local.

In September 1992, amid notoriously unsafe working conditions, an explosion way down in the mine blew nine scabs to smithereens. Looking to hang the union, the RCMP immediately declared the demise of the scabs to be a criminal case of premeditated murder and launched one of the largest manhunts in Canadian history. A CASAW spokesman immediately pointed to Royal Oak's history of dangerous safety violations, especially concerning explosives. Union members reported that the scabs were traveling with explosives on a "man car"—a violation of the cardinal rule that you never transport explosives with workers.

A year later, in the dead of night, the RCMP—"Royal Oak Mounted Police," as strikers called them—dragged 49-year-old



Southern/Edmonton Journal

Roger Warren.

striking miner Roger Warren from his bed and charged him with nine counts of murder. These are the most sweeping and serious charges to be laid against a trade unionist involved in strike action in Canadian history.

The next day police arrested two other CASAW strikers, Tim Bettger and Al Shearing. They face charges including breaking and entering, setting an explosive device, possession of explosives and a prohibited weapon, and "uttering threats to cause death." Tim Bettger (facing eight charges) and Al Shearing (four charges) are now out on bail following their preliminary hearings. Despite sharing a jail cell or adjacent cells for some eight months, they are forbidden contact with one another. They are not allowed to enter the union hall or leave the city limits and must appear before the RCMP three times a week. Brothers Bettger and Shearing could not afford a lawyer from out of town, so they have accepted a court-appointed legal counsel. They have turned over funds raised for their defense to the legal defense of Roger Warren.

Roger Warren is no stranger to company/RCMP victimization. Three weeks into the strike the RCMP fired volleys of tear gas into a 200-strong picket line and then waded in

clubbing strikers. Warren was one of 16 strikers framed up in this cop riot. On February 18 a jury declared all of them not guilty.

Brother Warren has a court date set for early September in Yellowknife. CAW Local 2304 president Rick Cassidy proudly noted that the union is helping to ensure that Warren wouldn't get stuck with "a nickel and dime store lawyer." Cassidy told the PDC that Warren is in good spirits and is confident that he will be exonerated.

Left to go it alone by the "leadership" of the Canadian labor movement, the Yellowknife strike went down to defeat last December. Forty-nine miners were fired for picket line activity, but Royal Oak was unable to break the union, which has since won jobs back for all but three of the fired strikers. The capitalist state is determined to make an example of the Yellowknife strikers starting with Roger Warren. The charges against these unionists, coming on top of more than 100 other arrests of Giant Mine strikers, are intended to frighten any and all militants who would dare to defend their union.

Roger Warren and his union brothers are heroes of this historic battle. The fight to free these militant hardrock miners must be taken up throughout the labor movement. The full

*(continued on page 14)*

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### A Notice to Our Readers

With this issue, the cover price of *Spartacist Canada* will increase to 50 cents. The cost of a one-year subscription remains unchanged at \$3. Joint subscriptions to *SC* and *Workers Vanguard* will now cost \$15, and will include *Women and Revolution* and *Black History and the Class Struggle* in addition to *Spartacist* (English-language edition).

# Islamic Fundamentalists Vow to Kill Her Defend Bangladesh Writer Taslima Nasrin!

On August 3 the persecuted writer Taslima Nasrin emerged from hiding to appear in the High Court in Dhaka, Bangladesh, where she was granted bail on the outrageous charge of "insulting Islam." For two months, she had been confined to small, darkened rooms. Able to move about only at night, outside she could hear the shouts of the mob howling for her death. Soon after her court appearance, on August 10, Nasrin arrived in Sweden, assisted by the local branch of PEN, the international writers group.

Nasrin is still the target of the fundamentalists' wrath, one of many so targeted, and her family in Bangladesh faces daily death threats. From Iran to Algeria, plebeian frustration over the desperate conditions produced by imperialist capitalism has provided fertile ground for the spread of anti-Western Islamic fundamentalism, which imprisons women in the benighted backwardness of the Middle Ages. While the imperialists now scream about the "fundamentalist threat" the way they used to vituperate against "Communist expansionism," they themselves fueled the growth of the most reactionary Islamic fanatics, for example in the CIA's holy war against the former Soviet-backed Afghanistan.

This article first appeared in *Workers Vanguard* No. 604 (5 August). An earlier version prepared by *Women and Revolution* in July was distributed as a leaflet at a Vancouver meeting against Hindu fundamentalist communalism in India, and was reprinted in the August 1994 newsletter of the International Feminists of Japan.

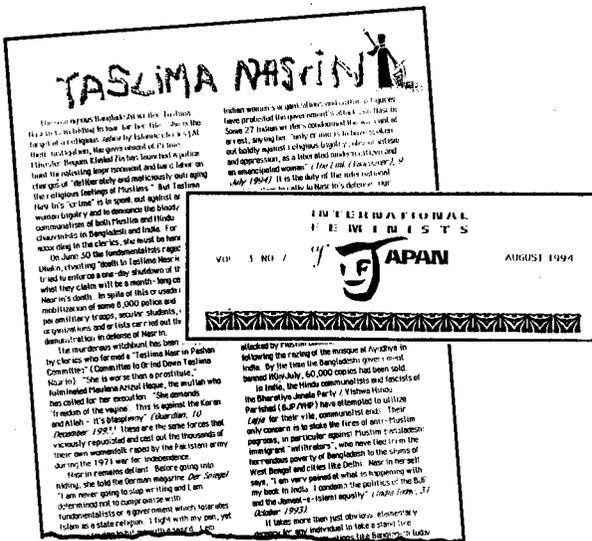
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The courageous Bangladeshi writer Taslima Nasrin is in hiding in fear for her life. She is the target of a religious *fatwa* (condemnation to death) by Islamic clerics, and at their

instigation the government of prime minister Begum Khaleda Zia has launched a police hunt threatening imprisonment and hard labor on charges of "deliberately and maliciously outraging the religious feelings of Muslims." But Taslima Nasrin's "crime" is to speak out against anti-woman bigotry and to denounce the bloody communalism of both Muslim and Hindu chauvinists in Bangladesh and India. For this, according to the clerics, she must be hanged.

On June 30 the fundamentalists raged through Dhaka, chanting "death to Taslima Nasrin," as they tried to enforce a one-day shutdown of the city touching off a month-long campaign for Nasrin's death. In spite of this crusade and the mobilization of some 8,000 police and paramilitary troops, secular students, cultural organizations and artists carried out their own demonstration in defense of Nasrin. The fundamentalist frenzy against Nasrin has continued to escalate: on July 26, six people were killed in Chittagong in clashes between students and Jamaat Islami, which has led the campaign against her. Two days later nearly 200,000 Muslims reportedly demonstrated in Dhaka demanding that Nasrin be hanged and all anti-Islamic activity banned.

The murderous witchhunt has been whipped up by clerics who formed a "Taslima Nasrin Peshan Committee" ("committee to grind down Taslima Nasrin"). "She is worse than a prostitute," fulminated Maulana Azizul Haque, the mullah who has called for her execution. 'She demands "freedom of the vagina"... This is against the Koran and Allah, it's blasphemy'" (*Guardian* [London], 10 December 1993). These are the same forces that viciously repudiated and cast out the thousands of their own womenfolk raped by the Pakistani army  
*(continued on page 15)*



Reuters

Nearly 200,000 Islamic fundamentalists march in Bangladesh on July 29, demanding Taslima Nasrin be hanged. Internationalist protests included article in Japanese feminist newsletter submitted by *Women and Revolution*.

# For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism!

Part 1 of this article, which appeared in *Spartacist Canada* No. 98 (July/August 1994), dealt with the Canadian ruling class' century-long effort to maintain its Dominion as a white outpost of the British Empire. In formulating its immigration policy, the capitalists sought to square this reactionary ambition with the economic demands of an increasingly industrialized country.

As we wrote:

"At bottom, capitalist immigration policy is about controlling the supply of labor. As the Russian revolutionary V.I. Lenin pointed out in his 1916 book, *Imperialism*, the economic and political power of European and North American capitalism rests on the ruinous exploitation of millions of people in the colonies. When there is a need for labor, the capitalists import it from such poor countries. When the economic boom collapses, they deliberately incite anti-immigrant racism in order to weaken working-class solidarity, cut off the flow of immigrants and expel those already in the country."

Part 2 focuses on two questions: the capitalists' postwar recruitment of anti-Communist immigrants from East and Central Europe, many of whom were used as shock troops in the union-busting "Red Purge" of the Cold War 1950s; and the influx of non-white immigrants from imperialism's neo-colonies after 1967, which led to the development of the policy of "official multiculturalism." Today, as imperialism's New World Disorder produces millions of refugees worldwide, anti-immigrant hysteria is sharply on the rise. It is vitally important that the working class, in Canada as elsewhere, come to the defense of our foreign-born brothers and sisters.

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## Part 2: From Cold War Anti-Communism to "Multiculturalism"

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Especially since the Russian Revolution of 1917, capitalist immigration policy has served as handmaiden to anti-Communist witchhunting and union-busting. Through the Russian Revolution, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, the proletariat of the tsarist "prison house of peoples" tore a sixth of the world's surface out of the grip of capitalist exploitation. The new workers state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, was multinational in its foundation and internationalist in its appeal, giving living substance to the Marxist slogan, "Workers of the world, unite!"

For most of this century, the imperialist ruling classes would be obsessed with reversing the Bolshevik victory and preventing its spread. The political counterrevolution led by Joseph Stalin beginning in 1923-24 performed a valuable service for imperialism by destroying the revolutionary Bolshevik Party and the internationalist program it embodied. Yet even in its period of Stalinist degeneration—undermined and betrayed by Stalin's twin nationalist dogmas of socialism in one country and peaceful coexistence with imperialism—the very existence of the Soviet workers state remained a beacon and a call to struggle for class-conscious workers around the world.

The Russian Revolution had helped inspire an explosion of class struggle following the carnage of the first imperialist world

war, from the 1918 German Spartacus uprising to the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. In the 1920s and '30s, the Canadian capitalists responded to the "Bolshevik menace" with mass deportations of foreign-born Communists, anarchists, militant unionists and other "dangerous radicals." And following the



SC photo

February 1992 Toronto protest against deportations.

Soviet defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II, the ruling class opened the doors to welcome anti-Communist "refugees" from Central and Eastern Europe.

Most notoriously, thousands of Hitler's Nazi butchers and their local collaborators (for example, some 2,000 survivors of the Ukrainian SS Galicia Division) were squirreled into the country by Mackenzie King's Liberal government after 1945. This is the same government which, in the late 1930s, kept the Nazis' Jewish victims out under the anti-Semitic slogan "None is too many." (See "Canada Protects Nazi Butchers," *SC* No. 68, June 1987.)

Historian Alti Rodal summed up the government's policy: "After 1955 and the Cold War paranoia, the entire purpose of immigration screening seems to have been to keep out Communists. If you could prove you were a Nazi, you had proved you were not a threat." These Nazi mass murderers, bloodsoaked anti-Communist fanatics all, were rescued from the vengeance of their surviving victims to be used as shock troops in imperialism's "free world" crusade against the Soviet workers state.

Following the abortive Hungarian Revolution of 1956, in which the proletariat threw up workers councils in an attempt to oust the repressive Stalinist bureaucracy, the Canadian bourgeoisie hypocritically denounced the suppression of the Hungarian workers by Soviet troops. Ottawa then actively recruited thousands of right-wing Hungarian "refugees," who had fled both the insurrectionary working class and the Soviet army. In one instance, the entire student body and faculty of a Hungarian forestry school were brought to Canada and

shipped cross-country to the University of British Columbia on a special "freedom train"!

## Immigration and Cold War Union Busting

The onset of imperialism's Cold War against the Soviet bloc also heralded a capitalist offensive against Canadian labor. The bosses recruited tens of thousands of deep-dyed anti-Communist East European emigrés in a drive to overwhelm working-class militancy, especially in unions where the Communist Party remained strong. For example, Chrysler stacked its auto plants in Windsor with anti-Communist Croatians and Poles to undercut the power of the United Auto Workers.

The Communist Party of Canada had been a major force in the drive to build industrial unions. Although by the 1950s the Stalinized CP had long since ceased to be a revolutionary organization—most vividly witnessed during WWII when it signed no-strike pledges, demanded the internment of Japanese Canadians and cheered the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—the Stalinists' pledges of loyalty to Canadian imperialism did not buy them "peaceful coexistence" with the ruling class.

The capitalists' union-busting frenzy—cloaked as a struggle between "free world democracy" and "Communist totalitarianism"—was carried out in the labor movement by pro-capitalist social democrats like David Lewis, an active red-baiter since the 1930s who would later become leader of the federal NDP. In the "Red Purge" of the '50s, the social democrats and other labor fakers built their careers by driving Communists and other militants out of the unions. With the bosses' active support, they targeted "Communist infiltrated" unions for destruction.

Hal Banks and his Seafarers' International Union smashed the Canadian Seamen's Union. The IBEW went after United Electrical. And the United Steelworkers (USWA) attacked the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, long the anchor of CP support among the hardrock miners of Northern Ontario. Nothing better illuminates the organic link between the bourgeoisie's union busting and its anti-Communist immigration policy than the drive to destroy Mine-Mill. This onslaught involved the close collaboration of the immigration authorities, the nickel bosses and the USWA bureaucracy.

With the help of the federal Department of Mines and Resources, which was then responsible for immigration, companies like International Nickel (Inco) actively sought out "former" fascists to work in their mines in and around Sudbury. Meanwhile the USWA organized anti-Communist raids against Mine-Mill throughout the 1950s. The showdown came on August 26, 1961, when a mob of 1,800 laid siege to the union hall of Mine-Mill Local 598, which represented 16,000 workers at Inco and Falconbridge. Police set up roadblocks to prevent Mine-Mill loyalists from coming to the defense of their headquarters, and then stood by as the rioters smashed every window in the place.

Many of the thugs who were unleashed that night were anti-Communist "refugees" directly supplied by the Inco bosses. A



Macleans

**USWA tops used fascist company thugs to raid Communist-led Mine-Mill in Sudbury. Here, angry Mine-Mill members storm 1961 CLC/Steelworkers meeting.**

contemporary report by the RCMP's security and intelligence branch, recently obtained by the *Sudbury Star*, states that "the mob on Saturday night was composed of former Hungarian freedom fighters and ex-Nazi storm troopers, who have been imported in considerable numbers by Inco in the past few years."

Hardened anti-Communists remained the bourgeoisie's immigrants of choice for four decades. After the fall of Saigon in 1975, Ottawa opened the doors to counterrevolutionary war criminals fleeing the Vietnamese Revolution. That same year, the government deported hundreds of Haitians from Montreal back to the nightmare of Duvalier's "friendly government." In the 1980s, at the height of Cold War II, East Europeans only had to step off the plane at Gander to be accepted as refugees, while Latin American leftists escaping "free world" death squads in El Salvador, Guatemala and Chile were sent back to face torture and assassination.

## 1967: Lifting the Color Bar

Flagrant racism was the flip side of anti-Communism in the capitalists' postwar immigration policy. In 1946 Mackenzie King declared that the only "suitable" immigrants were those who could be "absorbed"—and while Nazi war criminals clearly fit the bill, blacks and Asians certainly did not. The racist, British-derived ruling class which had interned Japanese Canadian immigrants and citizens and stolen their property during the war now moved to expel thousands back to war-ravaged Japan. At the same time, tight quotas were maintained to keep out East and South Asians, and blacks were almost totally excluded.

The Immigration Act of 1953 explicitly permitted rejection of immigrants on the basis of race, nationality or "peculiar customs, habits, modes of life, or methods of holding property." From 1946 to 1957, fewer than 55,000 immigrants were allowed into Canada from Africa, the Caribbean, Central America and all of Asia combined. In 1961, only 3 percent of the population—including Native peoples—was not European-derived. The director of the federal government's Immigration Branch succinctly stated the ruling class' attitude toward the immigration of "coloured British subjects" in 1958: "They do not

(continued on page 16)

# Elections Amid Peasant Revolt, Workers Struggles

## Mexico in Turmoil

The following article is abridged from a 2 August supplement to *Espartaco*, newspaper of our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México. The national elections of August 21 took place in the tumultuous aftermath of January's Indian peasant uprising in the southern state of Chiapas led by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN). The "center-left" bourgeois opposition leader, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, sought to defuse Mexico's "social bomb" with vague promises of achieving "democracy" through defeating the long-ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) at the polls. His popular-frontist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), supported directly or indirectly by almost the entire Mexican left, sought to demobilize social rebellion in the interests of Mexican and North American capital.

In the event, the Cárdenist popular front was a spectacular electoral failure. PRI presidential candidate Ernesto Zedillo won the election, claiming 50 percent of the vote, while the PRD's "official" tally collapsed to 17 percent. Even despite the usual PRI fraud and vote-buying, Cárdenas could not claim victory. Before tens of thousands of subdued supporters in Mexico City he announced he was no longer a contender.

But while the fictitious electoral road of the popular front has reached a dead end, explosive opposition to the grinding exploitation of the Mexican masses can burst forth in powerful class struggles. The Mexican election highlights again the burning need for proletarian political independence, for a revolutionary workers party to organize the combative, millions-strong Mexican proletariat and mobilize the *campesinos* behind them in the fight for a workers and peasants government. That is the task to which the Mexican Spartacists are dedicated.

There is no sign of the mythical stability and social peace trumpeted by the Mexican bourgeoisie and its Wall Street masters when they signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of imperialist predation for a "Fortress North America." As we wrote after the explosion in the south of Mexico: "The Indian peasant uprising in Chiapas has dealt a dramatic blow to the capitalist triumphalism of the 'new world disorder.' Only yesterday, with their 'death of communism' campaign, arrogant bourgeois propagandists declaimed that the class struggle had ceased to exist." But the Chiapas rebellion "has shown—dismaying the ruling classes of Mexico, the U.S. and other countries while encouraging the oppressed—that radical social struggle is alive."

The collapse of the Soviet Union, prepared by decades of Stalinist betrayals, has fanned the flames of interimperialist



Ulises Castellanos

Mexican army occupied Chiapas to stem Zapatista peasant revolt last January.

rivalry. Capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc has produced fratricidal wars, escalating U.S. interventions, the threat that Cuba will be strangled. It has also produced a wave of resistance to anti-worker attacks from Japan to Europe, where Italian Alfa Romeo workers raised banners of Zapata as a symbol of rebellion. In Mexico, the economic basis of the semi-bonapartist regime which has ruled this country for more than six decades has been undermined by increasing integration into the U.S. economy. This was symbolized and spurred on by NAFTA, Wall Street's rape of Mexico. But the technocratic Salinas "free trade" regime has run into resistance from the working masses. As Mexico shows itself to be a weak link in the chain of American imperialism, this presents a very important opportunity for the international working class.

It is urgently necessary to *break with the bourgeoisie* in all its variants; in Mexico this means the urgency of a *break with the "popular front,"* which ties combative sectors of the proletariat to the "opposition" PRD of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas—a new version of the PRI [of which Cárdenas was for years a prominent leader]. PRD graffiti declares, "Neither marches nor demonstrations, Cuauhtémoc will provide the solutions," reflecting Cardenista efforts to defuse rebellion. Meanwhile, having amassed considerable political authority by heading the courageous Chiapas rising, the leaders of the EZLN are channeling discontent toward support for the PRD.

The imperialists and their Mexican junior partners who drooled over the promise that Mexico would be peaceful, open terrain for investment have taken fright as crisis after crisis strikes the gendarme regime of capitalist order in Uncle Sam's "backyard." Attempts at "pacification" through "dialogue"

followed the bombing of Chiapas Indians. Meanwhile military encirclement has continued in Chiapas, racist ranchers and their rabid dogs of war are demanding more blood, the government has acquired anti-riot vehicles from the U.S. and repression escalates in Guerrero and other parts of the country.

The pro-government *Excelsior* (28 July) claims to have discovered an opposition "Plan for Violence in 12 States" and the capital, clearly setting up the pretext for a murderous crack-down on the scale of the 1968 Tlatelolco Massacre if the regime considers it necessary. Bloody "pacification" is already hitting the bourgeois opposition; when a highway "accident" almost killed Chiapas PRD candidate Amado Avendaño and cost the lives of three of his assistants, the PRI's presidential candidate brushed it aside with shameless cynicism.

Each of the nine presidential candidates "recognizes" that the situation demands big changes and promises that his or her government will guarantee a peaceful road to a regime of "democracy." The only ones not represented in this contest are the workers—all the parties participating (including those government-sponsored fake opposition parties such as the bogus Partido del Trabajo [Labor Party]) represent the bourgeoisie.

It is the elementary duty of Marxists to stress that in these elections there is no force for which the exploited should vote. *Not one vote for the bourgeois parties!* The only solution is to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead all the oppressed to socialist revolution.

For seven decades the working class has been held in thrall to the corporatist, semi-bonapartist PRI regime. Despite deep-going fissures in the PRI's system of control, the *charros*, gangster-bureaucrats of the CTM [Mexican Labor Federation], still manage to oblige more than a million workers to join their [pro-government] May Day demonstration each year in Mexico City. The way to break the stranglehold of the bourgeoisie and its lieutenants is not the search for a fictitious bourgeois "democracy" (leaving intact the subjugation and exploitation of the working people) with calls for "unity" of all, including sectors of the bourgeoisie, but hard, unified and well-organized class struggles. What's urgently necessary is to win the *political independence of the proletariat* from these apparatuses of bourgeois rule, mobilizing the working class at the head of all the oppressed with a revolutionary program which can uproot the repression and misery that have deepened after 70 years of governments "of the Revolution."

### Break from the Popular Front!

The PRD has been key to efforts to defuse Mexico's "social bomb." The Cárdenas-led popular front arose in order to rein in the wave of struggles that broke out after the 1982 debt crisis, including powerful strikes and mobilizations of auto and electrical workers, the Cananea miners, Sicartsa steelworkers and many other workers, as well as peasant protests and the movement of the CEU [University Students' Council, which led the mass occupation of the National University in late 1986 and early 1987]. Due to the union and "left" leaders' complete lack of a revolutionary class-struggle program, the neo-Cardenistas were largely able to pacify and subjugate these mobilizations to bourgeois electoralism and the rules of the game imposed by the capitalist state.

The PRD now openly backs NAFTA and assures Yankee imperialism that the popular front is the best way to control social unrest. In fact the PRD's lack of answers to the most burning needs of the population has produced the dangerous phenomenon of "Diegomania," a growing sympathy toward the



Cárdenas with EZLN guerrillas and supporters.

candidate of the rightist PAN [Diego Fernández de Cevallos]. It is quite evident that support for Cárdenas has fallen greatly since the days of "Cuauhtémoc" frenzy [during the presidential elections of] six years ago. The technocratic regime of [president Carlos] Salinas imposed itself through blatant fraud, making the computer tallying system crash rather than recognize an opposition victory, and vilely murdered hundreds of rank-and-file PRD supporters. But allying with the PAN, appealing to the army and enlisting fake-lefts through "committees to defend the vote," Cárdenas sought to turn angry protests and seizures of town halls into a kind of theater that would serve as an escape valve for the population's rage.

Against the lie of a bourgeois "democracy" in this country of volcanic class struggles ruled by a semi-bonapartist regime, we fight for the proletarian democracy of a *workers and peasants government*. Only a workers and peasants government would put an end to NAFTA robbery, breaking with the International Monetary Fund and the debt which suffocates the working people, mobilizing the militant solidarity of the workers to the north of the Rio Grande and across the oceans against any imperialist aggression. A proletarian regime would provide the countryside with the machinery and products of the city which it needs. Defeating all the white guards [landowner terror squads], it would have its red workers and peasants army guarantee the free organization of Indian communities, the expropriation of landowners and *caciques* [rural bosses] and agricultural production for the benefit of all. It would create the conditions for liberating women from oppression and domestic slavery; it would guarantee the right to free abortion on demand and uproot discrimination against homosexuals. Only such a government can eradicate all forms of social oppression, because it is the only kind of government that can eliminate the social bases of the injustices imposed by bourgeois society.

The workers of Mexico want to fight and have carried out important battles in the recent period. This spring the Metropolitan and Chapingo university unions went on strike while teachers have mobilized in Nuevo León, Zacatecas, Tlaxcala, Puebla and other states; in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas, 10,000 teachers marched in defiance of bourgeois repression. In the auto industry—which employs 360,000 workers in Mexico, linking them to proletarians from the U.S. and Canada to

(continued on page 13)

# Pro-NDP "Lefts" Ponder a "New Party" Hair of the Dog, Anyone?

The Canadian social-democratic left has a headache.

For decades, their "solution" to the manifold evils of Canadian capitalist society reduced itself to a single proposition—vote NDP. The millennium appeared to open in 1990 with the victory of Bob Rae & Co. The election of a New Democratic government in Ontario, followed by B.C. and Saskatchewan, was supposed to be a giant step on the road to socialism (if not the finished article). The pro-NDP left greeted these electoral successes with tipsy euphoria. The International Socialists, for example, hollered that the "first instinct of every socialist" should be to "celebrate."

But the New Democrats, who had ridden to power on the hopes and illusions of working people, immediately stuck them with the tab. Rae's NDP introduced the union-busting Social Contract and set about gutting social programs on behalf of the Bay Street bosses. Saskatchewan's Roy Romanow and B.C.'s Mike Harcourt started running point for the ruling class' frenzied Anglo chauvinism against the national rights of the Québécois. Disgusted long-time party workers and whole union locals fled the NDP in their tens of thousands, and the federal party was reduced to (non-)smoking ruins in the 1993 general election.

The fake left has now woken up under the table, nose to nose with the broom that is sweeping up Bob Rae, Audrey McLaughlin and the rest of the NDP peanut shells.

## The Great Debate

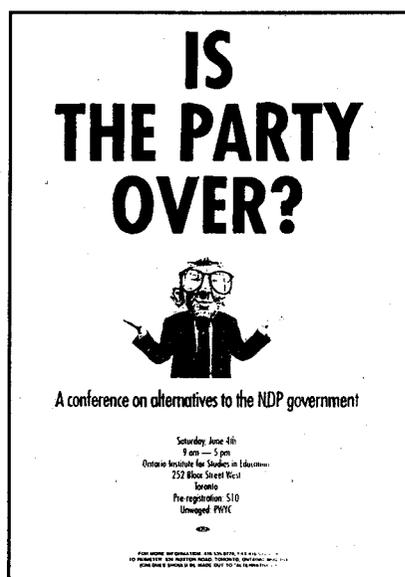
On June 4, about 80 people attended a day-long conference in Toronto to discuss "alternatives to the NDP government." Trumpeted for months as a debate on launching a "new party" in Ontario, this event was organized by Barry Weisleder's Socialist Action together with Labour Militant, the Canadian supporters of Peter Taaffe's British-based Militant group.

Weisleder, leader of yet another incarnation of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, is a small-time public sector union bureaucrat with great expectations. Historically, he and the English Canadian Mandelites have been ardent NDP "activists." Recently, however, Weisleder has been sidling up to those public sector union tops who, given the depth of working-class animosity to the New Democrats, mutter about running independent union candidates and (less frequently) about launching a new "labor party." For its part, Labour Militant considers any wavering of support to the NDP to be a crime against nature.

Since these "antagonists" agree on the need for a reformist social-democratic political organization, the "debate" between Weisleder and Labour Militant's Jason Baines was a damp squib; each spent most of his time expressing earnest sympathy with the other's position. Long before this social-democratic wake cum revivalist meeting ended, more than half the audience had wandered off. Moderator Cherie McDonald cut short the discussion period, fearing that soon there wouldn't be enough bodies left to offer "action proposals" or to make up the obligatory steering committee.

The collapse of NDP authority in the working class has opened an important breach for revolutionary socialists, who

seek to win the ranks of the union movement away from their social-democratic misleaders in the struggle to forge a binational, multiracial, revolutionary workers party. Trotskyist League speakers intervened from the floor on June 4 to emphasize that the "traditional social-democratic values" to which the fake lefts long to "return" have always been a pro-capitalist lie. Far



The morning after:  
Reformists left  
reeling by  
NDP betrayals.

from being partisans of workers struggles, NDP governments have always been in the forefront of anti-union attacks, from the '70s regimes of Dave Barrett in B.C. and Alan Blakeney in Saskatchewan to the current crop of Bay Street attack dogs like Rae, Romanow and Harcourt.

Illusions in social democracy—in the pipedream of reforming imperialist capitalism in the interest of the oppressed through class-collaboration—are a blind alley for working people. The fake lefts, epitomized on June 4 by Weisleder and Baines, work to *reinforce* these illusions with their chatter about a "new" or "renewed" NDP. As a TL speaker noted, they all want to waltz with the bosses. Their "disagreement" is over "whose car to take to get to the dance."

## The Workers League: Anti-Union "Socialists" Raise Their Heads

The June 4 gathering also attracted the attention of a dubious outfit called the International Workers Party, the Canadian operatives of David North's Detroit-based Workers League. The IWP's speaker used his intervention to declare that the unions are not workers organizations of any kind and to denounce them wholesale as bought and paid for agents of capitalist exploitation which had to be destroyed. The TL sharply denounced this outburst of "scab socialism," provoking the American Workers League's *Bulletin* (4 July) to defend their anti-union line and attack us for "[trying] to imply that in denouncing the pro-capitalist unions, the IWP was denouncing

(continued on page 20)

## The Whole Damn System Has Got to Go!

# Secret Police Built Fascist Terror Front

On May 29 of last year, TV sets across Canada showed fascist thugs from the Heritage Front and Church of the Creator brutally attacking anti-racist protesters near Parliament Hill in Ottawa. Screaming "White Power," the Nazis smashed people with clubs and bottles, repeatedly kicking one young woman as she lay on the ground. Days later, on June 7, skinheads coming from a Nazi "concert" in Toronto jumped a Tamil father of three in an alley behind his place of work, assaulting him so badly that he was left partially paralyzed. Hitlerite thugs have staged repeated provocations, marching into Jewish and anti-racist meetings, attacking gay men in parks. But when they have been challenged by militant protest action, the cops have time and again turned out to *protect* the white-supremacist scum, beating and arresting anti-fascist demonstrators.

Now it has been revealed that the ruling class' secret police helped to *create* the Heritage Front (HF), "the largest and best organized neo-Nazi group in Canada since the 1930s" (*Sunday Sun* [Toronto], 14 August). HF "founding father" Grant Bristow was on the payroll of the sinister Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) since at least early 1989. Later that year, Bristow worked closely with would-be führer Wolfgang Droege and a handful of others to set up the Front in Toronto. Provided with tens of thousands of CSIS dollars, he bankrolled its organizing and recruitment drives in Ottawa, Montreal, Vancouver and Victoria.

As HF "head of security" and "intelligence director," this "informant" targeted opponents of fascism for terror and harassment. The state's "spy" electronically broke into the answering machines and voice mailboxes of anti-racist activists and organizations, collecting detailed personal information and handing it over to other Nazis. He orchestrated death threats and made menacing telephone calls at all hours of the day and night. He worked to get anti-racist activists fired from their jobs and evicted from their homes. The CBC reported that on at least three occasions Bristow met with Tom Metzger, leader of the California-based White Aryan Resistance, to give him money and information about Canadian Jewish organizations.

Apologists for the secret police, like the Zionist B'nai B'rith's Frank Dimant, were quick to praise CSIS for its work with Bristow. According to Dimant, this meant CSIS had its "finger on the pulse" of the Nazis. But Bristow *was* the pulse! After the story hit the headlines, other Heritage Front members told TV and newspaper reporters just how central this police agent was to their operations. As one Hitlerite put it, "Grant brings the wood, he brings the kindling, he brings the match and says, 'Light it.'" "If he was a CSIS agent," said another, "I wish we had 10 more like him."

For years the Canadian Jewish Congress and various liberal groups loudly called on the government to "investigate" the far right. Having got what they asked for, they are now shocked and outraged. But to Marxists it comes as no surprise that the capitalist state is up to its eyeballs in abetting the fascists. This scandal is not a case of "misguided priorities" for the secret police—they're just doing their job. The state isn't some "neu-

tral" arbiter; its very purpose is to enforce the rule of the handful of filthy rich, racist parasites who run this country, the capitalist ruling class. And the fascists are the capitalists' dogs of war, to be unleashed as and when necessary against workers, minorities and the left.

Today, for all the dangers the fascists represent, it is the *police* who are the overwhelming source of violence against minorities and working people. It is the "official" forces of "law and order" that have gunned down black youth in Ontario and Quebec and beaten and brutalized Chinese workers and African students in B.C. The thugs who shot at and terrorized striking Yellowknife miners wear the scarlet and gold of the



The Province (Vancouver)

Mounties. Under the blue uniforms of the police and the camouflage fatigues of the Armed Forces there is often a white sheet or a swastika armband.

The Bristow case isn't an "isolated incident," either. The secret police in both Canada and the United States have a long history of "joint ventures" with fascist organizations:

- All through the Civil Rights movement in the U.S. South, the FBI rode with the Klan. Gary Rowe, an FBI "informant," led most of the major KKK terrorist actions in the '60s in Alabama. He was involved in the bombing that took the lives of four little black girls in Birmingham in 1963, and he was there

(continued on page 10)

## Secret Police...

(continued from page 9)

when civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo was shot to death outside Selma in 1965.

● In 1979, a gang of KKK and Nazi thugs murdered five anti-Klan demonstrators in broad daylight in Greensboro, North Carolina. An "informer" from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms participated in planning meetings for this racist massacre, while an "ex"-FBI agent working for the Greensboro police was in the fascist caravan and a state police cruiser brought up the rear.

● In 1991, Carney Nerland, head of the Aryan Nations in Saskatchewan, gunned down Native trapper Leo LaChance in cold blood. In a subsequent government inquiry it was widely reported, without denial, that Nerland was in fact a key operative for the RCMP.

● In 1983 William Lau Richardson, self-described "intelligence director" of the KKK, and Nazi George Graham tried to frame up two postal worker supporters of the Trotskyist League for defending themselves and others against Richardson's provocation of a Toronto abortion rights demonstration. Richardson served as an agent for the CIA, the RCMP and U.S. Army Intelligence. An explosives expert, he made bombs that were planted in the cars of union officials and militants.

Predictably, exposure of the CSIS/Heritage Front connection has brought cries for "reform" of the secret police, greater "oversight" and the like. But CSIS itself was created as a supposed "reform" in 1984, in response to "revelations" that the security section of the RCMP carried out an illegal campaign of spying, provocation and terrorism against Québécois nationalists, black activists and others during the '70s. In one notorious incident, the Mounties burned down a barn where the left-nationalist Front de Libération du Québec and U.S. Black Panther Party were scheduled to hold a meeting. Born directly as a product of Cold War II against the Soviet Union, CSIS was loaded up with bugs, black bags and guns and set loose to target leftists, unionists, anti-racists. All the RCMP's "dirty tricks" were made legal. Indeed, CSIS has the power to break *any* law when "reasonably necessary" to perform its duties.

Any illusions that the dirty tricks of the Canadian ruling class can be reformed away through "exposure" or "oversight committees" are suicidal. The Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC), which includes at least one prominent NDPer, is the "watchdog" over CSIS. Following the courageous resistance put up by the Oka Mohawks against an armed onslaught by the Quebec police and Canadian army in 1990, SIRC's sole concern was to find out if CSIS had "adequately warned" the federal government "about the potential violence by natives." The "watchdogs" wanted to be sure that the state's attack dogs were "adequately" prepared to crush Native resistance.

Grant Bristow is a living indictment of the liberals' and reformists' treacherous strategy of appealing to the government, the cops and courts to act against the fascists. The role of capitalism's secret police "informers" is not to "prevent violence." It is to *orchestrate* violence—against minorities, against the working class, against the left, against anyone who challenges the powers-that-be. And if the "legal" state apparatus is found to be wanting, the ruling class will turn to other forces that it has nourished on the fringes. As was tragically shown in Europe in the 1920s and '30s, at times of deep social crisis the capitalists will unleash the fascist stormtroopers and install them in power to crush the working class, thus preserving bourgeois rule.



SC photo

TL/LT contingent in May 29, 1993 Ottawa demonstration called for labor/minority action to stop the fascists.

Reformists and social democrats rely on the bourgeois state to "fight" the fascist menace not because they are naive, but because at bottom they're not opposed to capitalism. They think this state is *their* state. They have no strategy to stop the fascists because they have no strategy (or even desire) to overthrow this system of poverty, racist violence and war. Thus they turn their back on the one force which has the social power and historic interest to smash fascist terror—the organized working class.

It is precisely because we Trotskyists seek to mobilize the multiracial working class in struggle against capitalism that we have successfully initiated powerful labor/minority mobilizations which have stopped fascist provocations cold. From Washington, D.C. to Springfield, Illinois to Vancouver and elsewhere, we have forged fighting alliances of the fascists' intended victims, centered on the organized proletariat and infused with a political perspective which looks to labor's own power, not the bosses' cops and courts. Each time, we have had to politically combat those, whether liberals or reformist "leftists," who show a touching faith in the good graces of the capitalist state.

We have been able to organize against the fascists here and now because we take as our starting point the struggle of working people and oppressed minorities for power, a struggle to sweep away the entire diseased capitalist system through socialist revolution. Workers revolution will not only stop the racist terrorists and their murderous deeds—it will also get rid of the capitalists' criminal secret police, once and for all. ■

### Contact the Trotskyist League/ Ligue trotskyste

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# “International Socialists” Attack Death Penalty Abolitionists

## Stop ISO Gangsterism! For Open Political Debate!

The following leaflet on the U.S. International Socialist Organization, sister group of the Canadian International Socialists, was issued by the Boston Spartacus Youth Club on July 31.

On Wednesday, July 27, a group of three Spartacus Youth Club activists, including a young black woman, was set upon by thugs in the hallway of Boston University's Marsh Chapel outside a publicly advertised anti-death penalty forum. Literature and petitions to save the life of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—a former Black Panther Party member and courageous journalist known as “the voice of the voiceless”—were ripped out of our comrades' hands, seized in stacks off our literature table, torn to shreds and thrown out on the street.

Who is responsible for this despicable act of racist violence? Skinhead fascists? Kill-crazy, pro-death penalty, “right-to-life” terrorists? “Off-duty” cops? No, this was the work of self-avowed “socialists,” the International Socialist Organization (ISO). This attack took place outside a forum which was publicly advertised in the ISO's July *Socialist Worker* and was led by Boston ISO branch leader Brian Kelly. Like a “grade B” movie bully, Kelly kicked a high school student in the chest and belted, “I'm going to kill you.” Kelly's supporting cast included ISOers David Whitehouse, Ann Sydor, Kit Cooley, and nameless “extras.” The goons “justified” their physical violence to others attending the forum with the lie that we Spartacists are “disrupters.”

Violence and slander are the tactics of the capitalist ruling class which seeks to suppress militants and divide the working class and revolutionary movement with COINTELPRO dirty tricks, strikebreakers, gangsters, cops, etc. For these same tactics to be used by the ISO against other leftist organizations can only play into the hands of reactionaries. Such methods poison relations between various sections of the left and block the development of socialist class consciousness by rendering free discussion of ideas impossible. They don't have to consider other theories, they just beat up anyone who raises a dissenting view.

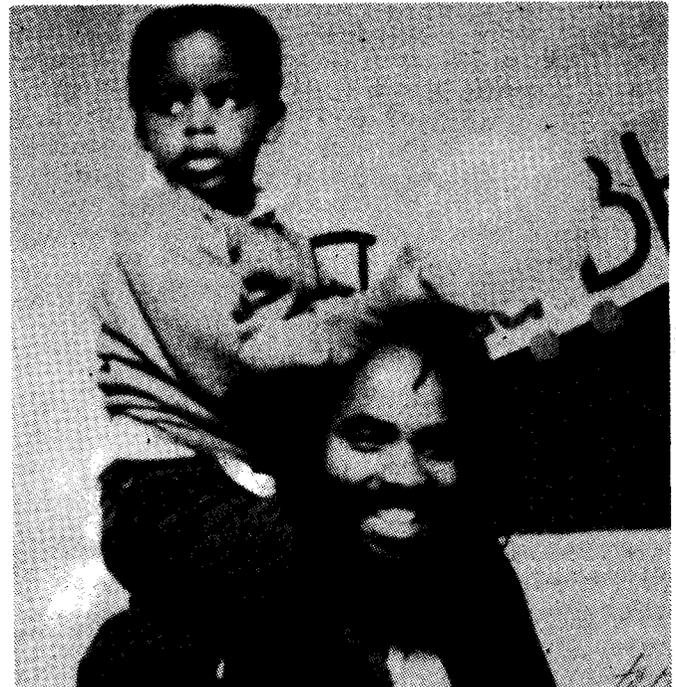
The attack at Boston University is not an isolated incident but an example of the gangsterism for which this tendency is known *internationally*. The American ISO is a satellite of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP's thuggery prompted another leftist tendency, the *Socialist Organiser* group, to call for a labor movement inquiry into violent assaults just one year ago at the SWP's “Marxism '93,” advertised as a “week of discussion and debate.” In August 1992, the ISO's Canadian group launched a brutal attack against our comrades outside a “public” debate, dragging a small woman comrade and bashing her, spread-eagled, against a door divider. This misogynist outrage prompted an independent witness to publish a protest letter. But the ISO continues to substitute the fist for the brain, seeking to draw a *blood line* to seal off new members from political debate. Organizational loyalty founded on

unreasoning hatred instead of political program makes for an inherently unstable group and can serve to drive honest militants out of left politics altogether.

The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacists have fought to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal because his case embodies what the death penalty is all about. Capital punishment is racist “legal lynching” by a capitalist state whose whole system of injustice includes the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets. Our fight for the abolition of the death penalty and to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is an inseparable part of our struggle for black equality in a socialist America.

As a Black Panther, a MOVE supporter and a journalist who spoke out powerfully for all the oppressed, Mumia Abu-Jamal was targeted for death by the Philadelphia police. Framed for killing a cop and sentenced to death for his political views, Jamal fights what would be the first political execution since the government electrocuted Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for being Communists and Jews. Thousands of unionists, students, civil rights activists and death penalty abolitionists around the world have joined the campaign to save Jamal's life.

In response to the growing support for Jamal's case, the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) are on a crusade to silence him and his supporters in order to make it easier to kill him. The ISO, which has maintained a deafening silence on Jamal's case and now assaults his supporters, also supports cop “strikes” and calls for cop “unions” (like the FOP?). Just as Jamal was to begin broadcasting commentaries from death row on National Public Radio's prestigious *All Things Considered*,  
(continued on page 12)



no credit

Former Black Panther, death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal with his son.

## "International Socialists" ...

(continued from page 11)

the FOP succeeded in banning Jamal from the airwaves by marshaling a powerful array of reactionary forces, including Senate Republican leader Robert Dole. The very day NPR caved into the FOP, President Clinton addressed thousands of cops to promote his new "three strikes you're out" crime bill and called for capital punishment for "cop killers."

Anybody who has taken to the streets to walk a picket line to defend their union against the bosses, or defend an abortion clinic against Operation Rescue, or joined a demonstration against racist violence, knows that the cops are there to beat your heads, that they are the hired thugs of the capitalist rulers, the sworn enemies of the working class, minorities, immigrants, women and gays. Yet at anti-fascist demonstrations across the Midwest, the ISO assists the cops by herding leftists through metal detectors into police holding pens for impotent "protests" under the thumb of the cops. When anti-fascist militants surged to sweep the Nazis off the streets of Ottawa in May 1993, the ISO's Canadian comrades served as junior cop auxiliaries, protecting the fascists by linking arms to force the crowd back.

What kind of socialist organization makes common cause with the cops? Find out for yourself—get our special packet, "ISO Truth Kit—Polemics with the Cliff Tendency."

The origins of the ISO date from their international leader Tony Cliff's break with the Trotskyist movement in the 1950s when he lined up with British and American imperialism in the Korean War. That's why we call the ISO and their social-democratic ilk "State Department socialists"; "socialists" whose appetite to pressure and cozy up to the mythical "liberal" wing of imperialism inevitably leads them to outright anti-Communism. Faced with the hostile domestic climate of Cold War anti-Communism, the Cliff tendency spun out a "theory" of "state capitalism," of some "new class rule," to justify blocking with their own bourgeoisie against the degenerated Soviet workers state.

Throughout the 1980s, wherever American imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive raged hottest, you would find the ISO—lined up with the U.S. ruling class. Behind the Pope and Ronald Reagan, the ISO screamed for solidarity with Polish



SC photo

Toronto, August 1992: Trotskyists protest physical assault by anti-communist I.S.

"Solidarity"—Lech Walesa's company "union" which has brought capitalism back to Poland, impoverishing the working class and especially women who are also the first targets of Solidarność's clerical reaction in outlawing abortion. Behind the CIA-funded and armed *mujahedin* the ISO screamed for the blood of Russian soldiers in Afghanistan and hailed this victory for the forces of reactionary Islamic fundamentalism which has forced women into veils, leftists into jails, and author Taslima Nasrin into hiding in fear for her life.

We Trotskyists fought tooth and nail to defend the Soviet Union from imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution, and to return to the liberating program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks through a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucrats. But the ISO hailed the capitalist counterrevolution as "the Russian Revolution of 1991." The destruction of the Soviet Union has ushered in a nightmare of nationalist blood-letting, racist pogroms, inequality and poverty. Internationally, U.S. imperialism now sees a green light to strangle the Cuban Revolution and intervene militarily everywhere from Africa to the former Yugoslavia, to Haiti.

Only now that the Soviet Union is gone does the ISO claim to be a party in "the Bolshevik tradition." This is nothing but dirt cheap camouflage for a group trying to carve out its own turf as a "socialist" pressure on mainstream liberals and the Democratic Party White House. For months, these ostensible socialists kept an eye on "their" new president with a regular "Clinton watch" in *Socialist Worker*. They are still riding Clinton's coattails. The ISO said not one word in opposition to Clinton's NAFTA rape of Mexico and at BU last semester shared a platform with and glad-handed a high-ranking representative of the Mexican government which rained death on the *Zapatista* Indian rebels in Chiapas. Along with Clinton the ISO hails neo-apartheid, the ANC's swindle of black freedom in a deal with South Africa's racist butchers.

On the domestic front, when Teamster strikers faced off against riot cops, and Spartacus Youth Club members joined the picket lines to help defend the union, the shamefaced ISO stayed away, knowing the reception they'd get as "socialists" who routinely cross picket lines and who campaigned for years for the capitalist government to "clean up" the Teamsters. With Clinton pushing a crime bill that will throw thousands more people on death row, the ISO switches into high gear...to bloody those who fight for the life of-death row political prisoner

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**A Trotskyist League packet** including articles from *Spartacist Canada*, *Workers Vanguard* and *Workers Hammer*

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- The Struggle Against Fascism
- "State Department Socialists" in League with Imperialism
- For Open Political Debate—Down with Stalin-Style Thuggery and Cowardly Exclusionism

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Mumia Abu-Jamal.

For the ISO, the only way to resolve the contradiction between their pretensions to socialism and their utterly reformist essence is to resort to violence. In this they follow the example of their political forebears, the German Social Democrats Noske and Scheidemann who drowned the 1919 workers revolution in blood and instigated the killing of the Spartakist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. *This* is the tradition the ISO springs from like cholera bacteria from a leaking sewer.

The German Spartacists and Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks form *our* revolutionary heritage. Uniquely on the left we practice what was the norm in the communist movement—before Stalinism wrecked it—the practice of open political debate. Lenin's scathing and often humorous polemics against the Mensheviks, Kautskyan social democrats, and his own Bolshe-

vik comrades stand in sharp contrast to the Stalinists' crushing of dissent and mind-numbing uniformity. It's an irony of history that hysterical anti-Stalinist social democrats like the ISO ape Stalin's methods. We Trotskyists believe that it is only through the clash of opinion and test of action among various forces claiming to be socialists, that political clarity can be achieved and a Leninist party forged to intervene in social struggle.

What kind of "socialism" does the ISO represent if they go around beating up other leftists? If you really want to stop the fascists through powerful labor/black mobilizations such as we have initiated, if you really want to fight against the racist death penalty as we do in practice, if you believe building a society run by the workers who produce the wealth means building picket lines, not crossing them, if you want to fight for an international socialist revolution, then join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

## Mexico in Turmoil...

(continued from page 7)

Germany, Japan and South Africa—there have been hard-fought struggles at the giant Volkswagen plant in Puebla as well as Ford plants in Cuautitlán, Hermosillo and Chihuahua. But repeatedly strikes, even by "independent" unions, are derailed by subordination to the corporatist apparatus of arbitration and conciliation. Playing by the bosses' rules means you lose!

The current social unrest in Mexico, from Indian peasants in the south to the capital to the *maquiladora* (free trade zone) industries with their heavily female workforce in the northern border region, lays the basis for some hard working-class struggle. This can extend across the border to the proletariat in the U.S. But such battles will not be waged by tame reformists who are politically subordinated to the bourgeoisie, whether the PRI or PRD or the U.S. Democratic Party.

For decades the semi-corporatist "unions" of the CTM have maintained a rigid stranglehold on the millions-strong Mexican proletariat, chaining it to the PRI, within which CTM leader Fidel Velázquez' machine represents a hard right wing. Wildcat strikes and opposition currents are brutally suppressed by CTM *charro* thugs working together with the police. Where unrest can't simply be suppressed, the regime has had recourse to the replacement *charrismo* of the other components of the CT (Congress of Labor), including the CROC, CROM, etc. And meanwhile, workers are subjected to starvation wages through "pacts for stability."

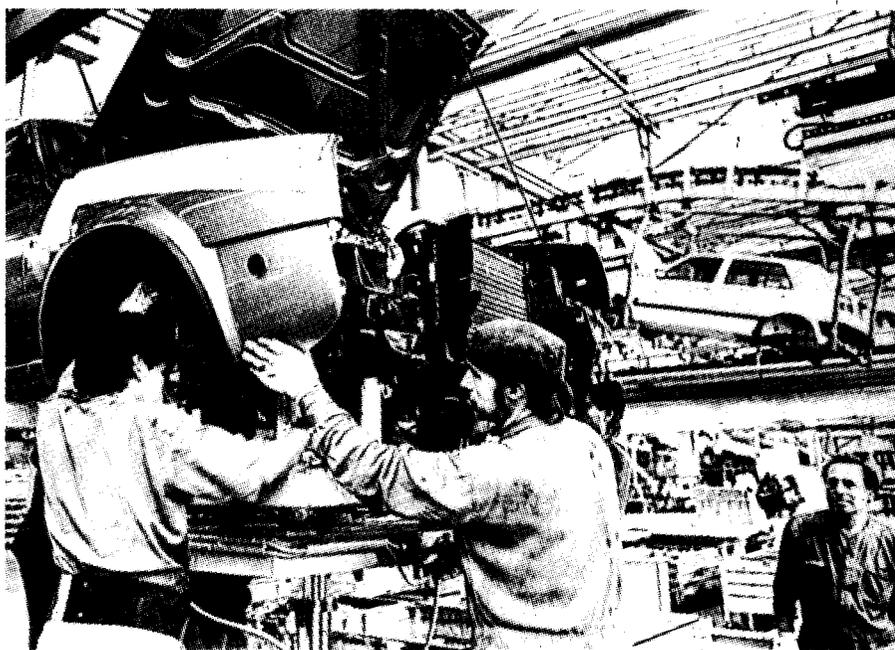
In order to wage a winning fight against this misery, worker militants should *elect workers committees* independent of state controls and all of the bourgeois parties (including the PRD), to drive out the *charro* bureaucrats and lay the basis for genuine unions as organs of struggle of the workers. In *maquiladora* industrial "parks" such committees cannot be limited to individual plants but must be spread through the area to mobilize the concentrated proletarian power. In border regions and against "multinational" companies, there must be

appeals for real international solidarity through industrial action by workers on the other side of the line.

The potential is there, from heavily Latino El Paso garment workers, California janitors and "drywallers" to Caterpillar workers and Teamsters across the U.S. who have come up against brutal strikebreaking by the companies and cops. In the context of a *maquiladora* strike, joint actions by Mexican and U.S. workers stopping the transport of goods across the border, for example, or solidarity strike action by Japanese workers against Sony, or U.S. workers against Ford, or German workers against Volkswagen (as occurred during the 1987 VW strike), can bring the NAFTA bosses to their knees. And a fight for full citizenship rights for immigrant workers, as our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. have raised for years, can undercut the anti-Mexican racism and protectionist poison whipped up by the bourgeois politicians and their labor "lieutenants."

While Mexican workers are presently held in thrall by a pervasive repressive apparatus, they have tremendous potential

(continued on page 14)



Financial Times

Mexican auto workers like these at Volkswagen Puebla factory, are key link to international workers struggle in the U.S., Canada, Germany and Japan.

## Mexico in Turmoil...

(continued from page 13)

power. Against crackdowns by the police and labor contractors/company cops of the CTM, *plant occupations* backed up by *workers defense committees* can be a powerful response, sparking wide support and extending the struggle to other sectors (as happened at Ford-Cuautitlán). The July 28 demonstration against repression called by the syndicalist Movimiento Proletario Independiente (MPI), which includes the bus transport workers of Mexico City's Ruta 100 organized in SUTAU, points to the possibility of *mass workers mobilization against repression*. Should the government bring in the military and paramilitary apparatus it has been building up to put down unrest around the elections, a solid strike by transport workers (bus, metro, colectivos [minibuses]) could bring the capital to a standstill.

### The EZLN and the Popular Front

To its credit, the EZLN refused to disarm after valiant Indian combatants succeeded in resisting the onslaught of the bourgeoisie's armed forces. The Chiapas rebellion touched off a wave of peasant land seizures in the teeth of white-guard terror, as well as mass demonstrations against repression and significant outbreaks of rebellion in the working class (see "Toward Workers Revolution," *Espartaco* No. 5). After months of sowing illusions in the regime's "pacification" spokesmen like Manuel Camacho Solís, the Zapatistas said "no" to the accord proposed by the government (doing so in a way and at a time that clearly favored Cárdenas).

Millions of workers and youth in Mexico and around the world hoped that the Chiapas uprising would signal the beginning of a revolution. But in hundreds of manifestos, interviews, resolutions and communiqués the EZLN stresses that what it seeks is *not* to take power nor to make a revolution, but instead to pressure for "a political solution in Mexico's transition to democracy."

Despite the fact that Cárdenas solidarized with the federal army against the Chiapas insurgents, Marcos "distinguishes" between the PRD with its PRIista "vices" and the figure of Cárdenas himself, who is the embodiment of the PRD—thereby encouraging those who seek a "revolutionary" orientation from the EZLN to support Cárdenas. Zapatista spokesmen told Cárdenas: "If you take power and make the government change, we will support you."

Today in Mexico a smell of *ancien régime* is in the air; things are falling apart; it's no accident that the situation is compared to the last days of Porfirio Díaz [the dictator overthrown in 1910]. Yet the fake left seeks only to *repeat* the experience of 1910-17, when due to the lack of a communist leadership capable of mobilizing the proletariat as a class, the bourgeoisie was able to frustrate the revolution, subordinating the masses through class collaboration decorated in nationalist rhetoric. Today under the image of the peasant fighter Zapata, whose assassination was the symbol of the frustration of that revolution, there has broken out a radical petty-bourgeois nationalist armed peasant movement. Liberal commentators praise the EZLN for not having an "ideological program." But the fact is that it does: the orientation toward the popular front under the self-same formula of "democracy." The preachers of "post-modern"-style class collaboration claim that the dénouement will be determined by the efforts of the "civil society" of

distinguished lawyers, engineers and the regime's numerous kept intellectuals. But the popular front means workers' blood—we do not forget Spain, Indonesia, Chile, Bolivia and all the other defeats prepared by such class collaboration.

The frustration of the 1910 Mexican Revolution demonstrated in the negative what the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 demonstrated in the positive. The only way to satisfy the burning needs of the working people—including their democratic demands, the struggle for the land and against the imperialist yoke—is for the proletariat to take power at the head of the poor peasants and all the oppressed and extend the revolution internationally. This is the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution*.

In order for the proletariat to put itself forward as an independent alternative, it is essential that it have a party representing its international and historic interests. Mexico has a combative, largely young working class which is increasingly linked to the proletariat of North America and the world. The Trotskyists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) invite worker militants seeking the road forward in the auto plants, in the *maquiladoras*, in every sector, as well as radical youth, to discuss the path and the program for building the revolutionary workers party that we need. If there is a new Río Blanco or Cananea [strikes that were precursors to the 1910 Mexican Revolution], this time the struggle must not end up subordinated to the bourgeoisie; it must point toward workers revolution! For this to occur what is urgently required is revolutionary leadership.

We must take the road of Lenin and Trotsky, the road of workers revolution. As we wrote after the uprising in Chiapas: "we salute the valiant Chiapas insurgents with the red flag of world proletarian revolution while clearly stating that we are not Zapatistas—we are Bolsheviks." The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), of which the GEM is part, is determined to forge the world party the proletariat needs in order to save humanity from new calamities.

Not one vote for the bourgeois parties! Break from the popular front! Forge a revolutionary workers party! For a workers and peasants government as part of the Socialist United States of Latin America! ■

## Free Roger Warren...

(continued from page 2)

weight of organized labor must be felt in the courtroom and on the streets.

The PDC has contributed to the legal defense fund for Roger Warren and urges our readers to do the same. Donations, made payable to "The Warren Fund," should be sent to: The Warren Fund, P.O. Box 1628, Yellowknife NT X1X 2P2.

Free Roger Warren! Defend Tim Bettger and Al Shearing! Drop all charges against CAW Local 2304 strikers!

\* \* \*

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Trotskyist League. We urge SC readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy, send \$1 to: PDC, P.O. Box 314 Station B, Toronto ON M5T 2W1. ■

## Defend Taslima Nasrin!...

(continued from page 3)

during the 1971 war for independence.

Nasrin remains defiant. Before going into hiding she told the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, "I am never going to stop writing and I am determined not to compromise with fundamentalists or a government which tolerates Islam as a state religion. I fight with a pen, yet they are trying to hit me with a sword. I am expressing my thoughts and they want to kill me" (quoted in the *Vancouver Sun*, 9 July).

Noted writers such as Allen Ginsburg, Günter Grass, John Irving, Norman Mailer and Amy Tan have come out in support of Nasrin. So too has noted Bombay-born writer Salman Rushdie who is himself targeted for death since 1988 under a *fatwa* issued by the fundamentalist regime in Iran. Indian women's organizations and cultural figures have protested the government's attacks on Nasrin. Some 27 Indian writers condemned the warrant of arrest, saying her "only crime is to have spoken out boldly against religious bigotry, obscurantism and oppression as a liberated modern citizen and an emancipated woman" (*The Link* [Vancouver], 9 July).

It is the duty of the international working class to rally to Nasrin's defense. Our colleagues of the Partisan Defence Committee in Britain have registered a protest with the Bangladesh High Commission in London, demanding: Drop all the charges against Taslima Nasrin! For safe passage to the country of her choice! In the U.S., the Partisan Defense Committee has written to Attorney General Janet Reno demanding political asylum for Nasrin.

Taslima Nasrin first attracted the hatred of the fundamentalists in 1991 with her essay anthology, *Selected Columns*. In it she criticizes the Koran, quoting from it to prove that religion "discriminates against women and treats them like sexual commodities." The immediate focus of the mullahs' vituperative wrath is her recent novel *Lajja* (*Shame*). *Lajja* depicts a Hindu family attacked by Muslim communalists in Bangladesh, following the razing of the mosque at Ayodhya in

India by Hindu chauvinists and fascists. By the time the Bangladeshi government banned it last July, 60,000 copies had been sold.

In India the Hindu communalists and fascists of the Bharatiya Janata Party/Vishwa Hindu Parishad (BJP/VHP) have attempted to utilize *Lajja* for their vile communalist ends. Their only concern is to stoke the fires of anti-Muslim pogroms, in particular against Muslim Bangladeshi immigrant "infiltrators" who have fled from the horrendous poverty of Bangladesh to the slums of West Bengal and to cities like Delhi. Nasrin herself says, "I am very pained at what is happening with my book in India. I condemn the politics of the BJP and the Jamaat-e-Islami equally" (*India Today*, 31 October 1993).

It takes more than just obvious, elementary decency for any individual to take a stand like Nasrin has done in situations like Bangladesh today: it takes courage, especially if you are a woman, expected—in Nasrin's words—to remain "veiled, illiterate and in the kitchen." The attacks on Nasrin are the focal point of a generalized assault on women's rights throughout Bangladesh. Since the reactionary Islamic clergy pronounced her death sentence, *fatwabazi* (issuing of *fatwas*) has spread through rural Bangladesh as women are buried, stoned, caned, set ablaze for running afoul of the local mullahs. Between January and March, 110 schools where girls are taught were burned down in a campaign orchestrated by mullahs.

The deadly campaign directed at Taslima Nasrin highlights the fact that the struggle for women's liberation on the Indian subcontinent is inseparably tied to the fight against religious obscurantism, caste-based bigotry and bloody communalism which could plunge the masses into horrors surpassing those of the 1947-49 Partition, which was a direct product of British imperialism's divide-and-rule policies. The emancipation of women will only succeed through a struggle for *permanent revolution*—the revolutionary seizure of power and overthrow of capitalism by the working class, at the head of the peasantry, the masses of downtrodden women and all the oppressed, and led by a genuinely communist (Leninist-Trotskyist) party. *Defend Taslima Nasrin! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For a socialist federation of South Asia!* ■

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## Immigration...

(continued from page 5)

assimilate rapidly and pretty much vegetate to a low standard of living."

The official state blockade against non-white immigration was finally lifted because of capitalist economic necessity. An industrial boom in the 1960s coincided with a relative restabilization of postwar European capitalism, which sharply cut the flow of "preferred" white immigrants. As with the construction of the CPR 80 years before, the Canadian bourgeoisie was forced to look elsewhere for labor to exploit in running its mines, mills, factories and service industries.

In 1967, the Liberal government of Lester Pearson changed the openly racist immigrant-selection criteria to a "color blind" system based on points for education, training and other qualifications. Opening the borders to immigration from imperialism's neocolonies rapidly changed the face of Canadian society. In 1951, the only non-European country among the top-ten sources of immigrants to Canada was the United States. By the 1980s, that list included Vietnam, India, Hong Kong, China, the Philippines, Jamaica and Guyana.

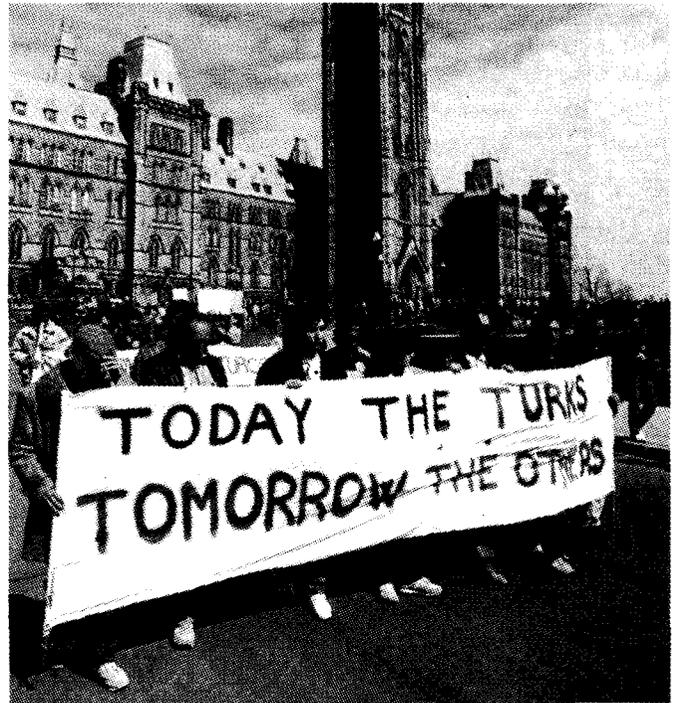
This immigration has overwhelmingly concentrated in the large urban centers like Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. By the year 2001, the population of Toronto is projected to be 45 percent non-white, that of Vancouver 40 percent. Montreal, Edmonton, Calgary and Winnipeg are all expected to reach the 20 percent mark over the same period (Department of Employment and Immigration Statistics, reported in the *Toronto Star*, 30 May 1992). Already today, one of every nine residents of B.C. is Asian-born, and over half of Vancouver's school-age population speaks a first language other than English. A recent United Nations report cites Toronto as the most "ethnically mixed" city in the world.

Most importantly, in the space of two decades after 1967, the Canadian working class and trade union movement became decisively multiracial. For the ruling class, accepting non-white immigration had nothing to do with a sudden conversion to "pluralism," "human rights" and "liberalism." As Asian and Caribbean workers were imported to work in the farms and forests of B.C. and the plants and transit systems of Southern Ontario, the capitalist rulers sought to keep the proletariat divided against itself on racial and ethnic lines in order to cripple its ability to fight back against capitalist attacks.

### Multiculturalism: Liberal Mask for State-Sponsored Racism

On October 8, 1971, Liberal prime minister Pierre Trudeau rose in the House of Commons to announce the government's new policy of "official multiculturalism." Contrary to the mythology carefully crafted by its apologists, official multiculturalism was not a liberal reform. Rather, it was, in the words of sociologist Subhas Ramcharan, a conscious "furthering of the practice of separate but unequal which has been the institutional arrangement of the past."

In his 1971 speech, Trudeau declaimed that the new policy "should help to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies." Pierre Trudeau was probably the most fluent hypocrite ever to occupy Sussex Drive: the real intent of multiculturalism was, and could only be, exactly the opposite. As a cynical ploy to corral "ethnic" votes for the federal Liberals, it proved wildly successful. By channeling pork-barrel grants to



Legault/Ponopresse

Turkish immigrants protest racist deportations on Parliament Hill, April 1988.

dance troops and cultural organizations, the Liberals have tied an influential layer of petty-bourgeois immigrant "community leaders" to their purse strings. But official multiculturalism had a deeper and more sinister purpose for a ruling class confronted by an increasingly multiracial proletariat.

Multiculturalism was designed to encourage the "voluntary" cultural and racial segregation of the population. By actively discouraging the integration of immigrant communities, the bourgeoisie has established de facto residential segregation, a kind of "liberal" apartheid decked out in traditional costumes, thus helping to foster racism and chauvinism against "other," especially non-white, populations. Thus this summer elements in Toronto's Italian community went berserk over a plan by black organizers to stage a Caribana parade along Eglinton Avenue, a borderline between a West Indian neighborhood and "Little Italy." And attempts by large numbers of black and Asian minorities to move into "white" districts—like the recent influx of South Asians to Brampton near Toronto and Surrey in the B.C. Lower Mainland—are inevitably met with a racist backlash.

The "multicultural" profusion of ethnically and racially segregated neighborhoods with quaint names often masks a bitter reality of poverty and racism. "Somalitown" in the Toronto suburb of Etobicoke is a dumping ground for thousands of destitute refugees from civil war and the UN's colonialist invasion of the Horn of Africa. "Somalitown" consists of a cluster of run-down, overcrowded highrises patrolled by racist security guards with attack dogs.

The policy of multiculturalism has meant one thing for white Europeans and quite another for Caribbean blacks and other immigrants from imperialism's neocolonies. While the children of European immigrants can eventually integrate into "Canadian society," blacks and Asians cannot. Especially in periods of economic downturn like today, when the capitalists have little need for cheap immigrant labor, the ghettoization of the multiracial proletariat is used to help set up whole non-white

communities for repression and deportation. Having asserted the "equality" of cultures in the Canadian "mosaic," the ruling class then discovers that some cultures are more disposed to terrorism and crime than others, and thus more at odds with "Canadian values."

This year, Jamaicans are the target of opportunity for a racist, state-sponsored crusade against "immigrant crime." The murder of Georgina Leimonis and killing of Metro Toronto policeman Todd Baylis, allegedly by Jamaican immigrants, have been used by the cops and the Chrétien Liberals to vilify all Jamaicans as criminals. "Their" neighborhoods—especially Toronto's Jane/Finch corridor and Lawrence Heights—have been singled out as lawless war zones to justify unrestrained racist cop terror.

Police repression is combined with demands for stepped-up deportations. One senior Metro police officer railed against the "constant parade of Jamaican drug dealers, most of whom can't read or write," and demanded fingerprint ID cards for all immigrants: "If people want to come into this country, they shouldn't mind being fingerprinted and having those prints kept on file. It means trampling on some civil rights" (*Toronto Sun*, 15 July).

### For a Revolutionary Workers Party, Tribune of the Oppressed!

In the context of deep economic depression and the increasing deindustrialization of the Canadian economy, anti-immigrant racism is today a spearhead for broad-ranging capitalist attacks against the working people. Immigration has become a lightning rod for racists who want to scapegoat minorities for the crisis of Canadian capitalism. In particular, Preston Manning's Reform Party has moved into the mainstream of bourgeois politics with its attacks against multiculturalism and demands for a sharp cut in immigration levels, together with its chauvinist hostility to "special status" for the Québécois.

From a right-wing Western populist party, Reform has been transformed into the main spokesman for the "Reaganite" wing of the ruling class. With official unemployment over 11 percent, this section of the ruling class sees no percentage in maintaining significant immigration in order to keep wage levels down; instead they push open union-busting and racist "law and order" police terrorism as means of social control. But today *all wings* of the bourgeoisie are agreed on hammering the unions and shredding the "social safety net," while using anti-immigrant racism to deflect workers' anger. Thus the difference between Reform and the ruling Liberals is not one of program, but of tactfulness, tactics and timing.

The pro-capitalist trade union bureaucracy, with its poisonous "Canada first" protectionism, portrays workers in other countries—Mexicans, Japanese, Americans—as the source of unemployment and "runaway" plants. Thus they play straight into the hands of the union-busting bigots. And the social-democratic NDP provincial governments in Ontario and B.C. have been in the forefront of capitalist attacks against refugees and immigrants, even as they also gut the social programs on which millions of working people depend.

The racial oppression which is inherent to capitalism can only be fought through the methods of *class struggle*. From the auto plants of Southern Ontario to the sawmills of B.C., much of the Canadian working class is now decisively multiracial. Foreign-born workers can bring to the Canadian proletariat a wealth of experience and lessons from the class struggle abroad. To defend their own immediate interests, the working people must actively take up the cause of their immigrant brothers and

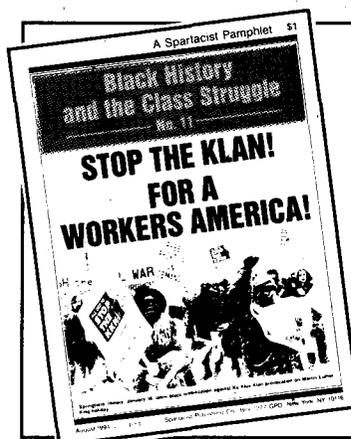
sisters against the bosses' parties and state. This requires political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor tops and NDP social democrats, and a fight to build a class-struggle leadership of the union movement.

To forge the class solidarity vital to its own defense, the labor movement must demand *full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!* It must champion the right to political asylum for refugees. *No deportations! Everyone who has made it into this country has the right to live and work here!* It must come to the aid of immigrant workers trapped in the lowest paid, most menial and dangerous jobs. *Organize the unorganized!* It must combat discriminatory hiring practices by fighting for *union control of hiring, including an aggressive recruitment and training drive aimed at minorities and women.*

A battle to defend immigrant rights can launch the fight for a multiracial *revolutionary workers party* which alone can lead the working class to power. We of the Trotskyist League fight to build the nucleus of such a party, not least through our consistent opposition to racist state terror and anti-immigrant attacks. On the streets and in our press, we have exposed and resisted the state's repeated "terrorism" scares targeting Arab and Sikh Canadians, as well as the "war on drugs" which has been used to justify the declaration of an open season on black youth by trigger-happy cops. In 1987, when Ottawa introduced draconian anti-immigrant legislation in the wake of racist hysteria whipped up against refugees from Sri Lanka, we mass-distributed a special *Spartacist Canada* supplement demanding: "Stop the Racist Backlash! Political Asylum for All Tamil Refugees!" Last January, supporters of the Spartacus Youth Club at Toronto's York University were the first to organize protest action against the Ontario NDP's move to cut foreign-born workers and students off medicare.

Two years ago, thousands of Toronto-area youths—black, white, Asian, Latin American and Arab—exploded against racist cop terror in a demonstration that has become known as the "Yonge Street riot." At the time, the bourgeoisie and its yellow press went into paroxysms of violence-baiting against this integrated protest action. Beyond the multiracial youth eruption, they rightly glimpsed the specter of united *class* struggle which they have fought for over a century to prevent.

Only such unified struggle can beat back the attacks of the rulers in Ottawa and the provinces. And only the destruction of the entire capitalist system of racism, poverty and war through workers revolution can open the road to genuine human freedom. We communists look forward to a socialist future where racism and national animosity will be supplanted by the mutual voluntary assimilation of cultures and nations. Fight anti-immigrant reaction! Workers of the world unite! ■



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## Quebec...

(continued from page 1)

Pierre Trudeau threatened to "use the sword" of military force to maintain a unitary Canadian state. Similar threats are surfacing again today, penned by prominent academics and journalists and printed in big-business publications from the *Financial Post* to the *Globe and Mail*.

The bankers' and bosses' offensive against Quebec is abetted by the social-democratic union misleaders as well as the NDP. Their Canada-first, Maple Leaf Forever chauvinism mobilizes the working people of English Canada behind the very capitalist class that is decimating their lives. Instead of holding out the hand of unity in working-class struggle, for a common fight against a common class enemy, the union bureaucrats harden national divisions among the workers.

When confronted by such an apparently seamless and impenetrable wall of hostility, is it any wonder that many Québécois workers are driven to seek refuge under the nationalists' banners? We say: Down with the crusade for "Canadian unity," which ties English Canadian workers to the capitalist rulers of Ottawa and Bay Street! The people of Quebec have the elementary democratic right to decide whether or not to separate and form an independent state. Labor: Defend Quebec's right to self-determination!

As revolutionary internationalists, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste has consistently and unconditionally upheld Quebec's right to independence. In 1977-78 we picketed Trudeau's Task Force on Canadian Unity in Toronto and Vancouver. Our trade union supporters have raised motions in their locals in defense of the right to self-determination. And we actively urged a No vote in Mulroney's "Save Canada" Charlottetown referendum, which sought to maintain the status quo in the bourgeoisie's oppressive, chauvinist state.

The workers of English Canada and Quebec need to *unite* in joint class struggle to beat back the endless capitalist onslaught on jobs, working conditions and social services. But such unity can only be forged through unstinting opposition in English Canada to anti-Québécois chauvinism.

### PQ/Bloc Québécois: Nationalist Enemies of Quebec Labor

At the same time we say openly to the workers of Quebec that nationalism is a trap which delivers them into the hands of the capitalists. The nationalist PQ and Bloc Québécois are tools of the Québécois bourgeoisie and sworn enemies of labor and the oppressed. They want independence in order better to exploit the Quebec working class, for their own profit.

Jacques Parizeau, a self-described *haut bourgeois*, was the hard-line finance minister in the last PQ government. He helped orchestrate the sweeping attacks on the public-sector union Common Front in 1982-83 which eliminated thousands of jobs and slashed workers' wages by up to 20 percent. Only four years ago, Lucien Bouchard sat in the federal cabinet of his friend Brian Mulroney, helping to wage the Tories' country-wide war against workers and the poor. Yet these are the people who Quebec's labor "leaders" tell the workers to support!

Today mass poverty stalks Quebec from Montreal to the Gaspésie. Even the bosses admit that real unemployment is a horrific 26 percent. Parizeau, Bouchard & Co. offer only continued capitalist austerity, wrapped in the *fleurdelisé*. They want to be the bourgeois masters of an independent Quebec—to run

their very own imperialist state of the third rank, a North American Belgium or Austria based on trade with the U.S. inside the North American "free trade" zone. They even pledge to keep using the Canadian dollar, English queen and all.

The PQ has underlined its capitalist respectability with the recruitment of "star" big-business candidates like Richard Le Hir, head of the Quebec Manufacturers Association. Explaining



SC photo

Trotskyist League protests attacks on French language rights at July 1990 Toronto demonstration.

the adherence of many Québécois capitalists to the separatist cause, Le Hir noted that the free-trade deal with Washington "removed the fear of Quebec products being stuck without a market." And he cited the sharply changed social climate since the 1960s and early '70s: "Back then, everyone thought that if Quebec went on its own it would be a Cuba of the north because the influence of the left inside the Parti Québécois was so strong. The threat of the left no longer exists."

Two decades ago the threat of a "Cuba of the north"—i.e., revolutionary social struggle—came not from a supposed PQ left wing but from the powerful Québécois proletariat, then the most militant in all North America. The 1972 Quebec general strike, in which workers seized entire towns, sent shock waves throughout Canada. As the strike spread from the Montreal docks to every corner of Quebec, reaching semi-insurrectionary proportions, Trudeau railed that the unions were out to "destroy the country." But the pro-capitalist labor tops ordered the strikers back to work—and channeled labor combativity straight into the arms of the anti-union PQ. Today, yet again, the labor misleaders are telling the workers to vote PQ...and cut their own throats.

"Next year, my country" say the banners waved by Péquiste supporters. Is this what decades of class struggle, from the 1949 Asbestos strike to the 1972 general strike and the Common Fronts were for? To swap one set of capitalist bosses for another? It is the working class which must be *maîtres chez eux* (masters in their own house)—everywhere!

Knowing full well that there is less than wild enthusiasm for "sovereignty" (polls show support stuck at 40 percent), the Péquistes are downplaying the call for independence in the election campaign. They hope instead that vague talk of "good government" and the need for a "change" from the unpopular Liberal regime of Robert Bourassa and his successor Daniel Johnson will be enough to get them elected. But the "change"

the workers need is a fight for *independent class politics*: not the PQ, but a workers party that fights for a workers government! Not "unity" with the Parizeaus and Le Hirs in the interest of the Québécois bosses, but a common struggle against capitalism with workers across Canada and throughout North America!

### Defend Immigrants and Native People!

The capitalist politicians on both sides of the Ottawa River are engaged in an offensive against immigrants and Native people. By splitting apart the working class along race, ethnic and national lines, they deflect struggle against themselves and seek to weld the population to their "own" rulers, be they the descendants of white British colonialists or *pure laine* Québécois.

In both English Canada and Quebec, the most vociferous chauvinists are also the most rabid racists. The "English only" bigots who stomped on Quebec flags in Brockville and passed anti-French laws in Sault Ste. Marie are cut from the same cloth as the racists who foment hatred against black and Asian immigrants in Toronto. Meanwhile right-wing Quebec nationalists have joined pro-independence demonstrations with signs calling to stop non-francophone immigration, and pogromist mobs have set upon Somali refugees in east-end Montreal.

Militant workers in both English Canada and Quebec must oppose the racist chauvinism of their "own" capitalists and take up the cause of immigrants and refugees. Stop the deportations—Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Against the bigots and nationalists who push "English only" in Ontario or "French only" in Quebec, labor must take a clear stand for equal language rights for all!

The Native peoples are also caught in a deadly crossfire. When the Mohawks rose up in 1990 to defend their historic burial ground at Oka, Ottawa besieged them with thousands of heavily armed troops. This federal intervention was supported not only by the Liberal Quebec government, but also by *indépendantistes* like Parizeau and the PQ, who whipped up a racist *racaille* against the Mohawks. The Péquistes' frenzy matched up perfectly with the likes of the anti-Quebec Reform Party, which screamed that the army and police had been "too soft." Both wanted to see Native blood spilt.

In the face of the PQ's vicious anti-Native crusade, some aboriginal leaders have vowed to oppose the formation of an independent Quebec. Suicidally, some have even called on Ottawa to intervene to "defend the First Nations" (and this after Oka!) in the event of separation. The federal Indian Affairs Minister declared that Native people "want to remain a part of Canada and I think they have that right," to which Lucien Bouchard shot back that "not an inch" of Quebec territory would be ceded to Canada.

Here is the sordid logic of nationalism in full flower. Having dispossessed the surviving aboriginal population, who suffer Third World living conditions on the destitute reserves, the Anglo-chauvinist Canadian capitalists now cynically parade as defenders of Native rights in order to attack the Québécois' right to independence. At the same time, the Quebec

nationalists make clear that "freedom" for them means suppressing the Native people.

We demand that whatever residual rights the aboriginal peoples have been able to maintain be respected, and that all treaties be honored. Cops and army, stay off the reserves! In cases where Native land claims have conflicted with socially useful developments like railways, hydroelectric projects and oil pipelines, there must be generous compensation for any deprivation of land or disruption of activity, based on completely consensual agreement. Only the overthrow of capitalism through joint struggle of the workers and oppressed—English Canadian, Québécois, immigrant, Native—can put an end to the all-sided oppression of Native people and permit their voluntary integration in an egalitarian socialist society.

### For a Workers North America!

Underlying the tensions between the English Canadian and Québécois wings of the bourgeoisie which threaten the break-up of present-day Canada are profound global events. The "New World Order" ushered in by the collapse of the Soviet Union has brought a new rise of interimperialist rivalries and trade wars, as the most powerful capitalist states (the U.S., Germany and Japan) carve out trade blocs and compete for domination. Increasing sections of Québécois capital believe that an independent Quebec within the U.S.-dominated NAFTA zone would be both viable and more efficient than the present cumbersome Canadian federation.

A July 26 feature article in Bay Street's flagship *Globe and Mail* warned that the September 12 election "will be a landmark in Quebec history, and possibly the beginning of a new era in Canada." Earlier in the summer Lucien Bouchard mused, in

(continued on page 20)



Christopher Morris  
 "Next year, my country": Quebec nationalists march on St. Jean Baptiste holiday.

## Quebec...

(continued from page 19)

a private speech to the Chamber of Commerce in Ottawa that Western Canada could end up being annexed to the U.S. following Quebec secession from Confederation. Indeed, Quebec independence could well be a prelude to the dismemberment of the entire country. As working-class internationalists we of course have no interest in propping up the current artificial and oppressive Canadian capitalist state. But we recognize that the break-up of English Canada at this time could only strengthen the power of U.S. imperialism against the workers of North America and the world, and would oppose this as contrary to working-class interests.

No constitutional or parliamentary-reformist tinkering will solve the massive problems facing workers and the oppressed under this crisis-wracked system. All wings of the capitalist class, English Canadian and Québécois alike, are agreed on the need to continue deep-going austerity attacks against the workers and poor. While provincial governments, notably including the NDP, hack away at jobs and services, the federal Liberals are preparing another \$10 billion in spending cuts over the next year. Bank of Montreal chief economist Lloyd Atkinson warned that the Liberals' 1995 budget will mean "blood in the streets," as tens of thousands more jobs are destroyed and whole social programs eliminated.

The binational, multiracial working class has the social

power to fight back and defeat these attacks through united class struggle. Factory closures and mass layoffs should be met with *plant seizures* linked to industry-wide strike action. The answer to mass unemployment is a class-wide fight for jobs for all, through a *shorter workweek at no loss in pay*. But such measures point to the need for a *socialist planned economy*, which can only be achieved through a proletarian seizure of power.

The federal public sector workers—Québécois, English Canadian, immigrant—who staged integrated mass demonstrations through Ottawa/Hull during the 1991 PSAC strike showed the potential for united class struggle cutting across the national divide. The auto workers of Ste.-Thérèse, Oshawa and Windsor; the unemployed fishery workers of the Maritimes and the Gaspésie; the workers, including many thousands of immigrants, who toil in the factories, offices and hospitals of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver—all have the same class interests and the same class enemy.

With our co-thinkers in the U.S., Mexico and throughout the world, we Trotskyists fight to build an *internationalist revolutionary workers party* which can unite the working class to overthrow bankrupt capitalism and win a future for us all. Such a party will defend Quebec's national rights while calling on Québécois workers to oppose their "own" national capitalists. It will take up the cause of immigrants, Native people and all oppressed. It will take as its watchword the unified class struggle of the workers throughout this continent leading to the North American socialist revolution. ■

## NDP "Lefts" ...

(continued from page 8)

the workers who are imprisoned in these bureaucratically-controlled and state-supported institutions."

The *Bulletin* declares that trade unions in the imperialist world have "been transformed into corporatist appendages of big business." As our American comrades pointed out in "Workers League vs. the Unions" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 580, 16 July 1993):

"This is pretty rich coming from North & Co., who for years have issued endless appeals to the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO traitors to do everything from call a general strike to form a labor party.... The one constant for the Northites is their identification of the unions with the pro-capitalist bureaucratic apparatus which chains them to the bosses' state."

The Northites assert that the *unions* are no longer workers' organizations—yet for years they appealed for support from the wretched union *bureaucracy* in their vile campaign to help keep American Socialist Workers Party member Mark Curtis behind bars for 25 years on frame-up charges of burglary and sexual abuse.

The anti-Communist social democrats who make up the Canadian labor bureaucracy have spent decades diverting and betraying workers' struggles—through nationalism, racist protectionism and NDP parliamentarism—into the hands of the bosses. But the unions themselves remain the principal mass organizations of the working class. What is necessary is a communist fight for leadership. Writing off the unions' potential to act in pursuit of the class struggle and kowtowing to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy are flip sides of the same coin. Both variants leave the leadership in the hands of the social democrats, and avoid the necessary political fight to transform the

unions into weapons of the proletarian struggle for power. At this level, the Northites are united with pro-NDP outfits like Socialist Action and Labour Militant.

"Is the party over?" the social-democratic "left" wonders in confusion. No, it has yet to be built. We in the Trotskyist League will continue our fight for a class-struggle leadership of the trade unions and a revolutionary workers party, necessary instrument of the workers' emancipation. ■

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 Time/Date: 7:30 p.m., Saturday 1 October  
 Place: Bloor St. United Church  
 300 Bloor St. W. (at Huron, east of Spadina)

For more information: (416) 593-4138

## Hands Off Haiti!...

(continued from page 24)

Pigs to countless assassination attempts on Castro in a relentless drive to destroy this social revolution in its "backyard." Now Clinton is ratcheting up bellicose threats against Cuba, while the likes of U.S. Democratic Representative Robert Toricelli clamor to smash the Castro regime. *Defend Cuba against U.S. imperialism!*

For Clinton and the American ruling class, the end of the Cold War means the U.S. should be global gendarme of the "New World Order," certainly within the Western hemisphere. As in the Persian Gulf slaughter, Somalia and now Rwanda, the UN fig leaf provides a modern "humanitarian" cover for a very old game of imperial domination. And, as always, America's partners to the north are doing their bit: from sending the notorious, fascist-infested Canadian Airborne to Rwanda (fresh from torturing black Somalians to death) to supplying ships and troops as part of the blockade against Haiti.

It's a sign of the times when *Newsweek* (18 July) presents "The Case for Kind Colonialism"! In a debate titled, "Should We Invade Haiti?" the racist "pro" side echoes Clinton's classic "it's in our backyard" rationale, while the racist "con" side argues that Haiti represents no vital U.S. interests and besides it's a "snake pit." In the "New World Order," the doves of yesteryear have become rabid interventionists in Bosnia, Haiti and Rwanda, while old-time hawks have gone "isolationist"—in good part because they love Haitian strongman General Cedras.

These days, the phrase on every liberal ideologue's lips is "saving failed states"—under the aegis of UN "multilateralism." UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali has long been among the advocates of this "new" colonialism, arguing that "the time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty...has passed" (*An Agenda for Peace*, June 1992). He is joined by the social-democratic frontmen for imperialism: in mid-July former federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent called on "the countries of the Western hemisphere [to] act decisively" and invade Haiti.

The plans are already in place: an invasion force of 15,000 followed up by a "multinational" occupation force of 25,000, including some 3,000 Canadians. Grotesquely, Washington asked Israel to participate as "peacekeepers"—no doubt based on their years of experience bloodily "pacifying" the Palestinian people. Whatever happens to the current rulers, the Haitian army will remain intact, to be used as an auxiliary to U.S./UN occupation forces *in order to prevent a popular uprising*. The ultimate size of the anticipated invasion force along with a multimillion-dollar "reconstruction plan" makes it clear that Washington's aim is once again to occupy Haiti for years, turning it into a direct colonial protectorate as it was under the U.S. military from 1915 to 1934. As that occupation showed, the racist U.S. imperialists are a far more oppressive force than their local henchmen and would only impose another grisly dictatorship on black Haiti.

Until recently, the Clinton administration's official policy has been to force out the Haitian military junta through economic sanctions. Stiffened UN-sponsored trade sanctions were instituted last May. These measures only pile further miseries on Haiti's impoverished masses while the military rulers and their wealthy backers make fabulous profits off contraband fuel



Savigno/Reuters

Woman murdered by U.S.-trained Haitian military death squads.

and control of the food trade. Since they were imposed last year, the UN sanctions have driven up the price of food and medicine several-fold so that malnutrition has increased dramatically. While rich Haitians transfer money to accounts in Europe, Clinton's latest measures, also imposed by Ottawa, will limit the amount of money Haitians in the U.S. and Canada can send to their families to insure their survival. *Down with the imperialist starvation blockade!*

In a week and a half in early July, well over 10,000 desperate Haitian refugees were kidnapped by the U.S. on the high seas and shipped off to its concentration camp in Guantánamo, the U.S. naval base which was stolen from Cuba, and a hospital ship anchored off Kingston, Jamaica. On July 4 alone the Coast Guard picked up 3,247 from leaky boats in a single day. This was almost one and a half times the figure for all of 1993. Two days later a Canadian destroyer "rescued" a boatload of refugees—and turned them over to the U.S. navy. In 1993 Canada accepted a grand total of 333 Haitian refugees—and deported 133. The bottom line for the white racist North American rulers is to keep black Haitians out. We demand: *Stop the racist seizures—Asylum for Haitian refugees!*

The previous U.S. invasion of Haiti in 1915 touched off a revolt of the *cacos*, peasant bands led by Charlemagne Peralte, which lasted for five years until it was drowned in blood by the U.S. Marines. The U.S. military systematically burned and bombed villages and murdered thousands. A newspaper report at the time described how they "opened fire with machine guns from airplanes upon defenseless Haitian villages," how they killed "men, women, and children in the open market places," and how Haitians "were slain for 'sport'" (see Hans Schmidt, *The United States Occupation of Haiti 1915-1934* [1971]). Masses of peasants were evicted from their land to make way for the concessions to Standard Fruit for banana production. Anyone caught without a "good citizen" pass was summarily shot by the Marines or their sadistic henchmen of the gendarmes (forerunner of the present Haitian army).

The moment the stranglehold of the military regime—with its thousands of paramilitary thugs (from the remnants of the

(continued on page 22)

## Hands Off Haiti!...

(continued from page 21)

feared Tontons Macoutes to the *attachés* linked to the army and police)—is loosened, there will be an outpouring of cries for vengeance from the Haitian masses. These calls for *dechoukaj* (uprooting) of this system of organized murder will have an enormous resonance, as they did when the Duvalier regime was ousted in 1986. And indeed, in order to lift the iron heel of perpetual military rule it is necessary to root out this system down to the last rural "section chief." But this will run straight into the U.S. Marines' bayonets and can easily be dissipated into the settling of individual scores. Marxist revolutionaries fight for *people's tribunals to bring the Macoute criminals to justice! Smash the bloody junta—For a workers and peasants government in Haiti! Pouvoir ouvrier—Workers to power!*

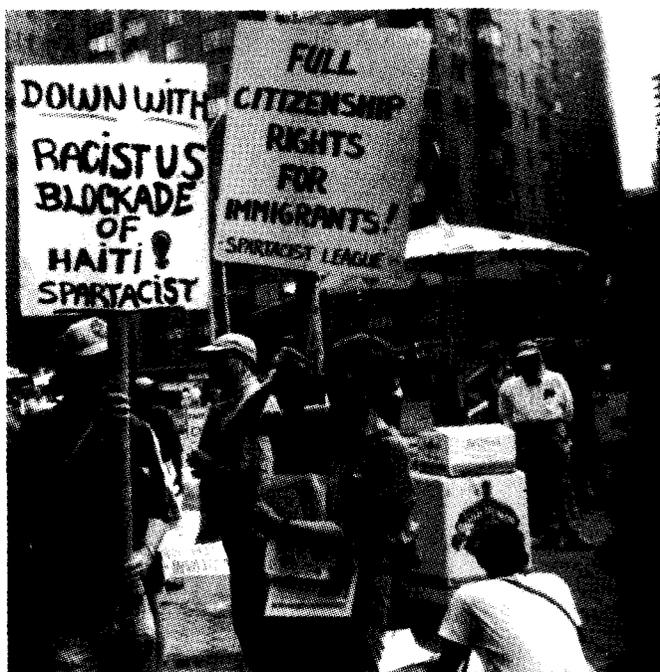
But the fate of the Haitian masses will not be decided in Haiti alone. Key to any struggle against the Haitian military rulers and their U.S. puppet masters is the sizable mass of Haitian working people in the diaspora concentrated along the Eastern seaboard of North America, from Montreal to Miami. They form a living bridge to the North American proletariat, particularly its militant component of black workers. The struggle against a U.S./UN invasion, and against the hideous poverty and oppression of the Haitian masses under capitalism, must be part of an international class struggle against imperialism.

### U.S. Imperialism's Invasion Plan

U.S. plans for a military intervention are not a last-minute affair. On June 12, the *Washington Post* reported that Defense Department sources had revealed that the Pentagon contingency plan called for "a force of 25,000 to 50,000 Army airborne, naval and special operations personnel who would secure Haiti's political and military power centers in a rapid assault." This imperialist juggernaut is obviously intended for more than bringing to heel the 7,000-man, lightly armed Haitian army.

U.S. officials are above all concerned to intimidate the Haitian population and make any resistance appear suicidal. Originally, Washington officials suggested a "peacekeeping" force of 3,000 to 4,000 would be sufficient. But this number has now been more than tripled, "because Washington wants to insure that it would be able to deal with any eventuality in Haiti, particularly in light of the polarization of Haitian society" (*New York Times*, 25 June). Dealing with "any eventuality" means suppressing popular revolt. The lists of Aristide supporters which have been gathered by U.S. immigration personnel provide a very useful hit list of "troublemakers" in the event of an occupation. Indeed, the racist colonial occupation could itself very possibly provoke a mass uprising, even in the face of dreadfully overwhelming firepower.

It is the fear of spreading "instability" in the region, sparked by a revolt of the Haitian masses, which explains why the Clinton administration considers that military occupation of Haiti would be necessary to "keep order through December 1995, the end of Father Aristide's term" (*New York Times*, 30 May). An uprising in Haiti could indeed quickly spread to the neighboring Dominican Republic, where tens of thousands of Haitians perform near slave labor in the sugar fields. There is also mass discontent over the recent Dominican elections, dominated by virulent racism. The Balaguer regime accused its main opponent, Peña Gómez, who is black, of wanting to fuse the country with Haiti, and in many areas black voters had to produce birth



Workers Vanguard

### New York protest against threatened invasion of Haiti.

certificates to prove they weren't Haitians!

The Pentagon has announced that some "technical support troops" would be deployed in the Dominican Republic, and Canada is also sending military officers there. During the last U.S. occupation of Haiti, the Marines also occupied Santo Domingo, carrying out widespread massacres and leading to the installation of the Trujillo dictatorship. It is the duty of Dominican Marxists to oppose their own racist rulers' oppression of Haitians, and to promote united class struggle throughout the island. Revolutionaries throughout the region, particularly in the U.S. and Canada, would militarily support any struggle against a U.S./UN invasion, even by any maverick elements of the Haitian military who don't simply do the bidding of the American masters and instead take up arms against the imperialists.

It is undoubtedly a sign of the widespread misgivings about the "humanitarian" intentions of U.S. imperialism among the Haitian people that Aristide has spun 180 degrees on supporting a U.S. military intervention. After giving backhanded support to imperialist intervention by calling for "swift and determined action," suddenly in late June he started declaring that he was "against a military invasion." But Aristide is careful not to exceed the bounds of loyalty to his overlords in Washington; in July he submitted a letter to help ensure the passage of the UN resolution authorizing an invasion. Meanwhile, the RCMP has begun training some 100 Haitian exiles—a proposal made by Aristide to Ottawa last January—to serve as police under the imperialist occupation forces.

We have insisted that the liberation of Haiti, where Toussaint L'Ouverture led the first successful slave revolt in history in conjunction with the French Revolution, will come about not by appealing to the "democratic" pretensions of the imperialists in Washington, Ottawa and the UN, but through internationalist class struggle. What is needed is a Trotskyist party uniting the North American proletariat with its Caribbean brothers and sisters in struggle for socialist revolution.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 603 and 604, 8 July and 5 August

# Defend Cuba With International Class Struggle!

U.S. Democratic Party president Bill Clinton is turning the screws tighter on the beleaguered Cuban deformed workers state. By reversing its previous "open door" policy and opting for internment of anti-Castro "refugees" at the U.S. base at Guantánamo, Clinton has provocatively escalated U.S. imperialism's effort to spark an anti-Communist insurrection against the Cuban Revolution. At the same time, Washington has threatened a full-scale naval blockade which, if implemented, would constitute an act of war. U.S. out of Guantánamo! Down with American war threats!

The capitalist media seek to whip up an anti-Communist frenzy over the *balseros* (raft people) leaving the island. This flight is cynically provoked by the imperialists, with their brutal starvation embargo and sabotage of legal immigration. Yet the fact that some thousands (including many who do *not* oppose the regime) are willing to risk their lives in flimsy crafts in the Florida Straits shows how desperate Cuba's economic situation has become under the U.S. imperialist onslaught. This has been exacerbated by the Castro regime's own measures which have made Cuba increasingly a "two-class" society—those with dollars and those without—opening the way to counterrevolution.

At the same time, in recent weeks huge numbers of the Cuban working people have shown their readiness to defend their revolution. Half a million demonstrated in Havana on August 7 to protest the murder of a black Cuban policeman by escaping *gusanos* (worms). This followed a militant intervention of thousands of workers who mobilized to sweep the streets of counterrevolutionary rioters two days before.

On August 27, a hundred protesters picketed the U.S. consulate in Toronto, chanting "U.S./Canada: Hands off Cuba!" The demonstration was called by the pro-Castro Communist League (CL—Canadian supporters of the American Socialist Workers Party), the Canada-Cuba Friendship Association and others. Self-styled *fidelistas* CL spokesman John Steele faithfully placed defense of the revolution in the hands of the Stalinist, nationalist Castro regime. Miguel Figueroa, national leader of Stalinist remnants of the Communist Party of Canada, urged reliance on the Canadian capitalist state. Figueroa demanded that the federal Liberal government "come on side" to help restrain American imperialism.

Trotskyist League supporters joined the protest carrying placards proclaiming: "Defend Cuba! For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!" and "Cuba in Peril—High Time for Workers Democracy!" We print below remarks to the demonstration by a Trotskyist League spokesman.

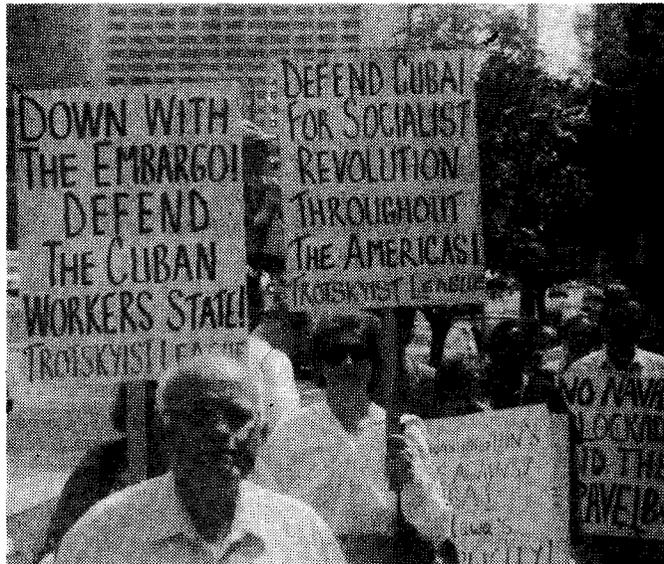
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Brothers and sisters, the Cuban Revolution is in deadly danger. The recent provocations by the U.S. Democratic Party administration are escalations of their policy to starve the Cuban workers state and to instigate a counterrevolutionary insurrection. The Trotskyist League defends the Cuban social revolution and we demand that the U.S. and Canadian imperialists keep their bloody hands off Cuba and Haiti, and get the hell out of the Caribbean!

The current imperialist threat to Cuba is a result of capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, which has freed the imperialist powers to go marauding all over the world, from the Caribbean to Africa to the Balkans. We resisted Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolution, unlike many self-styled leftists, like

the Communist League, who actually cheered it as a working class victory. But for Soviet working people, for Yugoslavs and Somalis, and not least for Cubans, the sequel to this so-called victory is clear for all to see.

The recent mobilizations of hundreds of thousands of Cuban working people against the U.S. and their *gusano* fifth column



SC photo

## Toronto demo in defense of Cuba, August 27.

show that the Cuban people stand ready to defend their revolution. But especially with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Cuban Stalinist regime's attempt to build socialism on one tiny impoverished island, next door to the most powerful imperialist state on earth, is starkly exposed as the pipedream it always was. The Castro Stalinists have no solution to the impasse of the Cuban Revolution beyond their nationalist appeals to lift the blockade and respect Cuba's national independence.

We call for lifting the imperialist starvation blockade of Cuba. But that by itself is not enough. In fact, a whole wing of imperialism, especially the Canadian ruling class, want to lift the blockade in order to destroy the revolution economically through a massive invasion of imperialist capital and goods. The Canadian capitalists and all their parties, including what's left of the NDP, want to see the anti-capitalist Cuban Revolution destroyed no less than their U.S. senior partners. If they differ at all, it is only over the method. Appealing to the Canadian government to help the Cuban Revolution is a suicidal illusion, for Cubans and Canadians. This state is our common enemy.

What is necessary to defend the Cuban Revolution is international class struggle here in the imperialist heartland, leading to North American socialist revolution. That requires a fight to build an internationalist, revolutionary workers party here at home. At the same time the Cuban working people must take political power into their own hands through workers councils based on workers democracy and proletarian internationalism.

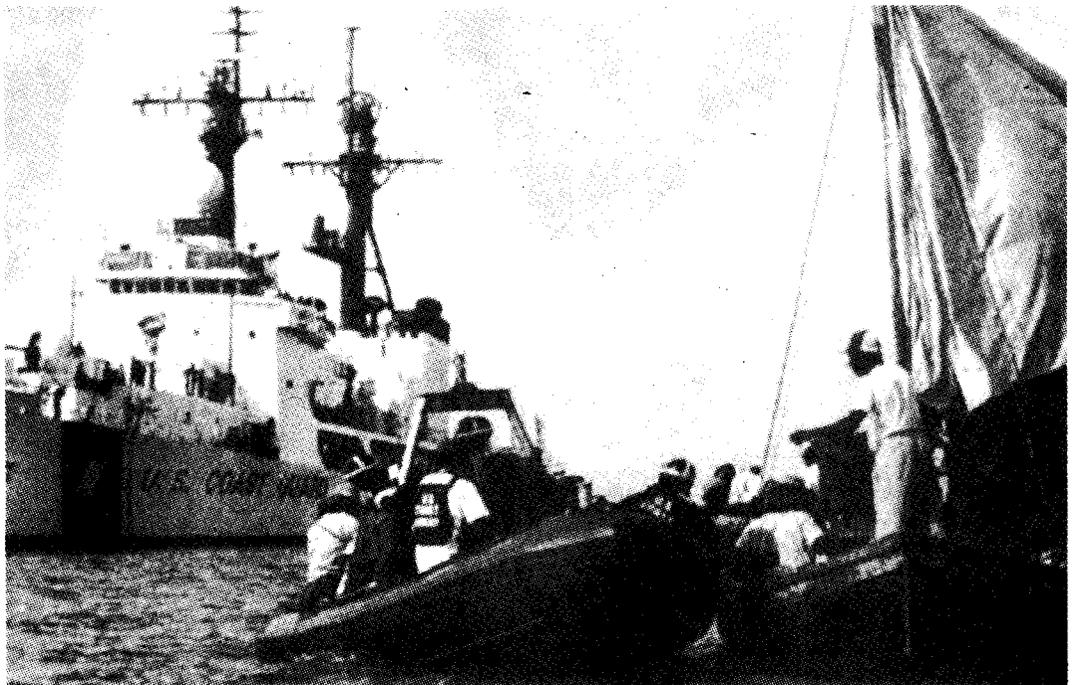
Together with our Cuban brothers and sisters, the working people of North America can and must destroy the oppressive imperialist system of racism, poverty and war. Organized in a reformed, revolutionary Fourth International, we can win our freedom by overthrowing capitalism worldwide. In defense of Cuba and ourselves, workers of the world, unite! ■



## No to Colonial Invasion! Asylum for Haitian Refugees!

# U.S., Canada: Hands Off Haiti!

On July 31 the United Nations rubber-stamped an American resolution "authorizing" a U.S. invasion of Haiti. That month 17 U.S. warships carrying 2,800 Marines and nearly 6,000 naval personnel massed in the area just north of the country, conducting mock raids and "rescue" scenarios. Their mission: "to evacuate American citizens and designated foreign nationals, if necessary." This is the same excuse Washington used for its invasion of the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983, for the 1965 invasion of Santo Domingo and countless other neocolonial adventures. *The international working class must oppose imperialist intervention!*



As Clinton threatens military invasion in the name of "democracy," U.S. Coast Guard cutter captures Haitians who flee murderous junta terror. AFP

The American bourgeoisie and their Canadian-junior partners claim that their starvation embargo and military moves are aimed at "restoring democracy," ousting the blood-drenched military regime and reinstalling popularly elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide to office. This is a brazen lie. In fact, the junta officers were trained and installed—and can be removed—by Washington. When the U.S. wanted to dump General Prosper Avril in 1990, all it took was a phone call and a visit from the American ambassador, and an Air Force plane to transport him to Miami. Disposable puppets who prove obstreperous can be eliminated the way Kennedy did it when the CIA authorized some of its "assets" in the Dominican military to get rid of Trujillo in 1961. The tacking and turning of Washington's policy on Haiti reflects deep divisions in the

bourgeoisie over whether to dump the generals (considered too openly bloody to embrace) and restore Aristide (viewed as an "unstable" radical despite his demonstrated fealty to the U.S.).

From the start we have denounced the economic sanctions against Haiti as an *act of war*, demanding "Down with the starvation blockade—Imperialist hands off Haiti!" We have further warned of the danger these neocolonial war moves pose to the Cuban deformed workers state, just across the Windward Passage, whose economy is being battered by the vindictive U.S. boycott, particularly after Soviet aid was cut off three years ago. Ever since the Castro regime expropriated the capitalists in 1960, establishing a bureaucratically deformed workers state, Washington has tried everything from invasion at the Bay of

*(continued on page 21)*

## Defend Cuba Against Imperialist Threats!