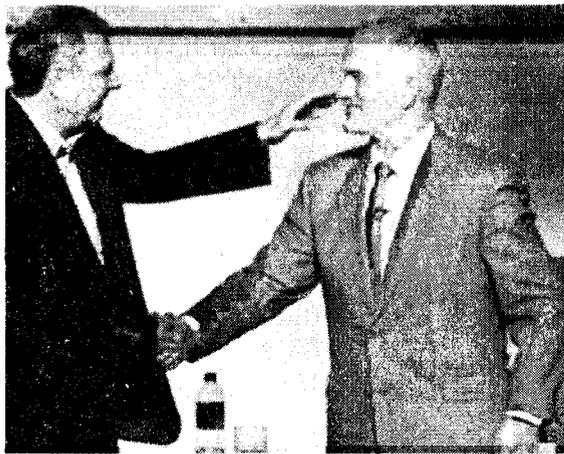


NDP Props Up Liberal Gangsters **Corruption, Capitalism and “Canadian Unity”**



Greg Locke

Liberal-NDP alliance: anti-worker, anti-Quebec. Right: Unionists march on Montreal May Day amid widespread social turmoil against federalist Charest government.



Bad Acid

For Quebec Independence!

The spectacle of formerly powerful federal Liberal cronies and ad men baring all and breaking down at daily hearings of the Gomery inquiry became an instant hit with Quebec TV audiences. After being bullied into voting No in two sovereignty referendums, the Québécois don't know if they should fume or laugh their heads off at the use of government money to try and buy their patriotism with “pro-Canada” fishing ads, t-shirts and golf balls. The tales of shady characters meeting in Italian restaurants and kickbacks in cash-stuffed envelopes, complete with an unresolved car bombing, capture the corruption and patronage that are part of capitalist “democracy” everywhere. But the bottom line of the sponsorship scandal is the story of how far the rulers of this country will go to prevent Quebec independence.

With the minority Liberals having won their May 19 confidence motion by a single vote, the federal government of Paul Martin has been temporarily restabilized. Support from

the 19 NDP MPs was key to this, enabling the anti-worker Liberal gang to turn around and convince the real moneybags of power—the capitalists of Toronto's Bay Street and the myriad operatives around Montreal's Power Corporation—to give them one more go at damping yet another “national unity” crisis. The moneybags agreed, and multimillionaire Tory MP Belinda Stronach, heiress to the union-busting Magna auto-parts giant, crossed the floor on the eve of the confidence motion to give the Liberals that crucial vote.

The NDP's role in propping up the tottering Liberal regime speaks volumes about this servile, pro-capitalist social-democratic party. It also shows graphically the role of the trade-union bureaucracy in tying the working class to the capitalists and their state. It was Canadian Labour Congress head Ken Georgetti and Canadian Auto Workers president Buzz Hargrove who reportedly demanded that the NDP sign the pact with the Liberals or forego official labour support in the next election. “Corridor coalitions” with the Liberals in exchange for largely phantom “reforms” have long been an NDP staple. The latest is grotesque even by NDP standards, as party leader Jack

(continued on page 12)

Soviet Red Army Smashed Nazi Regime

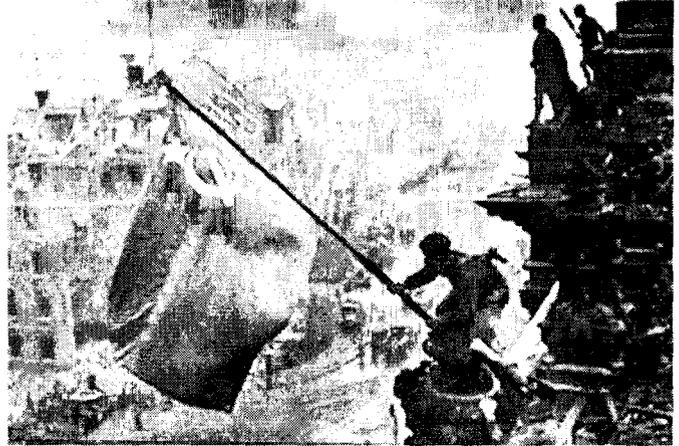
With equal parts fanfare and brazen dishonesty, the capitalist press has been trumpeting the sixtieth anniversary of VE Day. More than a decade after the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union—homeland of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution—the imperialists are rewriting history. U.S. president George W. Bush raved about “the iron rule of another empire” and denounced the Soviet liberation of East Europe as “one of the greatest wrongs of history.” In Canada, where the government sheltered thousands of Nazi war criminals during the postwar years, the Ukrainian “Civil Liberties Association” is now pushing a vindictive witchhunt of four Soviet Jewish partisans. It demands that these heroic anti-fascist fighters be designated “war criminals” and stripped of Canadian citizenship.

The truth is that sixty years ago, on May 8, 1945, the Soviet Red Army crushed the Nazi regime, liberating Europe and humanity from the nightmare of Hitler’s genocidal terror. The Soviet soldiers who had marched through the gates of the Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen Nazi death camps in January 1945 played the decisive role in defeating the Nazis at the staggering cost of some 27 million Soviet lives.

For the capitalist powers involved, World War II was an interimperialist conflict over redivision of the world, in which the working class had no side. The “Allied” imperialists sought to sell their war on the “Axis” powers as a war for democracy against fascism. In reality, their aim was to check the ambitions of German imperialism while redividing colonial spoils and subjugating oppressed nations. The workers internationally had only one country to defend: the Soviet Union, which despite bureaucratic-nationalist degeneration under the rule of Josef Stalin remained a workers state. Hitler’s war of extermination on the Eastern Front was the most barbaric expression of the goal the capitalists pursued since 1917: overturning the proletarian property forms in the Soviet Union.

The truth about the liberation of Auschwitz lives in the writings of the Jewish Italian author and chemist Primo Levi, who survived a harrowing ten months in the camp (a section of which was called Buna-Monowitz). He was among 7,000 ill prisoners left to die when the German overseers fled days before the Red Army arrived.

In the sick bay of the Lager [camp] at Buna-Monowitz eight hundred of us remained. Of these about five hundred died from illness, cold and hunger before the Russians



Yevgeny Khaldei/Sovfoto

Soviet flag flies over Berlin Reichstag, marking Red Army’s victory over Hitler’s Third Reich.

arrived and another two hundred succumbed in the following days, despite the Russians’ aid.

The first Russian patrol came in sight of the camp about midday on 27 January 1945. Charles and I were the first to see them: we were carrying Sómogyi’s body to the common grave, the first of our room mates to die. We tipped the stretcher on to the defiled snow, as the pit was now full, and no other grave was at hand: Charles took off his beret as a salute to both the living and the dead.

They were four young soldiers on horseback, who advanced along the road that marked the limits of the camp, cautiously holding their sten-guns. When they reached the barbed wire, they stopped to look, exchanging a few timid words, and throwing strangely embarrassed glances at the sprawling bodies, at the battered huts and at us few still alive.

To us they seemed wonderfully concrete and real, perched on their enormous horses, between the grey of the snow and the grey of the sky, immobile beneath the gusts of damp wind which threatened a thaw.

It seemed to us, and so it was, that the nothing full of death in which we had wandered like spent stars for ten days had found its own solid centre, a nucleus of condensation; four men, armed, but not against us: four messengers of peace, with rough and boyish faces beneath their heavy fur hats.

They did not greet us, nor did they smile; they seemed oppressed not only by compassion but by a confused restraint, which sealed their lips and bound their eyes to the funereal scene....

So for us even the hour of liberty rang out grave and muffled, and filled our souls with joy and yet with a painful sense of pudency, so that we should have liked to wash our consciences and our memories clean from the foulness that lay upon them; and also with anguish, because we felt that this should never happen, that now nothing could ever happen good and pure enough to rub out our past, and that the scars of the outrage would remain within us for ever, and in the memories of those who saw it, and in the places where it occurred and in the stories that we should tell of it.

—Primo Levi, “The Thaw” (1963), in *Survival in Auschwitz and The Reawakening, Two Memoirs* (Summit Books, 1986)

<h2 style="margin: 0;">SPARTACIST</h2> <p style="margin: 0;">CANADA </p>
<p style="margin: 0;">Newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)</p>
<p>Editorial Board: C. Galarneau, Tynan Maddalena, John Masters, Miriam McDonald (Editor), Jon Seville (Editor, Young Spartacus pages), Russell Stoker (Production Manager)</p> <p>Circulation Manager: C. Galarneau</p> <p>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.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Printed in a union shop by union labour.</i></p> <p>Publications Agreement No. 461717 ISSN: 0229-5415 Summer 2005 Date of issue: June 2005</p>

B.C.'s "No Choice" Elections

No Vote to the NDP! For a Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party!

VANCOUVER—The May 17 B.C. election saw the Liberals returned to office with a reduced majority, while the NDP sharply increased its support to 41 percent of the vote. Four years ago, after nearly a decade in government, the NDP won only two seats as the Liberals swept the province. Its revival today under new leader Carole James is a measure of the widespread hatred for the Liberals, whose austerity onslaught has devastated the lives of workers and the poor. In the absence of a credible alternative fighting for the interests of working people, and with down-the-line support from the B.C. Federation of Labour (B.C. Fed) union tops, James and her “fiscally responsible” New Democrats have again managed to channel popular discontent into the dead end of pro-capitalist social democracy.

The NDP regimes of the 1990s set the stage for the Liberal avalanche with their attacks on social programs and union rights, laced with poisonous racism and chauvinism. We will not forget that the NDP sent the RCMP and army against Native protesters at Gustafsen Lake; that they broke a CUPE school support workers strike and slapped a wage freeze on public-sector workers; that they demanded internment of “illegal” immigrants to stop a supposed “invasion” of people from Asia. Ruling for the capitalists, the NDP did all this and more.

Immediately on coming to office, Gordon Campbell’s Liberals sharply escalated the attacks. Union contracts were torn up, social services slashed to the bone, whole towns economically devastated. Women and immigrant workers were hit hardest, while the government sought to foment racist reaction against Native people through a referendum on land claims. Tens of thousands of workers, students, immigrants and Natives took to the streets in mass protests. Then last year the heavily immigrant Hospital Employees Union (HEU) staged a province-wide strike. Filipino, Chinese, South Asian and white hospital workers, many of whom are also women and single mothers, had been the target of years of government cutbacks. Their strike in defense of jobs and health care won support from working people across the province, bringing it to the brink of a general strike.

But these struggles were betrayed, as the HEU and B.C. Fed misleaders told the workers to go back to work and stop Campbell at the ballot box. The NDP campaign cynically tapped into the outrage over the Liberals’ health-care cuts. Yet the New Democrats were instrumental in selling out the HEU workers, who were hit with a 15 percent pay cut, 600 layoffs and a longer work week. And the NDP election platform accepted the Liberals’ \$1 billion tax cut for the rich, the closed hospitals and schools, and the doubling of post-secondary tuition.

These elections offered no choice for workers and the poor. At bottom, all the Liberals, NDP and bourgeois Green



SC photo

May Day 2004: Thousands march in Vancouver in support of HEU health care workers.

Party had to offer was more capitalist austerity and racist reaction. What’s urgently needed is a fight to defend jobs, health care and other social programs through mobilizing the power of the multiracial working class. With its central role in production—on the docks, in the mills, factories and transport—the working class has tremendous potential power to wage such a fight. But it is saddled with a pro-capitalist leadership—the NDP and its allies in the union bureaucracy—that prevents such struggle and works instead to tie the workers to the bosses and their state.

Behind the façade of bourgeois democracy, we live under the dictatorship of a single class: the capitalist owners of industry, finance and commerce. V.I. Lenin, leader of the October 1917 workers revolution in Russia, captured the fraud of bourgeois elections in his pamphlet *The State and Revolution*: “To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism.” We Trotskyists say what is needed, in B.C., across Canada and internationally, is the forging of a new, class-struggle labour leadership and a revolutionary workers party that fights to make the working class conscious of the need to sweep away the entire capitalist system of racism, poverty and wage slavery.

NDP: Enforcers of Racist Capitalism

While the labour tops sold the lie that the NDP would turn back Liberal austerity, various pseudo-socialists portrayed the New Democrats as a lesser evil or even a potential instrument for socialism. The International Socialists fretted that Carole James “offers little alternative,” but called to vote NDP “because it is a vote for a party with roots in our class organizations” (*Socialist Worker*, 20 April). FightBack (supporters of the Committee for a Marxist International)

(continued on page 18)



Workers Vanguard

Revolutionary Contingent marches at April 23 Harlem demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The following article is adapted from Workers Vanguard (No. 848, 13 May), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

On April 23, some 350 workers, students, socialists, fighters for black rights and opponents of the racist death penalty turned out in Harlem in defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Commemorating Jamal's 51st birthday (24th behind bars), the demonstration was initiated by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal (ICFFMAJ), the New York City Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition, and the International Action Center (IAC).

The Spartacist League and Labor Black League marched with a 50-strong Revolutionary Contingent under the Partisan Defense Committee banner: "There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts—Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" As the leaflet building for our contingent underlined:

"The notorious frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal symbolizes what the barbaric, racist death penalty is all about in capitalist America. The capitalist forces of 'law and order,' represented by both the Democratic and Republican Parties, want Mumia dead because they see in this eloquent journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman a symbol of defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression."

The demonstration was followed by an indoor rally where some 350 people gathered. Speakers at the indoor rally included Pam Africa of ICFFMAJ; Rachel Wolkenstein, counsel for the PDC; black Democratic Party politician and former New York City mayor David Dinkins; Brenda Stokely, president of AFSCME (municipal workers) District Council 1707; New York City councilman Bill Perkins; and Larry Holmes of the Workers World Party's IAC.

Many attendees were looking for a way forward to fight for Jamal's freedom. What was unique about this event was the all-too-rare clash of political views and strategies on precisely this question. On one pole was the open embrace of trust in the justice of the American court system promoted by Dinkins and the IAC; on the other was the class-struggle perspective

offered by Wolkenstein, the PDC and the SL. As our leaflet stated: "In our defense of Mumia we have supported pursuing all available legal avenues open to fight for his freedom and against the death penalty. But we have always promoted the understanding that the fight to free Mumia must be independent of the racist capitalist state, which has worked for years to frame him up. It is this Marxist understanding that differentiates our program from those who rely on a legalistic strategy, building illusions that the capitalist courts are fair."

Pam Africa introduced Wolkenstein, citing her efforts in obtaining evidence of Mumia's innocence and, speaking of the PDC, emphasized: "For years their position has been one that Mumia is innocent and to hell with a trial." Africa added, "That's absolutely true, but we have people who are not ready to move that way." She encouraged rally participants to obtain the PDC pamphlet *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!*, containing affidavits by Wolkenstein, Mumia, his brother William Cook and Arnold Beverly, in which Beverly admits that he, not Jamal, killed Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981.

Wolkenstein's speech was greeted with applause and a standing ovation because it struck a chord with the mainly black audience, many of whom were longtime political activists. She explained the role of the capitalist state as an institution that exists to defend the interests of the ruling capitalist class against working people and the oppressed, and why it is so dangerous to peddle illusions in the state. As our flyer stated: "The courts, the cops, the prosecutors and the military make up the state apparatus which uses bourgeois law and force to protect the profit system. The state is not neutral and does not function in the interests of black people, the working class, immigrants or other oppressed minorities. Without this understanding, it is impossible to wage an effective struggle to free Mumia."

Wolkenstein laid bare the evidence of Mumia's innocence, centered on Beverly's confessions and mounds of supporting evidence. This evidence was suppressed by Jamal's former

(continued on page 15)

Leonard Peltier Becomes PDC Stipend Recipient

Free Leonard Peltier!

We are proud that Native American Indian political prisoner Leonard Peltier has joined the class-struggle prisoners receiving stipends from the Partisan Defense Committee. Our defense of Peltier goes back nearly thirty years to when we joined protests in Vancouver to oppose his extradition to the U.S. He was held under maximum security in Vancouver's Oakalla Prison for almost a year. On December 16, 1976 the Trudeau Liberal government denied him asylum and extradited him back to the U.S. As we wrote at the time:

"The persecution of Peltier is part of a concerted campaign by the FBI (with the obvious complicity of the RCMP and other Canadian authorities) to smash AIM [American Indian Movement] through piling up criminal charges against its leaders, just as was done against the Black Panthers. The Trotskyist League has vigorously protested the attempt to hand this native Indian leader over to a 'legal' lynch mob in the U.S., and demands freedom for Peltier and all other victimized AIM militants."

—SC No. 7, June-July 1976

The article below is reprinted from the Partisan Defense Committee's Class Struggle Defense Notes No. 33, Spring 2005. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Trotskyist League.

The Partisan Defense Committee announces that it has recently added Leonard Peltier to its class-war prisoner stipend program. Leonard Peltier is known throughout the world as one of the most prominent political prisoners in America. His nearly three decades of incarceration because of his activism in the American Indian Movement has come to symbolize this country's racist repression of its indigenous people, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression.

In a March 28 letter to the PDC, Peltier asks that his stipend money be donated to his defense committee. The PDC was happy to oblige and sent a check to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66044. We encourage our readers and supporters to likewise donate to the cause of Peltier's freedom.

Leonard Peltier needs no introduction to subscribers of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* or *Workers Vanguard*, the Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League, with which the PDC is associated. Peltier is now 60 years old; he was born on the Anishinabe Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota. He faced the brutal racism and grinding poverty of working-class Native American Indians, working variously as a migrant farm worker, an automobile mechanic, a welder, a carpenter and a community counselor. In response to the hideous oppression he experienced and saw all around him, he became involved in struggles for Native American rights and joined AIM. As an AIM member he joined in the 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties caravan to Washington, D.C., where he participated in the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) building. It was in his capacity as a trusted and respected AIM activist that he came to assist the Oglala Lakota people of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in the mid '70s.



Ben Corbett

At that time, AIM fell within the government's cross hairs because it was attempting to combat the enforced poverty of Native Americans and the continued theft of their lands by the Feds and the energy companies, which were intent on grabbing the rich uranium deposits under Sioux land in western South Dakota. Pine Ridge became a war zone as the hated BIA and the FBI trained and armed thugs to terrorize and crush Indian activists. Between 1973-1976, these killers carried out more than 300 attacks, murdering at least 69 people.

When 250 FBI and BIA agents, SWAT cops and local vigilantes launched an assault against Pine Ridge in June 1975 and the FBI came up two agents short, Peltier and three others were charged with their deaths. Charges were dropped against one of them, while AIM supporters Dino Butler and Bob Robideau were acquitted in a trial in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, as jurors stated that they did not believe the government witnesses and that it seemed "pretty much a clear-cut case of self-defense" against the murderous FBI raid.

The government went into overdrive to assure a conviction against Peltier after the Feds had dragged him back from refuge in Canada. The prosecution concealed ballistic tests which showed that Peltier's gun could not have been used in the shooting, while the trial judge ruled out any possibility of another acquittal on grounds of self-defense by refusing to allow any evidence of government terror against Pine Ridge activists. At the trial, the prosecutors claimed that Peltier shot the agents at close range; by the time of a 1985 appeal hearing the lead government attorney admitted, "We can't prove who shot those agents."

The Feds' conspiracy against Peltier and other AIM leaders was orchestrated right from the top, through the FBI's notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program." COINTELPRO was launched against the Communist Party and was then deployed to

(continued on page 19)

Young Spartacus

An Instance of Victorian Racism

No Sex, No Fun, No Spartacists!

The following appeared in the Young Spartacus pages of Workers Hammer (No. 190, Spring 2005), the paper of our British sister organization, the Spartacist League.

We print below a translation of a leaflet published by our comrades of the Spartakist-Jugend, Germany that was distributed at the Berlin "Socialism Days" of 25-27 March. This event was hosted by the Sozialistischen Alternative Voran (SAV), the sister group of Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party in Britain [Socialist Alternative in Canada]. The cowardly political exclusion of communists on the basis of our defence of consensual intergenerational sex exposes the kind of social backwardness that these "socialists" tail. Characterised by reformist politics and an orientation to the lowest common denominator of consciousness within the working class, the Taaffeite political tendency imbibes many of bourgeois society's chauvinist values. In the sphere of sexual relations this means accepting the capitalist state—that upholds the nuclear family and enforces sexual repression—as the authority on deciding when youth are ready to have sex, not the individuals themselves.

In this country the Taaffeites are very much at home with the "no sex please, we're British" culture. Whipped up by the Labour government's anti-"paedophile" witch hunt, reactionary vigilante mobs, infiltrated by the fascist BNP, rampaged through housing estates in 1998. The most recent example of this bigoted terror was the beating to death of Paul Cooper on 23 March, merely because his attackers suspected he was a paedophile.

The Socialist Party ignores the fact that the capitalist state makes no distinction between consensual intergenerational sex and rape when branding people as "paedophiles." It grotesquely endorsed the "paedophile register" of convicted "sex offenders"—and even suspected sex offenders—that was introduced by the Labour government in 1997. Reinforcing this support for capitalist persecution they bemoaned cutbacks in the repressive probation and prison services (*Socialism Today*, September 2000). As we pointed out in *Workers Hammer* No. 186, Winter 2003-2004, the Labour government's pretence at "child protection" in justifying its draconian legislation is truly twisted coming from "a Labour government that has administered the murder of hundreds of thousands of children through its filthy imperialist wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Serbia. This is the same government that continues the oppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland today under the facade of the peace deal, where fascistic loyalist thugs terrorise little Catholic school girls such as those of Holy Cross school. This is the government that in the name of the 'war on terror' steps up the persecution of immigrants, threatening to take away and incarcerate children if their parents do not agree to deportation."

But this does not worry the Socialist Party too much. They are notorious for their refusal to call for the immediate withdrawal of British imperialist troops from Northern Ire-



AFF

Michael Jackson with supporter during trial.

land, and in their present general election campaign say precious little in defence of immigrant and minority victims of the government's racist "war on terror." Their prostration before the chauvinist values of the British bourgeoisie is proof of their fundamental inability to challenge the rule of capital.

The SAV leaders don't want revolutionary politics at their "Socialism Days" this year. They don't want any "impure" thoughts to pollute the virgin minds of their membership. So the SAV's leader Sascha Stanicic wrote us the following e-mail on 23 March:

"As we've already told you, you will not have the possibility this year of setting up an information stand at the Socialism Days. Your position of relativising child abuse, which you defended last year at Socialism Days, led to great indignation among many participants. Many declared that they don't ever want to hear such positions again.

"For years we have tolerated your untruths and distortion of the SAV's positions, because we assumed that those who attend our meetings could come to their own conclusions. The fact that no one who came to Socialism Days has ever joined your group, confirms this assessment. However, with your behaviour at the women's political event at Socialism Days last year, you have crossed a line, which we cannot tolerate.

"We therefore inform you that you are excluded from the forum on the theme 'new sexism,' and that you are not allowed to have an information stand or to sell newspapers at the event."

The self-appointed "morality police" of the left lays it down: "Who's Bad?" Those who don't conform to the narrow, prudish and social-democratic worldview of the SAV leaders get banned. *No to this political censorship!*

The SAV leadership is hell-bent on defending the family values of their members and sympathisers against us communists. We reported in our article (under the seductive title, "Why the rejection, SAV?") on the moralist "outrage" which

greeted our comrade's intervention in the forum on "Globalisation & the new sexism" at last year's "Socialism Days" (*Spartakist* No. 155, Summer 2004). She attacked the SAV's prudish moralism and counterposed our Marxist position of opposition to state intervention in consensual sexual and other personal relations. That includes so-called paedophiles who are victims of state persecution for having sex with minors on the basis of *effective consent*—meaning consensual sex as opposed to being forced to do something you don't want to do or don't understand. SAV cadre flipped out over this, and also over our defence of Michael Jackson—a *black man being targeted yet again by the racist US courts!* We wrote:

"While it is possible that Michael Jackson has been thoroughly asexual in his relationships with boys, as he steadfastly maintains, to us that is irrelevant. Jackson has been charged under part of the California penal code involving a 'lewd act upon a child.' It prohibits acts with the intention of arousing, appealing to, or gratifying the lust, passions or sexual desires of the person or the child. The state clearly and willfully does not distinguish between coerced and consensual acts."

—"Stop Vendetta Against Michael Jackson!", *Workers Vanguard* No. 818, 23 January 2004

The SAV disgustingly slanders this position as "defence of rapists" or, as Stanicic now puts it, "relativising child abuse." With this slander of Jackson, *the SAV leadership embraces the racist, reactionary values of the neo-conservative fundamentalist Bush government, whose henchmen are witch-hunting Jackson!*

Stanicic accuses us of spreading "untruths and distortions" to cover up the fact that the SAV is too cowardly to defend its own politics. Why else ban a group from selling its paper at their event? In fact, the SAV's "outrage" against and censorship of our revolutionary opposition to the bourgeois state's persecution of sexual minorities is further proof of what we always said: they are social democrats (with a little militant rhetoric occasionally). The SAV's frenzy is not just cynical demagoguery. The whole affair reflects a deep-seated backwardness on questions of personal—particularly sexual—freedom. This backwardness has everything to do with anti-communist social democracy, which the SAV currently subordinates itself to in the form of the "electoral alternative" ASG [*Arbeit & soziale Gerechtigkeit*—Work and Social Justice]. For the bourgeoisie and their political police in the workers movement, the social democracy, it is of course of elementary importance that the workers (and the rest of the population) be regimented by hypocritical bourgeois morality—church, "ethics" courses in school, and family. The family—the central institution in class society for the oppression of women and children—serves to transmit this morality and regimentation to the next generation of workers. That is why every form of sex which questions the monogamous "norm"—homosexuality, paedophilia, etc.—is branded as "deviant" and "sinful."

And of course the highest principle of all social democrats is that the capitalist state, as protector of the "general welfare," plays the role of enforcing this hypocritical morality. The same state, guardian of private ownership of the means of production and the reactionary family, is the source of all the reactionary persecution of gays, lesbians and minorities in general. The ASG wants to support and build up this state, which means proving their ability to govern. That is the reason for their witch hunt against

the SAV and other leftists who use socialist rhetoric. By using similar methods of censorship and exclusion against us, the SAV expresses its own narrow prudery, and supports the state and its reactionary interference in people's private lives. In this way, they present themselves as respectable to the ASG bureaucrats. Here is an organisation whose "Socialist Women's Programme" calls for trade union mobilisations against pornography! Pornography is not rape or violence against women, as the feminists and SAV preach. It is a private matter, exciting or interesting according to taste. The capitalist state criminalises it in order more strictly to regiment people's lives. The SAV programme for "trade union censorship" amounts to a social-democratic call to turn the workers organisations into auxiliaries for the state's moral code. Such an outlook is opposed to the most basic socialist (and humanist) strivings for a society where *people can live in freedom*.

The first step to such a society—workers revolution to expropriate the bourgeoisie—was made with the 1917 October Revolution. The new government of workers and soldiers soviets took a decidedly different view from the SAV:

"Soviet legislation bases itself on the following principle: *it declares the absolute non-interference of the state and society into sexual matters so long as nobody is injured and no one's interests are encroached upon....* Concerning homosexuality, sodomy, and various other forms of sexual gratification, which are set down in European legislation as offences against public morality—Soviet legislation treats these exactly the same as so-called 'natural' intercourse. All forms of sexual intercourse are private matters."

—*The Sexual Revolution in Russia*, Grigorii Batkis, director of the Moscow Institute of Social Hygiene [1923], quoted in J. Lauristen and D. Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement 1864-1935* [emphasis in original]

The decisive factor was Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, which guided the revolution to success—a party which declared irreconcilable war on all aspects of capitalist oppression and every expression of state violence and arbitrariness against persecuted minorities. With their censorship and reactionary support for anti-sex prudery, the SAV shows once again that they have nothing to do with the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky. We fight in this tradition, for the party of world socialist revolution to fully realise the hopes for human progress and freedom already awakened by the Russian Revolution. *Government out of the bedroom! Down with anti-communist exclusion at "Socialism Days"! No to the "morality police" of the left!* ■

Vancouver Forum

Down with the Colonial Occupation of Iraq! Canada out of Afghanistan!

How Revolutionary Marxists Fight Against Imperialist War and Militarism

Saturday, June 11, 3:00 p.m.,
Multipurpose Room,

Collingwood Neighbourhood House, 5288 Joyce St.

For more information contact the SYC at (604) 687-0353,
email TLLT@look.ca or write to:

SYC, Box 2717, Main P.O., Vancouver BC V6B 3X2

Letter on “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” Campaign

Pushing Illusions in the Capitalist State

Dear comrades:

The last issue of *SC*—both in the statement by our Japanese comrades in defense of Kurdish-Turkish immigrants and the Trotskyist League leaflet on the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” (DADT) campaign—emphasized the need for the working class to take up the defense of immigrants. It’s definitely true that the demands of the DADT campaign are in the interests of the working class as a whole. As we noted, they “would bar city agencies from inquiring about immigration status before granting access to services and from reporting non-status people to Citizenship and Immigration.”

The TL leaflet also rightly nailed the organizers of the campaign for “demand[ing] that the City of Toronto take leadership and initiative on this issue by setting an example to other Canadian cities.” It’s true that looking to the city government—which, NDP mayor or no, is a *capitalist* government—undercuts the class struggle; we look to the working class to fight for immigrant rights. In light of subsequent discussions in the TL, it became clear to us that the leaflet should have more thoroughly exposed the liberal nature of this campaign. The DADT demands are certainly unobjectionable, but the campaign itself is not something we support because it is premised on fostering illusions in the bourgeois state, including the cops.

For example, the organizers of the DADT campaign, No One Is Illegal—Toronto (NOII), ask people to sign an Open Letter (29 March 2004) that argues: “The Greater Toronto Enforcement Centre (GTEC) has its own mechanisms for handling immigration matters and does not require Toronto Police to do its dirty work” (www.dadtontoronto.org). An article by Hazem Jamjoum in the magazine of the New Socialist Group—also involved in the DADT campaign—is worse, pandering to law and order prejudices against immigrants: “Criminal law is more than adequate to provide for security concerns so incarceration should never be used as part of immigration laws” (*New Socialist*, May-July 2004). So, in the name of achieving reforms at the municipal level, we are asked to endorse the legitimacy of Immigration Canada’s Enforcement Centre and the “security concerns” of the Canadian bourgeoisie!

The Open Letter calls to “prohibit city workers including the Toronto Police from enquiring about a person’s immigration status.” This statement willfully equates the tens of thousands of unionized city workers with the armed fist of the capitalist class—the cops. The state is not a neutral apparatus that can be held in check by bureaucratic reforms or civilian oversight, but exists to maintain the rule of the capitalist class *over* the working class. With or without a DADT policy (and several U.S. cities have such policies), the cops are the weapon of the exploiting class. Gunning down blacks and Natives, breaking up picket lines, attacking antiwar protests—these are not aberrations, but express the fundamental role of the police. A municipal bylaw may slightly impede the cops, but to think it will stop them from harassing immigrants or colluding with Immigration Canada against



Cooper/Toronto Star

NDP Toronto mayor David Miller with outgoing and new police chiefs, Julian Fantino and William Blair. DADT campaign builds illusions in the reform of the capitalist state.

those without status is a foolish and dangerous illusion.

Instead of looking to the capitalist city government to protect immigrants, we need a class struggle leadership of the labour movement that will actively take up the cause of immigrant workers, “legal” or not. This requires a political battle against the existing pro-capitalist leadership of the working class. The labour bureaucracy, especially in the city unions, pulled out all the stops to get NDP mayor David Miller elected. But Miller runs Toronto for Bay Street, enforcing the rule of capitalism against city workers, immigrants and other minorities. It was Miller’s cops who killed Filipino youth Jeffrey Reodica and routinely beat up and harass minority youth in the streets.

The DADT website praises Miller for having “shown in a community round-table meeting that he is open to discussion around this policy.” In fact, the DADT campaign dovetails with a drive by the city and an alliance of the construction bosses and unions to give special work permits to the ten thousand undocumented workers who toil on building sites around Toronto. Miller was quick to endorse immigration minister Joe Volpe’s mooted “regularization program” for such workers in part due to pressure from a construction industry faced with an acute labour shortage. Instead of this unholy alliance with the filthy rich contractor bosses, the construction unions should be using their social power to link up with other trade unions, fighting to organize the unorganized, for full citizenship rights, union hiring halls, aggressive minority recruitment and jobs for all.

Under capitalism, immigration policy is always tied to the labour requirements of the economy. When there’s a boom, to lower labour costs immigrants are encouraged; when the bust comes, they are scapegoated as “stealing jobs.” At all

(continued on page 17)

Brazil: Lula's Popular Front and the Left

The following article is translated from *Le Bolchévique* No. 171 (March 2005), published by the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*, section of the *International Communist League*.

PARIS, March 8—Over 100,000 anti-globalization protesters gathered for the fifth World Social Forum (WSF) held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in opposition to “neoliberalism” and against the occupation of Iraq, among other things. The WSF was directly financed by capitalist institutions and by the bourgeois politicians who are their water boys. (This was also the case for the European Social Forums in France and Britain.) Over 1.7 million euros (about \$2.7 million) were donated by NGOs like the Ford Foundation. Brazil’s federal government run by the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT—Workers Party) of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva contributed 2 million euros. Bourgeois politicians of all kinds also participated in the WSF. A message from [French] president Chirac was read and the two big stars were the president of Brazil, Lula, and the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez. As Marxists we are opposed to these social forums because they are class-collaborationist formations including the direct involvement of bourgeois organizations and bourgeois state agencies.

The capitalists and their bourgeois politicians finance and appear in the social forums to polish up their anti-American, anti-Bush credentials, raising their credibility to better implement attacks against workers in their own countries. So, at Porto Alegre, Lula launched a “campaign against poverty.” But let’s talk about poverty in Brazil: *favelas* (slums) surround every major city; there is racism against blacks, murder of *meninos de rua* (street kids); there are millions of landless peasants; and there is imperialist pillage and domination. Empty, cynical words from capitalist rulers won’t change that. Brazil has one of the biggest economies in Latin America. The powerful workers of the country produce all the wealth, from cars to petroleum to electricity. The workers are also the only force with the capacity to stop production and to lead struggles at the head of all the oppressed—from the landless peasants to the poor in the *favelas*—for a socialist revolution that would tear the factories out of the hands of the capitalists and establish a workers state. To serve the needs of the majority of the population it’s necessary to have a centralized and collectivized economy based on workers councils.

There is no solution to economic backwardness confined to the “national” development of capitalism. A workers revolution in Brazil would also have to be extended elsewhere in Latin America and to the United States. In the U.S., black people are a very powerful component of the working class and, certainly, struggle by the largely black Brazilian proletariat would have an impact in the U.S. It is only with the



Brazilian president Lula was booed by members of his own Workers Party at 2005 World Social Forum in Porto Alegre for implementing IMF austerity.

AFF

participation of workers from imperialist states that capitalist imperialism will be destroyed and the enormous resources of those countries used in the service of all humanity.

Lula came to power in 2002 with the blessing of the Brazilian bourgeoisie because the capitalists thought that he had the authority necessary to convince workers to accept austerity measures. The balance sheet of those two years is: the dismantling of pensions, attacks on education that have led to protests on the campuses, no agrarian reform, and an enormous budgetary surplus that goes toward paying off the country’s debt to satisfy the demands of the IMF. Lula’s PT is a bourgeois workers party with a working-class base but a leadership with a pro-capitalist program. The coalition that brought Lula to power is an example of what is historically known as a “popular front,” i.e., a coalition of one or more workers parties in alliance with bourgeois forces. Lula’s PT even made an alliance with the Partido Liberal (Liberal Party) of the big capitalist José Alencar. We Marxists call that class collaboration—because the interests of the workers and of the capitalists are irreconcilable. Workers produce all the wealth of society and make the means of communication and transportation function. The profit from their labour power is appropriated by the capitalists who own the factories, the telecommunications companies, etc. It’s not possible for workers to fight politically in their own interests when they are politically subordinated to the bourgeoisie.

However, Lula’s coming to power was largely viewed as a victory or as a first step by organizations in France that claim to be Trotskyist. The *Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire* (LCR) wrote at the time: “The PT’s electoral results constitute nonetheless a defeat for neoliberalism and mean a significant change in the relationship of forces in Brazilian society” (*Inprecor*, January-February 2003). The sister organization of the LCR in Brazil is in the *Democracia Socialista* (DS—Socialist Democracy) tendency and is actually part of the PT. In fact, Lula’s minister of agrarian development,

(continued on page 10)

Brazil...

(continued from page 9)

Miguel Rossetto, is a member of DS. Unlike the reformists of the United Secretariat (USec—the international organization to which the LCR is affiliated), revolutionaries are opposed in principle to participation in an executive organ of the bourgeois state—the bourgeoisie allows “socialists” or even “Trotskyists” in the government only on the condition that they defend the capitalist order, and that is exactly what Miguel Rossetto does.

The LCR’s youth group, the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR), was a bit more reserved about having a comrade in Lula’s government. In March 2004, *Red* [the JCR’s newspaper] wrote: “The Lula government is a liberal government that fights against the social movement.” But they also let it be understood that perhaps a capitalist government could act in the interest of workers and the poor if only it had enough good will. So, they defend their comrade minister Rossetto, saying, “Obviously, financing for the ministry of agrarian reform isn’t Lula’s priority and therefore, our comrade couldn’t make all the changes that he wanted to” (*Red*, January 2004). Far from what the JCR says, there has been less distribution of land by the Lula/Rossetto government than during the previous right-wing government, and Rossetto has blood on his hands for each landless peasant killed by the big landlords for whom the Lula government works.

Gauche Révolutionnaire (GR), affiliated with the Committee for a Workers’ International [CWI, whose Canadian affiliate is Socialist Alternative], at first also contributed to the illusions in Lula’s election, hailing a “victory of the working class” (*L’Egalité*, November-December 2002). From 1998 until recently, the GR’s comrades in Brazil built the PT, with some criticisms, from within the Socialismo Revolucionário (SR—Revolutionary Socialist) tendency. Therefore, however critical they are of the PT today, the truth is that their comrades in Brazil directly helped to put the current government in place.

Illusions in the Lula government have started to dissipate, and discontent is starting to grow among youth, workers and peasants. And obviously the opportunists in the DS, the SR, et al. have adapted to this change. A recent split in the PT reflects the level of discontent and anger with the government. The Party of Socialism and Liberty (P-SOL) was created as a result of the December 2003 expulsion of the parliament members Heloísa Helena, Babá, Luciano Genro and João Fontes, who had protested the federal government’s attacks on pensions. The P-SOL was officially formed at a conference in June 2004, and its leadership includes quite a few groups that call themselves Trotskyist. Heloísa Helena was a member of DS inside the PT and a minority of members previously in the DS are now in the P-SOL. The SR tendency was expelled from the PT at the same time as some members of the DS, and now they are also part of the P-SOL, as are some people who left the Morenoite PSTU and individuals from other groups.

The P-SOL program of reforms takes a position against imperialism, for a reduction in the workweek, etc. It even mentions the oppression of blacks and gays. But if they take a more leftist posture, it’s only to better channel the anger of youth and workers, not toward a struggle against the capitalist system and the building of a new revolutionary party, but



no credit

Pope greets fake Trotskyist Miguel Rossetto, minister of agrarian development in Lula’s government.

toward the building of a reformist party to the left of the PT. The P-SOL’s program, adopted on 5-6 June 2004 during its founding national conference, says that it is necessary to build a new party because “it’s an objective necessity for those who, in the last twenty years, built a combative conception of the PT and offered the extraordinary possibility of opening the door to a Brazil without misery and exploitation, but who saw their struggles, dreams and aspirations betrayed.” The P-SOL is based essentially on the idea that the PT’s program was correct but that it went wrong once in power; thus the “struggles” and “dreams” of the founders of the P-SOL were “betrayed.” The PT didn’t betray its program at all because from the beginning it had a program of class collaboration. The PT has participated in coalitions with bourgeois parties since the 1989 presidential elections. In 2002, Lula came to power with the approval of the Brazilian bourgeoisie. But that is not in contradiction to its program because it always had the goal of running the bourgeois state.

The P-SOL says that its programmatic basis can be founded only on one principle: “The defense of the political independence of the workers and the excluded. The party that we are building will not have class collaboration as a goal.” In fact, members of the USec are active in the leadership of the P-SOL, but most of their members remain in the DS tendency inside the PT, and a resolution of a DS national conference condemned the “sectarian party perspective” of what became the P-SOL (*Inprecor*, September 2004). Nonetheless, for Heloísa Helena, class independence is such an “important” principle that she remains in the *same international* with her comrades who have a minister in Lula’s government. In the municipal elections of November 2004, the national P-SOL supported the PT/DS candidate, Luizianne Lins, on the second round in Fortaleza. Lins managed to win the city with support from several small bourgeois parties in the second round (which received executive posts in the municipal government in exchange for their support), such as the populist Partido Democrático dos Trabalhadores (Democratic Workers Party) and the Greens. The P-SOL also refused to oppose the PT in Porto Alegre, where the outgoing candidate, Raul Pont (also in the PT’s DS tendency), was in a coalition with several bourgeois parties. The national leadership of the P-SOL supported a declaration “against the candidate Fogaça (PPS), without calling for a vote



brazilbrief.com

Brazilian troops, part of imperialist occupation of Haiti.

for Raul Pont” but defended either a vote for Pont or a blank ballot (“Statement of the P-SOL National Executive Assessing the Municipal Elections,” not dated, www.psol.org.br). Most of the leading members of the P-SOL come from the PT, but they have never criticized their own past activities as PT members because they continue the same practices.

If a clearer example of class collaboration were necessary, in the P-SOL’s program one can read: “It’s fundamental to democratize the police forces and in particular the army, with the right of troops to free political organization and to elect their officers, with the right to promotion without limits for junior officers.” That’s a suicidal call for workers—more “democratic” rights for the cops means better conditions for them to break the next strike and better conditions for them to kill street kids in cold blood! That is the essence of reformism and class collaboration. The capitalists maintain themselves in power in part by their ideology and in part by force through their state: cops, prison guards, the army. All the bloody lessons of history show that it is not possible to “reform” the bourgeois state; it’s necessary to overthrow it, and the workers should establish their own state—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It’s necessary to build a revolutionary party, but the French fake-Trotskyists look to Brazil as a model of how to build a reformist party. The LCR and the JCR mostly campaigned against the expulsion of Heloisa Helena from the PT, and now that their comrades have been expelled, most of the LCR’s attention remains on DS. They are ecstatic with the recent victory of their PT comrade Luizianne Lins in Fortaleza, and they cry about losing the city of Porto Alegre that they long controlled. The GR/CWI “hailed the birth” of the P-SOL (*L’Egalité*, September-October 2004) because at bottom they see a big, non-revolutionary party not as an obstacle but, on the contrary, as a step toward the construction of a truly revolutionary party, and they take the P-SOL as their model. The GR says: “But one shouldn’t adopt a sectarian position and mechanically demand as a prerequisite that the new party be revolutionary.” However, in the next sentence they try to moderate their statement a little: “That doesn’t mean that a workers party is a necessary step before the revolutionary party.” For the CWI, the P-SOL program “presents the socialist perspective and strategy as a fundamental aspect of building the new party” (*L’Egalité*,

January-February 2005).

We fight for an authentically Marxist party that will champion the rights of all the oppressed—blacks, women, gays, peasants—with a class-struggle program designed to bring the working class to power. That isn’t possible by building a party like the P-SOL that has nice words about “feminism,” blacks and gays in the program, but that does not even mention the most fundamental democratic question for women: the right to abortion. The P-SOL is certainly under pressure from the powerful Brazilian Catholic church, as the declaration by the main spokesperson of the P-SOL, Heloisa Helena, shows:

“I am Catholic. I always go to church. I have many friends in the interior who are priests. Over the last week I went to four masses in a single city, helping in the celebration. I rediscovered my faith some years ago, through pain, and am firmly resolved. My religious experience is with the comrade in the skies who has already given me much proof of love during the difficult times that I have had in life.”

—Interview in the *Jornal do Brasil*, quoted in *Inprecor*, January-March 2004

We Trotskyists fight for free abortion on demand! Cops, priests out of the bedroom!

A revolutionary party must be able to counterpose the liberating ideals of communism to the prejudices of the dominant capitalist ideology in all aspects of social life: against the prevalent machismo, for the liberation of women through socialist revolution, against racism, upholding the banner of black liberation, and fighting to defend peasants and indigent peoples. As we wrote in the article “Lula’s Popular Front Turns Screws on Workers” (*Workers Vanguard* No. 818, 23 January 2004):

“[The revolutionary party] must put itself at the head of the struggles of all the oppressed as part of the fight to establish working-class rule, smashing the rule of the bosses and placing the immense resources and energies of the country in the service of the most urgent human needs. This perspective is necessarily internationalist and is part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International to lead new October Revolutions. It is the perspective of the International Communist League.”■

Subscribe Now to Spartacist Canada/Workers Vanguard!

- \$15 joint *Spartacist Canada/Workers Vanguard* subscription
 - \$3/4 issues of *Spartacist Canada* (overseas airmail \$8)
 - \$14/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard*, biweekly newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.
 - \$5/4 issues of *Le Bolchévick* (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

SC145

Quebec...

(continued from page 1)

Layton played to crude anti-Quebec bigotry, railing that the Tories were “getting into bed” with the “separatists” of the Bloc Québécois (*Toronto Star*, 29 April). The NDP has always been a chauvinist opponent of Quebec’s national rights, but seldom have they put the case so baldly.

Even with the temporary reprieve of the budget vote, Martin and the Liberals are stuck with the sponsorship albatross, and the federalists are in huge trouble in Quebec. Sovereignty is polling at 54 percent. The Liberals are predicted to lose their few remaining francophone seats to Gilles Duceppe and the Bloc in the elections (the Tory yahoos and Anglo-chauvinist NDP aren’t even a factor). Meanwhile, the provincial Liberal regime of Jean Charest is reeling from crisis to crisis. Most recently, a strike by close to 200,000 postsecondary students—the largest in Quebec history—succeeded in facing down the government and stopping many of its planned education cuts. Even Charest’s beloved Employers Council is questioning his leadership. No federalist could be elected dog catcher in Quebec right now.

The sponsorship program was part of former prime minister Jean Chrétien’s “Plan B” against Quebec’s right to self-determination. When first confronted with the mounting evidence of corruption and kickbacks three years ago, Chrétien sniffed: “Perhaps there were a few million dollars that might have been stolen in the process, but how many millions and millions of dollars have we saved because we have re-established the stability of Canada by keeping it a united country?” “Mission accomplished,” he boasted on his retirement a year later, “We can be proud that the country is now more united than ever.”

Less than two years later, the whole shoddy edifice has crumbled. A column by Richard Gwyn of the *Toronto Star* (29 April) put it well:

“Although it really sticks in the craw to cite him as an authority, Alphonso Gagliano, the disgraced former Liberal cabinet minister, is probably correct when he says Quebec’s separation is now ‘unstoppable.’...”

“The 2007 election in Quebec is very likely to be won by the pro-separatist Parti Québécois, headed by that same likeable Duceppe in place of the PQ’s current leader, the unlikeable Bernard Landry.

“Thereafter, a referendum will follow as night does day.

“Exhaustion, on both sides, will probably produce a separatist win, at last....

“To a considerable degree, we’ve already divided ourselves up. All the businesses that might leave a separated Quebec have already left.

“Anglo-Quebecers have either left or have accommodated themselves to being a minority within another nation....

“Quebec is already separate, except that we can’t bring ourselves to admit it.”

Quebec is a nation with its own language and culture and an increasingly distinct political economy. The continued existence of an artificial “united Canada,” where one nation dominates and oppresses the other, has inflamed national animosities



Hayward/CP



DND

“Canadian unity” is enforced through tawdry bribes, patronage, military threats. Above: Chrétien raves at Gomery inquiry; CF-18 fighter jet at Bagotville base.

and tensions, including in the working class. In English Canada, the “pro-Canada” patriotism pushed by the NDP and labour tops binds the workers to the interests of their own exploiters. Meanwhile in Quebec, the labour misleaders push the workers to support *their* national capitalists, via the bourgeois-nationalist Bloc and PQ. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste advocates Quebec independence in order to remove this source of division between the workers, and bring to the fore the need for them to fight against the capitalist exploiters of each nation, not each other.

Anti-Quebec Chauvinism: Poison to the Workers

The British-derived Canadian capitalist class built its power and tremendous riches through the exploitation of workers from many nationalities and races. It has also been past master at the game of “divide and rule,” skillfully manipulating religious, ethnic and national divisions within the working class—Protestant against Catholic, English against French, Canadian-born against immigrant, white against Asian and black.

But nothing poisons the fighting unity of workers in this country more than the never-ending “national unity” crises. In English Canada these invariably come with ravings against Quebec or “the French” in the right-wing “popular” media—the tabloids, rock stations, etc. that most workers rely on for information. The same “save Canada” crap, more slickly packaged, comes from the leaders of the NDP, labour’s so-called political arm. It’s not surprising then that so many Québécois workers believe the nationalist dogma that English Canada is a mass of retrograde and ignorant blockheads, all set against them.

Opposition to national oppression has fuelled class and social struggles in Quebec for decades, and particularly over the 40 years since Quebec threw off the shackles of the Catholic Church and emerged as a modern society through the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s and early ’70s. This was a period of tumultuous social protests and workers struggles, culminating in the general strike of May 1972, when trade unionists took over radio stations, factories and whole towns. Far from offering even token “solidarity,” NDP leader David Lewis supported jailing the Québécois labour leaders, while the Canadian Labour Congress used the occasion to condemn

Quebec's national rights as "selfish." Confronted with such hostility, Quebec workers turned increasingly toward nationalism and the Parti Québécois.

Ever since, the Canadian rulers have been obsessed with how to "stop separatism." Since 1968, every significant prime minister has been a federalist from Quebec, each promising to "solve" the Quebec question—and each failing.

The rulers first tried to counter the growing social and national discontent in Quebec with Pierre Trudeau, crowned Liberal prime minister in 1968. Today, a whole generation of youth in English Canada, particularly in urban Ontario, has grown up believing that Trudeau was a liberal reformer who made Canada a fairer, more tolerant country. Behind this legend lies a very different reality. Despite his sops of "bilingualism and biculturalism," Trudeau came to power to keep Quebec "in its place." He sent the army into Montreal to round up hundreds of left nationalists in the 1970 "October Crisis," and prepared a long-term military occupation later that decade under the secretive "Exercise Neat Pitch" (see "Independence for Quebec!" SC No. 139, Winter 2003/2004, for more details). Trudeau and the Liberals threatened to ignore any popular vote in favour of Quebec sovereignty, and intimidated, cheated and lied to ensure that the Québécois voted No in the 1980 referendum.

In the late 1980s and early '90s, nationalist and pro-independence fervour again rose in Quebec. This was largely in reaction to the Anglo chauvinism that went into overdrive over Tory prime minister Brian Mulroney's attempt to soft-soap Quebec nationalists through a constitutional amendment recognizing Quebec as a "distinct society" (the Meech Lake accord). While small-town Ontario bigots stomped on the Quebec flag and Western rednecks railed against "privileges" for the French, tens of thousands of Québécois took to the streets calling for sovereignty. Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives blew apart, producing both the Western yahoos of the Reform Party, core of today's refashioned Tory party, and the nationalist Bloc Québécois.

Corporate Canada was forced to switch back to the Liberals, hiring Jean Chrétien—a sort of *Trailer Park Boys* version of Trudeau—as their latest hope to "save Canada." Like his mentor, Chrétien was propelled to the top job by a near-psychotic obsession against "the separatists," including hard opposition to *any* special status for Quebec. That is how he won the Liberal leadership in the first place, denouncing his main opponent, Paul Martin, for his support to the "distinct society" sop.

During Chrétien's decade in power, Canadian corporations made massive profits as labour and the oppressed were hammered again and again. Finance minister Martin oversaw huge cutbacks in social programs, including the theft of *billions* from the Employment Insurance fund to "fight the deficit" (i.e., pay off his banker buddies). Immigrants, especially Arabs and Muslims, suffered vicious assaults on their rights. Social protest under and, especially, against Chrétien was met with police repression, usually followed by some jarringly arrogant comment in mangled French or English. Yet it is a scandal over a relatively meager \$300 million or so in sponsorship money that now threatens to take down the seemingly unbeatable Liberals—because it's about Quebec.

The rulers of this country were aghast at their near defeat in the PQ's 1995 sovereignty referendum. First haughtily assuming that the Québécois would never

vote Yes, the Chrétien gang panicked when faced with contrary evidence. Like Trudeau before them, they sent the army on mysterious "maneuvers" on Quebec highways, and secretly prepared for a military intervention in case of a Yes victory. Almost the entire fleet of CF-18 jet fighters was relocated from its Quebec base on the eve of the vote.

With the Tories and NDP in tow, the Liberals tried every dirty trick in the book to win the vote. The most notorious example was the fraudulent "love-in" just before the referendum, which saw tens of thousands of English Canadians "spontaneously" descend on Montreal under the sickening guise of an outpouring of "my Canada includes Quebec" affection. The resources for this massive event, aimed at bullying the Québécois into voting No, were provided by some of the biggest Canadian corporations, who offered time off work, plane and train fares, free long distance and countless other perks. All of this was of course utterly illegal under Quebec's referendum campaign laws. Testifying at the Gomery inquiry, former senior Quebec Liberal organizer Benoît Corbeil admitted that without the Liberals' dirty "secret" funds, the federalists would have lost the referendum.

These tactics in turn inspired the Liberals' famed "Plan B" following the near loss of the referendum. The "Clarity Act," passed into law in 1999 (with the NDP's support, naturally enough), codified the denial of Quebec's democratic right to self-determination by requiring that to acquire independence the oppressed minority nation would need the near-inconceivable approval of the oppressor. The shady dealings around the sponsorship program were part of this whole scheme.

A measure of how thoroughly the Quebec national question dominates Canadian bourgeois politics is provided by the Chrétien government's stance toward the 2003 U.S.-led war on Iraq. The Québécois massively opposed Canadian participation in this brutal assault—with local demonstrations of up to a quarter million in the dead of winter, Quebec had perhaps

(continued on page 14)

Trotskyist Literature on Quebec

A Spartacist Canada packet \$1.00

Quebec: The National Question and Class Struggle
 For Quebec Independence!
 50 issues after the "October Crisis" published under the name of the Trotskyist League of Canada.

Brochure de la Ligue trotskyste \$1.00

Québec: Question nationale et lutte des classes
 Pour l'indépendance du Québec!
 Les peuples autochtones sous les yeux croisés du nationalisme
 Le Québec et les crises de la conception
 Le nationalisme et la lutte des classes au Québec
 30 ans après la « Crise d'octobre »

\$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

Quebec...

(continued from page 13)

the biggest antiwar protests in the world in proportion to population. This is in large part because the Canadian military is perceived in Quebec as an enforcer of national oppression.

These protests gave great pause to the Canadian rulers, who feared that openly backing the U.S. would give ammunition to the Quebec nationalists, who were already smelling blood around Chrétien's sponsorship follies. As Pierre Dubuc, editor of the left-nationalist paper *l'aut'journal*, noted in his widely circulated May 18 "Letter to Progressives in English Canada: No, It's Not a Tempest in a Coffee Cup!":

"Some day, former Prime Minister Chrétien's memoirs will no doubt reveal that these protests played a crucial role in his decision not to participate in the war. Mr. Chrétien feared that the government of Bernard Landry would take advantage of the opportunity to bring the issue of Quebec independence to the table. Mr. Chrétien and Mr. Landry could not have been unaware that the first motion in favour of independence was tabled in the Quebec National Assembly by J.N. Francoeur during the conscription crisis in 1917."

Canadian nationalism (and its substrate, anti-Quebec chauvinism) blinds workers in English Canada to the reality that the real source of their daily exploitation and oppression is the limitless thirst for profits of their "own" Canadian capitalist class—the same fat cats who finance the Liberals' campaigns for "national unity." It is a crime that the vibrant and multiracial working class of English Canada gets roped into these campaigns, instead of directing their ire at the gang of capitalist criminals who rob them blind. It is also a crime that the chauvinism of the English Canadian labour misleaders keeps pushing Québécois workers into the arms of their own class enemies in the Bloc and PQ. Quebec independence would remove this key source of tensions and divisions among the working class.

Anglo Chauvinism, Quebec Nationalism and the Left

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

"In the internationalist education of the workers of the oppressor countries, emphasis must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and their fighting for it. Without this there can be *no* internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat of an oppressor nation who *fails* to conduct such propaganda as a scoundrel and an imperialist...."

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



Bad Acid

March 17 Montreal student assembly. Strike by almost 200,000 students shook Quebec Liberal government.

In English Canada today, proletarian revolutionaries must unstintingly fight Anglo reaction and advocate Quebec independence in order to break the grip of chauvinism over the workers. In Quebec, while supporting independence and opposing all manifestations of national oppression, the central task of revolutionaries must be to fight against the bourgeois nationalism which dominates among the workers.

The bulk of the pseudo-socialist left in Canada does the exact opposite: in English Canada they promote "Canadian unity" and/or the Anglo-chauvinist NDP, while in Quebec they paint Québécois nationalism in "progressive" colours. The Communist Party of Canada is the clearest example. While its English Canadian leadership openly endorses the status quo of a "united Canada," its Quebec wing, the PCQ, is a key player in the left-nationalist Union des Forces Progressistes (UFP) and has just formally endorsed Quebec sovereignty. Not surprisingly, and not for the first time, these misnamed "Communists" appear to be about to formally split along national lines. Groups like the International Socialists and Socialist Action are little better. In English Canada, they are simply left appendages of the NDP, while in Quebec they work to build the UFP.

The kaleidoscope of left nationalist groups in Quebec—UFP, Option Citoyenne, etc.—all promote the fantasy that independence as such will usher in a just and free society in Quebec. *L'aut'journal's* Dubuc, who is also a spokesman for SPQ-Libre (Syndicalistes et progressistes pour un Québec libre), writes in his "Letter to Progressives" of "Quebec's need to have its own social project, a project that can only be realized within an independent Quebec." In fact, the myth of a socially progressive independent Quebec under capitalism is also pushed by the PQ, whose regimes have regularly attacked unions, immigrants and the poor.

The exploitation and oppression that are intrinsic to capitalism can only be swept away through mobilizing the social power of the working class in a socialist revolution. How to get there? The more radical elements on the Quebec left, grouped around the anarchists and Maoists, denounce

the nationalist illusions of the UFP, SPQ-Libre et al., only to "reject" independence outright as "divisive," as if the federalist status quo wasn't. This can lead nowhere. To break the grip of bourgeois nationalism on the Quebec working class and render it conscious of its historic task of leading the oppressed in anti-capitalist struggle, revolutionaries must recognize the weight of the national question and advocate independence to remove it from the political agenda. This must be accompanied by opposition to the pro-PQ politics of the Quebec labour tops, who have betrayed so many struggles on the altar of "national solidarity" and "concertation" (collaboration) with Quebec governments and bosses.

In English Canada, a fight must be waged to break workers from the "save our Canada" social democrats of the NDP, who sell the lie that labour and capital have interests in common. Central to this is uncompromising opposition to the Anglo chauvinism of the ruling class. Only by showing in practice that they are principled opponents of the Canadian ruling class and defenders of the oppressed can proletarian revolutionaries in English Canada demonstrate to the Québécois workers the need for class unity against capitalism.

This Is Capitalist Democracy

Responding to the Gomery inquiry, the bourgeoisie's political and media pundits tell us how "shocked, shocked, shocked" they are at the apparently limitless corruption of Canada's "natural ruling party." What's shocking is that these phoneyes don't choke on their own hypocrisy. Anyone who has ever come close to a successful businessperson or big-shot politician knows the cardinal rule: eat or be eaten. Concern for "ethics" in this context is the homage vice pays to some kind of virtue.

Using skills well-honed by their "customer service" and "public relations" specialists, the capitalists and their political spokesmen babble about "democracy" and "justice," the better to hide the daily crimes of their system—its exploitation, oppression of women and minorities, poverty, violence, etc. Even the most "democratic" bourgeois state is an apparatus for the repression of workers and the oppressed. Its various institutions—cops, judges, prisons, army—are not "neutral" arbiters but the hired-and-paid enforcers of the

capitalist class. In the midst of the Gomery revelations, Quebec Chief Justice Michel Robert blurted out the open secret that "separatists" couldn't possibly be named judges, provoking outrage in Quebec. As for parliamentary elections, the wads of \$100 bills that helped grease palms for Quebec Liberal candidates are merely symbolic of a venal *system* where every few years the workers get to "choose" which gang of thieves will oppress and exploit them.

As Lenin explained in 1918:

"The working people are *barred* from participation in bourgeois parliaments (they *never decide* important questions under bourgeois democracy, which are decided by the stock exchange and banks) by thousands of obstacles, and the workers know and feel, see and realise perfectly well that the bourgeois parliaments are institutions alien to them, *instruments for the oppression* of the workers by the bourgeoisie."

—*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*

The real scandal is capitalism, a system that is corrupt and rotten from top to bottom. From John A. Macdonald to Brian Mulroney and Jean Chrétien, Maurice Duplessis to Mike Harris, all Canadian governments—federal and provincial, Liberal and Tory, NDP and PQ—have enforced the brutal rule of capital, usually with a generous dose of patronage and pork-barrelling. This is hardly unique to Canada. In the U.S., the self-appointed democratic model for the "free world," money, influence-peddling and power have always been tightly knit, as majestically described in many a Gore Vidal novel.

At every step, the misleaders of labour work to tie the workers to the interests of their "own" national capitalists, as against the broader interests of workers as a whole. At the same time, Quebec's status as an oppressed nation trapped in a "united" Canada only exacerbates the suspicions and divisions within the working class fostered by the capitalists and their labour lackeys. Quebec independence would not be a panacea: it will not resolve the many-sided oppressions meted out every day by the capitalist rulers of Washington and Wall Street, Ottawa and Bay Street, Quebec City and rue St. Jacques. But it will remove an obstacle to the workers' consciousness of their own class interests, and as such help their struggles. The working class of this country desperately needs a workers party to lead the fight for socialist revolution. ■

Mumia...

(continued from page 4)

lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass, and his "legal strategist," Daniel Williams. The pursuit of this evidence on the one hand and its suppression on the other reflected within the legal team the clash of strategies over what social forces must be mobilized to free Jamal: reliance on the good graces of the capitalist courts embodied in the call for a "new trial for Mumia" or reliance on the social power of the working class, including through protest actions based on the multiracial labour movement.

We fight for integrated class struggle and the perspective of revolutionary integrationism, combating every manifestation of discrimination against black people and fighting to eliminate the oppression of blacks—which is the bedrock of American capitalist society—through a proletarian socialist revolution. Our program of black liberation through socialist revolution is based on the fact that the capitalist rulers have

fomented anti-black racism historically not only to keep black people in their so-called "place" but to prevent revolutionary working-class unity against the capitalists.

In her remarks, Brenda Stokely expressed solidarity from the Million Worker March, New York City Labor Against the War and District Council 1707, vowing: "We will continue this fight until none of us has a breath to continue fighting." Such proclamations by trade-union leaders cannot be mere words. The social power of labour must be mobilized in action, on the streets, to free Mumia. If undertaken through the mobilization of labour, this struggle would represent a big step in the struggle to overturn this whole racist, capitalist system.

For years, there has been a dearth of class struggle in the U.S., primary responsibility for which rests with the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, which ties the working class to its capitalist class enemy through the Democratic Party. At the same time, the workers have shown no lack of will to struggle, as during the 2003-04 UFCW grocery workers strike,

(continued on page 16)

Mumia...

(continued from page 15)

which was sold out by the labour tops. What is necessary is a fight for a new, class-struggle leadership in the unions, a fight to break workers from illusions in the Democrats as "friends of labour," a struggle to build a revolutionary workers party fighting for all the oppressed and for a workers government.

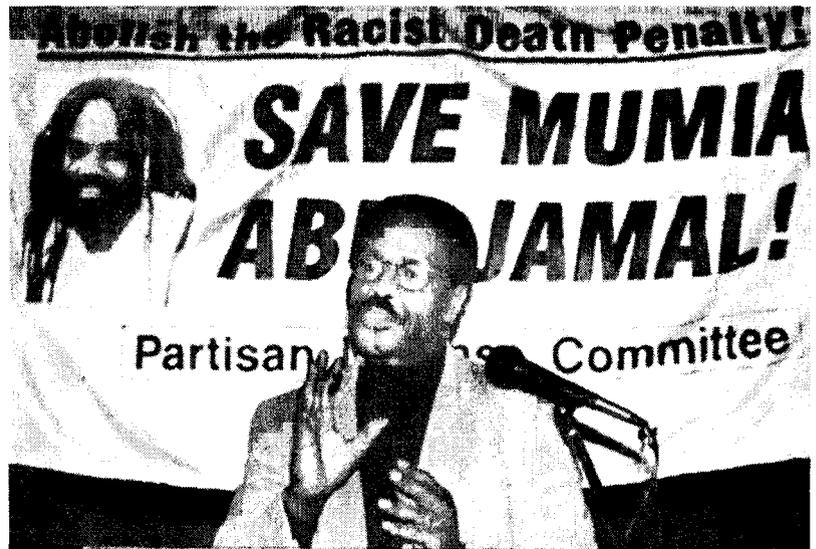
In his presentation, Dinkins declared: "I believe now very deeply he [Mumia] not only hasn't had a fair trial, he's innocent in the first damn place." However, Dinkins also referred to the racist vendetta in which the capitalist courts have kept Jamal imprisoned in a 9 by 12 foot dungeon as a series of "misguided decisions." A million black people are locked behind bars, largely as a result of the racist "war on drugs." Of the nearly 3,500 on death row, over half are black and Hispanic. According to Dinkins, "We have to remember that the justice system of this country belongs to those who would honor its principles, not those who would abuse them. And we must take it back." The justice system Dinkins wants to "take back" is the "justice system" that declared in the infamous 1857 *Dred Scott* case that black people "have no rights which the white man is bound to respect"; that ordered the legal lynching of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927; that affirmed the internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II; and that, in the 1987 *McCleskey* decision, both acknowledged and deemed irrelevant racial disparity in the criminal justice system.

Later in the program, Larry Holmes of the IAC continued Dinkins' theme by calling for: "More unity, sisters and brothers. More unity. Whatever our differences are, it's always more that unites us." But unity with whom, against whom, and for what? We fight for united-front action to struggle for Mumia's freedom—i.e., unity in action and freedom for all political tendencies to express their views. What Holmes has in mind is the kind of "unity" based on accommodation to "progressive" capitalist politicians, the kind of "unity" where the call for Mumia's freedom is subordinated to the demand for a "new trial" and agnosticism on Mumia's innocence. The liberals' interest in the Mumia case is to refurbish the image of the American justice system. This is not unity but treachery.

Beginning in 1989, the PDC has organized united-front rallies for Mumia, and they have included participation by black elected officials, community organizations, union officials and left organizations whose programs and worldviews were quite distant from ours. But in contrast to the reformists, we never tailored our demands to what the liberals found acceptable, nor did we censor our criticisms of the Democratic Party, our explication of the function of the capitalist state, the treacherous role of the union bureaucracy, and the need for workers to have their own party, a workers party that fights for socialist revolution.

Our united-front approach demonstrates a powerful political point: it is possible to bring effective, worldwide united action across a spectrum of political beliefs while assuring everyone's right to have his own say. Within that framework, we fight to win activists to the understanding that the fight for Mumia's freedom must be based on a class-struggle perspective.

This is the strategy we have pursued since we first took up



SC photo

Rubin Hurricane Carter addresses 1995 Toronto rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal organized by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Jamal's case in 1987. When a death warrant was signed in 1995, millions around the world mobilized in defense of Jamal. Mumia's name must be made known again the way it was in 1995, so that unions from South Africa, France, Brazil and elsewhere mobilize on the streets in the fight for his freedom.

For Mumia's birthday in 1999, tens of thousands took to the streets in Philadelphia and the Bay Area in rallies to demand a new trial. Sadly the turnout this year was a fraction of what it was six years ago. In remarks after Wolkenstein's presentation at the April 23 rally, Pam Africa observed, "The only thing they could do to divert the energy of the people was to come out and say they were overturning Mumia's sentencing from death to life in prison." Pam Africa was referring to the December 2001 ruling by federal court judge William Yohn overturning the death sentence but affirming the conviction; the prosecutors appealed seeking to reinstate the death sentence, while Mumia appealed seeking to overturn the conviction.

In 1976, professional boxer Ruben Hurricane Carter, framed up on false murder charges in the mid-1960s because of his advocacy of the right of black armed self-defense, finally won a new trial after an international protest campaign. When he was convicted anew, the liberals fled his cause and Carter spent another decade in prison for a crime he did not commit. Today, many of the liberals to whom the reformists appealed over Mumia have fled the case, while the workers, blacks and youth who took to the streets for Jamal are politically demobilized. The central reason for the demobilization rests with the fact that reformists like Workers World and Socialist Action rejected a class-struggle fight for Jamal, instead organizing activists on the basis that justice could be obtained from the capitalist courts.

As Wolkenstein noted in her speech:

"Not only should it be clear that Mumia should have never spent a day in court, but to talk about a 'fair trial' only breeds illusions in the capitalist courts. These illusions demobilized a movement which once had millions around the world. The mass movement has to be built anew on the basis that Mumia's conviction and death sentence were *political*, and it is in the interests of all working people, black and white, citizen and immigrant, to join together and fight for his freedom."

No illusions in the courts! Free Mumia now! ■

Outrage! Canada Deports Leftist Wendy Maxwell

On March 15, after a week in detention, Toronto community activist Wendy Maxwell was summarily deported to Costa Rica. We are in fullest solidarity with Maxwell's struggle to return to Canada and demand she be given immediate asylum and immigration status! The following letter protesting her arrest was sent to immigration minister Joe Volpe by the Partisan Defense Committee on March 11.

We demand immediate freedom for Wendy Maxwell, a Costa Rican of Jamaican descent, who is being held at the Vanier Centre for Women in Milton, Ontario and threatened with imminent deportation. Wendy, who co-hosts the "Sembradoras" radio show on CKLN, is a well known community activist involved in organizations such as the Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic and the Black Coalition for AIDS Prevention.

Outrageously, Wendy was handcuffed and dragged away on March 5 from the International Women's Day information fair at Ryerson University by Toronto city police. Her arrest on this working class and leftist holiday can only be meant to send a chilling message to all supporters of women's rights. The attempt to deport Ms. Maxwell is part of the broader anti-immigrant hysteria



www.supportwendy.com

Racist Toronto cops arrest political activist Wendy Maxwell at International Women's Day rally.

being whipped up by the "war on terror," which is a brutal war on immigrants and working people. We say: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations! Free Wendy Maxwell now!

Letter...

(continued from page 8)

times the bosses whip up anti-immigrant racism to divide and rule over the proletariat. Volpe's scheme comes in this context. According to media reports, it would selectively grant temporary work permits to workers in the construction, manufacturing, hospitality and food industries, i.e., the worst paid, most dangerous jobs where workers are most vulnerable to the boss. Very much a double-edged sword, the plan holds out the possibility of permanent residency while requiring undocumented workers to come forward, be approved by their employer and processed by the government. Leftists, trade unionists and other "undesirables" would thereby be targeted for deportation. The labour movement must oppose all such victimizations.

It is an indictment of the reformist organizers of the DADT campaign that, while praising Miller et al., they don't demand the basic democratic right of full citizenship for all immigrants. NOII does, however, call for "No borders, no nations!" This may sound radical, but in fact it is counterposed to another democratic right that is in the interests of the oppressed: that of self-determination of nations. Look at the experience of the Palestinians. Large-scale Jewish immigration after the Nazi Holocaust (fueled by the refusal of the Western powers to give asylum to Jewish refugees from Hitler) meant that the Palestinians were driven from their lands to make way for a another people on territory that was already somebody else's.

At a broader level the demand promotes a utopian illusion that the capitalist state would allow the unrestricted free movement of people, effectively dissolving itself. Anti-immigrant racism and imperialist subjugation won't be ended through the mass migrations of peoples, but through workers revolution. As part of struggling to render the prole-

tariat conscious of its power as a class, we seek to mobilize the labour movement to combat every instance of discrimination against the foreign born.

The liberalism of the DADT campaign is not an aberration in the radical activist/direct action milieu. Absent a program to mobilize the social power of the working class against the capitalists and their state, these forces are left with the reformist program of pressuring the powers that be, whether through militant protest or cap-in-hand lobbying. For example, another major campaign of these activists in Toronto has been to urge a boycott of SNC Lavalin, one of the biggest producers in Canada of military ordnance for the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq. They urge the public to "Contact your MP and protest Canadian taxpayer subsidies of SNC Lavalin" and "Learn whether your mutual funds invest in SNC Lavalin, and urge divestment." This is just a call for the Canadian ruling class to clean up their act and it shares the nationalist myth that Canada is, or should be, a more benevolent capitalist country than the U.S. In contrast to this, on all the antiwar demonstrations, we have called for *class struggle* against the Canadian capitalists.

Thrown together in large-scale industry, workers have the power not just to resist the bosses' exploitation and improve their lot through class struggle. As an organized social force conscious of its own class interests, the working class has the capacity to lead the struggles against all oppression and injustice and overturn the capitalist system through social revolution. To unify its forces and unleash this power, workers must champion the rights of their foreign-born class brothers and sisters. This class against class perspective is counterposed to the cringing reformist legalism epitomized by the organizers of the DADT campaign with their pleadings to David Miller.

Comradely,
Arthur Llewellyn, Toronto Trotskyist League

B.C. Election...

(continued from page 3)

chided the NDP tops for their “agenda of moderation and compromise,” only to call for “NDP to power on a socialist program” (*FightBack*; May-June 2005).

The idea that the NDP would ever adopt or implement a “socialist program” is pure hot air, aimed at pushing workers and restive youth back into the trap of social democracy. As we explained in our 1998 TL/LT Programmatic Theses (“Who We Are and What We Fight For”):

“The NDP is a bourgeois workers party. Linked to the unions via the labor bureaucracy, its program is thoroughly pro-imperialist and nationalist. The NDP seeks only to administer capitalism on behalf of the bourgeoisie: NDP governments are bourgeois governments.”

Exemplifying its loyalty to Canadian capitalism, the federal NDP is now propping up Paul Martin’s corrupt Liberal government in Ottawa. In grotesque unison, the federal Liberals and New Democrats are denouncing the Tories for pandering to Quebec “separatism.” The NDP is a chauvinist opponent of Quebec’s national rights, and NDP premiers, especially in the west, have long whipped up vile Canadian nationalist bigotry. During the 1995 referendum, the ruling B.C. NDP signed on to the chauvinist “national unity” crusade against Quebec independence. Opposition to Anglo chauvinism and advocacy of Quebec independence is critical to breaking the workers of English Canada from their “own” exploiters and laying the basis for anti-capitalist class consciousness and struggle.

A revolutionary workers party in this country will be built through *splitting* the proletarian base of the NDP away from the pro-capitalist leadership. In circumstances where a bourgeois workers party like the NDP stands independently of the capitalist parties and ostensibly in the interest of working people, a small Marxist organization can consider extending critical support in elections. We would not seek to place such parties in power because of any delusion that their government would represent a step forward, but in order to expose in practice the falsity of their pretensions to fight for



SC photo

Multiracial hospital workers contingent protests Campbell government’s anti-working class attacks.

workers and the oppressed.

For example, following a wave of militant labour struggle in B.C. in the early 1970s, the NDP ran against the right-wing Social Credit regime on a platform centered on repealing anti-union legislation. Among the workers there were widespread expectations that the NDP, which had never before formed a government in B.C., would rule in their interests. Under these circumstances, a well-executed tactic of critical support in the 1972 provincial elections could have enabled a small Marxist nucleus to significantly increase its influence when the New Democrats carried out their inevitable betrayals. This they did in spades, with mass strikebreaking against 60,000 pulp, rail, transport and supermarket workers in 1975. When the NDP called an election based on this flagrantly anti-working-class record, we said “No vote to the NDP strikebreakers!” Similarly today, given the NDP’s very recent betrayals in and out of office, its “balance the budget” platform and the federal party’s unashamed backing of the Liberals, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste said: No vote to the NDP!

“Alternatives” to the NDP?

The flagrant treachery of the NDP contributed to growth for the Green Party, especially among youth. But with the NDP recementing its support, the Greens declined this election, getting only 9 percent of the vote. Their platform included a litany of eco-reformist demands and rather more “worker-friendly” rhetoric than the NDP’s. But the Greens are a capitalist party pure and simple, with no organic ties to the labour movement. During the 2001 Vancouver transit strike, their leader Adriane Carr demanded “essential services” legislation to ban future transit strikes. Their cousins in Germany, as part of a coalition government with the Social Democrats, have attacked the living standards of the working class and deployed German jets, tanks and troops for the first time since Hitler’s Third Reich in wars against Serbia and Afghanistan.

A couple of purported socialist groups ran candidates against the NDP in the election. But where a campaign for class struggle against Canadian capitalism and in defense of the oppressed was so urgently needed, they offered only warmed-over reformism, at best. The Communist Party ran a few candidates on a platform for a “People’s Alternative.” For decades, these fake-communists have wrapped themselves in the Maple Leaf, symbol of the oppression of Quebec. The CP flatly opposes Quebec independence, having called for a “No” vote in the 1995 referendum and issued an “urgent appeal for a united Canada.”

While the CP platform at least demanded “equality for Quebec,” the campaign by Left Turn—a collection of mainly older long-time denizens of the Vancouver left—didn’t even go that far. Left Turn’s candidate, Will Offley of the New Socialist Group, purports to be a revolutionary socialist organizing against the Liberals and NDP alike. Yet Left Turn’s verbose program of 22 points and multiple sub-points on everything from alternative medicine to the grizzly bear hunt had not one word about anti-Quebec chauvinism or Quebec’s national rights!

Nor is their blindness to special oppression limited to Quebec. Far from calling for full citizenship rights for immigrants and an end to deportations, Left Turn pandered to “law and order” racism with calls to “crack down ruthlessly on organized crime” and “continue to prosecute trafficking and importation of drugs.” This comes in the context of a police

vendetta against Latin American immigrants, as well as Natives, in Vancouver's destitute Downtown Eastside, in the name of a "war on drugs."

Fostering deadly illusions that the cops can be turned into allies of the oppressed, Left Turn calls for police "integrity testing" and a "genuinely independent" police commission. In sharp contrast, Marxists recognize that the cops, along with the courts, prisons and army, are at the core of the capitalist state—an institution whose purpose is the defense of bourgeois rule against the working class. It will take nothing less than working-class socialist revolution to sweep away the repressive capitalist state, creating a workers state that reorganizes society in the interests of the vast majority.

The fight to build a revolutionary alternative to the NDP has to start with the complete independence of the working class from the capitalists and staunch defense of the specially oppressed. In B.C., Filipino hospital workers, Sikh woodworkers and tens of thousands more have been targets of the capitalist government's attacks, which have intensified with the "war on terror." Immigrants make up a strategic and growing component of the working class and bring many valuable experiences from struggles in their homelands. Against the capitalists' racist scapegoating which serves to divide and rule over the working class, it is in the direct material interest of all labour to defend the rights of immigrants and refugees!



Dave Buston/CP

NDP ordered 1995 siege at Gustafsen Lake.

Working people need a party on the model of Lenin's Bolsheviks—a party that doesn't "respect" the property rights of the bourgeoisie, one that fights to link struggles at home with those of workers and the oppressed around the world. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste is committed to the fight to root such a party among the working people as the essential instrument for sweeping capitalism and all its barbarities into the dustbin of history. Join us! ■

Free Leonard Peltier!...

(continued from page 5)

"neutralize" radical organizations in the 1960s, particularly the Black Panther Party, whose members were framed up and imprisoned by the hundreds while 38 were killed in cold blood. Despite the massive evidence of Peltier's innocence, the courts have repeatedly turned down his appeals, just as his requests for parole have been denied again and again since he became eligible in 1993. At a hearing in June 2000, the parole officer outrageously turned Peltier down cold without even bothering to look at the materials his lawyer submitted. The following year, outgoing Democratic Party president Bill Clinton turned down Peltier's petition for executive clemency.

And there is no end to the bourgeois courts' trampling on Peltier's rights. On March 31, U.S. District judge William Skretny rejected a request by Peltier's lawyers to release FBI documents that they believe would provide evidence of government attempts to place sources near Peltier's original legal defense team.

Incredibly, Skretny acknowledges the admissions of the Eighth Circuit Court that the jury could possibly have acquitted Peltier had the records improperly withheld from the defense been made available. He also found no disagreement with the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals which ruled in November 2003 that:

"Much of the government's behavior at the Pine Ridge Reservation and in its prosecution of Mr. Peltier is to be condemned. The government withheld evidence. It intimidated witnesses. These facts are not disputed."

But still Skretny turned down the defense requests and, like the courts which have acknowledged the frame-up of Peltier,

continued the long history of governmental cover-up of official misconduct in the service of racist repression.

Peltier's attorneys have sought to use the Freedom of Information Act to uncover the volumes of secret FBI files pertaining to Peltier's frame-up prosecution. Attorney Michael Kuzma said that the total of the illegally withheld government evidence in Peltier's case amounted to a staggering 142,579 pages. Clearly the U.S. ruling class has much to hide in its ongoing criminal prosecution of this courageous fighter for Native Americans. There is no justice in the capitalist courts for class-war prisoners like Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-Jamal. The Partisan Defense Committee reiterates its decades-long commitment to justice for Leonard Peltier. **Free him now!** ■

**CLASS-STRUGGLE
DEFENSE NOTES**

**No. 33,
Spring 2005**

**50¢
(24 pages)**

**Order from/make checks
payable to:**

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

**PC Partisan Defense
Committee**

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Number 33 50¢ Spring 2005

**There Is No Justice in the
Capitalist Courts**

Overturn the Convictions of
Lynne Stewart, Mohamed
Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar!

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist
Death Penalty!

See Article Page 2

Column by Mervin Abu-Jamal
in the Shadows of Abu Ghraib Prison 5

Down With Racist Frame-Up of
RNC Protester Jamal Holley! 6

1994 Annual Partisan Defense Committee Holiday Appeal
Thousands Fined for Class-War Prisoners! 11

Support the Struggle for the Release of Leonard
Peltier, Mumia Abu-Jamal

China...

(continued from page 24)

bureaucracy poses a grave danger to the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution itself. As opposed to class unity between the Chinese and Japanese proletariat, the bureaucracy is pushing unity of all Chinese people, including Chinese capitalists from Taiwan and Hong Kong, against all Japanese people. This was expressed in a recent demonstration in Hong Kong, where anti-Japanese protesters carried the Taiwanese flag of the Guomindang, which represents the capitalists and landlords who fled the Revolution. The Chinese government recently hosted a delegation of the Guomindang from Taiwan for the first time since the Civil War, a display of Chinese "unity" against the pro-Taiwanese-independence Democratic Progressive Party that expresses the deep nationalism and class collaborationism of the Chinese Stalinists.

The gains of the Chinese Revolution—above all the nationalized, collectivized economy—represent a historic advance not only for Chinese workers and peasants, but also for the entire world proletariat. The expropriation of the capitalists and the setting up of a socialized economy represented a great advance over the imperialist subjugation and horrendous oppression once suffered by China's masses, laying the basis for a tremendous leap in economic development. And, with the internationalist extension of the revolution, it could lay the basis for the eventual construction of a socialist society.

However, China from its inception has been a deformed workers state, in which a conservative caste of bureaucrats, ruling in its own narrow interests, blocks development toward a classless, socialist society. Ever since (and including) Mao Zedong, these bureaucratic rulers have championed the nationalist Stalinist dogma of building "socialism in one country." Flatly repudiating Marxism, the Stalinists have historically preached the idiocy that socialism could be built in a single country—even one as materially backward as China—if only imperialist military intervention were thwarted.

One aspect of the recent protests in China has been opposition to Japan's attempts to gain a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. For the Chinese government, this question is part of its maneuvering, within the framework of "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism, between so-called "progressive" and "reactionary" imperialist powers. For example, China supports Germany's bid for a permanent seat. The truth is that the UN is nothing but an imperialist den of thieves and their victims. From the Korean War to the sanctions against Iraq, which killed over 1.5 million people, the UN has shown itself to be an enemy of working people and the oppressed internationally.

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



UPI

Japanese war crimes in Nanjing, 1937: Chinese prisoners used for bayonet practice. New Japanese textbooks describe rape of Nanjing as an "incident."

Revolutionary proletarian internationalism, not nationalist class collaboration, is essential to advance the interests of the Chinese workers in defense of the gains of the Chinese Revolution, and Japanese workers in their struggle against revanchist Japanese imperialism. As we wrote in a 13 March joint statement between the International Communist League's Japanese and American sections against the counterrevolutionary agreement between the U.S. and Japan over Taiwan (*Workers Vanguard* No. 844, 18 March):

"The Spartacist League/U.S. and the Spartacist Group Japan...stand for the unconditional military defense of China and North Korea—as we do for the other remaining deformed workers states, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution...."

"Since the 1949 Chinese Revolution, from which the Chinese deformed workers state emerged, Taiwan has been an outpost for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary schemes, military threats and interference in Chinese internal affairs through the puppet Chinese bourgeoisie. Taiwan has been since ancient times a part of China, and we Trotskyists will stand with China in the event of any military conflict with imperialism over Taiwan...."

"We are opposed to the Stalinists' plan of reunification with Taiwan embodied in 'one country, two systems.' Instead, we advance a program for the revolutionary reunification of China, which requires a workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy on the mainland, a proletarian socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie, and the expropriation of the Hong Kong capitalists."

For Revolutionary Internationalism!

The dogma of "socialism in one country" means opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally and accommodation to world imperialism. The recent protests, for example, have aimed their entire fire against Japan, whitewashing the crimes of U.S. imperialism. (Apparently, Beijing considers Tokyo the easier target in the U.S.-Japan military alliance.) This reflects and feeds into an illusion in China that the U.S. is a more benign imperialist power. Yet it was the U.S. that in 1945 became the only country ever to use atomic weaponry, causing the death of several hundred

thousand Japanese civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These bombings served as a warning to the Soviet degenerated workers state. During the Korean War in the early 1950s, U.S. imperialism was responsible for the death of some three million Koreans. China's heroic sacrifices defended the North Korean deformed workers state and stopped U.S. forces—fighting under the flag of the United Nations—from grabbing the entire Korean peninsula and turning it into a neocolony of the U.S. During the Vietnam War, which ended in 1975, more than three million Vietnamese were murdered by U.S. imperialism's losing attempt to smash the social revolution there.

Many in China have illusions about the nature of U.S. imperialism because it fought against Japan in World War II. The Stalinists, presenting World War II as a "war against fascism," sided with the bourgeois-democratic imperialist powers—centrally the U.S. and Britain—against Germany, Italy and Japan.

In contrast, Trotskyists understood that the inter-imperialist slaughter in World War II was a conflict for redivision of the world's sources of cheap labor and raw materials in the interest of capitalist profits. During World War II, the Fourth International, founded by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky, basing itself on proletarian internationalism, fought for the revolutionary defeat of all the imperialist nations. Simultaneously, it stood for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and championed the self-determination of the colonies against their subjugation by the Axis and Allied imperialists alike.

During the occupation of China by Japan beginning in the early 1930s, Trotskyists gave military support to the Chinese resistance forces, while politically opposing Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois Guomindang forces. With the entry of the U.S. into the Pacific War, the war effort of Chiang's Guomindang was decisively subordinated to the interests of U.S. imperialism, to the point that U.S. officials had the final say on how Guomindang forces were to be deployed. Under these conditions, it became necessary to advocate a revolutionary defeatist position—for the defeat of both sides through proletarian class struggle—toward both the U.S./Guomindang and Japanese forces, while giving military support to Mao's Communist Party forces, which were *not* militarily subordinate to U.S. imperialism (see "Permanent Revo-

lution vs. the 'Anti-Imperialist United Front'—The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997).

A central tenet of the Stalinist bureaucrats' nationalistic outlook is that workers in the advanced capitalist countries are so bought off by their exploiters that revolutionary class struggle there is a utopian (or Trotskyist) pipedream. Yet, in Japan there have been signs of opposition to resurgent militarism, including within the organized working class. In 2001, some 200 dock workers at Sasebo port in Nagasaki refused to load armaments and military supplies onto Japanese navy ships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror on Afghanistan. More recently, hundreds of teachers have been fired or otherwise disciplined for refusing to stand for the *Hinomaru* (national flag) and sing the *Kimigayo* (national anthem), symbols of Japanese militarism. These actions were taken in defiance of the pro-imperialist leaders of the three main trade-union federations—including those affiliated to the Japanese Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party—and are a direct challenge to the "national unity" appeals of the Japanese bourgeoisie.

With the outbreak of anti-Japan protests in China, the administration of Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi engaged in one anti-China provocation after another. Koizumi haughtily admonished the Chinese people to be "more grown up" and keep "a cool head" and echoed President Bush in successfully pressuring the European Union to retain the arms embargo of China.

The provocations by Japanese imperialism have been egged on by U.S. imperialism. Last summer, then-secretary of state Colin Powell declared U.S. support for Japan's bid to have a seat on the UN Security Council while noting that Article 9 of the U.S.-imposed constitution, which prohibits Japan from engaging in warfare abroad, "would have to be examined in that light" (AFP English edition, 13 August 2004). More recently, there has been a proposal to transfer the command headquarters of the U.S. Army's 1st Corps from the U.S. mainland to Yokohama, south of Tokyo, where, in the words of the London *Guardian* (19 April), "the primary focus of its forward deployment is likely to be the defence of Taiwan, regional challenges posed by China's military expansion, and the nuclear standoff with North Korea."

(continued on page 22)



Captain C. W. Huff/National Archives



US News

Left: American imperialists turned Seoul, Korea into wasteland. Right: Chinese People's Volunteers capture American soldiers near Wonsan, 1951. China's intervention during Korean War was key to defense of North Korea.

China...

(continued from page 21)

Right-wing chauvinists in Japan took the provocations by Japan and the protests in China as a green light to terrorize Chinese residents. Chinese diplomatic offices and other Chinese-related institutions were either attacked or vandalized. There were bomb threats at the Chinese Consul General in Fukuoka, an anthrax scare at the Chinese embassy in Tokyo and a spent bullet casing sent to the Chinese consulate in Osaka with a letter threatening violence against Chinese citizens. On April 10, shots were fired at a Bank of China branch office in Yokohama.

Finally, at the April 22 Asia-Africa summit meeting in Indonesia, Koizumi sought to defuse tensions with China by offering a vague apology for the "tremendous damage and suffering" caused by Japanese colonial rule. (The same day, a member of Koizumi's government joined 80 other politicians in a pilgrimage to the Yasukuni Shrine, a symbol of Japanese militarism where war criminals from World War II are among those enshrined.) Prominent voices in Japan had complained last week that continued tension would hurt Japanese business, while China's Ministry of Commerce declared that boycotts of Japanese goods would harm both countries' economic interests. China is now Japan's number one trading partner, and some 18,000 Japanese companies have set up operations in China. As the *New York Times* (23 April) put it, the "growing economic interdependence" between China and Japan "has mollified their positions in recent days."

Japanese imperialism is determined to throw off the constraints of the "defeated nation" syndrome with which it emerged from World War II. To accomplish this, the ruling class seeks to impose a policy of economic austerity domestically, whip up nationalist poison and reinforce the repressive apparatus needed to maintain capitalist law and order. The new defense guidelines not only target the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states but also strengthen the state's arsenal of repression against the workers movement. There is considerable anger among the working people of Japan and a real desire to fight against economic austerity, discrimination, increased state repression and war. This anger and militancy must be directed toward the building of a revolutionary Trotskyist party that would link the fight for socialist revolution in Japan with the unconditional military defense of the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states.

China: For Workers Political Revolution!

Speaking for many in the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, Li Rui, a former secretary of Mao Zedong, made the following bald admission: "Nobody understands Marxism. It is ridiculous. The ideals of the past don't exist any more. So it is right to turn to nationalism. It is the means by which the party can maintain its system and ideology" (*London Observer*, 17 April). Along with the cynical defense of nationalism as an effective means for manipulating the masses, this statement reflects widespread misidentification of Marxism with Maoism. In reality, the sharp contrast that is commonly drawn between Mao's policies and those of his successor Deng Xiaoping is fundamentally false.

Within the nationalist framework of "socialism in one country," the regimes of Mao and Deng pursued different policies in different international contexts. Nonetheless, in one very important respect their policies were substantially



World Journal

Residents in Dongyang city in China's Zhejiang province walk past overturned police buses after successfully defending themselves from riot police during mass protests against stifling pollution.

identical: the alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. That alliance was sealed in 1972 when U.S. president Richard Nixon embraced Chairman Mao at the very moment that U.S. warplanes were carpet bombing Vietnam. U.S. imperialism's rapprochement with the Maoist bureaucracy on the basis of shared hostility to the Soviet Union led to U.S. recognition of the People's Republic and a seat for China in the United Nations at the expense of Taiwan.

The alliance with the U.S. was continued and deepened under Deng. In 1979, Deng ordered the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to invade Vietnam, the main Soviet ally in East Asia, with the approval and encouragement of Washington. The Vietnamese resisted effectively and inflicted 20,000 casualties on the PLA, which retreated across the border. (Speaking of doctored history textbooks, this ignominious chapter has been virtually disappeared by the Chinese Stalinists.) During the final years of the Cold War in the 1980s, China bolstered American imperialism in weakening and undermining the Soviet Union—for example, giving aid to the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan—thereby furthering the counterrevolutionary drive which wiped out the remaining gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

Having destroyed the Soviet Union, homeland of the only successful workers revolution, the imperialists are today intent on restoring capitalism in China. To this end, they are pursuing a two-pronged strategy: economic penetration to build up the internal forces of capitalist counterrevolution combined with military pressure and the threat of armed intervention. The Stalinist bureaucrats are in fact encouraging the imperialists through their policy of betrayal: allowing massive capitalist investment combined with a futile quest for "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists.

But despite the bureaucracy's "market reforms," the core of the Chinese economy remains collectivized. Moreover, the economic policies of the Communist Party regime are still constrained by fear of social—especially working-class—unrest which could topple it. This came close to happening in 1989, when student-centered protests for political liberalization and against corruption triggered a spontaneous workers revolt that was then suppressed with great bloodshed by the regime.

Today, China is a tinderbox of social tensions waiting to

Victory to Striking Brabant Workers!

We print below an April 11 statement of solidarity with the strikers at Brabant Newspapers and Hamilton Web Printing, where Spartacist Canada has been printed since 2002. We would like to thank representatives of the striking union for assistance in locating an alternative union shop for our publication.

TorStar/CityMedia Group, which also includes the Brabant Newspapers and Hamilton Web Printing, forced 60 production employees—members of Southern Ontario Newsmedia Guild Local 87-M (part of the Communications, Energy & Paperworkers Union)—out on strike 6 December. TorStar offered the inserters (primarily women workers) zero, 13 cents and 14 cents over three years to their existing top rate of \$8.99/hour! Adding insult to injury, this offer also includes significant cuts in health benefits.

Until recently, TorStar has effectively blacked out Toronto-area news coverage of the strike, which is situated in the small town of Stoney Creek southeast of Hamilton where *Spartacist Canada* has been printed via internet file transfer. Regrettably we were unaware of the strike until well after receipt of our shipment of SC No. 144 (with the union bug on the cover and our editorial box statement that SC is "Printed in a union shop by union labour").

According to CEP national representative Mike Sullivan, at least three Toronto-area newspapers carrying union bugs were actually printed by Hamilton Web scab labour. In a 24 March letter to Jagoda Pike of CityMedia Group Inc., Richard Leitner, president-elect and chair of the Brabant unit CEP Local 87-M writes:

"...CityMedia/Torstar must stop using its riches to beat down its workers. It must stop hiring scabs at \$40 to \$50 an hour and putting them up in hotels. It must stop misrepresenting itself to progressive clients by putting our union bug on scab-produced papers—a misrepresentation we, and the angry clients who recently brought it to our attention, take very seriously."

The Trotskyist League has made a donation in solidarity with the striking Brabant workers. *Spartacist Canada* readers who may wish to make a contribution should make checks payable to "Brabant Strike 2004." Contributions and/or letters of solidarity should be forwarded to: Southern Ontario Newsmedia Guild, Local 87-M, 1253 Queen Street East, Toronto ON M4L 1C2. Readers can keep abreast of the strike's progress on the internet by visiting www.song.on.ca. **Victory to the Brabant workers!**

Yours in struggle,
Russell Stoker for *Spartacist Canada*

explode. According to government statistics, the number of protests increased 15 percent last year to 58,000. Millions of impoverished farmers and urban workers have blocked roads, waged strikes or demonstrated against official corruption, land seizures, environmental destruction, layoffs and unemployment, miserable working conditions and the growing gap between urban wealth and rural poverty. In mid-April residents of Dongyang in southeastern China, furious at the government's refusal to deal with the pollution from nearby factories, drove out 1,000 riot police and seized control of the city. At the same time, nearly 2,000 former PLA soldiers staged a series of protest demonstrations in Beijing against their meager retirement benefits. Most recently, some 10,000 workers at a Japanese-funded Uniden electronics factory in Shenzhen near Hong Kong went on strike demanding the right to unionize. By April 23, the strike ended. Revealing how the Chinese bureaucracy acts as a labor contractor for the imperialist bourgeoisies investing in China, one striker told the *Washington Post* (26 April), "Some labor officials told us we had to cooperate or else the investors might withdraw and move to other places to invest, and we would all get thrown out of work."

Through their policy of "market reforms," the Chinese bureaucracy is strengthening the forces of counterrevolution by allowing the imperialists to economically penetrate the workers state. At the same time, this policy is augmenting the social power of the industrial proletariat. The alternatives facing China are capitalist counterrevolution or proletarian political revolution to oust the

Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with democratically elected workers and peasants Soviets, organs of proletarian rule. A Leninist-Trotskyist party is needed to provide Chinese workers with a revolutionary proletarian internationalist strategy. There is no nationally limited road to socialism in China. The modernization of China—providing the basis for a decent life for all its inhabitants on the basis of access to the advanced technology and productive resources now concentrated in North America, West Europe and Japan—requires the international extension of socialist revolution, centrally to these imperialist powers, laying the basis for an internationally planned socialist economy. This requires the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International of world socialist revolution.

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 847, 29 April

Available in Chinese

Defeat Imperialist Drive for Counterrevolution!

Defend, Extend Gains of 1949 Revolution!
For a China of Workers and Peasants' Councils in a Socialist Asia!

Down With the UN Starvation Blockade!

Defend Iraq Against U.S. and Allied Imperialist Attack!

Statement of the International Communist League, 23 October 2002

In Protest Against Resurgent Militarism Japanese Longshoremen Refuse to Load Warships

\$1.25 (28 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Canada Publishing Association
Box 6867, Stn. A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6

斯巴达克派 SPARTACIST

击败帝国主义对中国的反革命攻势!

保卫和扩展1949年革命果实
为一个在社会主义亚洲的工农苏维埃的中国而奋斗!

国际共产主义同盟声明

保卫伊拉克; 反对美国及其盟友的帝国主义进攻!

打倒联合国的饥饿禁运!

抗议复活的军国主义

日本码头工人拒绝装载军舰

Chinese Bureaucracy Promotes Reactionary Nationalism

Resurgent Japanese Imperialism Sparks Protests in China

Down With U.S./Japan Counterrevolutionary Alliance!

APRIL 26—For the past month, tens of thousands of protesters have marched in anti-Japanese demonstrations in cities throughout China. The protests were sparked by Tokyo's approval of new junior high school history textbooks that whitewash past atrocities carried out by Japanese imperialism. The 1937 Rape of Nanjing, in which 300,000 Chinese were slaughtered by Japanese troops, is now described as "an incident." The enslavement of more than 200,000 Korean and Chinese so-called "comfort women," who were forced to serve as sex slaves in Japanese army brothels during World War II, has been erased from history.

The Japanese textbook whitewash is a provocation not only against the Chinese deformed workers state, but workers throughout Asia, and, in fact, it has sparked protests in South Korea. It is the latest in a series of provocations by Japanese imperialism against China, including Japan's recent statement that it will drill for oil and gas around the Diaoyutai Islands, which are claimed by China. Most significant was the issuing of a joint policy statement in February between the U.S. and Japan avowing that Taiwan is "a mutual security concern." Most of the protests in China, which for now have largely stopped, were tacitly organized or approved by the government as a response to the provocations by Japan. The bureaucracy had allowed the protests to continue—while anxiously seeking to keep them from getting out of hand—to provide a distraction from the deepening social turmoil tearing at the fabric of Chinese society. As one Shanghai demon-



Getty

Chinese protest in front of Japanese-owned store in Guangzhou, China. Nationalist poison pushed by Stalinist bureaucracy poses deadly danger to Chinese deformed workers state.

strator put it, "People are taking part in this march because they aren't allowed to protest anything else" (*New York Times*, 17 April).

However, the protests, which continued longer than any major public demonstrations in China since the 1989 Tiananmen revolt, have promoted a nationalist response to Japan's provocations—i.e., not against the capitalist rulers of Japan, but rather against the entire Japanese population, workers no less than their capitalist oppressors. "Japanese pigs get out!", shouted Chinese protesters as they trashed Japanese-owned shops. One expression of the nationalism has been calls for boycotting Japanese businesses and goods.

The nationalist poison being promoted by the Chinese Stalinist
(continued on page 20)

For Unconditional Military Defense of Chinese Deformed Workers State!