

Defend North Korea, China Against Imperialism!



South Korean president Kim Dae Jung (above left) with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il during June summit in Pyongyang. At right, presence of U.S. troops in South Korea is a dagger aimed at North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states.

Returning from an unprecedented summit meeting with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il in Pyongyang on June 13-15, South Korean president Kim Dae Jung declared: "We are at the juncture of opening a new chapter in our history, putting an end to 55 years of division and hostility." But South Korea's U.S. imperialist overlord made it absolutely clear that it is not about to put an end to 55 years of military occupation and the presence of nearly 40,000 U.S. troops in the South.

Immediately after the talks, Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon, chief propagandist for the U.S.-led slaughter in the Balkans last year, announced: "We intend to remain a force for stability in that area as long as we are needed" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 June). Washington now promises to ease the economic embargo imposed to starve the North Korean deformed workers state into submission and labels the country a "state of concern" rather than a "rogue state." In July, their junior imperialist partners in Ottawa gave official diplomatic recognition to North Korea. But U.S. plans for a regional "theater missile defense" system targeting North Korea and China are going full steam ahead. **Down with the imperialist embargo! For the uncon-**

ditional military defense of the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

The Korean peninsula is divided by the class line, a frozen civil war. For more than 50 years the nation has been split between the bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North and the capitalist South, a thinly disguised police state garrisoned by the same U.S. imperialist state which laid waste to the country 50 years ago during the Korean War, killing up to four million people and razing entire cities, including Pyongyang. Under direct U.S. command and using the United Nations as a fig leaf, more than 20,000 Canadian troops participated in this imperialist carnage. A statement publicizing a series of protests initiated by our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. two years ago against the American military presence explained:

"This military presence is not only a dagger aimed at North Korea and the Chinese deformed workers state but also serves as a warning to South Korea's working masses, threatening to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order....

(continued on page 18)

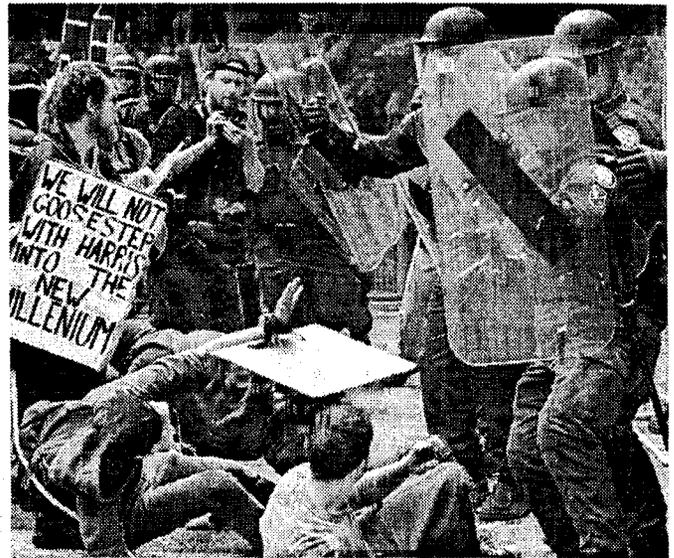
Witchhunt Against Anti-Poverty Activists

Hands Off OCAP!

When more than 1,500 anti-poverty protesters marched on the Ontario Legislature in Toronto on June 15, hundreds of riot cops blocked their way with barricades, then set upon them with truncheons, horses and pepper spray. In the aftermath, the media, cops and city administration have whipped up a frenzy against the protest organizers, the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP). At least 33 demonstrators have been arrested, many of them rounded up weeks after the protest. They face sweeping charges ranging from participation in a riot to assault and "counselling to commit an indictable offense." Outrageously, the judge at bail hearings for OCAP spokesmen John Clarke, Gaetan Héroux and Stefan Pilipa ordered that they have no contact whatever with each other or with any other members of their own organization. We demand: Drop all the charges! Stop the witchhunt against OCAP!

OCAP called the demonstration to protest the massive rise in poverty and homelessness in Ontario under the Mike Harris Tory government. The Tories have slashed welfare rates by almost a quarter and reduced eligibility to the point where anyone who gets social assistance for a year—including those too ill to work—must agree to a government lien on their property or be cut off. Nearly 20,000 public housing units have been canceled and homeless shelters closed. Up to 2,000 people are forced to sleep rough in Toronto's parks, back alleys or abandoned buildings every night—and now the Tories have made it illegal to sleep outside or panhandle for spare change. Last winter, two or three homeless people died on the streets every week.

For the racist capitalist ruling class, the lives of the poor are cheap. The capitalists' drive for ever greater profits requires maintaining a layer of unemployed as a drag on wages for the entire working class. At the same time, the ruling class has consigned whole sections of the unemployed to the scrap heap—particularly Native people, who make up a huge proportion of the homeless in the cities, where they are subjected to constant police harassment. The closing of psychiatric hospital wards has further swelled the ranks of the homeless. Among the many recent victims of racist cop terror was Edmond Yu, a Chinese immigrant and homeless schizophrenic shot dead by Toronto cops in 1997. As the



Bolin/National Post

Cops riot against OCAP-led protest, Toronto, 15 June.

capitalists slash ever deeper into social welfare programs, hundreds of thousands of workers, especially minorities, know they are only one pay check away from the threat of utter destitution.

The vendetta against OCAP by the bosses' cops and courts is part of a pattern of stepped-up repression against the poor and against social protest. So-called "targeted policing" is directed first and foremost against heavily black and Asian areas like Toronto's Regent Park, and Jane-Finch. Riot cops firing potentially lethal pepper spray have become the norm at protests, as in Windsor in June when hundreds of youth were sprayed and dozens arrested outside a gathering of the Organization of American States. In Montreal, cops wielding pepper spray killed two people in July alone. The cops and courts are core institutions of the bourgeois state, whose purpose is to protect capitalist order and private property against the working class and oppressed. They cannot be reformed, but must be swept away through working-class socialist revolution.

The social power of labor must be mobilized in struggle to defend all the oppressed. Hundreds of trade unionists came out for the June 15 OCAP demonstration, chiefly from

(continued on page 22)

SPARTACIST CANADA

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

Editorial Board: Stephanie Chase (Editor, Young Spartacus pages), Jane Clancy, Charles Galameau (Managing Editor), Arthur Llewellyn, John Masters (Editor), Peter Stegner, Russell Stoker (Production Manager)
Circulation Manager: Andrew Murray

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 Publications Mail Reg. No. 8181 ISSN: 0229-5415
Fall 2000 Date of issue: September 2000

Basic Documents of the
Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

Programmatic Theses *Who We Are, and What We Fight For*

Organizational Rules and Guidelines

**Trotskyist League/
Ligue trotskyste**

**Programmatic Theses
in French
and English**

\$2.00
(32 pages)

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

Ontario Tories Target Hôpital Montfort, Again Defend French Language Rights!

The Ontario Conservative government has renewed its offensive against French-language rights in the province. In a statement dripping with anti-French venom, the Tories announced in July that they would appeal the court ruling which has stalled the closure of Ottawa's Hôpital Montfort, the only francophone teaching hospital in the country outside Quebec.

In 1997, the Tories' Health Services Restructuring Commission ordered the closing of the Montfort as part of premier Mike Harris's savage attacks on health care, education, welfare and other social services. Mass protests by Ottawa's francophones against this Anglo-chauvinist twist of the cutback knife kept the vital facility open, though at a reduced level of service. Six months later, the Ontario Divisional Court temporarily ratified this small but important victory, while upholding the right of the government to shut down the Montfort after further "consideration."

Even such a mild check was too much for the Tories. Railing against "judicial activism," they now assert that they have no obligation to fund *any* French-language services except primary and high school education. This brazen threat to further restrict the democratic rights of French-speaking Ontarians plays, in the first instance, to Harris's core constituency in the small-town heartland of the old Protestant Orange Order, where anti-French bigotry is truly hardwired. These are the types who, in Brockville in 1990, publicly trampled on the Quebec national flag, the *fleur-de-lysé*, in an orgy of Anglo chauvinism.

Harris's provocation also seeks to further divide the working class along linguistic lines. In order to forge fighting solidarity among working people and the oppressed, English-speaking workers must relentlessly oppose every manifestation of Anglo chauvinism. As we wrote in our 1998 Programmatic Theses:

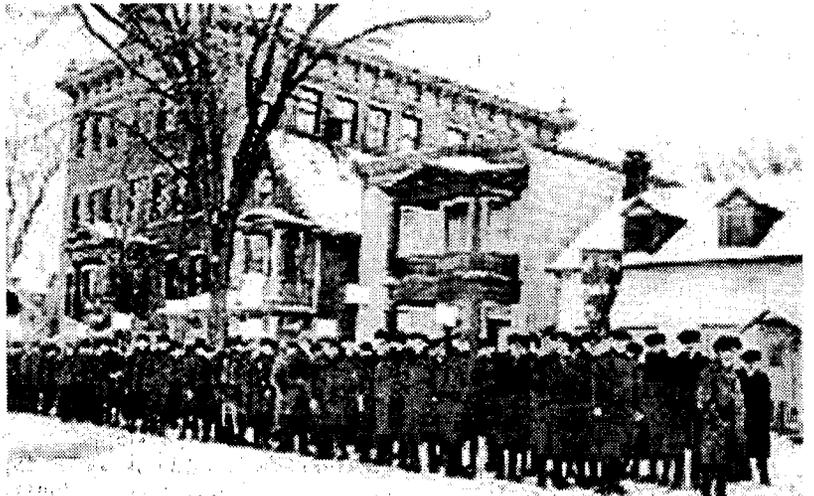
"We demand *equal language rights for all*. We support bilingual (or multilingual) education wherever necessary, and the provision of services in any language—French or English, Cree or Inuktitut, Chinese or Punjabi—where circumstances warrant."

The anti-French bigotry stirred up by the dominant anglophone ruling class is directed against both the language rights of French speakers in English Canada and the national rights of overwhelmingly francophone Quebec. This chauvinism serves to tie the workers of English Canada to their "own" capitalist exploiters, while simultaneously driving the working people of Quebec deeper into the arms of the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois and Bloc Québécois. Thanks to the deep national divide, the prospects for united working-class struggle against capitalism have become

deeply poisoned.

It is for this reason that we Trotskyists advocate *independence for Quebec*. With independence, it would become clearer to the workers of both nations that their enemies are not "the French" or "les Anglais," but their own respective national bourgeois rulers—thereby laying a basis for common struggle against all the capitalist oppressors.

The hold of chauvinism on the proletariat of English Canada is reinforced by the labor bureaucracy, and espe-



City of Ottawa Archives

Francophone students protest Ontario's suppression of French schools, Ottawa, 1916. Equal language rights for all!

cially by the social-democratic NDP, which has always been virulently hostile to Quebec's national rights. NDP premiers like Roy Romanow, Glen Clark and Bob Rae have long been at the forefront of the Anglo bourgeoisie's "national unity" crusade. Earlier this year, the federal NDP voted for Jean Chrétien's reactionary "Clarity Bill," which all but outlaws Quebec's democratic right to self-determination.

French Language Rights: Suppression and Betrayal

Since the mid-nineteenth century, at least, francophones outside Quebec have been victims of policies of forced assimilation pursued, through both legislation and force of arms, by the English Canadian bourgeoisie. At the same time, the Quebec francophone elite has always been at best indifferent to the plight of francophones elsewhere, except when anti-French attacks in English Canada can be manipulated to rally support for nationalism in Quebec. Thus, for over 100 years French communities, from Gravelbourg and Courval in Saskatchewan and St. Boniface in Manitoba to Northern Ontario and New Brunswick, have had to wage bitter, isolated struggles to maintain any vestige of linguistic

(continued on page 4)

Fight Anglo Chauvinism! Independence for Quebec!

Language Rights...

(continued from page 3)

equality.

In 1871, the Acadians of New Brunswick were stripped of their customary right to French-language education. This set the stage for the Manitoba schools crisis of 1890. When Métis statesman Louis Riel brought Manitoba into the confederation in 1870, equality of French and English was enshrined in the Manitoba Act. But Riel—non-white, francophone and Catholic—was hanged in 1885 after the suppression of the Northwest Rebellion of the Métis and their Cree allies. Viciously bigoted Manitoba agitators like D'Alton McCarthy began howling against "special concessions" to French—code for English-only schools, in open defiance of the Manitoba Act.

Riding the chauvinist wave, the Manitoba government moved to abolish French-language education. At first, leading Québécois politicians like Henri Bourassa protested, along with the Catholic Church. But when federal Liberal leader Wilfrid Laurier, then in opposition, supported the Manitoba government and offered increased provincial powers, the Québécois elite saw a chance to enhance their own position. They abruptly changed sides, leaving Manitoba francophones, most of them Métis, to their fate.

In 1896, the Western bigots and the francophone Quebec elite combined to bring Laurier to power. French-language education in Manitoba was savaged, then extinguished altogether in 1916 at the height of the Conscription Crisis, when thousands of Québécois refused to fight in Europe for the English overlords in World War I (see "Quebec and the Conscription Crises," SC No. 119, Winter 1998/99). Education in French was suppressed by Saskatchewan and Alberta when they entered Confederation in 1905, and in Ontario in 1912.

Opposition to French language rights in English Canada remains a touchstone of bourgeois reaction to this day. In 1990, scores of Ontario towns passed municipal "English only" ordinances, while Alberta declared English its sole official language. Predictably, the Quebec Liberal government of the day, joined by the opposition PQ, *supported* the Alberta government's chauvinist declaration, citing "provincial jurisdiction."

"Official Languages" in Chauvinist Canada

In the 1960s, seeking to undercut growing nationalist sentiment in Quebec, the federal Liberal government introduced the Official Languages Act, which legally enshrined bilingualism in areas like federal government services. Around the same time, access to French-language education was reintroduced or strengthened in some provinces, including Ontario. While some of these reforms were certainly supportable, their purpose was to put a more "tolerant" face on the chauvinist Canadian state. That this was little more than a cynical ploy was shown when this same Liberal government sent the army to occupy Montreal in the 1970 "October crisis." Prime minister Pierre Trudeau declared martial law and rounded up hundreds of left nationalists and trade unionists, in an attempt to quell growing *indépendantiste* agitation.

A distinct francophone capitalist class had emerged in Quebec in the 1960s, salivating at the thought of being the preeminent exploiters of Quebec labor. However, their ambitions collided with the Anglo bourgeoisie's determination to preserve the oppressive status quo—and with the struggles

of the young Québécois proletariat, spurred in large part by opposition to deeply felt national oppression. Labor militancy in Quebec peaked in the semi-insurrectionary Quebec general strike in 1972. The defeat of this general strike—thanks in no small part to the chauvinist hostility of the leadership of English Canadian labor—marked the end of a period of ascending proletarian struggle and paved the way for the election of the first bourgeois-nationalist PQ government in 1976.

Today, the Québécois bourgeoisie uses the *fleur-de-lysée* to disguise the knife it wields to cut Quebec workers' throats. Meanwhile Quebec's nationalist union tops deflect and betray labor struggle by citing the need for "national solidarity." Last year, for instance, a popular and militant strike by Quebec nurses was spiked by union bureaucrats to head off a massive confrontation between public sector workers and "their" PQ government (see "Labor Upsurge in Quebec," SC No. 122, Fall 1999).

Hypocritical as it is, the federal policy of bilingualism feeds chauvinist reaction in English Canada. The rise of the Reform Party (now Alliance) starting in the late 1980s was largely fuelled by opposition to official bilingualism and other supposed "privileges" for French speakers. At the same time, Quebec has legislation of its own enshrining French as the only official language and restricting use of English in fields like education and advertising.

Law 101, introduced by the PQ in the 1970s, was aimed at preserving French language and culture in the face of overwhelming pressures toward assimilation into English-speaking North America. It included some elementary democratic reforms, such as the right of Québécois workers to use French on the shop floor (as late as the '60s, foremen would tell French-speaking workers to "speak white"). But Law 101 too is chauvinist and anti-democratic, and a lightning rod for linguistic tensions among francophone, anglophone and immigrant workers in Quebec. In Quebec just as much as English Canada, Marxists oppose all restrictive language legislation—including the very idea of "official languages"—and champion equal language rights for all.

Far from assimilating into English Canada, Quebec has by and large succeeded in assimilating immigrants into francophone society. The situation in which the Québécois have resisted assimilation but have not yet separated from the Anglo-dominated Canadian state entrenches the national divide. This reinforces the importance of our Marxist advocacy of Quebec independence, in order to lay a basis for the decisive class questions to come to the fore.

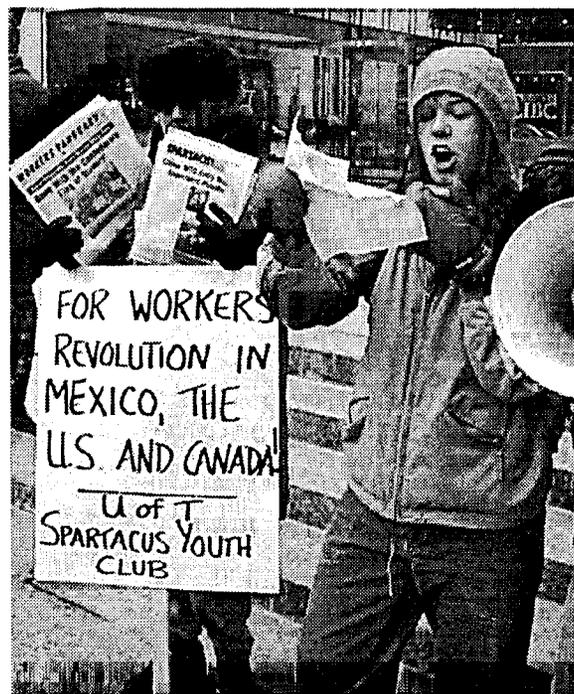
National Oppression and Socialist Revolution

The Tories' appeal against the Hôpital Montfort decision sneers that the Ontario government has no obligation to "prevent the assimilation of ethnic or linguistic minorities." Incredibly, it claims that the remaining half million or so Franco-Ontarians, who are concentrated in the Ottawa area and the North, do not need or want French services, because they speak English as well. Yet tens of thousands of Ottawa-area francophones have rallied in defense of the Montfort precisely because they need to be able to receive crucial services like health care in a language in which they are fully comfortable. (It is worth noting that, despite Law 101, Quebec provides extensive hospital services in English for its anglophone community.)

(continued on page 17)

Young Spartacus

Fighting for New October Revolutions



SC photos

TL and SYC supporters (left) at March 1999 Toronto protest against bombing of Serbia. SYC addresses protest in defense of striking UNAM students at Mexican consulate in Toronto.

The following program was adopted at a joint meeting of the Vancouver and Toronto Spartacus Youth Clubs in early August during the Ninth National Conference of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste.

* * *

The Spartacus Youth Clubs intervene into social struggles as the student/youth auxiliary of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, armed with a working-class program based on the politics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We look to the model of the Russian Revolution of October 1917 that smashed capitalism and erected a workers state. Today we fight for new October Revolutions!

The SYCs fight alongside the TL/LT to mobilize students behind the social power of the proletariat. Intervening in the "anti-globalization" protests, like the June protest in Windsor, we've emphasized the need to oppose chauvinist Canadian nationalism, calling for independence for Quebec and opposing Canada's "human rights" imperialism abroad. We organized speakouts in defense of Chinese immigrants deported by Canada's racist capitalist state. The SYC also fights for defense of the Chinese deformed workers state, and takes up the cause of victims of capitalist oppression abroad like death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

This is all part of our Marxist program of mobilizing labor in defense of all the oppressed. We fight to win youth to the perspective of building the revolutionary workers' party essential for the struggle for socialist revolution. If you agree with our program below and want to fight for a socialist future free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter, join the SYC!

Join the SYC!

1. Mobilize students behind the social power of the working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! On strike means shut it down! For union-run job recruitment and training programs for minorities and women! For union hiring halls! Down with union-busting "workfare" schemes! Jobs for all at union wages! Organize the unorganized! Down with multi-tier wages, which pit younger and older workers against each other! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Keep the capitalists' government and courts out of the unions!
2. Independence for Quebec! Down with English Canadian chauvinism! Down with the "Clarity Act," Ottawa's latest move against Quebec's national rights! Chauvinism and nationalism are poison to working-class struggle! Equal language rights for all! Down with chauvinist "English-only" ordinances and restrictive French language legislation!
3. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Down with anti-immigrant, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry! No deportations! No detention of immigrants or refugee claimants! Down with the government's "anti-terrorism" scare! For mass labor/minority mobilizations to stop the fascists and race terrorists! No reliance on the capitalist courts! Fascist terror is not a question of free speech! Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!
4. For free, quality education for all! For an end to streaming! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living

(continued on page 6)

SYC Program...

(continued from page 5)

stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there! Cops off campus! Drive army and police recruiters off campus! For a single secular school system! No prayer in the schools! For separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! For the right of people to be educated in the language of their choice! Defend bilingual education programs and ESL training!

5. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For free abortion on demand! Down with parental consent laws and "squeal rules"! For free, quality 24-hour childcare! Down with attacks on medicare—for free, quality healthcare for all! For mass, labor-backed mobilizations to defend abortion clinics! Equal pay for equal work! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Full democratic rights for gays! Government out of the bedroom! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! Down with all laws against crimes without victims—prostitution, consensual sex, drugs!

6. The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons and the standing army—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organized violence by the capitalists against the working class and the oppressed. The state is not neutral and cannot be reformed—it must be smashed through workers revolution! Defend victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! Down with the "war on drugs," a racist war by the ruling class against blacks and other minorities! For mass labor protests against cop terror! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! No illusions in civilian review boards or "community control" of the police! Abolish the Senate and reactionary relics like the monarchy and governor-general! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defense!

7. Labor must defend Native rights! Abolish the racist Indian Act and the Department of Indian Affairs! Police and courts keep off the reserves and other Native land! Only

socialist revolution can end the deep-going oppression of Native people.

8. Down with Canadian nationalism: the main enemy is at home, our "own" bourgeoisie! Defeat Canadian imperialism through workers revolution! For the defeat of Canadian imperialism in all its military adventures! Beware the fraud of "human rights" imperialism! The UN is a den of thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All Canadian/UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, East Timor, the Persian Gulf! Down with the terror bombing of Iraq! Down with the UN starvation blockade! Canadian imperialist troops are not "peacekeepers" but bloody enemies of the world's workers and oppressed!

9. Down with anti-communist China bashing! Defend the gains of the 1949 revolution which smashed the rule of the landlords and capitalists, and collectivized property! No to imperialist penetration of China! For unconditional military defense of China and the other deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy based on the power of workers councils, and revolutionary internationalism! Workers of the world unite! Smash NAFTA through united class struggle from the Yukon to the Yucatán!

10. Break with the Anglo-chauvinist, pro-imperialist NDP: a bourgeois workers party that upholds the rule of racist capitalism! The trade union bureaucracy are the agents of the capitalist class—for a class-struggle leadership of the unions! For international working-class solidarity! Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For a revolutionary, multiracial, binational workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

* * *

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). ■

Subscribe Now to Spartacist Canada/Workers Vanguard!

- \$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.
- \$5/4 issues of *Le Bolchévique* (includes French-language *Spartacist*)
- SC and WV subscriptions include English-language *Spartacist*.
WV subscriptions also include *Black History and the Class Struggle*.

Name _____

Address _____

Apt. _____

City _____

Prov. _____

Postal Code _____

Ph. _____

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

SC126

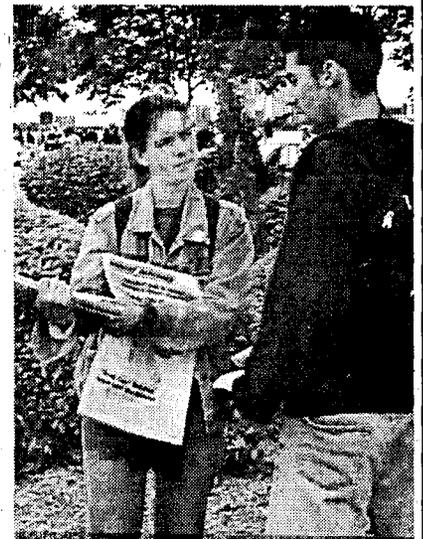
Subscription Drive Special!

Receive a free pamphlet with a \$15 joint subscription to *Spartacist Canada* and *Workers Vanguard*

August 31 to
October 11

Subscription Drive
Quotas

Toronto 250 points
Vancouver 150 points



Revolutionary Marxism vs. Anarchoid Anti-Communism

Noam Chomsky: Imperialism's "Armchair Anarchist"

On the 1991 Gulf War:

"If the goal had been to secure Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, settle regional issues, and move towards a more decent world, then Washington would have followed the peaceful means prescribed by international law: sanctions and diplomacy."

"The Gulf Crisis," *Z Magazine*, February 1991



Fergus Wilkie

On U.S./NATO "peacekeeping" forces going into Bosnia in 1995 under United Nations authorization:

"I probably would have voted for sending the troops."

Class Warfare, 1996



Karen Robinson



Reuters

The sanctions Chomsky called for have killed over one and a half million Iraqis, depriving them of food and medicine (left). August 1995: British soldiers in Sarjevo fire at Bosnian Serb positions.

We reprint below a leaflet by the Boston Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club, which our comrades have distributed at talks by Chomsky in Boston, New York and elsewhere.

* * *

Just as the slimiest rocks are revealed only by low tides, so it is only the low level of class struggle today that allows Boston's prominent academic Noam Chomsky, a liberal dressed in anarchoid clothing, to appear to students as some sort of "radical" pole of attraction. Chomsky is full of self-congratulation for his incredible bravery in publishing some criticisms of the more bloody excesses of U.S. military and foreign policy, along with endlessly explicating his amazing discovery that politicians actually lie. But much is always forgiven those who, like Chomsky, line up faithfully with their own ruling class on the key loyalty test for Americans: better hate the Reds' if you want to get ahead. The red-baiting professor and his ilk spit on every social revolution including the Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky. "If the left is understood to include 'Bolshevism,' then I would flatly dissociate myself from the left. Lenin was one of the greatest enemies of socialism, in my opinion," says the anti-Communist Chomsky.

It was Lenin's Bolsheviks who took Marxism out of the

realm of theory and gave it flesh and blood, creating the world's first workers state, smashing capitalist exploitation and replacing it with a collectivized, planned economy, a world-historic victory. The young revolutionary state was a beacon of hope and inspiration to the oppressed peoples of the world; it was hated by the imperialists' who worked to destroy it, not only through direct invasion, but with the eager assistance of the Chomskys of their time, like the renegade Karl Kautsky who likewise raised a hue and cry against the Bolsheviks for violating "democracy"—by which of course he meant "bourgeois democracy," the class dictatorship of the capitalists.

Today Chomsky joins the imperialist bourgeoisie in hailing the capitalist counterrevolution that plunged the former USSR into misery and fratricidal bloodletting, stating: "My response to the end of Soviet tyranny was similar to my reaction to the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini. In all cases, it is a victory for the human spirit" (*Red & Black Revolution* No. 2, 1996). Fascism itself was the desperate measure of the tottering bourgeois order in Europe to try to drown the class struggle in blood and overturn the 1917 Russian Revolution, that revolution Chomsky so despises. And it was the Soviet Red Army, despite Stalinist misleadership, which smashed Hitler—and liberated Nazi death camps like

(continued on page 16)

Troubled Waters for "Socialists" Who Cheered Counterrevolution

Cliffites After Cliff

The following article is reprinted from Workers Hammer, newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain. It was distributed in July at Marxism 2000, a week-long annual event held by the British Socialist Workers Party, parent group of the Canadian International Socialists.

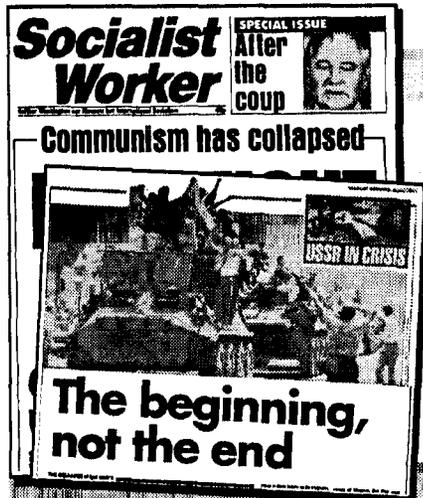
* * *

Following the demise of its founder-leader Tony Cliff, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the largest self-styled "socialist" organisation in Britain, is in deep crisis. A bitter factional struggle has erupted between the SWP and its American satellite, the International Socialist Organization (ISO). Internal opposition groups have sprung up within the SWP's "International Socialist Tendency." As revealed in the ISO's March 2000 *Internal Discussion Bulletin* and elsewhere, the questions posed in the present fight include Tony Cliff's "theory" of "state capitalism"; policy over the Balkans War; the SWP's "turn" to electoralism; the approach to protests against "globalisation," as well as the organisa-

tional liquidation of various Cliffite outfits internationally such as their South African group's disappearance into the South African Communist Party.

For its part, the SWP leadership has responded to internal dissent by dissolving every branch in Britain and Ireland and reorganising them as "campaign units." Oppositionists such as the "Sverdlov" grouping in the U.S. have seized mainly on the lack of internal democracy—which is infamous. Indeed, the British left is full of former "oppositionists" tossed out of Cliff's organisation. Just as the gangsterism of the SWP against its opponents on the left is the "method" by which it seeks to resolve the contradiction between the "socialism" it claims to stand for and the abject reformist content of its actual work, the lack of internal democracy is the internal reflection of this same contradiction.

At the heart of the current crisis in the Cliffites is the Russian question. A 28 May Internet posting by Sverdlov reported: "There is not a single comrade inside the ISO—for example—that can defend the state-cap theories since the fall of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe." He added that there is very little insistence on such theories as a precondition for membership. The reason for this is



31 August 1991

Cliffites hailed Yeltsin counterrevolution which ushered in misery and hunger for working people, national and ethnic minorities. ICL fought to mobilize Soviet workers in defense of gains of October Revolution.

Fall 1991



Der Spiegel photos



obvious: ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and close to a decade after the final undoing of the October Revolution of 1917, the resulting catastrophe for the proletariat and oppressed in those countries and around the world is there for all to see.

The origins of the SWP lie in Cliff's refusal in 1950 to defend the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states against a counterrevolutionary war led by Washington, whose main imperialist ally was the British Labour government. Cliff's bogus "theory" of "state capitalism" (promoted by earlier social democrats who had opposed the Russian October Revolution of 1917) was the rationalisation for this programmatic departure from revolutionary Trotskyism, the repudiation of unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and those states where capitalism had been overthrown against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

Proclaiming themselves a "third camp," which in fact placed them in the camp of their own bourgeoisie, over the years the SWP generalised their capitulation to Labourite "democratic" imperialism. The Cliffites absurdly claim that capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the former USSR represented merely a "step sideways." As we explained in the recent issue of our international theoretical journal, *Spartacist*:

"Today Cliff's U.S. followers unabashedly declare: 'The revolutions in Eastern Europe were a step sideways—from one form of capitalism to another' (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], 23 April 1999). Don't try this line on any Russian worker today. The unprecedented economic and social implosion now occurring in the territory of the ex-USSR is the real measure of just how historically *progressive* the planned, collectivized economy really was. In the chaotic conditions of post-Soviet Russia, the laws of capitalism have resulted in total economic collapse: production has fallen at least 50 percent since 1991, capital investment by 90 percent. Today a third of the urban labor force in Russia is effectively unemployed; 75 percent of the population lives below or barely above subsistence level and 15 million are actually starving....

"While clinging to their threadbare theories, the Cliffites and their ilk are oddly modest about their real contribution. The restoration of capitalism in the USSR and East Europe was the implementation of their program. Like Shachtman, who supported Washington's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, Cliff & Co. did their utmost to seek to bring victory to U.S. imperialism in the Cold War, lusting for the bloodying of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, championing the 'trade union' credentials of Solidarność—instrument of the Vatican, Wall Street and Western social democracy for capitalist counterrevolution in Poland—and vicariously dancing with the black marketeers, monarchists and yuppies on Yeltsin's barricades in 1991. *Socialist Worker* (31 August 1991) trumpeted Yeltsin's victory: 'Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing.' Well, now the Cliffites have what they wanted."

— "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories—Tony Cliff and Max Shachtman: Pro-Imperialist Accomplices of Counterrevolution," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 55, Autumn 1999

But it's not by any means what a new generation impelled into opposition against the imperialist wars, racist terror, attacks on the rights of women, poverty, immiseration and the growth of the fascists that were the results of capitalist counterrevolution want! The SWP's triumphalism over the "death of communism," its perspective of cashing in on its "anti-Stalinist" credentials in the wake of the destruction of

the gains of the October Revolution, has in fact resulted in the present internal crisis.

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

As revolutionary Trotskyists, we understand that the world's first workers state succumbed to bureaucratic degeneration under conditions of hostile imperialist encirclement, the devastation of the proletariat through the Civil War against imperialist-backed counterrevolution and the failure of the revolution to spread internationally, particularly to the imperialist centres. Under these conditions, the nationalist bureaucratic apparatus headed by Stalin usurped political power from the proletariat in 1924, but did not destroy the socialised property relations. Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" became the ideological justification for transforming the Communist parties internationally into bargaining chips in an illusory search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Trotsky and his followers fought to *unconditionally defend* the workers state issuing from the October Revolution *despite* the Stalinist caste, calling for a political revolution by the Soviet proletariat to overthrow that caste.

It was armed with this programme that the ICL mobilised our forces in a sustained intervention into the incipient proletarian political revolution in the DDR [East Germany] in 1989-90. We fought against capitalist reunification down the line, fighting for socialist revolution in the West, while fighting to lead the East German proletariat in defence of the East German workers state and in political revolution against the Stalinists who would hand the DDR over to the imperialists. Later, in the Soviet Union we fought to mobilise the proletariat against the enveloping counterrevolution, distributing over 100,000 leaflets at factories and workplaces demanding: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" But in the absence of the revolutionary intervention by the working class, capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the deformed workers states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in 1989-92.

The "Russian question" is posed pointblank in China, where a class battle of immense importance is looming. The deepening of "free market" measures by the Stalinist bureaucracy is undermining the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which destroyed the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie and established collectivised property, a planned economy, and state monopoly of foreign trade. The Chinese proletariat, however, has witnessed the results of capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the USSR and has responded to the attacks on these gains with convulsive class battles and mass protests. *Defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution! For proletarian political revolution!*

The Cliffites, in keeping with their origins, have lined up with the imperialists' anti-communist crusade against China. Speaking at a demonstration in defence of asylum-seekers on 24 June, leading SWPer Weyman Bennett attacked Chinese president Jiang Zemin as the Chinese "dictator"—the code word for bourgeois anti-communist forces who seek the destruction of the gains of the 1949 Revolution. Bennett went so far as to attack Labour minister Jack Straw for having allowed Jiang Zemin into Britain! How typical of slavish social democrats who embrace their "own" imperialist rulers' "democracy" against the hard-won conquests of the working class!

When British imperialism finally had to surrender Hong
(continued on page 10)

Cliffites...

(continued from page 9)

Kong to the Chinese deformed workers state in 1997, *Socialist Review* (June 1997) stated: "Socialists should neither mourn nor celebrate the handover of Hong Kong. In the short term very little will change for the majority of the population—Hong Kong will be as undemocratic and exploitative a society as it has ever been." The British seized the island in 1841 during the first Opium War and ran it as a virtual police state—and a haven for crooks and warlords fleeing the Chinese Revolution—until forced to pull out. In contrast, we said at the time: "Trotskyists can only cheer as the rotted British Empire loses its last major colonial holding with the lowering of the bloody Union Jack and the raising of the five-starred red flag of the People's Republic on July 1" ("China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?", *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997).

Last November's Seattle demonstrations against the World Trade Organisation, while drawing in everything from right-wing supporters of Pat Buchanan to anarchoid youth and spokesmen for the Mexican Zapatista peasant-guerrilla movement, were dominated by the anti-communist, rabidly nationalist AFL-CIO trade-union bureaucracy. The Seattle protests were marked by foam-flecked speeches denouncing Chinese "slave labour," by signs promoting the CIA's "Free Tibet" crusade and by the dumping of Chinese steel into Puget Sound. AFL-CIO head Sweeney railed against a "trade deal with a rogue nation" while trade-union placards demanding "People First Not China First" mingled with banners such as one screaming "For the Basic Human Rights in Vietnam—Kill the Red Evil."

The SWP, noting the absence of a sea of ISO banners at the event, has denounced the ISO for flunking the "test of Seattle" and there has been much back-and-forth about how deeply to capitulate to the "movement" as it is. Meanwhile, the ISO has evidently felt pressure from other quarters, running articles like: "Why China-Bashing Hurts U.S. Labor" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], 3 March). In part this reflects the fact that some youth are repelled by the vicious anti-communism of the trade-union tops, but it is also a plea to the Sweeney bureaucracy not to damage the Democrats too much by feeding "the right"—i.e., the Republicans. The ISO said as much: "If the labor movement plays into this campaign, it will simply give a 'progressive' cover to the labor-hating Buchanans and Helmses" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], 7

January).

The idea that the world is governed by bodies like the WTO and IMF which trample on the "sovereignty" of the most powerful imperialist countries is both reactionary and absurd. The authority exercised by these bodies derives from the power of the *rival* imperialist states for which they function as agents. In presenting "globalisation" as a new development in which a handful of multinational corporations, the WTO, IMF and World Bank are responsible for the impoverishment of the masses of the "Global South," reformists today recycle the Social Democrat Karl Kautsky's myth of "ultra-imperialism" which Lenin debunked in his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Lenin wrote:

"Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German 'Marxist' Kautsky, 'inter-imperialist' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing *all* the imperialist powers, are *inevitably* nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars."

Promoting the "spirit of Seattle," the Cliffites peddle the illusions that the IMF, WTO and other institutions can be reformed and the imperialist powers—the biggest exploiters of labour on the planet—can somehow be pressured to abolish sweatshops and impose "fair labour standards" globally. Correspondingly, the issues of domestic poverty, racial oppression and sweatshop labour are buried. Also buried are the nearly daily bombings and starvation blockade of Iraq, the NATO bombardment of Serbia back to the Stone Age and imperialist troops in the Balkans. These political verities would blemish the cosmetic of "human rights" painted by reformists and union misleaders on the face of U.S. and British imperialism. In contrast, the IGL fights to win workers and radical youth to the consciousness that the class interests of the workers and the oppressed are diametrically opposed to those of the capitalists and the eradication of poverty, racism and war can only be accomplished through a socialist revolution led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party.

Balkans War: Flunking the Test in Britain and the U.S.

The Balkans War—the first major war in Europe since World War II—was a direct consequence of capitalist counter-revolution. The Yugoslavian deformed workers state was born out of World War II, when Tito's Communist Partisans successfully battled the occupying Nazi German Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. The victory of the multinational Partisan forces demonstrated that, despite centuries of ethnic conflict, unity of the South Slav peoples within the borders of Yugoslavia was possible—but *only on the basis of proletarian state power*. But the socialist and democratic ideals to which the Tito regime publicly appealed were undermined by the bureaucratic deformations and inherent limitations of Stalinism, with its programme of "building socialism in one country." Resurgent nationalisms were fuelled when "market socialism" was introduced; they would later be whipped to white-hot heat by the imperialists as a battering ram for the restoration of capitalism. The bloody communalist slaughter that ensued, by the Cliffites' lights, was just another "step sideways."

The NATO war against Serbia was a war of domination

(continued on page 12)

SPARTACIST

The Russian Revolution and the Collapse of Stalinism

**The Bankruptcy
of "New Class" Theories**

Tony Cliff and Max Shachtman:
Pre-imperialist Acceptances of Counterrevolution

The Stalinist Thermidor, the Left Opposition and the Red Army 2

On Trotsky's Concept of a "Right Faction" in the Soviet Bureaucracy 25

Comm War Imperialist Consequences of Stalin? All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now! 40

April 1992 Declaration of the International Communist League Defend Imperialism Through Workers Revolution—Defend Serbia! 43

Women and Revolution and ICL Perspectives For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! 45

Force of Trotskyist Party For Workers Revolution Lessons of Indonesia 1965

Spartacist No. 55
(English edition)
Autumn 1999
56 pages \$2.00

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

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

International Socialists: Cheerleaders for Chauvinist Canadian Union Tops

Writing in the aftermath of the Windsor demonstration against the Organization of American States in June, the International Socialists (I.S.) enthused: "This was the Canadian labour movement's first test in the ongoing fight against international capital, and it passed" (*Socialist Worker*, 14 June). But in Windsor, as at the other "anti-globalization" protests, the trade union bureaucracy used rhetoric about opposing "global" capitalism to hide its real perspective: supporting its own national capitalist ruling class against rivals abroad. Thus, a central theme of the Canadian Labour Congress going into the Windsor protest was to condemn "attacks on Canadian industries and sovereignty."

The labor bureaucracy that the I.S. cheers for is the top layer of the unions which long ago separated itself from its working-class base, and which sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. The purpose of these top union officials is to ensure the subordination of the workers to the national interests of the enemy class. The same issue of *Socialist Worker*, however, uncritically praises CLC president Ken Georgetti's speech in Windsor against "globalization." Yet Georgetti's speech was centered on defense of the North American Auto Pact, which he defined as a "model of fair trade" because it "respected local development." In reality, the Auto Pact is a protectionist deal by North American auto bosses and governments to restrict foreign competition, especially from Asia.

The same *Socialist Worker* article even goes on to praise Council of Canadians leader Maude Barlow, saying her speech in Windsor "ensured the struggle did not appear futile." The Council of Canadians is a *bourgeois nationalist* organization, whose opposition to "globalization" flows from its staunch support to "Canadian sovereignty." That means they are for the defense of the Canadian capitalist state, whose Anglo chauvinism they fully share. It is no accident that the Council of Canadians vociferously opposes Quebec independence—but that doesn't bother the I.S., because they oppose Quebec independence too.

In sharp contrast, in our intervention among youth and workers at the Windsor demonstration, the Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Club denounced the Anglo chauvinism and racist protectionism which are intrinsic to Canadian nationalism. As we said in our leaflet distributed at the demonstration: "Flag-waving nationalism fuels bigotry, notably against the nationally oppressed Québécois." Among the signs at our literature tables were: "Independence for Quebec—National chauvinism is poison to class struggle!" and "Down with nationalism, protectionism—The enemy is in Ottawa, Bay Street!" Cutting sharply against the anti-Communism of the labor tops, which the I.S. also embraces, our intervention emphasized the need for unconditional military defense of the Chinese and Cuban deformed workers states. As another TL/SYC sign said, "Defend China, Cuba against

imperialist attack, internal counterrevolution!"

The job that the labor bureaucracy does in rallying the working class behind Canadian imperialism was clearly shown in its support to the war by Canada and its NATO allies against Serbia in the spring of 1999. Once again the I.S. followed in the wake of the labor bureaucracy. While calling to "Stop the War," they gave uncritical cover for Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) leader Buzz Hargrove, hailing the "anti-war position of his union, which passed a resolution against the bombing within days of its start" (*Socialist Worker*, 12 May 1999). Not once did *Socialist Worker* mention that this CAW resolution called for ground troops to invade Kosovo "with proper air support" and demanded that Ottawa "commit Canadian troops as peacekeepers"! In contrast, the TL/SYC said: whether in blue helmets or not, Canadian imperialism is the enemy of the world's workers and oppressed! We denounced the union tops' pro-imperialist line and called to: Defeat U.S./Canadian imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against NATO attack!

Every step of the way, the I.S.' politics are defined by capitulating to the national-chauvinist labor bureaucracy, and by working to channel youthful protest back toward the social-democratic NDP. Take, for instance, an article warning against the right-wing Canadian Alliance in the 9 August *Socialist Worker*. Hailing what it calls the "anti-capitalist demonstrations in Seattle, Washington and Windsor", the I.S. argues:

"We need to harness the enthusiasm of the anti-capitalist mood and link this to the organized power of rank and file workers. This is the force that can effectively fight the right.

"The political expression of this force should, logically, be the NDP—the party of the trade unions, the party that claims to support the poor and the oppressed."

The I.S. worries that today's NDP "has left many former supporters with a sense of deep despair," only to conclude that:

"The best wake up call for the NDP would be to continue to keep up the struggle in the workplaces, in the streets, and on the campuses, before and after the next election."

The goal of revolutionary Marxists is not to "wake up" the NDP, but to *break* workers and youth from it! The NDP is a bourgeois workers party whose leadership is thoroughly dedicated to the maintenance of the capitalist order, and which upholds racist capitalism against workers and the oppressed whenever it is in power. The labor misleaders and their left lawyers, like the International Socialists, must be exposed and combated, as part of the necessary fight to split the working-class base of the NDP from the pro-capitalist leadership and forge an internationalist revolutionary workers party. For those of you who are interested in fighting against the racist capitalist state in the tradition that only Bolsheviks can, join the SYC! We have a world to win! ■

Cliffites...

(continued from page 10)

aimed at realising longstanding U.S. plans to insert a substantial U.S./NATO military presence in Serbia through subduing Milosevic. As Lenin stressed, in the case of an imperialist war against a small nation or semicolonial people, it is the duty of the working class not only to fight for the defeat of one's "own" government but to defend the victims of imperialist aggression. That is the position of the ICL. Our international declaration on the war (issued 21 April 1999) said unambiguously: *Defeat imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! Down with the United Nations economic sanctions! ALL U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans!* Long before the imperialists and their leftist apologists cynically took up the cause of the Kosovo Albanians as a shibboleth for imperialist bombardment of Serbia, we championed the right of the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia to self-determination. With the onset of the imperialist war against Serbia, we Marxists recognised that the right of the Kosovo Albanians to secede—a democratic question—was subordinated to the need to militarily defend Serbia against U.S./Britain/NATO attack.

Blair's Labour government were aggressively pro-NATO "Atlanticists" and much of the fake left lined up foursquare behind the war cry "poor little Kosovo." Thus you had the right-centrist Workers Power (WP) outfit supporting the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and participating in a "Workers Aid for Kosova" demonstration on 10 April 1999 which was shot through with slogans like "NATO Good Luck" and "NATO Now or Never." Workers Power and other Labourite groups sponsored an 11 May meeting which featured two unvarnished pro-NATO speakers, one of whom, a rabid pro-Albanian nationalist, announced that anyone who didn't support NATO should stay home. (see *Workers Hammer* No. 169, July/August 1999). And when Serbia was bombed into submission, as NATO tanks rolled in and ground troops occupied Kosovo, Workers Power cheered: "The working class must welcome the ending of the attempted genocide against the Kosovar people and, if it fully materialises, the return of all the refugees to their homes" (*Workers Power*, June 1999). What has "fully materialised" under NATO occupation is a reversal of the terms of oppression and the insertion of a mammoth NATO military presence in Serbia!

The SWP's position was somewhat different. Accommodating to [Labour "left"] Tony Benn, whose preference was for Europe over U.S.-dominated NATO, the SWP did not join the "poor little Kosovo" chorus. Instead, leading SWP member Alex Callinicos joined a host of others, including Alain Krivine of the French LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire], in signing a letter which called for a "policing operation" against Serbia to be run by the European imperialist-dominated Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Published in *Socialist Review* (June 1999), this read in part:

"NATO is not the only or above all the best fulcrum for an agreement. One could find the elements of a multinational police force (embracing notably Serbs and Albanians) in the ranks of the OSCE to enforce a transitional agreement."

The SWP's stance was also convenient for the Greek Cliffites. The Greek bourgeoisie for its own reasons are not keen



Workers Hammer

March 1999: Spartacist League/Britain protests NATO war against Serbia.

advocates of the Albanian national aspirations. Furthermore, as in Italy, class-struggle opposition to the war in Greece was often channelled by reformists into anti-Americanism, a cheap substitute for and an obstacle to proletarian internationalist opposition to imperialist war.

While the SWP capitulated to Bennite Labourism in Britain, the ISO in the U.S., where there is no Labour Party to capitulate to, bent to the prevailing pressure of "human rights imperialism," arguing for self-determination for Kosovo during the bombing. According to the SWP, the ISO "failed the test of war" not least because it made "a big deal of the UN," which "pissed off the soft pacifists, and so the movement stayed small and dominated by the wrong people." When the ISO protests they did not make a big issue of the UN—we can on this one occasion back up their story. It is the ICL which opposes the UN—under whose auspices the Korean and Persian Gulf Wars were carried out—on principle as an "imperialist den of thieves" and their victims.

None of the Cliffite sections called for the defeat of imperialism, nor do they call for imperialist troops out of the Balkans. They capitulated to different forces depending on their national terrain. As inter-imperialist rivalries increase in the post-Soviet period, rivalries earlier suppressed in the common pursuit of the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, such national differences in opportunist appetites can only intensify.

With the Cliffites' squabble over the Balkans War now public knowledge, Workers Power has made a pitch to dissident Cliffites *from the right*. By WP's lights, the ISO did not support the KLA enough; they write that their "support for self-determination was entirely platonic. They seem to have been scared off such a position by the SWP's argument that the KLA was in league with imperialism" (*Workers Power*, June 2000). The fact that they were in league with imperialism certainly doesn't "scare off" Workers Power! To the contrary, WP goes on to make an appeal specifically based on the Cliffites' support for the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan against the Soviet Army:

"What about the SWP's enthusiastic support for the Afghan Mujahidin in the 1980s? Not only were they arch reactionary Islamists, based on the tribal-feudal landowners, funded by Saudi millionaire princes: they were supplied with stinger missiles and trained by the CIA, on a scale that makes the US support for KLA look grudging in the extreme."

Workers Power are so far to the right today that they disappear the fact that it was over Afghanistan that they broke—partially but to the left—from Cliff's "state capitalism" and recognised the USSR was a "degenerate" [sic] workers state. While WP joined the imperialists and their Labour lieutenants in *opposing* the Soviet military intervention against the CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan, it also claimed it would be "tactically wrong...to demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops" (*Workers Power*, February 1980).

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan posed the Russian question pointblank. We said "Hail Red Army!" and "Extend the social gains of the Russian Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" We recognised that the class character of the USSR meant that the Red Army opened the possibility of social progress to this hideously backward country where the *mujahedin* waged a "holy war" to murder unveiled women and teachers for the "crime" of teaching girls to read.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops by Gorbachev was a betrayal which led to the victory of the barbaric Taliban. And it was the direct precursor to the Soviet bureaucracy's ultimate betrayal, handing over first the Eastern European deformed workers states and then the USSR to capitalist counterrevolution. For its part, despite its nominal adherence to some version of the Trotskyist position on the Russian question, WP backpedalled from its earlier partial break with Cliffism. Thus it supported counterrevolution at every opportunity, from Polish Solidarność through to Yeltsin's barricades in 1991. In 1998 they brought their "theory" into line with their practice and decided that the *state* in the USSR (but not the economy) had become capitalist in 1927, thus reverting back to their Cliffite origins. Of a piece with this is WP's nonsensical discovery of "moribund workers states." Simply put, WP is the horrible example of those who try to stake out a posture nominally to the left of the Cliffites, but fail to make a complete break on the key programmatic question: the Russian question. (See "Death of Communism? Centrists," *Workers Hammer* No. 161, March/April 1998.)

Anti-Sovietism Abroad Means Class Betrayal at Home

James P. Cannon, in his "Speech on the Russian Question" given during the 1939-40 factional struggle against Shachtman/Burnham, said: "Defensism and defeatism are two principled, that is, irreconcilable positions.... Defensists at home were defeatists on Russia. Defensists on Russia were defeatists at home." And indeed, every tendency that has abdicated from the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defence of the degenerated and deformed workers states has ended up reconciling themselves with their own bourgeoisie.

This has been fairly dramatic in the case of the British SWP. Thus, during the 1984-85 miners

strike, the most significant battle waged by the British proletariat in decades, Cliff boasted that SWP members in steel plants were crossing miners' picket lines. In response to a question by a Spartacist supporter, Cliff said:

"On the question of our steelworkers crossing picket lines. We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe, they cross picket lines. We have a steelworker in Ravenscraig who crosses picket lines. We have a steelworker in Llanwern who crosses picket lines...."

—Tony Cliff, London public meeting of the SWP, 23 August 1984

Having abandoned the gains of the revolution in Russia, the SWP abandoned the goal of revolution anywhere. It has functioned—whether inside (as it was prior to 1967) or outside the Labour Party—as a pressure group on Labour. Take the SWP's latest "turn": its dive into the London Socialist Alliance (LSA). The SWP enthuse that the LSA is a genuine opposition to "New" Labour—which is widely and rightly hated by the working class and poor. "Socialist Alliances" are now to spring to life throughout Britain to put the Blairites on the run.

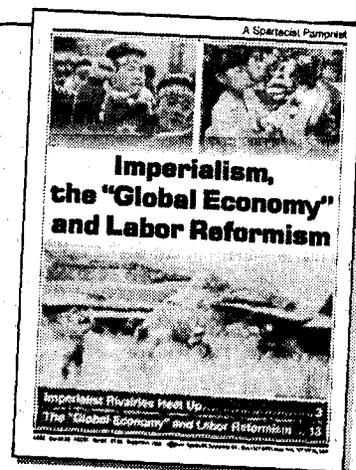
In fact, the LSA consists of almost every Labour-loyal organisation in Britain who helped *elect* Blair's Labour government—like the SWP, which described itself as nothing less than "over the moon" at the time Blair was elected. (See *Socialist Review*, June 1997.) Recently, the London Socialist Alliance pulled out all the stops for Ken Livingstone. It is the worst parliamentary cretinism to claim Livingstone's mayoral campaign as constituting a genuine "opposition" to New Labour. As the SWP itself wrote: "The [Balkans] war split the left, with those like Ken Livingstone becoming some of the most enthusiastic warmongers" (*Socialist Review*, July/August 1999). Indeed, Livingstone boasted of his role as far back as 1991, saying: "When Milosevic first sent his armoured columns into Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 I was the first member of Parliament to call for air strikes to defeat his aggression" (*Independent*, 21 April 1999). Some "opposition" to New Labour!

(continued on page 14)

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of "globalization" seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war which is inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labor bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centers as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

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



\$2.50 (32 pages)

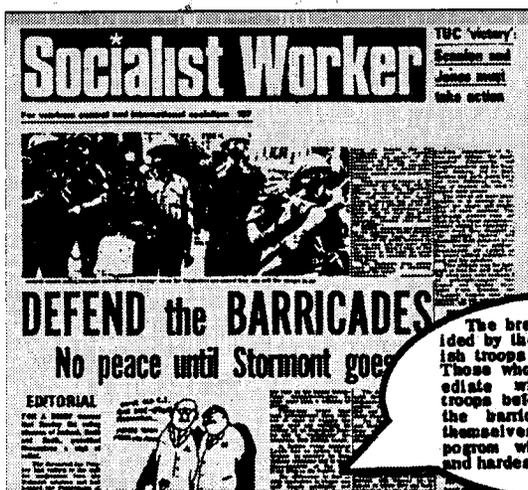
Cliffites...

(continued from page 13)

The Spartacist League refused to give Livingstone any support whatsoever; we wrote: "Without a doubt, a vote for Livingstone in the May London mayoral elections is a vote for New Labour: he supported the government's imperialist bombing of Serbia, he is for the British Army in Northern Ireland, and he is emphatically *for* the racist police" (*Workers Hammer* No. 172, Spring 2000). At the height of the racist frenzy against immigrants instigated by Labour and Tory leaders, Livingstone denounced Roma (Gypsies) and promised to employ more cops to clear beggars off the streets. For its part, the LSA pleads for "an end to the racism and corruption of the Metropolitan police," a backhanded way of giving anti-racist credentials to the racist Labour government, implying that whitewash inquiries can end racism in the cops.

SWP's Support to British Troops in Ireland

Revolutionaries in Britain have a special responsibility to oppose British imperialism in Northern Ireland. We call for the unconditional, immediate withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and fight for a proletarian internationalist perspective of workers revolution against British imperialism, the Orange Statelet in the North and the clericalist state in the South. From the time it was first mooted we have



Cliffites hailed introduction of British imperialist troops into Northern Ireland by Labour government, September 1969. Three years later, troops gunned down 14 Catholics in "Bloody Sunday" massacre.

The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital. Those who call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops before the men behind the barricades can defend themselves are inviting a pogrom which will hit first and hardest at socialists.

opposed all illusions in Labour's imperialist "peace" deal, which is a fraud and is premised on the British Army presence remaining in place.

Not so the SWP. Its press carries headlines such as "Peace Hopes Now Under Threat in Northern Ireland" and whines: "The Tories, their press and the Unionist bigots must not be allowed to wreck the peace" (*Socialist Worker*, 4 September 1999). When the Labour government (including Tony Benn) sent the troops into Northern Ireland in 1969, the SWP supported it. For years they have denied this, lyingly claiming that it's all just a fabrication by the Spartacists. Tony Cliff's autobiography, however, brazenly admits it:

"The editorial in *Socialist Worker* of 11 September 1969 said: "Defend The Barricades/No Peace Until Stormont Goes"
 "The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital. Those who call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops before the men behind the barri-

ades can defend themselves are inviting a pogrom."

"The moment the honeymoon between the troops and the Catholic population came to an end, early in 1970, we then raised the slogan 'Troops Out' as a central demand."

—A World to Win, Tony Cliff (2000) [emphasis ours]

Hardly a "central demand," as the SWP's pro-"peace hoax" propaganda proves, it is used by the Cliffites when expeditious. Thus, in the "Where We Stand" column of the *Irish* Cliffite newspaper there is a call for troops out. But where it is not so popular to take this position—and where it counts to take it—no such call appears in the *British* paper. Now that the SWP is cosying up to Tommy Sheridan's Scottish Socialist Party (SSP), a social-chauvinist outfit notorious for embracing [fascistic Loyalist killer] Billy Hutchinson of the Ulster Volunteer Force and for its refusal to call for the withdrawal of the troops, it might not be expeditious, either.

Labour Reformism, National Chauvinism and Parliamentary Cretinism

The 1 April Rover demonstration in Birmingham, built by the trade-union bureaucracy and supported by Tony Blair, was characterised by flag-waving social-patriotism. The bureaucrats' answer to the threatened job massacre was to call for "Save British manufacturing industry!" and "Save British Jobs!" thus lining up the workers with their "own" ruling class. As we said at the time: "Until such time as workers revolution rips it from their hands, British industry belongs to the bloodsucking capitalists. The working class has no country!" (*Workers Hammer* No. 172, Spring 2000). The SWP built and supported the demonstration. Thousands of their placards saying "Save Our Jobs/Occupy, Organise, Fight for the Right to Work/Renationalise Rover Now!" mixed freely with Union Jacks and other symbols of racist British imperialism, as well as placards giving vent to blatant anti-German chauvinism such as "We Won Two World Wars—Let's Win the Third." Indeed, while the demonstration reflected anger and bitterness against BMW and the government, its political perspective was so alien to the actual interests of the working class that it had the full support of the *Birmingham Evening Mail*, an anti-trade-union rag.

For the SWP, which did not mention the patriotic character of the demonstration, eulogising it rather as "The great jobs revolt": "There were many brilliant things about Saturday's march—like the fact that the Nazi National Front were turned away from joining the march by car workers stewarding the demonstration." Members of the SWP might ask themselves what they're doing building and supporting a demonstration that the NF wanted to join! (Twenty years ago, following the defeat of the steel strike, the fascist National Front marched through Corby on the slogan "British jobs for British workers.")

In contrast to the nationalist demagoguery pushed by the bureaucrats who have presided over the jobs massacre, we advocate a class-struggle fight for jobs and better working conditions across national boundaries, which will necessarily challenge the entire capitalist system. Marx and Engels observed over 150 years ago that capitalism created a world market and in so doing laid the basis for proletarian internationalism. German workers face attacks from Schröder's



Workers Hammer

Cliffite placard at April demonstration of British Rover auto workers reads: "Turn Birmingham into Seattle." SWP actively built chauvinist mobilization.

Social Democrats much as workers in Britain face from Blair. Throughout Europe, the strategic task for revolutionaries is to win workers to the understanding of the need for a complete break with the social democracy.

Trotsky aptly described social democracy as "the acceptance of a reformist opposition activity within the framework of bourgeois society and an adaptation to its legality—i.e., the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state" (*Lessons of October* [1924]). He could have been writing about the SWP and ISO today. While in Britain, the SWP's "all the way with the LSA" is of a piece, in the U.S., the ISO has assigned the vast majority of its people to work in its Campaign to End the Death Penalty. While you can read in the ISO's *International Socialist Review* (Spring 1999) that the ISO finds it "surprising that many opponents of the death penalty look to Democratic politicians as allies in the struggle to abolish capital punishment," in fact the ISO does just that! A 25 May posting by one "Armand" in the recent welter of Internet traffic provoked by the ISO's fracture with the SWP made clear just how much:

"People are so horrified that innocent people are being killed that they are ready to begin discussing abolition. But the ISO leadership instructed members NOT to argue for the abolitionist position in the interests of standing on 'common ground' with supporters of the death penalty on the question of the 'moratorium.' This took the form of a concrete slogan raised by the ISO: 'Moratorium Now, Abolition Next.'...

"It is transforming our meager forces into the ground troops of Democratic Party hacks like Jesse Jackson and others, collecting signatures for their petition on moratorium."

Indeed, at a Chicago "town hall" meeting in May, Campaign spokesman Alice Kim sounded just like the Illinois Republican governor Ryan (who imposed a moratorium on executions) when she said: "There shouldn't be a death penalty if there's any chance that innocent people can be executed" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], 26 May). Meanwhile, aping the "fight the right" line pursued by the Stalinist Communist Party for decades, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* runs screaming headlines like "The Bush Brothers' Killing Machine" (21 January) and "Bush's Killing Machine" (26 May) while consigning the occasional criticism of the Democrats to small print. In fact, *Socialist Worker* has devoted its efforts to enthusiastically touting Democratic Party politicians like

Wisconsin Senator Russ Feingold. The 20 March *Internal Discussion Bulletin* boasts that "Jesse Jackson, Jr. is helping the Campaign" and that Feingold "contacted the Campaign in his effort to prepare legislation for a ban on the death penalty for federal crimes."

As we wrote in "Death Penalty: Barbarism U.S.A." (*Workers Vanguard* No. 737, 2 June):

"We oppose the death penalty for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die. We welcome the Illinois moratorium, however brief it may be, and any other measure curtailing state-sanctioned murder, just as we oppose all moves to expand and intensify the repressive powers of the capitalist state. Nothing short of a workers revolution will do away with

the capitalist state, which is a machinery of organized violence to defend the rule of the capitalist exploiters against those whom they exploit and oppress."

In its work on the death penalty, as elsewhere, far from advancing the struggle for socialism, the ISO serves to reinforce the grip of bourgeois consciousness—and in particular of the capitalist Democratic Party as a "lesser evil"—on those it influences.

Organisational Methods Serve Political Purpose

The difference between the Cliffite organisations and the sections of the democratic-centralist International Communist League is, to put it plainly, the difference between reform and revolution. The lack of international democratic-centralism in the SWP's "international socialist tendency" has been the subject of recent internal discussion. As James P. Cannon explained:

"Democratic-centralism has no special virtue per se. It is the specific principle of a combat party, united by a single program, which aims to lead a revolution. Social Democrats have no need of such a system of organization for the simple reason that they have no intention of organizing a revolution."

—"Leninist Organization Principles" (3 April 1953),
reprinted in *Speeches to the Party* (1973)

While the SWP and ISO seek to tinker with the existing machinery of the capitalist system, veering from this "alliance" to that "campaign," trotting after the Livingstones and Jesse Jacksons, we seek to build the Leninist vanguard party capable of leading the working class in smashing capitalism and establishing a workers government—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We stand for unconditional military defence of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea just as we fought to the bitter end from Berlin to Moscow in defence of the gains of October. In our fight for new Octobers, we are guided by Trotsky's injunction, made in the last major political battle of his life against those who would turn their back on defence of the USSR:

"It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."

—*In Defense of Marxism* (1940) ■

Chomsky...

(continued from page 7)

Auschwitz. This attempt to equate Communism with fascism, the hoary refrain of reactionary bourgeois apologists, in fact *trivializes* the unique and unspeakable crimes of Hitler's Holocaust, when millions were slaughtered in the demented effort to obliterate whole peoples from the earth. But that doesn't seem to bother Chomsky, who, exemplifying liberal "evenhandedness," in the early 1980s publicly defended Nazi Holocaust apologist Robert Faurisson, a French academic. When criticized by French leftists for this vile stand, Chomsky sniffed this was just because they were under the "great influence of Leninism."

The destruction of the USSR has spawned heightened interimperialist rivalries and war. The collapse of the USSR's collectivized economy was a great defeat for the world working class, the result of unrelenting imperialist encirclement, pressure which the Stalinist bureaucracy, a parasitical caste which usurped political power from the working class, ultimately was a product of and capitulated to. It was we Trotskyists who fought for unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism. We stood for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is our program today for China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea.

Chomsky, of course, is a hero of the "Spirit of Seattle" crowd. Those protests in Seattle were a circus dominated by national chauvinism, racist protectionism and counterrevolutionary attacks on the Chinese deformed workers state. Both in the Seattle anti-WTO protests and in the Washington, D.C. April 15-16 anti-IMF/World Bank protests, the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy *manipulated* liberal student youth whose concern for global poverty is mixed with illusions in the "democratic" nature of the American state, for their own reactionary ends: chauvinist trade protectionism and anti-Communist China-bashing.

Today we continue to unconditionally militarily defend China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, based on the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which smashed capitalist exploitation and neocolonial subjugation in the most populous nation on earth. The relentless hostile pressure of imperialism has made big inroads into China's economy, while Washington pursues a two-pronged attack, militarily threatening over Taiwan while pushing China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in order to promote unbridled capitalist exploitation within. We call for working-class political revolution to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy which has ruled China ever since the 1949 Revolution, which created a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Only the working class under authentic communist leadership can defend the collectivized economy, creating a government based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism, which alone can open the road to socialism.

War is a key test for any self-styled socialist. At the height of the U.S./NATO terror bombing of Serbia last spring, Chomsky, along with his fellow "Socialist Scholar" panelists, dutifully kept silent on the question at the opening discussion of their conference, as Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) head Bogdan Denitch (who supported the bombing) decreed. In this confab of supposed socialists, the Spartacus Youth Club rose in opposition to the bombardment, raising signs demanding "Defeat U.S. Imperialism

Through Workers Revolution!" and "Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!" Now, a year later, Chomsky just can't resist scratching that itch to be an adviser to the powerful. Speculating on "Another Way for Kosovo?" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, 14 March), Chomsky advises that "a serious concern for protecting Kosovars" might have led to more diplomatic negotiations or even sanctions. He complains, "NATO also made little effort to pursue other peaceful means; even an oil embargo, the core of any serious sanctions regime, was not considered until after the bombing." So it's not the supposed war aims of the NATO imperialist military alliance he objects to, just the method. Indeed, when U.S./NATO "peacekeeping" forces went into Bosnia in 1995 under United Nations authorization, Chomsky announced: "I probably would have voted for sending the troops" (*Class Warfare*, 1996).

As for Iraq, today Chomsky weeps crocodile tears over the murderous effects of UN sanctions, signing "A Call to Action on Sanctions and the U.S. War Against the People of Iraq" (8 January 1999). But he supported sanctions in 1991! Chomsky wrote in 1991 on "The Gulf Crisis": "If the goal had been to secure Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, settle regional issues, and move towards a more decent world, then Washington would have followed the peaceful means prescribed by international law: sanctions and diplomacy" (*Z Magazine*, February 1991). But sanctions kill and diplomacy is just war by other means.

Running like a cowardly yellow thread throughout Chomsky's critiques of American policy is a repetitive assurance (to whom?) that the U.S. "has limited resources of violence to employ against relatively privileged groups"; that intellectuals here "will not suffer the fate of Orwell's Winston Smith or his real life counterparts.... They will face unpleasantness, vilification, a degree of risk, sometimes loss of substantial privilege, but not torture, decapitation or psychiatric prison"; that "a feature of American democracy" is "the inability of the state to use massive violence against its own citizens"; and that this is a "society that lacks the forms of coercion and punishment found elsewhere." So it seems for

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB EVENTS

Toronto

SYC Forum

Marxism vs. Anarchism

7:00 p.m., Wednesday, September 13
International Student Centre, U of T
33 St. George St. (just north of College).

Class Series

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism

7:00 p.m., alternate Wednesdays starting September 20
First class at International Student Centre, U of T
Phone (416) 593-4138 for readings and other class locations.

Vancouver

Meet the SYC!

12:00 noon, Wednesday, September 13
Student Union Building, UBC

Class Series

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism

6:30 p.m., alternate Wednesdays starting September 20
Student Union Building, UBC
Phone (604) 687-0353 for room and more info.

this armchair anarchist only *some* states—"totalitarian" ones—are founded on coercion, whereas American "democracy" needs only "ideological control" of the population by intellectuals. What reactionary, self-serving nonsense!

This rosy picture is not one any black person in this viciously racist society would recognize. As Leninists—and even consistent anarchists—know, *all* states are instruments for the forcible domination of one class over another, resting on bodies of armed men to maintain control. The American state, under its electoral façade, is an extremely violent terror machine, with the highest percentage of its population in prison of any so-called "Western society." To be considered a serious presidential candidate, enthusiastic participation in a legal lynching is a requirement, as executions under the barbaric death penalty reach new records. America's police are armies of occupation in black, minority and poor city neighborhoods—ask Abner Louima or Rodney King about torture, ask Amadou Diallo's surviving parents about murderous police killings. You don't have to be black, either—remember Waco, where Clinton and Janet Reno's federal killers in the BATF and FBI slaughtered over 80 men, women and children in an integrated religious commune. Cops regularly seek to smash workers' picket lines, too. Even Boston's famous fugitive gunrunner Whitey Bulger knows far better than this fancy professor what the story is in this violent society.

Chomsky can even justify imperialist war if it is carried out with good intentions or by some mythical good world body which meets the "heavy burden of proof...in undertaking the threat or use of force in violation of the principles of international order." "In the real world," Chomsky informs us with a straight face, either "the powerful do as they wish" or else we must set up "some kind of framework of world order, perhaps the U.N. Charter, the International Court of Justice, and other existing institutions, or perhaps something better if it can be devised and broadly accepted" (*The New Military Humanism: Lessons from Kosovo*, 1999). Anything else, he writes, is just "abstract discussion" fit only for "graduate seminars in philosophy." Well, it was Karl Marx, nemesis of Chomsky's hero Bakunin, who pointed out that rights cannot stand higher than the material conditions for them, and that

"'Liberation' is a historical and not a mental act, and it is brought about by historical conditions." The world today, outside of the remaining deformed workers states, is dominated by competing imperialist states and their occasional junior partners, sometimes allies, sometimes enemies, and their corrupt neocolonialist regimes, all armed to the teeth and jockeying for advantage. Schemes for "world peace" which leave this system intact are at best an ivory tower pipe dream; at worst, as in the Chomsky version, a thin cover for despair and a fig leaf for continued imperialist plunder.

Actually, the eminent professor has more in common with his anarchist hero Mikhail Bakunin than merely rantings against "Red bureaucracy" and hostility to Marx and Engels' historical materialist understanding that the industrial working class is the motor force for revolution against capitalism, which must result in the "dictatorship of the proletariat" to ensure the success of the revolution. After all, Bakunin was the only prominent 19th century Russian revolutionary to ever address an abject personal appeal to Tsar Nicholas I, head of Russia's absolutist empire—and not merely when he was in prison, but upon his release ten years later, in an 1862 pamphlet: "We should most gladly of all follow Romanov, if Romanov could and would transform himself.... He *alone* could carry out and complete a great, peaceful revolution without shedding one drop of Russian or Slav blood." Neither NATO, the UN, the WTO, the World Bank nor the other agencies of imperialism are any more likely to "transform themselves" than the Tsar was. Just as it took Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, a vanguard party leading the working class, to create the first revolutionary workers state in history out of the ruins of the autocratic Russian empire, so today it will take a revolutionary internationalist vanguard party to lead the fight for successful workers revolution against rotting American imperialism. That is the fight to which the Spartacist League, American section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and Spartacus Youth Clubs are dedicated. Those who set their sights higher than a comfortable academic career as an ideologist for the imperialist war machine should join us in our fight for a communist future for humanity.

—Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club, 25 April

Language Rights...

(continued from page 4)

We place calls to defend minority French language rights and for Quebec independence at the forefront of the socialist program to which we seek to win the working people in struggle. In this, we follow in the tradition of the Bolshevik party of Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky which, in October 1917, led the Russian working people in the first successful socialist revolution in history. The tsarist empire was a "prisonhouse of peoples," in which Russians were surrounded by a myriad conquered and subject peoples speaking hundreds of languages. The support of these oppressed workers and peasants yearning for equality, language rights and national liberation was decisive to the victory of the Russian Revolution.

The Bolsheviks agitated among Russian workers against all special laws against minorities (such as the Jews), for the absolute equality of all languages and, most important of all, for the right of all nations to self-determination—i.e., to

secession from the Russian state. As Trotsky noted in his *History of the Russian Revolution*, "Only in this way could the Russian proletariat gradually win the confidence of the oppressed nationalities."

At the same time, the Bolsheviks forged a single party in the Russian state, which drew into its ranks and leadership a disproportionate cadre from the oppressed peoples of the empire: Jews like Trotsky and Lev Kamenev, Poles like Felix Dzerzhinsky and Karl Radek. Building such a party required the rejection of every form of nationalism, a bourgeois ideology fatal to workers unity.

Today, the TL/LT seeks to build a party of the Bolshevik type to lead revolutionary struggle against Canadian capitalism. To achieve a socialist society free from every form of oppression of man by man, the working class must be imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist egalitarianism. As Lenin wrote in his 1915 pamphlet *Socialism and War*, "A proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its 'own' nation cannot be a socialist proletariat." *Equal language rights for all!* ■

Korea...

(continued from page 1)

"As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League—U.S. section of the International Communist League—calls for the **immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Korea.**"

The massive U.S. military presence in South Korea, backed up by the Seventh Fleet, is also a forward base for the maintenance of U.S. imperialist hegemony throughout the Pacific. An article in the *Korea Times* (13 June) observed: "The United States fears the possible rise of nationalist fervor on the Korean peninsula in the wake of inter-Korean rapprochement or unification, which could lead to heightened demands for the retreat of U.S. troops from the peninsula." Beginning in the weeks before the Pyongyang summit, South Korea has seen a resurgence of nationalist student protests against the U.S. military, which were joined in at least one instance by a large contingent of unionized Kia auto workers.

Fear of instability is also what lies behind Canada's diplomatic recognition of the North. As an article in the *National Post* (28 July) reported, "Analysts say Ottawa's recognition of North Korea will probably not reap any short-term economic benefits for Canada. However, isolating the country further could lead to violence and social upheaval in the region." Just as much as military threats by the U.S., Canada's "benevolent" openings to deformed workers states like North Korea and Cuba are ploys aimed toward the return of capitalist exploitation and neocolonial oppression—another side of the imperialists' anti-Communist division of labor.

The mid-June summit represents an ominous development, spurred in the South by the ambitions of the *chaebol*, the giant conglomerates which dominate South Korean capitalism, to reunify Korea on the basis of capitalist wage slavery. In a statement by the Korean Central News Agency (17 June), Pyongyang reiterated its call for "a reunified federal state based on the conception of one nation, one state, two systems and two governments." There is no way Korea can be united without either the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the North or the smashing of capitalism in the South.

With its nationalist outlook of building "socialism in one [one-half] country"—in a particularly bizarre and autarkic form embodied in the slogan *Juche* (self-reliance)—the North Korean Stalinist bureaucracy undermines the defense of the North and is an obstacle to socialist revolution in the South. The bureaucracy is not a possessing class but a parasitic caste resting on collectivized property forms—the nationalization of land and industry and the monopoly of foreign trade—while, simultaneously, acting as a transmission belt for imperialist pressure on the deformed workers state. To preserve its caste privileges and enhance the personal well-being of its component elements, the Kim Jong Il bureaucracy is prepared to open the door to capitalist enterprises and thus augment the forces of capitalist restoration. **For revolutionary reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North!**

Today, the fate of North Korea, and the struggle for a socialist Asia, hinges, in the aftermath of the overturn of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, on future developments in China. The working class in China and North Korea have long and close historical ties, cemented by the



Pantheon Books

North Korean capital of Pyongyang, laid waste by imperialist bombing during Korean War.

massive Chinese intervention on the side of North Korea in the Korean War, as the Maoist bureaucracy fought to defend the Chinese Revolution on which its own rule rested. The Beijing regime's introduction of "market reforms" and the accompanying attacks on the "iron rice bowl"—guaranteed jobs, housing and education—have spurred huge struggles by the Chinese working class, from the incipient proletarian political revolution centered on the Tiananmen protests in 1989 to the recent revolt by 20,000 miners in northern China. What is necessary is the forging of revolutionary Trotskyist parties in China, Korea and internationally to lead the Chinese workers in a proletarian political revolution to oust the Beijing bureaucracy, to fight for revolutionary reunification of Korea and for socialist revolution in the industrial powerhouse of Japan and throughout Asia.

U.S. War Machine Targets China, North Korea

Since the Yeltsin-led restoration of capitalism in the USSR in 1991-92, U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary drive against the remaining deformed workers states has combined military threats with a policy of economic penetration, particularly in the case of China. The increasingly aggressive military posture of the U.S. in Asia, primarily aimed at the Chinese deformed workers state, demonstrates that, if necessary, direct military intervention, perhaps in support of a counterrevolutionary uprising on the Chinese mainland, will be employed. Simultaneously, the American imperialists seek to maintain their dominance in the region against their militarily weaker Japanese imperialist rival.

Washington's fraudulent depiction of a "nuclear threat" from North Korea is a pretext for putting a new generation of missiles in East Asia targeted primarily at China—the so-called "theater missile defense" system which would encompass South Korea, Japan and possibly Taiwan. Meanwhile, plans for a new version of Reagan's "Star Wars" scheme are seen as a threat by capitalist Russia as well as by many European imperialist powers. Thus, Russian president Vladimir Putin's energetic efforts in opposition included both a trip to Beijing and Berlin to be followed by an upcoming visit to North Korea.

At the same time, the Pentagon aims "to ensure that when Japan reemerges as a great power, it behaves itself in Asia" (*Washington Post*, 26 May). For its part, the Japanese bour-

geoisie looks in the first place to Asia for its own imperialist ambitions, and has seized on North Korea's launching of its Taepodong I missile in 1998 as a pretext for accelerating its own remilitarization and expanding its military presence in the region. Last year, Japan's navy tried to sink North Korean ships, its troops are in West Timor, its police are in Indonesia training local police forces and Singapore has opened its port to Japanese naval vessels. This campaign has been accompanied by growing racist attacks on the Korean minority population within Japan. The ethnic Koreans in Japan constitute a lever for socialist revolution in Japan, as a direct link between the proletariat there and workers in Korea. Our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan seek to forge an internationalist Leninist vanguard to lead workers revolution to smash Japanese imperialism (see "Japanese Trotskyists Fight Resurgent Nationalism, Racism," *Workers Vanguard* No. 736, 19 May).

When the Soviet degenerated workers state existed, the clash of interests between the imperialist powers was somewhat abated by their common interest in crushing the historic conquests of the 1917 October Revolution. Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, these conflicts have been given free rein. Today, the common hostility of Japanese and U.S. imperialism to the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states does not moderate this interimperialist rivalry but on the contrary serves as an arena for its intensification, as they jockey for position over who would get the lion's share of the spoils in the event of counterrevolution in China.

This shift in American military priorities is quite apparent to the leaders of the Chinese deformed workers state, who recently hosted a visit by the North Korean head of state. Nevertheless, the Beijing regime plans to accelerate the pace of "joint ventures" with foreign capital and other forms of capitalist investment. In the main, the efforts of the Chinese bureaucracy—not without internal opposition—have been directed at achieving entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO), reflecting its confidence in its capacity to "deal" with the imperialists.

An article in the *New York Times* (23 May) on the question of WTO entry commented: "With droves of laid-off workers already mounting sporadic protests across the country, giving foreign competition a hand in wiping out whole industries could amount to political suicide for China's governing Communist Party." Anticipating entry into the WTO,

the regime is planning to implement a series of regulations safeguarding state-owned industry against increased foreign competition, while in recent years President Jiang Zemin has attempted to purge the People's Liberation Army of its capitalist enterprises and moved to increased development of China's nuclear missile capacity, no doubt in response to American imperialism's military measures.

The American AFL-CIO union bureaucracy, which today stands with the most bellicose representatives of U.S. imperialism, opposes China's entry into the WTO from the standpoint of anti-Communism and "America first" protectionism. Our starting point is completely opposite. We oppose WTO entry and imperialist economic penetration of China from the standpoint of unconditional military defense of the workers state which is based on collectivized property forms. This defense does not depend on the prior overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The ICL fully supports the right of the People's Republic of China to possess nuclear weapons and further develop and expand its nuclear capacities as well as the right of North Korea to undertake such development.

Fleeing famine conditions at home, many thousands of North Koreans have crossed the border to northern China, which is already home to a large ethnic Korean population. They are now experiencing first-hand the ravages of "market reforms." At the same time, this region has seen some of the most intense working-class struggles in China. The Korean population there constitutes a human bridge between the Chinese and North Korean proletariat. A proletarian political revolution in China would likely spark similar struggles by the beleaguered workers of North Korea and Vietnam, forging the basis for international communist solidarity between those workers states.

A revolutionary China of workers and peasants soviets would immediately face the threat of attack from Japan and the U.S., posing the iron necessity of promoting the spread of socialist revolution internationally, particularly throughout Southeast Asia and, crucially, to Japan. No less a danger is the pressure of the capitalist world market on the relatively backward Chinese economy. All of this demands the forging of a revolutionary proletarian party in China, section of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International, to educate, organize and direct working-class struggle. Only the victory of socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries can provide the basis for the elimination of scarcity worldwide and

(continued on page 20)



Young Spartacus

Spartacist Japan

Los Angeles, 1998 (at left): one of nationwide protests by SL/U.S. and SYC against U.S. imperialist presence in Korea. Spartacist Group Japan protests attacks on Korean minorities. Signs read: "For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!" and (in Korean) "Korean Workers Need a Bolshevik Party!"

Korea...

(continued from page 19)

bring to an end class society, thus setting the stage for the fullest development of all humanity.

North Korea in Danger

When the Soviet Red Army swept down the Korean peninsula in the closing days of World War II, bringing liberation from some 40 years of brutal Japanese colonial oppression, the country was primed for a revolutionary explosion. Japanese imperialist investment had created a superexploited working class alongside a totally dependent lackey native bourgeoisie. Immediately following the Japanese surrender in 1945, Stalin treacherously agreed to withdraw north of the 38th parallel, thus tacitly agreeing to the division of the peninsula. The U.S. imperialists rushed in to take over the South, putting at their service the hated former Japanese colonial regime, thus setting the stage for the first hot battleground in the anti-Soviet Cold War.

As "people's committees" arose throughout the peninsula, in the North the regime of Kim Il Sung, the father of Kim Jong Il and a leader of anti-Japanese guerrilla forces in China, expropriated Japanese "collaborators"—which encompassed the entire weak Korean bourgeoisie—carried out a systematic land reform, breaking the power of the agrarian landlords, and declared the complete equality of women. The result was a transformation of property relations. Nevertheless, the North Korean workers state was deformed from its inception, ruled by a nationalist bureaucracy which excluded the working class from political power.

Thus the war which broke out on 25 June 1950 was a civil war pitting the deformed workers state against the imperialist-dominated capitalist-landlord regime in Seoul. As the North Korean army drove south, with thousands of Korean fighters recently returned from aiding the victory of the Chinese Revolution at its core, it was greeted by peasant uprisings against the hated colonial regime, which collapsed in a matter of days. The refusal of the bureaucratic regimes in the USSR and China, each in the service of "socialism in one [their] country," to provide replacements for exhausted military supplies saved the U.S. forces from being swept off the peninsula, giving the American imperialists the precious time necessary to mount a massive military intervention which prevented the gains of the Korean Revolution from

being extended to the South.

During the rest of the war, the imperialists carried out a scorched-earth policy. As homes and people were incinerated including by napalm, survivors were forced to live in caves which they inhabited for years thereafter. Civilians North and South were, as in the later war in Vietnam, treated as enemy troops in peasant disguise, resulting in the massacres of unarmed civilians, as at No Gun Ri. After the war, U.S. troops served as a bulwark against any challenge by Korean workers and peasants. In May 1980, the U.S. forces provided full support to the South Korean military as it crushed an uprising in the city of Kwangju by massacring some 2,000 civilians.

Until the mid-1970s, North Korea's planned economy significantly outperformed the South, creating a modern industrial infrastructure. As well as the bizarre and autarkic form of "socialism in one country" practiced by the Pyongyang bureaucracy, the extreme situation of a nation bifurcated by a "demilitarized zone" packed with more weaponry per square meter than any place on earth has further distorted the economy in the North. Beginning in the 1960s, capitalist South Korea, fueled by Japanese investment and U.S. subsidies which multiplied as a reward for its all-out military support to American imperialism's war in Vietnam, underwent substantial economic development. In the process, a modern and powerful proletariat was created which is deeply feared by the *chaebol* bourgeoisie and its police-state regime.

There is an unintended contradiction in imperialist/South Korean propaganda depicting North Korea as in a state of near total economic collapse on the one hand, and on the other hand carrying out massive programs for the production of technologically sophisticated weapons. While the planned economy continues to function, although at a much reduced level, the situation in the North is dire. It became especially desperate in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, which provided the vast bulk of material and technological aid to the North. In 1992, China cut off shipments of cheap oil to the North as a concession to obtain diplomatic and economic relations with South Korea. Then beginning in 1995, the country was hit by a series of natural disasters producing a famine of historic proportions, resulting in the deaths of at least 200,000.

Chaebol Head North

Kim Jong Il has already opened up limited areas for capitalist investment from the South and overseas. Now the South Korean bourgeoisie aims to undermine the North through economic penetration, a key goal of Kim Dae Jung's "Sunshine Policy." The current "unification" talks were spearheaded by Hyundai patriarch Chung Ju Yung when he arrived in North Korea with 500 head of cattle in 1998. Over the past six years, Hyundai has invested some \$1 billion in various projects in the North, centrally a lavish tourist complex. Other *chaebol* like Samsung have plants there. They hope to pave the way for capitalist restoration, while at the same time turning a good profit by exploiting cheap and literate North Korean labor. Kim Dae Jung was accompanied to Pyongyang by a whole coterie of highly-placed *chaebol* executives.

The South Korean bourgeoisie is salivating over the prospect of cheap labor and a new captive market in the North, in particular because of its own desperation in the wake of the Asian financial crisis. Despite bourgeois press accounts of the "new economic miracle," the *chaebol* have

Available in Chinese!

The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism: The Permanent Revolution vs. the "Anti-Imperialist United Front"

Order Now!

\$1.25
(24 pages)

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

新巴达克 SPARTACIST 4

中国托洛茨基主义的起源

不断革命与“反帝统一战线”的对立

中国托洛茨基主义的起源	1
不断革命与“反帝统一战线”的对立	11
中国托洛茨基主义的起源	11

国际无产阶级同盟 ICL, Box 7429 QPO, New York, NY 10118, 美国

not recovered. Several of Hyundai's subsidiaries are in the midst of declaring bankruptcy, and various industries are being eaten up by foreign capital, most prominently Daewoo, whose auto division is on the auction block with GM and Ford the leading bidders.

The *chaebol* aspire to a reunited capitalist Korea that can make them a minor player in the imperialist organization of world plunder. But the IMF dictates, and the fact that South Korea has piled up over \$32 billion in interest payments alone on foreign loans over the past five years, underscore the dependent character of the South Korean bourgeoisie. Korea is a prime example of the theory and program of permanent revolution. Some of the most modern industry in the world exists alongside pre-capitalist backwardness. In such nations, where capitalism has arisen after the world has become dominated and divided up by the already developed capitalist powers, the historic tasks of the bourgeois revolution—democracy, national unity and independence from the yoke of imperialism—cannot be carried out by the weak national bourgeoisie, which is dominated economically by foreign capital and fears above all the mobilization of the proletariat. These tasks can only be accomplished by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and placing the proletariat in power.

The division of the country along the lines of civil war lends an especially vicious character to the entrenched South Korean police state, under a thin veneer of parliamentarism, which is codified in the National Security Law. Thousands have been—and still are—jailed for any support of, or unauthorized contact with, the North. This law is put into brutal action against striking workers and political opponents of all stripes. A recent example is the arrest of four members of the Cliffite International Socialists of South Korea (ISSK). We demand all charges be dropped at once!

This is not the first time this group has been persecuted by the South Korean police state, despite the fact that it goes out of its way to make clear that it shares the *chaebol* bourgeoisie's hatred for the North Korean deformed workers state. When ISSK leader Choi Il Bung was arrested in 1993 for publishing socialist books, he replied by pointing out that many of the books opposed the North as well as the South. And when the secret police rounded up 26 ISSK members in 1998, they again defended themselves by professing their loyal refusal to defend North Korea from attack by the South Korean ruling class and against internal counterrevolution.

Much of the radical student movement in South Korea looks to the North Korean regime, but from the viewpoint that it appears as the most consistent purveyor of Korean nationalism. While this nationalist sentiment is directed in the first instance against American and Japanese imperialism—as well as against the former collaborators of the Japanese colonialists in the South Korean bourgeoisie—this nationalist ideology ultimately buttresses the aspirations of the South Korean ruling class for a united *capitalist* Korea. While echoing the bourgeoisie's anti-Communism, the "socialist" ISSK shares the outlook of nationalism, at the same time appealing to the combative working class on the basis of trade-union militancy.

Such nationalist sentiment is also used to tie the South Korean proletariat to the ox-cart of the national bourgeoisie. The combativity of the working class has been demonstrated repeatedly, not least in the enormous struggles of the 1970s and '80s which broke the stranglehold of the CIA-sponsored, corporatist Korean Federation of Trade Unions (KFTU) on

the workers movement and gave rise to independent unions, now joined in the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU). The IMF-dictated austerity measures enforced by the Kim Dae Jung government, installed with the support of the KCTU leadership, have provoked a renewed upsurge of labor struggle, seen in a one-week strike in April by Daewoo and Hyundai auto workers and other recent labor actions.

But the pro-capitalist KCTU leadership has sought to channel the militancy of the workers in the service of their rapacious *chaebol* bosses, who now promote nationalist opposition to imperialist domination while owing their very existence to the imperialists, without whose support the South Korean bourgeoisie would have long been extinct. The most prominent demand of the current annual "collective bargaining period" by the KCTU has been to prevent the sale of Daewoo Motors to "foreign interests." And at a recent meeting in Japan, a KCTU spokesman opposed Japanese investment in South Korea on the basis that it undercut the *chaebol*, and went on to call for an Asian version of the NAFTA "free trade" agreement, with China producing cheap products for South Korea and South Korea producing cheap products for Japan. The South Korean proletariat can go forward only on the basis of complete and unconditional independence from the bourgeoisie.

The future of the Korean workers North and South is tied up with that of the working class in the imperialist centers, North America and particularly Japan. Socialist revolution in Japan will put the enormous productive resources of this country at the disposal of the working class throughout East Asia, laying the basis for a socialist Asia. For our part, the SL/U.S. and the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste in Canada fight to build revolutionary workers parties in North America in order to lead the proletariat in sweeping away the U.S. imperialist rulers and their Canadian junior partners. Leon Trotsky's Fourth International was founded in 1938 on the bases of defense of the gains of the October Revolution, the struggle against all variants of reformism and for proletarian internationalism, and for the permanent revolution based on intransigent opposition to bourgeois nationalism. The purpose of the ICL is to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

—Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 738, 30 June

Trotskyist League Forums

—Toronto—

Quebec: 30 Years After the "October Crisis"

Saturday, September 30, 7:30 p.m.
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor St. W.
(one block west of Spadina subway)
For more information call (416) 593-4138

—Vancouver—

Beware the Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism

Saturday, September 30, 3:00 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Room L4,
1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)
For more information call (604) 687-0353

OCAP...

(continued from page 2)

the auto (CAW) and postal (CUPW) unions and Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE). But the misleaders of labor—the trade-union bureaucracy and their political allies in the NDP—are obstacles to a successful fight against capitalist homelessness and poverty.

Following the protest, CUPE Ontario president Sid Ryan launched a violence-baiting diatribe against OCAP, railing that “The tactics that they used just escape me” and threatening to withdraw union funding from the coalition. Ryan was forced to back down after a storm of protest from CUPE members. For her part, Olivia Chow, a “left” NDP city councillor, openly solidarized with the cops against OCAP. After the police “union” denounced Chow’s attempts to “mediate” on June 15, Chow sent a grovelling letter to the deputy police chief, stating: “Under no circumstances, for whatever cause, do I condone the violence we witnessed,” and adding “I want to express my sincere concern for all of those officers injured in yesterday’s riot” (*National Post*, 20 June).

The current assault on the poor in Ontario didn’t begin with the Harris Tories, but with Bob Rae’s 1990-95 NDP government, which started the cuts to welfare, health care and other social services while attacking the unions with across-the-board public sector pay cuts. Today, NDP provincial regimes in B.C., Manitoba and Saskatchewan are waging their own war on the poor, shutting hospitals and breaking strikes while targeting immigrants and Native people with racist scapegoating.

So flagrantly pro-capitalist is today’s NDP that a wing of the labor bureaucracy centered on CAW leader Buzz Hargrove has taken its distance from the party, and is even floating the idea of a “new labor party.” The CAW tops call for a

“return to the roots” of the NDP and its CCF predecessor, but this is an utter dead end for the working class and oppressed. From their inception, the NDP and CCF have been thoroughly wedded to racist capitalism, which necessarily means enforcing the bourgeoisie’s austerity edicts when in power. The CAW tops’ ultimate purpose in backing “social movements” like OCAP is to vent accumulated anger and channel it back into the safe confines of social-democratic parliamentarism, by one means or another.

As revolutionary Marxists, we fight against the destruction of welfare and other social programs which benefit the working class and the poor. But our goal is not simply to reintroduce programs that were designed to sustain the unemployed in permanent poverty. Ours is the fight for a proletarian socialist revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian, planned economy where everyone will have a place in social and economic life. The working class has the numbers, the organization and the power to win all those things the ruling class expropriates for itself—decent health care, education, housing. We need a revolutionary workers party that doesn’t respect the property “rights” of the bourgeoisie: a party that fights for a workers government to rip the means of production from the capitalist class and open the road to a socialist future. That is the kind of party the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste is fighting to build.

The Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League, has made a donation to the defense fund for those arrested during or after the June 15 demonstration. We urge our readers, and especially union locals and community and student groups, to do the same. Make checks payable/mail to: OCAP, 249 Sherbourne St., Toronto ON M5A 2R9. An injury to one is an injury to all! ■

Abortion...

(continued from page 24)

together with their sex witchhunt against teachers and others in the name of “protecting children,” has helped to generate the increasingly reactionary social climate which has paved the way for the Alliance. At the same time, the NDP has shut hospitals and forced through other health-care cuts, while attacking workers fighting to defend the beleaguered health system. Last year the NDP government in Saskatchewan broke a widely popular strike by nurses seeking to stop cutbacks in jobs and services.

In the early 1990s, B.C. abortion-rights organizers pressured the NDP government to implement “bubble laws”—standing injunctions against protests in front of abortion clinics and doctors’ residences. Such laws were in fact enacted following the shooting of Dr. Romalis in 1994. Allegedly designed to keep anti-abortionists from blockading the clinics, they of course also prevent abortion rights activists from doing anything to defend the clinics. The result has been to *demobilize* militant defenders of women’s rights—both physically and politically—by preaching reliance on the capitalist cops and courts.

The cops and courts are not “neutral.” They are core institutions of the bourgeois state, a machine for organized vio-

lence against the working class and oppressed. In the U.S., “bubble laws” have been used to prosecute clinic defenders. We fight for labor-centered *mass mobilizations to defend the clinics*, drawing into struggle all those who support abortion rights. Our Marxist worldview is based on the understanding that society is divided into counterposed social classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The working class is the only social force which can liberate women and all the oppressed, through a socialist revolution which smashes the rule of the bourgeoisie, of which women’s oppression is a cornerstone.

Feminism is a bourgeois ideology. Feminists reject a perspective based on the class struggle, elevating the gender line above—and often against—the class line, and looking instead to the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state to defend women’s rights. Five years ago, when the courts banned picketing during a bitter pulp strike on Vancouver Island, a spokeswoman for the B.C. Coalition for Abortion Clinics, Kim Zander, complained: “If MacMillan Bloedel can get a protester-free zone... why can’t Vancouver’s two free-standing abortion clinics get the same protection?” (*Vancouver Sun*, 3 January 1995). This anti-union position in fact precisely mirrors the right-wing B.C. Liberal opposition, which seized on the NDP’s “bubble laws” to propose similar legislation against union picket lines.

Feminism’s reliance on the bourgeois state is shared by

social-democratic, pro-NDP groups like the International Socialists (I.S.) and Socialist Action (SA). Last year at UBC the Students for Choice group allowed an RCMP officer to address their inaugural meeting. The cop warned ominously that pro-choice activists should not try to stop a planned anti-abortion provocation on campus. While I.S. supporters sat on their hands, only the Spartacus Youth Club protested this outrage and left the meeting in protest against the cop presence.

Reformists like the I.S. and SA join the chorus calling to "fight the right"—code words for support to the pro-capitalist NDP social democrats. The "Socialist Caucus" of the NDP, which is led by supporters of SA, calls openly to "rally around Ujjal Dosanjh's government" and "unite behind our leader" ("Call for Unity and Action," 1 March). Following the assassination attempt on Dr. Romalis, they issued a leaflet whose sole purpose was to scaremonger about a victory by the B.C. Liberals in the next provincial elections, shuddering: "They will ruthlessly turn back the gains realized this decade under the NDP."

"Gains"???! The B.C. New Democrats sent the RCMP and Canadian army against Native protesters at Gustafsen Lake. They are in the forefront of the chauvinist "national unity" crusade against Quebec. They recently broke a strike by school support workers. While on paper the NDP has a "pro-choice" position, it was an NDP government in Manitoba that raided Dr. Henry Morgentaler's clinics twice in the early 1980s, both times dangerously interrupting an operation in progress. The New Democrats then laid charges of "conspiracy to produce a miscarriage" against the heroic Dr. Morgentaler—a pioneer for women's right to abortion and a survivor of Auschwitz—and his staff.

The NDP is what Marxists call a bourgeois workers party—linked to the trade unions via the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy but thoroughly committed to upholding racist capitalism. The NDP serves as a conduit for reactionary bourgeois ideology—from pro-imperialist jingoism to anti-Québécois chauvinism—into the working class. When in power, they ruthlessly carry out attacks on labor and the oppressed on behalf of the ruling class. Revolutionary Marxists fight to break the proletariat from the pro-capitalist social-democratic misleaders in the struggle to forge a revolutionary vanguard party.

Women's liberation cannot be achieved by reforming the capitalist system. The oppression of women is rooted in private property and the institution of the family. At the heart of the bourgeois family lies the inheritance of wealth (for the rulers), and (for the workers) regimentation and indoctrination of a new generation of wage slaves. Expropriating the wealth of the tiny class of capitalist exploiters, a socialist society would replace the repressive, stultifying bourgeois family as a socio-economic unit through the socialization of household labor and child-rearing.

We look to the example of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, which undertook to liberate women from their traditional subservient position. Immediately following the proletariat's seizure of power under Bolshevik party leadership, the Soviet government moved to end all the old legal impediments to women's equality, legalizing abortion and making it free, giving women the vote and making marriage and divorce simple matters of civil registration.

At the same time, Lenin's Bolsheviks clearly understood that the workers state in backward, impoverished Russia could only achieve so much. Extension of the revolution to

the imperialist centers was essential. However, by 1924, following the defeat of revolutionary opportunities in Europe after WWI—centrally in Germany—political power in the USSR had been expropriated by a conservative, nationalist bureaucratic layer headed by Josef Stalin. Pursuing the anti-Marxist pipe dream of "building socialism in one country," Stalin reestablished the subordinate position of women as childbearers in the family, which was declared to be the "fighting unit of socialism." Nevertheless, despite obstacles thrown up by the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution, the socialized economy allowed Soviet women to make huge strides in employment, education and health care, gains which were not extinguished until the final counterrevolutionary liquidation of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92.

Today, Russia and the former deformed workers states of East Europe are hell for women, who are driven out of productive work, deprived of abortion rights, health care and education. This is the bitter consequence of capitalist restoration. We Trotskyists stood for unconditional military defense of the bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states against counterrevolution, incurring the frenzied wrath of anti-Communist reformists like the I.S. and SA, who supported counterrevolution and the murderously reactionary forces that brought it about.

During the civil war of the 1980s in Afghanistan, for instance, the I.S. were fervent backers of the Islamic-reactionary *mujahedin*. These CIA-backed killers went to war explicitly to enforce female enslavement. When the Soviet army intervened to defend the Kabul government, which wanted to abolish the veil and provide health care and literacy to Afghan women, we declared "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and demanded "Extend the gains of the Russian Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" We understood that only a Soviet victory would make social progress possible, most of all for women; and that defeat would mean abandoning women to the mercies of the medievalist religious fanatics like the Taliban. At the same time, we warned that Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan would open the door to counterrevolution in the USSR itself, bringing indescribable misery to the Soviet masses. Tragically, all this came to pass, for which the anti-Soviet I.S. and SA bear their share of the blame.

The liberation of women cannot be won under capitalism. Women and men who want to fight for a society where women's oppression and the exploitation of the working class are things of the past should join the fight for an internationalist vanguard party dedicated to destroying the capitalist system, root and branch. That is what the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fights for. *Women's liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

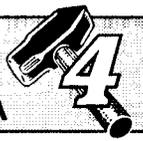
Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A,
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8,
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver: Box 2717, Main P.O.,
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2,
(604) 687-0353

E-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

Web site: www.icl-fi.org



Anti-Woman Bigots on the Offensive

Free Abortion on Demand!

B.C. NDP: No Friend of Women, Oppressed

The stabbing of Dr. Garson Romalis outside a Vancouver medical clinic on July 11 marked the fourth attempted murder of a Canadian abortion provider in six years. Romalis barely survived an assassination attempt in 1994, when he was shot in his home by a sniper. Within hours of the latest attack, hundreds of outraged protesters gathered outside the Vancouver Art Gallery. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste joined the demonstration, putting forward our class-struggle perspective to defend and extend abortion rights and for women's liberation through socialist revolution. We call for *free abortion on demand*, without age restrictions, parental-consent rules or hospital review boards, as part of our fight for free quality health care for all.

The anti-woman "pro-life" fanatics are revving up their campaign to recriminalize abortion. Last year, they staged repeated provocations at the University of British Columbia, disgustingly equating the straightforward medical procedure of abortion with the Nazi Holocaust and the horrors of black slavery. One day after the stabbing of Dr. Romalis, Dr. Ellen Wiebe, who has been conducting clinical trials on the abortion pill RU-486, received death threats at her office. Defiantly, she stated her intention to continue her research, adding: "Canadian women assume that they have the right to have choice and yet they don't have any right to have choice unless there's doctors willing to risk their lives" (*Toronto Star*, 13 July).

The "right to choice" is more of a myth than ever for thousands of poor, working and minority women. The chilling effect of repeated murder attempts has led many doctors to stop performing the procedure. Citing fear of attacks, a number of hospitals have canceled abortion services. Abortion is completely unavailable in whole swathes of the country—for example, women in Prince Edward Island, where abortions are not performed, must leave the island to obtain the procedure. Even in the big cities, abortion is often only partially covered by medicare, making it financially out of reach for many poor and working-class women.

The stabbing of Dr. Romalis comes in the wake of Stockwell Day's election as leader of the Canadian Alliance, successor to the Reform Party. An aggressively right-wing religious bigot, Day tried to stop all abortion funding in Alberta



SC photo

Emergency protest against attempted murder of Dr. Garson Romalis outside Vancouver Art Gallery, July 11.

when he was treasurer in the provincial Tory government. He says he will try to recriminalize abortion if he becomes prime minister. Not surprisingly, this "pro-lifer" also seeks to reintroduce the death penalty.

The strategy of B.C.'s Pro-Choice Action Network, who organized the July 11 protest, amounts to calls to "fight the right"—Day's Alliance and also the provincial Liberal opposition of Gordon Campbell. This means channeling resistance to the attacks on abortion rights into support for the ruling provincial NDP and Jean Chrétien's federal Liberals. But no matter which of these parties is in office, their role is to administer the profit system for the capitalist ruling class, which necessarily entails vicious attacks on the working class, women and all the oppressed.

The B.C. NDP government's "Minister for Women's Equality," Joan Smallwood, was a featured speaker at the July 11 demonstration against the stabbing of Dr. Romalis. But the New Democrats' crusade for "family values,"

(continued on page 22)