

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Smash Tory/NDP Anti-Labor Offensive!



Labor anger is mounting against wholesale anti-worker attacks. At left, 5,000 unionists in Toronto protest Tory UI cuts on March 13. Ontario Hydro workers (right) denounce NDP austerity on March 28.

After years of mounting capitalist attacks, working-class struggle is sharpening around the globe. In Europe, millions of unionists in Italy, Britain, Portugal and East Europe took to the streets April 2 in a continent-wide "day of action." In eastern Germany, strikes by metal and steel workers brought out tens of thousands in May, blocking roads, bridges and factory gates. For almost a year, Poland has been convulsed with a near-continuous wave of workers' struggle.

Here in Canada, more than 100,000 unionists and their supporters marched on Parliament Hill May 15 to protest the Tories' unending offensive against jobs and social programs. This was the country's largest labor protest in more than a decade. Two weeks later 60,000 workers marched against wage cuts in Montreal, joined by another 20,000 in Quebec City. A

wave of militant plant seizures which began last year in Cape Breton has now spread to poverty-stricken single-industry towns in eastern and northern Quebec. From Port Cartier to Matane in the Gaspé to the copper mining center of Rouyn-Noranda, local one-day general strikes with street protests and barricades have come almost weekly.

The growing crisis of Canadian capitalism, now inflicting such hardship on the working people, is part of the international crisis of imperialism. Far from ushering in a peaceful "New World Order," the collapse of Stalinism and the end of the Cold War have led to an intensification of rivalries among competing imperialist powers.

The capitalist thieves are falling out with each other. And as
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PC Partisan Defense DC Committee

Waco Holocaust: Clinton/FBI Mass Murderers

On April 19, the U.S. government ended its siege of the tiny, racially integrated Branch Davidian religious sect with a firestorm that left 86 people dead. Dozens of bodies were burned beyond recognition. The Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League/U.S. responded to this horrific state crime with demonstrations at government offices in New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco and outside FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C. In Canada, the PDC and the Trotskyist League protested outside the U.S. consulate in Toronto.

Within hours of this gruesome atrocity, the PDC faxed the following letter to Attorney General Janet Reno expressing the rage and horror felt by millions of working people.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns the Clinton administration's mass killing of 87 and possibly more members of the racially integrated Branch Davidians religious sect.

Fifty-one days ago the government laid siege to this small religious group. Their only "crimes" were to exercise rights guaranteed under the first two amendments of the U.S. constitution—freedom of religious worship and the right to bear arms—and the inherent right of all individuals to defend themselves from a brutal assault.

The Branch Davidians sought to live and worship in peace. For 51 days they were subject to intimidation, threats, isolation, government blockade, bright searchlights and ear-shattering noise—like an outdoors version of the Marion prison high-tech torture chambers. For 51 days they held out. At approximately 1:00 p.m. today the government gave its answer. After hours of tear gas saturation and demolition, the compound burst into flames. Less than an hour later there was nothing left but ash.

It's nobody's business what religion one practices. The FBI and BATF [Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms] agents had no right to be there in the first place. Now the government alibis this mass killing by claiming David Koresh and his followers set the fire themselves. We have no reason to believe this

lying government. But the inescapable fact is they died as a result of a deliberate assault after weeks of government terror and torture. This was government mass murder.

The history of American capitalism is strewn with mass graves—from the massacre of Sioux at Wounded Knee to the invasion of Panama. Today's massacre immediately calls to mind the Mother's Day 1985 bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune, ordered by Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode with the aid of the Reagan White House. Eleven black people were burned to death, five of them children, and an entire block of homes burned to the ground as a government message to all who stand up for their rights. It also recalls the 1942 Nazi obliteration of the Czech town of Lidice—executing all male inhabitants to avenge the killing of Reinhard Heydrich, architect of the "final solution" for European Jewry. Grotesquely, the Waco massacre comes on the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.

In a just society the perpetrators of this atrocity would stand in the dock before their surviving victims. But this capitalist society is organized racist injustice. Not one government official responsible for the bombing of MOVE was ever charged with a crime, while Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor, spent seven years in prison. Today, even as no life stirred in the burning embers, federal agents already discussed indictments for survivors of this brutal state massacre. The Partisan Defense Committee demands that no charges be filed against any Branch Davidian members, and that they all be immediately released.

Mobilize Now to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

U.S. death-row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is in a desperate struggle for his life. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, popular journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal is one of the more than 140 men and women waiting on Pennsylvania's death row.

In the early morning hours of 9 December 1981 the cops put a bullet in Jamal's stomach and then, in a classic Southern-style racist frame-up, convicted him of killing a cop. Jamal was sentenced to death for his political activities and beliefs, specifically for statements he made as a Black Panther Party member 12 years earlier.

"Save Mumia Abu-Jamal" has become the rallying cry for opponents of the death penalty and racist oppression the world over. The Partisan Defense Committee has played a leading

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SPARTACIST CANADA

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To Our Readers:

The recent Sixth National Conference of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste voted to produce *Spartacist Canada* six times a year. This change will allow us to provide a more timely analysis of events. A more frequent newspaper, as the collective organizer of our work, will also enable us to intervene more effectively in working-class and other social struggles. Subscription prices have been raised to reflect the increase in frequency. An SC sub will now cost \$3.00 for six issues (\$8.00 by first-class mail).

Balkanizing the Balkans

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 578 (18 June), newspaper of the *Spartacist League*/U.S.

In early May, the White House threatened air strikes against Serbian positions in Bosnia, proclaiming the U.S. to be "the world's only superpower." A Pentagon spokesman announced plans to send 20,000 U.S. troops into the Balkans. But when

Imperialism Keep Your Bloody Hands Off!

America's NATO allies called Clinton's bluff by demanding U.S. ground troops, Washington quickly backed off. As a "show of force," they have offered to put 300 "peacekeeping" troops into Macedonia, where there is at present no fighting. Two weeks ago a UN Security Council resolution authorized air strikes against Serbian forces to defend Muslim "safe havens." The Clinton administration "interpreted" this resolution to mean only the defense of the UN "peacekeeping" forces, not the Bosnian Muslim enclaves.

Now Washington's saber rattling over the Balkans has been followed...by attacks on African warlords in Somalia. The whole Somali military adventure in the guise of "humanitarian" aid was designed to demonstrate on the cheap that the U.S. was still the cops of the world. With classic Pentagon overkill, they brought in AC-130H Specter gunships—no doubt practicing for use against South-Central Los Angeles. Even the *New York Times* (13 June) commented acidly, "Does it mean that peacekeepers will be prepared to take decisive military action only when the adversary is a hapless, ill-trained rabble, like General Aidid's militia, and that Washington and its allies will continue to shrink from more difficult challenges, like quelling the fighting in Bosnia?"

Clinton's rapid backtracking over Bosnia has reinforced the image of a weak, vacillating and inept presidency. But Clinton's uncanny ability to shoot himself first in one foot and then the other is not just a matter of personal incompetence. Behind all the zigzags and inconsistencies of U.S. policy in the Balkans lie the weakness and contradictions of American imperialism. America's arrogant rulers long to punish the Serbian nationalists for flouting the dictates of the Western powers. The self-proclaimed sole superpower looks feeble if it cannot restore order in the Balkans. But neither Washington nor its imperialist allies/rivals know what kind of order they want to restore—or can possibly restore—in that region, a tinderbox of murderous nationalist passions and lust for historic vengeance.

For months we've been deluged with go-to-war propaganda against Serbia. The forced population transfers, called "ethnic cleansing," arising from the territorial conflict between three South Slavic peoples in Bosnia is being compared to the Nazi Holocaust. Belgrade strongman Slobodan Milosevic is portrayed as the Adolf Hitler of the Balkans. To gain popular support at home for a renewed Western imperialist overlordship in the Balkans, the media played up the plight of the Bosnian Muslims. But as the U.S. got cold feet about going in, suddenly they discovered that the Croatians were doing their own "cleansing" in Mostar, and now it's reported that Bosnian



Von Recklinghausen/Gamma-Liaison

Slavic Muslim refugees in Bosnian town of Srebrenica, victims of nationalist-communist bloodbath unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution in Yugoslavia.

Muslim forces are driving thousands of Croat refugees out of Travnik into the arms of Serbian troops!

While the American imperialists are clearly reluctant to rush into the Balkan quicksand, the liberal and rad-lib milieu has taken up "poor little Bosnia" as its latest cause, and various pseudo-leftists are falling over themselves trying to think up arguments for direct or indirect imperialist intervention against the Serbs. As Marxists and proletarian internationalists, we take no side in the squalid nationalist bloodbath that has ripped up the former Yugoslavia, establishing capitalist rule over the corpses of the workers and peasants of all nationalities. But we oppose all forms of imperialist intervention in the Balkans, from the economic boycott of Serbia to "peacekeeping" troops, whether or not they wear UN blue helmets.

U.S. Imperialism and the Balkan Quagmire

Washington is not opposed to a Greater Serbia as such provided it sets the terms for it. It was, after all, the Western imperialist powers—Britain and France—which, following World War I, established a far greater Serbia than anything Milosevic is aiming at. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles created Yugoslavia by attaching the South Slav regions (Slovenia and Croatia) of the defunct Habsburg Empire to the Kingdom of Serbia. The Yugoslavia of the Serbian monarchy was destroyed by the Nazi German invasion in 1940. The Germans then set up a puppet government in Croatia and Bosnia under the clerical-fascist Ustasha, who massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, as well as Jews and Gypsies.

In this cauldron of war and intercommunist slaughter, Tito's Communist Partisans fought and defeated the Croatian

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Sit-In Breaks Racist Ban at Sydney Pub

Australia

SYDNEY—On May 26, an integrated group of forty forcefully broke a racist ban against the right of Aborigines to enter and drink at an inner-city nightclub in the Student Prince Hotel here. Aborigines, trade-union members, communists, Maoris, Asians, and students from Sydney University and Tranby Aboriginal College entered the club as a disciplined and determined group. Three members of the Redfern All-Blacks (a local all-Aborigine rugby club) bellied up to the bar and demanded to be served. The other protesters made it clear that the bar would do no more business until they were, whereupon management opted to serve them.

As the victory party commenced, the protesters spoke to the roughly 100 other patrons on hand (unplugging the jukebox over management protest in order to be heard) and asserted:

“We are here tonight to ensure that everyone—regardless of the colour of their skin—gets served and that the racist exclusion imposed by the Student Prince Hotel management is not repeated.”

Among the speakers were All-Blacks captain Shane Phillips (brother of Tanya Phillips, a victim of the hotel's ban on May 8), two spokesmen of the Spartacist League, and Barbara Davis, another Aboriginal victim of the hotel's ban.

An hour later, after cheers and toasts from hotel patrons, many of whom were Sydney Uni students, the group left in good order. One Aboriginal former construction-union militant noted with satisfaction: “I've always been on the other side...outside the pub. This time I was on the inside, on the winning side.”

This action, modeled on the sit-ins in the American South in the early 1960s to integrate lunch counters and other facilities segregated under Jim Crow, was initiated by the Spartacist League of Australia. The club at the Student Prince, a few blocks from the Aboriginal ghetto in the Sydney community of Redfern, was becoming a popular drinking spot for Aboriginal youth when club management established a racist, anti-black quota, enforced by bouncers at the door who began turning away young men and women with filthy racist epithets.

The issue became public on May 11 when ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) television aired footage of two young Aboriginal women being excluded by the white bouncers at the door three nights earlier. The ABC reporter told *Australasian Spartacist* that she had witnessed six other Aboriginal youths being denied entrance that night; one of the victims told us she and some 20 other blacks were excluded within a one-hour period in an earlier incident on April 24. Breaking this disgusting and dangerous racist ban was a small but significant victory for Aborigines and all working people in Australia.

The ban at the Student Prince Hotel comes in the context of a decade of Labor Party rule which has brought on a sharp rise in racist hysteria and murderous oppression of Aborigines. In 1987 the rate of black deaths in police custody was already



Australasian Spartacist

Unionists, Aborigines, students celebrate anti-racist victory at Student Prince Hotel, 26 May.

13 times higher than in South Africa. Since that time the jailing of Aborigines in Australia has increased by 25 percent and in New South Wales, whose capital city is Sydney, it has increased by 80 percent. Incidents of police torture and killing of Aboriginal prisoners have increased accordingly.

Along with direct state repression, there are the effects of social and economic oppression. The death rate for black children is now two and a half times that for white children; for adult blacks the rate is three times that for white Australians. Preventable disease ravages Aboriginal communities, where tuberculosis has reached epidemic proportions.

The successful action at the Student Prince points to the centrality of working-class power in the fight against White Australia racism, and against the hideous oppression of Aborigines in particular. The action was joined by unionists from over half a dozen industries—including construction, maritime, hospital and postal—who have also experienced vicious Labor government attacks over the last ten years.

On a larger scale, the power of the working class in struggle against racial oppression was shown by the hard-fought, integrated meat workers strike in Townsville, Queensland in February. The strikers were defending Aboriginal stockman Eddie Alley, who was sacked for standing firm on the union principle of seniority and upholding union safety conditions. The strike spiked this racist anti-union attack and resulted in Alley's full reinstatement.

The Spartacist League was the only left organization to respond to the racist atrocity at the Student Prince Hotel. The two Laborite left organizations prominent on nearby Sydney University campus, the International Socialist Organisation and the Democratic Socialist Party, ignored the issue altogether. As SL spokesman Chris McCarthy told protesters on May 26, we fight to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the workers and all the oppressed, a Leninist party which is the tribune of the people, exposing and combatting capitalist attacks on the rights of all sections of society.

For workers revolution to smash the racist Australian capitalist order! For a racially integrated workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 577, 4 June

Canada's "Peacekeepers": Torture and Murder in Somalia

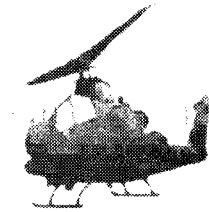
JUNE 17—As we go to press, the Somali capital of Mogadishu continues to undergo hellish terror-bombing by U.S. warplanes. At ground zero, no one knows how many innocent people have been killed by aerial bombardment and coordinated "free fire" by United Nations "peacekeepers."

On June 13 some 70 unarmed Somalis, many of them women and children, were gunned down by UN troops. Twenty were killed outright. Witnesses described a scene of horrible carnage as Pakistani soldiers wearing UN blue helmets sprayed the peacefully protesting crowd with machine-gun fire. The previous day the Pakistani troops fired on Somalis demonstrating in front of a military compound. Four Somalis were killed and 20 wounded as they marched on the former U.S. embassy to protest a pre-dawn attack by American AC-130H gunships and Cobra attack helicopters. The U.S. air assault was supposedly directed against Somali strongman General Aidid's "weapons storage centers," located in a heavily populated residential area.

As the bloodbath in Mogadishu makes deadly clear, the U.S./UN imperialists' "Operation Restore Hope" never had anything to do with delivering food relief to the starving Somali masses. The American expeditionary force was sent in when the famine was already dissipating. The real purpose was to allow the U.S. to act as global cops, and let President Bush look tough in the waning days of his presidency. Now with his poll ratings down, Democrat Clinton wants to do the same.

Washington's Canadian junior partners have played their full part in this massive terrorist operation. The 1,100-strong Canadian contingent drew first blood on February 17 in the north-western town of Belet Huen, where they fired into a crowd of 300 demonstrators who were allegedly armed with...stones. "The soldiers reacted extremely well.... They exercised about as much restraint as could be expected in the circumstances," bragged their commander Colonel Serge Labbé (*Globe and Mail*, 19 February). Then, on March 4, elite Canadian Airborne Regiment troops shot down two unarmed Somalis who entered the Belet Huen military compound, murdering one with a shotgun blast in the back as he lay wounded on the ground. Two days later Shidane Omar Arone, who was arrested (against the UN's own regulations) for trying to get food from the Canadian barracks, was beaten to death by paratroopers in his cell.

The Canadian Airborne Regiment shares the "Death from Above" ethos with imperialist paratroopers around the world. The *Globe and Mail's* Geoffrey York (7 May) quotes military historian Fred Gaffen: "The guys who volunteer for the Airborne are really gung-ho types. They would have been the first to go to Europe to fill the breach if there was a war with the Soviet Union." And any Algerian who lived through France's dirty colonial war against the National Liberation Front identifies "paras" with "crazed killers." French Colonial



Dan Eldon/Reuter

Mogadishu: Children flee U.S. attack helicopter.

Paras were a mainstay of fascist General Salan's "Secret Army Organization," the OAS, which conspired to assassinate bonapartist French president Charles De Gaulle for being "too soft" on the Algerian insurgents.

No surprise then that a nest of organized Nazis has been exposed within the Canadian Airborne in Belet Huen. The military now admits that "several" members of the regiment are known fascists and that the paratroopers' barracks at Petawawa, Ont. get "decorated" with swastikas and other Nazi regalia. Toronto Nazi führer Wolfgang Droege quickly confirmed to the press that "as many as two dozen" members of the Canadian Armed Forces belong to his Nazi Heritage Front (*Toronto Star*, 7 May). And the Toronto "security chief" of the fascist Church of the Creator is a former Airborne trooper.

The Canadian military threw a blanket over its murders of unarmed Somali civilians. Until an officer spilled the beans in a letter to his wife, the Canadian government and then-defense minister Kim Campbell refused to admit that the killings had even occurred. (Military Surgeon Maj. Barry Armstrong has since been flown back to a base near Quebec City "for his own safety.") Now the proceedings of a Canadian Military Police "inquiry" are being kept secret.

Four soldiers have been charged with second-degree murder, torture, and "negligent performance of duty" for the beating death of Shidane Omar Arone. No other charges have been laid. The Airborne assassins should be turned over to the families of their Somali victims; North American socialist revolution will square accounts with their imperialist commanders in Ottawa and Washington.

Canadian Cops for Imperialism

A parade of liberal and military commentators reacted to the Somali murders by wondering whether it might not have been a "mistake" to send Canada's "first to fight" Airborne psychopaths into a "sensitive" operation like Somalia. What really

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TL/LT Sixth National Conference

Winning Youth to the Fight for Communism

The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League, recently convened its Sixth National Conference to assess its work, evaluate the current political situation and adopt tasks and perspectives for the period ahead. Attending the conference, in addition to TL/LT members, were members and leaders of four Spartacus



SC photo

TL/LT national conference participants sing the Internationale. We go forward!

Youth Clubs, affiliated to Spartacist League/U.S. locals, and a delegation representing the ICL International Secretariat.

While still relatively small, the TL/LT has grown substantially since the last conference four years ago. Almost 25 percent of our members were recruited in the past year, and over half the membership is aged 26 or younger. For a number of young comrades, this was not only their first conference but also the first time they had even met each other face to face. The main document adopted unanimously by the conference noted the evident openings for continued growth and affirmed that "the focus of our work in the coming period can be summed up in two words: *youth recruitment*." And to that end the participants enthusiastically voted to establish Spartacus Youth Clubs in Toronto and Vancouver (see article on facing page).

The conference took place within the framework of the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, a world-historic defeat for the proletariat. Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolution, following those in the deformed workers states of East Europe, has had devastating consequences for workers, women and minorities from Central Asia to Moscow and Berlin, and has ushered in a triumphalist bourgeois offensive under the watchword of the "death of communism." Extensive discussion of these and related questions took place at the late 1992 Second International Conference of the ICL, the main document of which is published in the latest issue of our international journal *Spartacist* (No. 47-48, Winter 1992-93).

Following a report and discussion on the work of the ICL around the world, the first session of the TL/LT conference was devoted to a lively discussion on the strategy for building a

Leninist-Trotskyist party in the ex-USSR. Prepared by an extensive written exchange of views, more than 20 comrades spoke in the two rounds of discussion which centered on the political character of forces grouped in the so-called National Salvation Front.

Imperialist stooge Yeltsin wants to shut down whole swaths of industry in the name of privatization while imposing "shock treatment" dictated by the International Monetary Fund. But the national-"patriotic" forces around the Civic Union of Russian vice-president Aleksandr Rutskoi and industrial power-broker Arkady Volsky are no less committed to capitalist restoration than are the Yeltsinite "democrats." And, as we wrote in "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled" (SC No. 90, Winter 1992/93):

"[T]he Stalinist has-beens seek to be the 'left' flank of the counterrevolution's corporatist wing, whose most powerful representative is the Volsky/Rutskoi Civic Union bloc.... In the name of building the *derzhava*, the tsarist watchword for a Russian strong state, the RKRP & Co. have willingly submerged themselves in every reactionary lash-up, from the fascistic Russian National Sobor of the anti-Communist, anti-Semite Sterligov (who is now pushing restoration of the tsarist throne) to the newly founded 'left-right' National Salvation Front. Indeed, every grouping which issued out of the former CPSU...accepts the 'inevitability' of the 'market economy' (restoration of capitalism). They're simply squabbling over the terms—who gets to feed at the trough."

Only as part of the struggle to reforge an authentic world party of socialist revolution can the workers of the former Soviet Union cohere the leadership they need to sweep away the grotesque horrors they now confront.

Canada and the "New World Disorder"

The end of the Cold War has brought not a "New World Order," but an intensification of interimperialist rivalries, pointing ultimately to World War III. Global "free trade," which for decades held together the U.S.-dominated anti-Soviet alliance, is collapsing as the main imperialist powers compete for markets and seek to redivide the world into regional trade blocs. In Canada, the capitalist rulers have launched a frontal assault on the unions and social programs like medicare, UI and welfare under the watchword of "economic restructuring." They seek to decisively roll back wages, living standards and social services in order to compete effectively as a junior partner of U.S. imperialism in a protectionist "free trade" zone.

The past three years have seen a massive and unprecedented hemorrhaging of industrial jobs, above all in Southern Ontario. Unemployment has skyrocketed, especially among youth, and not one capitalist spokesman even pretends it will be better soon. The NDP social democrats were able to tap populist discontent with the Tories, Liberals and far-right B.C. Socreds to win elections in Ontario, B.C. and Saskatchewan. But in power they have proved their usefulness to the ruling class by enforcing vicious capitalist austerity against working people.

Discussion at the conference emphasized the need to pay centralized attention to developments in the labor movement,

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Young Spartacus



SC photo

Young Spartacus

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

As the capitalist rulers exult about the “death of communism,” their own decrepit system is breeding nothing but racist terror, mass unemployment, impoverishment and war. The whole system has got to go! We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs are the student and youth affiliates of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, and we’re looking to win a new generation to the fight to establish communism on the face of the planet. That’s the only way we stand any chance of stopping the capitalists from taking us and all of humanity down the tubes with them. We base our program on the revolutionary politics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and take as our model the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, when for the first time ever the working class took power and smashed capitalist rule.

Just look at what the “triumph” of “free enterprise” and “democracy” has wrought throughout Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union: starvation, homelessness, fascist terror, national slaughter. Despite Stalinist rule—the antithesis of communist internationalism—the bourgeoisie saw behind every struggle for social justice and liberation the hand of Red Russia. We take our stand on the proud history of the International Communist League which up and down the line defended the USSR and the other countries where capitalism was overthrown. We say Stalinism is dead—but communism lives in the struggle of working people around the world and in the consciousness of the organized revolutionaries!

Capitalism means war! In 1914-1918, millions were butchered as the ruling classes of the capitalist powers fought over who would exploit which part of the world. In World War II, 20 million Soviet citizens died to smash Hitlerism, while millions more were sacrificed on the altar of profit as the imperialists again tried to redivide the world. Now the U.S., Germany, Japan and their “trading partners” are gearing up to do it again. We say “The main enemy is at home!”

During the Persian Gulf “Desert Slaughter,” unlike some “socialists” who sported yellow ribbons and supported “our troops,” we took a side against our “own” ruling class, calling for labor strikes against the war and for military defense of Iraq against U.S./Canadian imperialism.

The U.S. globo-cops, with their junior Canadian partners in tow, are out to proclaim their “right” to murder the people of any tiny country which dares step out of line in the “New World Order.” We say: imperialist murderers out of the Balkans, out of Somalia! Defend Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea! Not one body, not one penny for the imperialist war machine! We support revolutionary struggles around the world, from the battles of South Korean workers and students to the fight to smash apartheid and capitalist superexploitation of black South African workers. Everywhere we say: those who labor must rule! Our job in the belly of the North American beast is to

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Keep the Scum on the Run!

Nazis Routed in Vancouver

On May 6, an integrated demonstration of 60 people—blacks, Asians, Jews, unionists, leftists, gays, youth—came out on less than one day's notice to protest and stop a Vancouver meeting of the fascist "Canadian League of Rights," a gang of notorious white supremacists and anti-Semites. Organized by the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste and the Partisan Defense Committee, the protesters chanted, "No Nazis in Vancouver! Fascists off the streets!" We closed down the meeting hall for well over an hour, repelling repeated fascist provocations, including one Hitlerite's attack with an iron bar. One anti-fascist suffered a crushed toe. But the Nazi ended up later with a yellow streak painted down his back and his head stuffed in a garbage can.

The demonstrators sent a clear message to the fascists that Vancouver is a labor and minority town, not a Nazi town. In response, the cops hauled four anti-fascist protesters off to jail, holding them there until the fascists had "safely" ended their meeting several hours later.

The Canadian League of Rights' Vancouver meeting was part of a B.C. "tour" by CLR founder Ron Gostick, who has been peddling anti-Semitic filth since at least 1949. The CLR figures prominently in the sinister World Anti-Communist League, headed by key Contragate operative U.S. General Singlaub, who oversaw Israeli arms shipments to the Nicaraguan contras. Behind the WACL are Taiwan and South Korea, as well as the Moonies and defenders of South African apartheid. The May 6 meeting was held in the offices of the "Procult Institute," run by one Jud Cyllorn, an infamous racist who served as "spiritual" advisor to former Social Credit premier Bill Vander Zalm.

When word got around that the CLR was planning an event in Victoria on May 5, the meeting, which was scheduled at a local hotel, was canceled under protest and pressure from opponents of fascist terror. In Vancouver, though some local leftists apparently learned of the planned fascist provocation several days in advance, they did nothing but poster a handful of leaflets calling to "gather" some blocks away. The three members of the International Socialists (I.S.) and one member



SC photo

Successful anti-fascist mobilization in Vancouver, May 6.

of Socialist Challenge (SC) who, with a couple of others, showed up for this diversion soon felt compelled to join our rally. The I.S.ers lifted not a finger to defend protesters against the fascists' provocations while the lone SC member exhorted militant youth to stop blocking an entrance to the Nazi meeting. He was rightly ignored.

While the fake-leftists may have cringed, anti-fascist protesters, who included a hard core of postal unionists, did what needed to be done. Following extensive TV and radio coverage, these militants were warmly greeted at work, in restaurants and on the streets with hearty congratulations. Many in Vancouver remember when thousands of determined anti-fascists stopped a threatened Nazi rally on January 22. As our call for the May 6 demo said: "Let's keep the Nazis on the run! Labor/minorities have the power!" ■

Somalia...

(continued from page 5)

makes these people nervous is not the killing of defenseless black people—the kind of racist atrocity that Canadian police carry out on a regular basis—but the "badly tarnished" image of Canada's "peacekeeping" forces abroad.

The idea that the imperialist Canadian ruling class has a "traditional role of peacekeeping" as opposed to the warmongers in Washington is a myth. Far from being counterposed to U.S. military savagery, Canada's "peacekeeping" façade has been extremely useful to U.S. imperialism, providing a "neutral" and "democratic" cover for anti-Communist adventures and neo-colonial plunder. From 1950 to 1953, more than 20,000 Canadian troops served in the U.S./UN "police action" to crush the "red menace" in Korea, helping to slaughter three million

Koreans in the process. In the Congo in the early 1960s, Canadian "peacekeepers" helped overthrow the government of Patrice Lumumba, a prominent fighter against Belgian colonialism. A corrupt puppet government was installed, and Lumumba was assassinated by the CIA. In Vietnam, the Golan Heights and Sinai, the story is the same.

"Peace" under the imperialist "order" is a space between wars, which capitalism endlessly breeds. Lamentations for a return to Canada's fabled "peace-loving" history—that-never-was are not going to end the imperialists' reign of terror and death. What's needed to stop the means of production and the means of destruction—world socialist revolution that breaks the back of the racist capitalist murder machine once and for all. U.S./Canada, get out of Somalia! Imperialist butchers, hands off the world! ■

Bloody Nazi Attacks in Ontario

Labor Must Stop the Fascists!

Brothers and sisters, we have a job to do. The Heritage Front Nazis are on the offensive in the cities and towns of Southern Ontario, and they must be stopped—fast. They're still small, but today in Toronto gangs of Hitler-loving thugs feel bold enough to terrorize immigrants, to march into high schools, university lecture halls, even meetings of Jewish and anti-racist organizations, spewing racist poison and snapping their stiff-arm salutes. These deadly provocations threaten all working people in the heart of one of the most ethnically diverse regions in the world. We, the multiracial working class, have the muscle to stop these scum cold, before they grow—let's use it!

Some say: ignore the fascists, go home, pull down your blinds. But they *can't* be ignored. In just the last few weeks a Jewish shopkeeper in Kitchener was assaulted and threatened with death for refusing to serve Nazi punks in his store. A black



Boris Spremo/Toronto Star

Restaurant worker Sivarajah "Roger" Vinasithamby, a Tamil refugee, lies in Toronto hospital partially paralyzed after savage Nazi attack.

worker from a young-women's shelter in Toronto was first hounded from her job, and then driven out of the city by neo-Nazi terrorists, who then pursued her and ransacked her home. The savage June 7 beating of Tamil restaurant worker Roger Vinasithamby has sparked widespread anger and revulsion. A refugee and father of three, he was attacked by fascist skinheads in a dark alley behind his Toronto workplace. He lies semi-paralyzed in a hospital. *These racist atrocities must be avenged!*

The fascists are paramilitary action squads whose program is to maim and kill, culminating in genocide. Fifty years ago the Soviet Red Army smashed Hitler's regime and ended the horrors of the Holocaust. But now the misery brought by capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the ex-USSR, together with a worldwide capitalist economic crisis, has spawned an upsurge of fascist terror around the globe. In the German Fourth Reich, Nazi terrorists have firebombed refugee hostels, murdering Turkish women and girls and other immi-

grant workers.

In Canada the Nazis number only a couple hundred. But Wolfgang Droege, Ernst Zundel and their violence-crazed skinhead boot-boys are encouraged by the racist policies emanating from Parliament Hill. While the government takes aim at foreign-born workers and refugees and the racist Toronto cops gun down minority youth, the fascists think it's open season on gays, Jews, Native people—anyone who doesn't fit their sick profile of a white "master race." And in situations of intense class struggle when the capitalists feel their rule is being threatened by the working class—as in Germany and Italy in the 1920/30s—they will finance the fascist killers and allow them to come to power in order to smash the workers and our organizations.

The bosses want to split us apart, to divide every factory, workplace, school and neighborhood into white vs. black, "Canadian" vs. immigrant, English vs. French, etc. To preserve our unions and our ability to resist the bosses' attacks, our workers movement must champion the interests of the most vulnerable, whom the fascists go after first, believing that no-one will rise to their defense. Labor must smash the racist immigration laws and fight for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers; it must fight for full democratic rights for gays and oppose the brutal oppression of Native people.

The Fight Against Fascism Begins in the Factory

Black, white, Asian, Jewish, men and women: our skills and toil built the industries, the communications and transportation systems, and we make them run. Our collective muscle can bring the whole economy, and the bosses' profits with it, to a grinding halt. That's the power the bosses fear, the power that can stop the Nazis.

In 1933, a mass mobilization by thousands from the unions, left and Jewish organizations at Toronto's Christie Pits put a stop to the Hitler-loving Swastika Clubs. Three years later, on a single day in 1936, 250,000 Communist-led workers mobilized on Cable Street in London, England's heavily Jewish east end to protect the community from a planned march by Oswald Mosley's fascist Blackshirts. The resulting battle eliminated the Hitler-lovers from the streets of Britain for an entire generation.

Throughout the 1980s, our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. as well as the Partisan Defense Committee initiated mass labor/black mobilizations that stopped the fascists cold in cities from San Francisco and Washington, D.C. to Chicago and Philadelphia. In Vancouver this January, the PDC together with the Trotskyist League brought out determined contingents of longshore, postal and other unionists, forming the solid labor core of a 3,000-strong demonstration that stopped a planned Nazi rally to "welcome" U.S. White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger. Metzger's thugs ended up fleeing through the darkened alleys of downtown Vancouver, pursued by hundreds of demonstrators.

(continued on page 10)

Nazi Murders in Germany

Worker/Immigrant Mobilization To Smash Fourth Reich Terror!

The following leaflet was issued by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany on May 29 for an emergency protest in Berlin on the day that Nazis murdered five Turkish women and girls by firebombing a house in Solingen in the Ruhr district.

* * *

Immediately after the Christian Democrats, Free Democrats and Social Democrats rip up the right to asylum, the fascists go into action to celebrate this decision and translate it into grisly deeds. Once again, as with the Rostock pogrom and the arson murders in Mölln last year, the "pillars of the community" in Bonn instigated the Nazi firebombers. At that time there was a wave of outrage among youth and trade unionists. Rage and mourning (the Autonom slogan) are natural, but they won't stop the Nazis—and "chains of light" certainly won't. After Mölln there were discussions in the factories about self-defense. Now we must mobilize the power that can stop the terror gangs, above all the organized working class with its powerful component of immigrants.

Like the mass unemployment which breeds these murder

bands, Nazi terror comes out of capitalist reunification, which was spearheaded by the SPD. Counterrevolution throughout East Europe and the former Soviet Union unleashed racist terror and attacks on the workers, minorities, and on women and the right to abortion. In Italy the fascists have started up again with their "strategy of tension." But throughout Europe the workers are resisting. The public workers strike in May of last year and the recent east German steel and metal workers strike have shown that the workers can and will fight. It is necessary for the working class to take power in order to end Nazi terror once and for all.

As we did on January 30, the 60th anniversary of Hitler's takeover, in calling on the trade unions and anti-fascist youth in organizing the successful defense of an immigrant hostel in Berlin, it is now necessary to drive the fascists out of their rat holes in an organized and powerful way and mobilize the workers to beat back Bonn's decision on asylum. Outbreaks of impotence and despair lead to nothing. **The hour has struck for organizing well-directed workers action against the fascist murder gangs. ■**

Bloody Nazi Attacks...

(continued from page 9)

In opposition to this kind of worker/minority action, liberals and reformists like the NDP push "anti-hate" laws, or urge the capitalist state and its police to "ban" the Nazis. But the state isn't neutral: it exists to enforce the bosses' racist rule. The 50 fascist thugs who menaced a Jewish anti-racist meeting in late April had cop protection. In May, an integrated anti-racist meeting at Harbourfront was crashed by Droege and his thugs, who just wanted to "present the viewpoint" of the Holocaust, the burning cross and the lynch rope. Then, too, the cops protected Droege and threw out anti-fascist protesters from the Trotskyist League who tried to shout him down. In Ottawa on May 29, TV cameras caught skinheads giving Hitler salutes and savagely kicking anti-racist protesters near Parliament Hill as the police looked on.

If you've ever defended a picket line, you know the story: cops bash strikers' heads, herd in the scabs. Reformist/liberal calls to rely on the government, cops and courts are meant to reinforce passivity and timidity. They can only result in defeat of workers' struggles, and stepped-up terror from the fascist bands.

Fight for Workers Power!

A decisive blow against the Nazi threat would be a big victory for labor and all decent people in Ontario. When you get down to it, there are only two basic forces in society that have the

power to decide the outcome of social struggles. The ruling class has the power of capital, backed by their cops, courts, prisons and armed forces—in short, the state. Our strength lies in our numbers and our organizations, and in our consciousness of the simple truth that we make this society run.

The Hitlerite psychos are loathed among broad sections of the population. Disciplined contingents of trade unionists defending the public meetings of Jews, blacks and anti-racist organizations would make short shrift of fascist provocations. And a massive display of labor power mobilizing all of us—everyone the fascists want to destroy—could sweep away Droege and his band of race-terrorists. This is the strategy the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste and the Partisan Defense Committee are fighting to put into action.

We urgently need to win a few battles, if we are to break the cycle of busted unions, givebacks, sellouts. But labor can't fight back as long as it's shackled to the capitalist system via the NDP and tied hand and foot to the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. "Social Contract" Ontario under Bob Rae and the NDP promises more union-busting capitalist austerity, more racist attacks on minorities and foreign-born workers. A class-struggle mobilization to stop the Heritage Front Nazis would give a taste of the power that must be brought to bear in the fight for a socialist future.

Decrepit capitalist rule finds its horrible expression in imperialist wars, in mass poverty and unemployment—and now in the fascist infestation of our streets. Let's fight to stop them—and to win state power for our own class, the working people who built all the wealth of this country. ■

International Socialists Sabotage Anti-Fascist Protest

In Ottawa on May 29, more than 600 young people, blacks, Near Eastern workers and others turned out to oppose a well-publicized recruitment rally by the Nazi Heritage Front and Church of the Creator. But what should have been a humiliating defeat for the fascists that Saturday night, wasn't.

Instead, after their "Rock for Racism concert" the Nazis went on a violent rampage. Protected by Ottawa police as they had been all evening, the "White Power" thugs laid a savage beating on a handful of anti-fascists who gave chase. A young woman was kicked in the face and had her nose broken. Half a dozen other anti-fascists were bloodied with bottles and baseball bats. A homeless man was dragged half a block by the hair and beaten.

The Nazi terrorists must be stopped! Street clashes by isolated groups of militants won't do the job—only the power of the multiracial labor movement, mobilized at the head of all the fascists' intended victims, can drive the Nazi rats back into their sewers. For labor/minority mobilizations to stop fascist terror!

I.S. Organizes a Victory...for the Heritage Front

The responsibility for the May 29 defeat lies directly with the "official" demonstration organizers. The International Socialists (I.S.) and their liberal and NDP allies in the "Anti-Racist Coalition" *deliberately split the anti-fascist forces, isolating the most militant among them and thus surrendering the streets of Ottawa to the Nazi terrorists.*

Hundreds of those who marched on May 29, including a Trotskyist League contingent, wanted to *shut the Nazis down.* Many had bused in from as far away as Montreal, Toronto and St. Catharines, determined that the fascists would not raise the swastika and Confederate flag of racist terror in the capital.

The I.S. & Co. had very different plans. Originally, they had

planned to lead the protest away from the fascists through trendy Byward Market. In the end, the march did go to the site of the fascists' "concert." But the moment it arrived at the Boys and Girls Club building on Nepean St., demonstration organizers strove to divert it into an adjacent, fenced-in lot. Scores of militants ignored them and poured past a squad of Ottawa police, followed by the rest of the crowd.

The cops hastily withdrew to protect the entrance to the building, where 60 of the white-supremacist garbage found themselves cornered by the hundreds of angry protesters massed outside. Time and again groups of demonstrators tried to surge through the police line, which was soon bolstered by a wedge of black helmets from the riot squad. Several anti-fascists were roughed up and maced with pepper spray.

Acting like junior police auxiliaries, I.S. supporters helped organize a section of the demonstration to link arms and force the crowd back. Frontline protesters trying to protect themselves from the blows of the cops found themselves attacked from behind by "anti-fascist" marshals. Desperate to smother the militancy of "their" protest, organizers tried announcing that the fascists were packing up to go. This was a deliberate lie ("I'll tell them that, if you think they'll buy it," one organizer was overheard telling the cops). As the Nazi music could be heard inside the building, an I.S. leader took the bullhorn to declare "victory."

Then came the decisive stab in the back. The wall of marshals under I.S. direction physically split the demonstration, deserting young Anti-Racist Action (ARA) militants who were trapped against a chain-link fence by the police. As the marshals forced two-thirds of the demonstration down a side street, Trotskyist League supporters urged protesters not to abandon ARA. Dozens responded and remained in anti-fascist solidarity. Nevertheless, the I.S. succeeded in isolating the most militant and determined demonstrators, setting the stage for the Nazi counterattack that followed.

Make no mistake: the treachery of the I.S. and their liberal allies will embolden the Heritage Front to escalate its campaign of racist violence. The Front's racist telephone hotline in Toronto crowed for two days about their "victory" in Ottawa. The next weekend, a Tamil refugee was jumped by a skinhead in an alley outside his Toronto workplace. The 41-year-old father of three lies in a hospital, partially paralyzed.

I.S.' "Anti-Fascist Strategy": Love the Liberals, Trust the Cops and Be Somewhere Else

May 29 has blown the I.S.' "anti-fascist" masquerade out of the water. Although their coalition was endorsed by the Ottawa District Labour Council, they made no effort to bring out the ranks of labor. Instead, they angled for a grand alliance of pacifist liberals, NDP social democrats and trade union bureaucrats. Throughout, they maintained "solidarity" with these pro-capitalist reformers who plead with the government to enact "anti-extremist laws" and advise reliance on the police to deal with the Nazis. The I.S., too, is happy to count on the cops. In March 1992, they allowed a group of swastika-waving

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SC photo

TL/LT contingent in Ottawa demonstration called for labor/minority action to stop the fascists.

Smash Anti-Labor Offensive...

(continued from page 1)

they tighten the screws on the workers at home, they are impelling the proletariat into struggle. The capitalist rulers in Washington and Ottawa are building a protectionist "Fortress North America" against West Europe and Japan. They are driving down wages, living standards and working conditions on both sides of the 49th parallel, while dismantling the relatively better social services north of the border. The extension of "free trade" south to Mexico will mean wholesale economic rape of that impoverished country by North American multinationals. The only way to fight this onslaught by the imperialist rulers is common, internationalist class struggle by the workers of Canada, the U.S., Mexico and beyond.

Unemployment, poverty, racist cop brutality, imperialist war—these are the signature of the capitalist ruling class. Capitalism can't be reformed or legislated into providing a decent



NDP premiers Harcourt (left, draped in B.C. flag) and Rae impose bosses' anti-worker austerity program.

living wage and life for the working people. It is necessary to smash the profit system, root and branch! And for that, *a genuinely communist leadership must be forged on a revolutionary internationalist program to fight for workers rule.*

NDP Hitmen for Capitalist Austerity

The capitalist rulers have shut down plant after plant, laid off hundreds of thousands, slashed wages, benefits and social programs. But today the charge on their behalf isn't just being led by the arrogant Brian Mulroney/Kim Campbell federal Tories. In B.C. and Saskatchewan, and especially in Ontario, New Democratic Party provincial governments have launched unprecedentedly savage attacks on the working class and the poor.

In B.C., the Mike Harcourt NDP government busted a Vancouver teachers strike. In Saskatchewan, Roy Romanow & Co. forced a two-year wage freeze down the throats of provincial government workers. And the Ontario NDP has announced no less than \$4 billion in cuts to social services, education and health care, with another \$6 billion to be ripped from public-sector wages the next three years through mass layoffs

and pay cuts.

With its organic links to the labor movement via the trade union bureaucracy, the NDP is better positioned to stifle working-class resistance than the big-business Tories and Liberals. Striking deeper and harder than Tory or Liberal governments dared, Bob Rae's government is closing hospitals, eliminating free prescriptions for the poor and elderly and threatening welfare recipients with "workfare"—finding a (non-existent) job or being cut off. In a grotesque racist turn of the knife, all medical coverage for Ontario's 80,000 refugee claimants has been withdrawn.

Recently, a federal employment department report warned that "a widening class split is becoming the new locus for political conflict in Canadian society." In Ontario a social polarization is developing in opposition to the deeply unpopular NDP government. The Reform Party and other right wingers are trying to whip up a populist "tax revolt" claiming Rae's government shows the "bankruptcy of socialism." These racist, anti-labor reactionaries are so rabid that they see Rae's regime as the "Red Menace" incarnate.

That is hardly the sentiment among growing numbers of working people who are taking it on the chin as the NDP carries out the edicts of the Bay Street moneybags. Demonstrations of up to 5,000 public-sector workers have bitterly denounced the NDP's treachery, chanting: "Hey Rae, what's the story? You're acting just like a Tory." NDPers are quitting the party left and right, while union locals representing tens of thousands of workers are voting to break ties.

Most dramatically, the members of the 23,000-strong Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 222 in Oshawa voted overwhelmingly to disaffiliate from the party. This vote was initiated by the "Members' Committee Against Political Affiliation," a right-wing faction in the union which adamantly opposes any kind of independent labor political action. Some among them pandered to racist and chauvinist backwardness by opposing Native hunting and fishing rights and denouncing provincial employment equity programs as an attack on white males. But support for cutting NDP ties went way beyond this reactionary crew, who had repeatedly been defeated in past calls for disaffiliation and who lost heavily in simultaneous elections for the local executive. As the *Toronto Star* (6 March) put it: "This time, those dissidents were joined by former NDP-backers fed up with the Rae government's broken promises and by its apparent inaction amid a flurry of layoffs and plant closings."

Local 222's action flew in the face of the CAW national bureaucracy, long the heart and soul of the NDP's trade union base. Former CAW chief Bob White (now head of the Canadian Labour Congress) is a vice-president of the federal party. Buzz Hargrove, White's successor as CAW president, worked overtime to sell the NDP to disgruntled autoworkers as "their" party. But huge numbers of workers in this country today do not see the NDP as "their" party, but as just another gang of pro-capitalist politicians waging austerity attacks against the working people.

With the New Democrats so flagrantly on the side of the bosses, there is a real opening right now for breaking away the NDP's working-class base to the fight for a *genuine* workers party. It's clear that even the most elementary social struggles require a new leadership, one committed to a no-holds-barred fight against the bosses and their agents. Working people seeking to turn back the NDP/Tory/big-business onslaught need a *revolutionary workers party*, forged through political struggle against the NDP traitors and pro-capitalist union tops.

Militant Italian workers protest against government and union leaders' complicity in destroying union gains.



La Repubblica

Yet, at a time when literally hundreds of thousands of workers are seeking an alternative to the New Democrats, various self-proclaimed "revolutionary socialists" see it as their task to refurbish the NDP, to foster renewed illusions in these pro-capitalist sellouts. Their latest hero is long-time Windsor NDP MP Steven Langdon, recently fired as Audrey McLaughlin's shadow finance minister for publicly criticizing the Rae government.

Langdon has gathered a coterie of disaffected "left" social democrats with his calls for a return to "traditional social-democratic values." From Bob White and Buzz Hargrove on down, the labor brass have embraced Langdon as the new savior. From the "far left," *Socialist Worker* (June 1993) cheers that "Langdon's open letter voiced the thoughts of many NDP members and trade unionists" and calls on NDP riding associations to pass motions supporting him. *Socialist Challenge* (May-June) claims "Only an aggressive anti-capitalist program will seize the initiative for the NDP as the party of labour and all working people."

But the NDP's "traditional social-democratic values" have absolutely nothing in common with an "anti-capitalist program." Even within the spectrum of social democracy internationally, the NDP has always been a wretchedly right-wing outfit. From the day it was created—by the CLC union bureaucrats, not by "labour and all working people"—the NDP has been a fervently pro-capitalist, pro-NATO, anti-Communist tool of the Canadian ruling class. Founding leaders like David Lewis cut their teeth purging Communists from the trade unions. The party's 1961 founding program even opposed traditional social-democratic calls for nationalization of industry, substituting vague blather about "expand[ing] public and co-operative ownership." From Tommy Douglas in Saskatchewan to mass strikebreaker Dave Barrett in B.C. to the queen's future governor-general Ed Schreyer in Manitoba, whenever the NDP has graced the government benches it has acted as a willing servant of the capitalists. Replacing Bob Rae and Audrey McLaughlin by Steven Langdon and Peter Kormos won't change any of this one iota.

For Working-Class Internationalism!

Intensified imperialist rivalries have led to a sharpening of class antagonisms, but they've also produced a wave of national-

ism. Within the labor movement this is reflected in the growth of protectionist sentiment. On May 1, the CAW bureaucracy organized a 1,000-strong rally outside the Scarborough, Ont. General Motors van plant which GM has closed as part of its continent-wide jobs massacre. CAW spokesmen centered their attacks not on the GM bosses but on autoworkers in the U.S., Mexico and Japan, who were accused of "stealing jobs." Similarly, the CLC tops tried to make the mammoth May 15 Ottawa anti-lory protest a rally for "Canadian values"—as if Canadian bosses are really more "caring" than their American counterparts.

At bottom, protectionism means a call for trade war—and trade wars lead, in the end, to shooting wars. This crap plays right into the hands of the capitalists' racist campaigns against immigrants and minorities. The bosses are increasing the rate of exploitation by pitting workers of different countries against each other in dog-eat-dog competition to "save" a dwindling number of jobs by working harder for less pay. But the only way to save jobs is through *hard class struggle across national boundaries!*

On the heels of their "death of Communism" cant, the
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Smash Anti-Labor Offensive...

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bourgeoisie has announced the "end of the welfare state." Today, all of the euphemisms for a supposedly reformed capitalism ("social market economy" in Germany, Sweden's "third way," etc.) are out the window. Throughout the post-WWII period, the imperialist powers were compelled to deal with the existence of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state which had moreover greatly increased its authority among European workers thanks to its victory over Nazi Germany. Especially in Europe, the bourgeoisie felt they had to concede the "welfare state" in order to pacify the working masses, and the social democrats and Stalinists were glad to enlist in such a project.

For decades, global "free trade" held together the U.S.-dominated anti-Soviet alliance. But now, with the collapse of the USSR thanks to the unremitting pressure of imperialism combined with decades of betrayal by the Stalinist misrulers, the postwar world has come unglued. The major imperialist powers are intensifying competition for markets and seeking to redivide the world into regional trade blocs, and they see vital social programs as an unnecessary overhead expense. That's what's behind their relentless drive against the working class and poor, from Toronto and New York to Tokyo and Berlin.

In the face of these wholesale attacks the most that CLC chief Bob White and his kind have done is organize a Saturday stroll in Ottawa while hundreds of thousands of jobs go down the tubes. Everywhere, the pro-capitalist union brass act as the bosses' lieutenants in the workers movement, policing the ranks by issuing formal declarations of "outrage" to make the record while diverting workers' anger into NDP parliamentarism.

To wage a fight against capitalism, the workers movement must be mobilized independently of, and against, the capitalist state. A new, revolutionary leadership must be built in political struggle against the NDP social democrats, the union bureaucracy and their "left" apologists and accomplices. Such a leadership will take up the cause of immigrants, mobilizing labor to smash fascist/racist attacks and demanding full citizenship rights



SC photo

St. Catharines, December 1992: Angry autoworkers rally against GM plant closures.

for foreign-born workers. It will forge working-class unity through defending the national rights of the Québécois people while simultaneously opposing dead-end bourgeois nationalism in Quebec. It will promote the joint international struggle of the working people, throughout North America and beyond, against their common capitalist class enemy.

Day by day the New Democrats are demonstrating to hundreds of thousands of workers that they are on the side of the capitalists against the working class. The task of the day is to win the most advanced of these workers to the understanding that without socialist revolution and the inauguration of an international socialist planned economy, mankind's future is bleak indeed. It's fight or starve! For a revolutionary workers party to lead the struggle for North American socialist revolution! ■

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International Socialists...

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skinheads to strut unmolested through an anti-racist protest in Vancouver, while an I.S. leader at the microphone reassured demonstrators that they would be protected by...plainclothes police in the crowd!

Marxists understand that the cops are the overwhelming source of violence against minorities and working people. Their job is to defend the racist capitalist status quo, just as they defended the Heritage Front on May 29. Fascism is a *product of capitalism*, its most barbaric expression. Defeating the Nazis requires a leadership prepared to fight against the capitalist order, against the whole oppressive system of racist terror, wage-labor and production for profit.

The I.S. wants no part of this and never has. Fifteen years ago their elder brothers in the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) set up an "Anti Nazi League" (ANL) in alliance with sundry liberals and Labour Party politicians. On September 24, 1978, two thousand Nazis from the National Front staged a "March Against Communism" through London's East Indian Brick Lane neighborhood. Some 1,200 protesters responded to the call of a local immigrant organization and came out to try and stop the Nazis, but were penned in by a massive police mobilization.

Where was the ANL? Miles away in South London holding an anti-Nazi "Carnival," in full knowledge that the fascists were marching in the east end. While close to 100,000 people partied in the sun with the ANL, the National Front stormed through Brick Lane, terrorizing residents. Later, SWP leader Tony Cliff justified this scandalous betrayal by claiming that to have actually tried to stop the fascists would have meant "the splitting of the ANL."

I.S.' "Socialist Alternative": Hate Communism and Vote NDP No Matter What

These acts of sabotage are not "mistakes," but expressions of the I.S.' whole political program of "left" anti-Communist social democracy. Their international tendency began when Cliff and his British followers walked out of the Trotskyist Fourth International in the early 1950s. When the imperialist Cold War turned hot in Korea, they *refused to defend* North Korea against U.S./British aggression, even as UN troops helped butcher millions of Korean workers and peasants. This was a direct capitulation to the bitterly anti-Communist British Labour Party, which fully supported the imperialist slaughter.

Over the years, in every conflict pitting "democratic" imperialism against the Soviet Union and other workers states, the I.S. have placed themselves squarely on the wrong side. Today *Socialist Worker* bemoans the nationalist bloodshed, anti-Semitism and economic collapse in the ex-USSR. But less than two years ago they proudly took their stand with priests, monarchists and outright fascists on Boris Yeltsin's Moscow barricades as the Russian leader staged a pro-capitalist coup on behalf of Western imperialism. "Magnificent!" they called it (*Socialist Worker*, September 1991).

Back in 1981, the White House's favorite "union," the Polish Solidarność movement, struck for capitalist counterrevolution. The I.S. cheered them on, calling them "the best union in the world." Today, the priest-ridden regime the I.S. demanded has wiped out abortion rights for women, while Solidarność strong-

man Lech Walesa enforces miserable capitalist poverty. From Warsaw to Moscow and throughout East Europe, groups like the I.S. who cheered for "democratic" counterrevolution share, to the limited extent they have influence on events, the responsibility for the present disastrous state of affairs. So pumped up was this crowd over the so-called "Death of Communism," that last summer I.S. leaders launched a brutal physical assault on supporters of the Trotskyist League outside an I.S. "public debate" in Toronto (see *SC* No. 89, Fall 1992).

Unlike much of the left in English Canada, the I.S. prefers to operate formally outside the New Democratic Party. But don't be fooled. Even as the provincial NDP governments batter working people and the poor on behalf of the Bay Street moneybags, the I.S. calls to...re-elect them. ("We have little option but to vote NDP," whimpers *Socialist Worker*.) Last fall they even lined up behind Mulroney's Tories in voting Yes in the constitutional referendum which asked for an oath of loyalty to the "united" Canadian bourgeois state. And in Ottawa on May 29 they cheered NDP spokesman Marion Dewar when she hailed "Ontario's tradition of compassion" and pleaded for "peaceful protest" against the Nazis. When the Trotskyist League contingent chanted "Break with the sellout NDP—Build a fighting workers party!" I.S.ers tried to shout us down.

In the aftermath of their May 29 fiasco, the I.S. scurried to reassure their NDP allies, joining in a nasty media campaign which equated militant anti-fascists with the Nazi terrorists. I.S. spokesman Pam Frache complained to the *Ottawa Sun* (31 May) about "problems with some of the anti-racist factions looking for direct confrontation" with the Heritage Front. Now



Dave Chan/Ottawa Citizen

Heritage Front Nazis rampage in downtown Ottawa after I.S. splits anti-fascist demonstration.

an I.S. "Statement of Principles for a Coalition Against the Nazis (CAN)" promises to police future demonstrations. This document denounces those who declined to accept I.S. "leadership" on May 29 and demands a "strategy for dealing with potential disruptions by groups like Toronto ARA, Montreal SHARP, the Toronto Trotskyist League, etc."

Unlike the I.S., we of the Trotskyist League fight for mass, labor-centered united-front mobilizations to *stop* the fascists. Youth seeking a road to fight against the racist status quo certainly won't find it among the "big time" NDP social democrats—or among the I.S. wannabes. ■

Balkans...

(continued from page 3)

Ustasha, Serbian royalist Chetniks and Nazi German occupiers, thereby laying the basis for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, postwar Yugoslavia was from the outset a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Especially after Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy fissured along national lines. That fissuring was personified by Milosevic, who took over the Serbian League of Communists in the late 1980s, and Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman, a former general in the Yugoslav Federal Army who became a notorious apologist for the Ustasha.

With capitalist counterrevolution sweeping East Europe and then the Soviet Union in 1989-91, Tudjman asked for and received Western, especially German, imperialist backing in creating a Croatian client state. In the eyes of the U.S. rulers, Milosevic's only crime is that he has tried to redraw the boundaries of the Balkans without getting Washington's approval first. Current imperialist strategy—to the extent that there is one—is to starve the Serbian people in order to pressure Milosevic into reining in the Bosnian Serbian militias. But the Bosnian Serbs have defied Milosevic, who himself has come under heavy political attack from even more fanatical Serbian nationalists.

Direct U.S./NATO military intervention risks igniting an ever-widening Balkan war, potentially involving both Russia, historically the protector of its Balkan "Slavic little brothers," and Turkey, in support of the Bosnian Muslims and Albanians. The Balkan conflagration could prove a decisive obstacle in the already difficult project of transforming Russia into an American neocolony through Washington's agent, Boris Yeltsin. U.S./NATO attacks on Serbian forces would give Yeltsin's Russian nationalist opponents an emotionally powerful issue. And while Russian diplomats have voted for all the anti-Serbian sanctions in the UN, they've lobbied for a softer line. However, Washington's other major ally in the region, Turkey, is pushing a hawkish line against Serbia.

Today the imperialists are held back from intervening more massively in the Balkans by their own competing interests and the daunting prospect of untangling the interpenetrated peoples of the former Yugoslavia. But the region is a powder keg and the fuse is burning. The world situation today resembles the pre-1914 period of mounting imperialist rivalries. It is widely known that World War I was triggered by national disputes in the South Slav region. But it was more than just some Serb nationalist shooting an Austrian archduke. The first imperialist world war, with its horrendous carnage, was prefigured by a succession of Balkan Wars manipulated by the Great Powers, fueled by rival local nationalisms and marked by constant shifts in alliances.

The direct origins go back to the Russo-Turkish War of 1875. With the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia, while Serbia and Bulgaria became independent monarchies under Russian protectorship. In the first Balkan War of 1912, Serbia and Bulgaria seized Macedonia and the Albanian-populated province of Kosovo from the Turks. The



Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

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

next year the two South Slav monarchies went to war with one another over division of the spoils, with the Serbs coming out on top. A year later the whole world was in flames.

While the imperialist powers and their various factions debate what to do about the Balkan crisis, we have insisted that in the face of U.S./NATO intervention we defend the Serbs, while calling on the Serbian working class to overthrow its nationalist-capitalist misleaders in an internationalist struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans stretching from the Danube to the Aegean Sea.

Liberals, Leftists Spearhead Anti-Serbian Warmongering

The response in the U.S. to the new outbreak of Balkan wars is something of a reversal of the usual political lineup. The right wing of the bourgeoisie has generally advised against military intervention, while the screechiest anti-Serbian hawks have been liberals and self-styled radicals. In the U.S. Senate, the warmongering has been led by Democrats such as Biden and DeConcini, who demanded "Bomb the Serbs. Now" on the op-ed page of the *New York Times* (18 May). Echoing this line is Paul Hockenos, East European correspondent for the social-democratic *In These Times* (28 October 1992): "A quick, decisive invasion of Bosnia-Herzegovina—on the scale of Operation Desert Storm—is an option that the left should rally around as forcefully as any issue since opposition to the Vietnam War."

Such outright calls to "send in the Marines" are still a bit much for most anti-Serb warmongers of the "left." They prefer the Clinton line of providing tanks, artillery and other heavy weaponry to the Bosnian Muslim forces. This is the main program of the self-styled Campaign for Peace and Democracy, a group of rad-lib academics who more accurately should have called it the "Campaign for War and Imperialist Domination in the Balkans." Last week, this group rallied at the UN around the slogans: "Lift the Arms Embargo on Bosnia! Allow the Democratic, Multi-Ethnic Bosnian Republic to Defend Itself Against Aggression."

The same line is put forward by Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) in its February resolution, titled "For a Multi-Ethnic and Sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina," which states: "The demand to lift the embargo on sending arms to the Bosnian forces is an answer to the main Greater Serbian aggression...." This is nothing but a call on Yankee imperialism,

the Fourth Reich and Belgian merchants of death to arm the bourgeois-nationalist Bosnian Muslim leadership.

Western liberals, social democrats and leftists may sell the line that the Bosnian Muslim forces are fighting for a “democratic, multi-ethnic state,” but no one in the Balkans buys it. Bosnian Muslim president Alija Izetbegovic came to prominence in the late 1980s as the author of a tract in favor of an “Islamic state.” The Bosnian Muslim population was in fact largely secular, cosmopolitan and urbanized, and had little interest in an Islamic state. A veiled woman was and is a rare sight in Sarajevo. Izetbegovic’s rise to power, along with Milosevic and Tudjman, indicated the ascendancy of reactionary nationalisms, each reinforcing the other, with the disintegration of the Titoist order in Yugoslavia.

The 1974 Titoist constitution, recognizing the *multinational* character of the Bosnian republic, gave the Bosnian Serbs as well as the Bosnian Croats the right to veto its secession from Yugoslavia. Izetbegovic and the Muslim leaders simply violated the Serbs’ constitutional rights when they organized a plebiscite on independence in early 1992 (which the Serbs boycotted). After this plebiscite, the Bosnian Serbian and Croatian leaders *agreed* to an independent Bosnian state, provided it was constituted on ethnically based cantons. But this was rejected by the Muslim leaders. Milovan Djilas, a one-time leading figure in the Tito regime who became a world-famous social-democratic “dissident,” noted:

“The Serbs bear the largest share of responsibility for what has happened to Yugoslavia, but the Croats also have an authoritarian and chauvinist Government, and the Bosnian Muslims wanted dominance in an independent and unitary state.”

—*New York Times*, 5 March

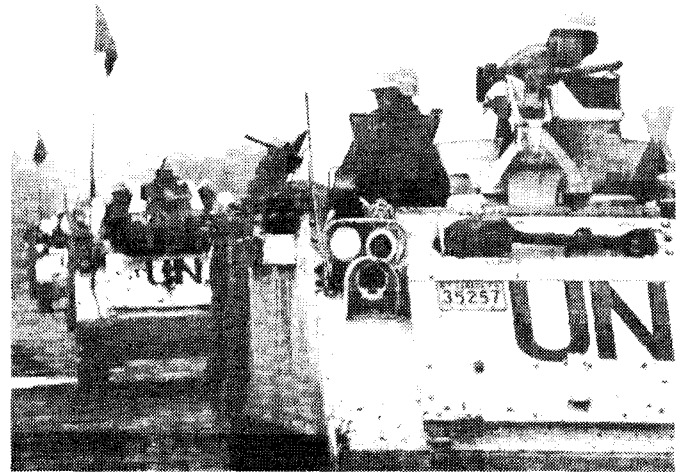
While the Muslims constituted roughly 45 percent of the total population of Bosnia, they were heavily urbanized, while the countryside was dominated mainly by Serbian peasants (who owned 64 percent of the land), with some Croatian areas. Consequently once the fighting broke out, the Serbian and Croatian militias quickly took over much of the country and besieged the cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

Naive liberals and radicals may support the imperialist arming of the Bosnian Muslim forces on the grounds of self-defense and ensuring a “fair fight.” But the Muslim leaders are not simply interested in defending their present territorial positions, which they consider intolerable in any case, nor do they want a fair fight with the Serbs. A few months ago the Bosnian Muslim foreign minister reasserted his government’s intent to take back *all* of the territory of this former Yugoslav republic. The actual program of the “arm Bosnia” leftists—witting or unwitting—is to create a Muslim-dominated, U.S. puppet state in the Balkans, driving out the Serbs and Croats or reducing them to subjugated minorities.

Even on its own terms, the demand for “democratic, multi-ethnic Bosnia” is *undemocratic* since the Serbs (a third of the population) and the Croats (almost a fifth) do not want to live in the same state as the Muslims or with one another. The ostensibly Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League, which opposes imperialist intervention on behalf of the Bosnian Muslims, nonetheless states: “The working class must fight for the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multi-ethnic state—but this is impossible under the leadership of Alia Izetbegovic’s strongly pro-imperialist government” (*Fighting Worker*, March 1993).

But *why* should the working class aim to establish an independent state encompassing all the territory of this former

Yugoslav republic? The region called Bosnia originated as a province in the Ottoman Empire. Over the centuries three very closely related South Slav peoples intermingled in its territory. There has never been a Bosnian nation, nor any sense of common national identity among its inhabitants. The journalist Misha Glenny observed that Bosnia’s “internal stability was invariably guaranteed by an external power which mediated between the three communities (the Sublime Porte, Vienna,



Reuter

Canadian imperialist troops in Bosnia.

the inter-war royal dictatorship or Titoism)” (*The Fall of Yugoslavia* [Penguin, 1992]). Izetbegovic’s campaign for Western imperialist overlordship is the *logical conclusion* of his aim to create a state encompassing the historic boundaries of Bosnia *against the will* of over half its inhabitants.

The democratic and national rights of *all* peoples in the region can be secured only by proletarian political power within a socialist federation of the Balkans. In such a federation the present state and provincial boundaries could and in many cases would be redrawn in a democratic and equitable way according to national affiliation. For example, the oppressed Albanians of Kosovo, who make up 85 percent of what is now a Serbian province, would certainly want and have the right to unite with Albania.

In response to Clinton’s saber rattling over Bosnia early last month, a number of left groups, mainly pseudo-Trotskyists, got together in a Committee Against U.S. Intervention in the Balkans, which called a “Hands Off Yugoslavia!” rally in Oakland in mid-May. Yet among the prime movers of this committee is Socialist Action, American supporters of Ernest Mandel’s USec, which is simultaneously agitating for the Western imperialists to arm the Bosnian Muslims against the Serbs! Furthermore, this committee has nothing to say about the U.S./European Community *economic warfare* against Serbia. The economic embargo against Serbia is just as deadly, if not more so, than air strikes against Serbian forces in Bosnia. The main victims are old people, young children and the poorest sections of the population.

It takes no great political courage or radicalism to oppose direct U.S. military intervention in the Balkans at the present time. Opinion polls show a solid majority against such action, as well as influential sections of the Republican Party, the U.S. Joint Chiefs et al. Right now, economic warfare is the cutting edge of U.S. imperialist aggression in the Balkans. We Spartacists say: Break the Blockade of Serbia! U.S./NATO Hands Off the Balkans! ■

TL/LT National Conference...

(continued from page 6)

and addressed the ways and means to carry out effective communist work in the unions. Shortly before the conference, comrades from Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver intervened on the giant May 15 labor demonstration in Ottawa, selling 911 copies of *Spartacist Canada*, *Workers Vanguard* and other ICL publications as well as 12 subscriptions to trade unionists from coast to coast.

In Quebec, despite stirrings of labor unrest, the labor bureaucracy continues to stifle class struggle by championing the bourgeois-nationalist PQ and Bloc Québécois. Unlike the 1960s/early 1970s, when Quebec nationalism was often cloaked in "socialist" verbiage and opposition to national oppression helped fuel labor militancy, today the Quebec nationalist movement openly expresses the interests of an indigenous bourgeoisie and has fueled racist xenophobia.

Against the nationalist labor tops in both English Canada and Quebec, we fight for class-struggle unity among the workers of North America. We unconditionally defend Quebec's right to self-determination, and simultaneously oppose Quebec nationalism. Our Leninist proletarian internationalism sets us apart from the rest of the self-proclaimed left. Excruciating but necessary personnel shifts to assist other work of the ICL and strengthen the Editorial Board of *Spartacist Canada* has forced a temporary cutback in our work in Montreal. However, the conference underlined the necessity for continued systematic attention to and intervention in Quebec, part of our commitment to forging the TL/LT as a *binational* organization with a strong Québécois component.

Opposition to national chauvinism will remain a cutting edge of our work in the coming period, as will the inextricably linked fight against racist terror. The major Canadian cities, once virtually lily white, have now become decisively *multiracial*. As in Europe, Canada's capitalist rulers are waging a vicious offensive against minorities who they seek to scapegoat for the capitalist crisis. There has been murderous cop terror against blacks in Toronto and Montreal, while the new federal immigration law aims to keep out desperate refugees and foment hatred against "foreigners."

Seeking to tap nativist reaction, the fascists have become far bolder, attempting to whip up anti-immigrant hysteria and repeatedly threatening left-wing and Jewish meetings in Montreal and Toronto. The Nazis are now openly on a recruitment drive. They can and must be stopped. The January 22 Vancouver mobilization initiated by the TL/LT and the Partisan Defense Committee demonstrated in practice our strategy of organizing labor/minority action under the watchword "All Out to Stop the Fascists!"

To forge a Leninist party that is truly a "tribune of the oppressed," the conference noted that the TL/LT had better disproportionately reflect the extremely diverse and multiracial composition of this country, with special attention paid to the recruitment of minority youth and young women. The section has already recruited a number of comrades whose experience and capacities can, through selective work, help to lay a basis for future sections of the ICL in other countries.

While virtually all of our fake-left opponents passed through the Cold War 1980s as strident anti-Soviet Cold Warriors, the ICL steadfastly maintained its program of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe against capitalist counterrevolution. Thus in

Canada we were able to win cadre through regroupments from the Mandelite Socialist Challenge/Gauche Socialiste and the disintegrating Communist Party. As a new generation comes to political consciousness, our opponents will try to pass themselves off as an alternative to radicalizing youth. Political combat with these pretenders to socialism will continue to be a necessary part of winning young would-be revolutionists to communism.

For a Bimonthly *Spartacist Canada*

Our newspaper *Spartacist Canada* has been sold in record numbers during the past period and special *SC* supplements have been widely distributed. The conference decided that with the growth of the organization and expansion of our tasks, *SC*'s frequency should increase to bimonthly (six times a year), the better to organize and effectively reflect our work in conjunction with other publications of the ICL. Young comrades, especially, need to be trained as communist writers and in professional production techniques.

The tasks ahead require above all the forging of a communist collective leadership, integrally a part of the ICL's cadre. Problems in cohering such a leadership have been an abiding weakness of the section. At the conference a nominating commission was established which met between formal sessions to hear any and all comrades' proposals for an incoming Central Committee (CC). A full discussion, open to all in attendance, followed the nominating commission's report at the conference's final session. The conference elected a CC composed of comrades with a variety of backgrounds and experiences, which is charged with leading the organization forward.

And forward is where we are going. As the conference document concluded:

"Our opportunities to recruit among a new generation are palpable. Seizing these openings, developing and training new young communist cadres, including through formal Marxist education, are integral parts of forging the ICL as the nucleus of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. Let's get out there and do it! Forward to a reformed Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution—the only hope for a communist future for mankind." ■

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SC92

Join the SYC!...

(continued from page 7)

fight to overthrow the capitalist mass murderers: anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!

Capitalism means national oppression! To drive up their profits, the capitalists have to drive down our living standards. And what better way than to set the working people at each other's throats in "competition" over the crumbs the bosses leave. So they, with the trade-union bureaucrats and the NDP as their frontmen, tell us that Mexican, Japanese, American and other working people are our enemies. In English Canada they whip up hatred against the Québécois. We stand unconditionally for Quebec's right to independence—for the right to self-determination. In Quebec the nationalists want the workers to circle their wagons around the Quebec bosses. We say the working people have no country. Down with Canadian nationalism and Anglo-chauvinism! No to the nationalist, racist PQ and Bloc Québécois! For united class struggle across North America!

Capitalism means racist terror! Throughout North America, minority youth face the threat of deadly cop violence just by walking down the street. The beating of Rodney King, cop murders of black and Hispanic youth in Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal, the brutal police beating of Chinese worker Zhang Feng Hua in Vancouver, show that this system is racist to the core.

Degenerate skinhead scum and other Nazis have been carrying out murderous attacks, emboldened by the official racism pushed by Parliament Hill which scapegoats immigrants for everything from unemployment to street crimes. The fascists must be crushed in the egg! What's needed are labor/minority mobilizations to drive the fascists off the streets. Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families! Down with racist immigration laws!

North American capitalism was built on genocide against the Native peoples, black chattel slavery, indentured immigrant labor. It will take a socialist revolution to establish an egalitarian society and to avenge the crimes of the rich white ruling class!

Capitalism means women's oppression! The nuclear family serves as a mechanism for inheriting property, instills obedience to the authority of state and religion, and ensures the production of another generation of cannon fodder for imperialist war. It is a key prop of the capitalist system. So it's no accident that a cutting edge of reaction has been directed against women's rights. Bourgeois bigots and bible-thumping woman-haters have been waging a war in the name of "family values"—firebombing the heroic Dr. Morgentaler's Toronto clinic and murdering Dr. David Gunn in Florida. We communists stand for free abortion

on demand! Free, quality health care for all! We've stood shoulder to shoulder against the pro-death penalty "right-to-lifers" and say "Labor: Defend abortion clinics!"

To enforce the "sanctity" of the nuclear family—one man on one woman (with their "legitimate" children) for life—the ruling class goes after gays with a vengeance. And the fascists carry this into the streets, with murders and brutal beatings. We say: democratic rights are indivisible! Full democratic rights for gays and lesbians!

The campaign for "family values" means trying to strait-jacket young people—their program for us is no sex, no fun, no rock or rap. To hell with them! Church and state out of the bedrooms and out of our lives! Down with "squeal rules" and age of consent laws!

While many young people who hate women's oppression call themselves feminists, we say Kim Campbell's not our sister! We Marxists draw the class line, not the sex line. It was the Bolsheviks who legalized abortion and divorce in Russia, who threw out all the anti-homosexual laws, who sought to lay the material basis for replacing the nuclear family. Women's liberation through socialist revolution!

Capitalism means no education! Education is a right, not a privilege, but the powers that be are slamming the door in our faces, raising tuition and wiping out student grants (as in Ontario and Quebec). They want obedient, ignorant youth who won't grind the gears of their profit system. We're for free, quality education for all. Down with streaming and the tracking system in the schools! For open admissions to all the universities, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students!

We Have a World To Win!

Repelled by "politics" as represented by the NDP sellouts and parliamentary cretinism, lots of radically minded youth nevertheless have the impulse to do something. And so they get involved in one or other separate issue: women's rights, anti-racism, ecology. But the capitalist state has no problem dealing with isolated struggles, even the most militant and heroically waged. The whole damn system has got to go! And it is the working class which has the social power and historic interest to do it—the people who build the cars, refine the steel, labor in the mines and forests, drive the buses, install the telephones, deliver the mail, tend the sick. In short, the people who produced the wealth of this society and make it run. Young comrades of the TL have actively supported strikes by campus workers in Toronto and Vancouver, as well as country-wide postal and public workers strikes. We say picket lines mean don't cross! As the youth auxiliary to class struggle and revolutionary opposition in the labor movement, we want to win young revolutionaries to a lifetime of partisanship to the fight of the working class. We're out to build a multiracial, internationalist, revolutionary workers party—tribune of all the oppressed.

Today the capitalists dump grain in the ocean while people starve, bring death and destruction to those fighting for a decent life. A long time ago Marx's close collaborator Engels said the choices facing humanity are socialism or barbarism. We fight for socialism!

If you want to do something about the racism and oppression endemic to this system, if you want to eliminate the threat of a new inter-imperialist world war, if you want to fight for a future of equality and decency, then it's high time to struggle to send capitalism into the dustbin of history. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are schools of revolutionary action and education. Join us! ■

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FSP: Big Lies From Little Liberals

VANCOUVER—On January 22, 500 militant anti-fascists sent a gang of neo-Nazi skinheads fleeing into the night after 3,000 protesters had earlier occupied the Nazis' intended rally site. This victory for the working class, minorities and all opponents of fascist terror was met with howls of rage from the capitalist press who smeared the demonstrators as a "lynch mob" and "goons in training." We vigorously protested this slanderous attack which only serves to encourage yet more violence by the fascists against the people of Vancouver and to give free license to the cops ("A Victory Against the Fascists!" *SC* No. 91, Spring 1993).

Now the violence-baiting chorus has been joined by the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) who denounce those who want to stop the Nazis. Their April-June *Freedom Socialist* obscenely lies that the Trotskyist League "urged remaining protesters to spontaneously storm the Nazis' meeting place—a hotel guarded by 150 riot police. Fortunately, this macho adventurism resulted in only a few arrests and minor injury." Let's get some facts straight. Perhaps a dozen cops protected a few Nazis cowering inside the Century Plaza Hotel. Outside the front doors militant, mainly minority, youth were chanting, "Let us in or bring the Nazis out!" The FSP, together with the "Coalition United to Fight Oppression" (CUFO), stood with the cops to push the determined youth back! Furthermore, two anti-fascists were arrested that night and are currently being railroaded on weapons charges. Does the FSP defend them? No, they alibi the cops! Unlike the FSP which despises the elementary impulse of decent people to teach the Nazi skinheads a well-deserved lesson, we demand: Drop the charges now!

The FSP's lies are an attempt to excuse the cops in advance for anything they might do to "contain" the "violent" reds. And to help this go down in the "progressive" milieu, their lone Vancouver member is busy peddling the story that the TL set up minority youth by pushing them into the cops. Why is the FSP doing this? Because they want to make it very clear to the powers-that-be that they, unlike the Trotskyist League, have no

intention of mobilizing labor and all the oppressed to stop the fascists.

When word first got out that the Nazis intended to rally in downtown Vancouver, the FSP and CUFO proposed to...call a meeting a week later to "consider a response." They tried to ignore the Partisan Defense Committee's January 11 call on unionists and minorities to organize to stop the fascists, and then two days later quickly embraced the B.C. Organization to Fight Racism's (BCOFR) attempt to derail militant anti-fascist struggle into a do-nothing gabfest. While the TL and PDC issued 30,000 leaflets titled "All Out to Stop the Fascists," and organized contingents of unionists to do just that, the FSP et al. called for a "Rainbow Contingent" to march from a darkened area several blocks away to the BCOFR's rally. Consciously divorced from the power of the working class, this splinter march was an open invitation to fascist attack.

There were two counterposed political programs on how to respond to the fascist threat on January 22. And the FSP lined up with those who preached reliance on the capitalist state and its police. This was no mistake. They did it again when they signed a June 8 call on the German Fourth Reich government to "mobilize a huge effect [sic] to turn back the fascist gangs" and enact "strong legislation against racially motivated crimes." What is one to make then of the FSP's statement (in the same issue of *Freedom Socialist* which slanders the TL), "Top-down edicts won't stop the Nazis. The German government...more and more includes Nazis in its ranks"? The FSP has a fairly "elastic" conception of political honesty.

The spineless FSP mixes pseudo-Marxist verbiage with left-over New Left phraseology—all of which they're ready to dump at the drop of a hat (or the prospect of a "coalition"). Under the guise of "support for the leadership of people of color," or women or any oppressed group, their line in practice is a guilty liberal version of the patronizing "solidarity" so common on the left. And when push really comes to shove, they slander the Trotskyists and the minority youth and others who came out determined to stop the fascists on January 22. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 24)

League president Peter Mokaba for assassination.

As negotiators were close to accord on a date for the first universal elections in a "new South Africa," on May 25 police rounded up scores of members of the Pan Africanist Congress, including its central leadership. Personal property was confiscated as well as files, computers, membership lists, financial documents, checkbooks and accounts at all PAC offices throughout South Africa. ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said the crackdown "reminds one of the old apartheid days of Gestapo tactics, jackboot activity and wholesale detentions."

But despite this ritual criticism, the ANC made clear the arrests would not halt the talks, particularly as Nelson Mandela heads for the U.S. to drum up aid and investment. In Philadelphia, Mandela will receive a joint "Liberty Medal" together with *De Klerk*, and they will both be received at the Clinton White House.

The ANC's evident willingness to turn a blind eye makes it

complicit in the mass arrest of militant black nationalist opponents by the apartheid police, and speaks volumes about life for workers and the oppressed in a supposedly "democratic" South Africa. One of the ANC's main demands is for the integration of its guerrilla force, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, or MK for short), into the "post-apartheid" state. The next time the soldiers kick down the doors of township militants, will they be carrying "MK" cards in their pockets? And what will happen when black unionists strike against the so-called "enlightened" white capitalists?

Currently, the ANC is doing its level best to "defuse the confrontation" in South Africa's schools and to quash a national teachers strike. During the last semester, students (supported by teachers) have demanded abolition of the racist "matric fees," which deny poor students the right to take exams. Militant students of COSAS (Congress of South African Students) have initiated "Operation Barcelona"—torching Department of Education buildings and vehicles—as well as occupying empty schools reserved for whites and marching through downtown Durban.

Meanwhile, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union



Financial Times

U.S. imperialist chief-to-be Clinton confers with ANC leader Nelson Mandela at the UN, July 1992.

(SADTU) has been waging “chalks down” protests and wildcat strikes over wages and layoffs in Durban, Cape Town and other regions. As teachers were voting on a strike ballot, at a rally in Kimberley, Nelson Mandela warned teachers and students that their grievances must go through “correct channels.” And he threatened: “If you don’t improve yourselves, better qualified people from neighbouring countries will come and fill your posts.” The ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, which seeks “unity” with South African capitalism, is an *obstacle* to the revolutionary mobilization of the workers and oppressed.

The ANC’s symbiosis with the apartheid rulers has enhanced the appeal of the PAC. Combined with the notoriety of their “one settler, one bullet” slogan, a call for indiscriminate terror against whites, the arrests of the PAC leaders made them seem a more militant rival to the ANC. In reality, the PAC is no more revolutionary than the “respectable” ANC. The PAC’s despicable machine-gun and grenade attacks against cafés and golf courses frequented by whites serve no purpose but to rally the racist terrorists. We protest the apartheid government’s outrageous arrests of PAC members—De Klerk’s murderous cops have no right to accuse anyone of terrorism! But the PAC is just as eager as the ANC to “share power” with De Klerk. PAC had to boycott one session of the talks for the simple reason that its negotiators were all in jail or in hiding, but still it stressed, “This decision applies only to the meeting of today”!

Boer Hardliners Circle the Wagons

With the date for elections now set for next April, Afrikaner hardliners are desperately trying to whip up a “go down fighting” mood. Their mentality is common to oppressor groups which can easily see the terms of oppression reversed. (Israeli Zionists and Ulster Protestants are other examples.) Feeding off the lore of *voortrekker* mythology, they see the Boers (“farmers” in Afrikaans) as the “white tribe of Africa,” who unlike Rhodesian settler-colonists have nowhere to “go home” to. The farmers—especially those from the Transvaal and Orange Free State, set up as separatist Boer states after the “Great Trek” of the 1830s—are (along with the military/security forces) the hard-core *bittereinders* of South Africa’s 2.9 million Afrikaans-speaking whites, regarding De Klerk as a traitor to the *volk*.

The idea of an Afrikaner *volkstaat* goes back a long way, and now it’s having a revival. The head of the Volksfront, General Constand Viljoen, who led South Africa’s losing war in Angola,

and his compatriots (including Lt. General “Tienie” Groenewald, former head of South African intelligence), want at least 16 percent of the country set aside for Afrikaners. You can bet your last krugerrand they aren’t talking about wastelands like the bantustans where they dumped millions of blacks. But within the AVF, there is disagreement about where their “homeland” should be, since Afrikaners nowhere constitute a majority.

In fact, a private Afrikaner settlement, Oranje, 75 miles south of Kimberley, was founded three years ago by the son-in-law of former prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the “architect of apartheid.” But it’s more like a ghost town than the nucleus of a mighty *boerestaat*. Poor whites were brought in to do the menial labor, but most left after a few weeks, saying they couldn’t live on principles alone. What good is apartheid if you have to muck out your own stables?

Those Who Labor Must Rule!

It’s utterly clear that, despite the ANC’s best efforts at class collaboration with the Randlords, there can be no “national unity” under neo-apartheid. South Africa’s fabulous wealth, based almost entirely on the export of raw materials, can only be maintained by the superexploitation of black workers, who produce immense profits for the bosses while being paid a pittance. The white capitalist class’ thirst for profits and the disenfranchised black majority’s aspirations for freedom are diametrically opposed, and headed for a collision. The liberation of the non-white masses—including coloured (mixed-race) and Indian—can only be accomplished by establishing a black-centered workers republic.

In a modern industrial state with a powerful black working class, a socialist revolution could effect a revolutionary reorganization of society, providing a decent living for all its citizens—including many whites who won’t want to live (or die) in a besieged racist *laager*. But contrary to the Stalinist “stages” program of the SACP—shared by a variety of other left groups—which calls for (capitalist) “democracy” now and later (never) for socialism, in South Africa the immediate emancipation of the oppressed nation requires the dictatorship of the proletariat: those who labor must rule. To lead this revolution, an integrated Leninist-Trotskyist party must be forged in political struggle against the nationalism and class collaboration which shackle the workers to their present and would-be future oppressors.

—Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 577, 4 June

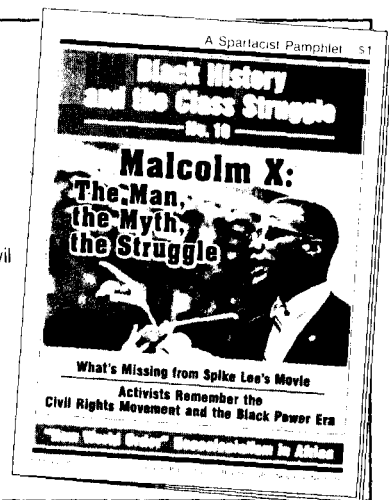
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PDC...

(continued from page 2)

role in the campaign to save Jamal—from organizing protests in cities around the world to distributing tens of thousands of pieces of literature publicizing his fight against racist legal lynching. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions to the Pennsylvania governor demanding "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" Unions representing millions of workers, including the Labour Council in Toronto, have expressed their support.

Jamal and his attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass, are now preparing a new legal challenge in the Pennsylvania courts to expose the frame-up conviction and sentence of death. Another significant development in Jamal's fight against the racist death penalty is the establishment of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Chairmen are actors Ossie Davis, whose famous eulogy at Malcolm X's funeral was recently featured as the closing of Spike Lee's movie, and Mike Farrell, who played BJ on the TV show MASH, and has travelled through the U.S. speaking out against the racist death penalty.

Time is running short. We must mobilize now. Spread the word, organize. Contact the PDC for campaign leaflets, or to arrange to show our video "From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal" to your union local, community and student organizations. It will take an international campaign of protest to save Jamal's life. Join the campaign now! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Make contributions for the legal defense payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and send to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

Defend Iranian Refugees!

As their bankrupt economies continue to go down the tubes, the capitalists internationally are targeting foreign-born workers and those seeking asylum from terror and brutal oppression in their home countries. In January the Canadian government adopted its draconian new anti-immigrant law, Bill C-86. Immigration cops are hunting down and expelling record numbers of foreign-born workers and their families—as many as 5,000 people in 1992 alone.

Earlier this year, Iranian refugees in Vancouver went on hunger strike against the threat of deportation to their homeland. Trotskyist League members joined rallies and pickets in their defense, and on March 15 the PDC sent the following protest letter to immigration minister Bernard Valcourt. The protesters,

weak and ill, only broke their fast on March 16 after immigration officials refused to talk to them until the hunger strike ended.

* * *

Your government's threat to deport desperate Iranian refugees, more than 100 in B.C. alone, is an outrage. The racist and inhumane denial of asylum has driven ten Iranian refugees to go on hunger strike, now for 21 days. The Partisan Defense Committee demands immediate and unconditional asylum for them and their families and for all refugees from right-wing terror.

As opponents of the theocratic Iranian dictatorship, the hunger strikers face torture, imprisonment and death if they are deported to Iran. The Iranian regime has already executed thousands upon thousands. As Ali Soltani, one of the hunger strikers said, "It is a simple question for me: if they deport me, for sure, 100 per cent it means jail or [being] killed."

Another of the hunger strikers, Zahra Zarnoush, fled her abusive husband in Iran, taking her son with her. A vicious Canadian refugee hearing judge taunted her, asking if she had kidnapped other children! Iran is a country where the entire female population *has no rights!* They are considered less than human. If Zahra Zarnoush is deported to Iran she will be stoned to death under the barbaric "law of retribution" for the "crime" of leaving her husband.

The new racist immigration law, which aims to slash the number of refugees by 40 percent, fuels and emboldens the Nazis and skinhead terrorists whose murderous attacks have sharply escalated. Under this law the Canadian government is condemning millions of desperate refugees to death. This is verified by one of your Vancouver agents who was reported as saying about the Iranian hunger strikers, "if they want to starve, that's their choice." Should any of these hunger strikers sicken and die, you and your boss Brian Mulroney are responsible.

Asylum now for the Iranian hunger strikers and their families, and for all refugees from right-wing terror! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families.

Hands Off Ellen Gabriel!

In July 1990 the Sûreté du Québec police were let loose on a mission to dismantle, by any means necessary, barricades set up at Oka by Mohawk Warriors seeking to defend their traditional burial ground against construction of a private golf course. The Mohawks resisted, and the cops came back one short. Throughout that summer, provincial and federal police and the Canadian army—cheered on by screaming KKK-organized racist mobs—massed around the Mohawks' Kanesatake community, ready to kill.

Three years later the Quebec Liberal government and the Parti Québécois opposition alike continue to rave against Native "terrorists" at Oka. Mohawks including Ronald Cross ("Lasagna") and Gordon Lazore ("Noriga") have already been railroaded to prison. Now Ellen Gabriel, the young woman who acted as spokesperson for the Mohawks during the police/army siege, faces possible imprisonment on contempt of court charges at a Montreal coroner's court. Her crime? Refusing to give out the names of people shown on a photo of the Mohawk barricades. On May 6 she told the court: "I'm refusing any further questions and can no longer participate in this farce.... It would be treasonous for me to give Mohawk names."

PDC and Trotskyist League supporters joined a 100-strong protest outside the court on May 6. Ellen Gabriel appears in court again on September 14. She faces up to a year in jail. Drop the charges! Defend Ellen Gabriel! ■

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Prometheus Research Library Fund Appeal

The following appeal was issued by the Prometheus Research Library on May 3.

The Prometheus Research Library has embarked on a major fund drive in order to preserve and secure the premises we currently occupy. We are appealing to you to help maintain our library, the central reference archive of the Spartacist League/U.S., American section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). The PRL is also a working research facility for a wide range of Marxist studies, open to any qualified scholar needing our special collection.

This fund drive is urgent. Our present occupancy is at risk, confronting us with the immediate necessity of a substantial outlay to protect and secure these premises, as well as major additional upgrading costs over the next few years. This will cost tens of thousands of dollars over the next few months and more tens of thousands over the next few years.

The purpose of the Prometheus Research Library is to collect, preserve and make available the indispensable historical record of the international workers movement. Our library's unique collection—centered on but not limited to the work and interests of the American Communist and Trotskyist movement—has been the basis for an active publishing program. Last year we published our first book, *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism, Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928*. This 624-page volume, fully indexed and footnoted, has been favorably reviewed in a number of publications, including the Canadian academic journal *Left History*.

Just off the press is the fourth bulletin in our *Prometheus Research Series*, "Yugoslavia, East Europe and the Fourth International: The Evolution of Pabloist Liquidationism" by Jan Norden. This bulletin, covering the internal discussion within the Fourth International over its flawed response to the Yugoslav Revolution and the 1948 Tito-Stalin split, includes rare documents from the period. PRL publications are of high quality but priced to make them available to the widest possible audience. The PRL staff continues to work on further books and bulletins.

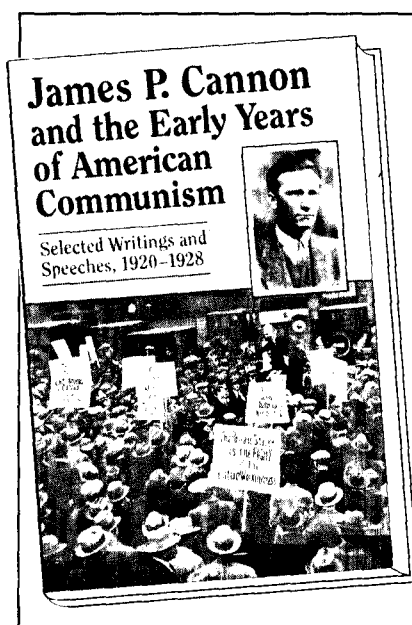
Today, imperialist ideologues are crowding over capitalist restoration in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, and the profit motive now determines access to Soviet archives. Factory libraries, which once provided the basis for mass working-class education on a wide range of topics, are being closed and the books simply thrown away. Yeltsin's regime is

engaged in wholesale destruction of volumes of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Our library is not simply a repository for such material, but is actively engaged in work with archives around the world. For example we are in touch with the Berlin Institute for the History of the Workers Movement, whose own premises were raided last year by the vindictive reunified German state. We also collaborated actively in providing sources for Wolfgang Lubitz' 500-page *Trotskyist Serials Bibliography, 1927-1991* (Saur, 1993).

The Prometheus Research Library's collection now includes over 4,500 books and bound volumes of periodicals, as well as 100 reels of microfilm and 150 linear feet of archival documents and bulletins. Our holdings include substantial materials on the organizations inspired and led by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We hold most of the protocols of the Executive Committee meetings and World Congresses of the Communist International, as well as extensive internal discussion materials and unique runs of leading committee minutes from the 1920s American Communist Party and the early Trotskyist movement. We also have a general collection of books on related topics, including history, science and other sometimes tangential subjects.

The present premises of the PRL have been built up over a 14-year period into a working archival facility which allows for the temperature and humidity control necessary to preserve old papers and books, as well as providing the work space and technology to accommodate researchers. If we are unable to meet the present challenge to our library facility, the large sums of money and the countless hours of painstaking labor already expended over the years to construct and upgrade this crucial resource of the socialist movement will be largely wasted and the work of the PRL will simply come to a halt for a period of time.

Please help us to preserve and upgrade our premises and maintain our unique collection. Send checks, payable in U.S. dollars, to "PRL Special" to: Prometheus Research Library, Box 185 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013, USA.



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South Africa Erupts After Hani Assassination

Following the April 10 assassination of Communist Party (SACP) leader Chris Hani, South African society is rapidly polarizing. The black townships exploded in anger, "moderate" African National Congress leaders Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki were booed, and apartheid police opened fire on the crowds. Now there are ominous signals that right-wing whites are consolidating their forces.

The day after the massive funeral for Hani, SACP general secretary and former head of the ANC's military wing, Afrikaner reactionaries, including five hard-line generals, met to form a new umbrella group. On May 6, the "Afrikaner Volksfront" (AVF) announced its existence at a "white power" rally, openly threatening civil war. In late May in Pretoria, the "respectable" generals who head the AVF joined a march of 3,000 armed neo-Nazis of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB). Wearing black masks, the fascists paraded with swastika banners, chanting "Kill the blacks!"

Meanwhile, F.W. De Klerk's apartheid regime, after making only three token arrests in the obviously government-linked conspiracy to assassinate Hani, launched a mass roundup of the black nationalists of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Following the arrest of anti-Communist Polish immigrant Janusz Walus for Hani's assassination, the disclosure that the murder weapon was stolen in a 1990 fascist raid on an air force arsenal in Pretoria (clearly an inside job), and the subsequent arrests of senior Conservative Party Member of Parliament Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye, the police claimed there was no evidence to support a widespread right-wing conspiracy behind the assassination!

In fact, Derby-Lewis' links with worldwide fascist networks are legion: he is the president of "Western Goals," an outfit which hails dictators such as Franco, Salazar, Pinochet, Stroessner, Somoza, Chiang Kai-shek and the Shah of Iran. Derby-Lewis was also a delegate to conventions of the World Anti-Communist League, a leading arms supplier to anti-Communist mercenaries in southern Africa, Afghanistan and Central America. Yet, in a society where the racist government and organized fascist groups have nearly all the firepower, the ANC's chief response to Hani's killing has been...a campaign



April 14: Angry youth near Johannesburg protest murder of Chris Hani.

Smash Neo-Apartheid! For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

for gun-control laws!

In the days following Hani's murder, South African capitalism held its breath. The Chamber of Mines even donated \$200,000 for the funeral! Shell, BP and Caltex ran sanctimonious memorials in the liberal *Weekly Mail*, admonishing the ANC to "Let today's sorrow speed the path to peace." At this critical juncture, the main "peacekeepers" for the krugerrand and the Johannesburg stock exchange are the would-be joint rulers of a "post-apartheid" capitalist South Africa, the ANC. Insisting that Hani's death must not jeopardize "power sharing" negotiations, the ANC is providing invaluable service to the apartheid state even as the police and their Inkatha cohorts shoot down demonstrators in the streets, and the Johannesburg *Star* reveals a fascist *Wit Wolwe* ("white wolves") plot targeting Winnie Mandela, SACP chairman Joe Slovo and ANC Youth

(continued on page 20)