

Cholet/Action Press



SC photo

Barbaric imperialist "New World Order" has displaced millions. Italian cops attack Albanian refugees (left). February 1992 Toronto protest against deportations (right).

# Labor: Smash Racist Immigration Law!

While the imperialists boast of the triumph of "democracy" in East Europe and the Soviet Union, the ravages of capitalist counterrevolution have created the largest movement of refugees in Europe since World War II. In response, the Common Market countries are pulling up the drawbridges of "Fortress Europe" and inciting racist attacks on immigrants. The U.S. government is forcibly shipping thousands of desperate Haitians back to imprisonment, torture and death at the hands of the blood-crazed rulers of that country. In the aftermath of the multiracial upheaval in L.A., following the racist acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King, the cops and *la migra* immigration agents have been sweeping the ghettos and barrios deporting "illegal" Hispanic immigrants.

As their bankrupt economies continue to go down the tubes, the capitalists internationally are taking aim at foreign-born workers and those seeking asylum from terror and brutal oppression in their homelands. In the first three months of this

year the Canadian government deported nearly 1,800 refugees, double the rate of deportation during the same period last year. Immigration cops plan to have rounded up and kicked out over 5,000 refugees by the end of the year. Even those who are married to permanent residents are being thrown out. In one case a Salvadoran woman and her six-month-old *Canadian-born* daughter were deported to El Salvador.

Now the government has come out with a draconian new anti-immigration law, Bill C-86, aimed at slashing the number of refugees accepted in Canada by at least 40 percent. The legislation, which has passed first reading in Parliament, is expected to be on the books by January. Conjuring up images of refugees as people with plenty of options over what country to live in but who simply "choose" Canada in order to "sponge" off welfare, the government proclaimed that it is out to stop "asylum shopping"! Meanwhile those who have the money to

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# The Bankruptcy of Canadian Capitalism

## Newfoundland Devastated

In what is probably the largest single layoff in Canadian history, on July 2 Ottawa closed the northern cod fishery and ordered Newfoundland fishermen to pull up their boats for the next two years. Any fisherman caught on the water is subject to tens of thousands of dollars in fines.

It's not that the cod can't be sold—it's that they can't be found. Where once cod was the most abundant species in the Atlantic Ocean, decades of devil-take-the-hindmost competition among a half dozen capitalist countries has almost exterminated the species on the Grand Banks. So 19,000 fishermen and shoreworkers have been pitched on the dole overnight. Thousands more will follow as the shock waves spread to dependent industries like trucking, supply and retail sales.

With a further twist of the Tory knife, Fisheries Minister John Crosbie decreed that out-of-work shoreworkers and cod fishermen (many of whom have their whole lives mortgaged in boats and tackle) would be granted \$225 a week in "aid"—half what they'd get on UIC. Affected workers in other sectors would get nothing at all. Furious protesters responded to Crosbie's largesse by storming his St. John's press conference, ready to string the bastard up. The shaken minister felt compelled to revise his offer upward, but not much.

The British Dominion of Newfoundland was pushed and dragged into Confederation in 1949 with the promise of prosperity based on economic integration and massive federal aid. But 40 years after the (second) referendum on union succeeded by only 7,000 votes, Newfoundland incomes are still only 60 percent of the national average. Beyond the small urban areas, in the scattered outports, some 40 percent of the people are illiterate. Last year, over 30 percent of the income of Newfoundlanders came from welfare, UIC and pensions. The government's humiliating "aid package" is in part meant to cut these costs by forcing thousands to move or starve.

A huge Newfoundland diaspora already exists. For generations working people have left behind the province's endemic poverty to look for wages elsewhere. But these days, so many plants, mines, mills and entire industries have closed that now the Canadian unemployment rate is the highest of the "Group

of Seven" rich industrial-capitalist countries. Since last October 243,000 full time jobs have vanished—129,000 in July alone!—and the Economic Council of Canada predicts that fully a third of all Canadians will "experience poverty" at some point in their lives. Newfoundland fisherman Roy Clark put it plainly: "It doesn't matter where you go, you'll still be on welfare."

Newfoundland's fishery workers are the victims of a textbook example of the anarchy and irrationality of capitalist production for profit. For 450 years after John Cabot claimed the fishing grounds for the merchants of Bristol, small-boat fishermen from Portugal and Spain as well as North America managed to eke out a living from the teeming shoals of cod off the Grand Banks. Then, following World War II, the Canadian government began encouraging the formation of "vertically integrated" private corporations like giant National Sea Products—now the largest fish company in North America—which both caught and processed the fish.

This drive to increase productivity was fueled not by the need to provide food, but by the need to maximize profit by driving down the cost of catching fish. As international competition from European trawlers increased, the federal government moved to protect Canadian fisheries conglomerates. In 1977 it declared the 200-mile "exclusion" zone from which "foreign" boats were banned.

Freed from other competition, the Canadian companies went deep into debt to finance major expansion. Investments were poured into bigger and better boats. Traditional dory fishing gave way to longliners, and to the enormous dragger boats, equipped with fish-finding sonar, which scoop up everything in their path. On board the draggers the catch is picked over by the deck hands; "unprofitable" varieties are tossed back over the side, dead. Thus, in a world where millions starve, untold tons of "garbage fish" are wasted while the "valuable" species

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### Horacio Aguilar

1943—1992

On July 25, Horacio Aguilar died in Montreal at the age of 49. His death came from complications related to AIDS.

Originally from Colombia, Horacio emigrated to Canada where he became a supporter of the Trotskyist League. He joined our Toronto local in 1978, resigning from the organization two years later. Horacio later moved to Montreal, and although he was not active politically in recent years he remained an avid reader of *Workers Vanguard* and *Spartacist Canada*. He was always friendly and hospitable whenever we met during trips to Quebec.

A shy and quiet but witty and very well-read man, Horacio's interests ranged widely. He studied architecture at the University of Medellín and his interest in astronomy led him to build his own telescope. TL comrades who knew him will remember him fondly.

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# Chinese Canadians Demand Redress for Racist "Head Tax"

On July 6 more than 500 people marched through Vancouver's Chinatown to demand redress for the Chinese immigrants who were forced to pay a racist head tax in order to immigrate to Canada. Some 1,000 elderly tax payers and 2,000 descendants of those who have since died are demanding a minimal, largely symbolic \$10,000 for each immigrant or descendant, and an official apology. They should get all of that and more. But no amount of money could ever atone for the families and lives torn apart by the abuse they suffered at the hands of Canada's racist ruling class.

Between 1885 and 1923 at least 81,000 Chinese immigrants had to pay the head tax. From an initial \$50, the tax rose to a then astronomical \$500 by 1903—the equivalent of about nine months' wages for a Chinese worker. Yet desperate laborers and landless peasants scraped together the money, often going into debt to relatives for both the tax and their passage.

Imposed only on Chinese immigrants, the tax was also overtly anti-working class. A small number of merchants and their families were exempt while the families of laborers were simply not allowed in. Many married men never saw their wives again, while others waited decades to be reunited. In a grotesque but typical case, Hong You Louie came to Canada in 1919, returning to China for a period in 1928 in order to marry. Because of Canada's racist immigration laws, his wife was only allowed into Canada in 1974. Now surviving on their meager old-age pensions, the government won't let them sponsor their son and grandchildren to immigrate.

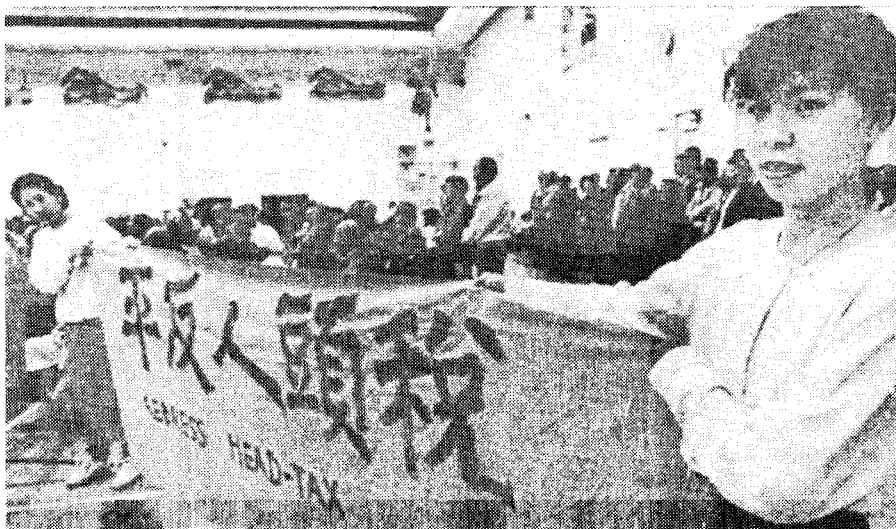
In the decade before the mid-1880s, an acute labor shortage on the West Coast meant the capitalists were forced to subordinate their desire to keep Asians out to their lust for profit. Chinese workers built the Cariboo Wagon Road and strung the telegraph wires from New Westminster to Quesnel. In the 1870s the new canneries relied on Chinese labor. On Vancouver Island Chinese workers slaved in the deadly coal mines of the robber baron Robert Dunsmuir where Asian workers died in disproportionately large numbers.

When it came to building the British Columbia portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, there simply weren't enough workers on the West Coast to complete the massive project. Using a "sliding scale" of arrogant imperial racism, the main contractor, Andrew Onderdonk, told the Victoria Anti-Chinese Association that if he could not find white labor in B.C. he would seek French Canadians and only then reluctantly "engage Indians and Chinese."

Between 1881 and 1885 some 15,000 Chinese navvies (track construction workers) laid the B.C. section of the CPR. Working under slave-labor conditions for a dollar a day, one half the wage paid to white workers, more than 2,000 died in landslides, blast accidents, and from poor nutrition and inadequate

medical care. It is said that one Chinese worker died for every foot of track pushed through the treacherous Fraser Canyon. Once the railroad was completed, Chinese labor was no longer necessary—and the government slapped on the head tax.

The capitalists sought to drive down living conditions for all workers through the brutal exploitation of the Chinese workers.



Marianne Hamilton

**Chinese Canadian youth demand compensation for racist head tax levied against Chinese workers. Down with anti-Asian racism!**

Their "divide and rule" policy was meant to set white workers against Asians and Native Indians. The pro-capitalist labor tops served as the agents for the bosses—instead of organizing the Chinese, Japanese and Indian workers they incited white workers against them and called for the total exclusion of Asians from Canada.

Time and again the racist bogey of "alien" Asian "cheap labor" was used to derail working-class struggle. In 1900 the union tops whipped up a mob to attack a 2,000-strong demonstration by Japanese workers in Vancouver in solidarity with a joint strike of Japanese and white fishermen. Under the pretext of preventing a race riot, the government declared martial law, sent in the militia and broke the strike. In contrast, the revolutionary syndicalists of the Industrial Workers of the World, many of whom went on to help found the Communist Parties of the U.S. and Canada, supported integrated industrial unions and fought hard to recruit immigrant workers. IWW leader "Big Bill" Haywood cabled the leadership of the 1903 Vancouver Island miners strike: "We approve of calling out any or all men necessary to win at Ladysmith. Organize the Japanese and Chinese if possible."

And throughout, Chinese workers organized and fought back. As far back as 1866 they took on the coal bosses in Nanaimo, demanding \$1.50 a day, and won. The Chinese Labour Association, formed in 1916, successfully struck the sawmills of Vancouver and New Westminster for the eight hour day, already won by white workers.

*(continued on page 8)*

# Protest I.S. Thug Attack on Trotskyists!

## I.S. Draws Blood Line in “Death of Communism” Frenzy

On August 14, comrades of the Trotskyist League were violently assaulted by members of the International Socialists outside an I.S. “public” meeting in Toronto. The next night the I.S. received a lesson in workers democracy delivered by TL comrades who aggressively leafleted another meeting and chanted, “We fight for communism—I.S. calls the cops!” and “Yeltsin, Walesa, Khomeini—I.S. fronts for the bourgeoisie!” The I.S. felt moved to assemble dozens of marshals to steel themselves against our leaflet denouncing their thuggery. This leaflet we reprint below.

Local leftist Robert McMaster, who witnessed the assault, handed out his own protest letter, noting: “A group of Trotskyist League members had come to the door and been denied admission. They made no effort to force their way in nor did they prevent others from entering but they shouted slogans denouncing the International Socialists and their policy of exclusion.” Condemning the I.S. attack, McMaster concluded: “For my part, I do not attend meetings of ‘Marxists’ defended by capitalist police.. I commend the comrades of the Trotskyist League for their actions. Someone has to keep our traditions alive.”

Leftists, socialist-minded youth and workers should beware—the I.S. are nothing more than New World Order “socialists” in anti-communist heat.

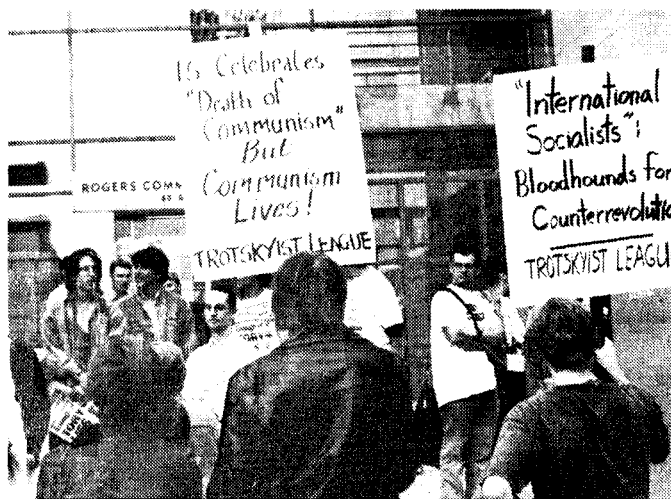
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On August 14, members of the International Socialists launched a savage physical assault against comrades of the Trotskyist League. The occasion was a so-called “public debate” on the subject “After Communism, What’s Left for Socialism?” When Trotskyist League supporters approached the meeting room after distributing literature, I.S. members under the direction of York University Professor David McNally barred their way. Our comrades verbally protested this cowardly exclusion; when one shouted “Communism lives—I.S. lies!,” they were surrounded by dozens of I.S. supporters (prominent among them U.S. ISO leader Ahmed Shawki) who quickly went berserk.

Six I.S.ers slammed a leading comrade to the floor and held him down while McNally seized him around the throat and throttled him. Our other comrades were then surrounded and grabbed, with arms twisted behind their backs, seized and choked, and dragged by their feet through a nearby exit. A small woman comrade was spread-eagled, dragged and bashed crotch-first against a divider between a double set of doors. When one of our comrades became separated from the rest at the top of a steep flight of stairs, an apoplectic, red-faced Professor McNally screamed at his followers: “Throw him down the stairs! Throw him down the stairs!” But even his own members wouldn’t heed this murderous call. Nevertheless, several I.S. thugs dragged our comrade down the stairs and threw him through the exit.

Within minutes the place was crawling with three carloads of cops, called by the I.S. to “protect” their meeting from the reds. Challenged by one of our members, McNally shouted “That’s right, I’m with the cops!”

What lies behind this frenzied assault? For years the I.S. and its international co-thinkers, who now worm around the



SC photo

August 15: TL protest confronts I.S. social democrats.

bourgeois feminist abortion-rights milieu, have acted as loyal “left” lieutenants in the imperialists’ campaign to smash each and every gain of the October Revolution and prop up rotting capitalism in the West. In Afghanistan they lusted for the blood of Soviet soldiers, supporting the CIA-backed 7th-century Muslim fanatics who skin schoolteachers alive for teaching little girls to read. They spent the last decade hailing the anti-Semitic, anti-women clerical nationalists of Polish Solidarność, beloved of Reagan, Mulroney and the Vatican. Last summer they cheered on Wall Street tool Boris Yeltsin’s pro-capitalist coup in Moscow as “magnificent.” “Communism has collapsed,” they exulted in their British press, “It is a fact that should have every socialist cheering.” Our comrade Martha Phillips was strangled and stabbed to death in the Yeltsinite cesspool of Moscow by person or persons unknown. Now the I.S. is out to “strangle the communists”—that is, the Trotskyists who have been the staunchest defenders of the Soviet Union and other bureaucratically deformed workers states against counterrevolution—in their bloodlust over the “death of communism.”

The slander, exclusionism and thuggery employed by these anti-Soviet “socialists” may seem, ironically enough, like the very methods of Stalin. But in its vicious anti-Communist “red-hunt,” the I.S. really aspires to play the same role as the German social-democratic bloodhounds who after World War I worked to drown the German workers revolution in blood, murdering Communist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and hundreds of other working-class fighters.

This thuggery by Professor David McNoske, Ahmed Scheide- mann and their acolytes should revolt any honest leftist who wants to resist the bourgeoisie’s anti-communist, anti-working class offensive. To keep out the Trotskyists’ political views, the I.S. substitutes the fist for the brain. And seeing this vehemently anti-Soviet outfit united with the cops against the reds should tell you more about them than a thousand issues of *Socialist Worker*. We will not be silenced! ■

# **“State Capitalism” and the International Socialists: Pimping for Counterrevolution**

*The following polemic against Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP), British parent group of the International Socialists, originally appeared in Workers Hammer No. 129 (May/June 1992), newspaper of the Spartacist League of Britain. It has been slightly abridged and adapted for publication in SC.*

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In 1950 Tony Cliff's organization (today's Socialist Workers Party) was expelled from the Fourth International for refusing to defend North Korea against U.S. and British imperialism. At the height of the Cold War the British Labour government swung in behind the U.S., sending troops to fight the Koreans and later the Chinese also. *Three million* Koreans were slaughtered in that war, conducted under United Nations auspices. When the Cold War turned hot in Korea, Tony Cliff's theory that the USSR is “state capitalist” provided the rationale for straightforward capitulation to the British Empire.

Virulent hatred of the Soviet Union has been the hallmark of the SWP ever since. As Cliff himself said: “And I say no, no, we have nothing to do with bloody Russia, because it is not a source of strength” (*Leveller*, September 1979). Their ostensible “third campism” notwithstanding, this “neither Washington nor Moscow” crowd has unfailingly found itself in the camp of Washington and London *whenever* there has been a hard counterposition between imperialism and the degenerated and deformed workers states. Indeed the SWP prides itself on being the most virulent anti-Soviets around. Its hard-line support for the Yeltsinite forces of capitalist counterrevolution—joining “the struggle on the August barricades” in the USSR—is but the most recent example. In Afghanistan against the Red Army it supported the drug-peddling CIA cutthroats who enslave women and skin teachers alive for teaching little girls how to read and write.

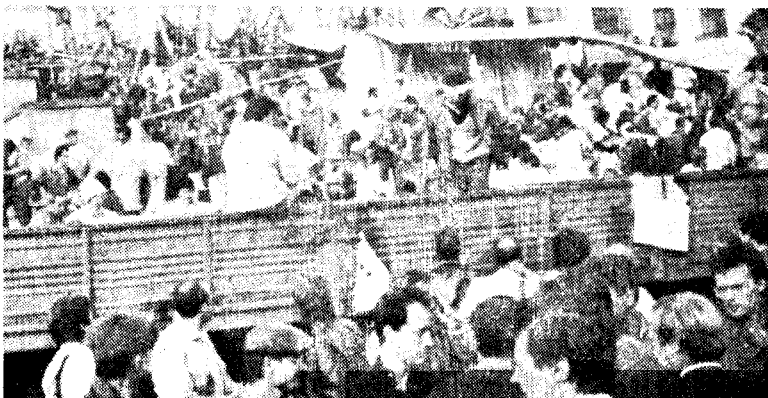
Poland was an acid test for the left. Today of course the reactionary policies of Solidarność are more than evident, and the fake left goes around claiming that Walesa and Co. “betrayed” its original ideals. But by the time of its founding conference in 1981, Solidarność had consolidated around a pro-capitalist program, echoing the CIA call for “free trade unions” and free parliamentary elections, demanding that Poland join the IMF. Lane Kirkland and Irving Brown (the CIA's main

“labor operative” in smashing Communist-led unions after World War II) were invited. Meanwhile Solidarność was getting millions through CIA conduits, including German social democracy, the “socialist” governments of France and Sweden, and the AFL-CIO “International Department.”

We called to “Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!” In contradistinction, the fake lefts cheered on the Vatican's, CIA's and Thatcher's favorite union. The SWP sought to deny the close ties between Solidarność and clerical reaction: “Both the Western press and Western Stalinists give the impression that the Catholic Church was the driving force behind the creation of Solidarity. The reality was very different” (*Socialist Review*, 23 January-19 February 1982). The SWP did “criticize” Solidarność—for ostensibly not being “militant” enough in carrying out counterrevolution! Thus, in an article written at the time Chris Harman identified as the “left” the “various radical leaders with their strong regional bases—Giazda in Gdansk, Rulewski in Bydgoszcz, Jurzyk in Szczecin” (*Socialist Review*, 15 November-13 December 1981). Marian Jurczyk, today the leader of Solidarność '80, got about a quarter of the votes as a right-wing opponent of Walesa within Solidarność in 1981. At the time Jurczyk declared that three-quarters of the Stalinist leadership were really Jews who had changed their names and that “a couple of gallows would come in handy” to deal with these “traitors to Polish society.”

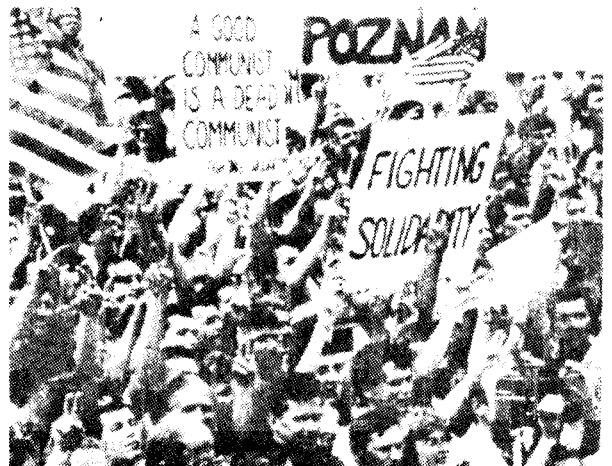
So what do the Cliffites now say? Over the last couple of years, SWP honchos Alex Callinicos, in his *The Revenge of History*, and Chris Harman have sought to bring state capitalism “up to date.” Harman writes “that the transition from state capitalism to multinational capitalism is neither a step forward nor a step backwards, but a step sideways. The change involves only a shift from one form of exploitation to another form...” (*International Socialism*, Spring 1990). A step sideways? When in March 1990 in the DDR there was an overwhelming vote for the Christian Democrats, the SWP proclaimed: “Nevertheless, Kohl's election victory should not dismay socialists” (*Socialist Worker*, 24 March 1990). Tell that to the embittered working people of what was East Germany, where up to 40 percent are facing unemployment, where fascist activity is on the rise, where

(continued on page 14)



Spartacist

**I.S. sides with counterrevolution, hailing Yeltsin's counter-coup (above) and Polish clericalist “Fighting Solidarity.”**



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report



# Montreal: For Labor/Minority Mobilizations to Stop the Fascists!

On July 29 a gang of Nazi thugs, with skinheads and KKKers leading dozens of rock-throwing children aged as young as eight, broke up a rally sponsored by the World Anti-Fascist League (LAM) in the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve district of east-end Montreal. Three days later, some 80 Klansmen and Nazis

## National Chauvinism Fuels Racist Terror

from Quebec, Ontario and New York state held a so-called "Aryan Fest" on a farm in La Plaine, 50 kilometers to the north. Flying Nazi and Confederate flags and burning a large cross, these scum were able to spew their poison with impunity despite protests from outraged local residents and others.

The fascists originally planned their hate-fest for the rural south shore community of Sorel. But angry protests by area residents, as well as the LAM and Canadian Jewish Congress, forced them to change their plans at the last moment. At La Plaine, police and civic authorities first withheld news that the fascists were gathering, then provided cop protection so the event could proceed. The following night, angry citizens denounced the police chief and acting mayor at a town meeting. A burly man shouted from the audience: "I don't want these [Nazis] here. I am not a violent man, but if I see one of them on my property, my 12-gauge is going to be taken out" (*Gazette*, 5 August). Another outraged resident, Cécile Savignac, asked the crowd: "If we let them recruit here, what's going to happen? Are we going to wait until they start attacking Jews, or Italians or blacks?"

The fascists have already started their deadly attacks on blacks, Jews, Native people and other minorities. Recruited

from the socially pathological and criminal dregs of society, and feeding off pervasive economic desperation and hopelessness, they have found a culture medium in today's rightist nationalist climate in Quebec. When the cops and army besieged the Mohawks at Oka two years ago, fascist demagogues openly incited white mobs of up to 5,000 who screamed for blood, burning Natives in effigy while shouting "Québec aux Québécois." Now the Klan has tapped nativist reaction in poor and strongly nationalist Hochelaga-Maisonneuve.

Last summer they helped instigate the mob of 400 which besieged desperate Somalian refugees, driving them from their home. In January, three KKKers were caught in the act preparing to firebomb the home of two black men. In April, neo-Nazis "celebrated" Hitler's birthday with a violent attack on Latin American immigrants, while skinheads assaulted an interracial couple in the Pie-IX metro station.

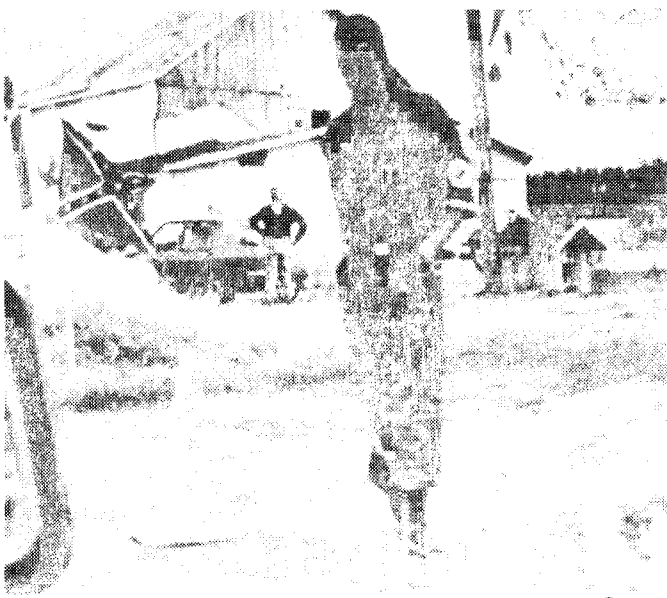
It's very good that a lot of decent, honest people want to stop these race-terrorists. What's necessary is to mobilize the social power of the Quebec labor movement, at the head of minorities and all the oppressed, to crush the fascists wherever they raise their heads. In the United States, our comrades of the Spartacist League together with the Partisan Defense Committee have organized mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the KKK fascists in their tracks, from Detroit to Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia. Powerful, integrated labor action in Montreal could make clear that the east end—still the site of the annual union May Day parades—is "out of bounds" for Nazi scum. But this requires political struggle against the nationalist union bureaucrats, who at best turn a blind eye to racist atrocities, preaching inaction while tying the workers to their "own" Québécois exploiters.

It also means breaking sharply with the dangerous, ultimately suicidal, strategy of the LAM which preaches collaborating with the police and other agencies of the capitalist state. Founded in 1989 after neo-Nazi skinheads attacked a Montreal concert given by the anti-Nazi band Bérurier Noir, the LAM is today bought and paid for by the provincial and federal governments to the tune of \$150,000 a year. No wonder LAM vice president Nicholas Pouliot praised the Sûreté du Québec provincial cops after the Nazi terror rally in La Plaine for doing "a wonderful job" (*Gazette*, 3 August). And this even after the Sûreté stopped and harassed Pouliot and others as they tried to reach La Plaine.

The fascists are held in reserve and protected as the last line of defense of a reactionary ruling class in crisis. But it is the "official" fist of the bourgeois state—above all the racist police—who are today the overwhelming source of violence against blacks and other minorities, the poor and working people. Just look at Montreal, where the cops have murdered three black and Latino men since last summer.

Last July unmarked cop cars surrounded a car in which Caribbean immigrant Marcelus François was traveling with three friends; four plainclothesmen approached and one shot Marcelus dead through the window at close range. The cops claimed this cold-blooded racist murder was a case of

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Reuters

La Plaine, Quebec: Nazi vermin are emboldened by climate of national chauvinism, capitalist decay.

# For Workers Unity Through Class Struggle!

## Quebec Labor Federation Quits CLC

"It's the break-up of the Canadian labor movement," Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ) president Fernand Daoust told *La Presse* (13 June). "We will put in place an autonomous structure in Quebec. We no longer have any place in the ranks of the Canadian Labour Congress." With these words the 450,000-strong FTQ, the only Quebec union central formally linked with English-Canadian labor, announced its split from the CLC at the latter's biennial convention in Vancouver.

After the FTQ's candidate for vice president, Guy Cousineau, lost a close vote to postal union leader Jean-Claude Parrot, Daoust claimed a deal guaranteeing the FTQ nominee the position had been broken. "The message is clear," he said bitterly, "They have said to us, 'The door is open. Why don't you take it?' We are going to take it." New CLC president Bob White responded "This is not the end of the world," and talked of the need to "restructure relations" with Quebec labor. But the split is now an accomplished fact. The nationalist union bureaucrats—both White's Maple Leaf crowd in English Canada and the *fleur de lys* labor tops in Quebec—are criminally splitting the labor movement along national lines, weakening it in the face of a common offensive by the capitalist bosses.

FTQ chief Daoust claimed Quebec labor has not received "respect" from English Canada. Indeed the CLC bureaucrats, like their counterparts in the NDP, have long pushed Anglo chauvinism, refusing for decades even to support the elementary democratic right to self-determination for Quebec. In the early 1970s, when opposition to national oppression fueled Quebec workers' militancy and helped make them the most combative in all North America, the CLC and NDP tops denounced their struggles with smug chauvinism. NDP leader David Lewis supported the jailing of the Common Front union leaders in the 1972 Quebec General Strike, while the CLC brass railed against "those elements...which advocate the destruction of Confederation."

But twenty years later even militant rhetoric is long gone for Quebec's union tops, who push narrow nationalism shot through with chauvinism against immigrant and other non-francophone minorities. The FTQ leaders are not opposing White & Co. from the left—far from it. Their split over an obviously contrived incident (Parrot like Cousineau is a French-speaking Québécois!) is designed to further cement their alliance with the francophone bourgeoisie of Québec Inc. While tens of thousands of jobs are eliminated and poverty

is rampant, the union misleaders tell workers to support the anti-labor bourgeois nationalists of the Parti and Bloc Québécois, peddling the chimera of "sovereignty" as the cure for all ills. Meanwhile the FTQ's horribly misnamed "Solidarity Fund" squanders tens of million of dollars in union funds investing in Quebec-based companies—who then typically turn



Tessier/Ponopresse

**PSAC strike showed power of bi-national class struggle.**

around and launch union-busting attacks on the workers.

Even amid the rise of competing national chauvinisms, the working class has demonstrated a will to common struggle across Canada. This has been underlined in numerous national postal and rail strikes and was shown most recently in last fall's government workers strike, when thousands-strong mass pickets united English-Canadian and Québécois workers against Mulroney and his weasel Gilles Loiselle. But such common struggle is constantly sabotaged by the stab-in-the-back labor bureaucrats. Bowing before the bosses' anti-labor edicts, they sap militancy and lead strike after strike down to bitter defeat. Then they turn around, Maple Leaf or *fleur de lys* in hand, and tell the workers to support their "own" capitalist bosses in the "national interest." For their part, Bob White and his CLC cohorts further undermine workers unity with their Canadian-nationalist breakaways from the American-based Internationals.

Quebec workers' road to national and social emancipation lies through joint struggle alongside the rest of North American labor. The FTQ's split from the CLC is a blow against this and a gift to the capitalists. The sellout misleaders of labor, both English-Canadian and Québécois, must be ousted, and a new leadership forged pledged to internationalist class struggle. A revolutionary workers party in this country would fight tooth and nail against English-Canadian chauvinism, defending Quebec's right to independence, while simultaneously combating the hold of bourgeois nationalism on Québécois workers. Joint class struggle—from the Maritimes to Quebec to B.C. and south throughout the U.S. and Mexico—that is the only way forward. ■

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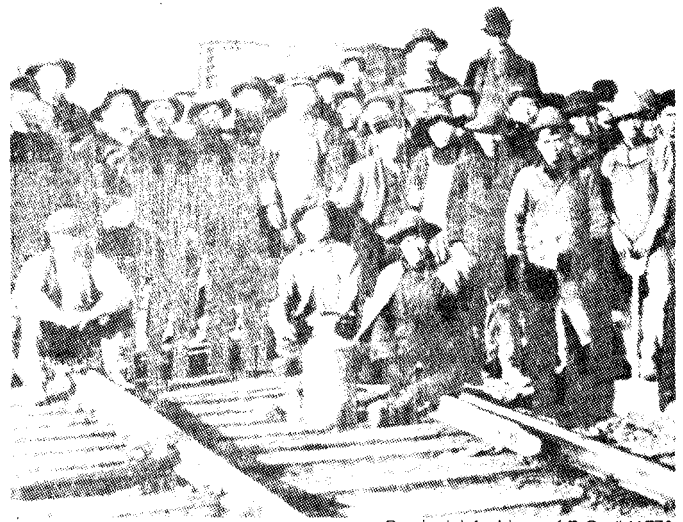
## Head Tax...

(continued from page 3)

The Canadian bourgeoisie only dropped the head tax because the infamous Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 stopped Chinese immigration altogether. Between 1923 and 1947 only 44 Chinese immigrated to Canada, mostly merchants and consular staff. The act forced all Chinese people to "register" regardless of birthplace or citizenship. In parliament J.S. Woodsworth, later founder of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (forerunner of the NDP), refused to oppose the law on the grounds that Chinese workers were stealing Canadian jobs! The legislation was passed on July 1, 1923, which for many years thereafter Chinese Canadians called "Humiliation Day."

For decade after decade Chinese people were treated as non-persons. In old B.C. city directories they were listed as "Oriental" instead of by their names. Along the Fraser Canyon and in the Vancouver Island mining towns hundreds of Chinese workers were buried in unmarked graves. Segregated, violently abused, mocked and stereotyped, the Chinese were denied the right to vote until 1947, and barred from various professions and educational institutions.

Today the fight for redress takes place in an increasingly racist, anti-Asian climate. Once again the social democrats and union tops lead the charge, blaming Japanese, Chinese, Thai workers for "stealing Canadian jobs." Vancouver cops and the NDP provincial government rail against "Asian gangs," leading to sharply increased police harassment of Chinese Canadian citizens. Anti-Asian graffiti is rife. The cops who savagely beat Chinese immigrant Feng Zhang Hua and were videotaped in action earlier this year were not charged with a single crime!



Provincial Archives of B.C. #41770

**Chinese rail gangs slaved to build the CPR, thousands died. Later, Ottawa imposed humiliating head tax.**

But British Columbia is no longer an overwhelmingly lily white "outpost of empire." For fully half the school-age children in Vancouver English is a second language. Chinese, South Asian, Filipino workers fill the ranks of major unions, from the sawmills to the post office to the hospitals. It is vital that the labor movement brings its power to bear in the struggle for redress of the head tax, part of the necessary broader struggle against racist Canadian capitalism. ■

## Newfoundland...

(continued from page 2)

is reduced to the verge of extinction in a few seasons.

Here's the bottom line on capitalism's profit-mad North Atlantic melee: a resource plundered, an industry destroyed, boats and factories worth millions turning to rust, tens of thousands of jobs wiped out. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were right. Capitalism long ago led society into a dead end, its bankruptcy exposed for all to see. The only way out is for the working class to take power and establish what Engels in his *Principles of Communism* described as "a completely new organization of society" directed "by the whole of society according to a fixed plan and according to the needs of all."

### "For Cod and Country"

Capitalist politicians like Crosbie, fishing industry magnates, fish union bureaucrats—all are quick to blame anything *but* capitalism for the disaster. Many fishermen accuse the skyrocketing seal population of eating cod and the cod's main food, the capelin. Undoubtedly the seals eat a lot of fish. There are now 3.5 million of them, and the smug petty-bourgeois environmentalists who in 1987 succeeded in stopping the offshore seal hunt can take the "credit" for this. The ban on seal hunting also cut off a key source of cash for Northerners, particularly the Inuit. The eco-freaks didn't give a damn, and now their furry friends have come home to roost, as it were.

But mostly the blame for the destruction of the northern cod stock has been laid on "foreign" overfishing. Portuguese and

Spanish trawlers in particular have been the target of a strident and increasingly bellicose chauvinist campaign. Back in February, when Crosbie first announced a big cut in the catch quota, Newfoundland premier Clyde Wells demanded the Canadian Navy drive Spanish, Portuguese and other boats off the Grand Banks. When Ottawa refused, Richard Cashin of the Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers formed his own fleet with the support of Crosbie, Wells, National Sea Products and Bob White (then Auto Workers president and now CLC chief).

When Cashin's seven trawlers powered out of St. John's to deliver a "warning" to the "foreigners" on March 29, the event had all the trappings of the launch of a Navy battle group: the blessing of clergy, the oompah of a brass band and the dockside cheers of over 4,000. Strip away the comic-opera aspects, and this is precisely what imperialist wars are all about: the struggle between competing national bourgeoisies to redivide limited raw materials and markets.

Nationalism and protectionism are based on the lie that working people have the same interest as "their" bosses and "their" state. The capitalists consciously seek to set workers from one country at the throats of workers from other countries, all the better to maintain their rule, and their profits, with an iron grip. As long as the capitalist class remains entrenched in power there will be no end to poverty, ecological pillage and wars—short of the end of humanity itself.

The situation cries out for a rationally planned economy on an international scale. The capitalists have raped and squandered everything they've gotten their hands on. It will take nothing short of a socialist revolution to preserve the earth's resources and place them at the disposal of all of mankind. ■



# Racism, Anti-Abortion Bigotry

## Torture of Native Women in NWT

In late March Iqaluit CBC reporter Danielle Kappelle exposed the medical torture of Native women at Stanton Yellowknife Hospital in the Northwest Territories. Since 1985, she revealed, in all abortions performed at Stanton, the only hospital in the Territories offering the service, patients were given no anesthetic. Within a few days some 83 women, most of them Native, came forward to testify about the agony and racist abuse they suffered at the hands of doctors whose sadistic medical practices could have been inspired by Nazi Josef Mengele.

Candy Brown, director of the Native Friendship Centre in Fort Simpson, told of her experience three years ago:

"I was on the operating table when the doctor leaned over and said, 'The anaesthetist doesn't believe in abortions, so we'll give you the anaesthetic for the tubal ligation after we've done the abortion.' I was so angry. The pain was so sharp, worse than childbirth. Tears were rolling down my cheeks. They were saying, 'C'mon, it's only a few minutes. Hold still. It doesn't hurt so much.' Did I complain afterward? No. I just wanted to get out of there and get home."

A few complained and were ignored. Most, young and Native, with little education, from remote little villages, were afraid to speak up. As Lynn Brooks, executive director of the NWT Status of Women Council said:

"They thought the pain was supposed to be part of it. How were they to know? The dentist, the doctor, the nurse, the RCMP. They're God in some of these northern communities. It's still a real colonial mentality."

—*Globe and Mail*, 3 April

One woman, a rape victim, described how she had to be held down by hospital staff. Another bent the metal stirrups out of shape as she thrashed about in pain. Patients begged for anesthetic but were refused. Yet hospital officials blandly asserted that the doctors were "completely unaware that the patients had suffered pain." When questioned by the *Toronto Star's*

Michele Landsberg, Dr. Henry Morgentaler said it would be impossible for a doctor to be "unaware" of such pain. Even after the story became a national scandal the NWT health minister gave the practice his blessing, saying "no one is forced to have an abortion." Hospital officials claimed the policy was "standard medical practice."

These doctors deliberately tortured their patients. Did they groove on seeing brown-skinned women writhe in agony? Yet the NWT government's inquiry, the Abortion Services Review Commission, not only exonerated the doctors, but positively defended them! Incredibly, chairman Carol Clemenhausen wrote that "there was no evidence of professional malpractice, and no basis for recommending disciplinary action." She slammed the lone dissenter on the commission, Iqaluit lawyer Anne Crawford, for exposing the fact that hospital staff had ignored patients' complaints since 1991.

### Native Women Face Grinding Oppression

This state-sanctioned barbarism illuminates the cruelty of life under decaying capitalism for so many women, especially Native women, and exposes yet again the ugly reality of "Canada the good." The great 19th century Utopian socialist Charles Fourier was right when he declared that in any given society the degree of women's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation.

On the reserves and in the cities, life for Native women is even more desperate than for the Native population as a whole. And by every social yardstick, women living in the Far North fare the worst. There, the death rate from violent causes is ten times that for the rest of the country. The life expectancy of a baby girl is 20 years less than if she were born in the urban south. And abortion rights alone cannot even begin to address

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# One Year After Yeltsin Countercoup

## Soviet Workers Bleed

It is now twelve months since the forces of counterrevolution led by Boris Yeltsin and orchestrated by Washington gained the ascendancy in the Soviet Union. Taking advantage of the botched August coup attempt by the Kremlin "gang of eight," they launched a forced draft march toward capitalist restoration. Following the "shock treatment" inaugurated in January, the economy is dramatically collapsing. Hunger and homelessness are becoming commonplace. Inventories of meat and sausage pile up as people scavenge through garbage for scraps of food. The birth rate has reached its lowest point since the end of World War II, a measure of the desperation gripping Soviet society. The overwhelming mass of the working people are being driven into the lower depths.

The juridical dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics last December exacerbated nationalist antagonisms and paved the way to recreating the kind of squalid fratricide which has destroyed Yugoslavia. Civil war rages in the Caucasus between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, in Moldova between ethnic Romanians and the Russian-speaking minority. In Central Asia Islamic fundamentalists are surging forward. In the Ukraine, streets are being renamed in honor of notorious pogromists like the White Guardist Petliura and Nazi collaborator Stepan Bandera. Meanwhile, stridently chauvinist elements within and outside the Yeltsin regime seek to capitalize on the turmoil at the fringes of the Russian republic in order to cohere a counterrevolutionary Russian nationalist armed force out of the still multinational Soviet army.

The situation facing the Soviet working people grows ever more calamitous. Food prices have skyrocketed: bread now costs 20 times more and other products as much as 100 times more than they did a year ago. Pensioners and others on fixed incomes are on the brink of starvation. The only thing being produced in any quantity is increasingly worthless rubles, with the printing presses literally incapable of keeping pace. Yeltsin now regularly has a plane stuffed full of rubles trailing him wherever he travels inside the Russian republic, to dispense to workers who have not been paid for weeks or even months.

But despite the horrendous situation the workers have been plunged into, aside from the enormously popular health workers walkout last spring, various strike threats, particularly by the strategic oil workers and usually over non-payment of wages, have remained empty. Notably, the CIA-connected "independent" miners union, which was so quick to strike for Yeltsin in 1990-91, has kept the coal miners from mobilizing their power against the ravages of Yeltsin's "shock treatment."



Carol Guzy/The Washington Post

**"Free market" austerity means economic devastation for Soviet working people. Impoverished Muscovites sell meagre possessions in order to eat.**

Until now mass unemployment has not hit. But already factories throughout the country are forcing workers to take long unpaid summer "holidays": in the defense industry center of Ryazan, all 24 of the major factories have either shut their gates or gone on three-day weeks since July 1. Overall, production dropped 15 percent just in the first quarter of the year. In the critical military goods sector, sales are expected to plummet by up to 85 percent this year, leading to as many as 2.5 million layoffs. If subsidies to bankrupt state industries are cut off, as many as 15 million more could be unemployed by year's end, raising the possibility of a massive social explosion.

Yeltsin banked on imperialist dollars and Deutschmarks to finance his counterrevolutionary drive. In June he went to Washington to sign away the core of the Soviet army's nuclear defense—the multiple-warhead SS-18 and SS-24 missiles—but got nothing in return. The International Monetary Fund bankers' cartel continues to demand more blood. Grandiose promises of a vague \$24 billion aid package evaporate as the IMF withholds even the first billion unless Russia slashes its budget deficit by two-thirds, privatizes state-owned industry and cuts off subsidies to bankrupt enterprises—all by Christmas. Even Yeltsin is forced to resist the IMF ultimatum to jack up domestic oil prices to world market rates, which would completely wreck industry dependent on cheap energy.

It is clear to all that this chaotic situation cannot long continue as it is. The wheels of industry can no longer continue to turn on the basis of IOUs—more than two trillion rubles, almost \$20 billion, since January. The government's privatization scheme



Yeltsin's militia (police) move to break up June 22 demonstration in Moscow.

Spartacist

(based on doling out coupons to the workers which can be converted into cash) would produce hyperinflation on the scale of Weimar Germany in 1923. Calls are growing on all sides for a "strong government" to "save Russia." Sergei Baburin, a leading spokesman for the "patriots" of the "Russian Unity" bloc in the parliament, claims: "By the end of this year we shall almost certainly have an iron-fisted dictatorship in this country. The only question is, what kind?"

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) warns: *In the absence of mass organized working-class resistance and with the Soviet army in increasing disarray, the danger is sharply posed that the forces of capitalist restoration will be able to consolidate a bourgeois state, however fragile, unleashing a bloodbath against workers and national minorities.*

Politically atomized and paralyzed by decades of Stalinist bureaucratism and betrayal, the Soviet workers are today being offered nothing but the most retrograde nationalism by Stalin's heirs. The situation has grown rotten and overripe. It is urgently necessary to cohere an internationalist cadre in an all-Union Leninist-Trotskyist nucleus firmly committed to the program of the October Revolution, before every vestige of the revolution is swept away.

### Counterrevolution Seeks a "Strong State"

As the milieu of yuppie intellectuals and speculators around Yeltsin has dissipated, representatives of the managers of state-owned industry have moved into the corridors of government. In July a "Civic Union" bloc was formed by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoi, a former military officer, who recently surpassed Yeltsin in the polls; Arkady Volsky, a former aide to CP leaders Andropov and Gorbachev, now head of the powerful "Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs" which controls two-thirds of industry; and Nikolai Travkin, head of the virulently anti-Communist Democratic Party. In May three industrial figures associated with Volsky were appointed to Yeltsin's cabinet, apparently undercutting the sway of his "free market" economic czar Yegor Gaidar.

Some Western commentators worried that Yeltsin's recent appointments would slow down the capitalist "reforms," noting that the "military-industrial complex" was the base of support for last year's failed coup plotters. But no less an imperialist

spokesman than the *New York Times* (2 August) gives the new cabinet ministers "solid credentials as advocates of a free market system." This only underlines our comment at the time of the August fiasco that it was a "perestroika coup" of elements of the bureaucracy that also aimed at restoration of capitalism, but at a slower pace and *under their control*. Where the yuppie speculators would like to destroy the country's industrial capacity to satisfy imperialist *diktat*, the factory managers chafe that the IMF will destroy the enterprises they someday hope to own outright.

In turn, shifts in the army have brought another trio to the fore: Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who ordered troops to defend Yeltsin last year; Deputy Defense Minister Boris Gromov, former commander of Soviet forces in Afghanistan; and Major General Aleksandr Lebed, head of the army unit outside Yeltsin's "White House" last August, and now head of the Russian (formerly Soviet) 14th Army in Moldova. Grachev, Lebed and Rutskoi all served under Gromov in Afghanistan. While the so-called "patriotic opposition," spearheaded by hardline Stalinist has-beens who now find themselves shunted aside, rails against Yeltsin's sellouts to the West, all of these groupings and layers converge around Russian nationalism and forces who are determined to restore capitalism with an iron hand. And their overriding need is to forge a state apparatus capable of suppressing the workers.

From the moment he gained the ascendancy Yeltsin has been working feverishly to consolidate a bourgeois state. He now appears to have a repressive force loyal to the counterrevolutionary regime, in the elite Russian OMON units. OMON squads were unleashed against a Soviet Army Day march in February, again in June to disperse demonstrators outside Moscow's Ostankino television center, and to tear down the one Soviet flag which was still flying over a public building in Leningrad. At the same time, the trial currently under way in Moscow of the banned Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) as a "criminal" organization aims at sending a warning to potentially recalcitrant elements in the apparatus as well as to all who would resist the restorationist drive.

Yeltsin has begun building up an exclusively Russian army, and the Soviet Navy has begun flying the old tsarist naval

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## Soviet Workers...

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emblem, the St. Andrew's cross. As fighting escalates between the ethnic Romanian Moldovan-nationalist regime of Mercea Snegur and Russian-speaking nationalists in the Transdnester region, there are increasing calls for a full-scale Russian military intervention. General Lebed of the 14th Army denounced the Snegur regime as "fascist," and at least one battalion is fighting alongside the Russian-speaking irregulars and Cossack "volunteers" in tsarist regalia.

Stalinist groups like the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRП), chief organizers of anti-Yeltsin protests, increasingly dispense with even lip service to the cause of socialism as they sign on as drum majors in the sinister chauvinist crusade. The "patriots" seek to cohere a "strong state" by playing the card of Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism.

While Pamyat and other fascists now parade with impunity through the streets of Leningrad, a June 12 conference in Moscow of the Russian National Synod, the *Sobor*, marked an important stage in the strengthening of more powerful fascist-corporatist forces.

Writing in the late 1920s, at a time when Stalin's conciliation of the petty capitalist Nepmen and rich peasant kulaks was increasing the danger of capitalist restoration, Leon Trotsky commented:

"Is it actually likely that in the event of the defeat of the [proletarian] dictatorship, bourgeois democracy will replace it? No, that is the least likely of all possible variants. Revolutionary dictatorship has never in history been replaced by democracy."

In order to consolidate its hold, the nascent bourgeoisie would have to go beyond a transitional regime to consolidate "a more serious, solid, and decisive kind—in all probability, a Bonapartist or, in modern terms, a fascist regime."

The legacy of decades of Stalinism, which usurped political power and atomized the proletariat, has opened the door to the present counterrevolutionary situation. Today it is clearer than ever that the *only* way to reverse the counterrevolutionary tide lies in the mobilization of the *multinational* Soviet proletariat. After last August's coup and countercoup, we raised the call: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" We noted that "while Yeltsin & Co. now see a clear field to push through a forced-draft reintroduction of capitalism, the outcome is not yet definitively decided." We added: "Opposition from the factories against the ravages of capitalist assault could throw a giant wrench in the works and prevent the rapid consolidation of counterrevolution" (SC No. 85, Fall 1991).

There is overwhelming sentiment against the reintroduction of capitalist exploitation, reflected in the up to 90,000 who turned out to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution last November and again in March by an anti-Yeltsin protest of more than 200,000. But the Soviet working people can and must launch themselves on the road of independent political struggle before they find themselves locked out of their jobs and deprived of any possibility for struggle.



Der Spiegel

**Siberian oil workers threatened to strike after weeks without pay. Multinational Soviet workers must enter battle against capitalist restoration.**

As we warned in a 25 February leaflet, of which some 100,000 copies have been distributed:

"Workers: the moment is growing late. Do not wait until your children grow pale from hunger. The would-be bosses are taking the streets of Moscow away from you. Form authentic soviets now! Drive out the restorationist forces through workers political revolution! Defeat all attempts at nationalist fratricide—down with the poison of anti-Semitism! What is needed urgently is to bring together the cadre of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, dedicated to restoring the proletarian foundations upon which the multinational Soviet workers state was built."

—SC No. 87, Spring 1992

### Stalinists Aid Counterrevolutionary Drive

The various degeneration products of the collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracy have locked themselves into the counterrevolutionary drive, either through open support to a "market economy" or through promoting Russian nationalism, which is the cement of the restorationist forces. Despite their occasional claims to oppose capitalist restoration, the RKRП, whose most prominent spokesman is Viktor Anpilov, and a handful of smaller "hardline" groups like Stalin apologist Nina Andreyeva's All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (VKPB), have formed a grotesque "red-brown coalition" with outright Great Russian chauvinists like Alexander Nevzorov, the fascist Zhirinovsky and the *Sobor*. At protests organized by the "Toiling Russia" coalition, workers who turn out to oppose capitalist restoration find themselves inundated with chauvinist rhetoric from the podium. This serves not to mobilize but to *demobilize* workers in search of struggle.

The sinister gathering of the Slavophile *Sobor* on June 12 included monarchists, black-shirted fascists and Cossacks in full regalia—as well as the RKRП. Reportedly financed by the head of the Nizhni Novgorod stock exchange and headed by "former" KGB general Alexander Sterligov, who sided with Yeltsin last August and has worked under Rutszkoi, the *Sobor* railed that the Yeltsin regime is an "administration of national treason" which is "Russophobic and Jew-loving," and declared that "a shadow government has been formed and is ready to

take power immediately." The conference featured anti-Semitic notables like writer Valentin Rasputin, who raved that "Communism was an evil that won over the country." The presidium elected by the conference included Rasputin, as well as the monarchist Nevzorov and anti-Semitic "red" general Albert Makashov, a member of the RKRП Central Committee.

The rump Stalinists have increasingly taken on the political coloration of the openly pro-capitalist nationalists they tail. A recent issue of the Toiling Russia newspaper *Shto Delat* ("What Is To Be Done") carried a rehash of the anti-Semitic tsarist secret police forgery, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," illustrated with a photograph of Yeltsin standing in front of a Star of David. Nevzorov, Zhirinovskiy and Makashov were all prominent at the June 12 demonstration called by Toiling Russia outside the Ostankino television center to demand a chauvinist "Russian Hour," while signs proclaimed, "Russian TV Means TV Without Jews."

In the political spectrum of the Soviet left, proceeding from red-brown to pale pink, other remnants of the former CPSU tend toward social democracy. Alexei Prigarin's Union of Communists and Anatoly Kryuchkov's Russian Party of Communists—which both issued out of the Marxist Platform wing of the former CPSU—and Roy Medvedev's Gorbachevite Socialist Party of Labor (SPT) all support the introduction of a market economy with one qualifier or another. Manifesting some degree of identification with the old Union, these groups organized a small protest, which the RKRП and Toiling Russia conspicuously boycotted, at the opening of the trial of the CPSU on July 6.

But counterrevolution will not proceed on the terrain of social-democratic gradualism, and these groups also find themselves sucked in by the undertow of the increasingly emboldened Russian-chauvinist movement. All three of them joined the RKRП and such reactionary outfits as the "Union of Cossacks" and the "Fund for the Restoration of the Shrine of Christ the Savior" in signing a popular-frontist "Declaration on the Founding of the United Opposition" in March which called for "salvation of the Fatherland...through joint action on the basis of civil peace." The SPT even praised the *Sobor*.

### For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Writing of the Stalinists' bloc with nationalist reactionaries last January, we warned: "This is not only a sinister but

a dangerous game, for the fascists whom it fuels and legitimizes will treat their erstwhile ostensibly Communist 'patriotic' allies no less ruthlessly than they will treat the Soviet workers, Jews and other nationalities, should they be given half a chance" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 543, 24 January). Now, having done the donkey work for more powerful forces, the Stalinists find themselves increasingly dispensable. At the *Sobor*, Sterligov denounced communism as "hostile to the old national traditions of Russia...so it is quite impossible to collaborate with people who are carriers of this ideology."

Last August, various self-styled Trotskyist groupings cheered on the yuppies, priests and fascists manning Yeltsin's barricades. More recently outfits like Sergei Beits' Rabochaya Demokratiya (Workers Democracy—affiliated to the Labourite Militant group in Britain) have taken to tailing the RKRП et al. without a hint of criticism of the fascism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism which is rampant in the "patriot" milieu.

There are Soviet militants who want to fight for the communism of Lenin and Trotsky. Millions know what capitalism has in store for them, and want to resist the destruction of their livelihoods and the devastation of their society. The forces of counterrevolution have yet to consolidate a stable capitalist regime.

The October Revolution of 1917 shattered the tsarist prison house of peoples and emancipated the workers and peasants from capitalist exploitation. It served as a beacon for workers and oppressed the world over. But as Trotsky warned shortly after the political counterrevolution led by Stalin in 1923-24, Stalinism is "the gravedigger of the Revolution." After nearly 70 years of bureaucratic betrayal, the fate of the first workers state in history hangs in the balance.

If the multinational Soviet proletariat is not to be drowned in a fratricidal bloodbath and ground under the iron heel of imperialist exploitation, it must carry out a revolutionary struggle to oust the capitalist-restorationist regimes and take political power in Russia and the other former Soviet republics. Those who conciliate Great Russian chauvinism and other nationalisms are roadblocks to the struggle against counterrevolution. The International Communist League is fighting to cohere a nucleus of internationalist fighters committed to the program of Lenin and Trotsky's Red October. That is the only road forward.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 557, 7 August

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## “State Capitalism” ...

(continued from page 5)

women are being driven out of the workforce. Meanwhile, the capitalist reunification of Germany gives a major boost to the German Fourth Reich, posing the threat of imperialist war. Or how about Poland, where the counterrevolutionary Solidarność government, having drafted in the likes of Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs (molded in the infamous Milton Friedman school of capitalist “shock treatment”) to implement IMF guidelines, has overseen more than a 30 percent decline in standards of living, sacking a million Polish workers in a year. Meanwhile the powerful Church hierarchy has set its sights on abolishing abortion rights. Indeed, the regimes emerging in Eastern Europe bear a strong resemblance to the oppressive, anti-Semitic regimes that existed there in the interwar period. That’s called counterrevolution, and underscores the principled insistence of Trotskyists to defend the deformed and degenerated workers states and collectivized property forms against internal capitalist restorationism as well as against imperialist attack.

In cheering for Yeltsin last summer, the Cliffites predictably took their cues from Bush, Major, the imperialists and Labour traitor Neil Kinnock. But the Soviet working masses are hardly rejoicing over the ascendancy of Yeltsin’s openly capitalist restorationist forces. The outcome is not yet decided: it is desperately necessary to construct a genuine Leninist/Trotskyist party to lead the fight to smash the counterrevolutionaries through proletarian political revolution. The alternative, the destruction of the first workers state by the bourgeoisie, would be an historic defeat not only for the Soviet masses but for the world proletariat, paving the way for new trade wars and a new world war as the big imperialist powers intensify their competition for hegemony.

### USSR in the 1920s: Cliff vs. Trotsky

Tony Cliff’s *State Capitalism in Russia*, completed in 1948, was hardly the first attempt to devise a “new class” theory for the Soviet Union. Less than ten years earlier Trotsky and the leadership of the American SWP had waged a hard faction fight against Max Shachtman and James Burnham, who flinched from defending the USSR when this became unpopular with the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Shachtman termed the Soviet Union “bureaucratic collectivist.” Despite the ostensible “theoretical differences,” the Cliffites loosely collaborated with the remnants of Shachtman’s organization (the old American I.S.). What all of the state caps and bureaucratic collectivists have in common is the gut impulse to “hate Russia.” The particular “theories” always have an artificial, jerry-built quality, because they are not based on concrete reality but rather are slapped together in order to provide a rationale for refusing to defend the workers states against imperialism and counterrevolution. Appropriately enough, the first “state capitalist” was Karl Kautsky, whose 1918 polemic *Terrorism and Communism* characterized the Soviet state to that effect.

Of course, it required quite some doing for Cliff to “prove” that the USSR is “capitalist,” given the absence of key features that characterize this mode of production—capitalist competition, the profit motive, the reserve army of the unemployed, periodic crises of overproduction, etc. But Cliff’s revision of elementary Marxism is downright shameless. As we pointed out in our pamphlet *Why the U.S.S.R. is Not Capitalist* some years

ago, he “proves” that competition exists in the Soviet Union by redefining it to mean military competition with the capitalist states. Denying the elementary principle that under capitalism owners of factories seek to maximize *profit*, Cliff asserts instead that they seek to maximize economic growth, or accumulation, so-called “production for production’s sake.” (This is among the most idiotic of Cliffite assertions; if capitalist production were really capable of expanding indefinitely, there would be no reason for a planned economy.)

Hence, workers in the USSR are supposedly “exploited” because too many weapons and machines are produced relative to consumer goods. This piece of charlatanry is a rationalization for the social-democratic politics of the SWP, with its rabid denunciations of “Soviet imperialism.” Moreover, it is deeply insulting to the working class, which is in effect depicted as being incapable of transcending trade-unionist or economist consciousness. No workers state in the world could survive if it did not take appropriate measures to defend itself against the



Socialist Challenge

Verlag Kurt Desch

### Anti-Soviet renegades: Tony Cliff (left), Karl Kautsky.

imperialists and increase the rate of industrialization. This would necessarily cut into the resources available for immediate consumption. Certainly this was all the more the case for the young Soviet workers state, which emerged from tsarism with a largely peasant economy encircled by hostile imperialist powers. In fact, the working masses of Lenin and Trotsky’s Russia were passionately internationalist and made countless material sacrifices to advance world revolution.

Visiting a Soviet factory towards the end of the Civil War, the American communist and journalist John Reed recalls being saluted by one youth: “For three years the Russian workers have been bleeding and dying for the Revolution, and not our own Revolution, but the World Revolution. Tell our American comrades that we listen day and night for the sound of their footsteps coming to our aid. But tell them, too, that no matter how long it may take them, we shall hold firm” (“Soviet Russia Now,” July 1920). Nor was this at all uncommon. The Red Army was viewed not only as a means of defending the Soviet Union but as an auxiliary instrument of revolutionary war, where appropriate. Thus the war fought against Pilsudski’s Poland was motivated by the desire to achieve a common border with the German proletariat.

The failure of the German revolution in October 1923 and a decimated, war-weary working class provided fertile soil for the conservative apparatchiks. They sneered at the possibility of revolution abroad, gradually converting the Communist

International into an agency for the conciliation of alien class forces, like the British Trades Union Congress and Chiang Kai-shek in China. Instead they preached to the working masses to "build socialism in one country"—Russia—"at a snail's pace." The kulaks, or wealthy peasants, were urged to "enrich yourselves," the power of the petty traders or NEPmen grew, class differentiation increased in the villages. Nikolai Bukharin became the main ideologue for this policy. It is no accident that the Gorbachevite intelligentsia, who in the main became fervent proponents of capitalism and admirers of Western "democracy," began by idolizing Bukharin.

Trotsky, on the contrary, called for the voluntary collectivization of agriculture and the planned industrialization of the economy. In particular, he pointed to the need to strengthen the social weight of the proletariat. For this he was denounced as a "superindustrializer" by Stalin, Bukharin and Co., who falsely claimed that the Left Opposition's program of proletarian internationalism and qualitative extension of economic planning was counterposed to raising the living standards of the Soviet working masses. In short, the Stalinist epigones demagogically utilized the kind of vulgar workerism espoused by Cliff in order to undermine the genuine Bolsheviks. The warnings of the Left Opposition were ignored, the kulaks began large grain strikes, the country was brought to the edge of a social explosion. Finally, the center led by Stalin broke its bloc with the Bukharinite right, and made an about-face. Borrowing elements of the program of the Left Opposition, Stalin moved against the kulaks and began to launch collectivization and the five-year industrial plans.

Now certainly the Trotskyists did not endorse the brutal methods of Stalin. But they never considered making a programmatic bloc with the Bukharinites, let alone with outright bourgeois opponents of the regime. In fact their position was stronger than that. Fearing that the breakdown of the country might actually lead to civil war, Trotsky was prepared to make a military bloc with the Stalinist wing of the bureaucracy against the open capitalist restorationists. In a declaration to the Sixth Comintern Congress, Trotsky asserted: "...the Thermidorean, kulak, bourgeois, bureaucratic tail may try, at the peak of some future hill, at a time of even greater difficulties, to strike a really serious blow at the head; that is, try to move from the present semilegal forms of capitalist sabotage to direct civil war.... Oppositionists will fight for the party, for the dictatorship, for the October Revolution.... If the bureaucratic stupidity of the party apparatus should prevent the Oppositionists from occupying their places in the ranks of the regular army at the moment of extreme peril, they would fight the class enemy as guerrillas..." (*Challenge of the Left Opposition* [1928-29]).

Writing about this period, Chris Harman asserts that there was a "civil war" in which the victory of the Stalin faction spelled the destruction of the Soviet workers state. In fact, it never came to civil war but had there been one, the Trotskyists would have been on the opposite side of the barricades from the likes of Cliff and Harman! The bottom line of the Cliffites here is consistent with their virulent Stalinophobia: they repudiate the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to defend the "democratic rights" of the exploiters, in this case the nascent bourgeoisie, kulaks and NEPmen.

The assertion that capitalism was restored with the institution of collectivization and the five-year plans is particularly dim. Subsequently the Soviet economy grew rapidly, while the rest of the world was sunk in the Great Depression. The palpable superiority of the planned economy, even one distorted by



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### Trotsky with Red Army soldiers during Civil War.

Stalinist mismanagement, was a powerful weapon that attracted many workers to communist ideas. In his 1935 work *The Workers State, Thermidor and Bonapartism* Trotsky pointed out:

"In 1928, an open split took place in the bureaucracy. The Right was for further concessions to the kulak. The Centrists, arming themselves with the ideas of the Left Opposition whom they had smashed conjointly with the Rights, found their support among the workers, routed the Rights, and took to the road of industrialization and, subsequently, collectivization. The basic social conquests of the October revolution were saved in the end at the cost of countless unnecessary sacrifices.

"The prognosis of the Bolshevik-Leninists (more correctly, the 'optimum variant' of their prognosis) was confirmed completely. Today there can be no controversy on this point. Development of the productive forces proceeded not by way of restoration of private property but on the basis of socialization, by way of planned management. The world-historical significance of this fact can remain hidden only to the politically blind."

### Cliff's Predictions Go Awry

There are quite a number of stories about East Europeans and Soviets who, having obtained copies of Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*, cannot believe that it was written half a century ago, so vividly does it capture the social reality of the deformed workers states. Quite the contrary is true for Cliff's *State Capitalism in Russia*, with its sterile and one-dimensional stereotyping of an Orwellian society of slaves and slavemasters in which "the standard of living of the masses not only lagged far behind, but even declined absolutely compared with 1928" (p. 51). During the first five-year plan wages did fall drastically. Then they rose, dropped during World War II and were restored to the 1928 level by the time of Stalin's death in 1953. From 1955 to 1968 real wages increased by 56 percent. Under Brezhnev, in fact, in the late '70s industrial investment was cut back while consumption levels were maintained. By Cliff's lights, the arch-Stalinist Brezhnev should be seen as a "liberator."

And what about the critical events occurring in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union today? Since he characterized these societies as state capitalist, of course Cliff denies that there could be such a thing as capitalist restoration. In fact, he is absolutely categorical that Western-style capitalism could not

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## “State Capitalism” ...

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emerge there: “From a state-owned and planned economy there can be no retracing of steps to an anarchic, private-ownership economy” (p. 273). And again, in a polemic with Trotsky, Cliff subtitled one section “The internal forces are not able to restore individual capitalism in Russia: what conclusion as regards its class character?” Cliff says: “Before the experience of the World War II, it was an understandable if incorrect assumption that private capitalism could be restored in Russia without its occupation by an imperialist power. But the victory of the concentrated, statified Russian economy over the German war machine silenced all talk of such a possibility” (p. 326).

According to Cliff, “This deduction of the probable program of the anti-Stalinist opposition from the objective data of bureaucratic state capitalism is clearly supported by the actual programs of two organized anti-Stalinist movements which appeared during the World War II—the Vlassov movement and the Ukrainian Resurgent Army (UPA)” (pp. 273-4). The fascist UPA was founded in 1940 in the newly Soviet-occupied western Ukraine, in collaboration with the *Wehrmacht*, explicitly to fight against the Red Army. The UPA collaborated with the remnants of Petliura’s Ukrainian government in exile, notorious for its anti-Semitic pogroms. The other group mentioned by Cliff is the movement of General Vlasov, the leader of the Russian fascist forces who fought on the side of Hitler against the Red Army. Vlasov must be about the purest example of a counterrevolutionary you could imagine. “Whether the Vlassov leaders were sincere or not is irrelevant,” says Cliff. Ye gods! For Cliff, nothing could be worse than Stalinism, including Hitler’s Nazis. With this methodology the SWP ends up indiscriminately supporting every opposition to Stalinism, no matter how reactionary, from CIA-backed Afghan cutthroats to Nazi-infested Baltic nationalists.

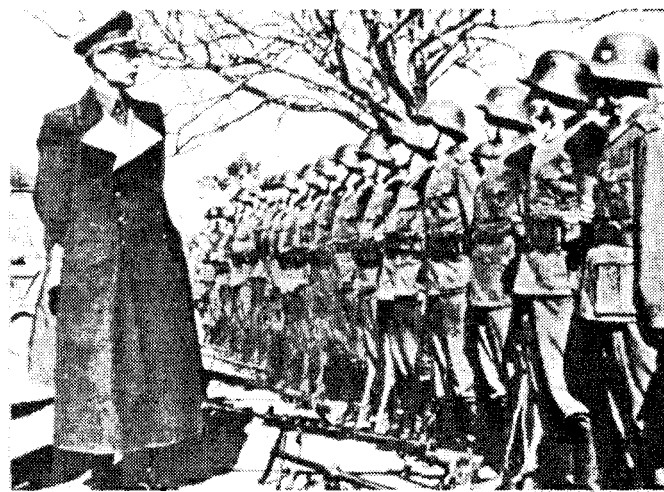
Cliff’s work tells you precious little about the Soviet Union but a lot about the mindset of the author. Its fundamental appeal, with its overriding emphasis on workers’ consumption, is to trade-union economism. As Cold War I began in earnest, the bourgeoisie and their social-democratic lackeys set up a hue and cry about the Red Army occupying Eastern Europe. Cliff’s book reflects the prejudices of British social democracy with its virulent attacks on Soviet “expansionism,” and the implicit message that Britain is better because at least it had “free” unions. One might add that Cliff’s sneering at accumulation and rapid growth is entirely in character with the prevailing attitudes of left Labourism in the post-war period with its attempts to prop up a decaying capitalism based on fossilized industry.

### Modern-Day State-Capitalist Charlatanism

Of course those like Callinicos or Harman who attempt to “update” Cliff’s theory of state capitalism never acknowledge that he ruled out the restoration of private property in Eastern Europe. That the modern-day Cliffite pontificators have had to simply drop essential chunks of Cliff’s theory and hope that nobody will remember what he said only underscores the fact that the whole edifice built up by Cliff is ridiculous impressionism built on sand and exploded by historic events. A couple of decades ago the Cliffites were explaining that the “capitalist superpowers”—the U.S. and USSR—had staved off economic crisis through the arms race and military spending. But this theory of the “permanent arms economy” died a quiet

death when it became impossible to deny that Germany and Japan, which were spending proportionately less on the military budget, had more dynamic economies than the U.S. Furthermore, the Cliffites postulated that state capitalism was the highest expression of capitalist imperialism, and that Western capitalist economies would more and more “resemble” that of the USSR. The statist economies of wartime Germany, America and Britain were supposed to be the harbingers of the future. But the Reagan years, along with Thatcher’s dismantling of the welfare state, has made that a non-starter, too.

So Cliff’s heirs simply junk his analysis and prognosis while claiming to base themselves on his theory. According to Harman, the trend since the First World War to the 1970s was state



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**One of Cliffites’ favored “anti-Stalinists”: Russian fascist General Vlasov fought with Nazis against Red Army.**

intervention in national economies, which came to its logical fruition in Eastern Europe. However, now, “The most successful enterprises in the West became those which began not merely to sell internationally, but also to organize production internationally. Multinational capitalism began to supplant state capitalism as the vanguard of the system.” So capitalist concerns expanding internationally and corporate mergers across national lines is “new”? Lenin described exactly such phenomena in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, where he shows that inter-imperialist trade and economic rivalries explode into military wars. Today with the collapse of Stalinism we are witnessing a sharpening of such inter-imperialist rivalries. Gorbachev’s appeasement of imperialism gave the U.S. ruling class the green light to try to corner the world oil stocks at the expense of its German and Japanese competitors. Some 100,000 Iraqis died in this bloody manifestation of the “New World Order.” Were the Soviet Union to be destroyed—which is what the Cliffites are cheering for—it would bring the world that much closer to nuclear war and annihilation.

In stark contrast to the banalities of Cliffite theory, Trotsky’s *Revolution Betrayed* presents a powerful and cogent development of the contradictory qualities of Soviet society. The enormous gains of the USSR—including the right to guaranteed employment, health care, and education—all gave concrete expression to the vastly superior potential of the planned economy over capitalism. But still the economy lagged significantly behind those of the most developed capitalist countries in productivity of labor. As Trotsky noted:

“The progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy coincides with the period devoted to introducing into the Soviet

Union the most important elements of capitalist technique.... It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of a bureaucracy like a shadow.... Under a nationalized economy, *quality* demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery.”

Thus, it is not the centralized economy but the absence of workers democracy which is a major reason for stagnation. But there is an inherent tendency for Stalinist regimes to abandon central planning in favor of introduction of “market methods,” i.e., at bottom the attempt to improve labor productivity through the whip of unemployment. Precisely this lay behind Gorbachev’s perestroika, which unleashed forces which today threaten capitalist restoration as well as the virtual dismemberment of the USSR.

Arguing in part against the Cliffites of his time, as well as against the Stalinists who falsely claimed that socialism had been achieved in the USSR, Trotsky wrote: “To define the Soviet regime as transitional, or intermediate, means to abandon such finished social categories as *capitalism* (and therewith ‘state capitalism’) and also *socialism*. But besides being completely inadequate in itself, such a definition is capable of producing the mistaken idea that from the present Soviet regime *only* a transition to socialism is possible. In reality a backslide to capitalism is wholly possible.”

Trotskyists view the Stalinist bureaucracy as a privileged *caste*, balancing between the collectivized property forms and world imperialism. As such—and in counterposition to what is said by state capitalists and other advocates of “new class” theories—it plays no independent role. This was evident during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956—a nascent political revolution—in which the ruling Stalinist party crumbled and 80 percent of its members went over to the side of the insurgent, pro-socialist workers. Likewise in today’s crisis in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the bureaucratic caste is fragmenting and disintegrating in a manner in which no historical *class* would.

Because of this contradictory character, the bureaucracy at times finds itself compelled to take measures to defend the planned economy against the imperialists or internal counter-revolutionaries. Thus even the conservative bureaucrat Brezhnev sent Soviet troops to fight the CIA-backed mujahedin in Afghanistan, albeit in a half-hearted manner. Third campists and their apologists not only assign an independent historical role to the bureaucracy, but treat it as a greater enemy than imperialism. This is why Trotsky noted that: “Every political tendency that waves its hands hopelessly at the Soviet Union, under the pretext of its ‘non-proletarian’ character, runs the risk of becoming the passive instrument of imperialism” (*The Class Nature of the Soviet State*).

The crisis of Stalinism not only serves to underscore the vacuity of the theory of state capitalism, but shows anew that those who carry this virus will necessarily act as the running dogs of imperialism. ■

## Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

“shop,” i.e., wealthy foreign investors, will be put on the fast track for admission. As one immigration consultant put it, “Now we know the price of admission. It’s \$250,000” (*Calgary Herald*, 17 June). That’s the minimum.

As for poor refugees, any who come to Canada in transit from a so-called “safe” country—i.e., any of the imperialist “democracies” which claim to abide by the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees—will be refused entry. The idea that the U.S. and the European Common Market countries are “safe” is a cruel joke. For the U.S.’ credentials on refugees one need look no further than the barbed wire surrounding the concentration camps that Haitians are thrown into at the U.S.-held naval base in Guantánamo, Cuba. And in Europe, anti-immigrant racism is rampant.

As a *Toronto Star* reporter put it, “The latest fashion in France is xenophobia. The trend sweeping the country, and indeed all of Europe, is to blame ‘outsiders’ for everything from unemployment to bad smell.” A decade of “socialist” austerity, unemployment and attacks on immigrant workers, who have been subject to massive expulsion and racist police terror in the ghettos under the Mitterrand popular front government, has fueled support for the fascist National Front of Jean-Marie Le Pen which came second in regional elections in France last March.

In Germany, the formal anniversary of reunification was “celebrated” last October in a wave of fascist attacks on foreign-born workers and asylum seekers which swept the country from the Rhineland to the Polish border. This is one of the bitter fruits of the capitalist annexation of the former

East German workers state, where the West German imperialists have leveled the economy, destroying jobs and social gains such as free medical and child care and subsidized housing. The timing of the fascist pogroms only underlines the organic link between anti-immigrant racism and the aggressive nationalism of the “reunified” Fourth Reich of German imperialism. All major parties in Germany from Helmut Kohl’s ruling Christian Democrats to the Social Democrats to the Greens and the PDS (the successor to the former Stalinist ruling party in East Germany) are united in a racist popular front against asylum seekers and immigrant workers.

Here the Tories’ anti-immigration law was welcomed by Preston Manning, leader of the ultra-right wing Reform Party whose vicious racism has attracted Nazi and fascist elements to its ranks. Praising the government for taking up “the goals of the Reform Party’s immigration policy,” Manning added that he found it “ironic” that the Conservatives were “adopting the Reform position on immigration after they have repeatedly attacked the party as racist” (*Toronto Star*, 18 June). Far from “ironic,” Reform’s program of anti-working class austerity and anti-immigrant racism has found significant and growing support among the ruling class. While Manning’s outfit fans the flames of the most reactionary anti-Québécois bigotry in English Canada, in Quebec bourgeois nationalism is fueling racist xenophobia and fascist attacks against immigrants and Native people.

The wave of racist attacks and government measures against immigrants and refugees throughout the world are concomitant parts of the heightened interimperialist rivalries that have accompanied the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the rise of counterrevolutionary forces in the Soviet Union. As they band together in rival trading blocs, the various national

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## Immigration...

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capitalist powers seek to "compete" by increased exploitation of "their" working class.

While Germany and its West European "allies" want to create a "Fortress Europe," to keep out refugees escaping the social and economic havoc they have wreaked, the 1989 "free trade" agreement between Canada and the U.S. has already accelerated the war on unions and social programs on both sides of the border. Now they are sealing the deal for the wholesale takeover of Mexico, aimed at turning it into a giant low-wage "free trade zone." As unemployment skyrockets and wages plummet, the imperialists have little use for "cheap" immigrant labor.

When the Soviet Union existed as a counterweight to the imperialist powers, the capitalists supplied some "Third World" countries with meager economic aid to prevent the emergence of nationalist regimes sympathetic to Moscow. Now, the imperialists regard the people of Africa, the Indian subcontinent and much of Central and South America as surplus populations whose deaths by disease and starvation would in no way affect the interests of imperialism.

### Racist Campaign Against "Criminals" and "Terrorists"

Complaining that the existing racist immigration laws inadequately deal with keeping out "criminals" because they don't allow for keeping out people who have "no criminal convictions" (!), the government's new law provides for the exclusion of anyone an immigration official may have "reasonable grounds" to believe has been involved in "criminal activity." A series of articles in the *Globe and Mail*, portraying Jamaican blacks as "deadly exports," spelled out what is meant by this provision. Taking the remarks of a Western diplomat in Jamaica who said he had "never seen violence to this extent—to kill for no apparent reason," the newspaper's police reporter went on to add, "it is clear on the streets of Metro Toronto and to a much lesser extent in Montreal, that this criminal subculture has been exported" (10 July).

Here we have a whole people declared to be some kind of "criminal enterprise"—including Jamaicans who were born in Canada! The purpose of the *Globe* series was to exonerate the racist Toronto cops who have gunned down eight blacks in the past four years. And it came in the wake of one of the largest anti-racist demonstrations in the city's history, when close to 3,000 demonstrators—two-thirds black as well as many whites, Asians and Arabs—took to the streets to express their outrage over the racist acquittal of the L.A. cops who beat Rodney King and over police terror at home.

The multiracial upheaval in L.A. shook the American bourgeoisie because in an elemental way it represented an explosion of the pent-up anger of the poor, minorities and working people against a system which has condemned them to poverty, degradation, homelessness, broken unions and broken lives. Washington's Canadian junior partners were similarly nervous when the L.A. rebellion found a sympathetic echo among minorities in the "great white north." While U.S. immigration cops are rounding up and deporting Latino immigrants, in Canada the government's new racist anti-immigration law portrays every refugee claimant as a "criminal" to be photographed and fingerprinted upon entry.



U.S. Coast Guard —GAMMA Liaison

### Haitian refugees turned back by U.S. Coast Guard.

Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt declared that this is to stop "bogus refugees" who "jump the queue ahead of hundreds of thousands of good people who want to come here to contribute to our country" (*Edmonton Sun*, 17 June). While the government whips up a racist campaign against refugee "welfare cheats," besides foreign moneybags the other "good people" that Ottawa says it will allow in are skilled workers who are expected to "contribute" to Canada by agreeing to live and work in areas of the country that the government dictates for two years or else be deported. This new form of indentured labor has long applied to foreign-born "domestics" who have been forced to live with their employers for the same time period. Even wealthy foreign investors could face deportation if the government feels they have reneged on their promises "to pump money into the Canadian economy."

In addition to bolstering provisions for keeping out suspected "criminals," Bill C-86 argues that existing anti-immigrant legislation "does not deal adequately with terrorists." Under the new law anyone an immigration cop suspects of being a "terrorist"—a category which is defined as "activities directed at, or in support of acts of serious violence against persons or property for political ends"—will be kept out. Under this provision any opponent of repression, like a Palestinian kid who threw a rock against the Israeli occupying forces in the West Bank or someone who supported the Salvadoran rebels against the oligarchy's military death squads or a worker from South Korea who had fought against the brutal police state dictatorship in that country, would be deported as a "terrorist."

All the McCarthyite "are you now or have you ever been" clauses are in place under the new law, whose anti-"terrorist" provisions will be applied to "present or past members of an organization currently or formerly active." As Amnesty International pointed out, "Carried to its extreme, this provision would exclude an individual who was a member, perhaps 30 or 40 years ago, of an organization which no longer exists, but which did, when it did exist, carry out acts of subversion" (*Globe and Mail*, 30 July). But what is "subversion"? In the eyes of the imperialists it is anyone who opposes their rule or the rule of their blood-drenched "Third World" allies.

The "war against terrorism" reached a fever pitch during the 1980s at the height of Cold War II. Aping their senior partners



in Reagan's White House, the Canadian imperialists wielded the anti-terrorism scare campaign in order to gear up their legal apparatus for repression against any perceived opponents of the government at home. Today, with the imperialists themselves falsely equating the demise of Stalinism with the "death of Communism," anti-red scaremongering doesn't pack the same ideological punch. So the government is playing the "terrorism" card against refugees. Together with racist rhetoric about the "criminality" of immigrants and refugee "welfare cheats," this is a tool for the bourgeoisie to maintain political control by dividing and deluding the working class as to who its real enemies are.

### Full Citizenship Rights For Foreign-Born Workers!

Various opponents of the new immigration law have denounced it as a violation of Canada's "humanitarian" tradition. On the contrary, up until the 1960s Canada had a virtual whites-only immigration policy. During World War II the borders were sealed to Jews desperately trying to flee Hitler's concentration camps. But after the war the doors were opened for thousands of Nazi executioners. In 1985 the government-appointed Deschênes Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals came out with a whitewash report exonerating, among others, 600 members of the Ukrainian "Galicia Division" (which served as part of the Nazi Waffen SS) who found residence in Canada.

While they slammed the door in the face of refugees from right-wing terror, the Canadian rulers rolled out the welcome mat for all manner of anti-Communists from East Europe and the Soviet Union. Their cause was championed as a blow for "freedom" against the "Iron Curtain." Now that capitalist counterrevolution has devastated East Europe and the forces of "free market" exploitation are ascendant in Russia and the other former Soviet republics, the ideological market value of refugees from these countries has dropped through the floor. Those who are desperately trying to escape the bloody nationalist fratricide and untold misery that has come with capitalist counterrevolution face an imperialist "iron curtain."

NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin was among those who argued that the government's new anti-immigration law was contrary to Canada's supposed "democratic" tradition of "accepting immigrants based on need and not on wealth." This was echoed by Canadian Labour Congress president Bob White who worried that the law would damage the country's "reputation for justice, decency and humanity." Yet in 1986, when 155 Tamil refugees, fleeing the terror of Sri Lanka and virtual concentration camp conditions in West Germany, risked their lives in a three-week nightmare voyage to get asylum in Canada, then-NDP leader Ed Broadbent responded by demanding a "tougher look at all our immigration procedures."

Meanwhile the trade-union bureaucrats have fomented racist xenophobia with their "Canada first" nationalism and protectionist poison. White, the darling of various self-proclaimed "leftists," made a name for himself seven years ago when he led the Canadian Auto Workers split-off from the U.S.-based UAW. At the time, White declared he was taking the 120,000 Canadian autoworkers out of the UAW in opposition to the giveback contracts negotiated by the International leadership. Having isolated Canadian autoworkers, he went on to sign his own giveback contracts. With General Motors axing 75,000 jobs and closing 21 plants, the union bureaucrats on either side of the border are now setting Canadian and American autoworkers at each other's throats in a scramble to keep their jobs.

While they have presided over the destruction of the wages, living and working conditions of organized labor, the labor tops scream that immigrant workers are stealing "our" jobs and demand increased protectionist tariffs to protect "Canadian" industry. Workers shouldn't fall for this sucker bait. Most immigrants do the lowest-paid, dirtiest jobs that no one else will take. Fomenting racist hatred against foreign workers, the bureaucrats' protectionist poison serves to tie the working class to the very strikebreaking bosses who are destroying their jobs and their unions.

For their part, the International Socialists argue against the new immigration law by complaining that "without continued immigration, the Canadian labor force will not keep up with demand" (*Socialist Worker*, July). These self-proclaimed "socialists"—who championed the very forces that are now bringing untold misery, bloody nationalist terror and fascist reaction to the masses of East Europe and the Soviet Union—now advise the Canadian rulers that their system of exploitation requires more immigrant labor! In contrast, as Marxist revolutionaries we greet the infusion of foreign-born workers into this country, recognizing that they serve as an important bridge to class struggle *against* capitalist exploitation and oppression throughout the Americas and the former colonies of the British Empire.

We fight to build a proletarian internationalist leadership that can unite all of the working people in common struggle against the rapacious imperialist rulers. A class-struggle leadership of the labor movement would mobilize real union muscle to demand: Stop the deportations! Smash the racist anti-immigration laws! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!

Today, immigrants from the Caribbean, Latin America, Asia and Africa make up more than 25 percent of the population of the Metropolitan Toronto area. Historically, immigrant workers have played a vanguard role in the class struggle in Canada. The 1919 Winnipeg General Strike owed much to the influence of left-wing East Europeans who had fled tsarist Russia and were inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. What is desperately needed is a world party of socialist revolution, which like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks will serve as a tribune of all the oppressed, to lead the working class to break the power of the greedy, racist capitalist rulers and return the wealth to those who have labored to produce it. Under an international socialist planned economy the basis will be laid for the genuine liberation of the working class and oppressed and for the genuine fraternity and equality of all the peoples of the world. ■

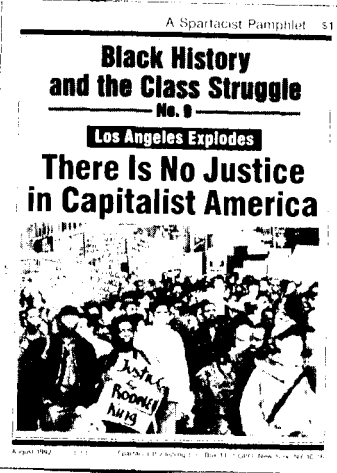
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## Native Women...

(continued from page 9)

the brutal oppression that bears down on Native women.

The tragedy of Native life is wholly the creation of the capitalist ruling class, who, having committed genocide on a massive scale, stole the survivors' land, destroyed their way of life and segregated them on barren, unproductive reserves. Priests and missionaries took Native kids from their families and threw them into residential schools where they were beaten and sexually abused. In the cities, on the reserves and in the little northern outposts, Natives confront profound poverty, unemployment, terrible education, chronic alcoholism, and health care that ranges from indifferent to barbaric. Now AIDS too is ravaging the Native population.

The bourgeois feminists call for "choice" on abortion, yet this is utterly hollow as the tragic story of Myrna George, a 19-year-old Native woman from Terrace, B.C., graphically illustrates. A mother of two, Myrna George died last year following a botched abortion. Racist medical indifference killed her: it took the attending physician eleven hours to recognize that she had a ruptured uterus. After surgery to stop the massive hemorrhaging, Myrna fell into a coma, but her family was told she was merely sleeping. Doctors and hospital officials have stonewalled, refusing to answer the family's questions. This is the stuff of the back-street, yet it occurred in a modern hospital in northwestern B.C.

The federal government today spouts hypocritical platitudes about Native "self-government," which many Native people have been driven to demand as a despairing response to the horrible conditions and the wall of racism erected by the Canadian rulers. But many Native women understandably worry that with "self-government" the endemic violence and abuse on the reserves will simply be codified in some kind of constitutional deal. Moreover, the feds' endorsement of "self-government" has all the makings of a South African bantustan-like solution to the "Indian problem."

The options for Native people are often presented as a choice between "traditional culture" and racist capitalist society. But this is a false choice. As communists we oppose and struggle to overturn the brutal and violent system of capitalist exploitation. We defend Native land claims, and in those cases where claims have run up against socially useful developments like

railways, hydroelectric projects and oil pipelines, the Native peoples should receive generous compensation for deprivation of land or disruption of activity, based on completely consensual agreement. But unlike much of the fake-left we do not idealize "traditional culture." This simply amounts to liberal racism, denying as it does a revolutionary proletarian perspective which can alone end Native oppression through voluntary integration into an egalitarian society.

Last May, in the town of New Aiyansh in B.C.'s Nass Valley, a local doctor colluded with Native elders to prevent a barely 16-year-old Nisga'a woman from getting an abortion. In line with the clinic's "mandate," but in gross violation of doctor-patient confidentiality, the physician expressed his hesitations to a village elder and consultant to the clinic. The elder decided that in the name of *hawaitkw*, an unwritten code which, it is claimed, enshrines traditional cultural relations among the Nisga'a, "there was no way she will have this abortion." This interference in a young girl's personal life, however cloaked in cultural rhetoric, is vicious and reactionary.

## Decaying Capitalism Breeds Anti-Woman Bigotry

Internationally abortion is on the cutting edge of the ruling-class assault on working people. With capitalist counterrevolution raging through East Europe, the substantial gains for women there are being rolled back. In Walesa's Poland, clerical reactionaries have tried to criminalize abortions, demanding jail sentences for women who have them. They haven't quite succeeded, but abortion, once freely available, is now difficult and expensive to obtain. Abortion access in the U.S. is so tenuous that fully half of the urban counties, and 93 percent of rural counties, do not have facilities, and the judicial bigots on the Supreme Court have endorsed an odious law requiring a waiting period for all women, "counseling," on fetal development, and teen "parental notification."

In Canada where abortion is ostensibly not illegal, the procedure is generally available only in the large southern cities—and even there access is often limited. Fascistic anti-abortion terrorists relentlessly plague women outside the clinics. Dr. Morgentaler, a Polish-born Jew and survivor of the Auschwitz death camp, has been a special target of their terror campaigns, and of sick anti-Semitism. Only this May his Toronto clinic was destroyed by a firebomb.

We Trotskyists call on labor to defend abortion clinics against anti-woman terror. We fight for free abortion on demand, free contraceptives and free quality health care for all. And we demand that the "abortion pill," RU-486, be made available in Canada. Criminally, this safe, non-surgical way to end unwanted pregnancy is being withheld from women by the government.

We fight to build a vanguard party to lead the proletarian revolution that will finally put an end to the system of private property and capitalist exploitation. Such a party will be, in V.I. Lenin's words, a tribune of all the oppressed, fighting every injustice and cruelty that capitalism creates. It will fight for women's liberation, possible only with the revolutionary transformation of society and the emancipation of women from slavery in the institution of the family. The inauguration of the era of socialist development can insure the all-sided voluntary integration of Native people into society on the basis of the fullest equality and will meet the special needs created by well over a century of injustice and oppression.

For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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## Yugoslavia...

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was the commander of the UN forces in Sarajevo, went to Washington in mid-August to assert that there "is no military solution" in Bosnia. Certainly full-scale military intervention into the byzantine Yugoslavian bloodbath would be a measure of imperialist idiocy. As the conservative British *Economist* (30 May) warned under the headline "Operation Balkan Storm?": "military intervention could end in a bloodbath, enlarging the war it was designed to end."

All the same, the situation is embarrassing to the imperialist powers. While the Democrats play the "wimp" factor against Bush over Yugoslavia, restoring imperialist "stability" in the region is seen as a test of the "New World Order" proclaimed by Bush over the corpses of 100,000 Iraqis. Increasingly desperate to "prove" themselves as the world's policemen, the U.S. rulers continually up the ante against Serbia, increasingly paving the road for all-out war against the Milosevic regime.

Social counterrevolution in Yugoslavia has once again made the Balkans the flash point of ancient nationalist hatreds and interimperialist rivalries. Hungary's right-wing nationalist president claims to be the protector of Yugoslavia's 400,000 ethnic Magyars. Albania takes a similar stance toward the 1.4 million ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia. Bulgaria claims Macedonia with its mainly ethnic Bulgarian population; Greece, which has massed troops on the Macedonian border, claims it as "Greece's stolen jewels" and raves that the name "Macedonia" is an exclusive Greek trademark. Turkey, which is seeking to reassert the claims of the Ottoman Caliphate, has threatened to send troops in to protect the Muslim Slavs of Bosnia while contemplating another front against Armenia and engaging in an ongoing genocidal war against its Kurdish population (including most recently on its Armenian border).

As we have noted, today's "New World Order" is beginning to look very much like the old imperialist disorder which preceded World War I. While the U.S. attacks the Europeans' failure to subjugate Milosevic, France and Germany have announced plans to form a 35,000-man joint "Eurocorps," the nucleus of a future European army independent of U.S.-dominated NATO and centered on the power of German imperialism. It was in Sarajevo that the opening shot of the first imperialist world war was fired, when a Serbian nationalist assassinated Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand. The Bolshevik Revolution pointed the only way out of fratricidal slaughter and the certainty of future interimperialist wars.

### Squalid Nationalism on All Sides

Much of the Western press has sought to portray Serbian nationalist strongman Milosevic as the main villain of the piece. But if the Serbian nationalists have been more successful than their Croat counterparts in pursuing their respective chauvinist projects, it is only because they have greater numbers and firepower. In the dog-eat-dog competition of returning capitalism, it is only "natural" that each gang of bourgeois nationalists seeks to carve out as big a piece of the pie as it can.

Milosevic is certainly a nationalist bastard, while Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman is an open admirer of the clerical-fascist Ustasha, which under the Nazi occupation massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Roma (Gypsies). And the leader of the stillborn "independent" Bosnian state, Alija Izetbegovic, is known for having authored a 1990 "Islamic

Declaration" which begins: "Our goal is the islamization of Muslims. Our motto is: believe and fight" (*International Weekly* [Belgrade], 23 May). Meanwhile, this nationalist agitation has brought to the fore uncontrolled gangs of criminal terrorists who are carrying out murderous atrocities on all sides. Even a UN report conceded that Milosevic has little control over the Serbian militias in Bosnia. And while the Bosnian government decries Serbian atrocities, the departing Canadian UN commander charged that all sides were shelling their own fighters to win "public sympathy."

In Croatia, as well as in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatian militias that model themselves on the Ustasha, and army-backed Serb militias that call themselves "Chetniks," after the wartime royalists who collaborated with British imperialism (and blocked with the German and Italian fascists against the Communists) are pursuing genocidal forced population transfers in the name of "ethnic cleansing." This has been particularly savage in ethnically intermingled Bosnia, where 43 percent of



Chris Helgren/Maclean's

### Canadian "peacekeepers": imperialism's cops in Balkans.

the population is Muslim, 31 percent Serbian and 17 percent Croatian, but more than one-third of all families are the product of mixed marriages.

While imperialist attention has focused on the Muslims, Croats and other Yugoslav minorities fleeing Serbian militias, more than 140,000 Serbian refugees have been forced to flee neo-Ustasha terror in Croatia and Bosnia. One of the largest forced population transfers in the yearlong fighting came when thousands of Serbian refugees were driven out of northern Bosnia by Muslim and Croatian militias.

Even as they slaughter each other, the Serbian and Croatian nationalists are more than willing to cut a deal over the body of the Muslim Slavs. As *Der Spiegel* (25 May) reported: "The Croatian and Serbian presidents, Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic, already last summer agreed in principle over the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbia would get northern and southeastern Bosnia, Croatia would get the better part of Herzegovina." In a well-advertised "secret" meeting in the Austrian town of Graz in early May, Bosnian Serb and Croat militia representatives showed up with maps in hand to work out the details of the carve-up...where they agree. Where they don't, they fight.

Western liberals complain about the nationalist "excesses"  
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## Yugoslavia...

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accompanying the breakup of Yugoslavia and counterrevolution in East Europe. But this deadly eruption of national chauvinism is a necessary concomitant of capitalist restoration. The bourgeois state is based on the dominant position of one nation and the subjugation and oppression of all other nationalities within its borders. And that is precisely what is happening in Yugoslavia today, as competing nationalist gangs scramble to construct bourgeois states on contested territory and over the corpse of Tito's Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

While various pseudo-leftists like Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat fell into line behind NATO's support for Croatia's "national liberation" last year, we insisted that revolutionaries had no side in the fratricidal civil war. Pointing out that the secessionist regimes in Croatia and Slovenia were clearly counterrevolutionary, we also noted that the "army/Milosevic campaign is not prepared to preserve the Yugoslav workers state but, in fact, is speeding its demise through an explosion of nationalist rancor and bloodletting" (*WV* No. 540, 6 December 1991). And that has now come to pass.

The destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state was formalized in Belgrade's promulgation of a new constitution last April. Accepting the secession of Croatia and Slovenia, it defined the new Yugoslavia as consisting of Serbia and ethnically Serbian Montenegro, and removed the word "socialist" from the state's former name. Military purges capped the transformation of the federal army into an instrument of Greater Serbian nationalism. As a Belgrade journalist noted:

"The purge does not mean that Milosevic's strategic aims will change; only that the policy will be carried out by different people. Once, Milosevic had to disguise his followers as socialists. Now, in place of indoctrinated Titoist generals, he relies on more educated Serbian nationalists among the younger senior army officers."

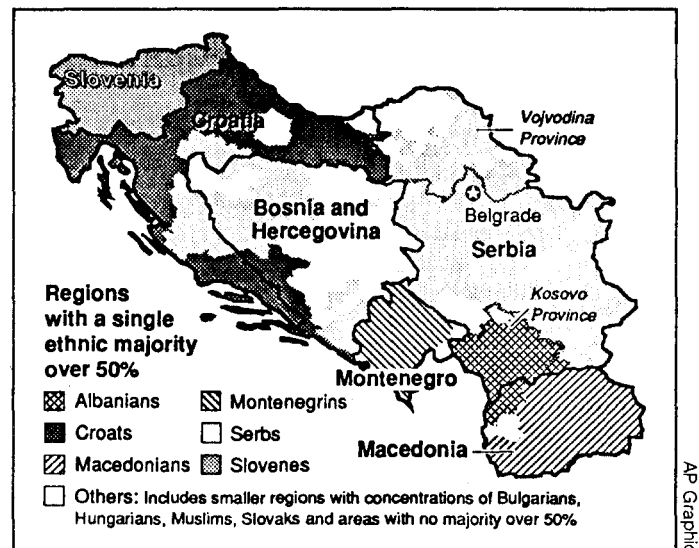
—*Guardian* [London], 15 May

A dispatch from the official Tanjug news agency reported: "In regard to changes in the army [air force] General Stepvanovic said that this army is in fact a completely new one and added that the new generation of young highly trained officers has gotten rid of all the ideological principles which had burdened the former Yugoslav People's Army."

Politically, Milosevic is buffeted by ultranationalist forces on one side and pro-imperialist elements on the other. The May 31 elections which were called to legitimize the new constitution were boycotted by all but Milosevic's Socialist Party, the extreme nationalist Serbian Radical Party of Vojeslav Seselj and a handful of other tiny formations. Seselj and Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic denounce Milosevic for being "too moderate" in pursuit of a "Greater Serbia." At the same time, Crown Prince Alexander, the Serbian Orthodox church and opposition parties like Vuk Draskovic's Serbian Movement for Renewal have been seeking to accommodate imperialist pressure and attacking Milosevic as a closet Communist. The crown prince—a shill for British imperialism who was born in London—is being feted by both London and Washington.

### Communist Partisans Defeated Nationalist Pogromists

That Serbian monarchists and Croatian fascists who were Nazi collaborators are today being honored speaks vividly to the reactionary transformation which has overwhelmed



Yugoslavia. Tito's tortured version of federalism looks pretty good in hindsight. The social revolution carried out under Tito's leadership laid the basis for economic and national equality for all the Yugoslav peoples, Serbs and Croats as well as Bosnian Muslims, Voj Magyars and Kosovo Albanians. As we noted in "The National Question in Yugoslavia" (*WV* No. 106, 23 April 1976):

"With such a conglomeration of nations compressed in a restricted area, the interpenetration of peoples frequent in border regions becomes far more than an incidental factor. In this case, a democratic solution to the national question would be found only in the context of proletarian, collectivist property relations which provide the basis for a federative solution free from national oppression."

From the very outset, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was the only political formation in the country which embraced all of that country's diverse mosaic of nationalities. Forced underground almost immediately after its formation, the CPY attracted cadre on the basis of opposition to all variants of national oppression in the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav monarchy of the interwar years. This continued even after its Stalinization, which led it to attempt (unsuccessfully) to bloc in the prewar period with the Croatian Ustasha and at the beginning of the war with the Serbian Chetniks. If for no other reason than its multinational composition—Tito had a Croat father and Slovene mother, his chief lieutenants included the Slovene Edvard Kardelj, the Serb Alexander Rankovic, the Montenegrin Milovan Djilas and the Jew Moshe Pijade—the CPY was seen as an enemy by Croatian and Serbian nationalists alike.

Fighting against both the Ustasha and Chetnik pogromists as well as the Nazi and Italian fascist invaders, Tito's victorious Communist Partisans emerged from the war with widespread authority as the sole unifying force among Yugoslavia's nationalities. The 1946 constitution proclaimed "a community of peoples with equal rights" and stated: "Every legal act, which would give privileges to citizens or limit their rights on the basis of their belonging to a different nationality, race, or religion, as well as any preaching of national, racial, or religious hatred and disunity, is unconstitutional and punishable by law."

But while Tito's CPY enshrined the equality of nations within Yugoslavia, the national question in the Balkans could not be resolved within the borders of the Yugoslav state. No less than Stalin, Tito was intent on pursuing construction of his own "socialism in one country." Early postwar talk of reviving the

## Montreal...

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"mistaken identity." Then when the police chief made some mild criticisms about the operation being "bungled," 2,500 cops staged an armed protest demonstration defending their right to do anything to anybody, anytime. Press reports noted that many of the thugs-in-blue "kept their loudest cheers for a handful of elderly citizens who carried placards equating black immigration with the genocide of francophones."

This summer, police rioted against 200 mostly Haitian youth leaving a dance club, arresting 38. In early August the weekly tabloid *Photo Police*, whose circulation of 100,000 includes

call for a Balkan federation, albeit on bureaucratic lines, was scuttled in pursuit of competing nationalist interests. The Yugoslavs dropped their demand for Macedonian unification after Stalin ordered the Greek Communists to abandon their guerrilla struggle against the British occupying forces. Finally, following the break with Stalin in 1948, Tito notified the Stalin-loyal Dimitrov regime in Bulgaria that he now opposed the goal of a socialist federation of the Balkans. As a result, the Macedonians, Albanians and others remained divided by state boundaries.

Moreover, in pioneering "market socialism" in the guise of "workers self-management," the Tito regime allowed vast regional economic disparities held over from capitalism to continue—disparities which would subsequently fuel the rise of nationalist forces within the Stalinist bureaucracies of the different republics. Where the Soviet Union—even under the Great Russifier Stalin—channeled resources and investment into more backward regions like Central Asia, promoting relative equality, in Yugoslavia "self-management" and regional economic autonomy increasingly meant that the better-off republics benefited from investment in comparison to their neighbors, despite efforts by the central government to overcome such differences. Thus in the 30 years after 1953, the per capita gross social product in Kosovo (the poorest region) relative to that in Slovenia (the richest) actually *declined* from 28 to 14 percent.

Economic decentralization gave many Croatian and Slovenian bureaucrats appetites for "market socialism in one province," leading to the rise of openly nationalist elements like Tudjman, and their counterparts in Serbia like Milosevic. Tudjman, a former general and university professor, asserted his counterrevolutionary appetites through his open apologies for the Ustasha. Milosevic, a former head of the state bank, proclaimed his support for a "market economy" and linked the Yugoslav dinar to the Deutschmark.

Shortly after Milosevic came to power in Serbia in 1987, we warned against "an ominous rise in Great Serbian nationalist agitation fomented by the new strongman of the Serbian bureaucracy, Slobodan Milosevic, who comes off sounding like a full-blown fascist" (*WV* No. 463, 21 October 1988). Milosevic rose to power through a vicious chauvinist campaign against

many cops, featured a vitriolic six-page spread under the racist heading "Whites Have Had Enough of Blacks." Meanwhile the courts and the government have given a green light to the racist terror: not a single cop has been convicted of a single crime stemming from these countless racist atrocities.

Following the racist acquittal last spring of the Los Angeles cops who viciously beat Rodney King, defiant and integrated protests swept across North America. From Montreal to L.A. and throughout the world, putting an end to racist terror requires overthrowing the entire *system* of racist capitalism. And for that we need a fight for power: a workers party that will organize the working people in the struggle for socialist revolution. It is to the building of such a party that we of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyiste dedicate ourselves. ■



Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

**Tito (second from left) with leaders of multinational Communist Partisans.**

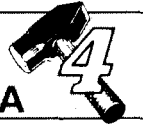
the Kosovo Albanian autonomous region. A wave of strikes and workers protests against the ravages of IMF-dictated austerity was deflected and subverted through deliberate nationalist agitation. As we wrote then:

"Clearly the massive nationwide strike movement presents a crucial opportunity for a genuinely communist vanguard to reforge the fraternal links among the Yugoslav working people so badly eroded by decades of 'market socialism.' As Trotskyists we stand for equality among peoples on the basis of increased material well-being. This can only be achieved through a proletarian political revolution to establish workers democracy, soviet power, central planning and a rational allocation of investment resources. Above all this requires a definitive break from the Stalinist dogma of 'socialism in one country,' and its replacement with the program of proletarian internationalism."

In the absence of an internationalist vanguard party, and in the context of a rising counterrevolutionary wave unleashed by Gorbachev's perestroika, the Yugoslav proletariat was overwhelmed by capitalist restoration and fratricidal nationalism.

Amid the horror of the nationalist slaughter, a new generation of internationalist Yugoslav proletarian militants will have to be cohered. The only program to halt the counterrevolutionary drive remains the construction of Trotskyist parties, to preserve and extend the gains of the October Revolution. As Trotsky stated in the early 1930s: "A revolutionary perspective is impossible without a federation of the Balkan states, which obviously will not stop here, but rather will extend into a federation of the United Soviet States of Europe." ■





## Canadian, UN, All Imperialist Troops Out!

# Yugoslavia Ripped Apart in Nationalist Bloodbath

### **For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans**

The blood-spattered, bombed-out city of Sarajevo is the true face of the “new free Europe” triumphantly proclaimed by imperialism after the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe. This city, in which a half million Muslim Slavs, Croats and Serbs worked and lived together harmoniously for more than four decades, has been turned into a battleground for competing gangs of murderous nationalists. From Central Europe to the Caucasus, capitalist counterrevolution has meant an ever-widening orgy of recrudescing chauvinism and outright pogromism.

The multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state, forged by Josip Broz Tito and his Communist Partisans through heroic struggle against the Nazi occupiers and their domestic capitalist quislings, has been destroyed in a welter of fratricidal bloodletting that is engulfing the region and threatening a wider war. Having for years bled Yugoslavia and fueled the forces of local nationalism in order to promote social counterrevolution, the NATO powers now seek to impose imperialist “law and order” on the war-torn country through humbling and bringing to heel the regime of Serbian nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic.

Last January, the reunified German Fourth Reich took the lead in recognizing the “independence” of the counterrevolutionary Croatian and Slovene regimes, reasserting its hegemony over these two traditional vassals of German imperialism. After initially opposing the German drive for the dismemberment of Yugoslavia, in May the U.S. weighed in with a crude attempt to prove who was top dog in the “New World Order,” pushing for an anti-Serbian embargo which was endorsed by the United Nations Security Council. With everyone from Democratic Party presidential candidate Bill Clinton to former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher screaming for increased military intervention, on August 13 the UN Security Council authorized the use of “all necessary measures” in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Last year, the same language was used to legitimate the U.S.-led slaughter of Iraq.

As an article in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 543, 24 January), the



Patrick Robert—Sygma for Time

### **Bosnia devastated in bloody counterrevolutionary civil war.**

newspaper of our American comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S., declared, “If the UN is idiotic enough to intervene militarily, then revolutionaries would side with the Yugoslav army and Serbia against the imperialist-backed forces, whether they sport blue helmets or not.” Without extending an iota of political support to the reactionary nationalist Milosevic regime, we demand: NATO/UN troops out of Yugoslavia! Down with the imperialist embargo of Serbia!

Just as during the Gulf war when some 2,000 Canadian troops were among the first deployed under the auspices of the United Nations, they numbered among the initial 14,000 UN troops sent into Yugoslavia to serve as imperialist policemen. Traditionally, the Canadian imperialists have served as the “peacekeeping” frontmen for the war aims of their senior partners in the White House. But when 1,100 Canadian troops found themselves in the quagmire of Bosnia-Herzegovina there was yelping from the halls of Parliament that “their boys” could get their asses shot off, and some of the Canadian jackal imperialists began crying for the bigger imperialist powers to move beyond “peacekeeping” to “peacemaking”—i.e., all-out war against Serbia.

At the same time Canadian general Lewis MacKenzie, who

*(continued on page 21)*