

***U.S. Out of Iraq! Canada Out of Afghanistan!***

# For Class Struggle Against Canadian Capitalism!



Nethercott/Vancouver Sun

**February 2002: Tens of thousands of workers, minorities and youth demonstrate against B.C. Liberal attacks. We fight for a revolutionary workers party to mobilize the power of labor in struggle against the capitalist system of poverty, racism and war.**

Thousands across Canada will demonstrate against the American occupation of Iraq on March 20, joining tens of thousands more in the U.S. and around the world. Under the jackboot of the U.S./British war and occupation, untold thousands of Iraqis have been killed by rampaging troops while millions remain destitute. We Trotskyists say the answer to imperialist war, occupation and oppression is *class struggle against the capitalist ruling class at home*. In this country, that means intransigent opposition to the Canadian bourgeoisie, oppressor of working people and minorities and Washington's loyal economic and military partner.

In contrast, the goal of the central protest organizers is to pressure the Liberal government in Ottawa to oppose the U.S. occupation and distance itself from global U.S. militarism. In its call for March 20, the Canadian Peace Alliance warns of "increasing concern that Paul Martin's Government is supporting many of the aggressive plans of the Bush Republi-

cans." Its conclusion: "We need to get back on the streets and tell the Liberals 'Don't sign on to U.S. aggression!'"

The idea that the rulers in Ottawa can be a force for peace or a progressive counterweight to the U.S. is a nationalist lie! Canada fully backed the 1991 war on Iraq and the United  
*(continued on page 10)*

**All Israeli Troops, Settlers  
Out of the Occupied Territories!**

**Israeli Wall Seals  
Palestinian Ghettos**

**Defend the Palestinian People! ..... page 6**



## Down With "Anti-Terrorist" Witchhunt!

# Chilling RCMP Raid on Ottawa Journalist

On January 21, the bourgeoisie's "war on terror" slammed into *Ottawa Citizen* reporter Juliet O'Neill. Ten RCMP agents carried out a raid on O'Neill's home, grabbing files, cassette tapes and address books, copying everything on her computer hard drive. Another gang of cops raided her office at the *Citizen's* city hall bureau. We don't know precisely why this white middle-class journalist was the target of anti-terror hysteria that has usually been aimed at people of Arab or Muslim background.

But we do know that the whole affair is very sinister. Some time ago, O'Neill came into possession of a RCMP dossier on Maher Arar on which she based a nasty article designed to discredit him. Arar, a Canadian citizen, was detained and abducted by U.S. immigration officials in 2002, and deported to Syria where he was jailed and tortured for a year. By publishing material from the police dossier, the RCMP claimed O'Neill violated section 4 of the post-9/11 Security of Information Act, for which she could face up to 14 years in jail.

That O'Neill became the target of an anti-terror hysteria that has usually been aimed at immigrants is bad news for everyone's civil rights. The racist drive against immigrants in the name of fighting "terror" is but the thin edge of a much bigger wedge—the ruling class is trying to gut everyone's democratic rights, instilling fear of a seemingly omnipotent state to repress the whole population. In the not-so-long run, working people and their organizations are directly in the line of fire. This raid, like all the recent frame-ups, Star Chamber hearings and police-state disappearances of immigrants of Arab and Muslim background, was meant to intimidate and silence *anyone* who might question the government.

The Liberal government now loudly laments what befell Arar—what grotesque hypocrisy! Canadian security forces set this entire atrocity in motion by feeding the U.S. a dossier about Arar. After Arar was finally freed from his



Muschi/Globe and Mail

**Maher Arar and wife Monia Mazigh. Canadian state set up Arar for deportation to Syrian torture chambers.**

Syrian torture cell last October, his powerful account of his torment sparked great public sympathy. At the same time, the "Project Thread" frame-up of 23 Pakistani men as "terrorists" was collapsing like a house of cards. So the RCMP/CSIS spooks unleashed their disinformation machine.

On November 8, O'Neill, who had not previously written about Arar, reported on the contents of the cops' "leaked document" claiming Arar had Al Qaeda links. Headlined "Canada's dossier on Maher Arar," the article claimed he had a code name, he had traveled to Afghanistan for "training," and, while a student at McGill, was a recruiter for "the Jihad." This "dossier" was based on the false confessions torn from Arar under torture in Syria. Arar noted that O'Neill's article "had a devastating effect on me and my family. But my wife and I don't believe it's the right way to go and attack journalists."

The bourgeois media have protested that journalists were never the intended target of anti-terror legislation that the *Globe and Mail* calls "well-intentioned"! Indeed, the media have for the most part been loyal propagandists for the state "war on terrorism." Yet so sweeping are the prohibitions of the Security of Information Act that they can get you for using "information that the Government of Canada or a province is taking measures to safeguard." In other words, almost anything.

(continued on page 14)

## SPARTACIST CANADA

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

**Editorial Board:** Jane Clancy, Charles Galarneau, Arthur Llewellyn, John Masters, Miriam McDonald (Editor), Jon Seville (Editor, Young Spartacus pages), 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  
Spring 2004

ISSN: 0229-5415  
Date of issue: March 2004

# Haiti

## U.S., Canadian, UN Troops Out!

*The following article is adapted from Workers Vanguard (No. 821, 5 March), biweekly newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.*

Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide has been whisked out of Haiti to the Central African Republic under U.S. military escort. U.S. Marines invaded to restore “law and order”—i.e., to repress the desperately poor Haitian masses—and a multinational “peacekeeping” force, spearheaded by the French and including Canadian soldiers, is in the works under the aegis of the United Nations. Haiti suffered a brutal U.S. military occupation for 19 years, from 1915-1934. The U.S. left only after it had trained a new *gendarmerie*, the killer National Guard. Propped up by the U.S., Haitian dictators “Papa Doc” Duvalier and his son “Baby Doc” killed an estimated 50,000 Haitians. The armed rebels rushing to rule Haiti today are bloodthirsty killers with ties to CIA-trained death squads and the hated Tontons Macoutes. We demand: **All U.S., Canadian, UN imperialist troops out of Haiti now!**

Aristide claims that he was kidnapped by U.S. forces. The crazed neocons in the Bush administration who trained the death squad leaders returning to power in Haiti today no doubt considered the liberation theologian, Aristide, some kind of “communist.” Aristide rode a wave of popular support to power in 1990-91 and was toppled by U.S.-trained assassins and Duvalierists. He was then returned to power by a U.S. invasion force of 20,000 in 1994, only now to be removed from power by the U.S. in 2004. Aristide, as well as the butchers who preceded and have succeeded him, are puppets of Wall Street, Washington, Paris, the IMF and World Bank.

For weeks, Haiti has been wracked by the violent advance of a motley opposition comprised of former supporters and former opponents of Aristide. When Aristide was ousted in 1991 by Raoul Cédras (a graduate of the infamous U.S. military “School of the Americas” a/k/a “School of the Assassins”), some 70,000 desperate Haitians fled in rickety boats, while several thousand left behind were killed in the streets. The refugees were arrested by the U.S. Coast Guard, imprisoned for *years* at the U.S. military base in Guantánamo, Cuba and detention centers in the U.S., and then deported back to political repression and poverty in Haiti.

The U.S. re-installed Aristide at the point of bayonets in 1994 in large part to stop the flow of Haitian refugees. Today’s invasion by the U.S. Marines is again mainly motivated by the domestic agenda, that is, racist anti-immigration policies. No huddled, desperate black masses yearning to be free will be permitted to come ashore in Bush’s America. The prison camp in Guantánamo has been readied in antici-



Aguilar/Reuters

**Port-au-Prince, February 29: Canadian imperialist troops in Haiti as part of colonial occupation.**

pation of countless Haitians the U.S. will intercept on the high seas and throw in jail. The U.S. invasion of Haiti is also a danger to the Cuban deformed workers state, as well as to the militant proletariat of the Dominican Republic, which shares the island of Hispaniola with Haiti. We demand: **U.S. out of Guantánamo! Defend Cuba! Asylum for the Haitian refugees! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!**

While the White House hesitated, it was the Democrats of the Congressional Black Caucus who demanded that U.S. Marines be sent to Haiti. Thus, these black front men for U.S. imperialism prove themselves to be the enemy of the black masses—in the U.S. and in Haiti—by fostering illusions that the American government, which viciously oppresses labor, black people and immigrants, can act in the interests of the downtrodden anywhere. **Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party!**

When Aristide took power in 1991, we warned: “Aristide will either play the role of groveling instrument of the Haitian bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialist overlords or he will be swept away in a reactionary crackdown aimed at decisively disciplining the pitilessly oppressed population” (“Haiti: Election Avalanche for Radical Priest,” *WV* No. 517, 4 January 1991). Aristide did *both*.

Initially, Aristide irked the U.S. by resisting their economic diktats and establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba. Then, after he was toppled in 1991, Aristide proved his reliability to his U.S. overseers by agreeing in advance of his return to power to a drastic austerity program, privatization of state-owned industry, massive layoffs in the public sector and the virtual abolition of import tariffs. The latter induced the collapse of the indigenous economy as the market was flooded

*(continued on page 20)*

# Toronto: Racist Cop Terror Targets Black Youth

Amid media frenzy over youth gangs and “black on black crime,” a real threat to public safety is stalking Toronto’s streets. Taking advantage of the climate created by the racist “war on terror,” Toronto police are gunning for immigrants and other minorities, targeting black youth especially. Smeared by the press as “soulless gangbangers,” black youth in Regent Park, St. Jamestown, Malvern and other heavily minority areas of the city are subjected to intense surveillance, harassment and cop violence.

Police chief Julian Fantino declares ominously, “They’re not overly concerned about their own lives.” In fact it’s the police who have always treated black life as worthless. In the last two decades, dozens—mostly black people—have been gunned down by Toronto cops. Among the dead were Albert Johnson in 1979, and Lester Donaldson and Michael Wade Lawson in the 1980s. In 1997, Ian Coley was the tenth black person in five years to be killed by cops.

The purpose of the “law and order” offensive is to increase the powers of the police, using racism to divide working people and the oppressed, and fear to subdue them. In the lead up to last year’s Caribana, “Toronto’s finest” used a rash of alleged gang shootings to ratchet up their campaign of intimidation and violence. Fantino marked North America’s largest black cultural festival by announcing that he had put together a list of Toronto’s *top 400* criminals, up from the usual “top 10.” No imagination needed to figure out who was on this list, as police bragged that many of the names came from Immigration Canada! A *Globe and Mail* editorial (14 August 2003) dutifully lied that “this is not about race or racial profiling. Unavoidably it is about a ruthless gang culture imported at least in part from Jamaica.”

A glimpse of the racist cop brutality on Toronto’s streets emerged with the videotape of a police beating of 21-year-old Somali immigrant Said Jama Jama. When a cop car rolled up on a group of youth standing outside a doughnut shop in the morning of August 4 after a Caribana party, most fled, but Jama Jama came back. The amateur videotape captured Constable Roy Preston, unprovoked, throwing the youth against a car and punching him in the face. Four cops threw him to the ground, sadistically kicking him until he was unrecognizable. Then they charged *him* with assaulting a police officer and causing a disturbance. If convicted, he faced instant deportation.

At a court appearance, Jama Jama got it exactly right: “Oh man, I’m lucky. Imagine if there was no tape what would



Toronto Star

CP photo

**Toronto top cop Julian Fantino (right). Said Jama Jama brutally beaten by racist Toronto cops. Videotape of beating showed what happens to black youth all the time.**

happen to me. Probably I would be going back home for no reason” (*Toronto Star*, 12 December 2003). The bogus charges were finally dropped on February 16. We say: Stop all racist deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

## Violent Core of Bourgeois State: Cops, Courts and Prisons

This brutal beating was no aberrant act of “rogue cops.” On the contrary, the random videotaping showed what happens *all the time*. In fall 2002, the *Toronto Star* ran a well-researched exposé of the cops’ racial profiling showing that blacks, who make up only 8.1 percent of the city’s population, accounted for 27.1 percent of charges of violent crime laid by cops. Whites were released at the scene more often than blacks in cases of alleged drug possession and, when taken to the station for booking, blacks were held for bail hearings at twice the rate of whites.

The cops want license to do whatever they like with impunity. Furious at any exposure of their dirty deeds, the Toronto Police Association (TPA) responded to the *Star*’s series with a \$2.7 billion class action lawsuit. In defiance of the bourgeoisie’s own laws, the TPA provocatively endorsed a right-wing, pro-cop slate in last fall’s civic elections. When former Toronto Raptor Dee Brown beat a frame-up on a drunk driving charge after cops pulled him over for “driving while black,” Craig Bromell, then TPA head, raved that the court decision was “crap.”

Along with the courts, prisons and army, the cops are at the core of the capitalist state, whose whole purpose is to protect the interests of the rich bosses against those they exploit. Cops are *not* workers and the TPA is no union, but an outfit whose purpose is to enhance the repressive

(continued on page 17)

# Young Spartacus

## From Direct Action to Revolutionary Trotskyism

# “Suburban Resistance” is Futile

The following article is based on an application letter to the Toronto Spartacus Youth Club.

My name is Jesse and I have been participating in leftist political groups for nearly three years. In my own eyes, I radicalized a few years earlier when I declared myself a vegan. (Veganism is part of the petty-bourgeois animal rights movement that believes it can bring down factory farming by refusing to eat foods produced by such methods.) I sympathized with the aims of anarchism but knew too little to consider myself part of that movement. Typical, I would say, for radical suburban youth.

After graduating from high school, I worked for \$8.00 an hour as a wood finisher for a boat company, inhaling varnish and wood dust, while sanding trim in an unventilated room. I learned later that varsol, a solvent that I bathed in daily to remove paint and varnish, collects in your liver increasing your chances of liver failure. I discovered then that the “real world” means working hard and killing your body for little more than minimum wage. If you complain, your boss tells you to quit.

With a serious dislike for my boss, I bought a copy of the *Communist Manifesto* because I had heard so much about this Marx guy. Reading it, I found out that what I was experiencing wasn't just because I had a bad employer, but because the exploitation and oppression of workers is systemic. I started to realize that the only way to change this is to organize the class with the social power capable of smashing this system, the working class. Hatred for my boss turned into a desire to destroy capitalism.

Watching the news footage of the November 1999 anti-WTO demonstrations in Seattle and the June 15, 2000 Queens Park “riot” inspired me to become active. I thought the anti-globalization movement, with its street fighting zeal, was actually struggling against capitalism. This impelled me to go to the FTAA protests in Quebec City in order to participate in what I thought was the next great battle.

Quebec City was a riot—of cops against the protesters. I learned firsthand what state repression is as I watched peaceful protesters being shot with tear gas canisters, and saw others downed by rubber bullets. Seeing the cops scared me out of going up against them directly, but that didn't stop them from attacking me. My friends and I were walking toward what we thought was a safe place when we had four or five volleys of tear gas shot at us. The attack split us up as we ran away. I scaled a ten-foot wall and climbed down a tree. The sting of tear gas is like nothing else.

I left Quebec City wondering what had been accomplished. Who won? We didn't shut down the meeting, everyone got gassed and capitalism was just as secure as it was before. How do we effectively fight capitalism? I realized that it was time to join a socialist party and the only “socialist party” I knew was the International Socialists (I.S.), which I



LZ/Indymedia

**March 4, 2002: Suburban Resistance organized protest against Tory leadership debate in Oakville, later spiked by the cops.**

met at a direct action training course before the demo.

When I joined I.S., I was handed a card on the spot without any discussion of my politics or, for that matter, theirs. I was given the impression that they would teach me about socialism as long as I paid my dues and sold *Socialist Worker*. I wasn't a typical I.S. member. I would pass up the opportunity to buy books by Tony Cliff (their deceased founding guru), opting to read Lenin instead. I mean, if we want to lead a workers revolution, shouldn't we study the one victorious one ever, October 1917?

After reading *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, *The State and Revolution* and “Left-Wing” Communism—*an Infantile Disorder*, I could see how what I.S. expounded in their newspaper conflicted with what I had learned from Lenin. My beef at that time was with the NDP, which channels the struggles of working people into the bourgeois parliament. This was my conception of opportunism. When the I.S. loudly championed the New Politics Initiative (NPI) and pushed for the NDP to make a “left turn,” I started to feel like I belonged to a group of hypocrites. I had learned from Lenin that a fight was needed against social democracy, which teaches workers that the state can be pressured to serve their interests. I had even written a response to an article in *Socialist Worker* that was celebrating the NPI and encouraging young radicals to join the NDP to fight for its agenda. I never submitted it for fear of being ostracized.

Around this time, the fall 2001 Ontario Common Front's economic disruption campaign caught my interest (the OCF

*(continued on page 18)*

## All Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of Occupied Territories!

# Israeli Wall Seals Palestinian Ghettos

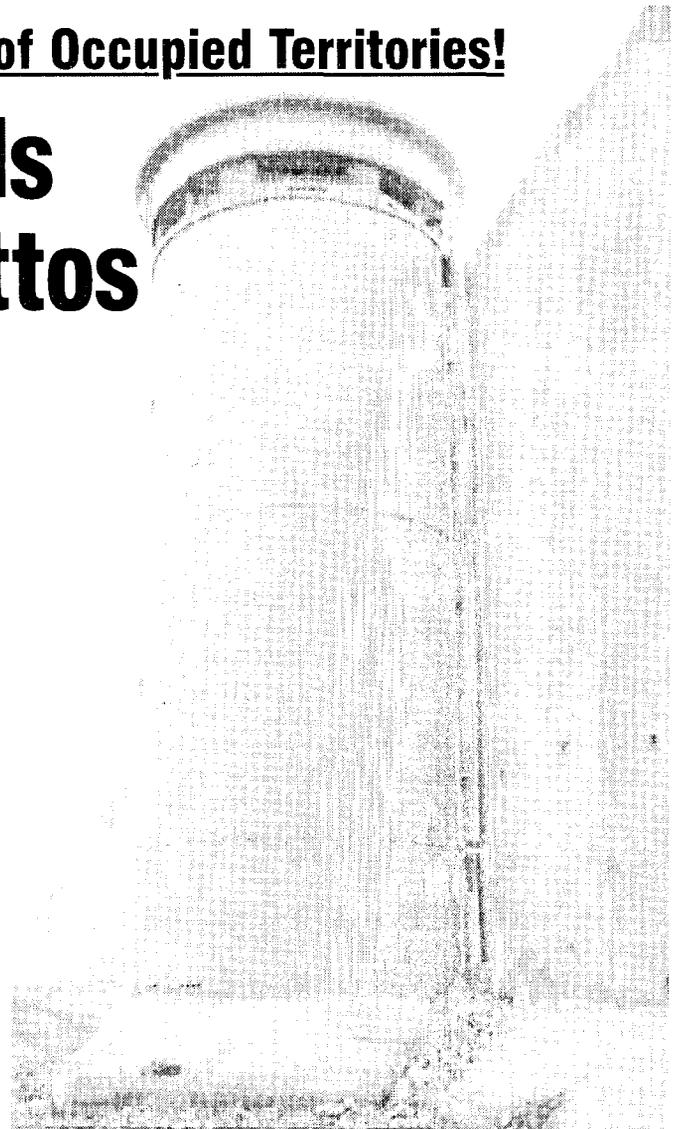
## Defend the Palestinian People!

Palestinian children in Qalqilya play in the shadow of a three-story-high concrete wall as Israeli soldiers train guns on them from guard towers. A despairing family at a checkpoint pleads with Zionist troops to be allowed to take a pregnant woman to a hospital, only to be turned back. Palestinian construction workers under Israeli military guard, sickened by the job they are forced to accept in order to feed their families, construct the wall segregating the Palestinian quarters of East Jerusalem from the rest of the city. Such are the images today of the West Bank under lockdown. The Palestinian population is being imprisoned behind a barrier of huge concrete walls, electrified fences, trenches and razor wire. It is a wall that divides families, separates farmers from their land and cuts off the population from jobs, hospitals, schools and even water.

The path of the wall, which is projected to be over 600 miles long, snakes deep into the West Bank to envelop Zionist settlements and steal Palestinian land. In the west, the wall already juts up to 13 kilometers beyond the "Green Line," the border between Israel and the West Bank, securing Israeli control of much of the best Palestinian farmland. It also includes on the Israeli side the water wells of the Western Aquifer, the second-largest water resource in the region after the Jordan River. According to a 24 January article by Seumas Milne in the London *Guardian*, when complete, the wall will enclose about 57 percent of the West Bank. Movement between the two Palestinian ghettos being created by the wall will be nearly impossible.

As a result of the closures, the Palestinian economy is frozen as laborers cannot get to jobs, farmers can only sell crops locally and unhindered trade is impossible. Palestinian unemployment is a staggering two-thirds in some areas, and more than half the children suffer from malnutrition. Incomes have fallen by more than half to \$900 a year—compared with an average of nearly \$17,000 for Israelis.

Qalqilya, the first town to be hermetically sealed off by the wall, reveals what other communities will face as the wall tightens around the West Bank. Penned in on all four sides, Qalqilya is today accessible only through a checkpoint nearly a mile to its east. Fully 85 percent of Qalqilya's land has been lost as the Israeli military, despite denials, prevents farmers from tending their fields. A third of Qalqilya's shops have closed, and more than 4,000 residents have already given up and left for good. It's not just Qalqilya's residents



palestinemonitor.org

**Fortress-like wall around Qalqilya imprisons city's 42,000 residents.**

who are walled in, but the Palestinian villagers from nearby towns and villages are now walled *out* of the metropolitan center they depended on for everything, from basic services to shops and medical care.

The wall is but the latest grotesque step in the long, bloody history of Zionist colonization and provocation, which are aimed at forcibly driving out the Palestinian population. "Ethnic cleansing" is the logic of all strands of Zionism, from the "Labor" Zionists who founded the state of Israel to the rightist fanatics who inhabit Sharon's government. The Zionists encouraged emigration to Palestine on the racist premise that it was a "land without people for a people without land." They forcibly drove out over 700,000 Palestinians in what they called the 1948 "War of Independence," what the Palestinians call "The Catastrophe" (*Al Nakba*). And they forcibly drove out thousands more after their victory in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

It's a measure of the degeneration and desperation of the situation that policies like the forcible transfer of the Palestinian population, which used to be openly advocated only by the right-wing Zionist fringe, are now common currency.

Correspondingly, as the bourgeois-nationalist Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is proven to be politically bankrupt, increasing numbers of Palestinian youth and even women are turning to the reactionary Islamic fundamentalism of Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

Marxists oppose nationalist irredentism, which only offers the prospect of reversing the terms of oppression. The only solution to two peoples laying claim to the same sliver of land requires breaking out of the capitalist, nationalist framework. The only salvation for the Palestinians—and the Hebrew-speaking Jewish population—lies in proletarian revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East. We have no illusions that winning the Hebrew-speaking working class to this perspective will be easy or quick. Yet social and class fissures do exist in Israel and it is the duty of revolutionaries to exploit every contradiction in order to win the Israeli proletariat away from the Zionist rulers.

There is a restive working class in Israel today which has recently engaged in large strike actions. Last spring, the country was paralyzed by a general strike by public workers against finance minister Benjamin Netanyahu's legislation imposing huge wage cuts and layoffs in order to finance the ultra-Zionist settlements in the Occupied Territories and the costs of military repression of the Palestinians. The cost of the Zionist garrison state is literally coming out of the hides of the country's working poor, both Hebrew-speaking and the second-class citizens of the state of Israel, the "Israeli Arabs." If the Israeli Jewish proletariat is to pursue its class interests against its own bourgeoisie, Marxists must win it to consciously champion the defense of the Palestinian people.

In the lead-up to the U.S. invasion of Iraq, we warned that Israel might use the cover of war to "transfer" all Palestinians out of the Occupied Territories. Instead, the wall and the intolerable economic hardships and repression are choking the life out of Palestinian areas. As one of Sharon's cabinet ministers suggested last year, "Make their life so bitter that they will transfer themselves willingly." The Zionists shoot to kill not only Palestinians who breach the wall's checkpoints, but now Israeli youth as well who are moved to protest this atrocity.

### Oslo "Peace" Accord Paved Way to Ghetto

The wall—Sharon calls it "unilateral disengagement"—is the ultimate expression of the "unilateral separation" that the Zionist "peace camp," represented by the likes of Meretz spokesman Yossi Sarid, has long championed. It is also the fruit of the 1993 Oslo "peace" accords that created the Palestinian Authority. At the time we wrote, in an article headlined "Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto," that this deal "does not offer even the most deformed expression of self-determination" and instead "would place the PLO's seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" (*WI* No. 583, 10 September 1993). An academic study by Harvard University research scholar Sara Roy, "Ending the Palestinian Economy" (*Middle East Policy*, 1 December 2002), described the formation of the Palestinian ghettos:

"The fragmentation of Palestinian land into geographically noncontiguous areas or cantons, with exit and entry tightly monitored and controlled by Israel, was a reality directly imposed on the Gaza Strip and the West Bank by the terms of



AFP

Israeli army blows up building in Rafah refugee camp in southern Gaza, November 2002.

the Oslo peace agreements. It is not well known that the division of the Palestinian territories was first carried out in the Gaza Strip in October 1993, just one month after the Declaration of Principles—the first Oslo document—was signed on the White House lawn....

"By December 1999, the Gaza Strip had been divided into three cantons and the West Bank into 227, the majority of which were no larger than two square kilometers in size. While Palestinians maintained control over many of the cantons and were promised authority over more if not most, Israel maintained jurisdiction over the land areas in between the cantons, which in effect gave Israel control over all the land and its disposition.... The logical and intended consequence of territorial cantonization was separation and isolation, greatly facilitated by closure policy. In fact, although closure was imposed prior to the implementation of the Oslo agreements, these agreements institutionalized and formalized closure as a policy measure."

Following the 1967 war and the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, the problem for the Zionists was how to ensure control over the land and resources of these areas while avoiding integration into the Zionist state of the millions of Palestinians living there. The consensus among the Zionist political parties was that the Palestinians should be given some minimal voice in their own affairs while final control of the land, resources and economy remained in the hands of Israel. The first of a series of plans to realize this objective was put together by General Yigal Allon, the deputy prime minister for the Labor Party. Allon proposed to establish a string of settlements in the Jordan Valley, in the Judean desert and around East Jerusalem as a preliminary step leading to formal annexation by Israel. Altogether, the plan envisaged establishing some sort of Palestinian entity in about 50 percent of the West Bank while Israel annexed East Jerusalem, the Jordan Valley, the Hebron Hills in the south of the West Bank and the southern part of the Gaza Strip.

When Likud came to power in 1977, the Allon Plan was supplemented by the Sharon Plan, which called for a new belt of settlements to be built along the western side of the West Bank.

(continued on page 8)

## Israeli Wall...

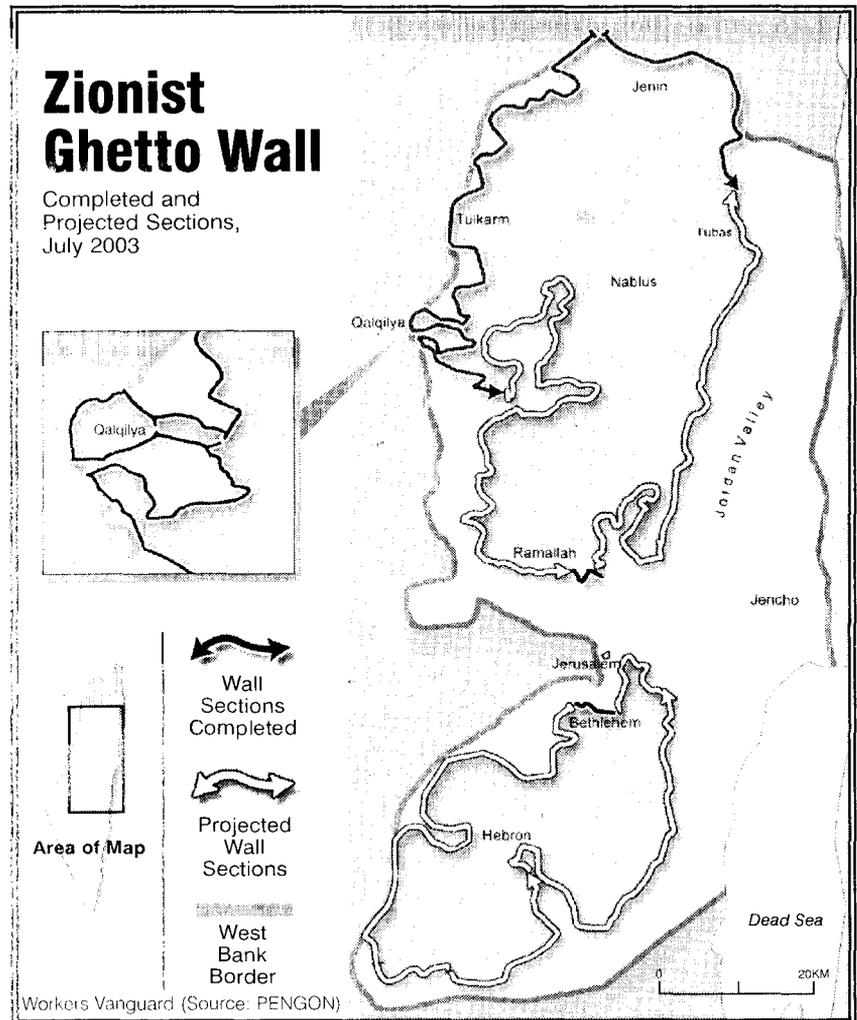
(continued from page 7)

The massive settlement expansion envisaged by Sharon was carried out starting in 1992 by a new Labor government under Yitzhak Rabin, which offered settlers large economic incentives. From the signing of the Oslo "peace" accords in September 1993 to the end of 2000, the number of settlers in the West Bank increased by 90 percent. Rabin, expanding on an idea originally proposed by Allon and Sharon, introduced the network of "bypass roads" that reinforced the isolation of West Bank cities. The 1995 Oslo II agreement outlawed Palestinian construction within 55 yards of either side of these roads, rendering hundreds of Palestinian houses vulnerable to demolition. The map of the wall being constructed in the West Bank corresponds, almost to the square mile, to earlier maps drawn up by Allon and Sharon.

Today, the entire West Bank is dotted with military outposts and fortified settlements, crisscrossed by "bypass roads" that are off-limits to Palestinians. The Zionists have implemented "collective guilt," imposing restrictions, razing buildings and launching military assaults against entire communities in retaliation for attacks against Israeli civilians or soldiers. Zionist settlers, who number over 400,000 (including East Jerusalem), freely rampage throughout the Occupied Territories, stealing land and murdering Palestinians by the dozens. A Zionist settler in Gaza told the *New York Times* (15 January): "In Jerusalem, when you see an Arab you don't know whether he's with you or against you, but here if you see an Arab you know he's dangerous and you shoot him." Defense of the Palestinians must begin with the demand for *the immediate removal of all anti-Arab fortifications in the Occupied Territories—the walls, the troops, the settlements and the apartheid highway network.*

### Fissures Within the Zionist Fortress

The construction of the wall in the West Bank takes place as some in the Israeli establishment and Washington are starting to feel that the Sharon government's unbridled repression against the Palestinians and refusal to negotiate with the Palestinian Authority may not be in the Zionist state's best interests. When some prominent Israeli and Palestinian politicians negotiated an unofficial "peace plan"



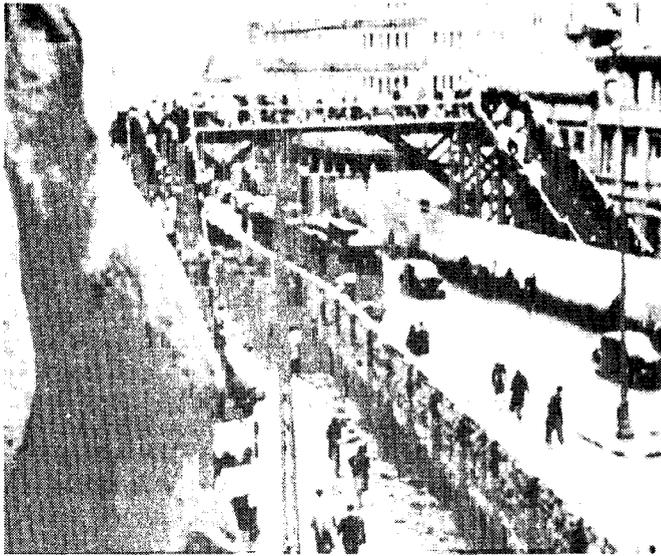
in Geneva in December, an implicit condemnation of Israeli government policy, the gesture was hailed by U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell, UN secretary-general Kofi Annan and even by U.S. deputy defense secretary Paul Wolfowitz, a Zionist hardliner. As Justice Minister Tommy Lapid, of the Shinui Party, Sharon's main coalition partner, put it: "We could become the South Africa of today, and there is the danger that we could be subject to international boycotts" (*London Independent*, 6 January).

There is also growing unease in the armed forces and security apparatus, including among elite Zionist troops and top officers. In late September, 27 Air Force reserve pilots signed a letter saying they refused to carry out air strikes against civilian areas. The following month, the Israeli army chief of staff criticized the restrictions on Palestinians. On November 14, four former heads of the sinister domestic security agency, Shin Bet, from both the Labor Party and Sharon's Likud, came out against the government's policy in the Occupied Territories, with several explicitly criticizing the wall. On December 28, 13 reservists of the elite General Staff Reconnaissance Unit sent a letter to Sharon seconding the pilots' refusal to serve in the Occupied Territories. Altogether, in the past three years, more than one thousand Israelis have refused to serve in the armed forces in the Occupied Territories. In January, five of them were court-martialed, the first time this has happened in 20 years.

On February 2, Sharon announced a plan to remove nearly

### 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



Jewish Historical Institute

### Nazi wall around Jewish Warsaw Ghetto, established 1939.

all Jewish settlements from the Gaza Strip because they are a “security burden” and a cause of “continuous friction.” When Sharon proposed to dismantle four isolated settlements in the northern West Bank—representing less than one-half of 1 percent of the total number of settlers—in exchange for an agreement to keep all the others, the deal was vetoed by leaders of the fascistic settler movement.

Part of what is behind the Zionists’ brutal imprisonment of the Palestinians in unlivable ghettos is what is referred to as the “demographics” problem, a euphemism meaning that the birth rate of Palestinians, including Israeli Arabs, far outstrips that of Israeli Jews. In explaining what might be behind Sharon’s proposal for the Gaza settlements, the *New York Times* (3 February) wrote, “Some members of Likud argue that Israel must draw borders in a way to part with as many Arabs—but as little land—as possible.” Seeking to exploit the “demographic” problem as a way to pressure the Zionists, Palestinian prime minister Ahmed Qurei warned that “Israel’s continued policy of building the wall means that talk about a Palestinian state makes no sense” and threatened that “if this Israeli policy continues, we are going to come back to the option of a single, bi-national democratic state” (Agence France-Presse, 9 January). Thomas Friedman, a staunch supporter of Israel, explained in the *New York Times* (14 September 2003) what that meant:

“Rather than create the outlines of a two-state solution, this wall will kill that idea for Palestinians, and drive them, over time, to demand instead a one-state solution—where they and the Jews would have equal rights in one state. And since by 2010 there will be more Palestinian Arabs than Jews living in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza combined, this transformation of the Palestinian cause will be very problematic for Israel. If American Jews think it’s hard to defend Israel today on college campuses, imagine what it will be like when their kids have to argue against the principle of one man, one vote.”

Under capitalism, Israel will never be transformed into a binational democracy in which Jews and Arabs live together on the basis of political equality, and both Friedman and Qurei know it. The Zionist state is a racist, exclusivist state, predicated on the expulsion, “transfer” or “displacement” of the Palestinian people. As we have warned in the past, the Zionist rulers are entirely capable of carrying out massacres

of the Palestinians on a truly genocidal scale. It is vitally necessary for the working class, in the U.S. and internationally, to take up the call: *Defend the Palestinian people!*

### Proletarian Revolution Is the Only Solution

Sharon claims that the wall in the West Bank serves to stop “Palestinian terrorism.” The Sharon regime is using Palestinian suicide attacks, which have killed hundreds of innocent Israeli civilians, as a pretext for even bloodier attacks on the Palestinians by the Zionist war machine. The suicide bombings against Israeli civilians, which are entirely criminal from the viewpoint of the international proletariat, serve to further drive the Hebrew-speaking population into the arms of the Zionist rulers.

Last fall, in an article in the *New York Review of Books* (23 October 2003), New York University professor Tony Judt described the situation as he saw it:

“The two-state solution—the core of the Oslo process and the present ‘road map’—is probably already doomed.... The true alternative facing the Middle East in coming years will be between an ethnically cleansed Greater Israel and a single, integrated, binational state of Jews and Arabs, Israelis and Palestinians. That is indeed how the hard-liners in Sharon’s cabinet see the choice; and that is why they anticipate the removal of the Arabs as the ineluctable condition for the survival of a Jewish state.”

When Judt suggested that the “desirable outcome” might be a binational Israeli state, he provoked an uproar, as prominent Zionist intellectuals accused him of hating Jews, “pandering to genocide” and being “party to preparations for a final solution.”

This clash between intellectuals in the realm of ideas reflects the material fact that there is no solution to the oppression of the Palestinian masses within the framework of capitalism, which is based on the nation-state and national aggrandizement. The Palestinians and the Hebrew-speaking people of Israel represent a case of *interpenetrated peoples*, two populations with competing claims to the same territory. Under capitalism, such conflicts can only be resolved through the suppression of one people by another through forced assimilation, forced population transfers (“ethnic cleansing”) or outright genocide.

The only road to national and social liberation in the Near East is the mobilization of the proletariat on the basis of revolutionary internationalism to sweep away all the oppressive capitalist regimes in the region in the fight for a socialist federation of the Near East. To break the Hebrew proletariat from Zionist chauvinism will likely require an enormous shake-up in the region, such as the victory of socialist revolution in one of the other Near Eastern states. However, if the Zionist madmen are not to ultimately unleash their nuclear arsenal and engulf the whole of the region in a holocaust, the Hebrew proletariat must join with Arab workers in sweeping away the entire rotting edifice of capitalist class rule in the Near East. Only then can the right of national self-determination for both the Hebrew and Palestinian people be assured. What is required above all is the construction of internationalist workers parties, sections of a reformed Fourth International, in opposition to Zionism, Arab nationalism and all variants of religious fundamentalism. *Defend the Palestinian people! For a socialist federation of the Near East!*

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 819, 6 February

## Class Struggle...

(continued from page 1)

Nations starvation sanctions that killed over a million Iraqis. And the Chrétien government's "opposition" to last year's war was as phony as a three dollar bill. Canadian naval vessels helped escort U.S. warships into the Persian Gulf, while Canadian troops embedded in British and American military units joined in the land invasion.

Today thousands of Canadian soldiers are in Afghanistan as part of the U.S.-led occupation of that country, staging terror raids to shore up the warlord-ridden Kabul regime. Canadian troops have also joined with U.S., French and other forces to occupy Haiti after the U.S.-engineered overthrow of the Aristide government. Down with Canadian imperialism, junior partner of Washington and enemy of working people and the oppressed!

### NDP: "Left" Face of Canadian Imperialism

The Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs organized Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents on many of last year's antiwar protests, calling for "Class Struggle Against U.S./Canadian Imperialism!" and to "Defend Iraq Against Imperialist Attack!" We emphasized then—and repeat today—that fighting against war means fighting against the capitalist system that produces war.

War does not spring from a bad "policy" that can be fixed through militant popular protest. It is the concentrated expression of the brutal everyday workings of this imperialist system, which is driven by competition among rival advanced capitalist countries for sources of profit and spheres of influence. And in wars of imperialist predation against a "Third World" country like the U.S. attack on Iraq, *we have a side*—for military defense of Iraq without a shred of political support to the bloody Saddam Hussein regime.

The mainstream antiwar organizers and their pseudo-social-

ist tails claimed we could "stop the war" by building the broadest possible movement. In practice, that meant tying workers, minorities and restive youth to their own exploiters. In the U.S., they allied with "antiwar" Democratic Party politicians. In Germany and France, they rallied workers and youth behind their "antiwar" imperialist governments. Here in Canada, peace coalitions embraced everyone from reformist leftists to NDP social democrats, Liberal parliamentary candidates and at least one federal cabinet minister (Stephen Owen, endorser of several Vancouver antiwar protests).

"Step up to the plate and help prevent war," the NDP told Chrétien. "Just say 'no,' Jean," added the International Socialists (I.S.). While cheering Jack Layton's empty antiwar speeches, the I.S. and other reformist leftists conveniently ignored the New Democrats' years-long support to the UN sanctions that starved Iraq, as well as their call to step up UN "weapons inspections" (i.e., spying) as an "alternative" to war.

Today, the NDP isn't even against an imperialist occupation of Iraq: it just wants to replace the Americans with a UN force including Canadian "peacekeepers." The reality behind Canadian "peacekeeping" was shown in Somalia a decade ago, when soldiers from the Canadian Airborne Regiment tortured and murdered black youth during the UN-sanctioned occupation of that country. Nor do the New Democrats call for Canadian troops to get out of Afghanistan. While wishing the Afghan deployment had been under UN auspices, Layton salutes the Canadian troops for "keeping the peace in Afghanistan" and "trying to mend a troubled country."

Jack Layton won the party leadership last year with the support of the NDP "left," notably the now-dissolved New Politics Initiative. The NDP's posture of opposing the Iraq war and government attacks on immigrants has won it thousands of new members as well as plaudits from pseudo-socialist left groups like the I.S. and the Communist Party (CP). In fact, Layton's buffed-up NDP is a trap for workers, minorities and youth.

NDP politicians claim to back the "ordinary Canadians" of Main Street against Bay Street big business. Many workers in Ontario recall all too well how in the early 1990s Bob Rae's NDP provincial government *ruled for Bay Street*, through savage austerity attacks on jobs and social programs. In B.C., the NDP government ordered an enormous RCMP/army military operation to crush Native people demonstrating for land claims at Gustafsen Lake. Such behavior is standard for these pro-capitalist social democrats whenever they get a whiff of parliamentary office.

Layton has lately made overtures to Liberal ex-cabinet ministers Sheila Copps and Lloyd Axworthy to break with the Martinites and join his party. It was Axworthy who, as minister of foreign affairs, oversaw Canada's participation in the bloody 1999 NATO war on Yugoslavia—a war the NDP also supported! With the Liberals dropping and the Tories rising in the polls in the build-up to federal elections, the NDP has already pledged to back a Liberal minority government on the sole condition of a plebiscite on proportional representation. In other words, a vote for the New Democrats would be a vote for yet another Liberal government. Working



Pedwell/CP

Canadian imperialist troops, local cops terrorize Kabul population on behalf of U.S.-installed Afghan warlord regime.

# Noam Chomsky: Radical Poseur

The featured speaker at the March 20 anti-occupation demonstration in Vancouver is Noam Chomsky, a self-styled “anarchist” whose writings and speeches are popular among radical youth. While Chomsky exposes some of the more bloody excesses of U.S. military and foreign policy, at bottom he is an ideologue for a more “just” and “democratic” imperialism.

In the build-up to the 1991 U.S. attack on Iraq, Chomsky (like the NDP) pushed as an “alternative” to war “the peaceful means prescribed by international law: sanctions and diplomacy” (*Z Magazine*, February 1991). The “peaceful” UN sanctions *killed* 1.5 million Iraqis. For years, Chomsky had also been prettifying as an “alternative” one Ahmed Chalabi, head of what he claims was Iraq’s “democratic opposition.”

A wealthy bourgeois politician, Chalabi is a U.S. stooge, head of the American-funded Iraqi National Congress and currently a prominent figure in the U.S.-run “Governing Council” in Iraq who rode into Baghdad with U.S. troops last April. (For more detail, see “Down With Colonial Occupation of Iraq!” *SC* No. 137, Summer 2003.)

For all his “exposés” of the U.S. rulers’ crimes, Chomsky does not challenge the imperialist world order. Take, for example, his op-ed piece in the February 23 *New York Times* on Israel’s “security wall,” “A Wall as a Weapon.” He rightly condemns the Zionists’ attempt to “turn Pales-

tinian communities into dungeons, next to which the ban-tustans of South Africa look like symbols of freedom, sovereignty and self-determination.”

But while protesting that the wall’s existing path grabs Palestinian territory, Chomsky opines: “Few would question Israel’s right to protect its citizens from terrorist attacks like the one yesterday, even to build a security wall if that were an appropriate means.” If the wall were built inside “the internationally recognized border,” he continues, it “could then be as forbidding as the authorities chose: patrolled by the army on both sides, heavily mined, impenetrable. Such a wall would maximize security, and there would be no international protest or violation of international law.”

While the “anarchist” professor kowtows to “international law,” we Marxists know that the 1948-49 “Green Line” was drawn through the living body of the Palestinian people. Our fight is for a socialist federation of the Near East, the only road for the liberation of *all* the peoples of the region.

Chomsky’s “alternative” is to call on U.S. imperialism to play a progressive role: “Any real chance for a political settlement—and for decent lives for the people of the region—depends on the United States.” Radical youth beware—Chomsky is doing his own bit to “manufacture consent,” pushing the deadly illusion that the imperialist system of war, racism and oppression can be reformed. ■

people don’t need a social-democratic “left” prop for Canadian imperialism—they need a *genuine* workers party dedicated to the struggle to sweep away the capitalist system of exploitation, oppression and war!

## Mobilize the Power of Labor!

Thanks to its central role in social production, the working class uniquely has the power to lead successful struggle against capitalism. And, as we wrote in an October 2002 International Communist League statement distributed on antiwar protests around the world, “Every strike, every labor mobilization against war plans, every mass protest against attacks on workers and minorities, every struggle against domestic repression and against attacks on civil liberties represents a dent in the imperialist war drive” (reprinted in *Spartacist* No. 57, Winter 2002-2003).

Union contingents were prominent at many antiwar rallies, but labor’s *social power* was not mobilized against the war. Exemplary actions that did occur—like the blocking of munitions transport by Italian dock and rail workers and Scottish train drivers—were kept isolated by the trade-union bureaucracy. Left-talking labor tops made fiery speeches, only to rally behind their own governments when the bombs started to fall. Typically, the Canadian Labour Congress saluted Ottawa’s phony “opposition” to the war, calling on “employers and business decision-makers in this country to raise their voices on the side of peace.” Canada’s employers are not peace-loving allies of the workers—they are their exploiters and oppressors!

As economic competition grows among the imperialist powers, the capitalist rulers everywhere have been staging

vicious attacks on labor, minorities and the poor, aiming to shore up their profits while whipping up racist demagoguery to deflect discontent. Here in Canada, health care has been shredded, immigrants attacked, jobs chopped by the tens of thousands. As Chrétien’s finance minister, Martin oversaw the looting of the Employment Insurance program to help pay for tax cuts for the rich. More than **\$43 billion** in EI funds have vanished, while ever fewer among the army of unemployed are eligible for the paltry benefits.

Today there is a rising tide of anger among working people, shown in sharply increased strikes and labor protests. B.C. ferry and forestry workers staged militant walkouts last fall. More recently Falconbridge nickel miners and CN Rail mechanics and cargo loaders have walked off the job. Quebec has seen mass protests against provincial Liberal austerity and a three-week-long factory occupation by aluminum workers in Saguenay. Our goal is to forge a revolutionary workers party that can connect such day-to-day struggles of the working class with the struggle for socialist revolution and a world where those who labor rule.

## Defend Immigrants, Defend the Québécois!

After more than a decade of savage austerity rule, the Liberal regime in Ottawa is vulnerable, mired in scandals amid revelations of flagrant corruption. But an effective fightback requires confronting the obstacles to proletarian class consciousness and struggle. The capitalists set the workers against each other, whipping up racism against immigrants and Native people, chauvinism against women and gays, Anglo bigotry against the Québécois. To defend its own

(continued on page 12)

## Class Struggle...

(continued from page 11)

interests against capitalist rampage, the working class must champion the cause of all the oppressed!

The attacks on Arab and Muslim minorities under the “war on terror” are the domestic face of imperialist war and occupation, and highlight the racist oppression endured by non-white immigrants and their descendants in this country. Many labor leaders have spoken out against these attacks and on behalf of the deeply oppressed Native population. The thousands of Asian and white workers as well as Native people who marched shoulder to shoulder on mass demonstrations against the ruling B.C. Liberals two years ago gave a taste of the needed unity in struggle. But the labor tops and NDP push a program of nationalism and “Made in Canada” protectionism, which translates into blaming workers in and from other countries for unemployment and plant closures, generating grotesque racism on the shop floor.

The last few months have seen a sharp increase in chauvinist tirades against Quebec. The Liberals’ sponsorship scandal—in which hundreds of millions of government money was funneled to Quebec advertising agencies with the ostensible aim of “fighting separatism”—has produced an uproar in English Canada. Radio talk show hosts blather about a “culture of corruption” in Quebec, while callers complain about all the federal largesse supposedly going to “the French.” (Actually the largesse went to “pro-Canada” Liberal Party cronies.)

Anti-Quebec rants from TV personalities like hockey loudmouth Don Cherry and American talk host Conan O’Brien’s “Late Night” show have been greeted with cheers in English Canada. The mere mention of the word “Quebec” in one of O’Brien’s sketches brought a chorus of boos from the Toronto studio audience, while “jokes” like “You’re French and Canadian, yes? So you’re obnoxious” and “You’re in North America, learn the language” during a segment filmed in Quebec brought guffaws of delight.

This is beyond sick—such bigotry is deeply poisonous to prospects for united working-class struggle against the capitalists. While workers across the country confront the same austerity attacks, the rulers use anti-Quebec chauvinism to deflect anger away from themselves and against “the French.” In turn, this drives the traditionally militant Québécois working class yet further into the arms of its “own” francophone exploiters, represented by the bourgeois nationalist Parti and Bloc Québécois.

Class-conscious workers in English Canada must fight Anglo chauvinism wherever it rears its ugly head! That includes opposing the Liberals’ reactionary 1999 Clarity Act, which seeks to illegalize Quebec’s democratic right to self-determination. Underlining its own Maple Leaf bigotry, the NDP *supported* this anti-Quebec law, while its Western premiers have vied with the Alliance yahoos in chauvinist rhetoric. *Independence for Quebec* is the only road to cut through the poisonous national-chauvinist animosities, laying a basis for workers in both English Canada and Quebec to see that their own capitalist exploiters are the enemy, not each other.

### Workers and Oppressed Need a Revolutionary Party!

Groups like the CP and I.S. are merely a fifth wheel on the NDP, pushing a gussied-up version of the same “pressure the Liberals” politics. In a statement titled “All Out for Peace on March 20!” the CP calls on Ottawa to “turn towards a foreign policy based on support for the United Nations Charter.” Signing onto the NDP’s campaign against Washington’s sinister “missile defense” plan, the I.S. has lately been circulating a “Petition to the House of Commons” that begs the government to “work with our partners in peace for more arms control.”

Various direct action and “Third World” solidarity groups take a more left-wing stand. Some, typically anarchists, try to counterpose “autonomous” struggle to toothless peace crawls. But divorced from the social power of the working class this is no real alternative. Rejecting the need for a revolutionary party to make the proletariat conscious of the need to sweep away capitalism, this perspective is reduced to impotent sideshows or merely gives militant cover to the mainstream peaceniks.

An example of the Third World solidarity current is Vancouver’s Fire This Time (FTT). Recently expelled from the city’s Stopwar.ca coalition, it has set up a competing Mobilization Against War and Occupation (MAWO). Unlike Stopwar.ca, whose call for March 20 is festooned with patriotic Maple Leafs, FTT/MAWO call for Canadian troops to get out of Afghanistan and defense of the Palestinians and Native people in Canada. Yet while ensconced in Stopwar.ca during last year’s huge protests, FTT breathed not a word of public criticism of their nationalist allies. To the contrary: they called the antiwar movement a “huge success” that “forced the imperialist ruling class to change direction and become less offensive” (*Fire This Time*, May 2003). This is utterly false, indeed ludicrous, and shows a deep faith that capitalism can be fundamentally reformed or at least restrained through mass pressure.

Stopwar.ca and FTT/MAWO may have fallen



SC photo

Vancouver, February 2003: TL/SYC offers revolutionary alternative to pro-capitalist NDP’s pacifist con game.

# Iraqi Left: Deadly Illusions in Imperialism

The media blitz celebrating the capture of Saddam Hussein late last year could not disguise the fact that the American military occupation of Iraq is not going well for U.S. imperialism. The resistance continues, chalking up losses for the American side every day. The Iraqi people are seething with anger against the strutting U.S. "liberators" who can't even turn the lights back on in Baghdad nearly a year after the end of the war. As for weapons of mass destruction, the only ones to be found in the region are in the hands of the Pentagon bombers, their British allies and the kill-crazy Zionists.

Any blow against the U.S. occupiers is in the interests of the Iraqi masses as well as working people throughout the world. We lend not one iota of political support to remnants of the Ba'athist regime or Islamic fundamentalist forces seeking to impose their own reactionary agendas on Iraqi women, workers, ethnic and religious minorities. But we understand that there will be no freedom or justice for the long-suffering Iraqi people until the imperialist occupiers are driven out! We fight for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. imperialist and allied troops and we unconditionally oppose their replacement by United Nations blue helmets.

The U.S. occupation forces have enthusiastically embraced torturers, spies, police and other government agents of the Hussein regime to "stabilize" Iraq. They even resurrected a labor law from the old regime which forbids workers in the state oil industry from organizing a union. To back up Hussein-era anti-worker laws, U.S. occupation chief

Paul Bremer issued a new regulation about "prohibited activity," which is defined as encouraging anybody to organize any kind of strike or disruption in a factory or any kind of economically important enterprise. The penalty for breaching labor law in occupied Iraq is to be arrested by the authorities and treated as a prisoner of war!

Shamelessly, however, the Iraqi Communist Party (CP) is serving in the "Governing Council," the façade of stooges hand-picked by the Americans to lend legitimacy to their occupation. The Iraqi CP boasts on its Web site of "serious and frank discussions" held between the secretary of its Central Committee and American top cop Bremer and his deputy, British Ambassador John Sawers. As if fronting for the occupation wasn't bad enough, the Iraqi CP calls on "activating the role of the United Nations"—the agency that murdered more than one and a half million Iraqi civilians with its sanctions—"in guiding the on-going political process in Iraq, as well as its role in relief operations and reconstruction" (18 October 2003 statement by the International Department of the Central Committee).

The Iraqi Communist Party used to be the largest, most proletarian Communist party in the Near East and recruited a large cadre of national, religious and ethnic groups. In 1958, a revolutionary upsurge was touched off when the Iraqi Free Officers movement overthrew the British-installed monarchy and brought the bourgeois-nationalist Abd al-Karim Qassim  
(continued on page 14)

out, but their common reformist outlook is shown graphically in their readiness to call on the capitalist cops against left critics. After expelling FTT members last October, Stopwar.ca leaders threatened to call the cops on them. Four months later, when Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Club activists tried to attend a February 22 MAWO public meeting on "The Politics of War and Occupation," FTT honcho Ali Yerevani threatened to call the cops to exclude *us*! Stung by our earlier exposures of their reformist maneuvering, these two-bit hustlers would rather embrace the police than let our proletarian-revolutionary voice be heard. FTT's disgraceful threat to call in the racist Vancouver cops would also have endangered its own supporters and others at the meeting, including many immigrants and Native people.

From defense of immigrants and the Québécois against Anglo bigotry to defense of the Palestinians against Zionist terror, we link our call for proletarian struggle against capitalist war and oppression in Iraq to other crucial questions facing working people here and around the globe. With the North Korean bureaucratically deformed workers state now in Washington's cross hairs, part of the imperialist drive for capitalist counterrevolution there and in China, we call on working people to uphold the military defense of North Korea including its right to possess nuclear weapons.

From the former Central Asian Soviet republics and Afghanistan to U.S. forces in the Philippines, the Chinese deformed workers state is now literally ringed by the world-

wide expansion of American military bases. China is the ultimate prize the imperialists are after, and they are applying pressure militarily and through massive encroachments of capital in "free trade zones" which are criminally encouraged by the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy. The fate of the Chinese workers state will have a profound impact on humanity, far greater even than U.S. imperialism's rape of Iraq. Capitalist counterrevolution would pauperize the most populous country on earth and further devastate the masses of Asia. What's needed is a workers political revolution to defend the Chinese workers state and institute workers democracy, which would be a huge defeat for imperialism and encourage proletarian struggle around the globe. ***For the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam!***

Our message to workers and the oppressed is that the same capitalist rulers who are waging war on the peoples of the world, from Iraq to Afghanistan and Haiti, are waging war on labor, immigrants and Native people, youth and women at home. Today the consciousness of the class that has the social power to change society lags behind its objective conditions and development. To resolve that contradiction it is necessary to build an international revolutionary workers party—a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste and the other sections of the International Communist League are dedicated to this task. Join us! ■

## Iraqi Left...

(continued from page 13)

to power. A revolutionary wave swept the countryside as peasants seized the land, and the Communist Party made spectacular gains in the cities. Workers revolution was on the order of the day, but the CP and Kremlin bureaucrats insisted that the party get no more than representation in the capitalist government. But Qassim and the anti-Communist nationalists knew the workers wanted more and so took the offensive to repress the CP. This was but a prelude to the bloodbath to come at the hands of the Ba'athists, who brought down Qassim in 1963 and hunted down Communists with lists supplied by the CIA. An estimated 5,000 were killed and thousands more jailed and tortured. (For a full discussion, see "Near East: Permanent Revolution vs. Bourgeois Nationalism," *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 740 and 741, 25 August and 8 September 2000.) The Iraqi CP's hatred for the Ba'athists is utterly correct, but to front for the American occupation against them is *class treason* and likely every bit as suicidal as the CP's earlier subordination to Qassim.

What about the ostensibly more leftist Worker-Communist Party of Iraq (WCPI)? While denouncing the "Governing Council" and opposing the U.S. occupation, the WCPI simply *equates* the imperialists and their stooges with Islamic and Ba'athist forces. The title of its article "'Occupation' and Resistance: Two Poles Within the Same Reactionary Camp" (*Forward*, 15 December 2003) gives the game away. The article condemns the resistance as "a direct declaration of a reactionary war, which is not in essence pertinent to demands and expectations of the masses in Iraq."

Like the Iraqi CP, the WCPI calls for UN forces to enter Iraq, insisting that this is necessary to "provide security and stability." Both the Iraqi CP and the WCPI are playing a reactionary role in telling the Iraqi masses that peace and stability demands tacit acceptance of foreign occupation and that salvation lies with the den of thieves in the UN. This is a call to accept the rape of Iraq by imperialist powers that are looting what's left of the productive capacity of the



Reuters

**U.S. Army vehicle destroyed by anti-occupation insurgents in Fallujah, October 2003.**

country, plunging the proletariat into further misery and impoverishment, while grabbing the natural resources for their own profits. The U.S. raids on Iraqi trade-union headquarters late last year are just a hint of the terrible repression to come, including against "responsible" leftists who ally with the U.S. against the Ba'athists. In politics it is essential to know that the enemy of my enemy is not necessarily my friend!

Behind the CP and WCPI's reliance on the UN and/or U.S. imperialist troops to oppose the Ba'athists is their rejection of the politically independent mobilization of the Iraqi proletariat in struggle against imperialist domination, capitalist exploitation, religious obscurantism and reactionary bourgeois nationalism. It is urgently necessary to *forge Trotskyist parties* in the Near East, armed with the program of *permanent revolution*. There will be no emancipation of the women of the region, of the oppressed national minorities, of the exploited workers, short of thoroughgoing socialist revolutions which sweep away the sheiks, colonels and Zionists and imperialist occupiers, and which link up with proletarian revolution in the West. *For a socialist federation of the Near East! For world socialist revolution!*

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 817, 9 January

## RCMP Raid...

(continued from page 2)

The Canadian rulers have been very aggressive in this racist anti-terror witchhunt as civil liberties are sloughed off like so much dead skin. Arar was one of a number of Canadian residents of Near Eastern origin who ended up in Syrian or Egyptian torture chambers after being relentlessly tailed by CSIS.

Public anger at the Arar atrocity, the "Project Thread" frame-up and now the raid on a journalist has been channeled into calls for a "public inquiry." In this, the NDP, echoed by left groups like the Communist Party of Canada and the International Socialists, has been the driving force. Days after the raid on O'Neill, the Martin Liberal government announced an "independent" inquiry. Arar was overjoyed, as he sees this as the only way to clear his name.

Arar should get everything he's asking for and more. But, as we wrote last issue, "Be they blatantly rigged 'inquiries' by the cops themselves, or do-nothing 'public inquiries' organized by the bosses' parliament, the purpose is the same: to refurbish the image of 'Canada the good' and mask the class nature of the capitalist state."

The Trotskyist League has protested these attacks and outrages at every turn. Our answer to the racist scapegoating of immigrants is the demand for full citizenship rights for everyone who makes it to this country. But as revolutionary internationalists, our concerns go further, for Marxists uniquely offer an explanation of *why* such atrocities occur, and a program of working-class struggle leading to the overturn of the racist capitalist order and the formation of societies based not on exploitation and profit, but on human need. Down with the "anti-terror" witchhunt! ■

# Australia: Defend Aborigines— Mobilise Union Power!

We reprint below a leaflet by our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia distributed at a February 24 march commemorating the death of Aboriginal youth Thomas "TJ" Hickey. Some 300 people including Aborigines, anti-racist youth and supporters of leftist groups came together to oppose police attacks on Aborigines in the Redfern area of Sydney. Our comrades faxed this leaflet to a number of unions the day before the march and distributed it to Aborigines and to workers at some industrial sites in Sydney. On the march, they carried signs calling to "Drop the Charges! Hands Off Redfern Militants!" and "Honour Thomas Hickey by Mobilising Labour & Minority Defence of Aboriginal People!"

SYDNEY, 22 February—The long-felt anger of the Redfern Aboriginal community at their brutal racist oppression erupted on the evening of Sunday 15 February, as Aboriginal youth fought a nine-hour pitched battle with marauding cops. This explosion, which made headlines around the world, was sparked by the death that morning of popular 17-year-old Aboriginal youth, Thomas "TJ" Hickey. The previous day, while fleeing from police, Thomas was impaled on a steel fence, reportedly catapulted from his bicycle. Residents living in the Redfern Aboriginal community known as The Block told a public meeting that Thomas' bike was struck by a police car. Witnesses described how, contrary to normal medical practice in such cases, police simply wrenched Thomas from the fence causing him to bleed badly. With obscene callousness, they then proceeded to search him, reportedly pinning him to the ground with their boots. It was up to a witness to call for an ambulance.

Thomas, like all Aboriginal youth, had cause to be fearful of the racist cops. Indeed he had been beaten by a group of police only last December in what the cops described as a case of "mistaken identity." Speaking of the police, Thomas' distraught mother, Gail, declared: "They're nasty.... they manhandle our kids, they treat them like dogs.... They've got to stop chasing our kids and hurting our kids" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 February).

Immediately following Thomas' death the police waged a series of vile provocations against the Aboriginal community. As early as midday on Sunday locals say patrolling police taunted Aboriginal youth with racist epithets. Mobilising to defend themselves, some in the Aboriginal community began pasting up posters with pictures of police and headlined "Wanted Child Murderers." The leaflet defiantly stated: "There is a gang of child killers operating in the Redfern area. They can be easily identified as they all dress the same. They are serial killers and will reoffend. Do not approach them as they are armed. Report any you see...."

A woman who has lived in the community for nine years, Victoria Dunbar, described the police provocations that day: "We kept going up [to look] and there were hundreds of them, arms locked, visors down. I've never seen so many police. Finally the kids started yelling, 'C'mon, bring it on'"



Australasian Spartacist

**Redfern, Sydney, February 24: Spartacists join march in memory of Thomas Hickey.**

(*Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 February). Fed up with years of systematic racist terror from the Carr state Labor government's cops, up to one hundred and fifty Aboriginal youth, many of them friends of Thomas Hickey, fought back and defended themselves throughout Sunday evening against phalanxes of police "stormtroops." The Aboriginal youth defended themselves with great tactical nous. And this time the strutting arrogant "bluecoats" got more than they bargained for. Up to 50 cops were injured during the clashes.

However, by 1 a.m. on Monday morning some 250 police assembled in riot gear. They attacked and dispersed the Aboriginal protesters using shields and fire hoses and occupied the top of The Block in Eveleigh Street. A number of people have already been arrested and the police, itching for retaliation, are planning a "sweep" of up to 40 arrests—doubtless via gestapo-style raids for which they are notorious in Redfern. David Webb, a cousin of Thomas Hickey, was one of the many who quickly sent his children away from Sydney. He said: "Everyone is taking their kids out.... The TRG [Tactical Response Group] will kick in doors, I don't want my kids around it" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 February). Already police from strike force "Time Piece" have arrested Thomas' 37-year-old aunt, charging her with riot, affray, violent disorder and throwing a missile. She has been denied bail to attend Thomas' funeral. Despicably the cops have also targeted Thomas' 14-year-old girlfriend, April, who was arrested after his memorial service and charged with resisting/hindering police and possession of cannabis. We say: **Drop the charges now! Free all those arrested! Defend Redfern Aborigines!**

The reactionary bourgeois media, notoriously anti-immigrant racist Carr and his cops, and Liberal opposition leader, John Brogden, are now in overdrive fueling and promoting an outpouring of violence baiting and hate against Aborigines

(continued on page 16)

## Australia...

(continued from page 15)

in Redfern. Immediately after the incident Carr announced his "full confidence in the way police tackled this incident" while Brogden, with icy racism, called for The Block to be razed. "I'd bring the bulldozers in," he said.

Following the clashes, Carr quickly announced on Monday morning no less than three inquiries, while some so-called Aboriginal "community leaders" sought to stifle the just anger of Aboriginal youth. While accusing the police of provocations, Ray Jackson, Indigenous Social Justice Association president and a member of Socialist Alliance, also outrageously condemned the actions of the Aboriginal militants as "stupid."

In stark contrast, a spokesman for the mourning Hickey family, Lyall Munro, said of Thomas Hickey's death, "as far as we're concerned, it's an Aboriginal death in custody." Speaking to a gathering of some 150 residents on Monday morning, Munro to his credit solidarised with the actions of the Aboriginal youth: "A stand had to be taken and it was taken by some very brave young people..." (*Daily Telegraph*, 17 February).

But to prevail against the might of the capitalist state requires a political program to mobilise the social power of the working class. *For union/minority/black mobilisations to defend Aboriginal people against racist state terror! The besieged and marginalised Aboriginal people should not be left to fight alone!*

Carr's cops provocatively seek to prevent a proposed march on Redfern police station next Tuesday. To ensure that it goes ahead and to protest the racist state attacks on the Redfern Aboriginal community, we say the social power of the working class should be mobilised in strikes, walkouts and demonstrations. This is no pipe dream. In 1989 when police in Sydney gunned down and killed Aboriginal worker David Gundy, hundreds of building workers downed tools and joined the subsequent protest outside special weapons police headquarters. These workers formed a defensive perimeter around the demo, facing off the assembled cops who would have loved nothing more than to riot against the protesters. Today such

union actions would give pause to the vicious NSW [New South Wales] Labor government and their police.

It is the same police who assault Aborigines, who also attack anti-racist youth and workers picket lines, like at nearby Morris McMahon factory last year. Last October, thousands of outraged building workers marched through the streets of Sydney following the death of 16-year-old Joel Exner, who died as a result of his boss's failure to provide him with a safety harness. Both Joel Exner and Thomas Hickey are victims of capitalist rule. We fight to weld the social power of the organised working class to the just anger of oppressed minorities forming one giant hammer to beat back the attacks of their common enemy—the bosses and their repressive state with its cops, courts and prisons.

Far from such a proletarian perspective, Socialist Alliance in an 18 February statement call for the implementation of the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, which concluded in 1991. This whitewash by the bourgeois state *endorsed* the police and coroner verdicts of "suicide" and "death by natural causes" in all 99 cases it reviewed. In other words all the killer cops walked! Their verbiage about police violence notwithstanding, Socialist Alliance, in pushing the royal commission findings, give authority to this whitewash of state killings of Aborigines and sow illusions in the main force for racist oppression—the capitalist state. It was the Spartacist League who warned from the first that the royal commission would be a whitewash, just as Bob Carr's so-called inquiries will be used to protect the cops and target Aborigines today.

While correctly recognising that the royal commission into deaths in custody was a whitewash, some outraged Aborigines are now calling on individual representatives of federal and state governments, including the NSW Police Commissioner, to conduct an "independent" inquiry by Aboriginal consultants into Thomas Hickey's death. Any inquiry set up by the racist capitalist state can only serve the interests of the ruling class against the interests of the working class and oppressed. The truth of police terror has been repeatedly written in blood for more than two centuries! There is, and can be, no justice from the

capitalist state. Indeed promoting illusions in the capitalist state is counterposed to the urgently necessary working class mobilisations in defence of Aboriginal people.

The next day Spartacist salesmen went to Redfern to solidarise with the Aboriginal community. We distributed *Australasian Spartacist* featuring the back-page article "For a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!" Key to our perspective is the struggle to break the working class from racist Laborite nationalism and reliance on the capitalist state. Only in coming to the defence of the most oppressed against capitalist rule can the working class liberate themselves. It is urgently necessary to build a Leninist/Trotskyist party, a tribune of all the people, to overthrow this brutal capitalist system through workers revolution. Only then will the desperation and poverty imposed upon the indigenous peoples, and increasingly felt by all, be eliminated once and for all. ■

<b>TROTSKYIST LEAGUE/SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB EVENTS</b>	
<b>Toronto</b>	<p>— Iran —</p> <p><b>Women's Liberation, Islamic Reaction and the Struggle Against Imperialism</b></p> <p>Saturday, March 27, 7:00 p.m., Room 2135 Bahen Centre, 40 St. George St. (north of College)</p> <p>— SYC Class Series —</p> <p><b>Defend the Palestinians! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!</b></p> <p>Thurs., March 18, 6:30 p.m., Rm. 315C, York Univ. Student Ctr.</p> <p>For more information and readings contact the TL/SYC at (416) 593-4138 or email spartcan@on.aibn.com</p>
	<b>Vancouver</b>

## Cop Terror...

(continued from page 4)

powers of the police. It's the cops' *job* to terrorize workers, immigrant and other minority communities as part of their mandate to "protect and serve" private property and bourgeois order.

While black youth are on the front line today, the cops, courts and prisons also target striking workers and leftist youth—anyone who would defy this racist, exploitative system. Corruption too is part of the cops' stock-in-trade. A secret RCMP investigation into the Toronto cops, recently exposed in the media after a court battle, showed that drug squad officers were themselves up to their necks in the drug trade. Alleged drug dealers were beaten as the cops stole their stashes and helped themselves to as much as half a million dollars in money and jewellery. Predictably, with the cops investigating each other, only half a dozen officers faced charges of any kind.

### NDP Mayor David Miller and the Cops

New NDP mayor David Miller is fueling the "law and order" hysteria, demanding stronger laws against "gun crimes" including a crackdown at the border in the name of keeping guns out of the country. The effect of the gun control laws touted by Liberals and New Democrats alike is to keep a monopoly of armed force in the hands of the consummately violent, racist police. We oppose these laws and stand for the right to bear arms.

Miller is also pushing a "Community Safety Plan" which promises to lobby business for more jobs in "at risk areas" like St. Jamestown in order to "get to the root of the problem." Among some black communities, unemployment is a horrific 40 percent, while the poverty rate among immigrants from Ghana, Somalia and Ethiopia is as high as 70 percent. In areas like Regent Park and Jane-Finch, families are warehoused in crumbling highrises and youth have nowhere to go and nothing to do.

The fine-sounding promises of Miller's "safety plan" will not alter the reality of life for black and other minority youth, for whom the capitalist system has little use. In fact, it



David Smiley

**Toronto city workers strike, 2002. Integrated unions must use their power to defend rights of blacks, other minorities.**

is intended to diffuse growing anger at racist cop brutality. It is revealing that Miller's plan won a ringing endorsement from top cop Julian Fantino. "It complements what we are trying to do," he declared, "I like it."

Miller rolled into office aided by the city union misleaders, who directed their members to vote for him. The International Socialists too gave him uncritical backing, declaring that "all who oppose privatization and the further corporate takeover of Toronto, should vote for Miller" (*Socialist Worker*, 15 October 2003).

While the union tops and reformist left did the donkey work for Miller, his campaign was brain trusted by Tom Kierans, a Bay Street power broker, Tory operative John Laschinger and a coterie of Chrétien/Trudeau Liberals. Miller's choice to oversee the "Community Safety Plan" is Roy McMurtry, Conservative Ontario attorney-general from 1975-1985. Over his career, McMurtry has presided over a incarceration rate of black people five times higher than that of whites, exceeding even that of Native people. In 1979 McMurtry, known as a champion of the Toronto police, ran a legal vendetta against the gay newspaper *The Body Politic*. In 1981, he used the courts to break a major hospital workers strike, overseeing a police reign of terror that saw CUPE leader Grace Hartman jailed.

Miller is typical of NDP social democrats: their first master is the bourgeoisie, especially when they manage to win elected office. While a city councilor, current NDP leader Jack Layton voted for ex-mayor Mel Lastman's policing crackdown, which saw an army of cops unleashed on "hot spots" like Jane-Finch and Regent Park.

### Mobilize the Power of the Integrated Working Class!

After the cops shot and paralyzed young black mother Sophia Cook in 1989, we wrote: "Mass protest action centered on Toronto's powerful, integrated unions—transit, steel, auto—would give the capitalist rulers pause and make their badge-toting gun thugs think ten times before shooting another black youth."

But the current pro-capitalist labor leadership hardly  
(continued on page 18)

## Spartacist No. 57

(English edition)

Winter 2002-03

\$2.00

(40 pages)

Includes

Women and Revolution pages:

**"Racism, Sexism, Religion and Anti-Muslim Bigotry: Women and Immigration in France"**

English-language *Spartacist* is sent to all SC subscribers

Order from/make payable to:

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

## SPARTACIST

Statement of the International Communist League  
Down With the UN Starvation Blockade!  
Defend Iraq Against U.S. and Allied Imperialist Attack!

Proletarian Research Library Book  
Dog Days  
James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman  
in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933  
Racism, Sexism, Religion and Anti-Muslim Bigotry  
Women and Immigration in France

### Women and Revolution

Racism, Sexism, Religion and Anti-Muslim Bigotry  
Women and Immigration in France



## Cop Terror...

(continued from page 17)

fighters for their own members, never mind against racist cop provocations. Instead they politically shackle workers to the capitalist system through the social-democratic NDP. For years city workers have been hammered with austerity, speedups and cutbacks, with more to come from the mayor they were told to back. A class-struggle leadership would bring to the workers the understanding that fighting for their own interests against the bosses requires championing the rights of black people and all the oppressed.

Unfortunately there has been little organized protest against the cop beatings of black men, the racial profiling and revelations of cop brutality and corruption. The Black Action Defense Committee (BADC) of Dudley Laws and Charles Roach used to lead protests of thousands against an epidemic of police shootings in the 1980s and 90s. But at a June 2000 conference, BADC signed an agreement with the police aimed at working together to find "alternatives to the use of lethal force by police." This conference included extensive discussion on the use of stun guns, rubber bullets and pepper spray. At least two people have died after being pepper sprayed by police since 2002, including 41-year-old Robert Walker, who perished in the morning of February 16, distraught and naked on the street surrounded by ten cops. From leading mass protests to "dialoging" with the killer cops, BADC's evolution reflects the logic of what has long been its program and remedy for police violence: "civilian

review boards" to make the police accountable to the community.

Civilian control of the police was debated at a July 2002 meeting, "Taking Liberties: Civil Liberties and the Criminalization of Dissent in Canada." John Clarke of the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty and prominent "anarcho-communist" Jaggi Singh shared a panel with former Ottawa mayor, Marion Dewar, a vocal champion of civilian review boards. Both OCAP and Singh have been targets of ongoing state vendettas for their struggles in defense of the oppressed. Clarke and Singh gave powerful accounts of police violence and intimidation of political protestors and the poor. But in response to Trotskyist League interventions, Singh built a political bridge to Dewar, who was once an Ottawa police commissioner, stating that the point is "not to write off review boards."

Wrong! Such agencies are *designed* to curb the independent mobilization of workers and minorities against police terror by fostering the illusion that the capitalist state can be reformed to eliminate or at least moderate the cops' excesses.

Immigrant workers have often been in the forefront of class struggle around the country. While the capitalist rulers and their thugs in blue would like to scapegoat minority youth in order to deflect discontent with their brutal rule, the labor movement must wield its social power to champion the struggles of blacks and other minorities. We need a political fight against the pro-capitalist leadership of the unions to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party. Nothing short of socialist revolution can stop police terror for good. ■

## Young Spartacus

### "Suburban Resistance"...

(continued from page 5)

was initiated by the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty). I recognized immediately its limited ability to bring any real change, but I felt that it could rekindle the trade union militancy of the "Days of Action" before the workers were sold out by the union tops. From reading Lenin, I knew that the social power contained within the trade unions makes their mobilization the only thing that can fight capitalism effectively.

When I learned that there was an OCF Mississauga forming, I wanted to be in. After the resignation of Mike Harris on 16 October 2001, OCF called for a demonstration against the Tory leadership convention in Toronto. In the lead up to the convention, the Tories held a series of debates across Ontario. The final debate before the convention was to be held in Oakville. This would be OCF Mississauga's chance to act. We called for an improvised game of road hockey to shut down traffic along the street where the debate was being held. We thought this innocent enough, but local law enforcement felt otherwise and slandered us as "hooligans" armed with hockey sticks. Hello, police harassment. Cops started turning up at people's houses and phoning incessantly.

From the beginning, we worked hard to get union endorsements for this protest, and went to the Oakville labor council and two Canadian Auto Workers locals for backing. We considered these three endorsements the real victory, regardless of our chances of stopping the debate. A few days before the debate, we learned from the local paper that the CAW 1256 president had changed his mind and did not allow his membership to carry flags: he did not want to



John Bonnar

Toronto TL/SYC at December rally outside Metro West Detention Centre defending immigrant rights. Only the multiracial working class has the power to overthrow capitalism.

be associated with "crazed, stick wielding thugs." We cursed this blatant sellout.

The protest went ahead without hockey sticks or union support. The cops did a better job of blocking traffic than we did and any chance of direct action was thwarted by a ten to one police/protester ratio. The final bill for the police mobilization was \$135,000, which is humorous when you consider there were less than 150 protesters.

The question after the smoke cleared was what do we do with this organization we had built? After a consult that April, the Suburban Resistance Network (SRN) was born. It mirrored the composition of OCF to the letter: a politically amorphous mix of Marxist sympathizers, anarchists, social democrats and trade unionists with no particular goal. SRN organized buses to anti-G8 and WTO demos and attempted to squat buildings. We had a war of attrition with a group known as the Iroquois Ridge Ratepayers Association (a bunch of racist property owners who opposed the building of a homeless shelter in their neighborhood), which we missed no opportunity to humiliate publicly. This gained us the notoriety of being the most visible defenders of poor and working people in Oakville. As anti-establishment as we thought we were, we gained the respect of Oakville's mayor and the anti-communist Salvation Army, both of whom had nothing but good things to say about us. I started to realize that something was really off if these people sang our praise.

I had made myself scarce around I.S. for a while, but the final break came when I was called an ultra-leftist by an I.S. member for saying that I couldn't give a damn about the NDP leadership race. Their paper had just ran an article called "Build the Anti-War Movement: Vote for Comartin" (11 December 2002) which I criticized for being opportunist, openly earning the scorn of my comrades. They twisted Lenin's words about participating in the parliament to justify their not so "critical support" to the NDP. In "*Left-Wing Communism*", Lenin says that when Marxists give electoral support to social democrats, it is like "a rope supports a hanged man," aimed to prove their inability to act in the proletariat's interests. If the I.S.'s goal is to push the NDP leftward, then they have no interest in exposing its treachery. I ceased contact entirely with I.S. from that day on.

SRN had deteriorated to the point that I saw no use in participating further. The heterogeneous political mix was proving we could do nothing other than plead with the bourgeoisie to be a little nicer. A tension was building between the anarchists and the Marxists surrounding the question of social classes. The anarchists, true to form, felt that the revo-



K. A. Kuznetsov

**Leader of the Russian Revolution, V.I. Lenin ruthlessly exposed the social democrats of his day.**

lution had to involve everyone in order to be truly libertarian and started to call for "Folk War," whatever the hell that means. They opposed our initiative to go to Sturgeon Falls in northern Ontario to agitate for a factory occupation to stop the closing of a paper mill, since "paper is bad for the environment." The remaining time spent in SRN was marred by the inevitability of a split.

Not participating in a party was causing a crisis of bad faith. Anyone who calls themselves a Marxist knows that they must unite with other revolutionaries. But I felt that if I.S., the largest "Marxist" party around, was incapable of living up to their politics then who could?

This was around the time I came in contact with the SYC. I was drawn immediately to the programmatic clarity contained in the Ten Point Program and its adherence to the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. I was asked hard questions about my own politics and worldview that forced me to do some soul searching. I could not defend the hypocrisy of being a Marxist surrounded by anti-communists in a group that could do nothing more than plead for reforms. I broke my ties with SRN and applied to the SYC.

I was won to Marxism as a scientific weapon to understand political questions from the point of view of the workers' historical interests. Who does an idea or institution serve, the worker or the capitalist? For example, my views toward veganism and animal rights have changed totally. What you eat is a lifestyle question and has no impact on the existence of capitalist oppression. Most people in the world barely eat at all. Worrying about your diet is a privilege few can afford. Communists want to use modern technology, science and economic planning to create a society of material abundance for everyone. Calling for the end of factory farming is tantamount to advocating that people in the Third World starve for petty-bourgeois ideals.

The Spartacus Youth Club and the Trotskyist League are the historical continuance of Trotsky's Fourth International and the only group that genuinely stands on the foundations built by Marx and Lenin. Don't just call to end war, don't just yell anti-capitalist and anti-fascist slogans. Join the SYC and build a revolutionary party! ■

## 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

SC140

# Haiti...

(continued from page 3)

with, for example, American rice at prices cheaper than the Haitian-grown product. Having dissolved the army (a center of his opposition) in 1995, Aristide propped up his rule with a brutal police force and gang terror.

The Bush administration, citing election fraud in Haiti in 2000 (which takes *chutzpah*—remember the Florida “chads” of 2000?) drastically slashed foreign aid to Haiti, even blocking previously approved loans from the Inter-American Development Bank for improvements in education, roads, health care and the water supply. In short, the Bush administration plunged what was already the poorest country in the Western hemisphere and one of the most malnourished populations in the world into a living hell. Yet Aristide demonstrated to the workers and the poor that his loyalty was not to them but to the White House and IMF. One of the few benefits from the Aristide regime was that his diplomatic ties to Cuba meant that over 500 Cuban doctors and nurses have been working in Haiti. As a letter to the *New York Times* (2 March) points out, “In the provinces, where most Haitians reside, Cuban doctors and nurses outnumber the Haitian medical personnel.” These crucial medical teams will most likely be thrown out of the country by whoever the U.S. installs to run Haiti.

For 200 years, the Haitian masses have been paying in blood for the successful slave revolt and the defeat of Napoleon’s army. A perceptive article by Gary Younge, “Throttled by history,” (London *Guardian*, 23 February) notes:

“Men make their own history,” wrote Karl Marx. ‘But they do not make it just as they please: they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under given circumstances directly encountered and inherited from the past.’ From the outset Haiti inherited the wrath of the colonial powers, which knew what a disastrous example a Haitian success story would be. In the words of Napoleon Bonaparte: ‘The freedom



Astrada/AP

**IMF imperialist diktats have devastated Haiti, creating mass unemployment, poverty and destruction of essential infrastructure.**

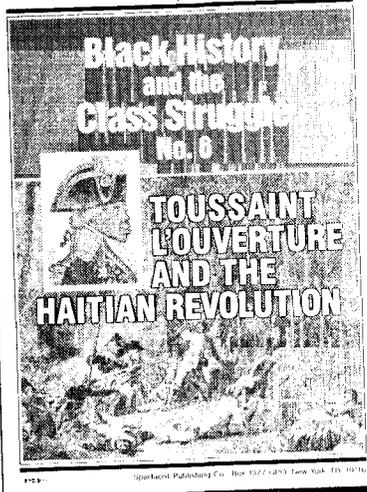
of the negroes, if recognised in St Domingue [as Haiti was then known] and legalised by France, would at all times be a rallying point for freedom-seekers of the New World’.”

In return for international recognition and to compensate France’s former slaveowners, Haiti was compelled to pay 150 million gold francs—approximately 18 billion dollars at today’s prices. By the end of the 19th century, 80 percent of Haiti’s national budget was going to pay off its former exploiters, and the country remains a hideously impoverished debtor nation today. The French imperialists, who first enslaved the Haitian people, gave asylum to the hated Duvaliers, and demanded the ouster of Aristide, have the gall to posture as “saviors” of Haiti today. *Le Monde*’s lead editorial on 1 March, headlined “Help Haiti,” concludes with a pious chastisement of failed American policy, and ominously intones, “What is necessary is a continuous presence under a renewed UN mandate.” The Canadian rulers, who like the U.S. and France helped engineer Aristide’s ouster, are also calling for a long-term imperialist occupation under the UN. While calling for an “investigation” into Aristide’s departure, the NDP has endorsed sending Canadian troops to Haiti.

The bitter truth is that the desperate conditions of Haiti today cannot be adequately resolved *within* Haiti, where the economy is so destitute that there is barely a working class. Social power lies in the hands of the North American proletariat, including its important Haitian component in Miami, New York and Montreal, as well as their class brothers and sisters throughout the Caribbean and Latin America. To put an end to the cycle of puppet dictators in Haiti, it is necessary to defeat the imperialist puppet masters and sweep away capitalist rule from Port-au-Prince to Wall Street and Bay Street! ■

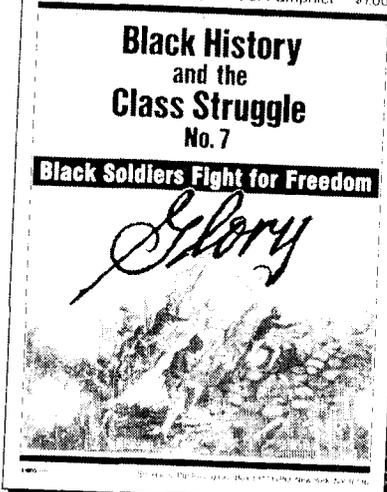
## Black History and the Class Struggle

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00



No. 6 \$1.00 (32 pages)

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00



No. 7 \$1.00 (40 pages)

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

## Quebec Labor...

(continued from page 24)

labor tops' appeals for Charest to slow down and "consult," the Liberals went ahead, and workers' anger exploded.

Hundreds of thousands of trade unionists, working parents, community activists and others took to the streets in protests, occupations and strikes in the last two months of 2003. The offices of several Liberal politicians were occupied and "redecorated," as tens of thousands protested despite arctic weather at Quebec's National Assembly and elsewhere. In the remote industrial areas of the Saguenay and Gaspésie, workers have fought plant closures and layoffs, including through militant action like the sit-in at the Alcan smelter in Jonquières. Even the Urgel Bourgie funeral parlor employees have been on strike for months. Henri Massé, head of the FTQ, Quebec's largest union federation, noted: "I haven't seen people this pissed off in the FTQ since 1972" (*Le Devoir*, 12 December 2003), referring to the year of two back-to-back general strikes in Quebec, including one in May when whole towns were seized and run by unionized workers.

Workers' anger culminated December 11 in a national "Day of Disruption," when the three main ports—Montreal, Trois-Rivières and Quebec City—were shut down by militant mass pickets. Transit was disrupted in Montreal, Quebec City and elsewhere, while the two highways leading to the Saguenay were blockaded by thousands, effectively cutting off the region. Defending their picket lines against riot police, Montreal port workers gave the cops a taste of union muscle, forcing them to back off. While "inconvenienced" by the ensuing traffic jams, many motorists interviewed by Radio Canada that morning expressed support for the workers and/or their demands.

Such was the felt anger that FTQ leader Massé had to personally intervene to stop workers from storming the National Assembly at a December 15 protest. Always loyal servants of "Quebec Inc." and the nationalist PQ, Massé and other union misleaders have done everything in their power to contain the workers' anger, calling instead for a return to PQ-era "concertation" (collaboration) among the bosses, the government and the unions. The labor tops' support for the anti-labor PQ and their appeals to "reasonable" Quebec employers are obstacles to successful mobilizations of the working class against the bosses' attacks, whether carried out by the right-wing Charest or by the PQ, as during the 1999 nurses strike.

### Quebec Women's Gains Under Attack

Charest's move to end \$5-a-day daycare has sparked particular outrage. The Liberals' attempt to pit poor parents against striking daycare workers on December 11 backfired, as thousands, showing support for these horribly underpaid and overworked workers, brought their children to join a 30,000-strong noon-hour demo in Montreal. Women also face the brunt of Charest's "subcontracting" schemes, which



CUPE  
**Summer 2003: Underpaid CUPE workers strike for higher wages in Montreal suburb of Longueuil.**

are most common in such areas as cafeteria and cleaning services where women are disproportionately represented.

Defense of women's rights is an explosive question in Quebec. While the main purpose of the Quiet Revolution was to develop a Québécois bourgeoisie with power over the Quebec economy, replacing the old English coterie of Westmount, it also had to give major concessions to the labor movement, especially in the public sector with its heavily female workforce. By necessity, it broke the stronghold of the anti-woman Catholic church, a close ally of the former Anglo overlords.

Since then, women have made important gains. Quebec was the first place in Canada where abortion was made legal. From having one of the world's highest birthrates in the 1950s, it now has one of the lowest. Marriage rates are extremely low compared to the rest of North America, as young people see no need for either the church or the state to "sanctify" their personal relations. Gays have also won gains, including the first court ruling legalizing gay marriages. Women make up a huge proportion of the workforce and are a majority among college and university students.

So playing the "feminist" card is an electoral ritual for political parties in Quebec. This is especially true for the more "progressive"-posturing PQ, whose long-promised \$5-a-day daycare program, instituted in 1997, helped it win re-election the next year. While funding was poor and daycare spots hard to come by (and unavailable outside "regular" hours), this reform represented a gain for low-income parents, especially single mothers. Charest's increase to \$7 (undoubtedly to be followed by more) and his plan to kick children out if they don't attend for enough hours a week (a particular blow to immigrant women, who often can find only part-time employment) provoked enormous anger.

(continued on page 22)

# Quebec Labor...

(continued from page 21)

We oppose Charest's regressive measure against affordable daycare. At the same time, while defending all the gains women can wrest from the oppressive capitalist system, we point out that these reforms are partial and reversible. More fundamentally, they cannot end the reactionary role of the bourgeois family. Among other things, this oppressive institution relegates such socially essential tasks as child rearing, cooking and cleaning to "women's work" done in the home. Only the smashing of the capitalist system can lay a basis to end the oppression of women, including by making household tasks *social*, through daycare, community kitchens, etc. We fight for free, 24-hour-a-day daycare available to all (and not just for work reasons; one should be allowed a break from the kids at any time). *For women's liberation through socialist revolution!*

## Class Struggle and the Quebec National Question

Far from mobilizing in solidarity with the Quebec labor movement, the English Canadian labor tops and NDP social democrats are at best silent, and at worst cheer for Ottawa's "anti-separatist" campaign. Promoting reactionary "national unity," the NDP worked hand in glove with the Liberals and Tories to defeat the 1995 sovereignty referendum. Four years later, the New Democrats supported Chrétien's Clarity Act—a "legal" justification for the use of military force against Quebec in case of a winning referendum. Now Manitoba NDP premier Gary Doer complains that Paul Martin is too "wishy-washy" toward Quebec, including by failing to enthusiastically back the Clarity Act at the time (*Toronto Star*, 16 February).

As for the Canadian Labour Congress bureaucrats, in the midst of the 1972 general strike they denounced anyone who advocated "the destruction of Confederation" or sought to "overthrow a democratically elected government." It is this chauvinism emanating from the English Canadian social democrats and union bureaucrats which more than anything has fueled support for the anti-labor bourgeois nationalists of the PQ and the Bloc Québécois among Quebec workers.

As we said shortly before the 1995 sovereignty referendum, where we called for a Yes vote:

"The existence of two separate and increasingly divergent nations, one oppressing the other, continues to define the political landscape in this country, and has terribly undermined working-class struggle.... The forcible confinement of Quebec within Canada has poisoned relations between the English Canadian and Québécois working class. The recognition by the workers of each nation that their respective capitalist rulers—not each other—are the enemy can only come through an independent Quebec."

—"For Quebec Independence!" SC No. 105, September/October 1995

After winning the referendum by the thinnest of margins, thanks to economic blackmail and military intimidation, the Chrétien Liberals vowed to "solve" the national question with a combination of sticks and carrots. The stick was

the Clarity Act. As for the carrot, various Liberal-friendly "advertising" firms received millions of government dollars to "promote Canada" by planting little Maple Leaf flags at Quebec fishing shows and drag races, or simply for transferring funds between different federal agencies and crown corporations. The money was then "recovered" in the form of large donations to the previously bankrupt Liberal Party organization in Quebec, which couldn't recruit enough members to maintain itself financially. The whole sponsorship scandal has in turn fuelled Quebec-bashing, especially in Western Canada and small town Ontario. Typical was Liberal Minister of State and Thunder Bay MP Joe Comuzzi who mused, "I guess that's how they do politics there."

In reality, that's how the notoriously corrupt pork-barrellers who make up the federal Liberal Party's Quebec wing "do politics." Their services in helping to oppress their own people have always come at a hefty price. (While we do not know what dealings former public works minister Alfonso Gagliano may have had with the mafia, if any, we are reminded that one of the best organized "pro-Canada" formations in Quebec had long been...the Hells Angels.)

## Quebec Left at a Crossroad

Many workers and leftist youth recognize that the PQ, which has repeatedly attacked workers and the poor during its years in government, provides no solution. But what are the alternatives? A number of lower-level union bureaucrats and reformist left groups, including the Communist Party and the fake-Trotskyist Gauche Socialiste, have come together in the Union des Forces Progressistes (UFP), aiming to build a left-of-PQ social-democratic nationalist formation. The UFP platform is full of reformist nonsense about "rebalancing tax revenues between individuals and businesses" and the like. Not even paying lip service to socialism, its crowning demand is for a "constitution for a progressive, republican, secular and democratic Quebec."

Then there is Quebec's new "far left," the anarchists and the Maoist PCR-CO (Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire-



The true face of "Canada the Good." *Toronto Sun* cheers anti-French bigotry. Outpouring of support for talk show host Conan O'Brien's tirades is part of rise in chauvinist provocations against Quebec.



SC photo

**Ottawa, 2002: TL fights against anti-French bigotry and for Quebec independence, key to successful class struggle in this country.**

Comités d'Organisation). Both correctly reject "reformism" and "nationalism" as they understand them. But, saying "black" where the PQ and UFP say "white," they simply dismiss the question of Quebec's national oppression and refuse to call for independence, which they label "divisive" or even "reactionary."

At best, this condemns them to irrelevance in the Quebec workers movement. At worst, it is the road to capitulating directly to the English Canadian bourgeoisie. Such is what happened with the once influential Quebec Maoist movement, which had thousands of adherents in the 1970s. The largest group, the Workers Communist Party, ended up calling to strengthen the Canadian military against the U.S. and the "social-imperialist" Soviet Union-- the same military that was sent to repress the Quebec nationalist left during the "October Crisis" of 1970.

Today the PCR-CO says "Fight for Social Peace? No! Do Away with Capital? Yes!" (*Drapeau Rouge*, December-January 2004). Similarly, the anarchists around the paper *Le Trouble* and the North Eastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC) call for "Class Struggles... Before Social Peace" (December 2003). Both correctly denounce the PQ and their followers in the union bureaucracy as enemies of the workers and say an alternative to these sellouts is needed. But neither can answer the question: *how* can the working class be broken from its misleaders and won to the struggle for anti-capitalist revolution?

*Le Trouble* "rejects the nation as a rallying pole for revolutionaries. We believe that revolution must smash all the borders." Fine words, but *Le Trouble* avoids the issue at hand: the oppression of one nation by another, as with the case of Quebec,

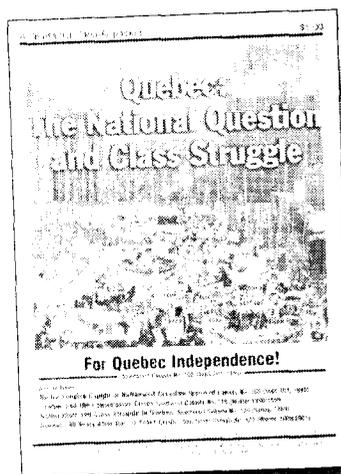
and the impact of this oppression on working-class consciousness and struggle.

True enough, "left" nationalists like the UFP are merely a left prop to the mainstream Québécois nationalists. They claim Quebec independence in and of itself would show the way to a socially progressive, egalitarian society. This is false and utopian: without socialist revolution and the destruction of the capitalist state, an independent Québec would remain an oppressive society—a bargain-basement imperialist power at best, a racist hellhole for immigrants and Native people, and a continued source of cheap (albeit well-educated) labor. In order to compete in the imperialist world, the Quebec bourgeoisie would by necessity attack working people, women and the poor.

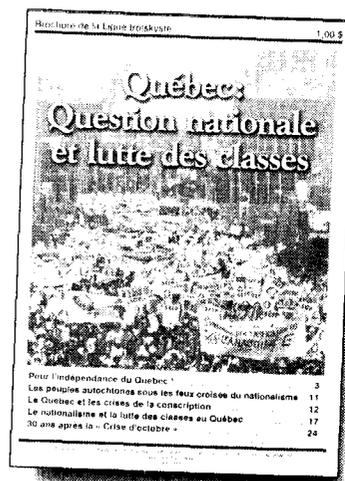
So why call for independence? Because this is the only road to cut through the national-chauvinist animosities that currently bedevil the working class of this country. Quebec independence is not the promised land of the PQ, Quebec labor bureaucrats and the UFP, nor the "divisive" bogey man painted by Maoists and anarchists. It will simply allow the class question—workers fighting against capitalists—to come to the fore in both English Canada and Quebec. It will thus create better conditions for workers to realize that their enemies are not "the French" or "les Anglais" but their own national capitalists.

By fighting Anglo chauvinism down the line and championing Quebec independence, proletarian revolutionaries can with clean hands intervene among the Québécois working class with the aim of breaking it from the dead end of nationalism. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fights to forge a proletarian vanguard party which can make combative workers in Quebec and throughout Canada conscious of their historic task of sweeping away bourgeois rule. Down with anti-Quebec bigotry! Down with Charest's austerity attacks! For Quebec independence! Forward to North American socialist revolution! ■

## Trotskyist Literature on Quebec



\$1.00 (5 articles)



\$1.00 (32 pages)

**French-language TL pamphlet on the Quebec national question and the class struggle. Also available in English (at left) as a literature packet.**

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

# Labor Upsurge Sweeps Quebec



Didier Debusschère

**Workers protesting Liberal austerity cuts face riot cops outside Quebec National Assembly, December 15.**

With the election of the rabidly federalist Jean Charest Liberal government in Quebec last April, English Canadian politicians and media pundits declared the “end of separatism.” Only a few months later, the country is again wracked by national antagonisms, with vile anti-French chauvinism in English Canada fueling a predictable rise in pro-independence sentiment in Quebec. While the federal Liberals’ “national unity” schemes are blowing up in their face in a series of financial “sponsorship” scandals, Charest’s austerity attacks have provoked the biggest labor mobilizations in Quebec in two decades, reviving as well the fortunes of the defeated Parti Québécois. Even before the recent spate of anti-French bigotry, exemplified by the rantings of Don Cherry and Conan O’Brien’s sick chauvinist “jokes,” opinion polls showed support for a sovereign Quebec has climbed

back up to 47 percent.

Having ousted a very unpopular PQ government on a vague promise of “change” and tax cuts, the Charest Liberals have set out to “re-engineer” Quebec society. With the backing of the Conseil du Patronat employers association, they aim to erase many of the gains acquired through hard struggle by the Quebec working class since the period of modernizing reforms and explosive social struggles of the 1960s and ’70s known as the Quiet Revolution.

In December, the Charest government passed a series of laws attacking workers’ right to keep union representation when their jobs are “subcontracted,” banning union rights altogether for home daycare workers and others, and ending the PQ’s \$5-a-day universal daycare program. Despite the

*(continued on page 21)*

## “National Unity” Fuels Anti-Quebec Bigotry