

# U.S./Canada/NATO Out of Afghanistan!



Rellandini/Reuters

Above: Canadian soldier opens fire over neighbourhood in Kandahar province, March 27. Right: Afghan security forces at site of September 4 NATO airstrike near Kunduz that killed some 90 people.



The Afghan presidential elections held on August 20 were never meant to be anything but a “democratic” veneer for the American-led imperialist occupation of Afghanistan. But within days of the elections, even the veneer disappeared amid a welter of charges and countercharges of ballot stuffing and vote rigging. President Hamid Karzai secured his second term by default after his main challenger, Abdullah Abdullah, withdrew from a runoff election saying that he could not get a fair vote, but the real rulers of Afghanistan are the mass murderers in the White House and Pentagon. On September 4, a NATO airstrike near Kunduz killed some 90 people, the latest in ongoing airstrikes that have slaughtered thousands in Afghanistan and across the border in Pakistan.

The more significant fact overshadowing the elections is that the U.S./NATO occupiers have been losing ground militarily. The Pashtun-based Taliban insurgency now covers an estimated 40 percent of the country’s districts. Southern Afghanistan is largely outside government control, while major cities like Kabul and Jalalabad are being squeezed. Obama’s troop “surge” has increased the fighting in southern Helmand province, a Taliban stronghold, with NATO military casualties at their highest levels in eight years of war and occupation.

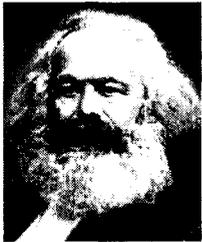
The brutal military occupation by U.S., Canadian and other NATO forces, with its attendant atrocities, has fuelled bitter resentment especially among the Pashtun peoples, the largest ethnic grouping, which makes up about 42 percent of the population. Days after a sustained U.S. bombing attack on three villages in the western province of Farah on May 4-5 killed over 100 civilians, thousands of local villagers brought 15 newly discovered bodies to the house of the provincial governor, chanting, “Death to America” and “Death to the government.” Not surprisingly, many Pashtuns have increasingly joined forces with the re-emergent Taliban and

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**East Germany 1989**  
**The Trotskyist Struggle Against**  
**Capitalist Counterrevolution**

-KEINE  
PRIVILEGIEN-

page 8



Marx



Lenin



Trotsky

## The Class Struggle and the Marxist Worldview

*Marxists seek to understand the world in order to change it. Our aim is the forging of workers parties to overthrow the capitalist profit system through proletarian revolutions worldwide, ushering in an egalitarian socialist society. In the passage below, excerpted from "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin succinctly outlines the core of the Marxist materialist worldview. The article was first published in March 1913 in the Bolshevik journal Prosveshcheniye (Enlightenment) to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, who, along with Friedrich Engels, founded scientific socialism.*

Throughout the civilised world the teachings of Marx evoke the utmost hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both official and liberal), which regards Marxism as a kind of "pernicious sect." And no other attitude is to be expected, for there can be no "impartial" social science in a society based on class struggle. In one way or another, *all* official and liberal science *defends* wage-slavery, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on that slavery. To expect science to be impartial in a wage-slave society is as foolishly naïve as to expect impartiality from manufacturers on the question of whether workers' wages ought not to be increased by decreasing the profits of capital.

But this is not all. The history of philosophy and the history of social science show with perfect clarity that there is nothing resembling "sectarianism" in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose *away from* the high road of the development of world civilisation. On the contrary, the genius of Marx consists precisely in his having furnished answers to questions already raised by the foremost minds of mankind. His doctrine

emerged as the direct and immediate *continuation* of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism....

Marx deepened and developed philosophical materialism to the full, and extended the cognition of nature to include the cognition of *human society*. His *historical materialism* was a great achievement in scientific thinking. The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in views on history and politics were replaced by a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how, in consequence of the growth of productive forces, out of one system of social life another and higher system develops—how capitalism, for instance, grows out of feudalism.

Just as man's knowledge reflects nature (i.e., developing matter), which exists independently of him, so man's *social knowledge* (i.e., his various views and doctrines—philosophical, religious, political and so forth) reflects the *economic system* of society. Political institutions are a superstructure on the economic foundation. We see, for example, that the various political forms of the modern European states serve to strengthen the domination of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat....

People always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the *interests* of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. Champions of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realise that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is kept going by the forces of certain ruling classes. And there is *only one* way of smashing the resistance of those classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, the forces which can—and, owing to their social position, *must*—constitute the power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new, and to enlighten and organise those forces for the struggle.

Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism" (March 1913)

## SPARTACIST CANADA

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

**Editorial Board:** C. Galarneau, Arthur Llewellyn, Tynan Maddalena (Editor, Young Spartacus pages), John Masters, Miriam McDonald (Editor), Russell Stoker (Production Manager)

**Circulation Manager:** Arthur Llewellyn

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.

The closing date for news in this issue is November 29.

Printed in a union shop by union labour.

Publications Agreement No. 40050911  
Winter 2009/2010

ISSN: 0229-5415  
Date of issue: December 2009

A Spartacist Pamphlet

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and the  
**Immiseration of the**  
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# Victory to Vale Inco Strike!

More than 3,500 United Steelworkers (USW) members remain on the picket lines in a strike against mining giant Vale Inco that began in July. The strikers, who work in the company's nickel operations in Sudbury and smaller facilities in Port Colborne, Ontario and Voisey's Bay, Newfoundland, are resisting the company's demands for massive concessions. These include the gutting of pension plans for new hires as well as attacks on seniority and a steep reduction to production bonuses, effectively a wage cut. Now the strike is at a pivotal stage, as Vale Inco has moved to restart production in Sudbury by using scab labour. Such strikebreaking is unprecedented in the long history of unionized mining in the Sudbury area.

This is a crucial battle for the entire labour movement. Miners in the Sudbury Basin have long been a bulwark of the union movement, since they first stood down company thug attacks to win union recognition in 1944. The 1978-79 nickel strike, which saw miners walk the picket lines for eight and a half bitter months with broad support from the community in Sudbury and beyond, was the largest in Canadian history in terms of worker days lost. Through such struggles, the union won important gains like health and safety protection and fully indexed pensions after 30 years of work.

Three years ago, Vale, a Brazilian company which was already the world's largest iron ore producer, bought out the largely Canadian-owned Inco. (The Swiss conglomerate Xstrata purchased Inco's main local competitor, Falconbridge, at the same time.) Awash in cash from its operations in Brazil and elsewhere, in the first two years after the takeover Vale Inco made more than \$4 billion in profits from its Canadian operations. Then when nickel prices collapsed last year amid the capitalist economic crisis, Vale Inco seized the opportunity to go after USW wages and working conditions in the name of "global competitiveness."

Today Sudbury miners face a difficult situation. Years of savage job cuts have reduced the workforce by more than 25,000 to slightly over 3,000 today. After the 1978-79 strike, the capitalist rulers moved to "diversify" the local economy, seeking to reduce dependence on the mines and their traditionally militant workforce in favour of jobs in education, health care and government services. The Sudbury area used to generate 90 percent of the world's nickel supply, giving miners there tremendous social power. But with "diversification" and the depletion of mine sites, workers in the region now produce only 5 percent of world supplies, while nickel production has surged elsewhere, including in Indonesia where Vale Inco also has extensive facilities.

## For International Class Struggle, Not Nationalist Protectionism!

The global nature of today's mining industry underlines the need for *united struggle by the workers internationally* to throw back the attacks of the capitalist ruling class. But all the USW bureaucracy has to offer is a toothless "global campaign for justice," chiefly consisting of meetings and joint statements with union officials from other countries where Vale has operations. The USW issued a statement in support of Vale workers in Brazil, who waged a two-day strike in late October. These workers have virtually no job security or access to union representation. In turn, Vale unions in Brazil



Donato/Canadian Press

**Strikers picket Vale Inco smelter complex just outside Sudbury, July 13.**

and Indonesia co-signed a statement vowing to support the USW as "a part of union solidarity."

But at home, the USW leadership's bottom line has been to push flag-waving patriotism and complain about "foreign takeovers" of Canadian industry. An article in the November 2009 issue of the union's *USW@Work* magazine complains: "Our major industries and resources are being bought up and shipped out of Canada at an alarming rate." Signs at strike rallies attack Vale for "giving away Canada's nickel," while one picketer in Sudbury told CBC Radio's *The Current* (16 November): "The old Inco was pleasant compared to these people, and it's wrong what they're doing. This is not Brazil, it's Canada."

The idea that Inco was a benevolent friend of the workers is absurd and pernicious. Every gain that Canadian nickel miners have won came through class struggle *against* the Inco bosses. It was Inco management in Toronto, not Vale bosses in Rio de Janeiro, who slashed tens of thousands of Sudbury mining jobs over the decades in a relentless drive to maximize corporate profits. Internationally, Inco worked closely with military dictatorships in Guatemala and Indonesia to ensure that workers in the mines it owned there would toil for a pittance amid terrible safety and environmental conditions.

Today, Canadian mining companies control nearly 45 percent of all global mining exploration. As detailed most recently in a *Toronto Star* feature article ("Canadian Mining Firms Face Abuse Allegations," 22 November), these companies face numerous allegations of bribing government officials, using paramilitary "security" forces and forcibly relocating entire communities in Third World countries like Ecuador, the Philippines and the Congo. As the article noted, "The word 'Canada' is so reviled in some places that travelling Canadians mask their citizenship by wearing American flags on their caps and backpacks."

The campaign to "defend Canadian industry" waged by the USW bureaucracy and its parliamentary allies in the NDP is 100 percent counterposed to the strategy needed to fight against the capitalists' attacks on the workers. Nationalism is inherent to the capitalist profit system, which operates by setting one national capitalist class against another, constantly

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# Philippines

## Aquino Funeral and the Left

On August 1, the Philippines woke to the news that former president Corazon "Cory" C. Aquino succumbed to colon cancer. Aquino, who was catapulted to the presidency of this Far Eastern U.S. neocolony by "peaceful revolution," is deeply revered in bourgeois circles that have elevated her to near cult status as an icon of "democracy and freedom."

The late Cory Aquino was a member of the old landed aristocracy which has dominated Filipinos for centuries, both under Spanish and American colonial rule and following independence in July 1946. She assumed office in February 1986 during the so-called "People Power Revolution," a misnomer for the combination of a U.S.-engineered military revolt and massive street demonstrations encouraged by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and big business to send the hated dictator Ferdinand Marcos packing.

It is hardly surprising that Aquino's supposedly nonviolent "People Power" movement serves as a blueprint for the "color-coded revolutions" spawned by Washington from the Ukraine to Lebanon. When the U.S. pulled the plug on Marcos, who had become a liability to stability in the country, we said "Beware of coups 'Made in U.S.A.'" ("Reagan Pulls Plug on Marcos," *WV* No. 398, 28 February 1986).

Cory Aquino's "revolution" did not bring the Philippine working masses any closer to power. Instead, it was, as described by *Der Spiegel* (7 July 1986) journalist Tiziano Terzani, "the reinstatement of the old aristocratic oligarchy of Spanish descent, with which Marcos clashed and which he partly replaced by his own clique of relatives and hangers-on." For example, when the wealthy and powerful Lopez family dynasty fell out of Marcos's favor, it was stripped of most of its political and economic assets. Following Aquino's rise to power, it got back its television stations and ownership stake in the country's largest power utility.

A devout Catholic, Aquino promulgated the 1987 Constitution, which includes one of the most severe anti-abortion laws in the world. A hard anti-communist, Aquino was a staunch supporter of a strong American imperialist military presence in the Philippines. In the face of domestic political opposition, she unsuccessfully tried at the end of her presidency to maintain U.S. operation of the huge Subic Bay naval base. But the American military remains a potent combat force and continuous presence in the Philippines through rotating military exercises. All U.S. troops out of the Philippines!

The Philippines was seen by imperialist planners as an unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Cold War offensive against the former Soviet Union and in the hot war against the Vietnamese Revolution, as it is in a strategic location to serve as a military staging ground and supply base as well as to guard the sea lanes along the western Pacific Rim. It still serves a similar purpose today, with the current U.S. military encirclement and provocations aimed chiefly at China and North



Manila, August 5: Funeral procession of Philippine ex-president Corazon Aquino. Philippine reformist left obscenely mourned "Tita Cory."

## No Illusions in Bourgeois Liberals— For Workers Revolution!

Korea. As part of our struggle against imperialism and in defense of working people and the oppressed around the globe, we stand for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, we fight for proletarian political revolutions to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and establish regimes based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalist policies.

### The Persistence of "Yellow Fever"

According to bourgeois observers in the Philippines, Cory Aquino's death could not have been more timely. The former president, a vocal opponent of the current regime, passed away while the highly unpopular right-wing president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo was in Washington to curry favor from President Barack Obama. The highly publicized refusal by the Aquino family of a state-sponsored funeral and the cold reception given President Arroyo during the wake laid bare to the population the deep factional divisions within the Filipino bourgeoisie, as the country prepares for national elections in May 2010. Arroyo, the daughter of a former Philippine president, has been suspected of rigging the 2004 election in her favor.

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# Free All Class-War Prisoners!

"The path to freedom leads through a prison. The door swings in and out and through that door passes a steady procession of 'those fools too stubborn-willed to bend,' who will not turn aside from the path because prisons obstruct it here and there."

—James P. Cannon, "The Cause that Passes Through a Prison," *Labor Defender*, September 1926

Twenty-four years ago, the Partisan Defense Committee revived a key tradition of the International Labor Defense in the U.S. under James P. Cannon, its founder and first secretary: sending monthly stipends to those "stubborn-willed" class-war prisoners condemned to capitalism's dungeons for standing up against racist capitalist repression. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League/U.S. and in Canada with the Trotskyist League. We are again holding Holiday Appeal benefits to raise funds for this unique program, calling particular attention to the fight to free America's foremost class-war prisoner, Mumia Abu-Jamal, who remains on death row in Pennsylvania.

Our forebear, Cannon, also affirmed a basic principle that should be no less applicable today: "The class-conscious worker accords to the class-war prisoners a place of singular honor and esteem.... The victory of the class-war prisoners is possible only when they are inseparably united with the living labor movement and when that movement claims them for its own, takes up their battle cry and carries on their work."

The PDC calls on labour activists, fighters for the rights of the oppressed and defenders of civil liberties to join us in donating to and building the annual Holiday Appeal. An injury to one is an injury to all! We print below brief descriptions of the 16 class-war prisoners who receive monthly stipends from

the PDC, many of whom were denied parole over the last year for refusing to express "remorse" for acts they did not commit!

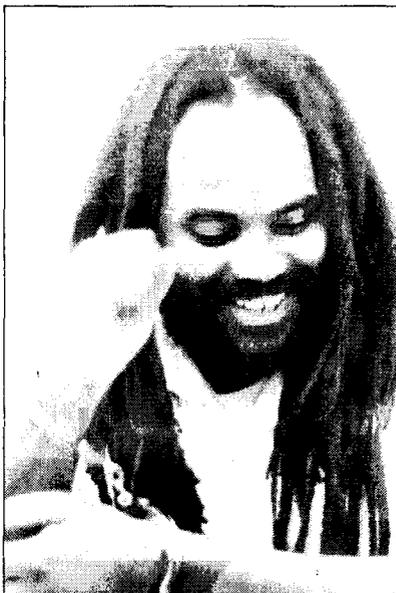
**Mumia Abu-Jamal** is a former Black Panther Party spokesman, a well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless." This past April, the U.S. Supreme Court summarily threw out Mumia's efforts to overturn his frame-up conviction based on the racist exclusion of black jurors from his 1982 trial. Ominously, this same court has yet to rule on the prosecution's petition to reinstate the death penalty. The Philadelphia district attorney's office states that, whatever the Supreme Court decides, it will continue to push for Mumia's execution.

December 9 is the 28th anniversary of Mumia's arrest for a killing that the cops know he did not commit. Mumia was framed up for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. Mountains of evidence proving Mumia's innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner, have been submitted to the courts. But to the racists in black robes, a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of this fighter for the oppressed.

While others plead with the current U.S. president and his attorney general to "investigate" violations of Mumia's "civil rights," the PDC says that Mumia's fate cannot be left in the hands of the government of the capitalists. The racist rulers hate Mumia because they see in him the spectre of black revolt. The stakes are high and the situation is grim, but any real fight for Mumia's freedom must be based on a class-struggle opposition to the capitalist rulers, who have entombed this innocent black man for more than half his life.

**Leonard Peltier** is an internationally renowned class-war  
(continued on page 11)

## ANNUAL HOLIDAY APPEAL FOR CLASS-WAR PRISONERS



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The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste.

## Subscription Drive Success!

Comrades and sympathizers of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste and Spartacus Youth Clubs recently concluded our annual subscription drive, exceeding our national quota by 18 percent. This represents 248 subscriptions to *Spartacist Canada*, 98 to *Workers Vanguard*, biweekly newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., and another 56 to other publications of the International Communist League, chiefly the Ligue trotskyste de France's newspaper, *Le Bolchévick*.

Our newspaper takes on the lie, aggressively pushed by the ruling class and the pro-capitalist NDP and bought into by our allegedly Marxist opponents, that "Communism is dead." While the results of this year's subscription drive were the best we have achieved in 15 years, selling subs was far from easy. Comrades reported that many students buy into the bourgeoisie's hype that the economic crisis is over or at least in "recovery mode," even as the loss of hundreds of thousands of manufacturing jobs has devastated the working class. In our sales to the labour movement, we confronted a sharp rise in protectionism, which in effect blames workers abroad for the attacks of the Canadian capitalists here at home.

Placards at our campus literature tables prominently featured our Trotskyist program for the unconditional military defense of the remaining workers states—China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam—against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution, and for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies. We often had to combat anti-communist prejudices, particularly aimed at China. But there were exceptions. A number of young women from East Europe subscribed to our press for the first time; some related to our salesmen their experiences growing up amid the horrors wrought by the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet bloc.

Another issue that proved controversial almost everywhere we went was our position advocating independence for Quebec. Our line on the Quebec national question makes us stand out prominently on the English Canadian left, which is dominated for the most part by open capitulation to the Anglo chauvinism

of the Canadian ruling class. As we explained in our article last issue, "'Fightback' and the Quebec National Question" (SC No. 162, Fall 2009): "We Trotskyists call for Quebec independence in order to remove the roadblock of national antagonisms that divides the workers of English Canada and Quebec, poisoning prospects for united class struggle against capitalism."

Comrades undertook regional trips to Victoria, Hamilton, Peterborough and Ottawa, and also assisted the SL/U.S. in work in Washington state. A joint trip to Montreal by comrades from the TL/LT and SL/U.S. focused on selling subs to students at francophone campuses. There, the newly published French-language edition of our international theoretical journal, *Spartacist*, was the biggest selling point by far for subscriptions. Comrades reported generally that *Spartacist* was very useful in motivating interest in our Marxist worldview.

In B.C., we also went for the first time to Vancouver Island University in Nanaimo, where our placard "Labour Must Defend Native Rights!" drew a lot of attention from students at the heavily Native campus. We exceeded the quotas at the main campuses we work, the University of Toronto and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, and also sold briskly from our literature table at the BlackFest celebration at Toronto's York University. Several subs to *Espartaco*, newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, were sold at a Toronto march commemorating the victims of the bloody CIA-backed 1973 military coup in Chile.

Our aim is to build a revolutionary vanguard party on the model of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, which led the working class to power in Russia in October 1917. Today, our focus is on producing and circulating a Marxist newspaper that is forthright, polemical and hard-hitting. Congratulations to all comrades for their hard work in making this subscription drive a success, and special congratulations to comrade Alex in Vancouver who sold the most subscriptions (59 points). Welcome to all of our new readers, and welcome back to those who renewed their subscriptions! ■

	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Toronto	275	305	111%
Vancouver	150	173	115%
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- \$14/22 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*.  
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SC163



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## Anti-Sex Witchhunt Targets Teachers

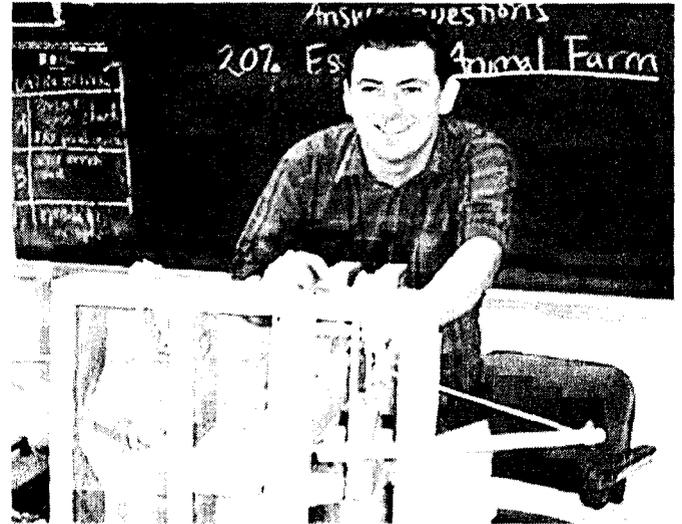
On October 3, Toronto high school teacher David Dewees calmly lay down on the tracks at the High Park subway station and waited for the approaching train to end his life. Two days earlier, Dewees had been charged with "invitation to sexual touching" and "luring" based on emails he purportedly sent to a couple of teenagers at a Christian camp where he had volunteered since 1997. Inflaming the crusade against Dewees, the *Toronto Star* had outrageously and falsely claimed that he had also been charged with sexual assault, while prominent *Star* columnist Rosie DiManno continued to smear Dewees after his death.

When this popular teacher was honoured by his former students at Jarvis Collegiate in a memorial at the High Park station, one of them rightly decried the press vendetta, saying Dewees "did not commit suicide, he was murdered by the media." David Dewees is the latest victim of an anti-sex witchhunt that has seen countless people persecuted for things like sending emails that in any rational world would not be crimes at all. His tragic death throws a spotlight on the decades-long campaign to demonize and criminalize teachers and others who might in any way run afoul of the twisted "morality" of the ruling class.

The puritanical witchhunt against "sex offenders" waged by governments at all levels is a variant of the Christian fundamentalist crusades against "sin." For anything from looking at a porn website or sending an email to having an entirely consensual sexual relationship with a student, teachers are treated as though they are child rapists and murderers. Many innocent people have been trapped in the state's snare, framed up, fired and jailed. Their names are put on "sex offender registries" (in Ontario alone the list has some 8,500 names) and their careers are destroyed.

In this witchhunt, the powers of the state are augmented by the Ontario College of Teachers. Carrying out its own "investigations," this august "professional body" posts the names of accused teachers on its widely feared online "blue pages," exposing them to public scrutiny and humiliation. Meanwhile, students in teachers college are advised to avoid any conduct that might whisper of "impropriety," and it is made clear that once they become teachers, their private lives are pretty much an open book.

Only a few weeks before Dewees' death, Leslie Merlino, a Mississauga high school teacher, was sentenced to 12 months probation, convicted of sexual exploitation, breach of probation and failure to comply with a court order. In 2006 Merlino and a 17-year-old student began a relationship. Merlino was convicted of common assault, driven from her job and ordered to stay away from the "victim." Refusing to bow to the court, they continued to see each other, and a short time later, when the (now former) student was 18, they vacationed in Quebec. Back in Toronto they were followed by the cops and Merlino was arrested again, charged and jailed for two-and-a-half months. Now, in addition to a criminal record,



ctvtoronto.ca

**Popular teacher David Dewees, hounded to death by puritanical media frenzy.**

Merlino's DNA is on file and her name will be on the Ontario sex registry for 20 years.

The case of Brampton teacher Dina Calautti is another harrowing example of how easily a teacher's life and career may be destroyed by this state inquisition. In 2007 she counseled a 17-year-old student who was depressed after breaking up with his girlfriend. Calautti ended the online correspondence after a week when she realized that the student's romantic MSN messages could put her in danger. When the student's father contacted police over the amount of time his son spent communicating with Calautti, she was suspended from her job and buried under a mountain of wild charges including sexual assault, sexual exploitation and internet luring. At her trial Calautti, an enormously popular and dedicated teacher, was forced to plead guilty to the luring charge in order to avoid jail time.

### **The Bourgeois Family, Private Property and the Capitalist State**

The number of students and their teachers who have fallen for each other and acted on it over the years is legion. Who among us has not fantasized about a sexy schoolteacher during an interminable afternoon in class? But teachers are supposed to embody and enforce "appropriate" behaviour for their students, i.e., the mythical norm of one man on one woman for life. Merely the entire history of our species has shown that human sexuality does not conform to the moral codes imposed by this ruling class. To condemn as "exploitative" sex (or anything hinting of it) between hormonally charged youth and their teachers is a blatant attempt to control and criminalize completely harmless human behaviour.

The purpose of these moral crusades—which include drives  
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## East Germany 1989

# The Trotskyist Struggle Against Capitalist Counterrevolution



Spartakist photos

East Berlin, 4 November 1989: Banners at million-strong rally read "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges" (left), "For a German Soviet Republic—Build Soviets!" (right). ICL intervened into incipient political revolution in East Germany, calling for "a Red Germany of Workers Councils in a Socialist Europe!"

This November the imperialist rulers celebrated the 20th anniversary of the opening up of the Berlin Wall in the former East Germany (DDR). The bourgeois rulers falsely portray this event and its aftermath as an expression of the longings of the East German masses for the supposed joys of capitalism and an unqualified rejection of socialism and communism. The reality was very different, as shown powerfully in the statement by our comrades of the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* (TLD—now the *Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands*) that we print below. Republished from *SC* No. 77 (Winter 1989/90), this statement was issued days after the Berlin Wall came down on 9 November 1989 and over 200,000 copies were distributed.

The DDR was a bureaucratically deformed workers state which we Trotskyists defended against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Capitalism had been overthrown in the DDR, as in much of East Europe, in the wake of the Soviet Red Army's defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II. But the DDR was ruled by a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. On the basis of their dogma of "socialism in one country," the Stalinists opposed the extension of proletarian revolutions internationally while suppressing any independent political expression of the working class at home.

The late 1980s saw the unraveling of Stalinist rule in the Soviet Union and East Europe. In the DDR, significant protest rallies began in October 1989, growing larger week by week. By the end of that month the ruling bureaucracy had collapsed and Erich Honecker, head of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), had fallen from power. November 4 saw a million-strong demonstration in East Berlin. Contrary to today's capitalist mythology, it included many pro-socialist banners and slogans such as "For Communist Ideals! No Privileges!"

The choices posed for the workers of the DDR were proletarian political revolution—i.e., the working class ousts the bureaucracy and takes political power into its own hands—or capitalist counterrevolution, i.e., the West German bourgeoisie takes over the DDR.

In struggling to effect a workers political revolution, part of the fight for the revolutionary reunification of Germany under the rule of the working class, the ICL undertook the largest and most sustained intervention in our history. In early December we began publishing the daily *Arprekorr*, Workers Press Correspondence. Groups of youth and workers in the DDR began to distribute *Arprekorr*, many of whom we organized into the Spartakist-Gruppen, or Spartacist groups.

The high point of struggle was the 3 January 1990 united-front demonstration against the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial and in defense of the DDR workers state that brought out some 250,000 people to East Berlin's Treptow Park. Our call for this protest was taken up by the ruling Stalinist party, which feared the growing impact of our political views. At Treptow, for the first time in 60 years, Trotskyists addressed a mass audience in a deformed workers state. Participants and those listening on radio and TV heard two counterposed programs: that of the Stalinist SED, and that of the Trotskyist ICL. Over hostile Stalinist interjections, the TLD's Renate Dahlhaus declared, "Our economy is suffering from waste and obsolescence. The SED party dictatorship has shown that it is incompetent to fight this." We called for the forging of an egalitarian communist party and for the rule of workers and soldiers councils.

The Treptow mobilization posed the possibility of organized workers resistance to the imperialists' drive for capitalist annexation of the DDR. For that reason it became a key turning point,

as Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev pulled the plug on the DDR, vastly speeding up the timetable for capitalist reunification, and the East German Stalinists began to organize a stampede into counterrevolution. In their counterrevolutionary blitzkrieg, the German bourgeoisie threw billions of deutschmarks into East Germany. Under the impact of the bourgeois offensive, the March 1990 Volkskammer (East German parliament) elections became a referendum on capitalist reunification. Demoralized and disorientated by the abject betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracy, 85 percent of the population voted for either the Christian Democratic or Social Democratic coalitions. Counterrevolution had won, a bitter defeat not only for the East German working class but internationally.

The ICL alone fought to the end against capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR, the rest of East Europe and the Soviet Union. In contrast, the bulk of the left cheered it on, serving as junior partners in the imperialists' drive for capitalist restoration and standing openly with the forces of "democratic" counterrevolution. Many of the same groups today bemoan the poverty of East Europe while burying their own roles in helping to bring about this catastrophe.

We were very conscious that our intervention in the DDR was integral to the struggle for proletarian political revolution in the USSR as well. So, too, the defeat in the DDR paved the way for the ascendancy in 1991-92 of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, homeland of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. An unparalleled defeat for working people all over the world, counterrevolution devastated the working classes of the former Soviet Union and the rest of East Europe, bringing grinding poverty, mass unemployment and fratricidal wars. Nor were the catastrophic results confined to

the former Soviet bloc. On the ideological level, the consciousness of workers around the world has been thrown back, albeit unevenly, to the point where politically advanced workers no longer identify their struggles with the goals of socialism.

The collapse of bureaucratic rule and triumph of counterrevolution confirmed Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky's warning that the political bankruptcy of Stalinism was a mortal danger to the historic gains of the working class. Following Marx, Trotsky emphasized that an isolated workers state could not survive in the long run since its level of economic productivity could not rise above that of the powerful advanced capitalist-imperialist states committed to its destruction. The preservation of proletarian power in the Soviet Union and East Europe required its international extension through worldwide socialist revolution.

As we wrote in the main document adopted at the ICL's Second International Conference in 1992, "For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!":

"...from the beginning we were in a political struggle with the abdicating Stalinist regime over the future of the DDR. While we were calling for a government of workers councils, the Stalinists were consciously acting to prevent a workers insurrection by demobilizing all army units that had formed soldiers councils as a result of our early propaganda. Although shaped by the disproportion of forces, there was in fact a contest between the ICL program of political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution....

*"The workers of the world, and we among them, suffered a grave defeat with the victory of the Fourth Reich. But we fought."*

—*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 47-48  
(Winter 1992-93)

## ***For a Leninist-Trotskyist Workers Party!***

# **Workers Soviets Must Rule in All Germany!**

Workers throughout the world seeking the rebirth of genuine communism are watching the dramatic events in East Germany. "Russia was the spark—Germany will be the flame," proclaimed a banner, a slogan from the KPD of the '20s, in the massive November 4 East Berlin demonstration. The developments in the DDR [German Democratic Republic] pose point-blank *proletarian political revolution*. This means ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy and erecting in its place *real workers soviets*, like those established in the October Revolution, based on collectivized property. This in turn can be the spark for socialist revolution in the capitalist West.

East Berliners flooded across the border into West Berlin on the night of November 9. Except for a handful all went back. Kohl tried to address a "victory rally" in West Berlin but was drowned out with boos and whistles. When he tried to strike up a chorus of "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles," Brandt, Momper & Co. sang along, but the boos and whistles drowned them out. And an attempted Nazi march on the Brandenburg Gate led by Republikaner *Führer* Schönhuber was turned back by crowds shouting "Nazis out!" East German workers are jubilant that the Wall is coming down, but they don't want a revanchist capitalist reunification.

One placard on November 4 read: "Hungary '56, China '89," and the spectre haunting the bureaucracy was the 17

June 1953 East German workers uprising, the first in East Europe against Stalinist bureaucratic rule. West German revanchists have tried to usurp June 17, and the East German bureaucracy spread the same lies about the uprising. But it belongs to the German working class. On that day East German workers appealed to their class brothers and sisters in the West to rise up against their capitalist masters. At the train station in Halle, workers greeted a train from the West with a banner proclaiming, "We're cleaning house in Pankow [East Berlin], now you sweep out the crap in Bonn." Ulbricht was saved only by Soviet tanks. In any case, what was required then as well as today is fraternization with the Red Army. As Siberian and Silesian miners strike against the ravages of "market reforms," the East German workers can make common cause with their class comrades and be the springboard for proletarian political revolution throughout East Europe and the Soviet Union.

The Red Army crushed the Nazi regime and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state east of the Elbe. But the resurgence of German nationalism and fascist terror has not been restricted to the West German successor state of the Third Reich. There, the first victims of fascist terror are immigrant workers. And now similar attacks, for example on

(continued on page 10)

## East Germany 1989...

(continued from page 9)

Vietnamese workers, are taking place in East Germany. Hostility to immigrant workers such as the Poles has been expressed even in the mass protest demonstrations, as in Dresden. Instead, as a banner on November 4 declared, "For Communist Ideals! No Privileges!" This means: **Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers East and West!**

Today a wing of the East German security forces shows its support for revanchist capitalist restoration under the watchword of German nationalism by cloning a new generation of fascist terrorist skinheads and scum, the existence of which the bureaucracy has done its best to deny. A banner of an anti-fascist contingent at the November 4 demonstration read, "Weimar: 160 Nazi Skinheads Organized a Manhunt." Even the perimeter of this massive demonstration was infested with fascists from West and East. Just as Russian workers must smash Pamyat, workers/minorities in East and West Germany had better organize to crush these vermin *now!*

A demonstration of 50,000 SED [Socialist Unity Party] members in East Berlin on November 10 demanded "No sell-out of the DDR," for "real plans," and "return to Lenin." Stalin gave central planning a bad name. The East German economy is the most successful in Eastern Europe. Workers may chant "Gorby, Gorby, help us." But by and large they reject Gorbachev's "perestroika" and "market socialism," which have bred increasing misery and national conflict from the Balkans to the Baltic and Caucasus. East German workers are not about to surrender the social gains they have won. Attempts to form a Solidarność-style anti-Communist "free union" have fizzled.

Workers in the DDR have followed attentively the strikes



Spartakist

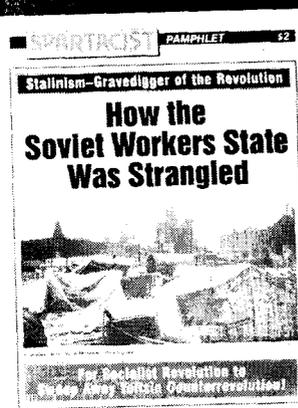
3 January 1990 united-front demonstration in East Berlin's Treptow Park initiated by Spartacists. German Trotskyists' banner read "Down With NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!"

against perestroika of Soviet miners. The factory committees the miners have organized are the *core of real workers soviets*, which are *the key* if economic planning is to be controlled by the working class. Although tremendous ferment exists in the plants, the working class remains politically atomized, e.g., there have as yet been no strikes, which would immediately be *political*. Workers councils must be established at the point of production with control over quantity and quality. Computerized input-output analysis (developed by Russian-born economist Leontief) can permit investments in line with the democratically controlled growth of investment and consumption.

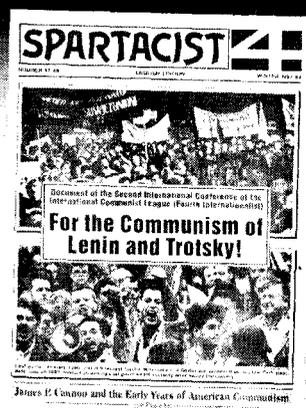
When the Wall started coming down on Friday [November 9], the West German stock market went up, because Frankfurt bankers and their SPD [social-democratic] front men are dreaming of bleeding East Germany dry the way they have Poland and Hungary. To defend collectivized property and to attack the world market, East Germany needs a stable, readily convertible currency (e.g., based on the gold standard like the Soviet *chervonets* in 1923). However, an isolated revolutionary East German workers state would still be threatened by the power of cheap commodities, as Marx warned.

There can be no genuine socialism in half a country facing an economically far more powerful imperialist neighbor. From the podium of the massive November 4 demonstration writer Stefan Heym was enthusiastically received when he said, "Socialism, not Stalinist but the real thing, which we want to finally build, for our benefit and that of all Germany, is unthinkable without democracy." The defense of collectivized property in East Germany requires its extension to the West. That means the expropriation of the Frankfurt bankers by proletarian revolution in the West—to which immigrant workers are key. We Trotskyists call for the *revolutionary reunification of Ger-*

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## Free All Class-War Prisoners!...

(continued from page 5)

prisoner. Peltier's incarceration for his activism in the American Indian Movement has come to symbolize the racist repression of Native peoples, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression. In 1976, the Trudeau Liberal government denied Peltier asylum and extradited him back to the U.S. The RCMP and Canadian authorities were utterly complicit in the campaign of persecution against him. Peltier's frame-up trial, for the 1975 deaths of two marauding FBI agents in what had become a war zone on the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation, shows what capitalist "justice" is all about. Although the lead government attorney has admitted "We can't prove who shot those agents" and the courts have acknowledged blatant prosecutorial misconduct, the 65-year-old Peltier is still locked away. Outrageously, in August, the U.S. Parole Commission again turned down Peltier's parole request and coldbloodedly declared they would not reconsider his case for another 15 years.

Eight MOVE members—**Chuck Africa, Michael Africa, Debbie Africa, Janet Africa, Janine Africa, Delbert Africa, Eddie Africa and Phil Africa**—are in their 32nd year of prison. They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 8 August 1978 siege of their Philadelphia home by over 600 heavily armed cops, having been falsely convicted of killing a police officer who died in the cops' own cross fire. In 1985, eleven of their MOVE family members, including five children, were massacred by Philly cops. This year, again, after more than three decades of unjust incarceration, nearly all of these innocent prisoners had parole hearings, but none were released.

**Jaan Laaman and Thomas Manning** are the two remaining anti-imperialist activists known as the Ohio 7 still in prison. They were convicted for their roles in a radical group that took credit for bank "expropriations" and bombings of symbols of U.S. imperialism, such as military and corporate offices, in the late 1970s and '80s. Before their arrests in 1984 and 1985, the Ohio 7 were targets of massive manhunts. Their children were kidnapped at gunpoint by the Feds.

The Ohio 7's politics were once shared by thousands of radicals during the Vietnam antiwar movement and by New Leftists who wrote off the possibility of winning the working

class to a revolutionary program and saw themselves as an auxiliary of Third World liberation movements. But, like the Weathermen before them, the Ohio 7 were spurned by the "respectable" left. From a proletarian standpoint, the actions of these leftist activists against imperialism and racist injustice are not a crime. They should not have served a day in prison.

**Ed Poindexter and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa** are former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska, National Committee to Combat Fascism. They were victims of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO operation under which 38 Black Panther Party members were killed and hundreds more imprisoned on frame-up charges. Poindexter and Mondo were railroaded to prison and sentenced to life for a 1970 explosion that killed a cop, and they have now served more than 37 years in jail. This year, the Nebraska Supreme Court denied Poindexter a new trial despite the fact that a crucial piece of evidence excluded from the original trial, a long-suppressed 911 audio tape, proved that testimony of the state's key witness was perjured.

**Hugo Pinell** is the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. He was a militant anti-racist leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson, his comrade and mentor, who was gunned down by prison guards in 1971. Despite numerous letters of support and no disciplinary write-ups for over 28 years, Pinell was again denied parole this year. Now in his 60s, Pinell continues to serve a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit in California.

**Jamal Hart**, Mumia's son, was sentenced in 1998 to 15½ years without parole on bogus firearms possession charges. Hart was targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania law, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton's Justice Department intervened to have Hart thrown into prison under federal law. The U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals has turned down Hart's habeas corpus petition, and he has faced myriad bureaucratic obstacles and racist targeting throughout his incarceration.

Contribute now! All proceeds from the Holiday Appeal will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON M5T 2W1. ■

many through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution in the East. Because of the strategic weight of Germany in Europe, reunification, if it is not to recreate an imperialist behemoth, a Fourth Reich, can only be as part of a *Socialist United States of Europe*.

The huge protest demonstrations, impressive in their discipline, remain dominated by petty-bourgeois forces like Neues Forum and the Social Democrats (SDP). On November 4, Neues Forum called for "free elections" supervised by the UN, i.e., by imperialism, while the SDP, just like Helmut Kohl, called for a return to a "market economy." When the [West German] SPD and their hangers-on talk about "democratic socialism" they mean "democratic" counterrevolution, of which the SPD intends to be the general staff. While Kohl was booed down, Brandt and Momper were cheered. The Social Democrats are the main danger for East German workers.

The International Communist League and its German section, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, uphold the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the social gains of the

October Revolution and its extension from East Berlin to Havana against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. In contrast, the social democrats faking as Trotskyists such as Ernest Mandel and the Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter [followers of the dubious David North] surrender these gains at every point they are challenged. They backed Solidarność' counter-revolutionary bid in 1981 and opposed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against imperialist-backed clerical reaction in 1979.

To date no left opposition has surfaced within the SED. Yet there have been expressions of support for real communism in the DDR, such as the signs on November 4 calling "for a new communist party." As in 1953, what is lacking today is a proletarian internationalist vanguard party fighting for power. Forging such a party requires returning to the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky! Hail Rosa Luxemburg, the greatest founder of German Communism, murdered by the Freikorps at the behest of the SPD leadership! The German Revolution, East and West, needs a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party! ■

# For the Right of Self-Determination for the Basque People! Free ETA Basque Nationalists Now!

## France, Spain

We publish below an article translated from *Le Bolchévik* No. 189 (September 2009), newspaper of the *Ligue trotskyste de France*, section of the *International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)*. The article is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 945, 23 October.

PARIS, September 2—On August 19, Alberto Machain Beraza, Beraza Aitzol Etxaburu and Andoni Sarasola were arrested in Savoie [France] during a joint raid by French and Spanish cops. All three are suspected of belonging to the Basque pro-independence group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Homeland and Freedom, ETA) and of having provided it with weapons and explosives. Currently, 172 people are imprisoned in France as part of the crackdown on the Basque nationalist movement (*Le Figaro*, 1 September). The French government boasts of having, so far this year, handed over 15 other Basque nationalists to the Spanish police under [Prime Minister] José Luis Zapatero's social-democratic government: they join the hundreds of political prisoners who are today rotting in Spanish jails. According to the Basque nationalist newspaper *Gara* (25 March 2008), in February 2008 there were 739 Basque nationalist prisoners in France and Spain, out of a population of some two million Basques [in both countries]. Such a high number has not been seen since 1969, during the dark years of Franco's Spain. **We demand: Free all the Basque nationalist activists now! Drop the charges against them!**

These arrests take place only a few weeks after several bomb attacks, notably against barracks of the Spanish Guardia Civil in which two guards were killed; there were also attacks against the headquarters of the Socialist Party in Durango and tourist spots in Majorca, in which nobody was hurt. These attacks show that, contrary to claims by the French and Spanish cops, the ETA, which has been in existence for 50 years, is far from having been dismantled. The nationalist movement is fighting increasingly harsh national oppression. The political organization Batasuna, which is considered the ETA's political arm, has been banned throughout Europe, and any organization suspected of being related to it, or simply not hostile to it, is regularly banned and barred from participating in Spain's "democratic" elections.

The European Court of Human Rights recently granted its official support to these police-state measures, characterizing them as a "vital social need," which is "necessary in a democracy" (*El País*, 1 July). It could not be clearer that capitalist democracy is nothing but a convenient parliamentary fig leaf for the dictatorship of the capitalist class over the workers and oppressed. "Human rights" means the right of the capitalist class to exploit the working class and send its cops against those they deem dangerous for their rule. Against the crackdown by the Spanish and French capitalist states, the workers



Arrasate, Basque region, Spain: Riot police confront protesters supporting ETA prisoners, September 25.

movement must oppose the banning of nationalist organizations and struggle for the right of self-determination for the Basque people. This is the only antidote to the chauvinist poison dividing the working class between Basques and non-Basques, a split the Spanish bourgeoisie needs in order to continue to impose its system of capitalist oppression.

Following the recent arrests, the Spanish top cop, the social democrat Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, came to Paris on August 26 to meet Brice Hortefeux, the new French minister of police, to celebrate the collaboration between the police forces of the two countries. This collaboration was sealed in blood in the 1980s, under the social-democratic governments of François Mitterrand in France and Felipe González in Spain, with the setting up of the GAL [Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación, Anti-Terrorist Liberation Groups] death squads. At least 27 alleged Basque nationalists were murdered by the GAL. Since then, this collaboration has continued to flourish, including a decade ago under the government of the Socialists Lionel Jospin and Jean-Luc Mélenchon and the Communist Marie-George Buffet. Today the repression targets not only Basque nationalists but also undocumented workers from Africa who risked their lives to reach Spain and the rest of Europe. Measures are increasingly being adopted to deport immigrant workers, including those who have become legal residents. **We demand, in Spain as well as in France: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Down with the deportations!**

At the August 26 police summit, Rubalcaba particularly insisted that the persecution of the ETA is the "most important problem in Spain at this time" (see the video of his press conference at [www.interieur.gouv.fr](http://www.interieur.gouv.fr)). This is taking place as the economic crisis devastates Spain even more than most other European countries. Officially, there are nearly four million unemployed in Spain, one fifth of the labor force.



AP

**Suspected ETA militant arrested in joint raid by French and Spanish cops on August 19 in Corbier-Villarembert, France.**

Rubalcaba's declaration is an example of how the Spanish bourgeoisie uses repression against the Basque people to scapegoat the Basques for the capitalist crisis and prevent any proletarian mobilization against the massive layoffs and the evictions of many heavily indebted families from their homes. It is a classic example of the divide-and-rule policies of the bourgeoisie. In Spain, as well as on the other side of the Pyrenees [mountains dividing Spain from France], it is necessary, in order to achieve the revolutionary unity of the proletariat, that the labor movement mobilize in defense of the Basque people and defend its *right to self-determination, including the right to independence from Spain and/or France*. However, the reformist left in Spain, which is totally dedicated to the defense of the interests of its own capitalist ruling class, is now openly or implicitly on the side of its own bourgeoisie and the social-democratic government against the Basque nationalists.

When the ETA criminally plants bombs in restaurants and other tourist spots, it potentially targets everybody. (Tourism is a cornerstone of the country's economy and provides a significant portion of jobs.) On 30 December 2006, at the Madrid airport, two young immigrants from Ecuador were killed during an attack for which the ETA claimed responsibility. By unleashing violence between peoples, the ETA fuels the nationalist fears and hatreds on all sides and helps the Spanish reformists unite the non-Basque working class behind the Spanish bourgeoisie. The Basque nationalists simply want a separate Basque national state, free from the Spanish and French oppressors—a *bourgeois state* that defends the specific interests of the Basque bourgeoisie abroad—and in the Basque region itself, against the workers, whether Basque or of non-Basque origin.

The kidnapping and execution of cops, bourgeois politi-

cians and capitalist bosses are not crimes against the working class, but are futile actions flowing from the nationalist perspective of the ETA. They are counterposed to the strategy of mobilizing the oppressed masses (in particular, the Spanish and Catalan masses) and to the perspective of socialist revolution on both sides of the Pyrenees. As Marxist-Leninists, we are opposed to the petty-bourgeois strategy of individual terrorism in the fight against capitalist oppression. Our starting point is the historical interests of the proletariat, which under capitalism, because of its relationship to the means of production, is the only class having the social power to overthrow the capitalist system. Nevertheless, when the oppressed act against the bourgeoisie and its state, we defend them against capitalist repression.

The labor movement must defend the Basque nationalists against repression, while opposing their ideology. With its crackdown in the Basque country, the bourgeoisie aims to divide the entire multiethnic workers movement. In a region where polarization along nationalist lines can mobilize tens of thousands of people in demonstrations either for or against Basque national rights, the struggle by the proletarian vanguard must include an active fight against national oppression. Without this crucial element, the historical power of nationalist ideology, the tremendous weight of brutal national oppression and the social-chauvinism of the French and Spanish left combine to push Basque workers into the arms of the Basque nationalists, who are currently the main force in the unions in the region (see our article on the Basque question in *Le Bolchévick* No. 146, Summer 1998).

The French reformist left considers, first of all, that the Basque question is an exclusively Spanish problem. The left thereby implicitly defends the unity and indivisibility of the French capitalist republic—despite the fact that, in the European Union elections a few months ago, some 10,000 votes went to the nationalist slates in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques [the region that includes the French Basque country]. Lutte Ouvrière (LO) equates the terror carried out by the social democratic-led capitalist government in Spain with attacks by the ETA: "The policy of the ETA, which in fact considers all Spaniards, including workers, as enemies, is  
*(continued on page 14)*

## LE BOLCHEVIK

Newspaper of the  
Ligue trotskyste de France



N° 149 - Septembre 2009

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## Free Basque Nationalists!...

(continued from page 13)

obviously criminal. But they are not the only ones sowing confusion within the Spanish working class. The Spanish left, whose sole ambition is to form a government to manage the interests of the bourgeoisie and which continues to align itself with a right wing still strongly influenced by Francoism, leads to the same consequences" (*Lutte de Classe*, April 2007). The reformists of LO are well known for capitulating to the "antiterrorist" campaigns of the bourgeoisie, particularly in their refusal to oppose Vigipirate, the racist police mobilization in French train stations and airports.

As for the Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste (New Anti-Capitalist Party, NPA) of Olivier Besancenot and Alain Krivine, to our knowledge it has yet to take a position on the Basque question. Its previous incarnation, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), published an article in *Rouge* (1 February 2007) stating: "The other Basque left groups must convince the abertzale [nationalist] left that the ETA must lay down its arms, not because the Spanish state demands it as a condition for resuming talks, but because this is indispensable to building a democratic alliance for national self-determination, which is the only thing that will allow a transformation of today's

majority sentiment of the Basque society into a mobilization of the citizenry." In fact, even though they occasionally demand freedom for some Basque activists, they want to disarm the Basque activists in the name of capitalist "democracy," which is the oppressor of the Basques. Thirty-six years ago, Krivine's Spanish comrades liquidated their organization in the Basque region into a branch of Basque nationalism, which originated in the political orbit of the ETA. Today, they capitulate directly to the post-Francoist Spanish capitalist state.

The workers struggles of the 1930s and 1970s in Spain showed that the solution to the national question in Spain is inextricably linked to the struggle for workers power throughout the peninsula. We fight to build a Leninist proletarian vanguard party which would defend the right of self-determination of the Basques, on both sides of the Pyrenees. Only such a party will be able to unite Basques and Catalans with the workers throughout Spain and, beyond the Pyrenees, France in a common struggle for workers revolution, which in Spain will sweep away the legacy of Francoism by overthrowing the Spanish bourgeoisie, including its Basque and Catalan components, and establishing a workers government. ***Down with the witchhunt against the Basque nationalists! For Trotskyist parties in Spain and France, part of a reformed Fourth International!*** ■

## Afghanistan...

(continued from page 1)

others, both in Afghanistan and on the other side of the Pakistan border, an artificial boundary that carves up ethnic groups. U.S. air attacks in Pakistan have increased markedly under the Obama administration.

Now the Obama administration is preparing for massive reinforcements, up to 45,000 more troops on top of the 68,000 already committed. Obama recently assigned Lt. Gen. Stanley McChrystal, a "special ops" commander, to lead the U.S., Canadian and other NATO forces in Afghanistan. A 13 May *Washington Post* article described his "manhunter" credentials from commando operations in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan: "As commander of the military's secretive Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) for nearly five years starting in 2003,

McChrystal masterminded a campaign to perfect the art of tracking down enemies, and then capturing or killing them." For the captured, the JSOC oversaw a special forces torture centre named Camp Nama near the Baghdad airport.

With opposition to the Afghanistan occupation growing, Obama, echoing his predecessor George W. Bush, invokes the "war on terror," "national unity" and fear. Speaking to an audience of veterans on August 17, he declared: "This is not a war of choice. This is a war of necessity. Those who attacked America on 9/11 are plotting to do so again. If left unchecked, the Taliban insurgency will mean an even larger safe haven from which al-Qaeda would plot to kill more Americans."

Obama's speech had little effect on public sentiment, as recent polls show that a majority of Americans disapprove of the war. Indeed, with support for the Afghan war among his Democratic base dwindling, Obama has increasingly turned to Congressional Republicans for support.

North of the border, less than half of the Canadian population supports the war. Two-thirds of people in Quebec oppose it outright. Now the Harper government has been rocked by the testimony of senior Canadian diplomat Richard Colvin to parliament's Special Committee on the Canadian Mission in Afghanistan. Colvin stated that the Canadian army rounded up "a lot of innocent people" whom Afghan authorities then subjected to "beatings, whipping with power cables, and the use of electricity." "Also common," Colvin continued, "was sleep deprivation, use of temperature extremes, use of knives and open flames, and sexual abuse, that is, rape. Torture might be limited to the first days or it could go on for months." Torture was "standard operating procedure," testified Colvin, who as Canada's former acting ambassador to Afghanistan was in a position to know. He further stated the Armed Forces, Foreign Affairs and the Department of Justice variously collaborated to censor his reports of the atrocities and threaten him with jail time.

Colvin's testimony is hardly a revelation. After the initial accounts of torture emerged in 2006, we noted that "Prisoner

## Spartacist

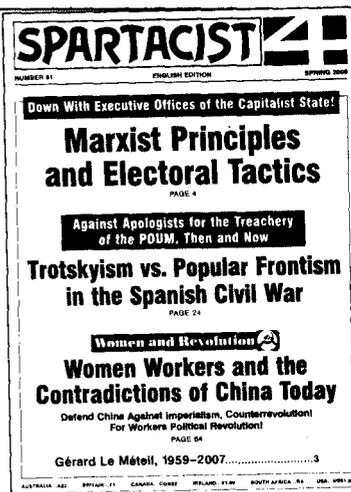
English edition  
No. 61  
Spring 2009

**\$2.00**

(64 pages)

Spartacist is sent to all  
SC subscribers.

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



abuse in Afghanistan is as intrinsic to the global imperialist 'war on terror' as the torture by U.S. troops in Iraq and the demonizing and repression of Muslims in the U.S., Canada and other Western countries." Further:

"It is inconceivable that the Harper government did not know what was happening to the prisoners. Canada's 2005 detainee transfer agreement with Afghanistan is no different than Washington's 'extraordinary rendition' program, which similarly passes detainees on to be tortured. It is no different than the deportation of Maher Arar to a year of imprisonment and torture in Syria. Moreover, the Canadian military is deeply embedded within the Afghan regime, with a 'Strategic Advisory Team,' mainly composed of Canadian military personnel, operating inside government ministries."

—"Torture and the 'War on Terror'." *SC* No. 153, Summer 2007

The hue and cry of the opposition parties over detainee abuse is rank hypocrisy. Liberal leader Michael Ignatieff is notorious for having publicly advocated torture during his previous career as a media columnist and ideologue. And it was the former Liberal government of Jean Chrétien that sent Canadian troops to Afghanistan and approved the original detainee transfer agreement. As for the social-democratic NDP, their opposition to the war is so paper thin that they cast it off last winter in exchange for the prospect of a few seats in a Liberal-run federal cabinet. Behind the opposition parties' call for an inquiry into the treatment of Afghan prisoners is a cynical bid to garner votes and repackage the brutal war as "humanitarian." That comes in the context of the Obama presidency providing a facelift for American imperialism at home and abroad.

As we warned during the U.S. election campaign, the Afghanistan occupation was "Obama's preferred theatre of imperialist carnage" ("Fight for a Revolutionary Workers Party!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 924, 7 November 2008). Obama repeatedly said as a candidate that he would divert (not eliminate) troops from Iraq to pursue the "good" war in Afghanistan. And he's kept his campaign promise. Unlike the reformist "socialists," who gave open or backhanded support

to Obama, we oppose *on principle* any political support to bourgeois politicians—whether Democrats or Republicans in the U.S., or Liberals, Conservatives, Greens or Bloc Québécois in Canada. We also oppose the NDP, a bourgeois workers party whose links to the working class through the trade union bureaucracy render it especially pernicious.

Our starting point is proletarian class opposition to the capitalist rulers and to the imperialist system as a whole. In the lead-up to the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq we called for the military defense of these countries without giving any political support to the reactionary, woman-hating Taliban cutthroats or the capitalist dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. Today, insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq and Afghanistan aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers, we call for their military defense against imperialism without giving them any political support. **All imperialist troops out of Iraq and Afghanistan now! Hands off Pakistan!**

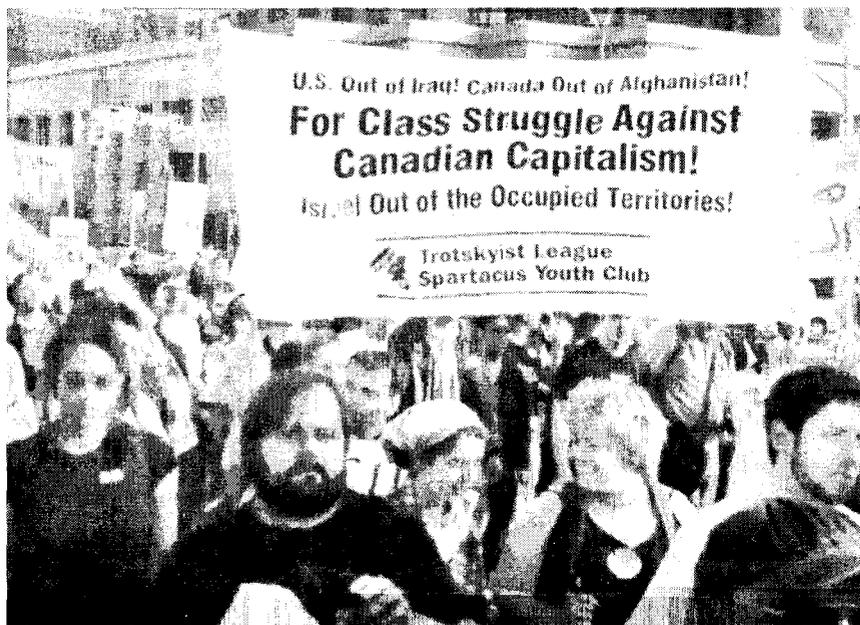
### U.S. Antiwar Movement: Shill for Democrats

A *New York Times* (30 August) article, commenting on protests planned for October against the Afghanistan occupation, noted that the U.S. antiwar movement has been "largely dormant since the election of Barack Obama." In fact, it has been largely comatose since the 2006 midterm elections, when the Democrats gained control of the House of Representatives. Now, as the article described, liberals have been especially loath to "challenge" the Democratic administration they helped elect. At desultory rallies in both the U.S. and Canada, the call for withdrawal of NATO troops from Iraq and Afghanistan has been packaged as a plea to Obama to fulfill his promise of "change."

The *Times* article notes that a more recent liberal refrain is that the president "risks his entire domestic agenda" by getting bogged down in Afghanistan. Another antiwar organizer complained, "There are some who feel that powerful forces are pushing the president to stay on this course and that we have to build a more powerful movement to change that course." In reality, the Afghanistan war *is* Obama's war and his domestic agenda—bailing out the capitalists while shafting workers, blacks, immigrants and the poor—goes hand-in-hand with U.S. imperialist military depredations abroad.

The *Times* article confirms what we have said all along: the liberal/reformist-led antiwar movement has been nothing but a shill for the Democrats. In the lead-up to the U.S. presidential election, World Can't Wait, run by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), screamed, "Drive Out the Bush Regime." Likewise, the ANSWER coalition, currently led by the Party for Socialism and Liberation, and the Troops Out Now Coalition, initiated by Workers World Party, both pushed the politics of "Anybody but Bush."

An article on the CounterPunch website (4-6 September) by quirky radical-liberal columnist Alexander Cockburn reported that Socialist Action leader and West Coast antiwar coalition organizer Jeff Mackler recently cancelled an antiwar protest against Democratic House Speaker Nancy Pelosi when it was learned that Pelosi's appearance was



SC photo

TL/SYC contingent at June 2004 Toronto antiwar demonstration.

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## Afghanistan...

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sponsored by the San Francisco Labor Council. Cockburn quotes Labor Council chief Tim Paulson saying: "Our partners in the anti-war movement"—among which Paulson includes U.S. Labor Against the War and ANSWER—"have been calling me to say they are condemning this protest as irresponsible and divisive." (For the sordid details, see "The Syphilitic Chain," WV No. 945, 23 October 2009.)

Here in Canada, the remnants of the anti-war movement are grouped around the Canadian Peace Alliance (CPA), led in part by the International Socialists (I.S.). CPA's demands include "redirecting funds from military spending to human needs; working toward global nuclear disarmament; making Canada a consistent leader for world peace." The idea that the Canadian imperialists could be pressured into becoming a force for peace and justice is as vain as it is absurd. Canada long ago shed its "peace-keeping" pretense, which in any case always served the interests of its U.S. senior partners. The main purveyors of this nationalist-pacifist mythology today are the New Democrats and the reformist left groups that hang on their coattails.

### Afghanistan and Soviet Intervention

For much of the reformist left, fealty to the bourgeoisie at home has long gone hand-in-hand with anti-Communism abroad. With few exceptions, these reformist "socialists" all howled with the imperialists in demanding Soviet troops out of Afghanistan in the 1980s.

Washington started funnelling arms to Islamic *mujahedin* (holy warriors) from the moment the Soviet-allied People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) came to power in April 1978. As modernizing left-nationalists, the PDPA attempted to implement a program for redistributing land, lowering the bride price, educating women and freeing them from the *burqa*. In the context of backward, benighted Afghanistan, these relatively modest reforms were nothing short of revolutionary. When the huge Islamic hierarchy launched a fierce insurgency, the Soviet Union intervened in December 1979 after repeated requests by the embattled PDPA regime. Beginning with Democrat Jimmy Carter and continuing under Republican Ronald Reagan, the U.S. seized on the Red Army intervention to launch a renewed anti-Soviet offensive (Cold War II), in particular waging a proxy war aimed at killing Soviet soldiers and officers in Afghanistan.

For Marxists, there was no question which side working people and the oppressed the world over had in this conflict. The threat of a CIA-backed Islamic takeover on the USSR's southern flank posed pointblank the need for *unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union*, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Moreover, the Soviet military intervention opened the possibility of social liberation for the Afghan masses, particularly women. We Trotskyists proclaimed: *Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!*

## 1979 Soviet Intervention Brought Social Progress



Planeta

Kabul University in 1980s: more than half of students were women.

In contrast, the I.S. and their parent group in Britain, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party, demanded: "Troops Out of Afghanistan!" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 12 January 1980). To justify siding with the reactionary *mujahedin* and their imperialist patrons, the reformist left invoked the lie of "poor little Afghanistan" and screamed about the national rights of the country being trampled by "Soviet imperialism." In fact, even if Afghanistan were a nation, the question of its national self-determination would have been subordinated to the overriding class and social questions—i.e., defense of the Soviet Union as well as the struggle for women's rights and social progress in Afghanistan.

However, Afghanistan is not a nation but rather a patchwork of tribes and peoples, with a minuscule proletariat. There weren't sufficient internal class forces to sustain the PDPA's reforms, let alone a social revolution. Soviet military intervention, however, posed the overthrow of the landlords, tribal warlords and mullahs that dominated Afghan society and perpetuated its backwardness. The social progress potentially open to the Afghan peoples was visible in the stark contrast between Afghanistan's impoverished backwardness and the huge advances in living standards, education and women's rights just to the north in Soviet Central Asia, which once looked much like Afghanistan.

Under the Soviet military umbrella, the Afghan government began mass literacy campaigns and provided medical care. Over 300,000 peasants received land. By the late 1980s, half of all university students in Afghanistan were women, and women made up 40 percent of the country's doctors, 70 percent of its teachers, and 30 percent of its civil servants. Women in the workforce had increased 50-fold, and 15,000 women served as soldiers and commanders in the Afghan army. The London *Guardian* online (30 September 2001) quoted Saira Noorani, a woman surgeon who left Kabul in 2001: "'Life was good under the Soviets,' Saira said. 'Every girl could go to high school and university. We could go

wherever we wanted and wear what we liked.’” She also said: “Since then everything has been a long dark night.”

### Afghanistan and Imperialist Intervention

In a campaign to militarily and economically bleed the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, the U.S. launched the largest CIA covert operation in history. But the Red Army was *not* defeated militarily in Afghanistan. A prominent commander of the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, Major General Alexander Liakhovsky, asserted in his book, *Afghan: Tragedy and Valor* (1995): “During the period of the ‘Afghan war’ they [Soviet soldiers] never once retreated and never surrendered their positions.” He added: “They did much for the good of the Afghan people in carrying out their peacekeeping functions (they provided medical aid to the population; they built roads, schools and hospitals; they provided humanitarian aid and so forth). For many long years, for example, they preserved from destruction Kabul and other major cities, which, as I have already stated, after the mujahedin came to power were reduced to battlefield arenas and now lie in ruins.”

It is not just this former Soviet general who recognizes that the Red Army was not militarily defeated. Even on the eve of the Soviet withdrawal, a writer for *Soldier of Fortune* magazine noted that the Soviet army could “still go wherever it wants to go in Afghanistan” (quoted in Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison, *Out of Afghanistan* [1995]).

The Soviet withdrawal in 1988-89 was a *political* betrayal by the Stalinist bureaucracy under Mikhail Gorbachev, opening the door to capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR itself in 1991-92. The Soviet intervention cut against the grain of the nationalist Stalinist dogma of “socialism in one country.” Gorbachev’s betrayal flowed from the whole outlook of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which subordinated the interests of the international proletariat in an attempt to defend its own privileged position as a parasitic layer resting on the collectivized economy, thus undermining the defense of the Soviet workers state itself. We fought for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and return the Soviet Union to the Bolshevik internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky. We warned from the outset that the Kremlin bureaucracy, in its quest for

“peaceful coexistence” with U.S. imperialism, might cut a deal at the expense of the Afghan peoples.

After the Soviet withdrawal, the Afghan government fought on valiantly for three years. The Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League/U.S.—wrote to the PDPA government in 1989 offering “to organize an international brigade to fight to the death” against the forces of Islamic reaction. When that offer was turned down, the PDC, at the request of the Afghan government, launched an international fund drive to aid civilian victims of the *mujahedin* siege of Jalalabad, raising over \$44,000.

When the *mujahedin* finally took Kabul in 1992, re-enslaving Afghan women, the various tribally based *mujahedin* militias carried out a vengeful war of mass murder, torture and rape of rival ethnic populations, which left at least 50,000 people dead in Kabul alone. The Taliban, recruiting from the historically dominant Pashtun ethnic population, emerged as the strongest of the *mujahedin* factions. Backed by the Pakistani government and supported by U.S. imperialism, the Taliban came to power in 1996.

The 2001 U.S.-led invasion that drove the Pashtun-based Taliban fundamentalists from power installed in its place a regime based largely on the coalition of former Islamic *mujahedin* militias—Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara—grouped in the Northern Alliance. Karzai was chosen by the U.S. as the Pashtun figurehead, while Northern Alliance warlords, mainly Tajik, filled key security and military posts. This remains, more or less, the reactionary regime overseen by the U.S. today. Karzai’s vice presidential running mate in the recent election, Muhammad Fahim, is one of the biggest drug lords in the country, while another of his supporters, Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, was notorious for cutting off women’s breasts (*Libération*, 20 August). For his part, Abdullah Abdullah, a former foreign minister under Karzai, was once an aid to Tajik *mujahedin* leader Ahmed Shah Massoud, a butcher who in 1993 ordered the massacre of hundreds of Hazara men, women and children, and destroyed the Hazara neighbourhood in Kabul, killing up to one thousand more.

While cynically decrying the plight of women under the deposed Taliban regime, Afghanistan’s U.S. overseers brokered a constitution in 2004 that effectively enshrined Islamic *sharia* law. Today, the average life expectancy for Afghan women, as well as men, is 44 years (24 years below the world average for women) and the literacy rate is 12.6 percent. Women are still forced to wear the head-to-toe *burqa* in public. According to the Afghan Education Ministry, as of early summer at least 478 schools, mostly for girls, had been destroyed, damaged or threatened out of existence by Islamist terror.

The U.S. fights its “war on terror” in order to impose its will on oppressed peoples around the world. The horrors produced by U.S. imperialism’s “holy war” against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, as well as the present occupation of the country, show once again that the capitalist system is a barrier to social progress and a breeding ground for barbaric reaction. Our purpose is the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party that fights for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and its Canadian junior partner through socialist revolution. As opposed to the Obama-enthralled reformists, we follow the proletarian, internationalist and revolutionary road of the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 942,

11 September



Gu/AP

Jalalabad, July 4: Afghan women in back of taxi. After Soviet withdrawal, women were forced back into stultifying head-to-toe *burqa*.

## Philippines...

(continued from page 4)

Her husband Mike, a member of the oligarchy, has been accused of amassing kickbacks for state-sponsored projects and showering cronies with perks, much to the displeasure of the Makati-centered bourgeoisie, sections of the clergy and the general population.

As Cory Aquino lay in the hospital, the powerful Roman Catholic church and Aquino supporters in the media were exhorting Filipinos to join in prayers for her recovery while yellow ribbons—the symbol of Cory's "People Power" movement—festooned the major avenues and buildings around the capital, Manila. From her sickbed, Aquino gave a final statement in support of thousands of demonstrators gathered in the nearby Makati Central Business District, many of them mobilized by the Philippine left, to protest Arroyo's attempts to get the Philippine Congress to rubber-stamp her proposed changes in the constitution that would consolidate her hold on political power.

The announcement of Aquino's death touched off a massive emotional outpouring, even among the plebeian masses of Manila and key cities around the country. Business ground to a halt as the capitalist bosses joined white-collar employees in the Makati financial district to salute the funeral cortege in a blizzard of yellow confetti streaming down from surrounding high rises. A quarter million Filipinos waving yellow flowers, chanting "Cory" and flashing the thumb and index finger "L" sign (for "Laban," meaning "Fight") came out for the funeral procession, which took nine hours to wind through the storm-drenched streets of Manila. These televised scenes, exclusively carried by the Lopez-owned ABS-CBN network, were eerily reminiscent of the funeral march for Cory Aquino's husband, Benigno "Ninoy" Jr., a millionaire bourgeois politician with close ties to the CIA, who was assassinated by agents of the Marcos regime in August 1983. That event sparked the bourgeois-led "People Power" movement that brought Cory Aquino to power a few years later with U.S. backing.

### Acid Test for the Philippine Left

Like the first Aquino funeral over 25 years ago, the second Aquino funeral graphically displayed the Philippine reformist left in the political tow of the bourgeoisie. Obscenely, the Philippine left in general has lined up behind the ghost of "Tita (Auntie) Cory."

The social-democratic Akbayan party, which includes numerous ex-Stalinists, is the most prominent in the yellow-shirted political milieu. Its political predecessors cheered Cory Aquino's rise to power in 1986. Today, they are loyal drumbeaters for the Liberal Party of Senator Benigno "Noynoy" Aquino III, who has emerged as Liberal presidential standard-bearer in the wake of the massive turnout and media hype during his mother's funeral. Akbayan has since formed a bloc with smaller bourgeois opposition parties and so-called "civil society" organizations to support "Noynoy," whom these reformists describe as "a symbol to a nation yearning for unity and greatness."

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)—through the National Democratic Front (NDF)—eulogized Aquino as "an outstanding and inspiring figure in the anti-fascist alliance" who was "willing to join up with the patriotic and progressive forces of the people in mass protest actions." The



AP  
Manila, January 1987: Peasants demanding land were massacred by Aquino government's troops.

CPP-led guerrilla insurgency by the New People's Army (NPA) is in its 40th year. Ever since Aquino became president, the NDF umbrella political arm has been engaged in on-and-off peace negotiations with the government.

Born to the Cojuangco clan, Cory Aquino promised to make the family-owned Hacienda Luisita sugar estate a model of land reform, but she later reneged. Upon taking power, Aquino responded to popular expectations and enormous social turmoil with bloody repression. She presided over the military's mass killing of peasants in Lupao in Nueva Ecija province and outside the Malacañang presidential palace itself. She then unleashed rural death squads like the *Alsa Masa* (Mass Uprising) in a "total war" against the CPP and other leftists. In November 2004, Hacienda Luisita again captured headlines when heavily armed police and soldiers, backed by armored personnel carriers, attacked strikers affiliated with the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (KMU), a labor federation aligned with the reformist left *Bayan Muna* (Nation First) party, killing seven, including a child, and wounding hundreds.

Despite having borne the brunt of repression, the CPP has absolved Aquino of the string of atrocities committed against the working people during her six-year term in office. The bloodiest of these attacks was the suppression of the 22 January 1987 demonstration for land reform, when Filipino cops and Marines fired pointblank into the march, killing 18 peasant protesters and their leftist supporters and wounding nearly a hundred, just outside the presidential palace. The CPP and its allies in the leftist umbrella group *Bayan* initially denounced Aquino. But in their pursuit of class collaboration, they soon began to alibi her. *Bayan* declared she was not "directly" responsible for this massacre by the military and police.

For the likes of Satur Ocampo, a Representative in the Philippine Congress who was once a senior cadre of the NDF, it's all just comrades' blood under the bridge. In 2001,

Ocampo's Bayan Muna party mobilized the warm bodies for the military-backed "People Power II" coup. They supported President Arroyo's "People Power Coalition" senatorial slate, even while the blood of ousted populist president Joseph Estrada's plebeian supporters, gunned down at the gates of Malacañang, had barely dried. More recently, the "Honorable" Congressman Ocampo, a cothinker of exiled CPP founder and NDF political consultant Jose Maria Sison, was prominently flashing the "Laban" sign at Aquino's funeral procession. He is now reportedly being considered for a guest senatorial slot on the ticket of multimillionaire Manny Villar's Nacionalista Party.

For their part, the ex-Stalinist splinters from the CPP, like Sanlakas, Alab Katipunan and the newly formed "socialist" Partido Lakas ng Masa (PLM—Masses Power Party), were among the left groups with banners held high at the funeral procession. Associated with Australia's thoroughly reformist Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP), the PLM is headed by Sonny Melencio, who has emerged over the years variously as head political operator of the Liga Sosyalista, the Sosyalistang Partido ng Paggawa (Socialist Party of Labor) and the multitendency Laban ng Masa bloc.

While the PLM postures to the left of the CPP and is highly critical of Cory Aquino, its purpose remains to reinforce illusions in "People Power" among the working class. And though PLM leaders keep their distance from the Cory crowd, PLM supporters on the ground joined in the mourning for Aquino. The Melencioites are so enamored with "People Power" that they have been advocates of a broad, multi-class (i.e., *capitalist*) "transitional revolutionary government" in the same spirit as Cory's "revolutionary" government.

Loyalty to the strategy of "People Power" coupled with the appetite for pursuing "progressive" friends in the bourgeois military officer caste is a common thread that runs through Melencio's various "left" outfits. The Melencioites are the local cheering squad for "Third World" bourgeois nationalist leaders like Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez and Evo Morales in Bolivia. Closer to home, they confer with shadowy opposition groups inside the bourgeois armed forces, like the Young Officers Union and the Young Officers Union of the New Generation. The PLM admits that its political program is inspired by the platform of these bourgeois military opposition groups.

Far from posing an independent proletarian political alternative, the Philippine left has repeatedly exhibited shameless subordination to the bourgeoisie—from the two "People Power" movements, through the string of botched anti-Arroyo coup attempts, to the maneuverings for the 2010 elections under cover of the recent Aquino funeral. By chaining the working class and the oppressed masses to one or another wing of the Philippine bourgeoisie, these reformist leftists will not and cannot lead the masses to break free from imperialist enslavement and capitalist exploitation.

Basing itself on the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of two-stage revolution—which amounts to mobilizing the workers to bring bourgeois "progressives" and nationalists to power in the first "stage" and ends in the massacre of workers and communists—the Philippine left opposes the fight for proletarian revolution. Whether in the bourgeois Congress, in the "parliament of the streets" or fighting in the hills as guerrillas, the reformist left is deeply wedded to the politics of alliances with a mythical "progressive" bourgeoisie—the "popular front." And while the Philippine left courageously defies murderous repression, the purpose of its struggles is simply

to pressure the capitalist class for concessions. Nevertheless, we defend the leftist guerrillas against the violence of the bourgeoisie and its blood-drenched state.

### For Proletarian Class Independence

As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky outlined in the theory of permanent revolution, the bourgeoisies in countries of belated capitalist development are more fearful of the super-exploited masses than they are of the imperialists, on whom they depend to secure their class rule. The chief condition for any real struggle by the toiling masses against imperialist subjugation and capitalist exploitation and oppression is the class independence of the proletariat.

With its large peasant population, the Philippines also needs an agrarian revolution, in which the poor peasants and agricultural workers seize the land. But defeating the bloodsucking landlords, with their private armies as well as government death squads, requires a revolution in which the urban proletariat places itself at the head of the insurgent peasant masses to smash the whole framework of capitalist/landlord rule. Underscoring the potential for revolutionary working-class struggle is the growth of a young, militant proletariat due to industrial investment in the Philippines by the U.S., Japan and other countries. The Philippine proletariat must lead the terribly exploited and oppressed masses of peasants, urban poor, women and minorities in a struggle for socialist revolution against all wings of the capitalist class, crowning its victory with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist revolution in the economically backward Philippines would necessarily have to link up with the struggles of the working people in Indonesia, South Korea and, in particular, the more economically advanced countries. It would act as a powerful impetus for proletarian political revolution in China and for socialist revolution in Japan, Asia's economic powerhouse. The millions-strong diaspora of Filipino workers throughout the Near East, North America and elsewhere can serve as a living link uniting the workers of the semicolonial countries and the imperialist centers.

The key to victory lies in forging an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party against all variants of nationalism and class collaboration. Defense of those subjugated by the imperialists around the globe demands the pursuit of class struggle in the U.S. and other imperialist centers. Here in the U.S., we seek to build a revolutionary workers party which champions the rights of blacks, women, immigrants and all the oppressed as part of the fight for proletarian revolution to smash racist American imperialism. The International Communist League fights to reforge the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky as the indispensable instrument for leading new October Revolutions around the world.

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 946,  
6 November

### Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

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## Anti-Sex Witchhunt...

(continued from page 7)

against pornography, prostitution, youth sexuality and abortion—is to regiment the population and to bolster the repressive powers of the capitalist state. This state—including its cops, courts and prisons—is not a neutral arbiter, but the instrument for the suppression of the exploited by the exploiters. As such it plays a key role in enforcing the oppression of women (and youth) alongside organized religion and the patriarchal family, which remains the central instrument for the subjugation of women under capitalism. The family is critical for the ruling class to pass on its property to “legitimate” heirs and to instill obedience to bourgeois codes of morality.

We oppose all the laws which prohibit consensual sexual relations in the name of “protecting” youth, just as we demand that the sex registries, which are a witchhunting prosecutor’s dream, be scrapped. We also oppose “age of consent” laws which falsely conflate consensual sex with violent crimes. We do not accord the capitalist state the right to decree the age at which youth can engage in sex. The guiding principle in all these matters should be that of mutual effective consent. This means nothing more and nothing less than mutual agreement and understanding, as opposed to coercion.

Unfortunately we are all but unique in defending the victims of this anti-sex hysteria, whether teachers hounded for private sexual acts or famed director Roman Polanski, an innocent man who faces a renewed state vendetta for having had consensual sex with a precocious 13-year-old one day back in 1977 (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 944, 9 October 2009). That they have no other defenders on the left besides our organization is a measure of how deeply the so-called “socialist” groups have adapted to “family values” bourgeois reaction.

To support the capitalist state’s right to legislate morality is to support this decaying social order which produces genuinely horrific crimes against women and children. The state is a violent, unrepentant and chronic abuser of youth, and that includes the very real and horrific crime of sexual abuse. Stories emerging from the Roy McMurtry Youth Centre in Brampton, a new \$100 million superjail housing 102 youth, are bloodcurdling. Shortly after it opened in May, inmates began launching complaints about abuse that included food deprivation, restrictions on family visits and full-body cavity searches under the ludicrous pretence of looking for missing DVDs.

At the same time, a racist “law and order” offensive is targeting mainly black, Native and other minority youth for cop violence. The Conservatives’ “anti-crime” law raised the age of consent from 14 to 16 while enforcing mandatory sentences for “gun crime” convictions that target black and South Asian youth. In the bourgeoisie’s eyes, teenagers are too young for sex, but not too young to be tried, sentenced and jailed as adults. Underlining both their thoroughgoing support for racist Canadian capitalism and the moral priggery that typifies these social democrats, the New Democratic Party backed the Tories’ reactionary law.

In Toronto, cop repression has been sharply ramped up under social-democratic mayor David Miller. In black and Asian neighbourhoods like Jane and Finch, where unemployment and poverty are rampant, the cops act as an occupying force, harassing and detaining youth at will. Meanwhile, armed cops patrol the corridors of 50 Toronto high schools. In October, one of these cops was caught on camera brutally beating a black student inside Northern Secondary School,



Lynett/National Post

**Toronto, October 5: Mourning Jarvis Collegiate students at memorial for their teacher, David Dewees.**

sparking angry protest. Many minority parents have begun to speak out against cops in the schools.

### For a Revolutionary Workers Party, Tribune of the Oppressed

The working class must come to the defense of all victims of capitalist state repression, including teachers rounded up under anti-sex laws and students victimized by cop terror. Instead, in a 2005 policy document, the bureaucracy that runs the OSSTF high school teachers union actually encouraged the government to put cops in schools.

A class-struggle leadership of the unions would make a concerted effort to break the climate of fear, shame and stigma that surrounds teachers caught in the state’s puritanical web. This battle must include combating the pernicious religious moralism that permeates teachers colleges and the school system. At the University of Toronto’s Ontario Institute for Studies in Education a special “Catholic Teacher Education Program” trains hundreds of future teachers in the fine art of preaching anti-scientific “Gospel Values.” Such “values” include church doctrines that ban birth control and treat abortion as murder. Religious obscurantism serves to oppress women by preventing them from exercising control over their own fertility. We are for free abortion on demand! We call for an end to publicly-funded Catholic schools and demand one secular school system.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to train the future cadre of the Leninist vanguard party that alone can lead the working class in struggle to overthrow racist, capitalist rule. A workers state will enforce full democratic rights for gays and begin the task of liberating women from the oppressive confines of the family. Only world socialist revolution will lay the material basis to replace the institution of the family and open the door to an egalitarian future. In fighting to expose the material underpinnings of religious backwardness in bourgeois society, we look forward to the world described by Friedrich Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, a world where people “will care precious little what anybody today thinks they ought to do; they will make their own practice and their corresponding public opinion about the practice of each individual—and that will be the end of it.” ■

## Vale Inco Strike...

(continued from page 3)

creating unevenness and crises. The international character of the working class, on the other hand, gives it a potentially enormous superiority over the bourgeoisie if mobilized across national and other divisions to coordinate its struggles. A class-struggle strategy means unleashing the unions' social power to fight for the burning needs of the working and poor masses *independently of* and *against* the interests of the various national capitalist ruling classes—starting here “at home.”

The union tops' cringing legalism before the bosses' courts is also undermining the Vale Inco strike. The company has obtained injunctions against USW pickets and is seeking \$25 million in damages from the union for lost production. Under an agreed picket line “protocol,” trucks and other scab vehicles are allowed through the lines in Sudbury every 12-15 minutes.

Even worse, the USW bureaucrats are allowing union members to scab on their own strike! Some 50 members of a non-striking USW local representing Vale Inco office and technical staff are among the scabs being used to break the strike. When the company announced its plan to restart production, a USW statement, “Vale Declares War on Sudbury,” complained: “By forcing members of USW Local 2020 to perform striking workers' jobs Vale is trying to drive a wedge between workers.” But, as reported in the *Sudbury Star* (27 August), Local 2020 president Dan Sèrre “agreed Local 2020 members cannot refuse their new work orders.... His best advice to his members is, ‘Look, just do the work and do it safely. Do it slowly’.” Outrageously, the president of the striking USW Local 6500 told Sèrre that “he and his union understand the position Local 2020 members are being placed in.”

It used to be a watchword of the labour movement that *picket lines mean don't cross*. Back in 1966, 17,000 Local 6500 members staged a wildcat strike against Inco that saw mass pickets aimed at shutting tight the mines and other facilities. When the company tried to fly managers in, strikers threatened to disable their helicopter. It was militant tactics like mass pickets, “illegal” strikes, occupations and hot cargoing (refusing to handle) struck goods that built the unions in the first place. They must be revived today for the working class to turn back the bosses' one-sided war on labour.

### Smash Vale Inco Union Busting! Victory to the USW!

Four months on, the strike is clearly having an impact on Vale Inco's bottom line. The company is losing over \$7 million a day in production. Even with the scabbing, production in Sudbury is nowhere near normal levels, while the Voisey's Bay facilities and Port Colborne refinery remain shut down.

A taste of the kind of internationalist class-struggle tactics needed for victory came when USW strikers traced a ship carrying stockpiled copper concentrates from Voisey's Bay to Germany in October. A contingent of strikers and other unionists met the ship when it arrived. But the union did not raise the necessary call for the labour movement internationally to *refuse to handle all exports from struck facilities*. Instead, according to a report on the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions website ([www.icem.org](http://www.icem.org)), the delegation merely urged the ship's captain and owner to “raise the issue directly with



local6500usw.ca

**Miners rallying outside Vale's largest mine in Brazil voted for two-day strike in late October.**

Vale-Inco and with the metal companies that were purchasing the Brazilian company's resources.”

The fight for a winning strategy in the Vale Inco strike is linked to the fight for a class-struggle leadership of the labour movement. This is part of the struggle for an internationalist workers party that—in sharp contrast to the pro-capitalist NDP—will fight down the line for the interests of the workers and the poor against the Canadian capitalist rulers. A class-struggle leadership would sharply oppose all nationalist protectionism, which pits the workers against each other in the interests of the respective national capitalist classes.

The millions in profits that make it into the pockets of the mining bosses, whatever their nationality, come from the surplus value created by the blood and sweat of the workers. Under a rationally planned economy, social wealth would go to benefit all, including the masses of the capitalist neocolonies in Latin America, Africa and Asia. To attain that we need a workers revolution led by a multiethnic revolutionary workers party that smashes the capitalist system and replaces it with an international, egalitarian socialist society. In the words of the *Communist Manifesto*, “Workers of the world, unite!” ■

#### Toronto Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

### Trotskyism and the Fight for World Socialist Revolution

- Jan. 20: Reform vs. Revolution—  
Smash the Capitalist State!
- Feb. 3: Why Marxists Advocate Quebec  
Independence
- Feb. 24: Defend China Against Imperialism,  
Counterrevolution!
- Mar. 10: For Women's Liberation Through Socialist  
Revolution!
- Mar. 24: The Struggle for a Leninist Vanguard Party  
All classes Wednesdays at 6:00 p.m. U of T, location TBA
- For more information, contact the SYC  
(416) 593-4138, email: [spartacan@on.aibn.com](mailto:spartacan@on.aibn.com)

## Olympics...

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primarily Muslims but also Sikhs, Tamils and others. Ultimately, the central target of such police-state measures will be the organized working class, whose labour makes society run. The rights of labour and minorities must go forward together, or they will fall back separately!

Unlike liberal opponents of the Olympic crack-down, we Marxists understand that police violence and repression are not mistaken policies of a particular right-wing government or out-of-control state agency. One need only recall the killing by taser of Polish immigrant Robert Dziekanski two years ago by the trigger-happy RCMP to underline the fact that police violence is no aberration but the day-to-day reality of the capitalist state. Under capitalism, the state—comprised at its core of the cops, courts, prisons and military—exists to protect the wealth and power of a tiny minority, the bourgeoisie, who exploit the working masses.

A taste of the potential power of the organized working class was given by striking B.C. paramedics when they set up picket lines that disrupted a high-profile Olympic security exercise for four hours on November 5. The union was protesting government strikebreaking legislation against their seven-month strike—legislation that was reportedly introduced at the direct behest of VANOC, the Olympic organizing committee. The paramedics' picket lines were supported by unionized firefighters, who refused to cross them. This is the kind of social power that must be unleashed on behalf of the poor and all victims of capitalist repression.

### Downtown Eastside: Poverty, Disease and Native Oppression

Vancouver, regularly touted as “the world’s most liveable city,” has sores to hide and real estate to sell. Behind the glitzy, cosmopolitan image of the city lies poverty so horrendous that it approaches Third World conditions. A priority for the capitalist class is to keep Vancouver’s homelessness, addiction, disease and discontent away from the Olympic cameras. In preparation for the Games, the homeless are being chased from parks and thrown in jail, their property confiscated, as the city scrambles to hide its destitute thousands. And it’s not only happening in Vancouver. At a November 9 public forum on “Olympic Security Issues,” it was reported that hun-



Lindsay/Vancouver Sun

**September 18: Hundreds of striking paramedics and their supporters rally outside Richmond Olympic Oval.**

dreds of homeless people were, at that moment, being relocated from the Whistler area—the other main Olympic site—to Kamloops, hundreds of kilometers away.

Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside is the poorest urban area in Canada, directly abutting a bustling tourist area and mere blocks from both the financial district and the Olympic Village. Local politicians have been scheming for years to purge the area of its poor residents and now find a convenient pretext. AIDS researchers foresee an increase in HIV infection as addicts are driven away from the needle exchange and safe injection sites in the area. The Downtown Eastside already has North America’s highest HIV infection rates. Some 30 percent of drug users there have AIDS, while over half are infected with Hepatitis C.

The aboriginal population in the Downtown Eastside is proportionally seven times higher than in the city at large. For years, Native youth have been driven to the city by the grinding poverty of the reserves elsewhere in B.C. On the Mount Currie reserve, 30 minutes from the multimillion dollar condos of Whistler, Native families live on a meagre \$165 a month. When they get to Vancouver, they face a wall of racism that ensures they remain poor and marginalized.

Indeed, the Canadian rulers have never had anything but contempt for the rights, health and lives of Native people. Canadian capitalism was founded on the destruction of the

## Corrections

The following correction is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 946, 6 November. The photo in question also appeared in “Turmoil in Iran” (*SC* No. 162, Fall 2009):

“A photo used in the article ‘Down With the Clerical Regime! No Support to ‘Reform’ Mullahs!’ (*WV* No. 939, 3 July) was incorrectly identified as an ‘Iranian woman being prepared for execution by stoning, 2004.’ While the image illustrates the horror often visited upon women in Iran by the theocratic regime, it has been brought to our attention by a subscriber that the picture, which we also incorrectly credited to Amnesty International, was a still from the 1994 Dutch film *De Steen* (*The Stone*).

“In investigating how we ended up violating our stringent standards on photo verification and fact-checking in running this

image, we learned that it had been used in 2007 by right-wing ideologue David Horowitz. As someone commented at the time on the liberal blog ‘Sadly, No!’: ‘Doesn’t anyone on the right source check? I said it before and now I’ll say it again...Sweet Zombie Jesus, that just DUMB!!’ Us, too. We apologize to our readers for the error.”

Also in *SC* No. 162, in the article “Swine Flu Ravages Aboriginal Population,” a photo caption wrongly stated that a young Australian Aboriginal girl died of swine flu. In fact, the cause of death is not known. What is known is that she was repeatedly turned away from hospital, “neglected,” as her grieving mother said, because “she was a little black girl.”

## Asylum Now for Tamil Refugees!

On October 17 the Canadian navy, RCMP helicopter and marine units, and sundry U.S. agencies colluded to intercept the *Ocean Lady* off the B.C. coast. This rusty freighter carried 76 Tamil refugees who had fled Sri Lanka, where 130,000 Tamils remain in concentration camps following the bloody defeat of the Tamil Tigers last May. All but one of the refugees remain in custody in a Vancouver-area detention centre as the government and media smear them as terrorists.

An October 24 editorial in the *Globe and Mail* demands that "Canada should emulate Australia in being vigilant and trying to intercept such ships before they get close to shore." This year alone, the Australian bourgeoisie has intercepted 33 boatloads of refugees, and 1,000 people, many of them Tamils, are jammed into the internment camp on Christmas Island. As part of our proletarian internationalist defense of immigrants and refugees, including Tamils fleeing the blood-soaked chauvinist regime in Sri Lanka,



AFP

Tamil refugees aboard *Ocean Lady* off B.C. coast.

we demand: From Vancouver to Christmas Island, free the detainees! Asylum now for Tamil refugees!

pre-existing aboriginal societies, which were devastated by disease, military conquest by European colonialism, and eventual incarceration in reserves and prisons. The labour movement must defend Native rights! Only the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of workers rule can hold out a future for Native people.

### Olympic Extravaganza Amid Capitalist Recession

The 2010 Olympics come amidst a world capitalist economic recession on a scale unseen since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Unemployment in B.C. has doubled since January 2008. The Olympic torch run has passed through desperately poor Native communities and once-thriving working-class mill towns like Port Alberni, where unemployment has soared.

Like its predecessors, these Olympics are suffused with chauvinist flag-waving and nationalist reaction. The "ancient tradition" of the torch relay was in fact introduced by the Nazis for the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Later Olympics have seen massive state repression. Ten days before the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, a massacre left some 1,000 dead after demonstrators in Tlatelolco Plaza were fired upon by soldiers and police for over an hour. In Los Angeles in 1984 the black population was targeted for repression. In 2000 in Sydney, Australia, it was Aboriginal people in the cops' crosshairs, while in Athens in 2004 it was the Roma (Gypsy) population under the jackboot.

Many critics of the Olympics seek to take advantage of the fact that the eyes of the world will be on Vancouver to highlight the horrors perpetrated against the poor. But the program on offer from most activist groups amounts to pleading with the capitalists to adjust their priorities. One Downtown Eastside activist was quoted: "our government is spending about \$6 billion on games.... That money could provide over 30,000 homes for people who are homeless in Canada. Or it could be used to completely wipe out poverty and homelessness in BC" (Carnegie Community Action Project press release, 7 February 2009). Indeed it could, but it is a complete fantasy to think that the capitalist rulers can be pressured to reorder their system in the interests of

working people and the poor.

Capitalism is rooted in the grinding exploitation of the workers by a ruling class whose only interest is the pursuit of profit. The boom-bust cycle intrinsic to the capitalist economy periodically produces mass immiseration, while the capitalists always maintain a reserve army of the unemployed and destitute as a means of keeping downward pressure on wages. There is no way to end poverty and homelessness short of sweeping away this barbaric social system through workers revolution.

The social-democratic NDP, official opposition to the ruling B.C. Liberals, has spoken out against Olympic security spending and the attacks on civil liberties. But its pretense to defend the poor and oppressed is sheer hypocrisy. Despite its links to the labour movement, the NDP's program has always been to defend capitalism, as was shown clearly when the New Democrats ruled B.C. during the 1990s. It was an NDP government that ordered the largest military operation in RCMP history at Gustafsen Lake in 1995 in order to evict a handful of Native activists from a "private" ranch, turning it into a war zone.

Even as the capitalist state ramps up its war on the poor, the fake-Trotskyists of the Fightback group are singlemindedly occupied with their "Take Back the Party" campaign aimed at bolstering the NDP by giving it a "left" facelift. In a November 25 statement, they write: "Fightback has long warned that the right-ward drift of the NDP leadership in BC would hurt the party in the polls." In contrast, we Trotskyists seek to break the workers from the deadening grip of social democracy, starting with the most advanced layers.

These Olympics shine a spotlight on the repressive nature of the capitalist state, which cannot be "cleaned up," reformed or pressured into acting on behalf of the workers and the oppressed. It must be shattered by workers revolution. Stopping racist state terror, defending the rights of Native people and the poor—all this and more requires the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party that fights to expropriate the capitalist class and build a new, socialist society where a centrally planned economy will produce for human need, not the profits of a tiny minority. ■

## *Vancouver Olympics:* **State Repression Against Natives, the Poor**



Clark/Reuters



AP/Canadian Press

**RCMP's Emergency Response Team, part of massive police/military mobilization for Olympic Games, patrols Athletes' Village in Vancouver, October 20. Right: Anti-Olympics protesters, 8 February 2009.**

For 17 days in February, civil rights in Vancouver will be virtually erased as the city becomes an armed camp for the 2010 Olympics. Under the pretext of "fighting terror," some 16,500 soldiers and police will descend on the city. Dubbed "Operation Podium," this is the largest domestic "security" operation in Canadian history, combining various police forces, the Canadian and U.S. military and the CSIS secret police.

Numerous anti-Olympic activists and their families and friends have already faced harassment, including surprise visits by the cops at home, school and work. One professor at the University of British Columbia, Chris Shaw, was subjected to a campaign of RCMP intimidation that included calls to his ex-wife, while cops followed one of his friends to a college exam. The cops are of course preparing to infiltrate protest groups and provoke confrontations, openly rebuffing the liberals of the B.C. Civil Liberties Association, who requested that the state refrain from such tactics.

Vancouver's city council under mayor Gregor Robertson (a former NDP MLA) has passed a package of "temporary" Olympic by-laws that ban leafleting, unauthorized signage and megaphones. All protests must be pre-approved and must take place in state-sanctioned areas cordoned off by cops. The

provincial government's Bill 13 permits police to enter private residences to confiscate protest signs on display, threatening arrests and fines of up to \$10,000 a day. Ominously, Vancouver police have acquired a "sonic gun" that can blast crowds of people with up to 152 decibels causing disorientation, pain and potential hearing loss. Widely used for "crowd control" by U.S. occupation forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, a similar weapon was employed by the cops against protesters at the G20 summit in Pittsburgh in September.

The current repressive moves intersect and are amplified by the ongoing "war on terror." Heavily-censored CSIS/RCMP documents obtained by the media identify "several threats to Olympic security, including anti-globalization, anti-corporate and First Nations activists" (*Province*, 8 October 2008). The same report makes a deadly equation between leftist and Native activists and "international extremist organizations like al-Qaida."

The rulers' "war on terror" is not a "war" at all but a political campaign that aims to divide the working people against each other while strengthening the arsenal of state repression. In the first instance, it has seen a racist witchhunt of minorities,

*(continued on page 22)*