

# Mass Protests Against FTAA in Quebec

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Mallard/Journal de Québec

Quebec City, April 21: Protesters tore down fence surrounding Summit of the Americas in face of brutal police repression.



BBC

## The Main Enemy is the Capitalist Class at Home!

*The following report is based on a presentation given by Anna Woodman, editor of the Young Spartacus pages of Workers Vanguard, at a Spartacist League/U.S. regional educational in New York City on April 28. It has been slightly abridged for publication in SC.*

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A columnist wrote in last Saturday's issue of the *Montreal Gazette* that "perhaps the saddest thing about the large-scale protests this weekend at Quebec City's hemispheric summit is the harnessing of so much youthful idealism to the hoary right-wing warhorse of xenophobia." This is a good description of the national chauvinism that was cultivated by the union tops and social democrats who organized the People's

Summit and the main march on Saturday, the March of the Americas. But among the estimated 60,000 to 70,000 protesters who were on the streets of Quebec City last weekend, there was also a palpable schism between the flag-waving patriots against globalization and leftist youth, typically identifying themselves as anarchists or anarcho-communists, who were questioning both the "peaceful, legal" tactics and the national-reformist politics of the mainstream organizers and in general wanted to make it known that they were in opposition to "the system," however they saw it.

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) is a continuation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA, enacted in 1994, which we opposed as U.S. imperialism's "free trade" rape of Mexico. That is starkly demonstrated today in the increased impoverishment and brutal conditions of the free trade zones. And it's not just there; we have noted that since 1994, prices for basic necessities rose over 400 percent in Mexico while real wages plummeted by

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## FTAA...

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some 25 percent and are barely two-thirds what they were 30 years ago. The new agreement would extend this to all of Latin America. Politically, the purpose of the FTAA is to shore up U.S., and secondarily Canadian, imperialist control of the various neocolonies and smaller capitalist states in Latin America and the Caribbean in the face of competition from rival imperialist powers in Europe and also Japan.

The FTAA is billed as yet another example of "globalization," which is described as a world system in which sovereign, supposedly "democratic" governments are undermined by the transnational corporations that control the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO) and World Bank. However, we have emphasized repeatedly that these transnational corporations do not and cannot operate outside of the nation-state system. They require their own capitalist national states to *protect* their operations abroad from popular opposition and rival capitalist states. Therefore, the imperialist states must maintain strong military forces and a corresponding domestic industrial base. In a leaflet put out by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club to mobilize student protest against ROTC (Reserve Officer Training Corps) at Berkeley last weekend, we wrote that while the purpose of the FTAA is to deepen the domination of American capital over the economies of Latin America, "a contract is only worth as much as the guns that back it up."

### In Quebec City

Protesters against the FTAA last weekend were mostly trade unionists and youth from Quebec, Ontario and Atlantic Canada, with a sizable number from the U.S. and a lesser number from Latin America and beyond. The entire weekend saw military confrontations between riot cops and thousands of youth. By the second day, the cops were indiscriminately firing tear gas, water cannon and plastic bullets at protesters in the vicinity of what was called the "wall" or the "perimeter"—the six-kilometer-long, three-meter-high fence erected around the city center where the Summit of the Americas was being held.

By the end of the weekend, well over 400 protesters had been arrested and detained, including a leader of the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (or CLAC by its French initials), Jaggi Singh, who was seized by cops disguised as protesters while he was standing on the street and then thrown into an

unmarked van. The experience was an object lesson in the reality that the capitalist state is an instrument of organized violence. And it is a complete refutation of the anti-globalization movement leaders who push the illusion that the capitalist state can be pressured to serve the interests of the working people and oppressed.

We noted in our statement for the protest printed in *Spartacist Canada* (No. 128, Spring 2001) that "capitalist oppression is rooted in exploitative property relations defended by armed state power for the benefit of the dominant class. To fundamentally alter the lot of the overwhelming majority of humanity requires proletarian revolution to abolish private property and liquidate the bourgeoisie as a class." Our purpose in Quebec was to intervene with a proletarian revolutionary internationalist perspective, explaining that only the proletariat has the potential power and the class interest to create a society based on collectivized property and a rational, planned international economy. As Marxists we understand that the fundamental conflict in society is the struggle of labor against capital. We want to smash capitalism, not "reject" it as some of the more left-wing protesters proclaimed was their intention. While many anarchists claim to oppose capitalism, they deny the need for the victorious working class to organize its own state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, to defend *its* freedom, *its* democracy, *its* rights against reaction. Only a workers state, organized and armed to suppress the resistance of the old regime, can open the road to a classless, communist society. And to be able to realize this power, the proletariat must become conscious of its historic task. This can only be done through the agency of a revolutionary party that is founded on Marxist theory and dedicated to advancing the interests of the working class.

So to this end, a lot of our political discussions with leftist youth were about how the organizers of the mainstream protests—the trade-union leadership, Canadian nationalists and various self-described "socialist" groups—actually seek to prettify the capitalist state, in fact defending what they term Canadian "democracy" against "corporate globalization," or even just against George Bush. For example, a leaflet for a teach-in by a coalition called Mobilization for Global Justice, which prominently includes reformist left groups like the Canadian International Socialists (recently split from the American International Socialist Organization), begins: "The FTAA is a trade agreement that will

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## For Revolutionary Internationalism, Not National Reformism!

# Quebec City and the Left

The massive police onslaught against youthful protesters in Quebec City was an object lesson in the class character of the Canadian capitalist state: a violent, repressive instrument for defending the rule of the rich owners of industry and commerce. Yet the purpose of the main protest organizers in Quebec City was to shackle working people and the oppressed to this same capitalist state in the name of defending Canadian “democracy,” “values” and “sovereignty” against globalization and “free trade.” This identifies the interests of the working class with those of the imperialist Canadian bourgeoisie, thereby undermining prospects for class struggle against the rulers and their exploitative system.

The abject nationalism and reformism of the mainstream anti-globalization organizers has propelled a layer of youth into seeking a more militant, left-wing alternative. This growing divide was in evidence throughout the weekend of anti-FTAA protests, symbolized by the trade-union bureaucracy’s efforts to stop labor contingents from joining leftist youth facing down tear gas attacks near the cops’ security wall. At the same time, the anarchism embraced by many of these youth is incapable of providing a political alternative to the bankrupt pro-capitalist program of the labor misleaders. Indeed in the absence of such an alternative, it ends up as little more than a militant, streetfighting cover for the mainstream national-reformist protests.

Supporters of the Trotskyist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs intervened in Quebec City with the aim of winning youth and workers to a proletarian-centered perspective of revolutionary class struggle against the entire system of imperialist exploitation and oppression. In the course of the weekend, we set up literature tables, intervened at teach-ins and sold more than 1,000 copies of our Marxist press, in particular to the youth protesting near the wall. Our intervention contrasted starkly with other self-professed Marxist organizations who more or less openly supported and amnestied the mainstream protest leaders, while engaging, at best, in mindless cheerleading for the very heterogenous protests. For the most part, these groups placed themselves *to the right* of the impulses of the more radical youth in Quebec City.

Amid the volleys of tear gas and water cannon raining down near the wall, many youth saw vividly the real role of the police as a core component of the repressive capitalist state. Yet one left group which marched in Quebec, Socialist Alternative, claims that the cops are in fact “workers in uniform.” When we challenged Socialist Alternative members to go explain their position to the youth being tear gassed by the cops, they scurried off in the other direction. Worse yet, in the build-up to the protests another group, Socialist Action, echoed the howling bourgeois media by denouncing

anarchist “minority violence” and “the hooliganism of a few adventurists” (*Socialist Action*, Winter 2001)—while lecturing youth on the need to join the NDP!

### I.S.: “Unity” With Canadian Nationalists

The International Socialists (I.S.) have been the most enthusiastic champions of the anti-globalization “movement,” including of the nationalists and mainstream reformists who dominate it. This was shown at the May 3



Young Spartacus

**Nationalist defense of Canada’s “democracy” from the U.S. was a common theme at trade-union dominated March of the Americas.**

opening session of their “Marxism 2001” event, which featured a panel of speakers on the Quebec City events. Among them were members of the Council of Canadians and the Canadian Action Party—both bourgeois nationalist formations—as well as a top bureaucrat from the CAW auto union.

Amid all the droning about “democracy” and “building the movement,” including by the I.S.’s own speaker, the only mention of “revolution” was in a videotaped speech from Quebec City by...Council of Canadians head Maude Barlow. Barlow is a former Liberal Party parliamentary candidate who broke with the party when it began to embrace “free trade.” The centerpiece of the post-Quebec City *Socialist Worker* (2 May) also leads with Barlow’s speech, reporting breathlessly that as she repeated “Welcome to the revolution!” in French, Spanish and Portuguese, “the standing ovation roared louder.”

In the discussion period, a Trotskyist League comrade intervened sharply from the floor:

“What we said to protesters in Quebec is that the main enemy is the capitalist class at home. But that’s not what the speakers here tonight say. The Council of Canadians and also the CAW bureaucracy push a rotten program of nationalism, calling to save Canadian ‘democracy’ against globalization. Capitalist

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democracy is what we saw in Quebec City—tear gas and rubber bullets and jail for protesters. Pushing national reformism is not just wrong, it points workers and youth in exactly the wrong direction. We're for socialist revolution against Ottawa and Bay Street and throughout the Americas."

As I.S.ers tried to shout her down, our comrade continued by denouncing their organization's calls for "unity" with such Canadian nationalists, as well as the I.S.'s anti-Communist refusal to defend the Cuban and Chinese revolutions against imperialism and counterrevolution.

In order to provide cover for its nationalist allies in the "movement," the I.S. has to prettify and outright lie about them. Thus *Socialist Worker* hails Barlow's supposed defense of the youthful protesters near the wall: "She pointed to the district behind the fence where the heads of state were meeting, rightly putting the blame for the violence on them, their wall and their cops." Could this be the same Maude Barlow who told the *Toronto Star* (29 April), "I deplore the violence that happened, including the rocks thrown at police and the vandalism"? The I.S. further claims that Barlow and other leaders of the Council of Canadians have abandoned nationalism in favor of "explicitly-stated internationalism." Yet the Council's own "Who We Are" statement affirms unambiguously that one of its main goals is "asserting Canadian sovereignty."

*Socialist Worker* does criticize the union bureaucracy's failure to mobilize labor contingents to support the youth protesting near the wall on Saturday afternoon. To be sure, this speaks volumes about the union tops' role in policing the working class on behalf of the capitalists. But in its voluminous post-Quebec City coverage, not once does the I.S. take on the nationalist *politics* pushed by the union bureaucracy in the FTAA protests. Readers of *Socialist Worker* might be surprised to learn that the news release issued by the "left" leadership of the CAW auto workers for Quebec City (18 April) was headlined "Free trade could cost us Canada." And *Socialist Worker's* coverage of the labor tops' People's Summit in Quebec City is entirely favorable: tellingly, it avoids mentioning that this confab was financed in large part by the Canadian government!

### IBT Covers for Chauvinist Labor Tops

While chiding the protest leaders and the social-democratic I.S., the tiny group grandiosely misnamed the International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT) pushes similar illusions in the anti-globalization "movement." In a leaflet titled "Quebec and After" (3 May), they attack the TL and International Communist League for "brainless sectarianism" because we have the temerity to say what is: that the main forces behind these protests push illusions in rapacious imperialism.

In this country, the IBT panders to the dominant Canadian nationalism by opposing the call for Quebec independence. Their outright capitulation to Anglo chauvinism was shown in 1995, when they were virtually alone among self-professed socialists in lining up with the Canadian government by calling for a No vote in the Quebec sovereignty referendum. Their only member in Quebec quit in protest, denouncing what he called the IBT's "de facto bloc with the Canadian bourgeoisie"!

A forthright stand against anti-Quebec chauvinism is *crucial* to breaking the working class from illusions in their "own" capitalist rulers. The rulers in Ottawa, assisted by the central union bureaucracy and especially the NDP, use this chauvinism to imbue the working class with pro-Canada patriotism and undermine unity in struggle between the workers of English Canada and Quebec. In turn, this has helped drive the once-militant Québécois proletariat ever deeper into the arms of its "own" bourgeois nationalist exploiters of the Parti Québécois. As a result, the working class is sharply divided on national lines. We Trotskyists advocate independence for Quebec in order to get the national question off the agenda and clear the way for united struggle by the working class against capitalism.

Preposterously, the IBT cites the anti-FTAA protests as proof that the proletariat is in fact united across national lines, writing that "tens of thousands of Québécois and anglophones were able to join together in common struggle against the cops and the corporations." In fact, the vast majority of demonstrators, including the overwhelming majority of trade unionists, were marched off on a 50,000-strong national-reformist (i.e., pro-capitalist) parade against "free trade." Far from being united class struggle "against the cops and corporations," this march was at bottom in *support* of Canadian imperialist "democracy." Moreover, it provided an illustration of the national divide among the proletariat, as different contingents carried Maple Leaf flags and *fleur-de-lysées*, while both the chauvinist NDP and the nationalist PQ fielded substantial contingents.

### For a Revolutionary Party! For Socialist Revolution!

In counterposition to the national-reformist parade organized by the union tops, thousands of Québécois and anglophone youth did stand together against the cops in a series of protests near the wall. Many of these youth were seeking a road to do away with the repressive capitalist system here in Canada and abroad. But anarchism is incapable of leading a successful struggle to break the working class from its chauvinist and nationalist misleaders and weld it into a force which can overthrow the capitalists and their state. And there is no other force which can lead a successful anti-capitalist, socialist revolution than the working class, whose potential power flows from its central role in social production. The crucial need is for a Bolshevik-style vanguard party, like the one that led the Russian Revolution of 1917, to make the proletariat conscious of its revolutionary role.

Throughout the weekend of protests in Quebec City, we raised the crucial programmatic issues facing youth and workers who seek a way forward against capitalism. Bilingual TL placards called for independence for Quebec plus, in English, "Down with Anglo Chauvinism!" and, in French, "No to Bourgeois Nationalism!" We called to defend the gains of working people in countries where capitalism has been overthrown, notably Cuba and China. We denounced Canadian nationalism in all its forms. As our placards said, we fight for socialist revolution throughout the Americas and for the reforging of Leon Trotsky's Fourth International as the necessary instrument to lead the workers in the overthrow of capitalism. To those youth now entering into political consciousness and struggle who seek not to prettify the capitalist system of exploitation, oppression and war but to find a road to sweep it away once and for all, we say: join us! ■

# Defend Arrested FTAA Protesters!

*We print below a Partisan Defense Committee protest letter sent to prime minister Jean Chrétien and Quebec premier Bernard Landry on April 23. In addition to the more than 450 demonstrators arrested during the Quebec City protests, five members of the Montreal-based "Germinal" group were rounded up several days before the summit amid lurid press headlines about armed "terrorists." These young activists, whose group was infiltrated by a police provocateur more than a year before the protests, face serious charges of conspiracy, theft of military equipment and possession of explosives. Defend the Germinal Five and all arrested Quebec City protesters!*

\* \* \*

The Partisan Defense Committee—the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)—denounces in the strongest terms the brutal police violence orchestrated and unleashed by your governments against protesters at the Quebec City Summit of the Americas on April 20-22. We protest the arrest and detention of more than 400 protesters, including of CLAC spokesman Jaggi Singh, seized by disguised and unidentified officers and thrown into an unmarked van. We demand the immediate release of Singh and all the hundreds arrested. Drop all the charges!

Protesters have reported extreme police brutality both at and well away from the "security wall" which encompassed much of Old Quebec. One protester is in critical condition in hospital after being shot in the throat with a plastic bullet. Another suffered eye injuries after being struck in the face by shrapnel from an exploding tear gas canister. Riot police tear gassed and shut down a medical center, forcing everyone out at gunpoint and stripping them of their medical supplies. Many of those held in Orsainville prison report being denied contact with lawyers.

The massive police onslaught in Quebec City has ripped away capitalist Canada's mask of "tolerance" to reveal the naked dictatorship of the bourgeois ruling class. It has shown how the capitalist state is not neutral, but is the armed and dangerous defender of bourgeois property and order. If the scales fell from the eyes of many protesters with illusions in "Canadian democracy" this weekend, that is all to the good.

In what does your democracy consist? Lethal force, in the form of plastic bullets! Tear gas canisters fired into medical aid stations! Water cannon, bloody beatings, arbitrary arrests. All this to protect your discussions toward a Free Trade Area of the Americas, i.e. the "free trade" rape of workers and the poor throughout Latin America by U.S. imperialism and its Canadian junior partner. This is the "freedom" you and your bourgeois friends hold out to the working masses of Cuba—excluded from the summit because uniquely in this hemisphere it threw off the imperialist yoke through social revolution. We will continue to oppose all your efforts to destroy the gains of the Cuban, Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions through bloody capitalist counterrevolution.

The repressive onslaught in Quebec City is unequalled in



Villeneuve/Le Soleil

**Over 450 people were arrested during Quebec City protests. Police brutality was rampant.**

this country since the armed occupation of Montreal by Canadian troops in October 1970, which was aimed at quelling widespread struggles for national and social liberation in Quebec. Today, we note the natural solidarity between the Anglo-chauvinist Canadian government and the sovereignist Parti Québécois when faced with a challenge to bourgeois order and property. For too long have the struggles of the working people of English Canada and the oppressed nation of Quebec been crippled by the reactionary logic of Anglo chauvinism and the Québécois nationalism which it has fueled. The brutal state attacks on workers and youth this weekend show concretely the need for the working people to break from their "own" bourgeois rulers and enter on the road of internationalist class struggle. For our part, we advocate Quebec independence so that the workers in both nations can come to see you, the capitalist rulers, as the enemy, and not one another.

Once again, we demand the immediate release of all protesters and the dropping of all charges against them. In the proletarian internationalist tradition that "an injury to one is an injury to all," we will help to publicize these atrocities to the working classes throughout the Americas and beyond. ■

The PDC has made a donation to the legal defense fund for those arrested in Quebec City, and we urge our readers to do the same. Make checks payable to CASA, earmarked "fonds de défense," and mail to: Le Maquis, C.P. 48026, 110 boul. René-Lévesque, Québec QC, G1R 2R5.

## FTAA...

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overrule our democratic power, and will eliminate many of the things that make this country one of the best places to live in the world." As we remarked in *Spartacist Canada*, tell that to Native people or refugees! The implications of such politics are to amnesty the crimes of the brutal ruling classes of the imperialist countries and to cover up or even push for increased imperialist forays worldwide.

There was a vast range of political opinion present at the protests, and our front-page headline in *Spartacist Canada*, "The Main Enemy is the Capitalist Class at Home!", was therefore quite polarizing. It raises the need to fight to bring the social power of the working class to bear against the imperialist rulers, in the struggle for state power, as the only way to end the depredations of capitalism.

Many youth we spoke to thought of themselves as being pro-working class, but they also argued that whatever the leadership of the demonstrations, the fact that so many people were out was enough, that just building a large protest was in itself a progressive act. The next argument would often be that the best way to effect change within society is to "work within the community." These politics reflect a kind of bewilderment about political reality, which was expressed in several comments that protesters made to me that "this kind" of capitalism is bad and harmful, but that there's no realistic way to reorganize society, so we should just look to change people's minds about things little by little and as long as enough people voice "opposition" to the decisions of the leaders, things will change.

A youth I spoke with at Laval University on Saturday night, where many of the protesters were staying, said that he perfectly well understood that globalization is just an expression of capitalism, and that what's needed is socialist revolution, but that more immediately the "movement" must do community outreach. He cited the example that people who live in Old Quebec had been taking protesters who were suffering from exposure to the tear gas into their homes, and he argued that the next thing should be to go back to the community rather than continue "summit-hopping." Even the left wing of the protest had a profoundly idealistic view of politics—that is, that social change is simply a matter of changing pervasive social attitudes. The ideas in people's heads are those inculcated by the ruling class through various means—i.e., the family, schools, religion—in order to preserve their class rule. Racial and sexual oppression and oppression of the working people of the world are not a matter of bad ideas; they are materially rooted in a *system* that is based on exploitation and oppression. Our goal is to change that material reality.

### Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

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The left anarchists like CLAC oppose the vicious protectionism pushed by the labor bureaucracy, yet they hark back to the "battle of Seattle," the protests against the WTO in 1999, as the spirit of leftist radicalism that must be recaptured. The main demand of that protest was that Clinton's Democratic Party administration pressure the WTO into adopting and enforcing an international code of labor and environmental standards. In other words, the U.S. should use the threat of putting up tariffs to dictate the economic policies of neocolonial countries like Mexico and Indonesia. The Seattle mobilization was politically dominated by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which staged an orgy of anti-Communist China-bashing. They denounced "slave labor" in China and symbolically dumped a load of Chinese steel in the harbor. This racist protectionism would hardly look like a demonstration of leftist radicalism to Chinese steel workers, for example.

On Friday we went to the Carnival Against Capitalism organized by CLAC. This began with a rally at Laval University, which is west of Old Quebec where the Summit of the Americas was held. Several hours before the march was to take off, there were thousands of youth milling around. The event was targeted towards the more left-leaning part of the overall crowd, but the politics were all over the map. So one banner read, "FTAA 'Democracy' Clause—Trojan Horse for Imperialism" while another read "Canada 1867-2005—It Was Fun," referring to the founding of the country and the proposed date of implementation of the FTAA—i.e., patriotic defense of the country.

The Carnival began with a march of about 5,000 youth. There was immediately a split in the demo between pacifist types of a group called GOMM, or Group Against Market Globalization, and CLAC. A few months ago, CLAC walked out of a joint coalition with the likes of GOMM because the latter insisted they renounce all "violence." This march made clear who has the upper hand: the split went four to one in CLAC's favor and about 4,000 proceeded on a five-kilometer march along rue René-Lévesque toward the infamous cop barricade. Several blocks before the wall, CLAC called on all those who did not want to risk arrest to veer to the left to go to a safer area. Fewer than a dozen went.

By this point it was impossible to tell how big the demo was, as it spread out into side streets. There were several thousand youth milling up and down rue St-Jean, a classic Quebec City street winding down a small incline, narrow and cobblestoned. We spent a few hours selling papers hand over fist and left after a large part of the youth dispersed when the area was attacked with tear gas. This was after some protesters breached the fence for the first time (it was breached twice on Saturday). Then the riot police went into a frenzy. By the end of the day, they had used their entire stock of tear gas and had to ask the Ontario police for more. Early on, cops disguised as protesters had arrested Jaggi Singh.

When we asked youth what they thought of the politics of the demo, most would start describing the debate about tactics, counterposing confrontations with the cops to lobbying bourgeois politicians. But at bottom, without challenging the rule of these politicians, these confrontations are simply the streetfighting face of reformism. As we emphasized in our statement in defense of the arrested protesters, the perpetrator of violence last weekend was the capitalist state. Of course the mainstream media was on overdrive in the lead-up to the

protests, demonizing anarchists and other demonstrators as "violent." And revoltingly, they were echoed by some protest organizers and even "leftists." For example, Socialist Action raved in its Canadian press about the "hooliganism of a few adventurists" and did not call to defend the youth against the capitalist state!

Also on Friday were sessions of the People's Summit. This was organized by the union tops and social democrats who wouldn't go anywhere near the Carnival Against Capitalism. The Summit's Friday teach-in was the biggest advertised event, so it drew some leftist students and young workers. The chair of the event was Naomi Klein, prominent anti-globalization spokesman known for her book *No Logo*. This was largely a mainstream crowd, far to the right of the anarchoid youth gathered elsewhere.

### Labor Tops Push National Chauvinism

On Saturday, the same groups behind the People's Summit organized the main legal demonstration, the March of the Americas. Around 50,000 people showed up, including busloads of unionists from all over Quebec and English Canada. There was a real desire among the base of the trade unions to go to the wall to back up the youth who were rallying there. Leaders of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) put out a statement announcing that they would do so, and CUPE leader Sid Ryan briefly did lead a contingent up the hill away from the main march, but came back saying the tear gas was too intense. The left-posturing Canadian Auto Workers union tops acknowledged pressure from the base and also demanded that the march route be changed. But this got shot down and the demo snaked through deserted side streets in exactly the opposite direction from where thousands of youth were facing down near-continuous volleys of tear gas.

It was obvious that there was nothing the Canadian Labour Congress and its Quebec affiliate, the FTQ, feared more that morning than 50,000 workers marching up the hill to join the young protesters. When CLAC's Anti-Capitalist Contingent of several hundred tried to enter the march, they were blocked by a squad of FTQ goons. CLAC was eventually allowed in at the tail end. Then when the tear gas attacks at the wall became so intense that clouds of it could be seen rising from the cliffs of the Old City and just being downwind of it was extremely painful, several thousand people started splitting off to join the other protesters in solidarity. The FTQ marshals tried, not always successfully, to restrain them physically. Protesters denounced the FTQ for "being in the pocket of the government." It was almost eerie, but the cops were nowhere in evidence on this march, as they allowed the union bureaucracy to do the job for them.

Here was a concrete example of the labor bureaucracy as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. In his 1916 book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin explained the material basis for the role of the labor bureaucracy:

"The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie



Laroche/Le Soleil

**FTQ union marshals at March of the Americas attempted to enforce division between official march and Anti-Capitalist Contingent.**

of a given industry or a given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this urge. And so there is created a bond between imperialism and opportunism."

Lenin described how Cecil Rhodes, infamous millionaire proponent of British imperialism, stated frankly in 1895 after observing a meeting in London's East End of disgruntled, hungry workers: "If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists."

The bureaucracy is part of a privileged sector of the working class bought off by the profits extracted from imperialist exploitation of the rest of the world, and it ropes the workers into defense of the national interests of their "own" bourgeoisie. Lenin described how the labor bureaucracy plays a key role in maintaining the imperialist system of oppression and exploitation.

So when the trade-union bureaucrats speak against "globalization," they are talking about global corporations supposedly usurping control from national states. This is in line with their essentially nationalist program, which serves their role of policing the labor movement on behalf of the national interests of their "own" ruling class. It is spelled out in their protectionist calls. In the lead-up to the Quebec protests, Canadian Auto Workers president Buzz Hargrove was campaigning to "save jobs" by offering up his members as a low-wage alternative to foreign labor. In the U.S., this finds expression in anti-Mexican racism. So it was an encouraging sign that at a sympathy demonstration with the Quebec City protests at the British Columbia-Washington border, demonstrators had ripped up some of the printed signs that the U.S. Teamsters bureaucracy had mass-produced saying, "Mexican Truckers Off Our Roads." One of the signs was marked up, with the word "racist" and swastikas written on it.

Nationalism is poison to the workers movement because it sets workers of one country against workers of another country and obscures the reality that the main enemy is the capitalist rulers at home, not other workers. The labor

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## FTAA...

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bureaucrats cultivate this poisonous attitude among workers. The Quebec demo featured stickers like "The FTAA is Treason to Canada." Another example is their support of the war against Serbia in the name of "human rights" or their raving against "cheap labor" in China, which is designed to further the imperialist-backed drive for capitalist counterrevolution to open China—a deformed workers state—to total, uncontrolled imperialist plunder.

In Canada, the role of nationalism and chauvinism in poisoning the consciousness of the working class and serving as a barrier to united class struggle is vivid. Quebec, a separate nation, has been forcibly subjugated by the English Canadian ruling class since before the time of the 1867 confederation. Anglo-chauvinist reaction has always been a cornerstone of Canadian capitalism, and it has sharply divided the working class along national lines. The English Canadian rulers consciously use national chauvinism to undermine proletarian unity. Serving the capitalists in this regard is the English Canadian labor tops' hostility to tumultuous class battles in Quebec, like the 1972 General Strike there, which they opposed. This served to drive the very combative Quebec working class increasingly into support for bourgeois nationalism, which is particularly fostered by the Quebec labor bureaucrats.

There was also a contingent of the Parti Québécois, which rules Quebec and whose government was meting out the repression only a few blocks away. This did not go unnoticed; protesters in the CLAC contingent chanted, "Parti Québécois, parti bourgeois!" Many of the Québécois youth we spoke with were militantly anti-nationalist. Seeing that it was the nationalist Parti Québécois government that was unleashing the cops, and more generally oppressing minorities, youth and workers, they would sharply disagree with our call for Quebec independence. But some would agree once we motivated it, explaining that this was a way to really fight Anglo-chauvinism and nationalism among the working class, allowing the workers of both nations to see that their real enemy is their own bourgeois rulers and getting

the national question off the agenda. For both English-speaking and Québécois youth, it was a new thing to consider a perspective of splitting the working class from its chauvinist leadership to forge proletarian class unity and a revolutionary course.

## Defend Cuba, China!

The one country in this hemisphere that was not invited to the Summit of the Americas was Cuba, where the oppressive rule of capitalism and imperialism was smashed through a social revolution. The Cuban Revolution has survived decades of CIA plots, American blockade and imperialist economic penetration, including from Canada. Even though the Cuban workers state was deformed from the outset by the rule of the nationalist Castro bureaucracy, the smashing of capitalist class rule has enabled the Cuban masses to make tremendous gains in health care, education and general social equality. The restoration of capitalism would bring untold misery to the people of Cuba and would further embolden U.S. and Canadian imperialism in exploiting the peoples of Latin America, more than any "free trade" agreement could ever do.

Our defense of the gains of the Cuban Revolution was met with sympathy by youth at the anti-FTAA protests. However, this did not come from a clear recognition of the gains of that revolution, but more from a romantic identification with guerrilla struggle and Che Guevara, or simply from seeing Cuba as a little country oppressed by the United States. So while most youth were sympathetic to defense of Cuba, when it came to China many said they had no opinion, and some said they wouldn't defend China from imperialist attack. Yet there was a revolution in China, too, which in 1949 ripped that country out of the system of imperialist exploitation. One of the central demands of the trade-union bureaucracy here in the U.S. has been to oppose China's entry into the WTO. For our part, we oppose the entry of the WTO into China, i.e., further economic penetration by the imperialist powers, which is already undermining the gains of that revolution.

Despite their Stalinist leadership, we unconditionally militarily defend these states, as well as North Korea and Viet-

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Trotskyist League literature table in Quebec City.

nam, from attacks by the capitalist states or internal counterrevolutionary forces. But we also fight for what Trotsky called proletarian political revolution, which is the struggle to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with a genuinely communist leadership. Trotsky made a comparison between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the trade-union bureaucracy. As he noted, despite such a bureaucracy in the unions, workers should still defend them as their basic organization for self-defense against the capitalists. Likewise, workers must defend those states where capitalism has been overthrown. At the same time, just as workers must fight to replace the trade-union bureaucrats with leaders who represent their genuine interests, the workers in Cuba, China and the other deformed workers states must struggle to overthrow the sellout Stalinist bureaucracies.

There was a story in the *Globe and Mail* on April 20 about miserable young anti-globalization protesters whose bus driver kept stopping at McDonald's restaurants on the way to Quebec City from Toronto, leaving them morally bound to be hungry, though some caved in by the end. Internationally, McDonald's is seen as a symbol of U.S. imperialism. In France, José Bové, who was also prominent at the anti-FTAA protests, leads masses in protest against McDonald's. Leaving aside the idiotic idea that imperialism is a matter of loyalty to your country's cuisine, these kinds of protests are an expression of national chauvinism which poisons class consciousness and international workers' solidarity. Our interest is organizing the underpaid workforces in these fast-food chains to fight for decent wages and conditions, whatever their national ownership.

And we don't go in for corporate boycotting, because it simply posits that one corporation is more benevolent than another, essentially arguing therefore that capitalism can be made into a humane system. Boycott campaigns against goods manufactured in sweatshops have been popular on college campuses. The reality is that the horrific conditions of sweatshop labor are a condition of capitalism, and that the imperialist drive for more and cheaper markets necessarily entails just such suffering around the world. But such an anti-corporate attitude was sometimes what youth meant when they said they were "against capitalism."

### What is "Globalization"?

It is true that there has been a change in the world economy over the past decade. This has largely to do with the opportunities the U.S. saw for greater global dominance once Gorbachev led the retreat of Soviet power in the late 1980s, beginning with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, where they had been engaged in a civil war with CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists. We hailed the intervention of the Red Army in Afghanistan, not least because it was an action in defense of the Soviet Union itself against imperialist encirclement and attack. The Soviet Union was a workers state. Although bureaucratically deformed under the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, it was based on socialized property forms as against the capitalist system which is based on private property and production for profit rather than use. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92 was a tremendous defeat for the international working class, and it put the wind



P. Glaser

**Unemployed and homeless at soup kitchen in Berlin. Capitalist counterrevolution brought misery to working people of East Europe.**

in the sails of the imperialists.

In the face of the countervailing military might of the Soviet Union, the imperialists were always uncertain whether a popular revolt or even sometimes an election might result in a Soviet-backed left-nationalist regime. Now the imperialists are more confident. For example, a massive investment boom by U.S. banks and corporations not accidentally coincided with the toppling of the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua in 1990. Today the bourgeoisie is quite excited about its designs in the area; I just got a piece of junk mail addressed to "Resident Investor" assuring the recipient that Latin America's "relatively low-cost labor force" and increased "political stability" make it a good place to put money these days.

Fundamentally, the idea that the capitalist market economy is "global" and that banks and corporations seek out those low-wage countries where they can get the highest return on their investments is not new, nor is the fact that the internationalization of finance capital is a dominant feature of the profit system. It was first laid out by Lenin in 1916 in *Imperialism*. A large part of Lenin's book was a polemic to counter the arguments of Karl Kautsky, a German Social Democrat who early in the 1900s argued that the competing interests of the huge capitalist monopolies could be resolved through peaceful agreements rather than through wars, denying that the workings of the capitalist economic system necessarily lead to inter-imperialist war. This was essentially an alibi for leftists supporting their own national bourgeoisies. In 1914, the German Social Democrats voted financial support to the war efforts of the German imperialist rulers.

Lenin countered this theory in *Imperialism* by documenting how worldwide competition between these trusts and cartels led to the division of the world by the imperialist states in order to achieve domination over markets and spheres of exploitation. To quote from Lenin: "Salvation lies in monopolies, said the capitalists as they formed cartels, syndicates and trusts. Salvation lies in monopolies, echoed the political leaders of the bourgeoisie, hastening to appropriate the parts of the world not yet shared out."

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## FTAA...

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I want to underline that imperialism arose as a system, part of the development of capitalism. From a system of small producers, within national boundaries, the development of an industrial capitalist economy both allowed and required the individual nation-state to look beyond its national borders for markets. By the beginning of the 20th century, the dominant capitalist countries had begun to export significant portions of the finance capital they had accrued rather than glut the domestic market. Cheap raw materials, cheap labor and cheap land made investment in backward countries a potentially profitable venture. Thus competition exploded between the imperialist powers for the division of the world.

The capitalists protect their investments abroad with military force, but because the world has already been thoroughly carved up, interimperialist rivalries are an inevitable condition of this worldwide mode of production. And so by the beginning of the 20th century, the major capitalist countries had achieved such dominance over more backward regions that they were able to prevent the development of new rival imperialist powers, thus creating the present-day division between the so-called First and Third World, or what is now called the "Global South."

### Capitalism Is Not Reformable!

Anti-globalization protesters should consider this historical development and the fact that because imperialism is a system, a mode of production rather than a series of governmental policies, it is irreformable. Capitalist imperialism must be overthrown by the working class, but meanwhile it continues to create famines and wars. The battle for markets and spheres of exploitation was the cause of World War I and World War II, and will be the cause of a third if it is not smashed by workers revolution.

Intrinsically the mainstream organizers of the anti-globalization protests serve to draw youth who have a gut hatred of the inequality of the world into the idea that the imperialist powers can be pressured, that they can act in the interest of the oppressed masses. Much of the anti-FTAA protest in Quebec was in defense of Canadian "democracy," targeting U.S. imperialism as the main enemy—this included signs saying "Yankees Go Home." This is the logic of the anti-globalization movement, which posits that the central evil of transnational corporations is to undermine "national sovereignty"—in other words, to undermine the interests of their own capitalist rulers. In the U.S., the central leaders of the anti-globalization protests define their goals as pressuring U.S. imperialism to be the benefactor of the oppressed of the world. For example, at a teach-in on the anti-FTAA protest I went to in New York a couple of months ago, the maximum program of the major speaker was to write letters to your congressman. This was a meeting run by the Green Party and the reformist socialist group the International Socialist Organization, and it is a testament to just how craven they are that they did not speak against such thoroughly pro-capitalist politics.

As a comrade said in a forum on imperialism and the way the U.S. postures as defenders of human rights, during the Vietnam antiwar movement one never had to argue that American imperialism is the main enemy of the world's peo-

ples. This was accepted as a truism by youthful radicals who were propelled into protest by U.S. imperialism's dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants and also by the massive civil rights protests for black rights.

An example of the ways illusions in imperialism are pushed internationally in this "movement" can be found in a look at the official call for a "global day of action" in Prague for the protests against the World Bank and IMF last September, which proclaimed outrage on behalf of the world's oppressed but failed to mention, among other things, the economic, social and ecological devastation wreaked on the Balkans by the war the year before. Why? Because many of those same leftists supported the imperialist war against Serbia in the name of "humanitarian" concern for the Kosovar Albanians. We were for the defeat of our own ruling class in that war and worked to expose the "human rights" pretensions that the U.S. donned in order to gain popular support for their military destruction of Serbia. The imperialists' hypocrisy in that conflict is laid bare now as they denounce as terrorists the Albanian KLA, which during the war against Serbia operated as the pawns of NATO imperialism.

The fake lefts' and rad-libs' embrace of their own imperialist rulers was expressed in their support for the imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary forces aimed at the destruction of the USSR and the East European deformed workers states a decade ago. In this case, too, they embraced the imperialist bourgeoisie as a force for democracy and human rights. We fought for the unconditional military defense of these states, which embodied real gains for the working class despite the Stalinist bureaucracies. A simple empirical demonstration of this can be seen in the social devastation caused by the counterrevolutions—this includes the dramatic plunge in life expectancy, the 20-fold increase in the poverty rate and the gutting of women's right to abortion in those countries. In a statement put out by the ICL for the Prague protests, we pointed out that the IMF and World Bank wouldn't even have been meeting in Prague if it weren't for the capitalist counterrevolution, a fact which gave pause to young Czech leftists politicized by the depredations of capitalism who were startled to discover that the supposedly revolutionary parties they joined had supported the counterrevolutions a decade ago.

### The Fight Against Black Oppression

I have motivated the point that you don't have to be against capitalism to be against "globalization," and that's why you have everything from anti-Mexican, anti-Chinese, pro-capitalist labor leaders to leftist youth with a desire for social change involved with the anti-globalization protests. However, the fact that this "movement" cannot address social questions within the U.S. is its greatest condemnation. It has been noted in the *Village Voice* and *ColorLines*, as well as in activist chat rooms including after Quebec, that this "movement" is overwhelmingly white. Many of the more leftist youth who have come to these protests are upset about this. But to place the blame for oppression simply on transnational corporations and thereby amnesty the very vicious U.S. imperialist state must seem surreal to black youth who face cop terror every day. And these youth are not likely to go in for "direct action," when they know what awaits them at the hands of the cops.

Some organizers of the protests blatantly argue that the fight for black rights or against the oppression of women or



Novosti

May Day in Petrograd, 1917. Russian Revolution led by Lenin's Bolshevik Party smashed capitalism, brought workers to power.

immigrants or gays is "divisive." Grotesquely calling the fight for these rights "identity politics," they argue that these have been subsumed by struggle against the global economy. In reality, this is just a justification for their own view of the benevolence of the capitalist state. And in fact, as seen in the Nader campaign, it can be a conscious choice to not deal with black oppression and to appeal to people who are not anti-racist.

### "Unity" vs. Program

Today the battle cry of the rad-libs and the left is to "fight the right," which is a longtime codeword for supporting the Democrats. But almost every major war fought by the U.S. in the 20th century was fought under, or at least begun under, a liberal Democratic president, not a right-wing Republican one: World War I under Woodrow Wilson, World War II under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Korean War under Harry Truman and the Vietnam War under John F. Kennedy. All of these wars were fought in the name of liberal principles; World War I was supposed to be "the war to make the world safe for democracy," World War II was billed as a war against fascism, the Korean and Vietnam Wars were fought in the name of defending the "free world."

Today's youth came to political consciousness after the fall of the USSR, when the bourgeoisie has been loudly declaring communism to be "a failed experiment." We have grown up with images designed to portray U.S. imperialism as liberating people all over the world. The big one that most youth would remember was the Persian Gulf War in 1991, where terror bombing of civilians was carefully orchestrated by the war machine to appear like a bloodless video game—at all costs avoiding the effect of the images that came out of the Vietnam War. In fact, those photographs that did document some of the horrors were suppressed, the imagery surfacing only years later. This was followed by the occupation of Somalia in 1992, supposedly to relieve the famine raging there but in fact to set up a near-colonial military occupation. Then came the 1995 war in the Balkans, the war in

Kosovo supposedly in defense of the Kosovar Albanians in 1999, the continued bombings and UN starvation sanctions against Iraq.

The left has actually abetted the imperialist rulers in this grotesque manipulation, as I indicated earlier with reference to the war against Serbia. So it's not surprising that youth just becoming political will think along the lines of the dominant ideology, and that their expressions of outrage will be framed within what they think is possible, namely, to build an inclusive movement whose main intent is to pressure the rulers.

But just looking at the enormity of the suffering around the world under imperialism serves to explode these illusions. 2.8 billion people—nearly half of the world's population—live on less than \$2 a day. And 1.2 billion of these live on less than \$1 a day. Of course, this is not limited to other countries; in New York City alone, over 34 percent of the city's children live under the poverty line. The numbers of those living in desperate poverty has risen steadily since the late '80s in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America; in the countries of East Europe and Central Asia following capitalist counter-revolutions, the number of people living in poverty has

risen **20 times**. More than one billion people drink unsafe water and 2.4 billion, or 40 percent of the human race, are without adequate sanitation.

Youth are being propelled into struggle to fight against the very real depredations that define the lives of millions around the world. And a section rejects the abject reformism of the left that pushes the lie that the Democrats are some kind of alternative. This is the oldest shell game of politics in the United States. The Democrats—often the preferred tool of the capitalist rulers because they posture as the friends of labor and blacks—are the velvet glove on the fist of the bourgeoisie.

It's not surprising that the most left-wing youth in the anti-FTAA protests identify with anarchism, given the ideological campaign by the world's imperialist rulers to assert that communism was a failed experiment. For those who genuinely seek the overthrow of bourgeois rule, anarchism's appeal is a healthy rejection of the reformism of the rest of the left. Lenin himself was denounced as an anarchist when he called for a workers revolution in Russia in 1917. As he put it in his book *The State and Revolution*: "The opportunists of modern Social-Democracy accepted the bourgeois political forms of a parliamentary, democratic state as the limit which cannot be overstepped; they broke their foreheads praying before this idol denouncing as Anarchism every attempt to **destroy** these forms."

Our aim is a revolutionary leadership, whose cadre must be tested in the class struggle. The way forward is for the presently small forces adhering to the program of Lenin and Trotsky to forge parties with the experience, revolutionary will and authority among the masses to lead successful proletarian revolutions. We have no illusions that this will be an easy road, and we recognize that the possession of the technology of nuclear holocaust by an irrational and genocidal ruling class means we don't have a lot of time. The SYCs are training grounds to educate and prepare a new generation of youth for the fight to overthrow the imperialist rulers and bring the workers to state power. ■

## China...

(continued from page 16)

work—is to carry off a successful nuclear *first strike*.

New Pentagon war plans to be completed this summer, according to a report at an April meeting of the Union of Concerned Scientists, *target hundreds of sites in China for nuclear attack*. And the *Washington Post* (27 April) reports: "Despite the facade of ambiguity, the U.S. military already has detailed plans for the defense of Taiwan. They are one of only two sets of war plans on the shelves of the U.S. Pacific Command; the other is for the defense of South Korea."

The Reaganite Cold Warriors around Bush have made clear that they are abandoning former president Clinton's rhetoric of "strategic partnership" and now deem China a "strategic competitor." Significant sections of corporate North America are concerned that the administration's more bellicose line will cause the Beijing regime to slow down the pace of pro-capitalist "market reforms" and interfere with existing and future investment in China. But all wings of the American and Canadian capitalist classes are united around the strategic goal of smashing the 1949 Chinese Revolution and reconquering China and its vast population for direct imperialist exploitation.

With ever greater urgency, this poses the Trotskyist call for unconditional military defense of China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, against imperialist attack and against the forces of internal capitalist counterrevolution. Defense of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution is integral to the task of mobilizing the proletariat for a socialist revolution to sweep away the North American capitalist order, the only road to disarming the nuclear madmen in Washington.

### China in the Cross Hairs

Though deformed from inception by the rule of a parasitic, nationalist bureaucratic caste, the 1949 Revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and People's Liberation Army (PLA) overthrew capitalist property relations and the yoke of imperialist subjugation, constructing a planned, collectivized economy which meant enormous

social progress for the worker and peasant masses and especially for women. Imperialist policy toward China has gone through very different phases since 1949. In the 1950-53 Korean War, U.S. imperialism, fully backed by Canada, engaged in an all-out shooting war against Chinese and North Korean forces. In the 1970s and '80s, Washington entered into a strategic alliance with Beijing against the Soviet Union, the military and industrial powerhouse of the degenerated and deformed workers states and thus the chief obstacle to U.S. imperialist ambitions.

When the Soviet Union was destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the U.S. bourgeoisie expected that China would soon fall into its lap. America's rulers even hoped that capitalism would be restored without a major political upheaval, projecting that "reform-minded" elements of the Beijing regime would simply privatize or liquidate state-owned industry and integrate China into the world capitalist market. But developments have not exactly gone according to these projections. "Market reforms," especially the closure and privatization of state-owned enterprises, have produced massive working-class resistance. As strikes and other protests against layoffs and corruption multiply, the deepening of market measures is constrained by the regime's fear of another 1989 Tiananmen upheaval, when the entry of the working class into student protests posed the overthrow of the venal bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution.

At the same time, fear of an increasingly aggressive American imperialism has caused Beijing to beef up its military capacity. And Washington's provocations have generated widespread opposition to U.S. imperialism. When the U.S. spy plane landed on Hainan, university students there daubed a wall with the slogan: "Wipe Out Our National Humiliation, Severely Punish the American Military."

America's rulers are frustrated and angry that "Communist China" has turned out to be a tougher nut to crack than they thought. The conservative and hardheaded London *Economist* (28 April) commented: "Talk of a new 'cold war' between China and America is starting to sound like an understatement." It is not only China but Washington's European and Japanese imperialist "allies" who are worried about the U.S. waving its nuclear big stick against Beijing. Japan and the European powers pursue their own interests in China, and these conflicting interests would vastly intensify in a scramble over the spoils of capitalist counterrevolution. More generally, America's imperialist rivals are concerned that the U.S. is becoming increasingly brazen in asserting its self-declared role as the "world's only superpower." The leading German weekly *Der Spiegel* now talks of "the snarling, ugly Americans." What we can do to China, Bush is in effect saying to them, we can also do to you.

In an article headlined "Colliding Interests," the London *Financial Times* (27 April) noted, "The collapse of the Soviet Union has destroyed the overwhelming rationale binding the US and Japan so closely together and perhaps created an opportunity for China to play on their differences." "There is a newly nationalist mood in Japan," says one diplomat quoted in the article. Japanese imperialism is increasingly assertive of its own regional interests. Epitomizing this shift is Japan's new prime minister, Junichiro Koizumi, who is simultaneously pushing massive austerity attacks and layoffs to revitalize the Japanese economy and a heightened military posture abroad. Immediately after taking

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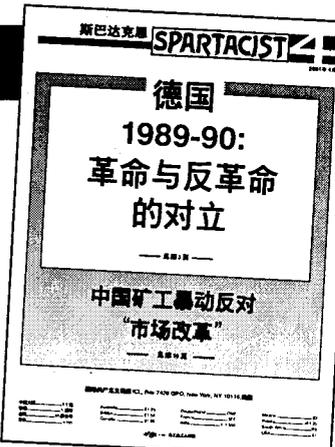
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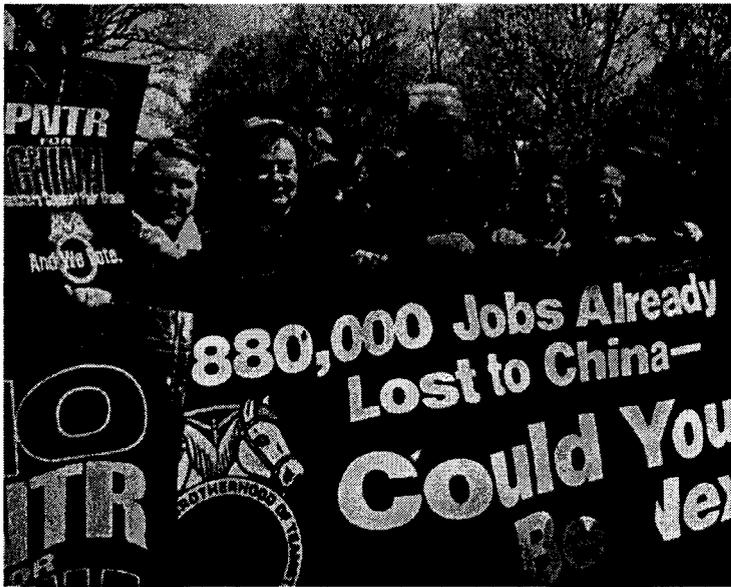
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Teamsters president Hoffa (left) pushes protectionist, anti-Communist China-bashing at April 2000 rally in Washington.

office, Koizumi declared that the constitution should be revised to unshackle the "Self-Defense Forces." As the *Financial Times* reported: "For the first time since the second world war, this would authorise the Japanese military to wage offensive operations—reviving fears among Japan's neighbours about the nation's militaristic history."

Germany, which manufactures some of the parts for the diesel submarines being sold to Taiwan, announced that it would not supply these parts for the U.S. arms package. France and several other European states joined with China, Cuba and other countries in voting the U.S. off the United Nations Commission on Human Rights for the first time in the UN's history. Citing Washington's longstanding use of "human rights" as a club against China, the *Xinhua* (4 May) news service noted, "The human rights issue is actually only a 'big stick' for the U.S. to use on other countries for its own hegemonic purposes."

### "Left" Joins Anti-China Crusade

It is in the direct and immediate interest of working people to defend the Chinese deformed workers state against the American capitalist rulers. Just as happened in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, capitalist restoration in China would embolden the U.S. bourgeoisie, and the imperialists internationally, to ratchet up their assault on the working class and minorities at home. Our aim is to forge a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the proletariat to power. This perspective is anathema to the reformist and centrist pretenders to socialism in the U.S. and internationally, who ever more openly bow to the dictates of their respective bourgeoisies. These groups moved sharply to the right in the tow of the war drive against the Soviet Union in the 1980s and the subsequent imperialist ideological offensive over the "death of communism."

The hallmark of overt social democrats has always been anti-Communist hostility toward China and the Soviet Union, when it existed. For instance, the International Socialist Tendency (IST)—which includes the Canadian International Socialists (I.S.)—supported every imperialist-backed reactionary force against the Soviet degenerated

workers state, from Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan to clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarność and Russia's Boris Yeltsin. Today the U.S. International Socialist Organization (ISO), part of the IST until its recent split, evenhandedly denounces the "more aggressive posture of each side," writing: "The U.S. and China are competing for influence in Asia" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], 27 April). A previous article titled "Washington's China Bashing" (13 April) seemingly tilted toward China, but in fact it was nothing more than the ISO's usual "tilt" toward the imperialist Democratic Party:

"In recent years, U.S. policy towards China has balanced uneasily between seeing the country as a huge trade and investment opportunity on the one hand, and as a military threat on the other.

"Under George W. Bush, whose administration is stuffed full of former Cold Warriors, there's been a sharp shift to the hawk end of the spectrum."

The get-tougher line toward China is not simply a result of the Republican right having taken over the White House. Liberal Democrats and the pro-Democratic Party AFL-CIO union bureaucracy have repeatedly blocked with the Republican right in bashing China, with the former railing against "slave labor" and the latter fulminating against "persecution" of Christian sects. There has indeed been a shift under Bush, but it was prepared under Democratic president Clinton. While the Clinton administration avidly pursued "constructive engagement," U.S. capital investment in China and U.S. nuclear-armed warships in the South China Sea serve the *same purpose*: to recapture the country for imperialism. And they complement each other: the greater the extent of U.S. investment, the louder the drums will beat for military action to protect that investment. In a statement issued last October, Beijing explained its need to increase military spending by pointing to the "new gunboat policy and neo-economic colonialism" of Clinton's U.S.

The Canadian I.S. leans a hair's breadth to the left of the ISO. Mocking as "ridiculous" the notion of a Chinese military threat to Taiwan, an article entitled "Stop U.S. Spying on China" (*Socialist Worker*, 18 April) concludes: "Our biggest military worry is right here in North America, in the unabashed, shameless militarism of the United States and its loyal Canadian puppy dog ally." This is in line with the current posture of the IST's leading group, the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The British group published a commentary by SWP leader Alex Callinicos commenting that "China's rulers haven't forgotten their biggest confrontation with the US in recent years. When they carried out live missile tests close to Taiwan in 1996, the Clinton administration deployed a carrier battle group just off the Chinese coast" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 21 April). The SWP would like its readers to forget that at the time of that confrontation it sounded just like Bush does today, proclaiming in *Socialist Review* (April 1996): "We would oppose any Chinese invasion of Taiwan as an act of imperialist aggression."

Another British group, the centrist Workers Power (WP), writes: "We have no truck with the Beijing bureaucrats who restored capitalism to China.... But we should stand with China against US imperialism's attempt to dominate Asia" (*Workers Power*, April 2001). Less than a year ago, WP echoed the imperialist "human rights" chorus, demanding "workers' sanctions" against China (*Workers Power*,

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## China...

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September 2000). In the face of growing imperialist hostility toward China, WP abandoned even its lip service to unconditional military defense of the deformed workers state, declaring "Capitalist Restoration Triumphs in China" (see "New 'Theories,' Old Renegacy," *Workers Vanguard* No. 754, 16 March). But it is rather cheap for Labourite leftists in Britain to "stand with" virtually anybody against *American* domination. More to the point, during the Balkans War two years ago WP stood with the imperialist Blair Labour government in railing against Milosevic's Serbia in supposed defense of the Kosovo Albanians.

### Proletarian Internationalism vs. Chinese Nationalism

While parasitically resting on the social foundations of the workers state, the Stalinist bureaucracy is not committed to the defense of the collectivized economy. As current events in China make amply clear, this bureaucratic layer acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of the world capitalist market on the workers state. Basing itself on the dogma of "socialism in one country," the CCP regime always opposed the fight for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries in favor of "peaceful coexistence." Today, this nationalist outlook serves those leading sections of the bureaucracy who, striving to become part of a new exploiting class, reach out to the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie with the aim of forging a "greater China." Regime spokesmen do not even talk about "defending socialism" anymore, but contend that U.S. hostility is aimed at preventing China from becoming a great world power.

In 1997, the former British colony of Hong Kong was reunited with China under the formula of "one country, two systems." The Beijing bureaucracy has likewise offered to guarantee the continued existence of capitalism on Taiwan in the event of reunification. Taiwan's capitalists have invested tens of billions of dollars on the mainland. The Trotskyist International Communist League stands for the revolutionary reunification of China: for a *socialist* revolution against the Taiwan bourgeoisie and a *political* revolution to oust the Beijing bureaucracy.

Many of those who oppose Beijing's concessions to imperialism also speak in the language of Chinese nationalism, seeing defense of China in national, not class, terms. Particularly with the bombing of China's Belgrade embassy in 1999, U.S. provocations have produced a wave of anti-American nationalism on the mainland. When the spy plane landed on Hainan, a Beijing shop assistant exclaimed: "Our government should have shot down the plane. Jiang Zemin is too weak. If Grandpa Mao were still alive, the Americans would not dare to bully us" (*New York Times*, 5 April). Reflecting widespread sentiment against the current Beijing regime for conciliating U.S. imperialism, one Internet posting in China read: "We miss Chairman Mao" and was signed, "New Force of Laid-Off Workers."

But it was Mao who consummated the criminal alliance with the U.S. imperialists directed against the Soviet Union, signaled by Nixon's 1972 visit to Beijing while American bombs were raining on Vietnam. The anti-Soviet alliance sealed by Mao was deepened under Deng Xiaoping, from China's failed 1979 invasion of Vietnam to its aid to the



Magnum

**Mao's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism, sealed by 1972 meeting in Beijing with war criminal Richard Nixon, helped open door to imperialist penetration of China.**

CIA-backed *mujahedin* terrorists in Afghanistan and its setting up of CIA listening posts on its border with the USSR. In aiding and abetting the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Beijing bureaucracy helped place the Chinese deformed workers state itself directly in the cross hairs of imperialism. We warned in "Deng's China and Political Revolution" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88) that the Mao/Deng course of anti-Sovietism and nationalism would "ultimately threaten China with disaster, bloody counterrevolution and a new colonization subjugating the country to the yoke of imperialism."

While much of the harking back to Mao is couched in the language of Chinese nationalism, there is also a yearning for the relative egalitarianism of the Mao years as against the current regime's "market reforms" which have led to rampant corruption, increasing economic disparity, joblessness and loss of previously guaranteed benefits. But the policies of the Mao regime, which were premised on the anti-revolutionary Stalinist dogma of "building socialism in one country," were marked by economic autarky and insane economic adventurism, such as the 1950s "Great Leap Forward." At the same time, through its appeasement of imperialism in the name of "peaceful coexistence," the Mao regime laid the basis for the policies pursued by the current bureaucracy.

Mao's heirs have increasingly opened the country to imperialist penetration. This has been met with massive proletarian resistance, with tens of thousands of strikes and workers' protests every year. Reflecting the brittle and contradictory nature of the bureaucracy, in May Chinese premier Zhu Rongji, who has spearheaded the deepening of "market reforms," announced a campaign against corruption and other forms of "commercial excess." In addition, the *Financial Times* (5 April) reports, "The official People's Daily newspaper carried an opinion piece last month excoriating capitalism and globalisation for the wealth imbalances that it promotes. Such sentiments have rarely, if ever, received such a prominent airing over the past three years."

The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a possessing class but a

parasitic caste. Resting on proletarian property forms, the bureaucracy simultaneously acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of the capitalist world market on the deformed workers state. But the bureaucracy also has to tread warily as it pushes pro-capitalist economic measures, out of fear of a working-class explosion. As we wrote in the first part of "Whither China? 'Market Socialism' and the Legacy of Mao" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 743, 6 October 2000):

"As it pursues 'market reforms' and opens the door to exploitation by Western and Japanese imperialists and the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie, the Beijing regime is paving the way for capitalist restoration. It is simultaneously preparing the ground for a new revolutionary proletarian explosion—not a *social* revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949 but a *political* revolution to oust the ruling bureaucracy and to place political power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants councils (soviets). Such a political revolution is premised on *unconditional defense of the planned, collectivized economy* which is the social foundation of the (bureaucratically deformed) workers state."

The urgent task is to build a Trotskyist party in order to provide leadership to the combative proletariat and to link its fight for political revolution to the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers.

### For World Socialist Revolution!

China was liberated from imperialist domination only through a social revolution (albeit bureaucratically deformed) which ended the class rule of the *Chinese* bourgeoisie. Today, Chinese nationalism is serving to link leftist opponents of imperialism with right-wing advocates for a new Chinese imperialism. This is seen in *China's Road, Under the Conspiracy of Globalization*, a best-selling compilation of nationalist essays published in the aftermath of the Belgrade embassy bombing. One of the book's chief editors, Fang Ning, is a professor of "contemporary capitalism" in Beijing who denounces "globalization" in the language of Western academic "Marxism." The other, Wang Xiaodong, is a former editor of the journal *Strategy and Management*, which is connected to the military establishment. Wang makes no pretense of Marxism or leftism in any sense. He is a mirror image of the most extreme right-wing ideologues of

Western and Japanese imperialism, maintaining that U.S. hostility toward the People's Republic is national and even racial in character.

Wang's stated goal is to transform China into "a post-development great power" on a par with the U.S., Germany and Japan. The aim of transforming China, with its relatively weak industrial base and massive rural backwardness, into an imperialist "great power" is not only reactionary but utterly utopian. Just look at Russia in the wake of capitalist counter-revolution: what had been the world's second-greatest industrial and military power is today a devastated wreck.

The phenomenon exemplified by *China's Road* is reminiscent of the "red-brown" coalition formed in Russia with the collapse of the Soviet Union, bringing together Stalinist has-beens with outright tsarists, fascists and the like whose opposition to the Yeltsin regime and "Western imperialism" was centered on agitation for a strong, Russian-dominated imperial state. These chauvinists were virulently hostile to the multinational proletariat of the former Soviet Union. The "red-brown" coalition was the product of the Russian nationalism dominant in the Stalinist bureaucracy, which in its final years split between pro-Western "democrats" and chauvinist patriots who each in their own way contributed to the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Likewise, the ideology of aspiring Chinese imperialism (though in fact utopian) is today poison to the forging of class unity with the North Korean and Vietnamese deformed workers states, and with the workers of capitalist Asia. In "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), we wrote:

"It is by linking their fight for political revolution with the struggle to smash capitalist rule from Indonesia and South Korea to Japan and the U.S. that the Chinese proletariat will form the bridge to a socialist future. Above all, China's workers must be won to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu, which for decades has been trampled on by Stalinism. For a Trotskyist Party in China, section of a reborn Fourth International!"

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 756 and 758, 13 April and 11 May

## Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

On May 4, new attorneys for U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man framed up for the killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner, dropped a legal bombshell in the federal court where Mumia's appeal is pending. This includes a *sworn confession* by another man, stating in part: "I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner," and: "I shot Faulkner in the face at close range." With their frame-up of Jamal now completely blown to bits, the cops and others who want to execute Jamal—a former Black Panther, MOVE supporter and eloquent defender of blacks and the oppressed—are now denouncing the confession as a "complete fabrication."

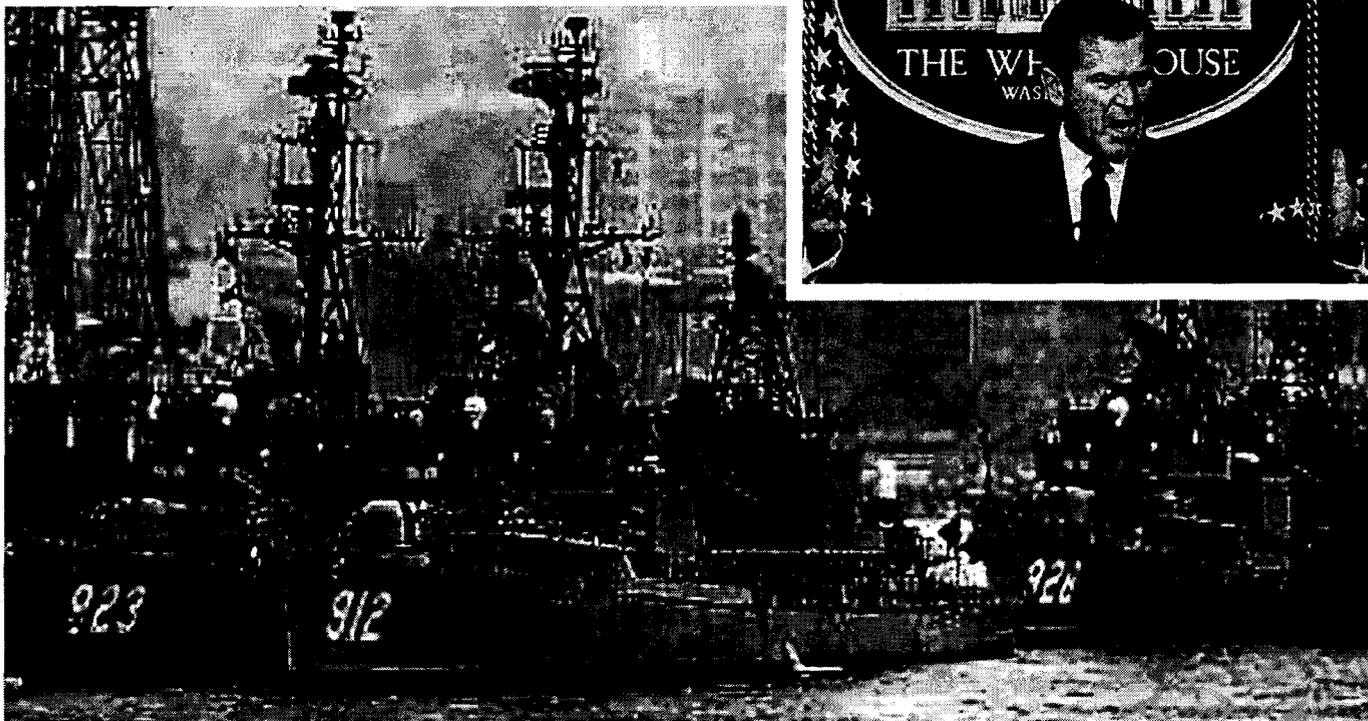
The need for international labor-centered mobilizations to fight for Jamal's freedom and to abolish the racist death penalty in the U.S. is more urgent than ever. Details of these latest developments are available in *Workers Vanguard* No. 758 (11 May). To order a copy, write to:

**Spartacist Canada, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto ON, M5W 1X6.**





# U.S. Targets China



AP photos

**Taiwan: U.S.-supplied warships, artillery target Chinese deformed workers state. Bush administration is laying basis for war against China.**

The administration of U.S. president George W. Bush is laying the basis for a war against the People's Republic of China, a war that would be nuclear in scope. That was the import of Bush's April 25 statement that the U.S. would militarily intervene with "whatever it took" in an armed conflict

between its Taiwanese client state and China and that "the Chinese must understand that." This provocative declaration, tearing the veil off Washington's long-

standing policy of "strategic ambiguity" toward the question of war with China over Taiwan, came only a day after Beijing warned that the U.S. had crossed a "red line" by offering Taiwan an array of advanced weaponry. In early May, the U.S. resumed spy flights off China's coast for the first time since the EP-3E provocation in April, which resulted in the loss of a Chinese aircraft and the death of its heroic pilot, Wang Wei.

On May 1, Bush told the world to "rethink the unthinkable" as he announced that the U.S. was planning to tear up the 29-year-old Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in order to proceed with a vast missile defense system, in which America's Canadian imperialist junior partners have been invited to

participate. The Liberal government is for the moment playing hard to get, joining with European governments to grumble about Bush's "unilateral" posture. However, no one really doubts what Washington's coy mistress will eventually decide. Canadian defense contractors made billions as

assistant quartermasters for America's dirty, losing war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam during the 1960s and '70s. Today Canadian tech firms and

manufacturers are once again avid to gorge at the trough of the U.S. Defense Department.

Beijing official Sha Zukang said, "Once the United States believes it has both a strong spear and a strong shield, it could lead them to conclude that nobody can harm the United States and they can harm anyone they like anywhere in the world" (*New York Times*, 29 April). No one believes Washington's flimsy claim that it is prepared to shell out \$100 billion or more to deal with a nonexistent threat from Iraq, North Korea or other "rogue states," i.e., small countries without nuclear weapons. The clear purpose of such an elaborate scheme—should the Pentagon ever get it to

(continued on page 12)

**For Unconditional Military Defense of China  
Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution!**