



Defend Palestinians Against Zionist Terror!



Fifteen Palestinians were killed, 160 were wounded and an entire Gaza City neighborhood was destroyed in July 22 Israeli attack by U.S.-supplied F-16 jet. AFP

Just before midnight on July 22, an American-supplied F-16 fighter jet dropped a one-ton bomb on a densely populated neighborhood in Gaza City. Supposedly aimed at killing one man, the alleged founder of the military wing of Hamas, the terror bombing killed 14 other Palestinians, including nine children, who were asleep in their homes. Right-wing prime minister Ariel Sharon gloated that this was "one of our major successes," while "Labor" foreign minister Shimon Peres responded to international criticism by conceding that "a smaller bomb could have been more appropriate"! In other words, the extent of death and devastation—an entire block of apartment buildings reduced to rubble, scores of people cramming hospital wards, dead babies dug out from the heaps of debris—was

too much for these butchers to conceal.

This atrocity was a bloody provocation designed not to prevent terror attacks by the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas, as Israeli government spokesmen claimed, but to *guarantee* more of them. On July 31, Hamas set off a bomb at

lunch time in the cafeteria of Jerusalem's Hebrew University, killing several people, mostly students. This was followed in rapid succession by a murderous Israeli crackdown in Nablus—one of seven West Bank cities reoccupied over the summer—

more army killings in Gaza and further Palestinian terrorist attacks. The Zionist rulers are carrying out the Nazi policy of "collective punishment" with a vengeance, blowing up

(continued on page 19)

**U.S./Canada:
Hands Off Iraq!**

No Reliance on the Capitalist State!

Mobilize the Power of Labor to Free Mumia!

Upwards of 200 people gathered in Toronto on June 8 for a united-front rally demanding freedom for U.S. death-row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The meeting, which featured Eliot Grossman, one of Mumia's new lawyers, was endorsed by a range of left and labor organizations and raised more than \$2,000 for Mumia's legal defense. Representatives of the Trotskyist League, Socialist Action, International Bolshevik Tendency and Socialist Alternative also spoke at the rally. We print below a TL leaflet distributed at the event.

* * *

Mumia Abu-Jamal—former Black Panther, MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist—was framed up and railroaded onto Pennsylvania's death row for the 1981 killing of police officer Daniel Faulkner. Last spring explosive new evidence, including a signed confession by the actual killer stating that Jamal had nothing to do with Faulkner's death, confirmed beyond the shadow of a doubt what has been clear since the day of his arrest: Jamal is a political prisoner, targeted because of his defiant opposition to the capitalist system of racist oppression.

Late last year, Jamal's death sentence was reversed, but his conviction was upheld, as the judge rejected the mountain of evidence proving his innocence. While the ruling is being appealed, it only allows for a new sentencing hearing, which at best would consign Jamal to a life behind bars. As Jamal himself said, "'Life' is thus but a grim metaphor for death, for only death releases one from its shackles."

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League in Canada and the Spartacist League in the United States—has actively taken up Jamal's cause for the past 15 years. From the start, we have warned: there is no justice in the capitalist courts! While favoring every avenue of legal defense, we fight for the Marxist perspective of mobilizing the multiracial working class in class-struggle action for Jamal's freedom. As American communist leader James P. Cannon wrote during the worldwide campaign of labor protest for anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, "Our policy is the

policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts."

It's important that unions representing millions of workers, including in Canada, have gone on record for Jamal. Organized at the heart of capitalist production, the racially integrated working class has the power and historic interest to become the vanguard battalions in the fight against racism and capitalist oppression. But to translate resolutions into action will require a political struggle against the current pro-capitalist misleaders of the working class, who have shackled the unions to the interests of the bourgeois class enemy and its state. And in this reactionary effort, the misleaders of labor have the invaluable assistance of all manner of fake "socialists."

How the "Left" Whitewashes the Bourgeois State

The Trotskyist League has endorsed tonight's meeting as a united-front action around the necessary basic demands to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. At the same time, we fight for our distinct, revolutionary working-class politics. Through more than a decade of struggle for Jamal's life and freedom, we have recognized that larger forces than our own would have to be brought into struggle. Largely as a result of our efforts and those of our co-thinkers internationally, much larger forces did get involved when Jamal was threatened with execution in the summer of 1995. But we knew that the liberals and reformists who involved themselves with Jamal's cause would seek to channel protests back into campaigns to rehabilitate the capitalist "justice" system.

(continued on page 12)

SPARTACIST CANADA

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

Editorial Board: Jane Clancy, Charles Galarneau (Managing Editor), Arthur Llewellyn, John Masters (Editor), Miriam McDonald, Jon Seville (Editor, Young Spartacus pages), Peter Stegner, Russell Stoker (Production Manager)

Circulation Manager: Russell Stoker

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.

Publications Agreement No. 461717 ISSN: 0229-5415
Fall 2002 Date of issue: September 2002

Get Your Copy

New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up

Declarations and affidavits of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Arnold R. Beverly, Rachel Wolkenstein and others prove that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man.

50¢
(32 pages)

Make payable/mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 314, Station B, Toronto, ON M5T 2W1

P.C. Partisan Defense Committee

September 2002 Pamphlet \$1.50

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!



New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up

| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| Affidavit of Rachel Wolkenstein | 7 |
| Affidavit of Arnold R. Beverly | 22 |
| Declaration of Mumia Abu-Jamal | 24 |
| Declarations of William Cook | 23 |
| Affidavit of Donald Hersing | 26 |
| Declaration of Lynn Washington | 28 |
| Affidavit of Terri Maurer-Carter | 30 |

Free Mumia Now!

Protest Racist Ban on Immigrant Nurses!

VANCOUVER—The B.C. Liberal government is hell-bent on destroying what remains of health care, education and other vital social services. With official unemployment at almost 10 percent, over 11,000 public sector jobs are being eliminated and the major hospital unions fear as many as 28,000 layoffs will follow the Liberals' "restructuring" (i.e., privatization and union busting) of the health care system. This all-out assault on workers and the poor has been met with mas-

Labor Must Defend Immigrants, All the Oppressed!

sive trade-union protests from the January strike of 45,000 teachers, to the 40,000-strong May 25 Vancouver demonstration. Significantly, in the face of intense state-sponsored anti-immigrant hysteria in which Muslims, Sikhs, Filipinos and Tamils have been smeared as "terrorists," immigrant workers, and most actively, the very integrated Hospital Employees' Union, have been in the forefront of many of these actions. This fact alone drives home how crucial it is that the labor movement mobilizes in defense of immigrant workers.

But far from championing the rights of immigrant workers, the B.C. Nurses' Union (BCNU) bureaucracy is fueling anti-immigrant racism. Outrageously, with nurses reeling from both federal and provincial attacks, on March 5 the BCNU tops declared that they "will not support visas for foreign nurses in health authority regions where there are unemployed, laid off, or displaced nurses, and will ask that any foreign workers who have been offered jobs but not yet begun employment, have their hiring delayed." This comes in retaliation for the federal government axing the job replacement and training agency that helped laid-off health care workers find new jobs. Instead of mobilizing nurses against the destruction of jobs and services, the BCNU misleaders scapegoat foreign-born workers for the attacks of the capitalist class. This divide-and-rule racism is the bosses' game, and it spells defeat.

Filipino nurses are particularly targeted by the BCNU's actions. These highly educated and skilled women are among the 2,400 workers who leave the Philippines *daily* to work abroad. In Canada, the U.S., Europe, Japan and the Near East, more than 4 million Filipinos work as domestics, nurses, oilworkers, garment workers and whatever other jobs they can lay their hands on. Their remittances—some \$4 billion a year—are the biggest source of foreign currency in this wretchedly poor and deeply unstable U.S. neocolony.

For Filipino women, a ticket out means an escape from this deeply oppressive and backward country dominated by the Catholic Church where the struggle for women's liberation is both a central and explosive question. The Philippines has one of the most severe anti-abortion laws in the world and access to birth control is extremely limited thanks largely to opposition from the Catholic Church. Childcare is non-existent, divorce illegal.

In Canada thousands of Filipino women, including trained nurses, have been imported as low-paid domestic servants



SC photo

Vancouver demo in defense of Filipino nurses, March 1.

under the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP). For two years these women must live in their employer's home, often on call 24 hours a day, doing anything from domestic work and childcare to nursing, all for a pittance. Indeed, Filipino women in Vancouver make only half what other women workers earn. Many cannot tolerate living as indentured servants where grinding exploitation, overwork and even rape are endemic. Cruelly, those who do not fulfil the two-year rule are deported, often with their Canadian-born children.

The liberal, social-democratic notion of Canada as a "welcoming" nation of immigrants is a self-serving myth. Despite the fact that they are twice as likely to have university degrees as people born here, new immigrants earn only two-thirds of what non-immigrants do. Many live in deep poverty, subjected to unemployment, bigotry and relentless racist cop violence. Highly trained professionals like doctors and engineers are forced to work as cleaners and parking lot attendants.

Foreign-born nurses, many of them Filipino, make up nearly 20 percent of the BCNU, yet the BCNU bureaucracy has met the protests of Filipino nurses with stony contempt. BCNU president Debra McPherson declared that it is "ludicrous for employers to be bringing in foreign nurses at a time when there is massive restructuring in the health care industry with displacements and layoffs of RNs already here." Instead of fighting for massive increases in health care, the BCNU's leadership accepts and now helps oversee the Liberals' attacks.

It is in the direct material interests of all workers to struggle against the superexploitation of immigrant labor. By forcing immigrant nurses into non-union jobs, the BCNU misleaders help to drive down wages and worsen conditions for *all* nurses. As the Filipino Nurses Support Group, representing some 400 Filipino nurses, stated in an April 9 press release:

"The union's position feeds the division of nurses and it pits itself against Third World nurses.

"Clearly, the very presence of non-practicing foreign-trained nurses working as modern-day slaves under Canada Immigration's

(continued on page 18)

Young Spartacus

“Human Rights” Imperialism = Murder and Plunder

Why Marxists Oppose UN/Canadian “Peacekeepers”

As U.S. imperialism prepares to launch another war of slaughter and devastation against Iraq, a veritable chorus can be heard demanding that the Canadian government should intercede to prevent war or at least insure that the United Nations oversees any military action. NDP leader Alexa McDonough is calling for prime minister Jean Chrétien to act as a “mediator” between Washington and Baghdad. Even the Liberals have shown cold feet—for the moment—over the Pentagon’s next round of gunboat diplomacy in the name of the “war on terror.”

This is in stark contrast to 1991 when Canada rushed to join the U.S.-led Gulf War against Iraq, committing its forces to the slaughter of 150,000 people under the UN’s imprimatur. While initially demanding economic sanctions as a “peaceful” alternative to the military’s iron fist, the NDP rallied around the flag the moment the bombs began falling and fully supported the imperialist attack on Iraq. In our press, at demonstrations and rallies, we Trotskyists explained that sanctions are an act of war: mass starvation backed up by the threat of the gun. We forthrightly defended Iraq against the imperialist military onslaught. Not so for reformist left organizations like the International Socialists (I.S.). They pursued “antiwar” coalitions with the pro-sanctions NDP and others who sought to whitewash the imperialists’ war aims with the rhetoric of “democracy” and “human rights.”

Over ten years later, the U.S./UN starvation blockade has murdered over 1.5 million Iraqis, especially women, children and the elderly. Revulsion and horror at this crime has propelled millions internationally to demand that the sanctions be ended, including the NDP social-democratic hypocrites who once backed these very sanctions. On August 6 the Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Club built a contingent for a Toronto demonstration called to oppose the renewed war drive against Iraq and for an end to the sanctions. Our signs included: “Down with the UN starvation blockade!”, “U.S., Britain, Canada get your bloody imperialist hands off Iraq!” and “Pro-imperialist NDP demanded UN starvation sanctions—Forge a revolutionary workers party!” But instead of exposing social democracy then and now, the demonstration’s organizers (including the I.S.) said absolutely nothing against the NDP speaker, who worked to disarm the just outrage against UN sanctions by promoting the wide spread illu-



Stephen Thorne/Canadian Press

Canadian troops join U.S. imperialism’s “war on terror,” wreaking devastation on the peoples of Afghanistan.

sion that Canada has a unique, progressive mission as the international capitalist order’s voice of “reason and peace.”

Calls for Canada to act as a “neutral mediator” or for Canadian “peacekeepers” to directly intervene abroad under the UN flag are simply politics as usual in this country. When NDP left winger Svend Robinson traveled to Ramallah in a courageous act of solidarity with the Palestinians last April, provoking a storm of vilification from the capitalist press and his own party, it represented a break with the pro-Zionist consensus of the Canadian bourgeoisie and the NDP leadership. Nonetheless, his answer to the Zionist onslaught was an “international protection force.” Marc Bonhomme, leader of the Quebec fake-Trotskyist Gauche Socialiste, advanced the identical demand, calling for “an international protection force under the aegis of the United Nations, whether Israel wants it or not” (*La Gauche* web site, 16 May). Other left groups, like the I.S., were less blatant, simply enthusing over Robinson’s trip without mentioning his call for an army of imperialist occupation in the Near East.

As for the anti-“globalization” movement, the entire program of liberals like Naomi Klein comes down to promoting the UN or other “non-government organizations,” backed if necessary by imperialist economic sanctions, as a means of protecting the rights of workers in the so-called Global South (see “Naomi Klein’s ‘Unlabelled’ Liberalism,” *SC* No. 130,

Fall 2001). These self-proclaimed leftists work, in one way or another, to reinforce the nationalist myth that Canada is a more humane, democratic and multicultural society than U.S. capitalism and that Canadian imperialism can play a progressive role internationally. The message: Canadian workers and leftists should look to the state of their "own" capitalist oppressor as a potential ally in their struggles.

To their credit, many anarchist-influenced youth are repulsed by such craven genuflection before the capitalist warmongers. They are attracted to the rhetoric of those like prominent anarchist leader Jaggi Singh, who often denounces imperialism and the crimes of the Canadian state against working people and immigrants. But lacking a program to mobilize the working class in revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system that spawns war and racism, the same self-proclaimed enemies of "statism" not infrequently find themselves appealing to their declared enemies. At the 1997 Vancouver APEC summit, Singh demanded that the Canadian government arrest and try Indonesian dictator and CIA asset Suharto for his crimes. Justifying this to the *Ubysses* campus newspaper, Singh rationalized: "There is a Canadian law, war crimes legislation, that states that people who've committed war crimes...outside the country are allowed to be tried for those crimes in Canada." This directly parrots the NDP's mantra that Canadian imperialism can be a force for good.

Such appeals are deadly dangerous. Imperialism, as Singh purports to know, is not a policy that can be changed by switching the party in charge in Ottawa (or Washington, Tokyo or Berlin). It is the worldwide system of modern capitalism, based on the division of the world markets between the major financial and military powerhouses and the competition between them to rob and plunder the working masses, through "the magic of the market" or otherwise. Its very lifeblood is private property, the exploitation of labor and the rape and despoliation of colonial and neocolonial countries. If Canada's hands are somewhat less bloody than the U.S. colossus, it's because of its relative economic and military inferiority. Further, Canada's "kinder and gentler" façade has long been useful for the U.S. capitalist rulers. When the U.S. gets into trouble, or needs a fig leaf to mask its nakedly exploitative aims, it can always call in Canadian

"peacekeeping" troops to enforce the imperialist status quo. In the name of protecting "human rights" and "democracy," these military actions have in fact served to protect...capitalist rape and plunder.

Canada and the UN: Partnership in Racist Terror

The claim that the UN could act in the interests of the world's oppressed is meant to mask the fundamental nature of modern class society. Capitalism does not exist independently of the state, which is the apparatus of repression that protects bourgeois class rule. Imperialists need their own national states to shield their investments abroad from popular unrest or rival powers: the security of foreign assets is only as strong as the state that guards them. The UN likewise is not a "global" institution, somehow standing above the different capitalist countries, but is composed of the different competing imperialist powers, their lackeys and their *victims*. As V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian workers revolution, explained regarding the UN's predecessor, the League of Nations, "the alliance of the capitalist powers is sheer fraud, and...in actual fact it is an alliance of robbers, each trying to snatch something from the others.... Private property is robbery, and a state based on private property is a state of robbers, who are fighting for a share of the spoils" ("Speech to Chairmen of the Executive Committees," 15 October 1920).

One of the very first military adventures carried out under the UN flag was in the direct service of anti-Communist counterrevolution. In the early 1950s, more than 20,000 Canadian troops joined in the U.S.-led war against North Korea and China, which resulted in the deaths of more than *three million* Koreans. During World War II, the Soviet Red Army had driven the Japanese occupying forces out of Korea after decades of brutal rule. The Korean workers and peasants welcomed the USSR's soldiers as liberators, and their presence inspired strikes and rural uprisings throughout the peninsula. The U.S. imperialists and their local agents proceeded to brutally suppress the upheaval in the south. In the north, the Korean People's Army, fresh from fighting alongside Mao's People's Liberation Army in China, crossed the 38th parallel in 1950 in response to military provocations. The UN

(continued on page 6)

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

SC134

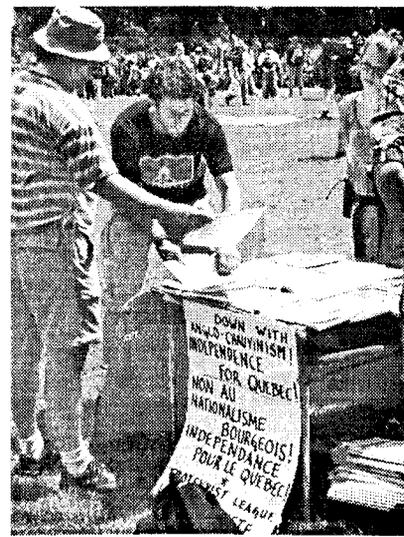
Subscription Drive Special!

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

August 29 to October 9

Subscription Drive Quotas

Toronto275 points
Vancouver...150 points



UN/Canadian "Peacekeepers" ...

(continued from page 5)

"police action" was an attempt to smash the unfolding social revolution on the Korean peninsula and a Sword of Damocles raised over the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Despite their bureaucratic deformations, the Chinese and Korean revolutions were great anti-imperialist *victories*, which expelled the imperialists and their hirelings, opening huge vistas of social progress to the poor and oppressed: literacy, medical care, freedom of women from all sorts of medieval bondage. We unconditionally defend these victories in China and North Korea, as well as the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions which took their countries out of the direct orbit of imperialist plunder. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has not only plunged the masses of that country into horrific poverty, but has tightened the screws on the remaining deformed workers states. We fight to end the imperialist encirclement of these countries by destroying the imperialist system from within through workers revolution.

Canada pioneered its "peacekeeping" role running point for U.S. imperialism in the Near East. In 1956 France, Britain and Israel invaded Egypt intent on overthrowing the Nasser regime which had justly nationalized the Suez Canal. However, their invasion was called short when the U.S. balked and the Soviet Union threatened to come to the defense of newly independent Egypt. The U.S. then arranged for Canadian troops to be sent in to supervise a face-saving withdrawal of the French, British and Israeli militaries. Prime minister Lester Pearson received the Nobel Peace Prize for his "peacekeeping" efforts—after he helped organize massive arms sales to both sides of the conflict.

For the next three decades, wherever it was politically "inexpedient" to send in the U.S. Marines, Canadian soldiers were marched off in their stead. Example: following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, Canadian troops under the UN flag served as border guards for Zionist expansionism and terror in Sinai and the Golan Heights.

The real face of UN/Canadian "peacekeeping" was graphically brought home in March 1993 during the occupation of Somalia. Carrying the flag of the UN, Canadian Airborne soldiers sadistically tortured and murdered 16-year-old Shidane Arone under explicit orders from senior officers. The "peacekeepers" burnt Arone's feet with a cigar, repeatedly shoved a riot baton in his mouth and beat him for two hours before he died. Only a month before, Canadian troops fired into a crowd of Somalis protesting against the UN invasion of their country. These were just two of numerous crimes committed by UN troops during this "humanitarian mission." The same year, the U.S. military gunned down some 200 civilians in Mogadishu from Cobra helicopters.

The role of UN peacekeepers: get the imperialists' guns in place by any means necessary. Just look at Australian imperialism's role today in East Timor. While East Timor has

received formal independence after 25 years of Indonesian rule and almost three years of Australian-led UN occupation (in which Canada also participated), Australia is now to get **82 percent** of the massive Greater Sunrise oil field that is entirely on East Timor's side of the midpoint between the two countries. As Australian capital gorges itself on the country's resources, the East Timorese people are the poorest in Asia, with more than 40 percent of the population living below the official poverty line of 55 cents (!) a day.

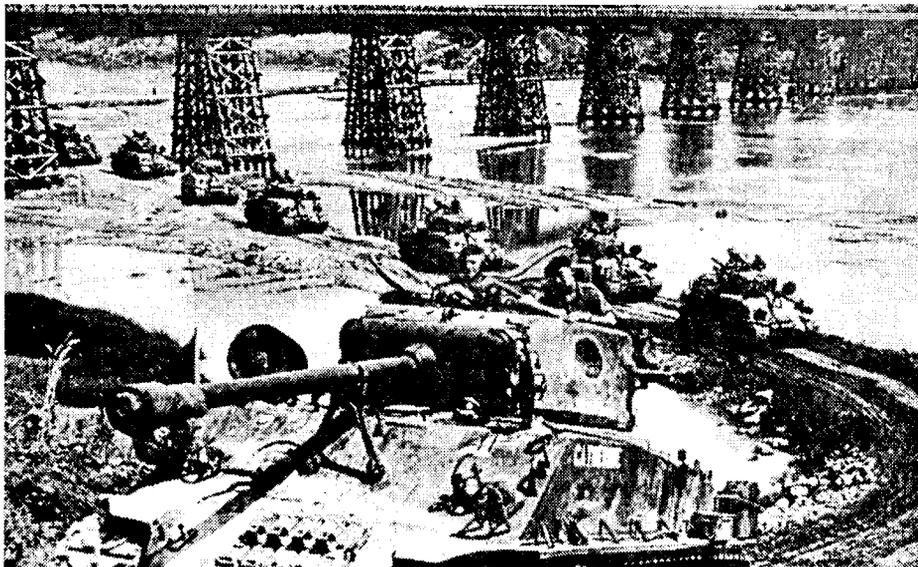
Criminally, virtually the entire Australian fake-left marched for "peacekeepers" to go in, and to this day refuse to demand that their "own" racist rulers get the hell out of East Timor. Against the chauvinist frenzy, our comrades of the Spartacist League/Australia campaigned from the very beginning against Australia's occupation of East Timor. On August 21 the SL/A and Spartacus Youth Club initiated a spirited demonstration at Sydney University to demand: Down With Australian Imperialism's Plunder of East Timor's Oil/Gas! Australian/UN Troops Out of East Timor!

But one hardly needs to travel across the Pacific to see the brutal reality that lies behind Canada's "human rights" rhetoric. Canadian capitalism is carrying out its own program of economic exploitation and outright neocolonial plunder of natural resources, for example in Colombia and the Sudan.

"Plan Colombia" Neocolonialism

In August 2000, the U.S. Congress passed a \$1.3 billion military aid package for the Colombian government. Under the cynical cover of the "war on drugs," U.S. imperialism is jacking up a 40-year-old war aimed at eradicating a peasant insurgency that rages today in over half of this oil- and mineral-rich, strategically located country. In the last decade, over 35,000 people have been killed, and more than 1.5 million, mostly peasants, forced to flee their homes as the military and right-wing paramilitaries terrorize the countryside. This war is also directly aimed at the Colombian working class: more trade unionists are killed in Colombia each year than in the rest of the world combined (Asad Ismi, *Profiting from Repression: Canadian Investment in and Trade with Colombia*, November 2000).

Canadian imperialism has substantial economic investments
(continued on page 17)



Korean War Veterans Association of Canada
Canadian tanks in 1950-53 UN "police action" to destroy Korean social revolution.

Workers' Struggles and Youth Radicalization in Quebec

For the last few years, Quebec society has been bubbling with discontent. Workers in the education and health care systems have staged repeated protests against government spending cuts, including strikes by teachers, support staff and nurses. There has also been a wave of labor conflicts against such prominent symbols of Québécois capitalism as Bombardier, Hydro-Québec and Québecor-Vidéotron. At the same time, there has been a significant radicalization among Québécois youth, thousands of whom have mobilized in protests against capitalist poverty, racism and war, swelling the ranks of leftist organizations at a rate not seen since the 1970s.

This comes in the context of eight years of rule by the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois. The PQ was elected in 1994 following an upsurge of chauvinist hysteria in English Canada against so-called "special status" for Quebec. The Reform Party (now Canadian Alliance) won mass support in the West as it called to "save Canada" from "separatist traitors." B.C.'s New Democratic Party premier threatened that if Quebec was to separate "we'd be the worst of enemies." With the Anglo chauvinism which has always defined capitalist Canada at fever pitch, the PQ was catapulted into office, vowing to seek a mandate for independence.

With the narrow defeat of its 1995 sovereignty referendum, the PQ has floundered and become increasingly discredited. Putting independence on the back burner, it has concentrated on managing capitalism in Quebec through

For Quebec Independence!

vicious austerity attacks on workers and the poor. Many of the recent labor battles have been directly against the PQ regime, such as the widely popular 1999 nurses strike. The nationalist Quebec labor tops, who have long supported the PQ, are running the risk of losing control of their membership. Thus nearly a third of Bombardier's striking aerospace workforce refused to support a "final" offer aimed at ending a bitter strike last spring, defying a brow-beating intervention by the president of the FTQ labor federation at a ratification mass meeting.

At the same time, there is widespread popular cynicism toward the PQ's main federalist opponents, both the Liberal Party opposition in Quebec City and the scandal-ridden federal Liberal government. This is illustrated by recent provincial by-elections. Last year, an independent left-wing candidate, Paul Cliche, won an unprecedented 24 percent of the vote in a Montreal riding. More recently, the four seats won by the upstart right-wing nationalist Action Démocratique du Québec (ADQ) of Mario Dumont were akin to a mini-revolution in Quebec's National Assembly, which has been the almost exclusive preserve of the PQ and Liberals for over 25 years. While ranting against taxes and public-sector unions, Dumont struck a chord by playing on the decades-



Vidéotron workers at Montreal May Day march.

Bill Sloan

long ambivalence of the electorate on the national question. Having campaigned for a Yes vote in 1995, he now opposes holding another referendum. Many in Quebec have indeed grown wary after decades of never-ending "constitutional" wrangling between Quebec City and Ottawa.

Nevertheless, nationalist sentiment remains wide and deep, especially in the working class. Even after years of cutbacks and attacks on labor under the PQ, support for independence remains above 40 percent in the polls, and is certainly much higher among francophone workers. This gives the lie to the self-serving claims of the English Canadian bourgeoisie and its media that the national question has been "resolved" or is only a minor irritant.

National Oppression and Working-Class Struggle

Caught out for funneling millions of dollars to Liberal cronies in the guise of "promoting Canada" at cultural events in Quebec, Jean Chrétien bragged, "Perhaps there were a few million dollars that might have been stolen in the process, but how many millions of dollars have we saved because we have re-established the stability of Canada by keeping it a united country?" The very fact that "Canada" has to be constantly sold in Quebec, to the tune of tens of millions of dollars, testifies to the chronic *instability* of this "united country." Over the years, the federal government has been more than ready to use naked force (the 1970 October Crisis) or the threat of force (Chrétien's "Plan B" and Clarity Act) to suppress national and social struggles in Quebec.

Anglo chauvinism is carried into the working class of English Canada by the central trade-union bureaucracy and, especially, the NDP. Underlining yet again its fealty to the chauvinist status quo, the NDP voted to endorse Chrétien's Clarity Act, which declares that Quebec's basic democratic right to self-determination is null and void. The flag-waving patriotism and campaigns for "Canadian values" and "Canadian unity" pushed by the labor tops and New Democrats

(continued on page 14)

Statement by the International Communist League

Capitalist Europe's War on Immigrants Is a War on All Workers

The following statement was first issued on July 2.

One day after a powerful general strike paralysed Spain on 20 June, Europe's capitalist rulers met in Seville to ratchet up the war against immigrants as the spearhead of an attack against the proletariat as a whole. The competition between the dominant nations of the European Union (EU) for economic advantage in the midst of a recession meant the summit fell short of its stated goal of establishing supra-national police-state measures, such as joint border patrols on land and sea, but all that and more is promised by the guardians of Fortress Europe. In the meantime, each capitalist ruling class is trying to outdo the next in raising the bar to immigration and enhanc-

Workers of the World Unite!

ing police-state measures against immigrants with the aim of regimenting the entire population, driving down wages and slashing social gains which were wrested through decades of class struggle.

The Seville EU summit seized on the recent electoral gains by fascists like Le Pen and the British National Party (BNP) to pander to their anti-immigrant demagoguery. Anti-immigrant racism is a timeworn method to divide the proletariat and deflect class struggle, but fundamentally the anti-immigrant campaign is driven not by "bad ideas" but by the workings of the capitalist economy and is enforced by bourgeois politicians from the left and the right. Large numbers of immigrants were brought into West Europe when their labour was needed, due in part to the low birthrate; now that Europe is in recession, the bourgeoisie does not need more immigrants as a supply of cheap labour or even as a "reserve army of labour." It would be an embellishment of bourgeois democracy to believe that it would require fascism to have mass deportations of immigrants. Such in fact happened during the 1930s Great Depression in France, when the number of foreign workers was reduced by half a million through mass expulsions. And these workers were mainly European and Roman Catholic, much easier to assimilate than the forcibly segregated North Africans and black Africans. In the same period, there were mass deportations of Mexican immigrants from the United States.

A decade ago the Soviet Union was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution. This monumental defeat for the international proletariat and the ensuing bourgeois triumphalism and lie that "communism is dead" has thrown

back the consciousness of the proletariat and the youth who misidentify the Stalinist sellouts with communism. Capitalist rule in Europe is not challenged by a revolutionary-minded and insurrectionary proletariat today, and correspondingly the working class and the dark-skinned minorities and immigrant populations in Europe are repressed mainly through the "normal" workings of the whole capitalist system, from the cops in the ghettos to the capitalist courts, and the prisons which are vastly disproportionately filled with minorities



North African workers in Seville, Spain stage sit-in demanding work permits. AP

and immigrants. In this context, parties that are by history, outlook and intent fascist, from Haider's Freedom Party (FPÖ) to Le Pen's National Front, have mainly advanced as electoral phenomena and pressure groups on more mainstream bourgeois parties.

The "normal" ebbs and flows of the world capitalist economy, which produce such vast human misery, cannot be eliminated short of the replacement of capitalism through proletarian socialist revolution. Those, like the social-democratic leaders and their "left" tails, who accept the capitalist framework necessarily become complicit in implementing and even spearheading anti-immigrant racism. The machinery of state repression has been augmented since September 11, but most of the anti-immigrant and anti-"terrorist" laws and policies were enacted years earlier by the "left" governments. The now-ousted French Socialist Party, which ruled France in a popular-front coalition with the Communist Party and the Greens, burns with anger that the new right-wing government claims credit for the racist "security" campaign which was in fact masterminded by the "left"! In order

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Stop the Deportations!



Kruse/DPA

Demonstration by asylum-seekers in Berlin, May 17.

to rule on behalf of capital, the historic parties of the French working class, the Communists and the Socialists and their analogues in the trade-union bureaucracies, poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. Thus the popular-front government paved the way for Le Pen's big score in the recent French presidential elections and the election of a more right-wing government.

The so-called "far left" bears large responsibility too. Groups like the United Secretariat's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) began the recent popular-front years with a vote for Jospin...and ended with a call to "bar the road to Le Pen"—i.e., vote Chirac! This is such a low, even for the LCR, which has long had the posture and backbone of a snake, that they feel compelled to publicly molt rather than defend their crime. The LCR were aggressive and energetic activists who channeled the massive youth demonstrations which shook France with justified outrage at the racism of Le Pen's National Front into reactionary "Republican unity" with Chirac. Similarly in Britain, the Socialist Workers Party directed opposition to the BNP fascists into a call to vote for "anyone else"—i.e., even bourgeois parties, but especially Blair's Labour Party. Each falsely proclaimed that there was an imminent danger of fascism, the better to corral support for Labour and even Chirac. Moreover, in situations where fascist gangs do pose an immediate threat, they cannot be stopped through parliamentarist means but only by mobilising the proletariat to crush them.

Defend Immigrants, Defend the Working Class!

In Italy, the new arsenal of repression includes roundups of immigrants for fingerprinting, as if being non-European makes one "criminal." With the Vatican railing against marriages between Christians and Muslims, the Italian police launched "Operation Just Married" to snoop into mixed marriages. Residency permits will be limited to the duration of a

work contract, so that seasonal agricultural workers will become "illegal" the moment a crop has been harvested, and Italian employers will be compelled to pay the state in advance for the deportation of any immigrant who overstays the work contract! This is not even particularly rational from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, which needs a source of cheap agricultural labour. In a bald statement of the concerns of the ruling class, the Italian capitalist consortium negotiated exemptions from the government's absurdly stringent immigration quotas for three professions: nurses, maids...and soccer players!

The right of asylum is under intensified attack everywhere: Blair's Britain promises immediate deportations without right of appeal for rejected asylum-seekers, while Denmark claims the right to revoke asylum for refugees when the new right-wing government decides that any given country an immigrant fled has become sufficiently "democratic."

Instilling racial hatred at an early age to inculcate patriotism and loyalty to the crown, rotting Britain threatens to forcibly segregate the children of asylum-seekers from other schoolchildren. In Germany, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party have been actively protesting against the computer-aided racist roundups of students. In this reactionary climate, immigrant workers and foreign students face not only persecution at the hands of the capitalist state but also

stepped-up racist violence on the streets. As our Irish comrades noted following the murder of a Chinese student, "Fundamental responsibility for Zhao's brutal murder lies with the Irish capitalist state whose anti-immigrant policies give a green light to race terrorists."

Everywhere, families are being ripped apart through restrictions on "family reunion." Women suffer the brunt of this. If they manage to join their husbands in Europe, they are often legally deprived of the right to work and so are forced into dangerous and low-wage black-market jobs. In France, apace with anti-immigrant laws, a veritable "marriage market" has spread like cancer in immigrant communities where an arranged marriage with a young woman possessing citizenship is now the last best hope of escaping poverty and political repression elsewhere. The slamming shut of doors to immigration and the segregation of oppressed communities tend to increase and help perpetuate arranged marriages, kidnappings, female genital mutilation, wife-beatings and "honour killings," all of which are on the rise in Europe. These facts show that even a minimal democratic demand, like full citizenship rights for everyone who has managed to make it to a European country, is literally a question of life or death, especially for women.

The squalid war between Blair's Britain and Chirac's France to close the Sangatte Red Cross refugee camp exposes the hoax of the "free world" and the direct link between capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and across East Europe and the rise of economic misery, imperialist war and political repression. Sangatte is filled with refugees from the bloody wars waged by U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies. Murderous nationalism, whipped up as the vehicle of capitalist counterrevolution to destroy the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe, uprooted minority populations including the Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) in an orgy of "ethnic cleansing" a decade ago.

(continued on page 10)

Immigrants...

(continued from page 9)

Another flood of refugees was triggered by the U.S./NATO ravaging of what was left of the former Yugoslavia in the 1999 Balkans War. Today the Sangatte camp is filled with Iraqis fleeing ten years of the starvation blockade imposed by the United Nations.

Thousands of Afghans fled the hell created by U.S. imperialism's support to the women-hating *mujahedin*. When Soviet forces entered Afghanistan in 1979 after repeated requests by the left-nationalist PDPA government, we of the ICL straightforwardly said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal in 1988-89 culminated in the victory of the Islamic fundamentalists and eventually the rule of the Taliban—truly a Frankenstein's monster created by the U.S. imperialists with the help of their Pakistani allies. Now the terror bombing of Afghanistan by Bush, Blair and Co. in the name of the "war on terror" has created new thousands of refugees.

Borrowing from Le Pen's campaign promise to close the Sangatte camp and deport the refugees, Chirac has announced plans to close the camp and in the meantime plans to build an enormous fence around the rail yard and install high-tech scanners to detect heartbeats in the tunnel. Not to be outdone, Tony Blair is mobilising the navy to turn back (read: fire on and sink) ships of refugees, and plans to cage asylum-seekers in militarised detention camps, and to bleach England through airlift deportations of dark-skinned immigrants and blatant racial exclusion of people trying to get into the country from airports elsewhere in Europe.

Meanwhile, anyone who does make it into Britain will be compelled to carry a national identity card. These police-state measures are intended to regiment and accustom the entire population to restrictions on democratic rights, to accept police identity checks as "normal," to chill free speech and impede politically organising against the government and the ruling class. To this end, the whole spectrum of capitalist politicians from left to right is whipping up hysteria over immigrants as an alleged "enemy within." The model for police-state control of Arab, African, Turkish and Asian populations in West Europe is the French state's "Vigipirate." The large population of North African descent, particularly the youth, are systematically brutalised by the French police, subjected to identity checks even in the hallways of their own apartment buildings, and treated as a "criminal" and "surplus" population. Changes in the French nationality code, whereby children born in France of immigrant parents no longer automatically gain French citizenship, prepare the ground for possible mass deportation. Peel back the "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*" facade and you'll find a history of mass deportations whenever politically or economically advantageous to France's capitalist rulers, from the Polish and Italian immigrants deported en masse between the two World Wars to the Jews stripped of French citizenship and deported to Nazi death camps under Vichy.

Capitalism needs a bogey man. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, the "red menace" has been largely replaced with orchestrated hysteria against the "green menace" of Islamic fundamentalism.

This has reached fever pitch since September 11 and a new word, "Islamophobia," has entered the lexicon to "explain" racist assaults on women in veils, men in turbans, and anyone suspected of being of Arab origin. The restrictions on civil liberties and the patriotic fervor have also been used to criminalise political dissent and outlaw parties and national liberation movements, from the Kurdish PKK and the Palestinian PFLP to the Turkish Guevarist DHKC and the Basque Bata-suna organisation in Spain. Meanwhile, the biggest state terrorists rain bombs on Iraq and threaten invasion, continue to pound Afghanistan, and arm the Zionist state of Israel in its war against the Palestinian people. Now the leader of the "free world" has the gall to tell the Palestinian people who they can and can't elect to represent them in the Occupied Territories and "homeland" overrun by Zionist stormtroopers. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinian people!

Racial Oppression Is Intrinsic to Capitalism

The "maximum programme" of social-democratic reformism and the so-called "left" groups who function as its apologists is to restore the "welfare state" and paint a "human face" on capitalist austerity. Contrary to the myths of reformists such as Lutte Ouvrière, who campaign to "ban layoffs" and demand that the cops fight "real crime" instead of bashing immigrants, the truth is that under capitalism the rich get richer, the poor get poorer, and racial oppression is *intrinsic* to the workings of the whole rotten domestic and world system. Whether the government is dominated by social democrats or ultrarightists, the laws of capitalism work the same: the harder you work, the more wealth you produce for others, and the more precarious your existence becomes as you are at risk of being laid off. According to its economic needs, capitalism brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labour, principally immigrants from poorer countries who are deemed disposable in times of economic contraction. As Karl Marx wrote in *Capital* (Volume I): "The degree of intensity of the competition among themselves [the workers] depends wholly on the pressure of the relative surplus population; as soon as, by Trades' Unions, &c., they try to organise a regular co-operation between employed and unemployed in order to destroy or to weaken the ruinous effects of this natural law of



Morris/Kent News

Asylum-seekers from Sangatte refugee camp are rounded up by French cops after failed attempt to enter Britain through the Channel Tunnel.



Auto workers man picket line in Berlin last May. Ethnic Germans joined with workers of Kurdish and Turkish descent in strike by IG Metall union.

capitalistic production on their class, so soon capital and its sycophant, political economy, cry out at the infringement of the 'eternal' and so to say 'sacred' law of supply and demand. Every combination of employed and unemployed disturbs the 'harmonious' action of this law."

That is why we in the ICL fight for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism. The struggle in defence of immigrant labour today is a vital task for the working class as a whole. We fight for: **Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations! Free the detainees! Organise the unorganised! Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions! For labour/immigrant mobilisations against fascist attacks! Jobs for all—For a sliding scale of hours at no loss in pay! Expropriate the bourgeoisie—For a planned, socialist economy organised internationally!** In every country where we exist, the ICL has fought to expose the lie of "national unity" between workers and bosses and to rally the proletariat in class solidarity with immigrants and minorities. As an example of this perspective, on 9 February in the San Francisco Bay Area our American comrades mobilised a labour-based united-front rally around the slogans: "Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labour—No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act! Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!"

There are important developments in Europe that point the way to a class-struggle road to unite the proletariat in defence of its own interests against attacks by capital. From Turkish/Kurdish metal workers in Germany to black and Asian transport workers in London, immigrants and their children are a key component of strategic, unionised sectors of the proletariat. In Italy and Germany, there have been important breaks with the narrow economism and national chauvinism pushed by the trade-union bureaucrats in their role as "labour lieutenants of capital." Thus in Italy, the CGIL trade-union federation and COBAS have called general strikes by labour and immigrants against the Bossi/Fini anti-immigrant law and also against the Berlusconi government's attempt to make the labour market "flexible" for increased exploitation by shredding union gains won through several decades of hard-fought battles! In response to popular outrage, Rifondazione Comunista (RC) is now

obliged to call protests calling for closing down the detention centres which RC itself had earlier voted for setting up. In Berlin's Potsdamer Platz on 20 June, a mass picket of German construction workers spiked an attempt to manipulate Portuguese immigrants as strikebreakers, by appealing to them to fight alongside the union in struggling for the rights of all labour, including foreign workers. As the Portuguese workers applauded and refused to cross the picket line, the strikers yelled, "Long live international solidarity!" This shows, as our comrades in Germany said in their leaflet to these strikers, "German, foreign and immigrant workers can only push forward their interests together, or they will be beaten back separately."

Advancement along this class-struggle road is obstructed by reformists and trade-union misleaders who deploy strikes not to combat capitalist rule but as pressure tactics

on capitalist politicians to whom they are ultimately beholden. Thus the IG Metall strike, which united German, Turkish and Kurdish workers in struggle in May, was called off by the SPD [Social Democratic Party] union tops as soon as SPD party leader Schröder warned that a long strike would cost the German capitalists money (isn't that the point of strikes, to hit the bosses in their pocketbooks?) and so threaten the SPD's standing in upcoming parliamentary elections. Similarly, Italy's Rifondazione Comunista leader, Bertinotti, supports strike action against the Berlusconi government explicitly to put a centre-left coalition back in power to better manage capitalist rule. RC's left wing, the "Proposta" group, now admits that RC shares responsibility for anti-immigrant laws during its support to the Prodi government, but their role is to keep leftist militants within the fold of RC reformism. As our Italian comrades have noted of Proposta, "Their perspective is not to build a Leninist vanguard party to lead the workers to power, but a 'left pole' that puts pressure on the reformist leaders and contributes to bringing them back to the helm of capitalism" (*Spartaco* No. 60, May 2002).

For a Socialist Fight for a Workers Europe!

The rise of racist demagogy, government attacks on immigrants and the threat of fascist terror bands can only be eradicated through a victorious struggle against the capitalist system. This perspective is the fundamental point of departure separating the ICL from all of our competitors in the workers movement. The anarchist milieu, while often admirably audacious in militant protests against the powers that be, lacks a programme to effectively combat much less replace the rule of capital. At bottom, their worldview is that of streetfighting liberals: pressure politics expressing justified outrage outside meetings of the capitalist rulers, rather than loathsome suit-and-tie parliamentary reformism. It's not enough to protest, it's necessary to have a perspective to fight to transform society, to topple the rapacious imperialist system and create a workers state as the necessary first step on the road to a global classless society. The former Stalinist parties and the social democrats long ago made their peace with capitalist rule; indeed, across Europe they administered

(continued on page 12)

Immigrants...

(continued from page 11)

it and augmented the attacks on the working class and immigrants. Our pseudo-Trotskyist competitors peddle their wares in the shadow of the social democracy because their aim is not to forge an authentic Leninist party by splitting the proletarian base of the reformist parties from their pro-capitalist tops but to pressure these misleaders.

On the question of immigration, groups like Workers Power promote the call to "open the borders." It's a catchy slogan, but what it would mean for "Third World" countries is an open door for imperialist investors. More generally, it is a utopian and reactionary demand for an egalitarian world within the framework of capitalism.

It is retrograde to promote the notion that somehow capitalism can be made rational or humane. Unlike groups such as Workers Power, which spout rhetoric against racism and slogans like "open the borders" but politically support the chauvinist social democrats, we seek urgently to mobilise the working class to take up the fight for full citizenship rights for all who manage to cross the borders and to drive home the understanding that the source of exploitation of all labour is the capitalist system of production, which is defended to the bitter end by *the capitalist state*. Until we achieve an internationally planned, socialist economy based on collectivised property, it will not be possible to abolish the state or national borders. The nation-state is the basis of the organisation of the capitalist economy, and to deny that is to capitulate to muddle-headed bourgeois "democrats." As Lenin said in his April 1917 speech on the national question, "What does 'Down with frontiers' mean? It is the beginning of anarchy.... Only when the socialist revolution has



Workers Hammer

London, March 13: British Spartacus Youth Group initiated protest at School of Oriental and African Studies against Labour's "anti-terrorist" laws and anti-immigrant witchhunt.

become a reality, and not a method, will the slogan 'Down with frontiers' be a correct slogan."

Against capitalist Fortress Europe, our perspective is the fight for *the socialist United States of Europe* as a vital step in the world socialist revolution. The necessary instruments to bring the working class to power are Leninist parties, politically guided with a programme that is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist. We fight to reforge the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky. Despite the regression in political consciousness today and the huge gulf between our purpose and present means, it is evident that there is no shortage of combativity and desire on the part of the working people, oppressed minorities and youth to fight. For their struggles to be successful and not derailed into the trap of reformist pressure politics, it is urgent to construct a revolutionary leadership. This is what the sections of the ICL fight for, nothing other and nothing less. ■

Mumia...

(continued from page 2)

Jamal's case throws into stark relief the nature of the capitalist *injustice* system and the racist social system that the state—the cops, courts, prisons and army—serves to protect. It drives home that the state is a mechanism of repression wielded by the capitalist class against any perceived threat to a system based on the exploitation of the many by the few. We seek to break workers and leftist youth from widespread and deadly illusions that oppressive capitalism or its murderous state can be fundamentally reformed or restrained, and to win them to a program of revolutionary struggle. This brings us into sharp political conflict with many of the other endorsers of tonight's event.

Reformist left groups like Socialist Action (SA) and the International Socialists (I.S.) have run themselves ragged in an effort to keep protests within the framework of exerting pressure on the bourgeois courts. They thereby hope to appeal to liberals and mainstream social democrats who fret that the blatant frame-up methods used against Jamal will shatter the image of "impartial" capitalist justice which they uphold.

When explosive new evidence emerged that Faulkner was killed in a mob-police hit because he was working as an informer in an FBI investigation of police corruption in

Philadelphia, SA attempted to minimize its impact because this evidence utterly exposed the illusions in the capitalist legal system they had worked so long and hard to sow. First, the U.S. *Socialist Action* (April 2001) lawyered for Jamal's former attorneys Dan Williams and Leonard Weinglass, who had dismissed as a deranged conspiracy theory the very suggestion that cops would kill one of their own. Finally compelled to acknowledge the evidence, SA merely cited it as "ample support for Mumia's new [legal] petition" (June 2001). Then they co-signed a statement for a San Francisco protest two months later declaring: "We must fight to make the price of Mumia's legal lynching too high to pay in regard to a fundamental loss of confidence in the so-called criminal justice system." This is a consummate expression of the reformists' central concern: that the masses will lose confidence in the "justice" of the capitalist courts.

When it first became active in Mumia's defense in the U.S. and Canada in the mid-'90s, SA sought to attract mainstream liberals by dumping the call for Jamal's unconditional freedom, instead pleading with the capitalist courts for a "new trial." But Jamal cannot get justice at the hands of the same frame-up system that has spent over twenty years trying to legally murder him! Socialist Action's treacherous reliance on the capitalist state only served to demobilize class-struggle support for Jamal: Why bother to mobilize the

power of labor and minorities in the streets if he can receive justice at the hands of some bourgeois judge?

Giving left cover to SA's reformist maneuvers has been the centrist International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT). For years, the IBT showed no interest in Mumia's case, and more generally expressed a sneering indifference to the crucially necessary fight for black liberation in the United States. In the aftermath of the 1985 bombing of the MOVE commune by Philadelphia police, which murdered eleven black people and incinerated a whole neighborhood, our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. sponsored a memorial meeting for the bombing victims in New York, inviting MOVE supporters to attend and speak. The very first issue of the IBT's periodical *1917* (Winter 1986) contains a nasty account of our meeting which attacks the MOVE speaker (denounced as the "SL's cop-baiting celebrity") and our comrades (for not making polemics against MOVE philosophy the focus of the event)!

The IBT's indifference to special oppression in this country is best captured by their capitulation to the Canadian rulers' Anglo-chauvinism against Quebec. During the 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty, the Chrétien government engaged in a massive campaign of flag-waving chauvinism combined with economic and political threats against any move by Quebec to secede. The IBT and the unabashedly Maple Leaf nationalist Communist Party were the *only* purportedly socialist organizations to join with the Canadian capitalist rulers in calling for a No vote to Quebec independence. Their sole member in Quebec, as he quit, denounced what he termed the IBT's "de facto bloc with the Canadian bourgeoisie." (For more details, see "From the Swamp of Anglo-Chauvinism—'Bolshevik Tendency' Opposes Quebec Independence," *Spartacist Canada* No. 108, March/April 1996.)

For Working-Class Independence from the Capitalist State!

For the social power of labor to be truly unleashed in defense of Jamal, the working class must be mobilized *independent* of the capitalists' political parties and their state. In this light, it is crucial to note that one of the labor endorsers of this meeting, the National Union of Public and General Employees (NUPGE), includes in its ranks thousands of prison guards—direct agents of the racist capitalist state against the working class and oppressed.

Since September 11, the Canadian capitalist state has rounded up immigrants, chiefly Muslims, in the name of its racist "war on terrorism," throwing them into prison hell-holes like the Metro West Detention Centre. Their jailers there are members of OPSEU, NUPGE's Ontario affiliate. During their recent strike—part of OPSEU's eight-week walkout against the provincial government—"union" spokesmen for these jail guards denounced supposed "pampering" of the prisoners, while the president of the OPSEU local at Metro West Detention Centre, railed that "the inmates are really running the facility."



1995 Toronto demonstration to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

SC photo

Any supporter of Jamal's freedom—or freedom for all the victims of capitalist injustice, like the post-September 11 detainees—should understand that prison guards, like the cops, have absolutely no place anywhere in the workers movement. Cops and prison guards out of the unions! Far from being workers, they are a key instrument of capitalist state repression against workers and the poor, who make up the vast majority of the prison population (not to mention Jamal himself and countless other opponents of oppression).

Outrageously, much of the left, including SA, the I.S. and also Socialist Alternative, actively supports the presence of prison screws in the labor movement, and even hails their "strikes"! The I.S. in particular displays a marked fondness for these agents of capitalist repression. An April 17 *Socialist Worker* back page article approvingly quotes a "striking prison guard." Six years ago, when OPSEU jail guards staged a similar strike, the I.S. even bragged that it had "gotten a hearing" among them "on picket lines recently, at the Don Jail and elsewhere" (*Socialist Worker*, 6 March 1996).

Our struggle to mobilize, independent of the capitalist state, the kind of power that can free Jamal is exemplified by the labor-centered mobilization against the post-September 11 anti-immigrant witchhunt and related anti-union attacks held in Oakland, California on February 9. At the core of that 300-strong protest were 30 dock workers from ILWU Local 10. They joined with other unionists, Latino day laborers, Asian and Near Eastern immigrants, students and the revolutionary Marxists of the Spartacist League to declare that the working class must fight to defend all the oppressed against their capitalist class enemy.

In initiating and building this united-front protest, the PDC and the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense sought above all to win workers to the need to oppose their own ruling class and to break down the poisonous racial and ethnic divisions that it fosters. This fight is a vital component of the struggle for revolutionary leadership against the capitalist system which is, by its very nature, a system of frame-ups and legalized state murder. We Trotskyists say: *No illusions in the racist capitalist state! The working class and oppressed must mobilize to free Mumia now!*

—Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, 8 June 2002

Quebec...

(continued from page 7)

serve to tie working people in English Canada to the interests of their own capitalist exploiters.

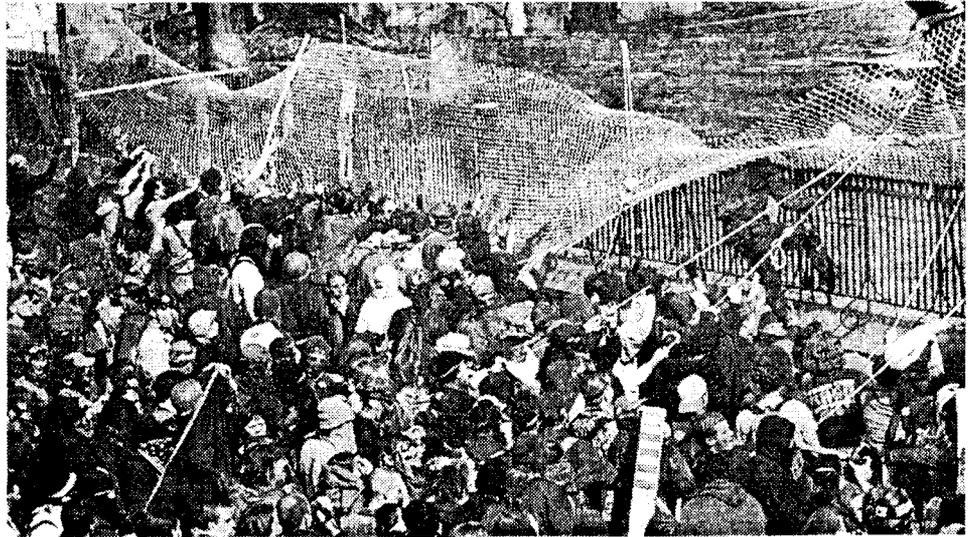
Faced with such chauvinist hostility, the Quebec working class has, for some three decades now, been pulled into the framework of nationalism as the perceived alternative to the unjust status quo. While coloring this nationalism with talk of a "social Quebec," the Quebec labor bureaucracy has worked to channel discontent among the proletariat into the bourgeois PQ—which, in turn, attacks working people and the poor on behalf of the Québécois capitalists. The continued forcible retention of Quebec within a "united" capitalist Canada necessarily dominated by Anglo chauvinism has sharply divided the workers along national lines.

Addressing this divide is of central importance for those who seek to do away with the oppressive rule of capital in favor of an egalitarian socialist future. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste advocates *independence for Quebec* as a crucial step toward breaking the hold of chauvinism and nationalism over the working class of both English Canada and Quebec. We do so as *proletarian internationalists* fighting to unite the struggles of working people and the oppressed across national barriers. Independence for Quebec would get the national question off the agenda, laying a basis for the crucial class questions to come to the fore.

Our proletarian-revolutionary approach to the Quebec national question stands in sharp contrast to that of most self-proclaimed socialist groups in English Canada. While claiming on paper to defend the right to self-determination, in practice groups like the International Socialists (I.S.) and International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT) pander to Anglo chauvinism. The I.S. flatly opposes the call for Quebec independence, claiming against all evidence that the working class of this country is *not* sharply divided. So too does the IBT, which went so far as to join with the Canadian government in calling for the Québécois to vote No to independence in the 1995 referendum. Federalist organizers even invited them to participate in a massive chauvinist rally for "Canadian unity" in Montreal on the eve of the referendum!

Our approach to the national question is modelled on that of the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, which in 1917 led the only successful workers revolution in history. Crucial to this victory was the Bolsheviks' unwavering defense of the rights of oppressed minority nationalities in the tsarist empire, while simultaneously seeking the best road to unite the working people across national barriers. In "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" (July 1916), Lenin explained how, within the framework of a common revolutionary program, Marxists in *oppressor* and *oppressed* nations face different specific tasks. He wrote:

"In the internationalist education of the workers of oppressor countries, emphasis must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and their fighting for it. Without this there can be *no* internationalism.



Mallard/Journal de Québec

Quebec City protest against Summit of the Americas, 2001.

It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat of an oppressor nation who *fails* to conduct such propaganda as a scoundrel and an imperialist....

"On the other hand, a Social-Democrat from a small nation must emphasise in his agitation the *second* word of our general formula: 'voluntary *integration*' of nations. He may, without failing in his duties as an internationalist, be in favour of *both* the political independence of his nation and its integration with the neighbouring state of X, Y, Z, etc. But in all cases he must fight *against* small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation...."

Thus proletarian revolutionaries in English Canada must unflinchingly combat Anglo reaction and call for Quebec independence in order to break the grip of chauvinism over the proletariat. And, while supporting independence and opposing all manifestations of national oppression, the central task of revolutionaries in Quebec must be to fight against the bourgeois nationalism which dominates among working people.

The UFP: Left Prop for the PQ

Recent developments on the Quebec left have gone in two distinct directions. On the one hand, there has been a revival of left-of-PQ nationalism, centered on the Union des Forces Progressistes (UFP), which was formally launched at a conference in June. On the other hand, a more left-wing, largely anarchist "anti-capitalist" movement typified by Montreal's Anti-Capitalist Convergence (CLAC) has grown explosively among youth. Unlike the electoralist UFP, CLAC et al. generally claim to oppose nationalism and reformism as they understand them.

The UFP largely consists of disaffected PQ activists, elements from the lower levels of the union officialdom and supporters of various reformist left groups, notably the Stalinist Quebec Communist Party (PCQ) and the fake-Trotskyist Gauche Socialiste (GS). Avoiding even rhetorical references to socialism, it calls instead for a "constituent assembly assigned to draft and propose to the people, through a referendum, a constitution for a progressive, republican, democratic Quebec." Little more than a left pressure group on the nationalist labor bureaucracy, the UFP's role as a left prop for the PQ is transparent. Right after its founding conference, an editorial in the left-nationalist paper *l'aut'journal*, which played a prominent role in launching the UFP, openly called

to vote for the PQ in most ridings in the next election in order to “block the ADQ” (July-August 2002).

While caviling at such brazen support to the PQ, the fake-Trotskyists of GS, Quebec affiliate of the “United Secretariat of the Fourth International” (USec), are among the most prominent, and largely uncritical, builders of the UFP. For decades, GS and its predecessor groups in Quebec have dragged the name of Trotskyism through the mud with their endless attempts to paint nationalism in progressive colors. They embrace some of the most retrograde aspects of nationalism, such as maintaining French as Quebec’s sole official language, an anti-democratic attack on the language rights of anglophones (including anglophone workers) and, especially, immigrants. Genuine Trotskyists champion *equal language rights for all* as part of our fight against all aspects of racism and chauvinism.

Internationally, the USec is a living negation of everything that Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the Russian workers revolution and founder of the Fourth International, fought for. Its flagship group in France, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), has consistently called on French workers to elect the racist, anti-working class regimes centered on the Socialist Party, which generally include outright capitalist formations such as the Radicals or Greens. In last spring’s presidential election, the LCR called to “block Le Pen,” which amounted to a call to elect the right-winger Chirac. In contrast, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France have consistently opposed votes to the SP-led popular front (and, of course, its right-wing electoral opponents), while campaigning aggressively against the French state’s viciously anti-immigrant “Vigipirate” campaign. Introduced by the SP-led government, these police-state measures are being intensified under the new right-wing regime.

Over the years, GS and other reformist Quebec leftists have tried repeatedly to create a social-democratic party on the PQ’s left fringes. From the Mouvement Socialiste of the 1980s to the more recent Parti de la Démocratie Socialiste and more, they have failed every time. Today’s UFP will surely meet a similar fate. Already, most of the mid-level labor bureaucrats who flirted with it have returned to the PQ fold in anticipation of the coming Quebec elections.

Quebec nationalism, which is constantly reinforced by Anglo chauvinism, has long been the glue tying the Québécois working class *directly* to its own national capitalists, without the need for a social-democratic intermediary. Mili-

tant struggles by the Quebec proletariat—notably the semi-insurrectionary 1972 general strike in which workers seized whole towns—have been attacked and denigrated by the chauvinist English Canadian labor bureaucrats and NDP. Time and again, this has allowed the sellout Quebec labor tops to rally the workers behind the bourgeois-nationalist PQ in the name of “national solidarity” against Anglo oppression. Our Marxist advocacy of Quebec independence is aimed at cutting through this cycle of betrayal, at creating conditions for breaking the working class from chauvinism and nationalism. GS and the UFP, in contrast, work to *reinforce* the hold of nationalism over Québécois workers.

Quebec Independence and the Anarchists

The last few years have seen the explosive growth of an anarchist-dominated “anti-capitalist” movement among youth in this country, especially in Quebec. This was highlighted by the thousands-strong protests near the security wall during last year’s Summit of the Americas in Quebec City. These protests, initiated by CLAC, were built in explicit counterposition to mainstream nationalist and protectionist rallies organized elsewhere in the city by both the English Canadian and Quebec labor bureaucracies.

Most of today’s “anti-capitalist” youth in Quebec first came to political consciousness under the PQ regime, and see these bourgeois nationalists as their most immediate oppressors. Thus CLAC and other anarchist groups regularly affirm that they “reject nationalism.” A healthy starting point—but this does not amount to a program for effectively struggling against, much less replacing, the rule of capital. That requires a perspective centered on mobilizing the social power of the working class.

The working class has its hands on the means of production—mines, factories, transport—from which the capitalist rulers derive their profits. Marxists understand that the proletariat uniquely possesses both the potential power and material interest to sweep away capitalist rule, and that a revolutionary party is essential to make the workers conscious of this role. CLAC and other anarchist groups, in contrast, view the working class as at best merely a “sector” of the oppressed, if not bought off altogether by the system. Far from fighting to *change consciousness* among the proletariat, they are reduced to an often audacious but ultimately ineffectual perspective of youthful “direct action.”

The accelerated growth of anarchism is conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. In Quebec as elsewhere, most radicalizing youth no longer regard Marxism as a liberating political current, misidentifying it with the Stalinism which undermined and ultimately strangled the Russian Revolution. And the abject national-reformism of groups like GS and the PCQ helps to confirm their perception that “Marxists” are, in practice, just another wheel of the capitalist machine.

The impulses of anarchist youth who reject nationalism are certainly better than those of Quebec leftists who embrace such nationalism—or, even worse, English Canadian “leftists” who wallow in Anglo chauvinism. But any perspective for actually changing society must go deeper, and address the reality of national oppression and its impact on the proletariat. One of the few anarchist groups to elaborate a position on the national question is the Quebec City-based Groupe Anarchiste Emile-Henry (now affiliated with the Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists). Its

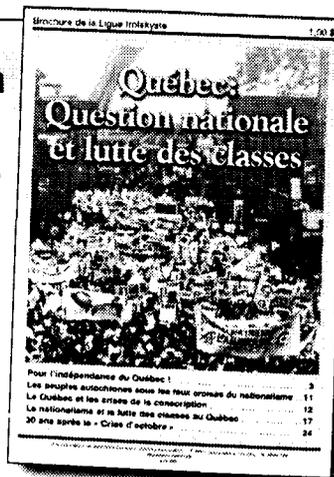
(continued on page 16)

Available in French

A Trotskyist League pamphlet on the Quebec national question and the class struggle.

\$1.00
(32 pages)

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



Quebec...

(continued from page 15)

"Bases of Political Unity" calls to "reject all nationalisms, not solely that of the right (patriotism and chauvinism), which goes without saying, but also its supposedly left version (revolutionary nationalism)," and continues:

"The fight for the independence of Quebec, even in an anti-capitalist framework, is not our struggle.... Our ambition is a global social revolution which will smash all borders."

Nowhere do these anarchists address the obvious question: *how* can we get a "global social revolution which will smash all borders"? An essential precondition for any fight against capitalist exploitation is united struggle by the working class, regardless of language or nationality. This requires winning the proletariat, which in the real world is trapped in the framework of Anglo chauvinism and Quebec nationalism, to revolutionary internationalist consciousness. Simply proclaiming the need to "unite and fight" cannot overcome the current, deep divisions. Even the unions, the basic defense organizations of the working class, are in large part split on national lines between English Canada and Quebec.

Fighting to win the working class in English Canada to championing Quebec independence is crucial to breaking the hold of the English Canadian capitalists and their labor lieutenants; correspondingly, this would work to lessen the hold of bourgeois nationalism among the Québécois working class. Quebec independence would not, of course, be "anti-capitalist." But it would remove a giant obstacle to working-class consciousness and struggle, allowing the workers of both nations to see more clearly that their enemies are their "own" capitalist exploiters, not each other. In other words, it would provide far better conditions for the proletariat to "reject nationalism" and enter the road of anti-capitalist struggle. Such an outcome depends decisively on the presence of an authoritative revolutionary leadership that combats all forms of backwardness among the proletariat.

The Dead End of Maoism

Also active in the Quebec "anti-capitalist" milieu are the Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Organizing Committees) (RCP-OC), formerly known as Action Socialiste. The RCP-OC traces its history to the once-large Maoist organizations of the latter half of the 1970s. These groups, particularly the long-defunct Workers Communist Party, called to oppose the nationalism of the PQ government of the day by...embracing the national-chauvinism of the Canadian rulers. Deeply imbued with the anti-Sovietism of the Maoist bureaucratic ruling caste in China, this outfit called to strengthen the Canadian military against Soviet "social-imperialism"!

Like the anarchists, the RCP-OC claims to oppose the belly-crawling reformism and nationalism of "leftists" like the UFP. At the same time, they posture as a "party-building" alternative, which may seem an attractive idea to some anarchist youth looking for a perspective beyond the latest "direct action." But the RCP-OC's claim to represent any sort of Marxism is utterly fraudulent. While genuine Marxists do understand that leadership—a revolutionary party—is essential for revolution, what is key first and foremost is *program*: a party to lead who, and to where?

The RCP-OC's line on the national question is a confused hodgepodge; their newspapers and journals mix sometimes

cogent attacks on the Quebec labor bureaucracy and their "left" tails with ridiculous assertions that nationalism is not, in fact, a major factor among the Quebec proletariat. Thus they wrote in *Socialisme Maintenant!* (Summer 1997) that developments in Quebec over the last two decades "have given the lie to the nationalist thesis according to which Quebec's popular classes would have been fundamentally *indépendantiste*." The lie? How has the nationalist labor bureaucracy been able to succeed in tying the unions to the PQ for the last quarter century if the workers were not indeed imbued with nationalist illusions?

While opposing Québécois nationalism, the RCP-OC is incapable of addressing the reality that prospects for united proletarian struggle in this country have been crippled by the dominance of Anglo chauvinism. Instead of a Marxist perspective for winning the working class from chauvinism and nationalism to revolutionary internationalist consciousness, they substitute idiotic bombast about how "the road to revolution in Canada is that of a *prolonged people's war*" (*Socialisme Maintenant!*, Spring 2002). The RCP-OC's model for such a "prolonged people's war" is the Shining Path guerrillas of the Communist Party of Peru, whose "new forms of struggle," they claim, "clarify the road to revolution." Shining Path was in fact an anti-working-class movement known for pathological violence—from publicly executing prostitutes to murdering leftist political opponents including union organizers. The idea that this outfit, with its primitivist anti-urban ideology, cult of personality and gangster operations could provide a model for revolutionary struggle in Quebec (or anywhere else) is both demented and reactionary.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party that Fights for All the Oppressed!

Going forward in the struggle against capitalist rule in this country requires recognizing, and combatting, the *obstacles* to proletarian struggle. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fights first and foremost against the chauvinism which has poisoned the consciousness and struggles of the English Canadian working class. In Quebec, we emphasize the need to combat the nationalist politics promoted by the trade union bureaucracy, which have long paralyzed and sabotaged working-class struggle.

Everywhere, we emphasize that without a perspective of winning the working class to the consciousness of its historic tasks there can be no prospect of successful struggle against capitalism. This requires the instrumentality of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, which would seek to combine the social power of the working class with the militancy and energy of radicalizing youth. As we wrote in our major statement on the Quebec national question ("For Quebec Independence!" SC No. 105, September/October 1995):

"Nationalism and chauvinism have been the key strands in the ropes which bind the English-speaking and French-speaking workers to their 'own' capitalist enemies, setting them against each other, and against anyone else who is 'not us.' Thus French-speaking Haitians in Montreal, English-speaking Jamaicans in Toronto, Asians in Vancouver, aboriginal peoples struggling to assert their rights, are all victims of racist abuse and open state terror 'justified' in large part by the vicious logic of nationalism which currently defines and bedevils this country.

"We advocate independence for Quebec to help clear the way for united struggle by the racially integrated working class of the whole continent against the system of exploitation and oppression that threatens the future of all humanity." ■

UN/Canadian "Peacekeepers"...

(continued from page 6)

in Colombia, and has played its own squalid role in the war against Colombian workers and peasants. As the report by human rights researcher Ismi documents: "Canadian investment in Colombia is an estimated \$5 billion and is concentrated in these same economic sectors where state and paramilitary repression is the greatest—oil and gas, and telecommunications. Canadian corporations have also been linked to this repressive apparatus in the oil sector." Canadian oil companies have been directly connected with paramilitary death squads and the army. Death squads have driven over 10,000 people out of southern Bolívar, the largest gold-producing region in Colombia, where Canadian mining companies have interests. Francisco Ramírez Cuéllar, president of the Colombian Mine Workers Union, has accused death squads backed by Canadian mining capital of assassinating miners and unionists.

Canada has also supplied military equipment for the Colombian government's murderous war. For example, Canada sold the U.S. State Department 33 surplus Twin Huey helicopters, which were then redirected for use in Plan Colombia (Amnesty International, 20 March 2001). Making a profit off selling the weapons while declaring that its hands are clean is business as usual for this country's capitalist rulers. During the Cold War against the Soviet Union, Canada frequently offered its loyal services as U.S. imperialism's "back door" for arms shipments and helped bankroll anti-Communist wars around the globe. At the height of the Vietnam War, Canada sold the U.S. weapons to the tune of \$1 million a day.

Sudan: Oil, Slavery and "Ethnic Cleansing"

Canadian capitalism also has been directly involved in East Africa in one of the most brutal and long-running conflicts on the planet. The civil war in Sudan, prosecuted by the Khartoum-based northern Islamic government against the historically oppressed animist and Christian ethnic groups of the south, has resulted in the deaths of an estimated two million people since 1983 and the torture, rape and forced displacement of millions more. More than 15,000 women and children have been abducted and sold into slavery by *Murahleen* ethnic militias armed by the Khartoum government. Control over the oil-rich regions of Western Upper Nile and South Kordofan, located in the south of the country, has become a central issue propelling this ongoing slaughter.

The role of Alberta-based Talisman Energy and other oil companies in perpetuating this living hell is flagrant. The largest independent oil and gas company in Canada, Talisman controls 25 percent of the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company. A lawsuit filed last year in the U.S. reports: "Talisman has deliberately and intentionally facilitated, conspired in, or aided and abetted in the use of Sudanese armed forces in a brutal ethnic cleansing campaign against a civilian population based on their ethnicity and/or religion for the purpose of enhancing its ability to explore and extract oil from areas of southern Sudan" (quoted in "Sudan: Our Terrorist Comrade," *Village Voice* web edition, 14 December 2001).

The Sudanese armed forces have driven thousands of mainly Dinka people away from their homes in order to create a 100-kilometer "swath of scorched earth" around the southern oil fields. Even a "fact-finding" mission sent to

Sudan by the Canadian government was compelled by the horror of what it found to report that roads and airfields built by oil companies facilitated these attacks, while forces that guard the Talisman facilities are directly connected to the campaign of terror against the Dinka and Nuer minorities (*Human Security in Sudan*, January 2000). A 7 May 1999 Sudanese government document spells out the symbiotic relationship between Talisman and the Sudanese military in crystal-clear terms: "In accordance with directives of His Excellency the Minister of Energy and Mining and fulfilling the request of the Canadian Company...the armed forces will conduct cleaning up operations in all villages from Heglig to Pariang." Two days after the date of this document, armed forces launched the infamous Ruweng County offensive, which drove out or killed half of the province's population.

For Workers Revolution to Smash Imperialism!

Talisman and other Canadian companies from the Caribbean to South America and beyond demonstrate what imperialism is all about: murder and plunder. As long as imperialist domination, aided and abetted by local capitalists and their state agents, forcibly suppresses the development of the "Third World" through economic exploitation, nothing can raise the "Global South" out of grinding desperation and poverty. The liberation of the world's impoverished masses can be achieved only by the international working class which has the numbers, organization, strategic social weight and historical interest to destroy capitalism. Crucially, imperialism has established the basis for workers revolution in many countries of belated economic development through its creation of a proletariat concentrated in industrial-urban centers whose victory, together with that of the workers in the advanced industrial countries, alone can lay the basis for an internationally planned economy that will put an end to war, poverty and oppression.

As Marxists in Canada, our job is to oppose the machinations of our "own" capitalist rulers. This is what the Spartacus Youth Clubs have done at union rallies in Victoria; Vancouver protests against racist deportations; Navistar strike pickets in Chatham; anti-"globalization" mobilizations in Quebec City and Ottawa; Toronto protests against attacks on Afghanistan and for housing for the homeless. We seek to build a youth movement that intervenes on the side of the working class against the capitalist exploiters, fighting for the rights of immigrants, Native people and all of the oppressed, at home and abroad. This is a crucial part of the struggle to forge the necessary political leadership to lead the working class in a socialist revolution that will rip power out of the hands of the exploiters and make possible a communist society free of exploitation, hunger and violence for working people everywhere. Join us! ■

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

Nurses...

(continued from page 3)

Live-in-Caregiver Program and the presence of under-employed foreign-nurses doing home support and care work for private health care companies drive down the wages of unionized nurses. Why would the government grant the demands of the union when there exists a ghettoized pool of cheap labour forced to do the same work for a cheaper price? BCNU's exclusionary resolution fast tracks the privatization of health care as foreign-trained nurses are pushed into the underclass of cheap labor."

As part of the struggle for free quality medical care and jobs for all, we of the Trotskyist League demand the BCNU tops rescind their racist ban on foreign-born nurses. We struggle for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and we oppose programs like the LCP whose purpose is to supply low-paid, high-skilled domestics for the bourgeoisie, to be cast aside when their labor is no longer needed.

At the mass labor protests and on picket lines TL comrades have explained that workers' unity in struggle against capitalist austerity and repression would shake the rulers' reactionary post-September 11 onslaught on the rights of all working people. As we said in our *Spartacist Canada* supplement distributed at last February's 40,000-strong protest in Victoria, "Labor Must Defend Immigrants, All the Oppressed!" Nor is this perspective utopian. A small taste of the kind of solidarity that can advance class struggle was seen in the early June strike of forestry workers in the Queen Charlotte Islands in solidarity with the Haida Native people against both the racist government and the giant Weyerhaeuser corporation.

B.C. is at the sharp end of the capitalists' drive to reduce social overhead by slashing health care and other social programs. For the past decade, first under the NDP and now the Liberals, the health care system has been not so slowly destroyed. It has become increasingly difficult, for instance, to have an abortion outside the Lower Mainland. Hospitals have been providing only what is deemed primary, essential care, while sick people wait months for medical treatment.

On every level these new cuts attack women most harshly. Sixty percent of government jobs are held by women, and one in three are being axed. With vindictive disdain for Native peoples and women, in the Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services (known bitterly as the "Ministry of Lost Causes") **64 percent** of the workers—two-thirds of whom are women—are to lose their jobs. Thrown out of work disproportionately, women also pay a heavy price for the destruction of vital services from childcare to women's shelters and legal aid.

Break With the Sellout NDP!

Pitting Canadian-born against immigrant workers, the union bureaucracy poisons effective struggle against both the Liberals' attacks and the bourgeoisie's broader war on immigrants and all working people. Immigrant workers are a core component of the organized labor movement and many bring valuable experiences of struggle from their homelands. The rulers' intention is to terrorize whole layers of such workers and make them "suspect" in the eyes of their native-born brothers and sisters. This has taken on more urgency as Chrétien's Liberals, working hand in glove with their senior U.S. partners, have closed the border to all refugee claimants arriving from the U.S. and have increased the state's powers of detention. At the same time, another new law attacks the poorest and most desperate immigrants, barring welfare recip-



Workers Vanguard

Oakland, February 9: ILWU longshoremen were key to labor-centered demo in defense of immigrants, unions.

ients from sponsoring their own children or spouses. In its own defense, labor must defend immigrants and refugees!

There is enormous social discontent in B.C. right now and many workers are looking for a way to struggle. But they are saddled with a pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, of which the chauvinist BCNU misleaders are a prime example. The strategy of the union misleaders who run the B.C. Federation of Labour is to channel mounting anger into re-electing the social-democratic NDP. Hardly even a "lesser evil," the NDP paved the way for the Liberals' brutal attacks today. In their decade in power the NDP oversaw massive job losses, especially in the private sector. Their ferocious cuts to welfare and health care came with a heavy dose of racism and chauvinism as the NDP demanded the internment of "illegal" immigrants to "defend B.C." against a supposed "invasion" of Asian migrants and sent the army and RCMP against Natives at Gustafsen Lake in 1995.

Right behind the union bureaucrats are the self-proclaimed "left" groups whose calls for more militant action and even general strikes are in the service of once again electing an NDP government. The International Socialists were among those who called to elect the NDP in 1991 and re-elect them in 1996. Now they are urging people to vote NDP in municipal and other local elections. Incredibly, the *L'Humanité* group (June-July 2002) demands the NDP be re-elected in order to fight Gordon Campbell's racist anti-Native treaty referendum, adding, "The NDP has traditionally had a policy that is favored by many Natives." A "left" group which claims that the party that carried out the state terror at Gustafsen Lake—the most massive RCMP operation in Canadian history—is a champion of aboriginal rights, has nothing to offer immigrants, Native people or anyone else seeking a way forward.

Racism, bigotry and anti-woman oppression are woven tightly into the fabric of this society. Ensuring the things workers need—jobs, good housing, health care, education—requires socialist revolution, abolishing the capitalist system of exploitation of the many by the few. The key to victory is a multiracial revolutionary workers party, not an NDP-style "labor" party that upholds capitalist rule and poisons the proletariat with reactionary bourgeois ideas. We of the TL are dedicated to forging such a party, and our defense of immigrant rights is a vital part of this struggle. ■

Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

homes or deporting families of suspected terrorists and subjecting the whole Palestinian population to a total lockdown.

Seizing on the Hebrew University attack, whose victims included five Americans, U.S. president Bush issued a blank check for the next round of brutal Zionist attacks, intoning that "Israel must defend herself." But in the face of an international clamor, even Bush felt compelled to distance himself from the "heavy-handed" Gaza bombing. Above all, the U.S. is concerned that any serious escalation by Sharon could pose an obstacle to its one overriding obsession in the Near East: the crushing of the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. The Bush administration has sharply ratcheted up talk of an invasion of Iraq. A number of possible war plans are being mooted, including a massive ground invasion involving a quarter-million troops and an "outside-inside" scheme combining heavy air strikes with a deployment of 50,000 troops to seize Baghdad and assassinate Hussein.

The invasion threat has generated considerable unease among the West European powers, among Arab leaders like Jordan's King Abdullah—who warned Bush that an invasion could throw the whole region into turmoil—and even among elements in the Pentagon. The Liberal government in Ottawa called for Washington to get a United Nations imprimatur before launching an invasion. For their part, U.S. Democrats whimpered that Bush should first present his case for an invasion in Congress. What case? Even Hitler felt the need to fabricate a provocation to justify his invasion of Poland in 1939. But the American imperialist rulers arrogantly declare that they need no justification to overthrow any government or "pre-emptively" invade any country they can get away with attacking. For all the blather about "weapons of mass destruction," Bush administration spokesmen rejected out of hand Iraq's offer to reinstitute the United Nations "arms inspection" regime.

An American invasion of Iraq would massively deepen the destruction carried out by the U.S. in the 1991 Gulf War,

and by the bombing campaign which continues to this day, further devastating the infrastructure of what was once one of the most advanced Arab countries. Canadian warplanes joined in the brutal bombardment of Iraq eleven years ago, and Canada continues to help implement the UN starvation sanctions against Iraq. In recent months, Washington has been putting a squeeze on the "oil for food" program which provides a minimal lifeline for a population besieged by the continuing UN blockade. Curtailing oil sales ensures that there will be even more victims than the one and a half million men, women and children who have already died from malnutrition and lack of medicines. **Down with the imperialist embargo! U.S./Canada: hands off Iraq! All U.S., Canadian, UN troops out of the Near East! Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinians!**

Zionist Cycle of Terror

The current plight of the Palestinian people is the end-product of the 1993 "peace" accords setting up an "autonomous" Palestinian Authority that is now effectively buried under Israeli tank treads. A recent World Bank study conveys some sense of the nightmarish conditions in the Occupied Territories. The lack of any real Israeli investment since the territories were seized in 1967 meant that Palestinians relied overwhelmingly on menial, low-wage jobs in Israel. But especially since 1993, those jobs were increasingly sealed off through ever more frequent "security" closures and the building of a concrete-and-barbed-wire wall around Gaza. From 1992 to 1998, the total number of Palestinian workers employed in Israel declined by half—and even more in the case of Gaza residents—reducing per capita income to 1967 levels. Today, the unemployment rate has surpassed 50 percent, half of all children suffer from malnutrition and two-thirds of Palestinians live below the poverty level (defined as a per capita income of U.S. \$2.50 per day). Income is expected to plunge by yet another 30 percent by the end of the year.

The tightening ghettoization of Arab towns and villages, combined with the massive destruction of West Bank society and infrastructure carried out by the Israeli military last spring, has reduced what economic life existed to the barest minimum. Meanwhile, the Zionist rulers are withholding some \$600 million in international aid from the Palestinians. **Israel's rulers are carrying out a policy of starvation in the Occupied Territories.**

After nine years of Palestinian "autonomy," the number of Zionist settlers has doubled, totaling some 400,000 in Gaza, the West Bank and an ever-expanding East Jerusalem. The true face of the settler movement was seen in a recent pogromist rampage in Hebron, where some 500 settlers protected by 6,000 troops lord it over an Arab population of 120,000. A funeral for a settler killed by Palestinians was turned into an anti-Arab pogrom, as a racist mob shot dead a 14-year-old girl in her home, wounded her brother, stabbed another young boy and broke into Palestinian houses and smashed up the local market.

A recent poll conducted by the liberal
(continued on page 20)

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| TROTSKYIST LEAGUE/SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB FORUM | |
| Toronto | <p style="text-align: center;">South Africa Torn by AIDS Crisis Workers Struggle Against ANC Neo-Apartheid Rule</p> <p>6:30 p.m., Saturday 14 Sept., International Student Centre 33 St. George St., U of T (north of College)</p> <p>For more info, call (416) 593-4138 or email spartcan@on.aibn.com</p> |
| SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB FORUM | |
| Vancouver | <p style="text-align: center;">Workers Protests Shake China Defend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution! Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!</p> <p>6:00 p.m., Thursday, 19 Sept., Room 212A, SUB, UBC</p> <p>For more info, call the SYC at (604) 687-0353 or email tlit@look.ca</p> |
| SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB CLASS SERIES | |
| Toronto | <p>For Workers Revolution to Smash Racist Capitalism!</p> <p>1st Class September 26 Alternating Thursdays 6:30 p.m. International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street, U of T</p> |
| | <p>Marxism and World Revolution</p> <p>1st Class September 24 The Principles of Communism Alternating Tuesdays 6:00 p.m. Room 213 Student Union Building, UBC</p> |
| | Vancouver |

Palestinians...

(continued from page 19)

Peace Now organization showed that 68 percent of the nearly 200,000 West Bank settlers would be willing to leave if compensated. Presumably, these are largely the recent immigrants who were forced to live there by the government or those drawn mainly by artificially low housing costs. That leaves a solid core of 60,000 or more hard-bitten zealots—just in the West Bank—who are determined to serve as an advance guard in a genocidal war to expel the Palestinians.

At bottom, the settler movement is an auxiliary army of occupation and the settlements little more than military outposts, linked by strategic “bypass” highways open only to Jews and a growing network of military checkpoints where Palestinians are routinely terrorized and humiliated. It is to maintain this apparatus of terror that the Israeli government spends **\$1 billion** a year on “security” and housing subsidies in the Occupied Territories, even as it denies the bare essentials of existence to the Palestinian population and slashes social services for working people in Israel. Defense of the Palestinians must begin with the demand for **the immediate removal of all anti-Arab fortifications in the Occupied Territories—the troops, the settlements and the apartheid highway network.**

While Palestinian attacks on Israeli soldiers and their fascistic settler auxiliaries at least target the enforcers of the brutal Zionist occupation, the bombings of schools, buses, shopping malls or discos are criminal from the standpoint of the working class. Such attacks are aimed simply at killing as many Israeli civilians as possible, just as the Israeli state terror in Gaza, carried out with far more formidable firepower, was aimed at killing as many Palestinians as possible. The choice of Hebrew University as a Hamas target is particularly significant, as this is one of the few venues where Jews and Arabs have continued to intermingle despite the steady deepening of national antagonisms over the last two years. And, in fact, many of the wounded at the university were Arab students.

The organizers of such indiscriminate bombings—whether Islamic fundamentalists or Palestinian nationalists like the Al Aksa Brigade—share the reactionary mindset of the Zionist rulers. Just as Sharon deems every Palestinian a “terrorist” to be tortured, murdered or starved to death, Hamas & Co. consider it a crime to have been born into the Hebrew-speaking population or even to associate with it in any way. Such criminal attacks serve only to deepen the grip of chauvinism over the Hebrew-speaking working people and drive them further into the arms of their own exploiters.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The Gaza City attack came just as the Tanzim militia associated with Yasir Arafat’s Fatah organization was about to declare a cease-fire that would end “all attacks on innocent men, women and children who are non-combatants.” Obviously timed to scuttle this unilateral declaration, which was largely brokered by the European Union, Sharon’s bombing followed a pattern of provocation that goes right back to the start of the Palestinian uprising. What triggered the *Intifada* in the first place was Sharon’s march (with the approval of the then Labor government) through the Muslim



SC photo

Trotskyist League contingent at August 6 Toronto protest against sanctions and threatened war on Iraq.

holy shrine of Al Aksa in Jerusalem with more than a thousand heavily armed soldiers in the fall of 2000.

Since then, every attempt to broker some kind of “peace” agreement—invariably based on the demand that the Palestinians cease to defend themselves against the Zionist occupiers—has been buried in the rubble and burning wreckage left by another onslaught of the Israeli war machine. Thus when Arafat met U.S. president Clinton in November 2000, Israel responded by blowing up a Fatah activist in his van—also killing random pedestrians—with anti-tank missiles launched from helicopters. Similarly, a Jordanian “peace mission” in April 2001 was greeted with an Israeli bombing attack in Lebanon along with additional provocations in the West Bank and Gaza. Last February, Israel reacted to a Saudi-sponsored “peace” proposal by devastating another refugee camp in the West Bank, killing over 30 Palestinians.

Throughout this slaughter, Israel has been backed to the hilt by the U.S. imperialists with arms, supplies and billions in cash. For both major bourgeois parties in the U.S.—Republicans and Democrats—support for the Zionist state is an unassailable article of faith. At the same time, the U.S. seeks to maintain enough of a semblance of concern for the plight of the Palestinian people so as not to completely discredit Washington’s Arab client regimes in the face of widespread popular unrest and powerful Islamist opposition movements. Thus after Israel’s air strike in Gaza, some U.S. State Department advisers wanted to “put enough daylight between us and them so that our efforts are not completely discredited.”

Washington’s junior partners in the Canadian government also back Israel down the line. At the same time, the sheer barbarity of Israel’s repression of the Palestinians has produced fractures, including among the governing Liberals. Last spring, a speech to the Canada-Israel Committee by foreign affairs minister Bill Graham which contained some mild criticisms of the Sharon government and calls for “peace” with the Palestinians was met with jeers and hisses. A delegation of Liberal, NDP and Bloc Québécois MPs who visited the West Bank and Gaza in May issued a statement denouncing the suffering of the Palestinian people as “sub-human” and demanding an end to the occupation.

Their aim, shared by European capitalist governments as well as elements among the U.S. Democrats, is to pressure Washington to revive the "peace process" that Clinton presided over in 1993. Coming after the 1991 assault on Iraq, in which the U.S. reasserted its unchallenged hegemony in the oil-rich Near East, the 1993 "peace" deal was seen by Washington as a way of sealing a Pax Americana in the region. For the Zionist rulers, it was a way of offloading the policing of the Occupied Territories into the willing hands of Arafat and a handful of his nationalist cronies. For all the vague promises of an eventual bantustan-style mini-state in the sweet by-and-by—if the Palestinians "behaved themselves"—that was the real content of the "autonomy" ushered in by the Oslo Accords.

This *betrayal* of the just aspirations of the Palestinian people was the result of the nationalist strategy pursued by Fatah and the rest of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), including such "radical" groups as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Enormously outgunned by the Zionist state, the PLO was under no illusion that a military struggle could achieve Palestinian statehood. In practice, these petty-bourgeois nationalists looked to the Arab bourgeois states, the UN and, finally, directly to the U.S. imperialists to pressure Israel into a deal.

With the counterrevolutionary collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the PLO was deprived of crucial diplomatic and financial support, paving the way for the ignominious U.S.-sponsored "peace." The result has been such a catastrophe that large sections of the historically cosmopolitan Palestinian population have turned to the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, purveyors of religious obscurantism, anti-woman bigotry and anti-Semitism.

The horrors to which the Palestinians have been subjected have provoked outrage and protest around the world. But

many of these protests have been aimed at appeals to one or another imperialist agency to intervene in defense of the Palestinians. Thus a resolution against the Israeli occupation adopted overwhelmingly by the Canadian Labour Congress at its June convention calls for the intervention of a "multi-national peacekeeping force" in the Near East. We warn: any imperialist military intervention, including one in United Nations blue helmets, would only aid in *quelling* the Palestinian national struggle. This is what the UN did in overseeing the creation of the Zionist state in 1948 and in disarming Palestinian fighters in Lebanon in 1982, leading to Sharon's massacre of over 2,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. We fight rather to mobilize the working people internationally in concrete acts of class-struggle solidarity with the besieged Palestinians. ***Down with U.S. and Canadian aid to Israel! No illusions in UN "peacekeepers"!***

There can be no genuine self-determination for the Palestinian Arab people—carved up between Israel, the Occupied Territories, Jordan and Lebanon—short of thoroughgoing socialist revolutions that sweep away the capitalist order throughout the Near East. Nor is self-determination conceivable without the right of Palestinians to return to the lands inside Israel from which they were expelled in decades past. But the Hebrew-speaking nation also has the right to exist. The contending national claims of these two peoples can never be equitably sorted out under capitalism, which is based on national aggrandizement.

It is vitally necessary to build revolutionary workers parties that will fight to break Hebrew-speaking workers from the stranglehold of intense chauvinism and Arab workers from the nationalism and Islamic reaction that binds them to their rulers. Only under the red banner of proletarian internationalism can all the peoples of the region achieve national and social justice within a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Auto...

(continued from page 24)

Paid less and worked even harder, workers at such outfits are even more exposed to the bosses' "productivity" schemes and the "boom and bust" anarchy of the capitalist market.

The anti-working-class deals that established "free trade" have accelerated the pace of the capitalists' attacks. The original 1988 U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement (FTA) resulted in the infamous "race to the bottom" for workers on both sides of the border. Unions were savaged—and with them jobs, benefits and working conditions—in pursuit of a "level playing field." With the inclusion of Mexico in the broadened North American Free Trade Agreement, the rulers turned the screws of "profitability" even tighter. NAFTA was designed to open up Mexico, a dependent "Third World" country, to wholesale economic pillage by American imperialism and its Canadian junior partner. A decade and more of capitalist robbery via NAFTA has only deepened the miserable poverty of Mexico's working people, not least in the non-union "maquiladora" zones along the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo.

Under the FTA and NAFTA, lower-cost, often non-union labor has put increased downward pressure on the wages and benefits of unionized auto workers. The Navistar strike, for instance, was in large part provoked by the company's threat to shift production to its Mexican plant if the CAW did not make deep concessions. The capitalists' endless war to drive down labor costs (in the form of wages, benefits and union

rules) is a law of capitalism, however, not just of NAFTA. Look at what's happening in Asia.

The Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state is increasingly being pried open to imperialist economic penetration, aided immeasurably by the "market reforms" implemented by the ruling Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. The return of capitalism to China would create a vast "Mexico" for the imperialist powers to exploit. The struggle to defend the remaining gains of the anti-capitalist 1949 revolution is crucial. Chinese workers have engaged in explosive struggles of late against the spectre of capitalist restoration, and the outcome is not yet decided. Nevertheless, in anticipation, the Japanese auto bosses are scheming to radically slash the wages, jobs and benefits of Japanese autoworkers.

The worldwide attacks on working people are an inevitable part of the capitalist wage-labor system, where maximizing the rate of profit—the highest return for each dollar invested—is literally the "bottom line." So, what is to be done? The CAW leadership declares that "Fighting back does make a difference," and this is true: the kind of militancy displayed at Chatham is indispensable. By itself, however, no amount of militancy will be enough to halt the capitalists' massacre of union jobs. As Karl Marx explained in his 1865 pamphlet, *Wages, Price and Profit*, in their defensive struggles working people:

"ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the

(continued on page 22)

Auto...

(continued from page 21)

downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady.... Instead of the *conservative* motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!" they ought to inscribe on their banner the *revolutionary* watchword, "Abolition of the wages system!"

For Internationalist Labor Struggle!

Especially in the highly integrated North American auto industry, the situation cries out for joint class struggle across national borders—for starters, a coordinated unionization drive, from the Mexican maquiladoras to the Asian and European "transplants" of the southern U.S. and the components operations of southern Ontario. International working-class solidarity is both necessary and possible. During the battle at Navistar, Mexican unionists sent greetings to the CAW, declaring "Today, more than ever, workers—without taking into consideration nationalities—should remain united to confront capital as one." On the picket line in Chatham, Trotskyist League supporters encountered particular interest in our newspapers' coverage of intense class struggles waged by unionized Mexican autoworkers in cities like Puebla, Saltillo and Toluca.

International class struggle requires internationalist leadership, however, and the whole perspective of the CAW leadership is *anti*-internationalist. CAW president Hargrove is the Maple Leaf nationalist and protectionist trade-warrior *par excellence* within the Canadian labor movement. In the *Globe and Mail* (21 May), he went so far as to praise the aggressive trade policies of George W. Bush. "Other countries intervene forcefully to ensure that key industries behave in a manner that is consistent with the national interest," he wrote. "Look no further than the United States, with its softwood lumber tariffs, its agricultural subsidies, and its strong-arming of corporate executives in the wake of Sept. 11. Canada needs to do the same."

Such chauvinist demands for trade war translate fairly directly into the crude racist lies pushed daily on the shop floor that auto workers in other countries are "stealing Canadian jobs." Ironically, when Hargrove's predecessor Bob White led the nationalist CAW split from the American UAW in 1985, he claimed he could get a better deal for Canadian workers because—what with medicare and a low dollar—Canadian labor was cheaper than American! And for a while it "worked," largely at the expense of black Detroit, whose jobs vanished by the thousands while investment poured north. By Hargrove & Co.'s current logic, just who was "stealing jobs" from whom back then?

Blaming foreign workers won't halt the destruction of union jobs. Neither will pressuring the Canadian government to "defend Canadian workers." Combined with international union organizing, the struggle to defend jobs urgently poses a fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to share the available work among the available hands. However, such a class-struggle policy cuts against the grain of the CAW tops' pro-capitalist program of collaboration with Canadian exploiters in the name of the "national interest." Despite the CAW leadership's frequent verbal and material support for workers in Mexico and elsewhere, their protectionism is ulti-



Espartaco

Puebla, Mexico: Mass strike meeting of Volkswagen workers, August 2001.

mately counterposed to joint class struggle.

Nationalism and Class Collaboration

Many militant workers and social-justice activists look to the CAW leadership as a fighting alternative to the belly-crawling "business unionists" who dominate the Canadian Labour Congress. The CAW leadership offer themselves as "social unionists": vocal opponents of racism, sexism and anti-gay bigotry; backers of militant youth protests; leftist critics of the right-wing NDP leadership. And as the Navistar strike showed, they know how to use militant class-struggle tactics. But the question is, in the service of what political program?

The CAW tops view union militancy as a pressure tactic to encourage Canadian corporations and politicians to adopt protectionist policies. Pushing Ottawa and the Big Three to come up with a replacement for the defunct Auto Pact, Hargrove declared, "There has to be a stick involved. Our stick is the threat to shut [the companies] down" (*Globe and Mail*, 19 July).

Such militancy in the service of nationalism encourages illusions in the capitalist state—the government, its laws, and the cops, courts and prisons that enforce them. Hargrove's demand for restoring "anti-scab" laws, and his praise for Chatham police during the Navistar strike, imply that the bosses' state can and should be the ally of working people. Hargrove is supported in this falsehood by various reformist left groups. The Communist Party's *People's Voice* (August 1-31) uncritically cites his calls for anti-scab laws as the solution to strikebreaking, while the International Socialists' *Socialist Worker* (3 July) declares that the attempt to run down Navistar strikers "was made possible by the Ontario Tory government who scrapped legislation preventing the use of replacement workers (scabs) in 1995."

Under the class rule of the capitalists, any legislative reform—such as the former Ontario NDP government's vaunted ban on strikebreakers—will be a double-edged sword. The effect and *intent* of the Bob Rae government's "anti-scab" law was to *demobilize* the kind of militant labor action that carried the day at Navistar. This teaches the workers to rely not on their own struggles and strength, but on the "democratic" capitalist state. But, under its cloak of parliamentary democracy, the bourgeois state's role is to keep workers and the oppressed "in their place," by force when necessary.

At bottom, the CAW leadership's reformist faith in the state expresses the worldview shared by all of the sellout labor tops. Far from being an organic part of the working

class, the union bureaucracy is a privileged layer elevated above the working people they mislead. Viewing the world through the same lens as the capitalist rulers, they embrace the interests of their national capitalist class as their own.

Hargrove has always been ready to support Canadian imperialism abroad, seeking only to give it a façade of “independence.” For example, he backed Canadian military involvement in the Balkans, stipulating only that the murderous 1999 imperialist blitzkrieg against Serbia be carried out under UN, not American, auspices. In the aftermath of September 11, the CAW tops joined with the rest of the labor bureaucracy in calling on the workers to rally around the interests of Canadian capitalism. “We’re in a crisis situation here,” Hargrove said as he agreed to waive no-layoff clauses in the CAW’s contract with Air Canada, “and, therefore, we have to be part of the solution” (*Globe and Mail*, 27 September 2001).

Later, the CAW leadership opposed the escalation of the “war on terror” into a full-scale attack on immigrant rights. But far from organizing for struggle, in their statements against Bill C-36 the CAW tops were mainly concerned to revive the myth of Canadian “fairness” and “justice” toward minorities, further pandering to the notion that the system can be restrained or fundamentally reformed.

Immigrants and refugees are the government’s current target of opportunity. The ultimate target of the state’s “security” crackdown is the multiracial working class with its decisive immigrant component, thousands of whom are CAW auto workers. The goal of the rulers’ anti-immigrant witchhunt is to prevent necessary united struggle by promoting paranoid racist suspicion of the foreign-born. To defend its interests, labor must oppose this, and fight in defense of immigrants and refugees.

Dead End of “Left” Social Democracy

The labor bureaucracy uses its political influence and organizational control to police the class struggle so that it does not threaten the capitalist system. For decades, the NDP has been a useful tool in that task. The NDP is at once the “political arm” of the labor bureaucracy, and a means to bind the working class to the parliamentarism which is vital to the day-to-day political stability of Canadian capitalism. But there’s been a problem of late. Never very deeply rooted in the working class, in recent years the NDP’s influence has waned, thanks largely to the vicious union-busting attacks of the Rae government in Ontario in the early ‘90s.

This situation has led to an angry dispute in the Canadian Labour Congress hierarchy. A majority in the CLC wants the labor movement to support the NDP regardless. A minority, however, in which the CAW tops are prominent, seeks to salvage the pro-capitalist political program of social democracy from the organizational shipwreck of the NDP, if need be by creating a new party. This quarrel is paralleled within the NDP itself, where the New Politics Initiative (NPI) of left MP Svend Robinson is backed by CAW official Jim Stanford as well as a number of left-reformist outfits, notably the International Socialists.

In July, Hargrove was jeered by delegates to the CLC convention in Vancouver, which voted overwhelmingly to reaffirm the CLC’s financial and political commitment to the New Democrats. Hargrove has repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that union members are no more likely to vote NDP than the population at large. What galls him is that “a whole new generation of left-wing activists wanders the political wilderness, because for them the NDP—and electoral politics in general—

holds no relevance” (*Globe and Mail*, 7 June).

To “correct” this, both Hargrove and the NPI are positioning themselves to re-establish the credibility of parliamentary reform among militant activists, like those who faced down the police near the security wall at last year’s Summit of the Americas in Quebec City. Thus Hargrove calls for “a new coalition with labour activists, students, women, antiglobalization campaigners, and environmentalists” based on “an audacious and ambitious effort to change society.”

“For this to work,” the CAW leader says, “the party must be the voice of poor and working Canadians, and organize itself to lead a struggle against those who exploit them.” Working people do indeed need a party that fights for their interests, and they need it urgently. What they don’t need is what Buzz Hargrove and the NPI have in mind: a “renewed” social-democratic party that “protests” workers’ oppression as the wage-slaves of capital, even as it *accepts* that status and *reinforces* it through a program of Maple Leaf nationalism and class collaboration.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Workers’ struggles can only go forward independent of and against the capitalist owners of industry and finance, and the government which serves them. This cannot happen so long as working people are infused with the belief that they have common “national interests” with their exploiters. In fact, the interests of labor and capital are counterposed.

The party that workers need must be not only proletarian, but revolutionary and internationalist as well. Such a party would oppose every manifestation of national chauvinism, not least the poison of protectionism. In a capitalist world dominated by a few imperialist powers competing for markets, trade wars are a step towards shooting wars. The ultimate logic of protectionism is to line up workers to kill and be killed on behalf of their exploiters. Chauvinism cripples the possibility of joint struggle. A revolutionary party would fight for Quebec independence, to cut through the crippling animosity between English- and French-speaking workers. It would demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants, and an end to the deportation of refugees, as key to the genuine unity of all the working people and oppressed.

Opposing Canadian imperialism’s economic piracy and military adventures abroad, such a party would lend every support to workers’ struggles around the world, emphasizing class-struggle solidarity actions—sympathy strikes, boycotts and hot cargoing—directed against the Canadian exploiters. Of vital importance in this regard is the defense of the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Working people everywhere must be rallied to unconditional military defense of China against imperialism. This must be linked to a program of workers political revolution in China, in which the working masses will wrest control of society from the hands of the Communist Party bureaucrats who abet the forces of capitalist restoration.

A party of internationalist struggle will fight to convince workers that their main enemy is the Canadian capitalist class at home, their only reliable ally the working class of all countries. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste is dedicated to the necessary struggle against the influence of the nationalist labor misleaders and their camp followers on the left. In the course of this struggle, a new world party of socialist revolution will be forged, a party whose program will embody the slogan of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels—*Workers of the World, Unite!* ■

CAW Mass Action Defeats Scabherding

Showdown Looms in Auto



David Lacey/Avard Productions

Chatham, June 24: Murderous scab attack against CAW strikers at Navistar injured six unionists.

AUGUST 25—On June 20, management at Navistar's strikebound International Truck and Engine plant in Chatham, Ontario, did something no auto corporation had dared to do since the end of World War II: they tried to bus scabs into a unionized assembly plant. The company figured local police would be able to waltz its strikebreakers past the pickets of Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 127. It fig-

Protectionism is Poison to Class Struggle!

ured wrong. Determined workers blocked the convoy and forced the scabs to flee as the cops looked on helplessly.

Navistar and the cops failed again the next day and the day after that, as CAW flying squads from Windsor and London poured in to bolster Local 127's line. Navistar got court injunctions; the strikers ignored them. The union's national office issued a "Navistar Solidarity Alert" to every auto and aerospace local in Ontario, instructing "All CAW members...to be on FULL ALERT on a moment's notice to leave your workplace and head by car or bus to Navistar in Chatham."

Faced with the threat of an industry-wide walkout, Navistar tried one last time. On June 24, hired goons from London Protection International rammed their vehicle into a group of strikers, injuring six. Don Milner, a tradesman from CAW Local 444 in Windsor, was critically hurt—but the line held. CAW president Buzz Hargrove declared: "We now know how far they will go. But there will be no goddamn scabs going through that line" (*Toronto Star*, 25 June). And, as Milner

lay fighting for his life on a kidney dialysis machine, Navistar gave it up, abandoning demands for massive concessions and eventually agreeing to a stand-pat contract.

By defeating Navistar's scabherding through militant, mass labor action, auto workers won an important victory in defense of union rights, and it couldn't have come at a better time. On September 17, the contracts between the CAW and the Big Three automakers will expire. General Motors, Ford and DaimlerChrysler are planning to close plants, from Ste-Thérèse, Quebec to Oakville, St. Catharines and Windsor. Three thousand jobs are on the chopping block, with more to follow if the auto bosses get their way.

Wage Labor vs. Capital

In 1999, Canadian auto plants produced a record 3.1 million vehicles. Then the key U.S. economy nosedived into recession, and the bottom fell out of a market glutted with more cars than could be profitably sold. Under capitalism, profits are all that matter, so since 2000 the Big Three have been slashing production. Fifteen thousand Canadian auto workers have lost their jobs, while those who remain often sweat through 60-hour weeks and more, knowing they may be next. Yet even as the massacre of relatively well-paid CAW jobs was underway, total employment in the Canadian auto sector actually *rose*—to over 260,000 this June, the highest level in history. Non-union production has mushroomed, especially in the parts sector dominated by Canadian-based conglomerates like Linamar and Magna International.

(continued on page 21)