

Lautens/Toronto Star



Chartrand/CP

Federal election exposed the depth of national divide, following vicious Anglo-chauvinist campaign. Preston Manning's openly anti-Quebec Reform Party is now official opposition to Jean Chrétien's Liberal government.

For Quebec Independence! Down With "National Unity" Chauvinism!

The June 2 federal election revealed once again the sharp national divide in the Canadian state, following a campaign dominated by vicious Anglo chauvinism against Quebec. The Liberal Party under Jean Chrétien was returned to office with a sharply reduced majority, which they obtained solely by sweeping Ontario. The sovereigntist Bloc Québécois largely kept its hold in francophone Quebec, where it won a majority of seats, and came within a few hundred votes of ousting Chrétien in his own Shawinigan riding. The Reform

Party swept the Western provinces and became the official opposition in parliament by means of a campaign openly based on anti-Quebec bigotry. Chrétien's Liberals also lost most of their seats in Atlantic Canada, where the New Democrats and Tories both benefitted from a protest vote against rampant unemployment and federal austerity cutbacks.

Globe and Mail columnist Robert Sheppard noted, "For better or worse, the regionalization of Canada is now complete,"
(continued on page 12)

PC Partisan Defense Committee

Geronimo's Conviction Overturned —Drop the Charges Now!

JUNE 9—As we go to press, a bail hearing for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is about to take place before Judge Everett Dickey in Orange County, California. On May 29, Judge Dickey quashed the conviction of this former Black Panther Party leader, who has been imprisoned for more than two decades on frame-up murder charges. But while it looks likely that Geronimo is about to be released after 27 years of prison hell, the fight for his freedom is far from over, as Los Angeles district attorney Gil Garcetti has announced that he will appeal Judge Dickey's ruling.

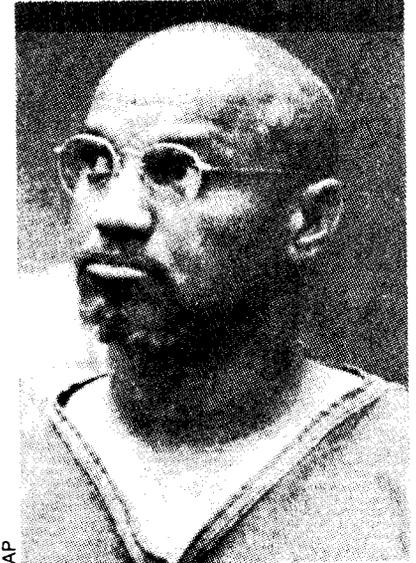
We print below a statement issued by the U.S. Partisan Defense Committee on June 1. For the latest information on the fight to free Geronimo, contact the PDC at the address and phone number below.

* * *

The frame-up conviction of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has been overturned. On May 29, Orange County Superior Court judge Everett W. Dickey ruled that Geronimo, a former leader of the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles, was denied a fair trial in 1972 because the prosecutor withheld vital evidence from the defense. This reversal is the first official vindication for Geronimo, who has been imprisoned for 26 years while he has fought to prove that he was framed by the FBI and Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD).

The court's decision is an enormous potential victory but Geronimo is still behind bars. He now has the status of someone who has been arrested but not yet convicted while L.A. district attorney Gil Garcetti decides whether to appeal Judge Dickey's ruling, institute proceedings for a new trial or dismiss the charges. Geronimo remains at the mercy of California's prison officials, who have a history of punitive and life-threatening retaliation against Geronimo's efforts to reverse his conviction. It is crucial that his supporters immediately demand: *Free Geronimo Now!*

Judge Dickey's ruling comes months after the end of a hearing on Geronimo's fifth *habeas corpus* petition which documented the all-sided collusion of government law



Geronimo ji Jaga
(Pratt)

AP

Former Black Panther Victim of FBI/LAPD Frame-Up

enforcement agencies to railroad him into prison. The court's decision rips apart both the prosecution's original case against Geronimo and its continued attempts to deny prosecutorial misconduct. It details the D.A.'s failure to tell the defense that Julius Butler, the key prosecution witness, was an informer for the FBI, the LAPD and the D.A.'s office itself, and asserts that the false testimony at trial by the LAPD and Butler that he wasn't an informant "left a grossly inaccurate impression on the jury." The judge's memorandum concludes that "this was not a strong case for the prosecution without the testimony of Butler, and certainly not an overwhelming case in any event."

The Partisan Defense Committee enthusiastically welcomes any measure that will get Geronimo out of prison. *But* (continued on page 10)

SPARTACIST CANADA

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

EDITORIAL BOARD: John Masters (Editor), Peter Stegner (Managing Editor), Russell Stoker (Production Manager), Jane Clancy, Arthur Llewellyn (Editor, Young Spartacus pages), Miriam McDonald, Oliver Stephens.

CIRCULATION MANAGER: R. Nassir

BUSINESS MANAGER: M. McPherson

Published four times a year by Spartacist Canada Publishing Association, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6.

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

Printed in a union shop by union labor.

Return postage guaranteed
Summer 1997

Publications Mail Reg. No. 8161 ISSN: 0229-5415
Date of issue: June 1997

Get Your Copy of
**CLASS-STRUGGLE
DEFENSE NOTES!**

No. 24
Winter 1996-97

For a single copy of issue
Number 24 send \$.50 to:

Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 314, Station B
Toronto, ON M5T 2W1

Phone: (416) 593-4138

E-mail: 75057.3201

@compuserve.com

PC Partisan Defense Committee
CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

New Revelations Expose Government/Cop Lies:
Free Geronimo! Free Mumia!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan 3!
For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop Fascist Terror!

Holiday Appeal - Support Class War Prisoners!
Black Daily Police Action on Municipal Workers Union
For International Labor Defense

Toronto, Stony Point, Gustafsen Lake

Racist Cops and Courts Target Minorities

In the early evening of February 20, Edmond Yu, a 35-year-old Chinese man, was shot dead by Toronto police. A homeless schizophrenic, Yu was sitting alone in an empty Toronto public bus when a squad of cops arrived, responding to a complaint from the bus driver. When Edmond Yu stood up holding a small tack hammer, the cops shot him up to six times in the chest and head.

On March 30, Hugh Dawson's car was cut off by several unmarked police cruisers on a "drug takedown." Dawson, a Jamaican immigrant and father of two, died in a hail of police bullets. Two weeks later an Asian youth, Xie Pei Yang, was shot down while allegedly fleeing a robbery. And on May 13, Tony Andrade who, like Edmond Yu, was schizophrenic, was shot in the stomach. Andrade survived, only to be charged by the cops with possession of a dangerous weapon (a length of wood).

The deaths of Edmond Yu and Hugh Dawson brought out members of the black, South and East Asian communities in protest rallies and marches, which also recalled other recent victims of police murders including black youth Wayne Williams and 16-year-old Faraz Suleman, gunned down by cops in suburban Markham. Various "community leaders" argued that the answer to racist police violence is to fight for greater "democratic control" over the police, through "police accountability" and "civilian review boards." However, racist repression—including torture, beatings and murder—is what the cops are paid to do on behalf of the ruling class. And government "inquiries" and review boards, like the Ontario Special Investigations Unit (SIU), are simply white-wash operations designed to head off outrage over cop terror and to strengthen the system of police repression overall. Already in Toronto, the SIU is busy exonerating the killers of Edmond Yu and Hugh Dawson.

Capitalist State: Instrument of Class Oppression

The source of racist police violence is not a few "bad apple" cops, and certainly not a lack of "accountability." The fundamental problem lies with the racist capitalist system, which all cops are sworn to "serve and protect." The police form the core of the capitalist state, which is essentially nothing more than a machine for the defense of society's owning class, the bourgeoisie, their private property and profit system. All of the armed state agencies enforcing capitalist rule—the cops and prisons, the courts, the standing army—exist to keep the working class and oppressed in check, through naked violence when necessary.

The bourgeois state is the armed fist of the ruling class. Internationally, the carefully crafted "peacekeeping" façade of the Canadian armed forces was ripped away during the



Garnett/Canada Wide

Racist capitalist state: deadly enemy of workers and oppressed.

fascist-infested Canadian Airborne Regiment's murder mission in Somalia. Here at home, in 1990 the army was sent to terrorize the Mohawks at Oka, who were seeking to defend an ancient burial ground from "redevelopment" as a private golf course.

Ever since Oka, Native peoples seeking settlements of historic land claims have been a special target of racist state terror. In 1995, at Stony Point/Ipperwash in Ontario, provincial police assault teams attacked unarmed Chippewa protesters, killing Dudley George. Many of the Stony Point protesters were then dragged off to jail, but the cops' attempt at a frame-up was so blatant that it finally fell apart. In May of this year, the Native demonstrators were acquitted of all charges, while Dudley George's police assassin, OPP sergeant Kenneth Deane, was convicted of manslaughter.

Deane's conviction was heralded as evidence that the capitalist injustice system can be made to work. But while the ruling class may abandon Deane as an aberrant "rogue cop," his conviction is very far from bringing justice. Indeed, Deane is one of very few cops ever convicted of killing a civilian in this country. From time to time, the capitalist rulers see a need to publicly discard one of their hired killers in order to cover up the crimes of their whole system. In this particular case, they may throw Deane to the wolves in order to deflect attention from other criminals, notably premier Mike Harris and his cabinet, who ordered and oversaw the Ipperwash "eviction," and are walking away unpunished.

At Gustafsen Lake in B.C. in 1995, RCMP/army assault teams were dispatched by the governing provincial NDP to evict a small group of Native militants. The cops' explicit intention was to "take them out." Lucky to survive, 18 Native protesters and their supporters were then railroaded through the courts by the NDP attorney general. This May the protesters were acquitted of the most serious charges, but

(continued on page 9)

Victory for Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

The following article is adapted from *Workers Vanguard* (No. 668, 16 May), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

"Justice!" With this one word, a black juror in the case of the Chicago Anti-Klan Three summed up the resounding "not guilty" verdict reached by the jury after little more than an hour's deliberation. As supporters of the anti-Klan militants, who had filled the courtroom every day of the trial, gathered in the corridors to cheer this victory for all opponents of racist terror, many jurors came up to shake the hands of the defendants. Describing how they reached their decision after the four-day trial which opened May 5, another juror said: "We argued that this case was much bigger than what happened at the Klan rally. Every day, people in this country are having their civil liberties cut back."

Gene Herson, Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, Jeff Lyons of Refuse & Resist, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, faced one to two years in jail on frame-up charges brought by the Chicago police. The charges stemmed from a successful demonstration—initiated by the PDC and the Labor Black Struggle League—which turned back a potentially lethal assault by Ku Klux Klan terrorists in Chicago's Daley Plaza last June 29. The arrest of these anti-racist militants was a blatantly malicious act aimed at justifying the police attacks on the anti-Klan protest that day. It was also one of a series of attempts by the city government and police to suppress social protest, particularly in preparation for the Democratic Party convention held in Chicago last summer.

Eyewitness testimony and other evidence at the trial vividly depicted the KKK thugs—armed with bolt-studded shields and heavy flagpoles—who had marched provocatively against the anti-fascist protesters. After the protesters had effectively defended themselves and stopped these lynch-rope terrorists, Chicago police intervened to return the KKKers' weapons to them. The cops then turned to exact revenge against the anti-Klan protesters. Gene Herson, one of the organizers of the anti-Klan demonstration, was one of the first to be singled out. In a completely unprovoked attack, police commander Patrick McNulty—the top cop on the scene—pepper-sprayed Herson directly in the face. While Herson was being treated, McNulty had him arrested on charges of battery (causing bodily harm) against a police officer.

The State's Attorney was forced to drop these bogus charges on the opening day of the trial, but the cops and courts continued to pursue their legal vendetta against Jeff Lyons and Dennis Glass. The only prosecution witnesses were the three arresting police officers, whose testimony was a tissue of self-contradicting lies. Meanwhile, the State's Attorneys tried to "prove" that anti-fascist protesters had attacked the police by endlessly repeating the demonstrators' chant, "Cops and Klan go hand in hand!"



Workers Vanguard

Lawyers and defendants celebrate victory, May 8. Trial exhibits show Gene Herson after potentially lethal pepper-spray attack by cops.

But witnesses for the defense, including black youths who were volunteers in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program when they participated in the anti-Klan protest, gave powerful testimony that "cops and Klan go hand in hand" fit to a tee what they saw on June 29 in Daley Plaza. The cops protected the Klan while going on a rampage against the anti-Klan protesters—including after the Klan had been escorted from the Plaza, when a phalanx of cops waged into the protest swinging their nightsticks.

A 16-year-old black co-worker of Dennis Glass at McDonald's recounted how she had been standing beside him at the protest when he was snatched, handcuffed and led away by a squad of cops for no reason. Glass lives in Chicago's Austin District, where an unfolding cop corruption scandal has forced the courts to throw out 85 drug convictions, mainly against black youth. On June 29, he found himself a victim of the cops' frame-up machine, charged with battery and assault with a deadly weapon. The supposed "deadly weapon" in the assault that never occurred was a cardboard tube used to hold a placard!

Jeff Lyons was charged by McNulty for obstructing an arrest. Lyons had come over to protest the police harassment of an integrated group of Union Summer volunteers; he was hit in the chest by a cop, knocked to the ground, then spread-eagled on a car and arrested. McNulty testified under oath that Lyons had grabbed his arm while he was in the midst of arresting a black Union Summer activist who had taken McNulty's photograph. Eyewitnesses testified that Lyons was nowhere near McNulty at the time, and that McNulty wasn't even involved in the arrest of the photographer.

A Victory for All Opponents of Racist Terror

The night following the "not guilty" verdict, more than 90 people came out for a victory rally. Among those in attendance were two members of the jury, several defense witnesses, the defense legal team, as well as trade unionists

Protest Fascist Death Threats Against Communist Party!

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee in Vancouver on April 30.

On the night of April 22-23, twenty .303 hunting rifle bullets were dumped through the mail slot of the Vancouver offices of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC). Attached to one of the bullets was a note reading "Bang, you're dead," while another note threatened "Death will come to you all." In an April 23 statement, CPC leader Kimball Cariou noted that these deadly threats were likely the work of "a neo-fascist individual or organization, since these are the most bitterly anti-communist forces active today." The Partisan Defense Committee calls on all Vancouver-area labor, minority and social justice organizations to protest this murderous provocation, making clear their readiness to defend the CPC against fascist attack.

The fascists can and must be stopped through mobilizing the social power of the racially integrated labor movement at the head of all those whom they seek to destroy—immigrants, Jews, gays, unionists. In January 1993, when the Nazis of "Canadian Liberty Net" threatened to stage a race-hate rally in Vancouver, 3,000 anti-racist protesters occupied their intended site at the Art Gallery. Later the same night, when neo-Nazi skinheads tried to rally at the Century Plaza Hotel, 500 militant anti-fascists sent them fleeing into the night. The solid core of this victorious mobilization was the organized contin-

gents of trade unionists from CUPW, ILWU, IWA, CBRT, CUPE and other area unions, who responded to the PDC's call for a *labor/minority mobilization* to sweep the fascists off the streets.

Reliance on the capitalist state, its cops and courts—including when the ruling party is the NDP—is suicidal. Just three years ago the B.C. NDP government dragged six *anti-fascist* protesters through the courts. Their "crime"? Defending themselves and others from a fascist armed with an iron bar at a PDC-initiated protest outside a meeting organized by the rabidly anti-Semitic "Canadian League of Rights." Numerous area unions came to the support of the Anti-Fascist Six, helping to ensure that all but one of these frame-up charges were finally thrown out of court.

Today's reactionary political climate is marked by the ruling class' union-busting, Quebec-bashing chauvinism and anti-immigrant racism. Recent weeks have seen book banning by anti-gay bigots in Surrey, gross racist outbursts against Sikh electoral candidates, and vile anti-Chinese racism in the legislature. Little wonder the fascists think they can threaten the workers movement with impunity. But they can be stopped, and the organized, integrated working class has the social power to do it. An injury to one is an injury to all—Defend the Communist Party against fascist threats! ■

who had been in court in solidarity with the Anti-Klan Three. Speaking to the crowd, Dennis Glass declared: "This is not only a victory for the three defendants, it's for everyone that stood up to the Ku Klux Klan to stop them from preaching their racial hatred." Jeff Lyons pointed out that "from beginning to end"—from those who came to protest the Klan last June 29, to the lawyers who fought the lying charges of the cops in court, to the witnesses and the jury—"everybody did the right thing."

Gene Herson made special mention of the case of Cassandra Seay, who was there to join in celebrating the victory of the Anti-Klan Three. In 1987, Seay and her mother were brutally beaten and arrested by Chicago cops and then charged with attacking the cops who had victimized them. Herson pointed out that this police frame-up was beaten back through the mobilization of the social power of the integrated Chicago transit unions, and indicted the AFL-CIO union misleaders who did nothing to mobilize their ranks against the KKK provocation last June.

Addressing the victory rally, Spartacist League/U.S. spokesman Ed Clarkson concluded:

"I think there is something interesting and symptomatic here. One juror said it very nicely, finally 'justice.' The fall of the Soviet Union has set the stage where all people are miserable. And unfortunately they suffer this now in passivity. So it is interesting when people get a rare chance to express their outrage against an injustice, albeit in a very strange form—because the norm for juries is that they abide by the system of

the capitalist state. It is to be noted that this is not the only jury in the country which has been unfavorably disposed to the state. That expresses something, that there are reservoirs of outrage in this society that we need to tap, by mobilizing labor under a communist leadership for a socialist revolution. We need to celebrate our heroes, to savor this sweet moment and we need to go forward!"

Victories Cost \$\$\$!

The successful defense of the Chicago Anti-Klan Three—and of the right to protest racist terror—cost thousands. Mail your urgently needed donations for legal expenses (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON, M5T 2W1.

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

- Montréal:** C.P. Les Atriums, B.P. 32066, Montréal, QC H2L 4V5
- Toronto:** Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 1X8, (416) 593-4138
- Vancouver:** Box 2717, Main P.O., Vancouver, B.C. V6B 3X2, (604) 687-0353

"Socialist Action" Leader Caught Scabbing

We print below a letter and reply first published in Workers Vanguard (No. 664, 21 March), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S. The original article referred to in the exchange is available on request.

* * *

7 December 1996
Toronto, Ontario

To Whom It May Concern,

I am enclosing information for you at the request of one of your members selling your press at a meeting of Labour Council of Metro Toronto on Dec. 5, 1996.

If the TL and your sister organization the S.L./U.S. have even an ounce of political integrity you will publish a correction and public apology for the libelous and highly inaccurate material attacking me in your press.

Then again, if you had any integrity, you would have checked the facts before publishing trash.



Maclean's



OPSSU strike bulletin exposes scabbing by Socialist Action leader Barry Weisleder.

Sincerely,
Barry Weisleder

SC Replies

Weisleder's ox was gored by our article "Canadian 'Socialist Action' Leader Caught Scabbing" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 655, 8 November 1996) which documented how he tried to cross a strike picket manned by members of the Ontario Public Sector Staff Union (OPSSU) last September. The strike, by staff workers in the offices of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU), was directed against a cutback contract proposal by the "fiscally responsible" OPSEU Executive Board, of which Weisleder is a member. In his spare time, Weisleder also heads up the Canadian Socialist Action group, affiliate of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. Yet neither his union position nor his "revolutionary socialist" pretensions prevented this two-bit bureaucrat from trying to scab on his "own" workers. As we reported in our article, Weisleder was publicly nailed as a scab by the OPSSU strike bulletin *Walk/Talk*, which described how he showed up for "a day of scabbing" and unsuccessfully tried to force his way through an OPSSU picket line outside the Ontario Ministry of Labour.

Attached to Weisleder's whining missive were a letter from OPSSU president Terry Krulicki, an OPSEU "News Update" article on the strike settlement and Weisleder's own "Fact Sheet Antidote to 'Walk/Talk' Tales: OPSEU Belongs to its Members!" In fact these documents confirm that *WV* told the truth.

Defense Exhibit A is Krulicki's grudging expression of "regret" for accusations of scabbing against "OPSEU elected officials" who "were engaged in activities which were a normal part of their duties during the OPSSU strike." The letter stiffly notes, "In circumstances such as this it is not conducive to harmonious labour relations nor is it accurate to accuse them of being scabs." In fact, as the OPSEU tops' own "News Update" article makes clear, this "apology" was extorted from the OPSSU as part of the strike settlement.

Even so, it does not deny that Weisleder tried to push his way through an OPSSU picket line.

Weisleder himself gives the show away in his "reply" to *Walk/Talk*, with his violence-baiting diatribe against OPSSU pickets for engaging in "foul language, unprofessional conduct, threats and intimidation" as well as "physical obstruction and aggressive pushing." That sure sounds like a picket line to us! But according to Weisleder, because the Ministry of Labour "is not an OPSSU work place," this wasn't a picket line at all. Weisleder might want to try out his crock of self-serving bureaucratic bull on the tens of thousands of unionists—including many OPSEU members—who shut down Toronto on October 25 in a one-day general strike. Hundreds of picket lines manned by "cross-pickers" closed other unions' worksites. By Weisleder's definition, these were merely "political demonstrations" that scabs like him had every right to ignore!

The pro-capitalist union bureaucracy—of which both Weisleder and Krulicki are minor but integral parts—has for decades undermined the basic working-class understanding that strike pickets are the fundamental battle lines of the class struggle. Instead, the labor tops offer deliberately porous "informational pickets," useless consumer boycotts and "corporate campaigns"...and outright strikebreaking. In Canada, they steer worker militancy into the parliamentary dead end of the social-democratic New Democratic Party.

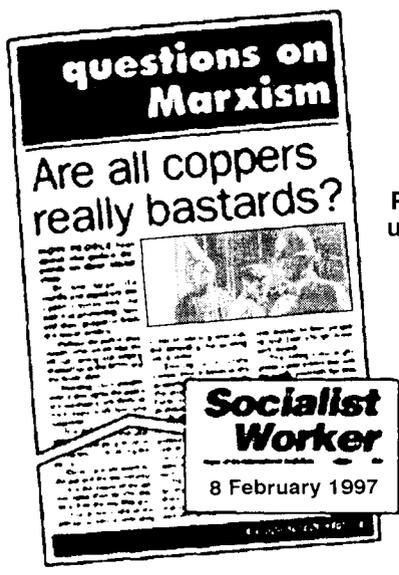
At the same time, "labor lieutenants of capital" like Barry Weisleder foster illusions in the capitalist state as some kind of neutral arbiter between the workers and the bosses. On this score, it's revealing to compare Weisleder's violence-baiting of OPSSU strikers with an article he wrote in *Socialist Action* (Spring-Summer 1996), in which he praises the strikebreaking, racist killers of the Metro Toronto police force for acting as "benign mediators" during last spring's OPSEU strike!

Marxists understand that the capitalist state—with its cops, courts and prisons—is the mortal enemy of workers and the oppressed, and must be swept away through socialist

(continued on page 16)

Young Spartacus

I.S./SWP: Looking for a Few Good Cops



Philadelphia police "union" howls for Mumia Abu-Jamal's execution outside Mumia support rally at Philly hospital workers' union hall, July 1995. Is this what the I.S. means when they hail cops who "rebel collectively"?



Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

We reprint below a Spartacus Youth Club leaflet distributed at the International Socialists' "Marxism '97" gathering in Toronto in late May.

In a recent issue (8 February) of *Socialist Worker*, newspaper of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—cothinkers of the International Socialists (I.S.) in Canada—leading SWP "theoretician" John Molyneux asks, "Are all coppers really bastards?" Breaking with tradition, Molyneux actually answers the question: "Not all coppers are necessarily bastards but unless they get out (which happens quite a lot), or rebel collectively (which is very rare), they are all agents of the state, the system and the ruling class." Molyneux's column is nothing more than a whitewash of the role of the cops, and once again shows the SWP/I.S.'s base cynicism, opportunism, anti-Marxism, and inability to fight for the socialism it ostensibly desires.

According to Molyneux, the SWP/I.S. think that cops would cease to be "agents of the state" if they were to "rebel collectively." But unlike the craven opportunists of the SWP/I.S., we Trotskyists recognize that when the forces of the repressive state apparatus "rebel," they do so as *deadly enemies of the working class and minorities*. To hail their entry into unions, as do the SWP/I.S., to encourage them to "rebel collectively," is to dangerously reinforce these thugs' view that they are a law unto themselves.

Any black youth in the inner cities knows the deal: the cops "rebel collectively" by demanding more money, more power, more leeway to gun you down. They demand "better working conditions" so that they can more easily get away with beating strikers and killing minorities. Try telling the families of Hugh Dawson and countless others blown away by "Toronto's finest" that the cops aren't the enemies of working people! Or look at the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, which amply illustrates the role of a cop "union" in its bloodthirsty drive to legally lynch black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

As Marx and Lenin explained, the state, which consists of

armed forces such as police, prisons and courts, is how the capitalist class maintains its rule by repressing the working class. *To Marxists, the question of the state is the question of which class will rule, the working class or the capitalist class.* For socialists, there can be no question of reforming the capitalist state or converting its hired guns to socialism. The capitalist state must be smashed by socialist revolution. *The SWP/I.S.'s denial of this basic truth shows that not only are they unable to lead the struggle for socialism, they can't even recognize what that struggle is.*

Molyneux's column is part of a long tradition on the part of the SWP/I.S. of trying to reach out to the supposed few "good apples" among the racist thugs who compose the armed fist of the bourgeoisie. A few years back, the British SWP boasted that it had "a number of prison officers who were in sympathy with our objectives" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 26 June 1993). Last year, the American ISO supported a "strike" by security guards in New York, just a month after these same guards acted as strikebreakers for the real estate barons during a building maintenance workers strike (in which the ISO was one of several so-called socialist groups that blithely walked across the picket lines). And the I.S. supported a 1996 strike by "unionized" prison guards in Ontario, who staged a "work action" by subjecting inmates to a lockdown and then, when the prisoners staged a protest, rushing into the jail from their picket lines to suppress it.

Molyneux notes in his article that "the primary role of the police is...defending the existing social order" and then goes on to express a grotesque faith in the existence of "the odd individual cop who is an exception to the rule," the "naive idealists." Usually opportunism takes the form of tailing the most backward prejudices of the working class. Yet on the question of the role of the police, the SWP/I.S. are consciously more reactionary than most workers, who, Molyneux is forced to note, "view cops with fear and suspicion."

(continued on page 10)

Protest B.C. NDP Tuition Hikes!

Near the end of the school year, students on university and college campuses across the country staged demonstrations, protests and occupations against fee hikes and cutbacks to education funding, which are turning higher education increasingly into a preserve for the sons and daughters of the rich. While many protests directed their fire against the federal Liberals, in B.C. it's Glen Clark's NDP government which has taken an ax of its own to social programs, health care and education.

On April 7 students at Langara College in Vancouver staged a one-day strike. Significantly, Teamster and CUPE campus workers set up picket lines outside the campus in solidarity. Vancouver Spartacus Youth Club members joined those picket lines and argued to shut the college down: picket lines mean don't cross! We print below a slightly abridged version of a speech given by SYC'er Matt Gaskill to a rally of strikers later that day.

* * *

It's very good that CUPE and the Teamsters are out today in support of the struggle against the tuition hikes. We of the Spartacus Youth Clubs stand for open admissions, no tuition, and a full living stipend for students. We're for democratically run campuses under faculty, student and workers control. We say: Abolish the administration which aims to carry out the bosses' austerity attacks on the campuses!

We need a struggle against the system of capitalism as a whole, because these attacks are part of a worldwide drive by the bosses to reduce their "overhead expenses." They are cutting education spending, welfare and social programs across the board. We stand for free health care, free education and jobs for all at union wages. For this we need a workers revolution to overthrow capitalism. It is great that labor is joining the struggle here today.

We can't look to the NDP. They've been slashing jobs in health care, attempting to starve refugees and welfare



Smith/Vancouver Sun

Vancouver protest against education funding cuts. SYCs call for open admissions, free tuition and a living stipend.

recipients from other provinces with their three-month residency requirement, and hitting foreign students with fee hikes of 310 percent. They try to divide the workers against the poor and unemployed, the Canadian-born against immigrants, and peddle poisonous anti-Québécois chauvinism that divides English and French. Last fall, tens of thousands of CEGEP (college) students struck against fee hikes in Quebec. We say: Down with national chauvinism! For Quebec independence! We say: Break with the sellout NDP!

There are a lot of groups calling themselves socialist, but they don't try to do anything more than reform the most disgusting features of capitalism. What's needed is a revolutionary leadership that aims to overthrow this rotten system. This is the kind of leadership that the Spartacus Youth Clubs and the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste seek to build. Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! For free, quality education for all! ■



Just Out!

Spartacist
(édition française)
numéro 30

64 pages
2,00 \$

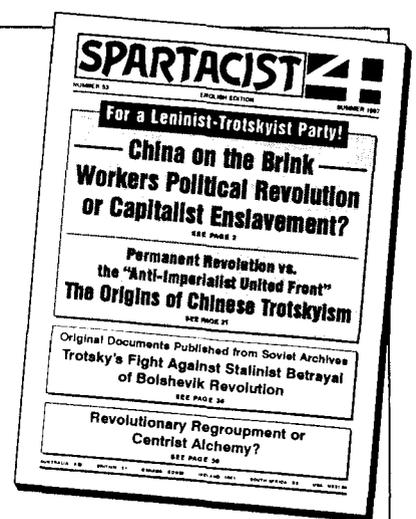
French-language Spartacist
is sent free to all
Le Bolchévick
subscribers

Spartacist
(English edition)
No. 53

56 pages
\$2.00

English-language Spartacist
is sent free to all
Spartacist Canada
subscribers

Make payable/mail to:
SCPA, Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto ON M5W 1X6



Racist Cops...

(continued from page 3)

some still face up to ten years in jail, with four convicted of "mischief causing actual danger to life," and the state is reportedly pressing for heavy jail sentences. We demand all the convictions be thrown out. None of the Gustafsen Lake protesters should spend another day in jail!

Capitalist Decay and State Terror

The capitalist ruling class is well aware that its wholesale attacks on social programs combined with rampant unemployment (especially among youth) are accumulating plenty of social tinder at the base of this society. That's what stands behind reactionary crusades like the "war on drugs"—which mostly targets immigrants and youth—as well as the general effort of the ruling class to augment its repressive apparatus. In the absence of any significant social struggle, the rulers think that they can get away with going after the most vulnerable layers of society, who have little ability to fight back effectively. Ultimately, the whole "law and order" campaign is aimed at breaking the social power of the organized working class. The same RCMP that sought the death of protesters at Gustafsen Lake had turned their shotguns on striking Royal Oak gold miners in Yellowknife in 1992. The same Ontario Provincial Police force that shot down Dudley George was unleashed to savagely beat union picketers during the OPSEU government workers strike against the Tory government in 1996.

Fear of an eventual explosion of discontent is what impels bourgeois politicians in power and out to sponsor ever more repressive measures against the population. Thus, for the Reform Party, "law and order" ravings take second place only to foaming anti-Quebec chauvinism. Preston Manning shrills for the death penalty and calls to abolish the Criminal Code's so-called "faint hope" clause, which merely allows convicted murderers to apply for parole after 15 years.

Meanwhile, the ruling Liberals have strengthened the forces of state repression with sweeping new restrictions on gun ownership as part of a supposed "war on crime." Bill C-68, now law, further tightens Ottawa's controls on firearms, already among the most sweeping in the world. All shotguns now have to be registered. If you don't tell the cops (in triplicate) about your 12-gauge, you're a criminal, to be taken with weapons drawn. If you do register, the cops can kick your door down without a warrant, guns in hand.

Ottawa's crackdown on gun ownership aims to reinforce the state's monopoly of the means of armed violence over the (disarmed) population. The Liberals' gun control law has met widespread opposition as an attack on civil liberties. We Marxists uphold the right to self-defense, and oppose gun control—as we oppose all attempts to strengthen the capitalist state power—from the practical standpoint of the struggle for working-class power (see "Ottawa's Racist 'Law and Order'," *SC* No. 103, May/June 1995).

Smash Racist State Terror Through Socialist Revolution!

As Marxists, we understand that the state cannot be reformed but must be swept away through socialist revolution. Yet most of the fake left offers deadly illusions in the capitalists' cops and courts. The International Socialists, for instance, actually encourage outbursts of racist police bona-



SC photo

Toronto protest against racist cop terror. Integrated labor movement must defend the oppressed.

paratism, claiming that the cops would cease to be instruments of state repression if they were to "rebel collectively" (see article, page 7). These reformist "socialists" perpetuate the illusion that the capitalist state can be reformed to serve the interests of workers and minorities—through "mass pressure" and/or the agency of an NDP government.

In the *Communist Manifesto* written 150 years ago, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels laid out the basic Marxist understanding that the capitalist state is "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, elaborated on this in his book, *The State and Revolution*. Polemicizing against the reformists of his day, Lenin wrote: "That the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which *cannot* be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposite to it) is something the petty-bourgeois democrats will never be able to understand." Citing Engels' writings on the state, Lenin continued:

"If the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms, if it is a power standing *above* society and '*alienating* itself *more and more* from it,' it is obvious that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, *but also without the destruction* of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class."

Every racist cop murder should be met by mass protest based on the social power of the organized, racially integrated working class. Had Toronto transit workers, steelworkers and autoworkers mobilized and marched in their thousands to protest the deaths of Edmond Yu and Hugh Dawson, the trigger-happy Metro cops might be forced to think twice before they gunned down another black youth or schizophrenic homeless man. But the current union leadership, tied to the pro-capitalist NDP, has refused to lift a finger in defense of minorities, even as the capitalist class lines the unions themselves up in its sights. Thus mobilizing the urgent and necessary labor-centered protest against racist state terror requires a political fight against the union tops and the New Democrats. Only a revolutionary workers party at the head of all the oppressed can lead the fight to smash the bourgeois state through workers revolution, and inaugurate an egalitarian socialist society which can put an end to racist oppression once and for all. ■

Geronimo...

(continued from page 2)

we point out that the court's decision, narrowly based on the compelling defects of the 1972 trial, is in fact *a cover-up of the massive and grotesque frame-up* to which Geronimo has been subjected. As we have detailed over the past decade, the government knows that Geronimo *did not commit and could not have committed* the crime of which he is accused. Unambiguous evidence of Geronimo's innocence has been revealed, including the identification of the likely actual killers, and testimony of the existence of FBI wiretaps and of former Panthers that shows that Geronimo was in Oakland, 400 miles away from the scene of the murder, at the time it took place!

The failure to disclose Butler's informant status barely scratches the surface of the criminal conspiracy against Geronimo. There is a mountain of evidence, detailed in volumes of government documents which have still not been disclosed, some of which have already been destroyed. Judge Dickey's opinion permits the false conclusion that those in charge of the case were ignorant of Butler's informant status and the benefits he obtained for concocting and projecting on Geronimo a fake "confession," and therefore covers up for the fact that the prosecutors and police were active participants in the FBI's campaign against Geronimo.

A highly decorated Vietnam veteran, Geronimo returned from two tours of duty in 1968 and enrolled in UCLA. There he joined the Black Panther Party, the best of a generation of black militants who wanted to fight the oppression of racist American capitalism. Most galling to the government, the Panthers asserted their right to armed self-defense in the face of terror from racist cops in the inner-city ghettos.

Declaring them the greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S., the FBI declared war on the Panthers and, with the assistance of local law enforcement, activated their notorious counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO) to destroy them. Thirty-eight Panthers were murdered outright, and

countless others—like award-winning journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, currently fighting for his life from death row in Pennsylvania—were framed on false charges.

FBI documents from 1969 record the agency's designation of Geronimo as a "Key Black Extremist" and target him for "neutralization" as an effective leader of the Panthers. In December of that year, an LAPD S.W.A.T. team tried to gun down Geronimo in early morning raids on his home and on Panther headquarters. Having failed to murder him, the FBI, LAPD and the D.A.'s office then used Julius Butler to frame Geronimo for the two-year-old unsolved murder of Caroline Olsen on a Santa Monica tennis court.

In the succeeding quarter of a century, the state and federal courts have proved steady and firm allies of the FBI's COINTELPRO, repeatedly withholding from the defense secret FBI documents which have been examined by the courts and flatly refusing Geronimo any opportunity to expose the government vendetta against him. Until the December 1996 hearing in Judge Dickey's court, Geronimo had never even been permitted to call Butler as a witness in any proceeding. And Geronimo has been denied parole *14 times* simply because he has refused to renounce his fight to prove his innocence, underscoring the assumption of police and prosecutorial infallibility in this country where a prisoner must admit guilt before he will be paroled.

The overturn of Geronimo's conviction is a testament to the substantial support on his behalf among significant layers of the California labor movement, black groups and civil libertarians. While the injustice done him can never be reversed, his supporters must ensure that he be freed *now*. Geronimo's freedom would strike a tremendous blow at the institutionalized state repression which has been and continues to be used against those who protest the exploitation and oppression of working people and minorities in this country.

Letters demanding Geronimo's immediate release and the dropping of all charges against him should be faxed to: Gil Garcetti, Los Angeles County District Attorney, (213) 688-2913.

I.S./SWP...

(continued from page 7)

It is precisely the cops' primary role as strikebreakers and racist occupiers that turns them into brutal killers—as almost any striker or black youth can testify to.

The I.S.'s benevolent view of the capitalist state precludes its being a revolutionary organization. Instead, the most it can be is a tepid "left" face of capitalist barbarity. This is further shown by the I.S.'s perpetual calls to support the NDP, right-wing social democrats who today oversee capitalist austerity and whip up chauvinism against Quebec from the government benches in B.C. and Saskatchewan. Nonetheless, the I.S. recruits some honest militants who want to fight capitalism. The I.S.'s position on the state, its anti-Sovietism, its crossing picket lines, its support to the NDP, however, make it vulnerable to criticism (read our "I.S. Truth Kit" for more details on these positions).

For the I.S., the only way to resolve the contradiction between their pretensions to socialism and their utterly reformist essence is to resort to violence against the left. The

I.S. and its international cothinkers are renowned for their thuggery against the Trotskyist League and other leftists. And since the I.S. looks to the cops as comrades, they do not hesitate to call campus police on other leftists. Such tactics, which ape the methods of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI "COINTELPRO" attempts to quash leftist dissent, serve only the bourgeois state, providing an excuse for the cops to victimize the workers movement.

What kind of "socialism" does the I.S. represent if they go around whitewashing the role of cops? What kind of socialists are they if they try to quarantine their own members from political debate and police what they read? It is good to want to fight against racism, brutality, and capitalist exploitation, but it is necessary to join an organization whose program provides the way forward. If you believe that fighting for socialism means fighting for international socialist revolution to smash the capitalist order and do away with its murderous repression against workers, minorities, women and youth, then read *Spartacist Canada* and *Workers Vanguard*, journals of the Trotskyist League of Canada and Spartacist League/U.S., and check out the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



Summitry & Cynicism

"The poor is hated even of his own neighbour: but the rich hath many friends."

—Proverbs 14:20 (King James version)

The recent so-called Volunteers Summit in Philadelphia was about many things, but really helping the poor wasn't one of them.

It was pure pageantry for politicians, camouflage for corporations and P.R. for a government bent on punishing the poor for the vile "sin" of poverty. It was the velvet glove that hides the iron hand that strangles the poor while singing a sweet, deceitful song: "I feel your pain." A pain caused by a social system that funnels the lion's share of wealth to the few, while snatching away the means of bare subsistence from the many, all the while donning the smiling mask of "volunteerism."

Why volunteerism? Why now?

Because the call for "volunteerism" comes amidst the most brutal government cutbacks in recent history, at a time when capital is triumphant, and both parties (the Republicans) bow, scrape and genuflect to their masters on Wall St. They *know* these cutbacks will cause unmitigated disaster, unbridled, rampaging hunger, increased homelessness and bitter hopelessness, for men, women and children into the millions, but they don't give a hot diggity damn. In a world where all politics is theater, the "millionaires' government" was high opera, where the rich danced while patting themselves on the back, before a painted backdrop that covered a cavern of American socioeconomic decay.

While they danced a nice diddle, capital called the tune, and the play was staged in a city that has become evocative of Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities*: "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times," for the stark contrasts between wealth and poverty.

Philadelphia's Center City, with its glazen, shimmering skyscrapers, and bustling business district, has its antithesis in its grim, crumbling northern neighborhoods, sites of socioeconomic neglect and official predation on the poor that echo the haunting emptiness of a ravaged Beirut.

In such a place, the brazen call of President Clinton, George Bush, former Pentagon chief Colin Powell, and the CEOs of America's wealthiest corporations to "volunteer" sound more like sacrilege than insult.

There is something almost perverse about these nouveau or born millionaires preaching to the poor about "volunteering."

Bill Clinton has worked for the government of Arkansas in some capacity for almost 15 years, as the state's attorney general, governor and law professor at the University of Arkansas, before his election as president.

George Bush was a Congressman, CIA chief, U.S. Liaison to Beijing, and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations,

before his vice presidency and presidency.

Colin Powell spent his adult life in the military.

The point being, all three men spent their adult lives working for the state in some capacity and made good livings doing so. None are known for volunteering.

For the corporations active in the summit the costs expended in Philadelphia can all be recovered by tax exemptions. For them, Philly was a freebie.

In the excessive media praise and fawning over the event much attention was given to a painting session, where politicians painted the walls. It was a cheap photo op, the political equivalent of putting a band-aid on a cancerous sore, for in North Philadelphia, which has the most substandard housing in the city, to paint a wall when whole blocks stand barren is paying attention to a pimple while ignoring the loss of limbs.

"Volunteering" can't build enough houses needed by the poor, as even Habitat for Humanity supporter (and former U.S. president) Jimmy Carter admits.

According to the U.S. Census (1992) there were 36.9 million Americans living below the poverty line (33 percent of which are Black!). Will volunteerism feed them? Hardly.

Just as the call for volunteerism gains volume, government support gets shut off. Is that coincidence?

Thirty years ago, the government launched its War on Poverty; now it launches its war on the poor. As stocks rise, wages fall, and jobs slide across the border and abroad to fatten corporate coffers. In such a context the poor are seen as expendable, or at the very best as potential labor who may be paid at below minimum wage to keep "real" workers in line.

It is time to volunteer—it's time for folks to give their time and energy to revolution, to join and build such organizations that oppose this ruthless war on the poor, and work for a day when life comes before profit.

4 May 1997 .

© 1997 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

* * *

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Spartacist Canada*, *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON, M5T 2W1. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370, USA.

“National Unity” ...

(continued from page 1)

awaiting either the wrecker's ball or a supreme act of political balancing to put the pieces back again in working order.” What stands behind this “regionalization” is the Quebec national question—the forcible retention of the French-speaking Québécois nation within a “united” Canada.

Dominating all aspects of political life, the national schism serves to tie the workers in both English Canada and Quebec to their “own” exploiters, thus undermining the prospects for united working-class struggle against capitalism. Marxists advocate *independence for Quebec* as the means to cut through the barrier which sets worker against worker, and to lay a basis for bringing the decisive class questions to the fore.

The degree to which national chauvinism has undermined the workers' consciousness and struggle was shown in the Reform Party's sweeping victory in the West for a second consecutive election. In 1993, Manning & Co. played on a number of reactionary themes, from “national unity” demagoguery to right-wing austerity economics and “law and order” racism. This time, however, Reform's campaign focused almost exclusively on rantings against “special status” for Quebec.

Obscenely comparing Quebec sovereignists to the secessionist slavocracy in the U.S. Civil War, Manning put himself forward as the only politician prepared to “stand up” to Quebec. In chauvinist TV ads, Manning portrayed all Quebec-based politicians, including federalists like Chrétien and the Tories' Jean Charest, as “not fit to govern.” While Reform's hoped-for breakthrough in Ontario didn't materialize, masses of unionized workers who deserted the NDP social democrats in droves in 1993 once again voted for the Reform Party bigots.

Not to be outdone, the other federalist party leaders also pushed various chauvinist hot buttons. Chrétien provocatively announced that he would not recognize a narrow majority vote for sovereignty in the next Quebec referendum—a clear threat to deny the Québécois people the democratic right to self-determination. Charest raised the spectre of partitioning Quebec along linguistic lines in the event of secession, while 1,500 Montreal anglophones staged a rally in support of partition in the city's heavily English-speaking West Island.

The NDP has also openly played to anti-Quebec chauvinism, especially in the West. Thus following the election,



Blouin/Agence Stock

1993 union demonstration in Montreal.

B.C. NDP premier Glen Clark endorsed Reform's sweeping victory in his province as a “wake-up call for Ottawa” which reflected “legitimate B.C. concerns.” While losing heavily in B.C., the New Democrats were again shut out in the Ontario industrial heartland, where the anti-union attacks of the former NDP provincial government under Bob Rae are still bitterly remembered. The New Democrats only managed to regain official party status through some victories in the Maritimes, where these “left” purveyors of capitalist austerity have never before had a significant base or track record.

Inside Quebec, the bourgeois-nationalist Bloc overcame an inept campaign and widespread disgruntlement over the ruling Parti Québécois government's anti-working-class austerity attacks, and managed to once again “rally the nation” in the face of the chauvinist barrage. Even then, the turnout in Quebec was sharply down and the Bloc lost some support, as embittered trade unionists, the poor and unemployed decided to stay home to protest the PQ attacks.

Pointing to the continued rise of Manning's Reform Party, PQ premier Lucien Bouchard stated: “It is the most systematic, deliberate and explicitly anti-Quebec opposition that can be imagined.... It will polarize, it will pit people against people.” Confident that this polarization will help push the sovereignists over the top in the next referendum, expected to be held in 1999, Bouchard added: “I am thoroughly convinced...that this was the last federal election in Quebec history.”

Whether or not Bouchard is right, the federal election results confirm the intractable grip of chauvinism and nationalism over political life in this country today, and the necessity for the working class to champion Quebec independence in order to remove the national question from the historic agenda. We reprint, beginning on the facing page, a special election campaign statement issued by the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste on May 21.

**International
Communist League**
**International
Internal Bulletin**
No. 37
July 1995

\$9.50
(includes postage)
125 pages

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

**International
Internal
Bulletin**

Published
by the
International
Secretariat

**On the National Question
in Quebec**

Number: 37
Date: July 1995
ISSN: 0891-9526

No. 37
July 1995
\$9.50
125 pages

Elections '97: Chauvinism and Austerity

For a Revolutionary Workers Party! Toward North American Socialist Revolution!

The capitalist profit system has condemned millions in this country to poverty and oppression, even as corporations rake in billions. With 1.5 million out of work and more than five million living in poverty, the capitalists' political parties promise only more cutbacks and austerity, while pointing the finger of blame elsewhere: at the Québécois, at immigrants and other minorities, at "foreign competition." Now working people are being asked to choose which of the competing gangs of liars and thieves will continue the onslaught on jobs and social programs on behalf of the ruling rich. We Trotskyists say: there is no choice for workers and the oppressed in the June 2 elections.

Capitalism is based on the daily exploitation of the working class, which produces vast wealth but is denied the fruit of its labor, expropriated as private profit by a tiny class of ruling parasites. A truly just and egalitarian society can only be based on the abolition of the profit system—on what Karl Marx called the "expropriation of the expropriators"—and its replacement by a planned socialist economy under workers rule. The system can't be fundamentally changed through the ballot box or parliamentary tinkering, because it is protected by the armed violence of the state—laws, cops, courts and prisons—whose task is to suppress by force every challenge to capitalist rule.

Whether it's closing hospitals in Ontario or murdering the oppressed outright in Somalia, Canadian imperialist capitalism is a deadly enemy of working people. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fights for a program of continent-wide class struggle, based on the social power and common interest of the working class internationally. Our perspective is *North American socialist revolution*, part of the global struggle to shatter the chains of imperialist exploitation. This requires a new, revolutionary-internationalist leadership of the workers and oppressed: a reborn Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution.

Chauvinist "National Unity" Elections

The federal election campaign has centered on "national unity," the code words for English Canadian chauvinism against the national rights of the Québécois. With a third sovereignty referendum looming by the end of the decade, the Liberals, Tories and Reform are all portraying themselves as the party best able to "deal with" Quebec. Jean Charest continues to peddle the meaningless "recognition" of Quebec as a "distinct society." Preston Manning spits crude anti-Quebec demagoguery, demanding that *all* provinces be recognized as "distinct societies"—a Western Canadian adaptation of the reactionary demand for "states rights" pushed by right-wing populists, racists and bigots in the U.S.

Chrétien's Liberals, meanwhile, are pursuing their hard-line Plan B. They have demanded that the Supreme Court rule that a unilateral declaration of independence by Quebec would be "illegal." Thus the Liberals prepare to "use the sword," in Pierre Trudeau's infamous phrase, to continue the

historic oppression of the French-speaking Québécois nation within Canada. The New Democrats, for their part, have explicitly endorsed the Liberals' Supreme Court intervention against Quebec's right to self-determination, while NDP premiers like B.C.'s Glen Clark and Saskatchewan's Roy Romanow strive to outdo the Reform Party in anti-Quebec bigotry.

Against the Anglo-chauvinist clamor, we Trotskyists advocate *independence for Quebec*. National animosities sharply divide the workers, crippling prospects for working-class struggle against the capitalist onslaught. As we wrote in 1995 in the run-up to the last sovereignty referendum:

"The depth of this schism can be amply seen in the parties that currently occupy the opposition benches in parliament. On the



Canapress

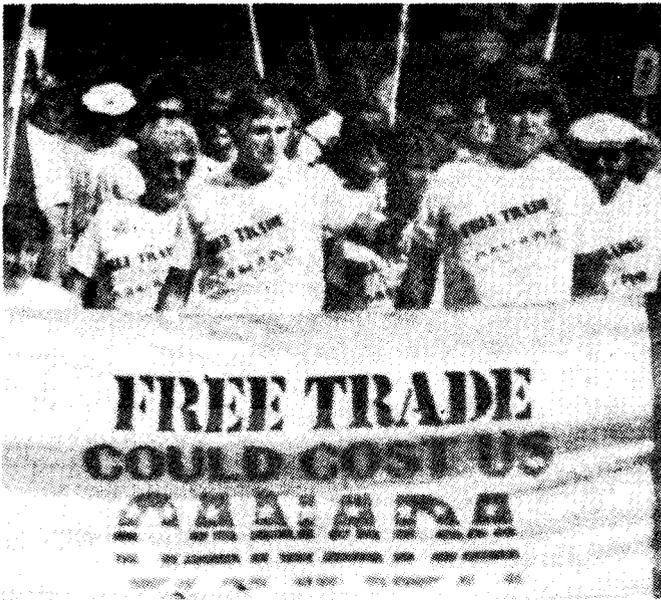
October 1970: Canadian army occupies Quebec under War Measures Act invoked by Pierre Trudeau's Liberal government.

one side is the rabidly Anglo-chauvinist Reform Party. On the other is the *indépendantiste* Bloc Québécois....

"The same mutual national suspicions and hatreds which led to this parliamentary shake-up reach deep into the working class. Hundreds of thousands of unionists and other working people in English Canada, disillusioned at the NDP's wholesale capitulation to Bay Street's austerity diktats, abandoned 'their' party and cast their votes for the unvarnished chauvinism of Preston Manning's Reform Party in 1993. In Quebec, working-class militancy and combativity have been dampened, submerged into support for the PQ, which was elected for the third time last fall pledging to hold an early referendum on independence."

—"For Quebec Independence!" *Spartacist Canada*
No. 105, September/October 1995

The bigotry fostered by the NDP and the labor bureaucracy serves to rally the workers of English Canada behind
(continued on page 14)



Pacific Tribune



Alexanian/Woofin Camp

Mexican "Free trade zone" shantytown (right). Canadian labor tops push protectionist poison in "opposition" to NAFTA rape of Mexico.

Elections...

(continued from page 13)

their "own" exploiters, while driving Québécois workers into the arms of the bourgeois-nationalist PQ and Bloc. Like its counterparts in English Canada, the PQ government has been taking the knife to social programs in a vicious austerity offensive—yet the nationalist Quebec labor tops, citing "national solidarity," have barely lifted a finger in opposition. In standing foursquare against Anglo chauvinism and supporting independence, we seek to redirect the workers' struggles against their respective national capitalist exploiters. Independence would put an end to the historic oppression of the Québécois people at the hands of the Anglo rulers and allow the decisive *class* questions to come to the fore in both nations, laying a basis for common struggle against all the capitalist oppressors.

Labor Must Defend the Oppressed

The Anglo-chauvinist barrage from Chrétien, Manning et al. is designed, in large part, to deflect popular discontent over mass unemployment and the destruction of social programs from coast to coast. The capitalist parties aim to pit different sections of the oppressed against one another in a fight over crumbs from the masters' table. We Trotskyists say: the enemy is our own capitalist ruling class! Against the rulers' attempt to divide and rule, a class-struggle labor leadership would take up the cause of all the oppressed—from the Québécois to Native people, immigrants, women and gays.

Such a leadership would fight Ottawa's ever-tightening quotas and racist scapegoating of the foreign-born, demanding full citizenship rights for all immigrants and refugees. Against social service and education cutbacks which hit women workers and youth particularly hard, it would fight for free 24-hour childcare, free quality health care for all including abortion on demand, and open admissions with free tuition to colleges and universities. It is urgently necessary to struggle for jobs for all at union wages, a shorter

workweek at no loss in pay, union-run hiring and training programs for minorities and youth, and welfare payments at a living wage. Taken as a whole, such obvious and necessary demands in the interest of all working people cannot be won under the capitalist order, which is based on the exploitation of the many by the few. Therefore, such a perspective of class struggle requires a leadership which is prepared to bring the social power of the working class to bear against the entire capitalist system.

Unleashing labor's power requires an understanding that the interests of the working class are irreconcilably counterposed to those of the capitalist owners of industry and commerce. Yet the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats confine the class struggle within the limits imposed by the class enemy. For example, the *maximum* response of the Ontario Federation of Labour to the unprecedented assault on workers' rights and social programs by the provincial Tory government was a few "Days of Action," designed to dissipate mounting anger while rekindling support for the New Democrats. What is needed is a political fight to replace the current gang of union bureaucrats who, together with the NDP parliamentarians, are thoroughly wedded to the system of capitalism and defend it against every serious potential challenge.

As part of their role to deflect and suppress worker unrest, the social-democratic labor tops subordinate the working people to the national interests of the Canadian capitalists against their foreign rivals. Hence their calls to "defend Canadian jobs" through import quotas and other trade-war measures. The "main enemy" thus becomes workers abroad, notably in Latin America and Asia. Such protectionism is poison, fueling racism against immigrants and other minorities at home, helping to keep the workers divided and incapable of united struggle while the capitalist exploiters laugh all the way to the bank.

Pro-capitalist protectionism is the basis of the labor bureaucracy's "opposition" to NAFTA, a scheme for shoring up U.S. imperialism against its rivals abroad through an economic Fortress North America. In contrast, we fight to



SC photo

Union protest in Toronto, October 26, 1996. "Days of Action" were designed to rekindle support for pro-capitalist NDP social democrats.

mobilize working people in common struggle across international borders. Only such an internationalist perspective of class struggle can smash the plunder of Mexico by U.S. and Canadian corporations, and turn back the ongoing massacre of jobs, gutting of social programs and destruction of hard-won labor standards in North America. As we wrote in a joint statement with our Mexican and American comrades when NAFTA (then known as the FTA) was introduced in 1991:

"Far from 'freeing' trade internationally, the pact is aimed at setting up a private hunting preserve for the American imperialist bourgeoisie, their Canadian junior partners and their lackeys in the Mexican ruling class. Already at the time of the First World War, Lenin noted that the narrow limits of the capitalist nation-state had become a fetter on the development of the productive forces, producing a struggle over redivision of the world. The various 'common markets' in no way overcome this, but instead intensify interimperialist rivalries. We Trotskyists, communists, struggle for the economic integration of the world on a socialist basis. But the FTA is a reactionary move toward global trade war (and from there to a shooting war)....

"There is a burning need for an *internationalist* proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault. The Canadian, U.S. and Mexican sections of the International Communist League are dedicated to building a revolutionary vanguard that can unite the working masses of the continent in common class struggle."

—"Stop U.S. 'Free Trade' Rape of Mexico!"
SC No. 85, Fall 1991

No Vote to the NDP!

Our revolutionary internationalist perspective stands in sharp contrast to the rest of the Canadian so-called "left," who are for the most part in thrall to the social democrats of the NDP. The NDP is what Marxists call a "bourgeois workers party," organically linked to the labor movement via the union bureaucracy, but thoroughly pro-capitalist in its program and leadership. Always among the most right-wing social-democratic parties internationally, the New Democrats

actively foster nationalism, bigotry and anti-Quebec chauvinism among the working class, while carrying out capitalist austerity programs whenever they govern provincially.

In Saskatchewan, the NDP government has closed dozens of hospitals. In Ontario, the former NDP regime waged a frontal assault on the unions with its Social Contract, opening the door to the Harris Tories. In B.C., the New Democrats sent the RCMP and army against Native protesters at Gustafsen Lake, cut refugees off welfare and instituted slave-labor workfare in the guise of "job training." Now the federal NDP has even exchanged its protectionist "opposition" to NAFTA for an open endorsement of this "free trade" rape of Mexico.

In instances when a reformist workers party runs independently of bourgeois parties and ostensibly in the interest of working people, revolutionaries can consider extending critical electoral support, in order to make clear the contradiction

between the party's pro-working-class posture and its pro-capitalist program. We seek thereby to break workers from their illusions in the social-democratic misleaders and forge a revolutionary workers party which can lead the struggle for socialism. But none of these considerations apply to today's New Democrats, whose pathetic campaign is, moreover, reduced to offering themselves up as the "conscience" of the Liberal juggernaut. Therefore, we say unequivocally: No vote to the NDP!

In contrast, various pro-NDP left groups actively foster the illusion that the New Democrats can be pressured to meet the interests of workers and the oppressed. The International Socialists (I.S.), for example, declare "Kick out the Liberals, Vote NDP," adding "but fight for socialism." It's a curious "fight for socialism" which *always* finds the I.S. lining up with the pro-capitalist New Democrats, and through them with the ruling class. Along with the NDP, the I.S. grotesquely backed Mulroney's 1992 Charlottetown accord, which was designed to reinforce the Canadian capitalist status quo. To this day, the I.S. opposes Quebec independence, calling instead for "recognition of Quebec as a distinct society," the formula put forward by the Tories in the failed Meech Lake and Charlottetown deals as the solution to the "crisis of Confederation." The I.S. also peddles the deadly reformist illusion that the cops—the racist hired guns of the capitalist rulers—can be won to the side of the working class. Last year they even hailed a strike by jail guards in Ontario. No doubt they would welcome the recent electoral endorsement given to Svend Robinson, their favorite "left" NDP MP, by the Canadian Police Association, which praised his "attitude to criminal justice and police issues during the last Parliament"!

Three ostensibly socialist organizations are running candidates in these elections, however none comes anywhere near presenting a socialist program which meets the needs of the working class and oppressed. The deeply nationalist Communist Party of Canada pledges to "defend Canadian

(continued on page 16)

Elections...

(continued from page 15)

independence, jobs and farms" from "foreign" threat, and declares itself "the only federal party with a well-developed set of proposals to defend Canadian unity and avert a disastrous break-up of the country." Meanwhile the "Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada," the peculiar Stalinist cult around Hardial Bains, pushes the most vulgar reformism, declaring its "immediate aim" to be the creation of "a new, modern, truly democratic society" based on a "new and modern Constitution."

Unlike these outfits, the candidates of the Communist League (CL) at least raise the call for Quebec independence. However, their electoral platform stands entirely within the framework of continued capitalist rule, nowhere even hinting at the need for workers revolution and the expropriation of the capitalist class. The CL's quirky brand of reformism is highlighted by its repeated pleas for the capitalist courts to "bring the cops to justice." Over the past decade, the police guardians of "law and order" have shot and killed dozens of black, Asian, Hispanic and Native people in Toronto and other cities. Yet the CL propounds the dangerous illusion that the murderous capitalist state—the cops, courts and army which exist to defend capitalist oppression by force—can be controlled, or even "brought to justice" through pressure from a popular "movement." The CL's parent group, the American Socialist Workers Party, has gone so far as to call for the U.S. army—the butchers of Vietnam and the Persian Gulf—to be sent to the South to "defend" black people against racist violence.

Trotskyists, in contrast, understand that the capitalist state cannot be subjected to "democratic control," but must be smashed through workers revolution, the only means to stop racist police violence for good and bring to justice the capitalists' hired killers. At the same time, we fight for *mass labor/minority mobilizations* to stop the racist terror of the

fascists, and have organized successful integrated anti-fascist mobilizations in cities from San Francisco to Philadelphia.

For North American Socialist Revolution!

In today's reactionary political climate, the bourgeois rulers proclaim the "death of Communism" as they ride roughshod over the workers and oppressed. Indeed, the worldwide drive to destroy social programs, rout the unions and drive down wages has been sharply intensified following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union at the onset of the 1990s. The drive for "lean and mean" capitalist exploitation reflects renewed inter-imperialist rivalry, pointing the way—as twice before this century—to inter-imperialist war for redivision of world markets.

Capitalism—with its chauvinism, racism, unemployment, poverty and war—cannot provide a future for mankind. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, together with our comrades in other sections of the International Communist League, fights for nothing less than world socialist revolution. We take as our model the Russian Revolution of 1917, which for the first time in history opened a road to liberation for the working people, women and oppressed nationalities, while inspiring the struggles of millions around the world. Despite the later Stalinist degeneration which undermined and eventually destroyed the Soviet workers state, the Russian Revolution showed how it is possible to smash the rule of capital and pave a path to true human freedom.

Only the working class in power can begin the task of reconstructing society in the interest of the vast majority, around a socialist planned economy. A revolutionary vanguard party, based on the program and principles of Marxism, is essential to make the working class conscious of its historic task of overthrowing capitalism. While the election campaign presents a spectacle of lying politicians vying to better exploit the working people, we offer the fight for a better future, for workers rule here in Canada and around the world. Join us! ■

Weisleder...

(continued from page 6)

revolution. Yet, as our article pointed out, Weisleder supports the presence of jail guards in OPSEU. Thus it's unsurprising that outside the December 5 meeting of the Metro Toronto Labour Council, Weisleder's frenzied companion Elizabeth Byce—a Socialist Action supporter and Labour Council official—shrieked that he should sue us for libel in the capitalist courts.

Weisleder's protest against our article doesn't both to address his organization's friendly attitude toward the capitalist state's repressive armed fist. Instead, this scab questions our "political integrity" for telling the truth about him. In reply we can only point out that political integrity is based on principles. As we wrote in our article exposing Weisleder's scabbing:

"The kind of class-struggle leadership needed by workers and the oppressed facing all-sided capitalist attacks won't come from scab 'socialists' who chatter about 'solidarity' and then act like the Junior Chamber of Commerce. We need a revolutionary workers party forged on the basis of an anti-capitalist program and genuine working-class principles—not least, the understanding that *picket lines mean don't cross!*" ■



SPARTACIST CANADA

Marxist newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

- \$15 joint *Spartacist Canada/Workers Vanguard* subscription
- \$3/4 issues of *Spartacist Canada* (overseas airmail \$8)
- \$14/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard*, biweekly newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.
- \$5/5 issues of *Le Bolchévique* (includes French-language *Spartacist*)

SC and WV subscriptions include English-language *Spartacist*, *Women and Revolution*. WV subscriptions also include *Black History and the Class Struggle*.

Name _____

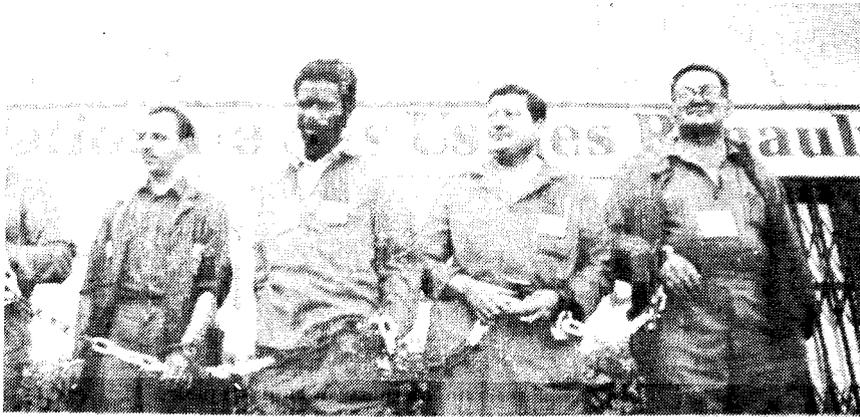
Address _____

Apt. _____

City _____ Province _____

Postal Code _____ Phone (____) _____

Order from/pay to: Spartacist Canada Publishing,
Box 6867 Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6 SC113



Chesnot/Sipa

French autoworkers. Integrated working class has power to smash inspired austerity.

rs Europe...

(from page 24)

tion of the Soviet Union has led to increased ist conflicts over the redivision of world mar- heres of exploitation, ultimately threatening I. The global system of "free trade"—the eco- it which held together the U.S.-dominated anti- ce—is crumbling as the major capitalist powers ide blocs: a German-led European Union, with as its hinterland; a Japanese-led "East Asian y Sphere," with Southeast Asia as its low-wage and a U.S.-dominated North American Free ment, for the benefit of the American bour- Canadian junior partners and their lackeys in ruling class. As we wrote in a joint declaration acist League/U.S., the Grupo Espartaquista de the Trotskyist League of Canada titled "Stop rade' Rape of Mexico" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 991):

at the time of the First World War, Lenin noted that w limits of the capitalist nation-state had become a the development of the productive forces, producing a over redivision of the world. The various 'common in no way overcome this, but instead intensify inter- rivalries. We Trotskyists, communists, struggle for omic integration of the world on a socialist basis."

geoisies must sharply increase the rate of and lower their labour costs, in order to com- tionally. The social welfare programmes cur- attack in West Europe were granted in the wing World War II, to avert what the capitalists threat of Communism." Since the destruction of nion, the imperialist bourgeoisies have moved : the "welfare state."

sterity drives have provoked defensive workers' otably in Italy, France, Spain and Germany, often not seen in decades. In Belgium, Spain and ault workers have staged internationally coordi- sts and plant occupations protesting shutdowns ned thousands of jobs. In Germany this March, ers throughout the Ruhr and Saar mining regions ols against shutdowns and layoffs. In every e mass reformist parties have betrayed these eeking where possible to divert them into the

dead-end of parliamentarism. This poses the urgent task of forging a revolutionary leadership of the working class. The ICL fights to build Bolshevik parties to lead the proletariat in struggle against the entire capitalist system and toward the conquest of proletarian state power.

Trying to take advantage of the increasing and massive opposition to the economic austerity policies associated with Maastricht, a number of organisations—centrally including the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (Usec) of

the late Ernest Mandel—are staging a "Euromarch '97" in Amsterdam on June 14 to coincide with an EU conference aimed at negotiating the terms of a Maastricht Treaty "Mark 2." The nominal demands of the march are for full employment, defence of social welfare provisions and against social "exclusion." There is *no call* to combat racism or fascism, and the demands which are raised are all couched within a framework which *accepts* the capitalist system.

The intent of the march organisers, who supported the election of the French Socialist Party (PS) and Communist Party (PCF), is simply to pressure the reformist misleaders. For the fake left, prostrating themselves before larger, alien class forces is nothing new. Throughout Cold War II, which began with the imperialists' frenzied reaction to the Soviet Army's intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, such groups as the Usec, the British-based Workers Power, and Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party echoed their own ruling classes and labour lackeys in supporting every sort of counterrevolutionary scum in the former Soviet Union and East Europe. Thus, they backed the Nazi-infested Baltic nationalists; Lech Walesa's Solidarność (the only "union" in the world supported by the Vatican, Reagan and Thatcher); and Yeltsin's coup in Russia in August 1991. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, such groups as the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), the French group affiliated to the Usec, are now playing a more open role as left social-democratic pressure groups on the mass reformist workers parties and as advisers to the top union bureaucrats.

While remaining committed to the Maastricht project, Lionel Jospin's Socialists have cynically sought to capitalise on the strong anti-Maastricht sentiment of the working class. Aiming to dampen the labour unrest which has rocked France, the PS mouths empty liberal platitudes about a "reorientation of European construction" around policies which would be "placed at the service of man." But Mitterrand's heirs are no less committed to serving the interests of the Paris Bourse than the Socialist government of yesterday, whose economic programme was encapsulated in *le franc fort* (the strong franc) and Maastricht. The new "cohabitation" government of Chirac and Jospin, and including the PCF, will continue the brutal attacks on the working class and poor, police terror against racial minorities at home, and imperialist plunder in African and other French colonies and neocolonies. Indeed, the fascist Le Pen strongly hinted that his supporters should vote for the candidates of the popular

(continued on page 18)

Workers Europe...

(continued from page 17)

front in the second round of the elections against Chirac & Co.

Echoing Jospin's PS, the march organisers, in a letter to sponsoring organisations, state that the march's basic aim is to "reverse the whole direction of European Union and national government's economic and social policy." Indeed, the "Euromarch" programme does not even oppose the European Union or the Maastricht Treaty, while its USec organisers boast that endorsers include "those who are against the Treaty in principle and those who are not" (*Socialist Outlook*, March 1997). While some of the participants pay lip service to a "workers Europe" or a "united socialist Europe," all support the social-democratic and ex-Stalinist labour lieutenants of capital—the Party of the Democratic Left and Rifondazione Comunista (RC), who respectively are part of or prop up the pro-austerity popular-front capitalist government in Italy; the PS and PCF in France; Blair's "New" Labour Party in Britain. Thus the British groups involved in the "Euromarch" emblazoned on their press in gigantic letters the call to *vote Labour*.

In contrast, the ICL maintains that effective resistance to the present capitalist offensive requires a revolutionary internationalist perspective and programme. The European bourgeoisies are intent on savage attacks on the working class, slashing jobs, wages and social programmes, hitting hardest at the weakest sectors of society. Immigrants, asylum seekers and racial minorities are made scapegoats by the capitalist rulers, who use racism to divide the working masses and to poison the workers' class consciousness. As capitalist restoration ravages East Europe and imperialist aggrandisement drives the masses of the neocolonial "Third World" into ever more grinding poverty, larger and larger numbers of refugees face refusal of entry or deportation from



French troops in Paris enforce anti-immigrant Vigipirate dragnet. Labor must fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and asylum seekers.

"Fortress Europe," as well as deadly racist terror at the hands of the cops and the fascists, who have grown dramatically in France, Italy, Germany and Austria.

Fascism feeds off mass unemployment and despair, and across Europe racist terror against immigrants and Roma (Gypsies) is the cutting edge of the capitalists' attacks on the living standards of the whole working class. The interests of the working class and minorities must advance together, or they will fall back separately. Thus defence of the immigrant communities against government and fascist attacks, centring on the demand for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants and asylum seekers*, is key to advancing working-class struggle in West Europe.

Furthermore, as we wrote last year (*Spartacist* [French-language edition], No. 29, Summer 1996):

"West Europe's dark-skinned proletarians are not just defenceless victims but a very important component of the forces capable of destroying the racist capitalist system. West European transport workers and South Asian nurses in Britain, North African Arab and Berber auto workers in France, Turkish coal miners and Kurdish chemical workers in Germany will play an important part in a European proletarian revolution. These workers are a bridge to the workers and peasant masses of the neocolonial Third World, a living link in an international socialist perspective. To transform this perspective into reality requires above all the construction of revolutionary parties, the re-forging of the Fourth International based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky."

For Proletarian Struggle Against the European Union

Now the West European powers are fearful that the main objective of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, the pursuit of "currency union," may have to be postponed or abandoned. The French elections were called by Chirac to obtain a mandate for further attacks on the working class, to meet the criteria for monetary union on schedule. However, the victory of the Socialist-led coalition was fueled by the protest vote against the government cutbacks which also provoked massive public sector strikes in December 1995. Imperialist Germany itself now looks unlikely to meet their own economic criteria for monetary union.

As the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the ICL, noted in our 15 May statement on the French elections:

"If tomorrow 'monetary union' were abandoned or postponed indefinitely in the face of workers' struggles, it would be a victory for the workers who, throughout Europe, have put up sharp resistance to the capitalist offensive....

"Nevertheless, such a victory would necessarily be temporary and reversible. It is impossible, within the framework of the capitalist system, to do away with unemployment, austerity and racism."

Some reformist organisations, such as Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP) and the French Communist Party, present the EU and the Maastricht Treaty as the root cause of rising unemployment, government cutbacks and the general worsening of economic conditions. This obscures the fact that, with or without the Maastricht Treaty, the main enemy of the workers of each country is their "own" bourgeoisie. Here it is important to recall that Thatcher's Britain pioneered the dismantling of the "welfare state" years before there was any serious talk of a common European currency. Throughout most of the 1980s, the government of French Socialist president François Mitterrand (supported by the PCF) pursued a harsh monetarist austerity. As a result,

unemployment rose steadily from 6 percent in 1981, when the "Union of the Left" came to power, doubling by the time Chirac replaced Mitterrand two years ago.

Our opposition to Maastricht and the EU is based on a proletarian internationalist perspective and is counterposed to the nationalist protectionism pushed by the PCF and the SLP, with their respective calls to "produce French" and to "stop imports of coal" to Britain. In 1992 Scargill, leader of the miners union, shared a platform with Winston Churchill Jr., a notorious racist, in a campaign supposedly to "save British coal." Similarly, Klaus Zwickel, leader of the German IG Metall union, demanded racist "immigration quotas" to "ease the German labour market," while the German building workers union organised a demonstration explicitly against Portuguese, Polish and Russian workers. Nationalism is poison to the working class, fanning the flames of racism by pitting sectors of the working class within each country and of different countries against each other.

The power of the working class must be mobilised to fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours with no loss in pay in order to spread the work among all the workers and to maintain the workers' standard of living. The bosses' attempt to create a two-tier wage system is also aimed at pitting youth and immigrants against the unions. Now more than ever, the unions must fight to organise all non-unionised workers and the unemployed. We fight for industrial trade unions, to include all workers in the same industry. The crisis of unemployment and attacks on social welfare have hit women workers the hardest. We demand equal pay for equal work, and free 24-hour day care. To achieve these demands requires the systematic mobilisation of the masses for the proletarian revolution.

The Working Class Must Fight Racist Terror

The deadly danger of such nationalism was clear when this February in Berlin-Hellersdorf the Hitlerite "Young National Democrats" tried to stage a murderous racist provocation under the slogan "Jobs for Germans First!" But the Nazi skinheads' provocation was spiked by a united-front mobilisation of hundreds of anti-fascist demonstrators. This modest but politically significant victory over the fascists, who were sent scurrying under heavy police protection, required a political battle to counter the demobilising efforts of the social-democratic SPD and PDS. Those who wanted to stop the Nazis were mobilised under the leadership of our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD).

At bottom, the reformists look to the forces of the racist capitalist state to deal with the fascists. However, any bans or other action by the bourgeois state against the fascists, the armed gangs in defence of capital which the rulers hold in reserve to use against the proletariat, will ultimately be directed against the workers organisations. In contrast, we understand that crushing the fascist gangs requires mobilising the social power of the organised proletariat standing at the head of all the oppressed. This perspective has been exemplified by mass united-front actions initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S., which stopped Ku Klux Klan and Nazi provocations in a number of cities.

It is the policies of the mass reformist parties—which are seen as part of the "establishment," sworn to protect the capitalist status quo which is more and more unbearable—that in fact engender the growth of the fascist menace. These reformists don't offer anything except more austerity, unem-



Spartakist
Berlin anti-Nazi demonstration, February 15. German Spartakist banner calls to "Stop the Nazis Through Workers United-Front Action!"

ployment, attacks on social programmes, mass expulsions of "illegal" immigrants. The fascists then have an easy time presenting themselves in the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie and the most backward workers as the only "radical" alternative to the established order.

It is necessary to counterpose to the chauvinist demagogy of Le Pen or the Austrian Haider, who promise to end unemployment through the mass expulsion of immigrants, the socialist reorganisation of the European economies which alone can provide jobs for all with a rapidly rising living standard. As Trotsky wrote in 1930 when, under the impact of the Great Depression, the Nazi Party emerged as a real threat to take power:

"The problem of unemployment is one of the most important elements of the political crisis. The struggle against capitalist rationalization and for the seven-hour working day remains entirely on the order of the day..."

"The *Soviet United States of Europe*—that is the only correct slogan which points to the way out of the splintering of Europe, which threatens not only Germany but all of Europe with complete economic and cultural decline.

"The slogan of the proletarian unification of Europe is simultaneously a very important weapon in the struggle against the abomination of fascist chauvinism, the baiting of France, and so forth."

—"The Turn in the Communist International and the Situation in Germany" (September 1930)

A Capitalist European "Superstate"?: Utopian and Reactionary

The European Economic Community, predecessor to the European Union, was set up in the mid-1950s as an economic adjunct of the NATO military alliance against the Soviet bloc. Its precursor was the Cold War Marshall Plan, implemented by U.S. imperialism in the late 1940s. However, since the counterrevolution in the former USSR and East Europe, the reunified Fourth Reich has become more dominant within the EU, with the Bundesbank bent on dictating austerity from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. Germany's renewed drive for hegemony in Europe has generated

(continued on page 20)

Workers Europe...

(continued from page 19)

sharp divisions within the ruling classes of the other EU countries, especially its rivals in two world wars, Britain and France. German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel predicted that the Amsterdam conference may be a "night of the long knives," a chilling reminder that the German Fourth Reich is the successor state to Hitler's Third Reich.

Control over the quantity of money within its boundaries is a basic economic prerogative of a bourgeois state, one necessarily closely linked to other instruments of economic policy. A stable monetary system based on the "euro" would require tight and permanent restrictions over taxation and government expenditure in all the EU member states. This is precisely what Kohl and the Bundesbank are now demanding. But since capitalism is organised on the basis of particular national states, itself the cause of repeated imperialist wars to redivide the world, it is impossible to cohere a stable pan-European bourgeois state. A European imperialist "superstate" can be achieved only by the methods of Adolf Hitler, not those of Jacques Delors, the French social-democratic architect of Maastricht. Should the Maastricht project for a common European currency come into being, it would amount to only a brief, conflict-ridden episode.

The idea of a gradual evolution into a "united states of Europe" under capitalism is a utopian fantasy. Lenin was clear in his denunciation of the concept in 1915:

"From the standpoint of the economic conditions of imperialism—i.e., the export of capital and the division of the world by the 'advanced' and 'civilised' colonial powers—a United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary...."

"Of course, *temporary* agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists...but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty *against* Japan and America."

—"On the Slogan for a United States of Europe"
(August 1915)

In the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, Marx and Engels noted that the capitalist system had created a world market, laying the basis for proletarian internationalism. Only the taking of state power by the working class, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in at least several advanced industrial countries, can achieve a rationally planned economy, placing the productive capacity of Europe at the service of the working people of the world. Only on this basis can we speak of a *Socialist* United States of Europe.

The Left Fringe of European Social Democracy

The stage for the present attacks on the working class and immigrants in West Europe was set by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. In East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the devastating consequences of capitalist restoration are manifest: from intercommunal slaughter to widespread hunger and homelessness. In Poland and elsewhere, women have been driven from the workforce, while abortion rights have been sharply curtailed. The impact of counterrevolution, both in the former degenerated/deformed workers states and internationally, underscores how profoundly right was the Trotskyist position on



Burnett/Contact

Most of European "left" cheered Vatican-inspired Solidarity movement in Poland. Spartacists called to "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!"

the Russian question: for unconditional military defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, and for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. This remains our program for the remaining deformed workers states, of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba.

In 1979 we said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan" and "Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan Peoples." We noted that the Red Army was defending the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism, and was on the side of social progress, defending the rights of women against the CIA-backed *mujahedin* reactionaries. From the moment Polish Solidarność consolidated around an openly pro-imperialist programme in the autumn of 1981, we raised the call "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" Eight years later, we threw our forces into East Germany, seeking to provide revolutionary leadership to the incipient political revolution which erupted with the opening of the Berlin Wall. While Gorbachev gave the green light to capitalist reunification and the Stalinists of the SED/PDS sold out the DDR, we unconditionally opposed capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation) of the East German deformed workers state by West German imperialism. We fought for a "Red Germany of Workers Councils" as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

Today with the West European bourgeoisies gloating about the "death of communism" and dismantling state welfare programmes, the already very tame mass social-democratic and ex-Stalinist parties have moved even farther to the right. Foremost among them is Tony Blair's "New" Labour in Britain, whose leaders want to refashion it as an outright bourgeois party modelled on Clinton's Democrats in the U.S. Blair's party has dropped its few remaining pretences to represent the interest of the working class and intends to sever Labour's link with the trade unions.

Keeping in step with this shift to the right, a host of pseudo-Trotskyist groups are openly embracing the lie that capitalism can be reformed. One of the smaller centrist outfits participating in the Euromarch campaign, the British Workers Power group (WP) and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI), actually maintains that the European Union and a common European currency are progressive, or potentially so. WP took an abstentionist position during the 1992 referendums on Maastricht. Echoing Labour's enthusiasm over the EU "Social Charter," they argued that "the terms of the Maastricht Treaty can also be a basis for extending rights and gains from states where the working class never won those gains, or where it has lost them" and they added that "to some extent European workers will be better armed to fight back on a continental scale after the implementation of the terms of Maastricht" (*Workers Power*, June 1992).

Today, these EU socialists still hold that Maastricht is preferable to nationally "isolated" capitalism:

"The national states would carry out equally anti-working class policies whether they were in the EU or out of it. To the extent that they would be thrown back upon smaller markets and face sharper competition, their capitalists would have to launch redoubled attacks."

—"Build a United Socialist Europe!", *Workers Power*, May 1997

In its own way, the LRCI is here echoing the threats of the Bundesbank and international financiers that any EU member state which does not accept a common currency will face massive capital flight and suffer economic hardships even worse than those resulting from the Maastricht convergence terms. This same kind of argument is also used by both capitalists and labour bureaucrats to oppose increased wages and benefits within the framework of a particular European nation-state.

The LRCI's own answer to Maastricht is a parody of parliamentary cretinism:

"Dissolve the powerless European parliament and convene a Europe-wide constituent assembly (organised and defended by the workers' organisations) to tear up the Maastricht treaty and to draw up a new workers' plan for economic and political convergence, designed to meet the needs of the workers, not the ruling class."

—*Workers Power*, January 1997

Why not tear up the NATO treaty, too, while they're about it? Or "open the borders" of the bourgeois states—another utopian demand raised by Workers Power? The Maastricht Treaty is an agreement between bourgeois states. As Marx and Engels explained a long time ago, bourgeois states are ultimately based not on parliaments or ministries but on *armed bodies of men*. The working class can tear up the economic as well as the military arrangements of the world capitalist system only by smashing the bourgeois state apparatus and replacing it by the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a government of workers councils. But this perspective is completely counterposed to the aims of the sponsors of Euromarch '97.

In practice, the "internationalism" of groups like the USec, the LRCI and the British-based centrists of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency boils down to support for "progressive" imperialism. This was graphically illustrated by their joint campaign for "Workers Aid to Bosnia," which was a stalking-horse for NATO/UN intervention on the Bosnian Muslim side, inflaming communalist war in the



Glynn Griffiths

Centrists, reformists support pro-capitalist social democrats like British Labour Party under Tony Blair.

Balkans. The "Workers Aid" campaign, with its calls to "lift the arms embargo of Bosnia," was a thinly veiled call for imperialism to arm the Bosnian Muslim forces. Capitalist restoration in the bureaucratically deformed workers state of Yugoslavia led to all-sided communalist massacres among the Balkan peoples, fuelled by rival imperialist intervention forces. As proletarian internationalists, we oppose all the competing nationalist forces, demand the withdrawal of all imperialist troops and called for military defence of the Bosnian Serbs when they were targeted by NATO bombing raids. We recognise that the only just solution to murderous nationalism and communalism lies in socialist revolution to sweep away all the reactionary regimes and to establish a socialist federation of the Balkans.

It is the duty of communists in the imperialist countries to call and work for the military defeat of their "own" bourgeoisie in wars against the colonial and semicolonial countries. Our comrades of the LTF fight against the bloody colonialist machinations of French imperialist troops in Africa. Building for the Euromarch, the British Socialist Party (SP, formerly Militant Labour) declares: "We are internationalists and support greater solidarity and integration of the working peoples of Europe and the world" (*Socialist*, 16 May). The British SP's "internationalism" certainly does not extend to opposition to British imperialism in Ireland. Notorious in Britain for their rejection of the call for British troops out of Northern Ireland, SP meetings in Belfast and Dublin have hosted a representative of the fascistic Ulster Loyalist paramilitary groups, convicted for the murder of two Catholics. Scandalously, the British SWP supported the introduction of British troops to Northern Ireland in 1969, on the pretext that they would "save lives."

In stark contrast to this social-chauvinism, the Spartacist League/Britain and the Dublin Spartacist Group call for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland as part of the fight for an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles. As a 21 April SL/B election statement stressed:

"We oppose the forcible reunification of Ireland, and recognise that there can be no equitable solution to the national oppression in Ireland within the framework of capitalism. Northern Ireland is a situation of interpenetrated peoples in which the Catholic minority is currently oppressed within the sectarian

(continued on page 22)

Workers Europe...

(continued from page 21)

Orange statelet....A proletarian perspective is necessarily internationalist, and requires the mobilisation of the working class on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, smashing the Orange statelet in the North as well as the Catholic clericalist state in the South."

Against Popular Frontism

As Lenin indicated, under certain conditions it is a correct tactic for a small revolutionary organisation to give critical electoral support to a larger reformist workers party. The basic condition for such a tactic is that the reformist party in question presents itself as representing the interests of the working class independently of and against the parties of the bourgeoisie. Critical electoral support affords revolutionaries a broader hearing for their own views and puts them in a better position to attract militant workers who become disillusioned when their leaders betray, as they inevitably do, their professed principles and programme. Thus, in the recent elections the Spartacist League/Britain campaigned for a vote to Arthur Scargill's SLP, a left split from Blair's "New" Labour Party. The SLP, which stood in opposition to New Labour, espouses a variant of "old Labour" reformism.

Like Lenin and Trotsky, the ICL opposes in principle any type of coalition with capitalist parties ("popular frontism"), whether in government or in opposition, and we oppose voting for reformist parties in popular fronts, like the PDS and RC in Italy and the PS and PCF in France. In its 15 May leaflet, the LTF noted that by running in an alliance with bourgeois formations (including the ultra-chauvinist Jean-Pierre Chevenement) the French reformist parties "thus become representatives of a *bourgeois* coalition. Under these conditions, a vote for the parties in these coalitions is a vote for the class enemy. It is a break with the principle of class independence. *No vote for the workers parties in popular fronts! No to class collaboration!*" The LTF also said no vote to Lutte Ouvrière, who ostentatiously refuse to participate in any struggles against the fascist forces of Le Pen or against racism.

The USec's LCR and LRCI's Pouvoir Ouvrier both called for votes to pro-Maastricht Socialists and the virulently

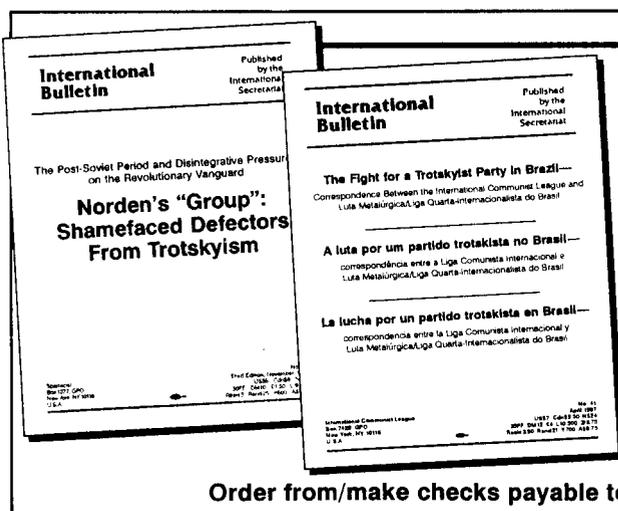
chauvinist PCF. This flatly negates their respective posturing for a "socialist Europe." In Italy, the USec section serves as a loyal "opposition" within RC, which in turn acts as a prop for the "left-centre" capitalist Prodi government. The "Ulivo" (Olive Tree) coalition presides over vicious austerity, murderous attacks on immigrants and imperialist military intervention in Albania. More left-leaning elements in the USec look to the centrist Proposta group led by Franco Grisolia, which also operates within RC as a "left" cover for popular-front betrayal. Proposta expressed its allegiance to Italian imperialism recently by voting in favour of an RC motion which sought to provide a "United Nations" fig leaf for military intervention in Albania. Our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia denounced the bloody murder of 89 Albanian refugees by the Italian navy and demanded: "Italian imperialism, get your bloody hands off Albania! Full citizenship rights for the Albanian refugees and all immigrants!"

For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

The social democrats and ex-Stalinists now present themselves as a "lesser evil," as advocates of a lesser degree of unemployment, cutbacks in social programmes and overall economic hardship. And the "far left" pseudo-Trotskyists have in their turn become the defenders of the "welfare state" status quo. We stand for a fundamentally different programme and perspective: the smashing of the capitalist state, the expropriation of the means of production and the establishment of a planned, collectivised economy under a workers government. We seek to go forward to new October Revolutions throughout Europe and throughout the world. As the Transitional Programme, the founding document of the Fourth International written in 1938, states:

"The Fourth International does not search after and does not invent panaceas. It takes its stand completely on Marxism as the only revolutionary doctrine that enables one to understand reality, unearth the cause behind the defeats, and consciously prepare for victory. The Fourth International continues the tradition of Bolshevism, which first showed the proletariat how to conquer power."

The ICL is dedicated to the task of reforging Trotsky's Fourth International through intransigent political struggle against the social-democratic and ex-Stalinist betrayers and their centrist hangers-on. ■



Special ICL Bulletins

No. 38:
Norden's "Group": Shamefaced Defectors From Trotskyism
\$8 (Third edition, 152 pages)

No. 41 (In English, Portuguese and Spanish):
The Fight for a Trotskyist Party in Brazil—
Correspondence Between the International Communist League
and Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil
\$9.50 (184 pages)

Also available:
"Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits: IG's Brazil
Fraud Exposed," *Workers Vanguard* No. 669, 30 May 1997
\$.50

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

Avenge Peruvian Leftists Through Workers Revolution!



Demonstrators at Peruvian consulates in Toronto (left) and Vancouver, April 26. The protests, called by the Trotskyist League, were joined by other groups including Latin American and black organizations and Worker-Communist Party of Iran. The ICL also joined protests in Mexico City, Tokyo, New York and other cities.

SC photos

We print below an urgent protest statement issued by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) on April 22.

* * *

The International Communist League denounces the mass execution of leftists perpetrated today by the Peruvian dictatorship of Alberto Fujimori inside the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima. The slaughter of 14 members of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) is a message to the impoverished peasants and working people of that country to submit to the yoke of imperialist exploitation. The Peruvian regime's patrons and paymasters in Washington and Tokyo are up to their necks in this bloodbath. Japanese Prime Minister Hashimoto immediately declared: "I am pleased with the results and I thank the Peruvian forces." The U.S. State Department grotesquely blamed the leftist victims themselves for this grisly mass murder.

Despite our political differences with the guerrillaist strategy of the MRTA, we Trotskyists of the ICL have from the outset solidarized with their just demand for the release of some 400 of their comrades held hostage in Peruvian dungeons. Honorably, the MRTA fighters stuck to this demand on behalf of their imprisoned comrades to the very end. From the beginning, Fujimori insisted that the MRTA prisoners "will only get out dead." Faced with sympathy among the country's peasant and working masses for the MRTA's bold action as well as an internal political crisis provoked by it, Fujimori ordered the bloodbath by commandos trained by the Israeli Zionist butchers. Meanwhile, in the last 18 months alone, some 500,000 people have been detained in sweeps against "terrorists."

The Peruvian bourgeoisie's brutal repression against leftists and peasants has been backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism in the guise of a global "war on drugs." At the same

time, the racist American rulers carry on their own war of police terror and repression against working people, blacks and Hispanics in the U.S. The barbarism of the U.S. capitalist ruling class is amply evident in the ongoing crusade to legally lynch black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose cause has won the support of hundreds of thousands of working people and minorities around the world. As for the Japanese government, in the course of the Lima crisis it has sought to shore up its "anti-terrorist" credentials by escalating its international vendetta against the leftist "Red Army Faction" group.

Despite the valor of its militants, the MRTA's guerrillaist strategy is incapable of eliminating capitalist exploitation and oppression. As the MRTA's own impotent appeals to Fujimori to change his anti-worker and anti-peasant policies have made clear, such petty-bourgeois guerrillas are simply, as we have written, "reformists with guns." The ICL is guided by Leon Trotsky's program of permanent revolution. In semicolonial countries like Peru, only through the seizure of state power by the revolutionary proletariat supported by the peasantry can the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—agrarian revolution, the emancipation of the doubly oppressed peasant and working women, and liberation from imperialist bondage—be achieved. This requires the expropriation of capitalist property and the formation of a planned socialized economy. Ultimate victory for the toiling masses of Latin America requires extending workers revolution to "the belly of the beast," U.S. imperialism. We fight for Leninist-Trotskyist parties from Peru to Japan to the U.S. as part of a reformed Fourth International to lead the proletariat to power and sweep away capitalist-imperialist barbarism internationally. Free all victims of Fujimori's terror! From Lima to Tokyo and Washington—For international proletarian revolution! ■

For a Workers Europe— For Socialist Revolution!

We print below an International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) statement issued for the June 14 "Euromarch" in Amsterdam.

* * *

The capitalist rulers of West Europe have escalated their austerity attacks against the working people and intensified racist terror against immigrants and minorities. As proletarian internationalists, we of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) oppose the European Union as an imperialist economic bloc which is a vehicle for capitalist co-operation against the working masses of Europe. The working class must oppose the imposition of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty for "currency union." This treaty is a pact among the capitalist masters of Europe to compete for markets against other world powers, which means increasing attacks against the working class and racial minorities.

The current reactionary onslaught symbolised by Maastricht is a direct consequence of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was the signal event of the 20th century, the first and only victorious proletarian revolution. But the pressure of imperialist encirclement on an economically backward country, the devastation of the Russian working class in the Civil War, and the failure and defeat of proletarian revolutions abroad—in large part due to the betrayals of the West European social democracies—set the stage for a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. This Soviet Thermidor led to decades of misrule by a nationalist,



Reuters

Italian workers stage 4-hour general strike in 1993 to protest government attacks. European rulers' racist anti-labor offensive is provoking class struggle, but workers need revolutionary leadership to achieve victory.

parasitic caste headed by Stalin and his heirs. The ultimate result of the Stalinist betrayals carried out under the lie of building "socialism in one country," whereby workers revolution internationally was subordinated to an accommodation to imperialism, was the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92. We Trotskyists, who consistently defended the gains of October against imperialism and counterrevolution and fought for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist usurpers, today fight for new October Revolutions as the only answer to deepening capitalist reaction.

(continued on page 17)

**Down With Maastricht! No to Social-Democratic
Front Men for Capitalist Austerity!**