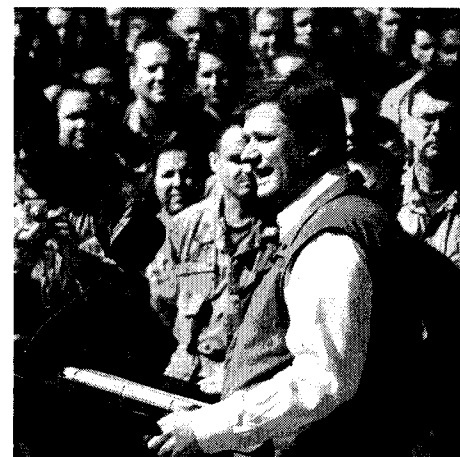


# Imperialist War and War on the Workers



Reuters



AP

Left: Canadian CF-18 warplanes over Mediterranean, March 29, part of NATO's aerial bombardment of Libya. Inset: Stephen Harper addressing Canadian troops in Kandahar, Afghanistan, March 2006.

## Workers, Minorities Need a Revolutionary Party!

The election of a Tory majority government on May 2 sets the stage for four more years of capitalist austerity attacks on workers and the poor. The surge into second place of the social-democratic NDP, based on winning dozens of new seats in Quebec, has been hailed by the English Canadian union tops and various reformist left groups. But the New Democrats will only derail any resistance to the Tory onslaught, because they too are committed to upholding the capitalist system of exploitation, oppression and war.

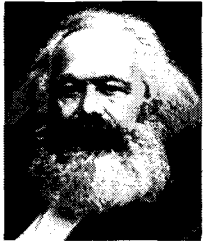
Much of the bourgeois media saluted the New Democrats' rise in Quebec, which largely came at the expense of the bourgeois-nationalist Bloc Québécois. The NDP has a long and sordid record of upholding flag-waving "Canadian unity" against the national rights of the Québécois. Against the national chauvinism promoted by the bourgeois rulers and

their social-democratic agents, it is necessary to fight for a program of proletarian class struggle that champions the cause of all the oppressed. We print below an April 19 statement on the elections by the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, which was distributed at May Day rallies in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto and Vancouver.

Days before the minority Conservative government was brought down last month, triggering the present election, parliament voted unanimously to support the military assault on  
*(continued on page 16)*

**NDP "Surge":  
Dead End For Workers**

page 3



Marx



Lenin



Trotsky

## War, Chauvinism and Social Democracy

*The support given by the dominant parties of the Second International to their own bourgeois rulers in World War I marked the definitive passage of this organization into what the Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin called "social-chauvinism." Writing in late 1915, Lenin explained the social roots of this betrayal and the need for a political break with the social democracy in order to forge a new, revolutionary proletarian International.*

The war is being fought by *all* the Great Powers for the purpose of plunder, carving up the world, acquiring markets, and enslaving nations. To the bourgeoisie it brings higher profits; to a thin crust of the labour bureaucracy and aristocracy, and also to the petty bourgeoisie (the intelligentsia, etc.) which "travels" with the working-class movement, it promises *morsels* of those profits. The economic basis of "social-chauvinism" (this term being more precise than the term social-patriotism, as the latter embellishes the evil) and of opportunism is the same, namely, an alliance between an insignificant section at the "top" of the labour movement, and its "own" national bourgeoisie, directed *against* the masses of the proletariat; an alliance between the *servants* of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, directed against the *class* that is exploited by the bourgeoisie. Social-chauvinism is a consummated opportunism....

Having for decades to mature in conditions of "peaceful" capitalism, opportunism was so mature by 1914-15 that it proved an open ally of the bourgeoisie. Unity with opportunism means unity between the proletariat and its national bourgeoisie, i.e., submission to the latter, a split in the international revolutionary working class. We do not say that an immediate split with the opportunists in all countries is desirable, or even possible at present; we do say that such a split has come to a head, that it has become inevitable, is progressive in nature, and necessary to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, and that history, having turned away from "peaceful" capitalism

towards imperialism, has thereby turned towards such a split....

Since the onset of the war, the bourgeoisie of all countries, the belligerents in the first place, have united in lauding socialists who recognise the "defence of the fatherland", i.e., the defence of the bourgeoisie's predatory interests in the imperialist war, *against the proletariat*. See how this basic interest of the international bourgeoisie is making its way into the socialist parties, into the working-class movement, to find expression there!...

In its issue of April 1915, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, a conservative German journal, published an article by a *Social-Democrat*, a member of the Social-Democratic Party, who concealed his identity behind the pseudonym of Monitor. This opportunist blurted out the truth regarding the *substance* of the policy pursued by the *entire* world bourgeoisie towards the working-class movement of the twentieth century. The latter can neither be brushed aside nor suppressed by brute force, he says. It must be demoralised from within, by *buying* its top section. It was exactly in this manner that the Anglo-French bourgeoisie has been acting for decades, by buying up the trade-union leaders, the Millerands, the Briands and Co. It is in this manner that the German bourgeoisie is now acting. The Social-Democratic Party's behaviour, Monitor says to (and in essence *in the name of*) the bourgeoisie, is "irreproachable" in the present war (i.e., it is irreproachably *servicing* the bourgeoisie against the proletariat). "The process of the transformation" of the Social-Democratic Party into a national liberal-labour party is proceeding excellently. It would, however, be *dangerous* to the bourgeoisie, Monitor adds, if the party *were to turn to the right*; "it must retain the character of a workers' party with socialist ideals. On the day it gives that up, a new party will arise to take up the rejected programme, giving it a still more radical formulation" (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1915, No. 4, pp. 50-51).

These words openly express that which the bourgeoisie has always and everywhere done covertly. "Radical" words are *needed* for the masses to believe in. The opportunists are prepared to reiterate them hypocritically. *Such* parties as the Social-Democratic parties of the Second International used to be are useful and necessary to the opportunists because they engendered the socialists' *defence* of the bourgeoisie during the 1914-15 crisis.

—V.I. Lenin, "Opportunism, and the Collapse of the Second International" (1915)

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Fighting for Programmatic Integrity  
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## April 1961

# Bay of Pigs: Cuban Revolution Defeated U.S.-Backed Invasion

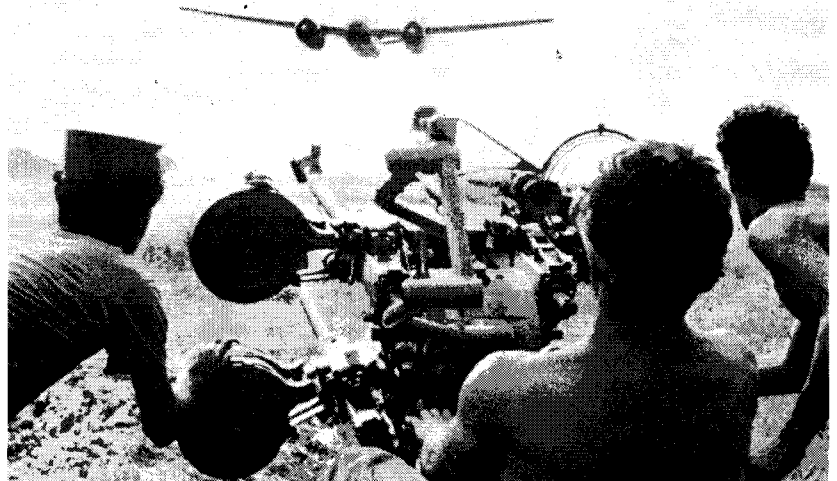
*The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 978 (15 April), newspaper of the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League.*

This month we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the defeat of the CIA-organized Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs) invasion of Cuba, an attempt to overturn the social revolution that overthrew capitalism in 1960. The attack, launched on 17 April 1961 by counterrevolutionaries and mercenary ground troops using U.S.-equipped bombers, amphibious assault ships and tanks, was defeated within three days by heroic Cuban fighters. The social composition of the invading forces, documented by Cuban authorities, was revealing: 100 plantation owners, 67 landlords, 35 factory owners, 112 businessmen, 179 people living off unearned income, 194 former soldiers of the Batista dictatorship that had been overthrown by Castro's guerrilla forces.

The Bay of Pigs operation was ordered by Democratic president John F. Kennedy at the beginning of his term as Commander-in-Chief of U.S. imperialism. JFK never forgave the CIA for the fiasco, whose planning had been authorized by the Republican Eisenhower administration a year earlier. Kennedy went on to tighten the U.S. embargo of Cuba and put his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, in charge of "Operation Mongoose"—a campaign of sabotage, destabilization and terror mobilizing the CIA and a range of government departments. The operation included repeated assassination plots against Castro and massive funding for a spy base in Miami involving Cuban counterrevolutionary *gusanos* (worms) and Mafiosi. In the October 1962 Cuban missile crisis, Kennedy took the world to the brink of nuclear war over Soviet nuclear missiles that were placed in Cuba, although later pulled out.

The intrigues and assassination attempts continued under both Democratic and Republican presidents. Last week, an El Paso federal court acquitted 83-year-old Cuban CIA-operative Luis Posada Carriles, a veteran of the Bay of Pigs, of charges of lying at an immigration hearing. This assassin is wanted by both Cuba and Hugo Chávez's populist capitalist government in Venezuela for the 1976 bombing of a Cubana airliner, which killed all 73 people aboard, and for masterminding hotel bombings in Cuba in 1997 that killed an Italian tourist and wounded 12 other people. The Feds prosecuted Posada Carriles on immigration charges as a way to circumvent extradition attempts by Venezuela. We say: Extradite Posada Carriles to Cuba!

Although under the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureau-



Raúl Corrales

**Cuban fighters defeated counterrevolutionary 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.**

cracy, the workers and peasants of Cuba have gained enormously from the overthrow of capitalist rule on the island. When Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces marched into Havana in January 1959, the army and the rest of the capitalist state apparatus of the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship shattered. The new government had to confront U.S. imperialism's mounting attempts to bring it to heel through economic pressure. When Eisenhower sought to lower the U.S. quota for Cuban sugar in January 1960, Castro signed an agreement to sell one million tons yearly to the Soviet Union. Refusal by imperialist-owned oil refineries to process Russian crude led to the nationalization of U.S.-owned properties in Cuba in August 1960, including sugar mills, oil companies, and the power and telephone companies. By October of that year, 80 percent of the country's industry had been nationalized. Cuba became a deformed workers state with these pervasive nationalizations, which liquidated the bourgeoisie as a class.

The elimination of production for profit and the introduction of a semblance of centralized planning on the island provided jobs, housing and education for everyone. To this day, Cuba has one of the highest literacy rates in the world and a renowned health care system, with more teachers and doctors per capita than anywhere else. Infant mortality is lower than in the U.S., the European Union and Canada. We stand for the unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state while calling for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, whose nationalist program of "socialism in one country" is an

*(continued on page 14)*

# **Defeat Bosses' War on Public Sector Unions!**

## **All Labour Must Stand With CUPW!**

MAY 28—Some 48,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) are poised to walk off the job following an overwhelming strike vote of nearly 95 percent. In what amounts to a declaration of war, Canada Post is seeking to impose a two-tier wage and benefit system that will divide the workforce and roll back decades of union gains. For new hires, the postal bosses have vowed to slash pay by 30 percent, scrap guaranteed pension benefits, erode job security, lengthen work hours and cut vacation time. For retirees, they seek to ratchet up premiums for the extended health care plan. Across the board, they aim to eliminate the system of banked sick days in favour of a miserly short-term disability plan that would impose waiting periods for sick pay and reduce it by roughly 30 percent.

Canada Post has already eliminated 1,800 full-time jobs, mostly through attrition, and many more have been lost through contracting out. Management threatens to scrap 7,000 jobs in total once it completes its \$2-billion mechanization scheme, the "Modern Post," now being tested at a new \$100-million facility in Winnipeg. Within a decade, more than 80 percent of the existing unionized workforce is slated to retire, to be replaced by either machines or low-wage new hires.

At the same time, the postal bosses are driving the aging workforce to the wall. Under the guise of "reclassification," workers are being forced to do virtually any job management decrees, while ever more night shifts pose increased health problems and double the rate of injury. Postal workers have responded to management's abuses with work-to-rule campaigns and other protests. In south Winnipeg last November, 70 letter carriers wildcatted over unsafe work conditions ushered in by the new high-tech plant. Rural and suburban mail carriers, part of a separate bargaining unit of CUPW, staged a three-day walkout in the Edmonton suburb of St. Albert against cutbacks that threaten to reduce their annual pay by up to \$28,000. On March 9, hundreds of letter carriers in suburban Montreal joined a protest over working conditions.

The ongoing capitalist economic crisis has already cost hundreds of thousands of workers their jobs across the country. Emboldened by its new majority status, the Harper government is now turning its fire from the unions in private-sector manufacturing to those in the public sector. At the centre of these attacks is Conservative MP Tony Clement. In his former role as industry minister, the rodential Clement presided over the 2009 bailout of the auto bosses, which saw workers in that industry lose as much as \$22 an hour in wages and benefits. Now, as head of the Treasury Board, Clement vows to slash wages and ax entire government programs as part of the Tories' plan to cut spending by as much as \$8 billion—ten percent—in the next year alone. Govern-



Agence QMI

**Laval, Quebec: Hundreds of letter carriers protest deteriorating work conditions, March 9.**

ment spokesmen have mooted some 80,000 job cuts over the next several years.

What Harper and his gang *vow* and what they can *do* are by no means the same. The devastating blow to auto workers was not inevitable; it was made possible chiefly by the treachery of the bureaucracy of the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW). Pushing nationalist protectionism instead of the necessary class struggle, CAW president Ken Lewenza obscenely trumpeted the sellout deal as a "victory." More recently in Toronto, in the face of the right-wing mayor's union-busting attack on city workers, the leadership of the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 113 simply rolled over, giving up the right to strike without a fight. Such concessions can only embolden the ruling class and demoralize the workers.

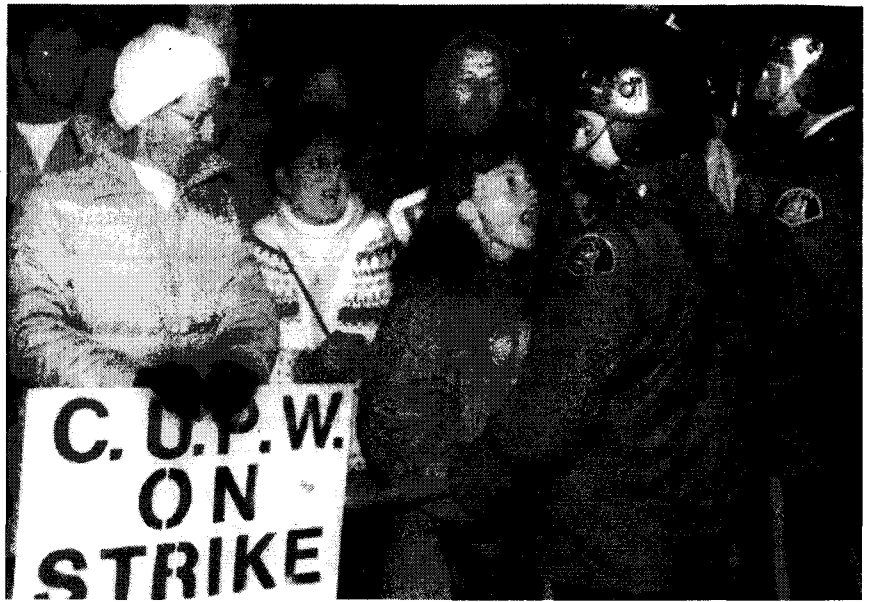
There will either be class struggle or defeat. If Canada Post gets away with its attacks on CUPW, the results will redound against the struggles of all workers, especially in the public sector. On the other hand, a hard-fought union battle in the post office would have the potential to reverse the bosses' one-sided war against the working class. But this will not be easy. For years the labour tops have strangled the enormous potential social power of the proletariat, negotiating defeats, givebacks and concessions, and gravely weakening the trade unions. On a political level, this has been expressed through support to the social-democratic NDP, which sees class struggle as a threat to its goal of "responsibly" managing the capitalist state.

For its part, in the recent federal election, the CUPW leadership called on union members to "consider voting for a candidate who supports public postal service, good jobs and

*(continued on page 6)*



Toronto Telegram



Halifax Daily News

Striking postal workers picket in Burlington, Ontario, 1968 (left) and confront police in Halifax, 1987 (right).

## CUPW...

(continued from page 5)

better child care.” This could include anything from the NDP to the bourgeois-nationalist Bloc Québécois or even the Liberals. A fighting perspective in the unions is inseparably linked to the struggle to replace the existing pro-capitalist labour bureaucracy with a leadership that understands that the interests of the working class and the capitalist class have nothing in common.

### For a Class-Struggle Fight to Defeat Canada Post Attacks!

For decades, CUPW has been the *bête noir* of the capitalist class and its ideologues. This stems in large part from the militant postal strikes of the 1960s and 70s and from the union’s longstanding support to struggles of the oppressed internationally. A *National Post* editorial (13 October 2010), “The Disgrace of CUPW,” attacked the union for its participation in a May Day rally in Cuba and smeared its members as “bigots” for their defense of the besieged Palestinians.

Despite their radical reputation, however, the CUPW leaders have for years failed to lead the kind of struggle needed to throw back management’s concerted drive against postal workers. There are more and more temporary, contract and casual workers with poor benefits and job security, while thousands of non-union, low-wage workers now staff postal franchises across the country. What was once an enviable job among public sector unionists is now synonymous with low wages and brutal rates of injury. Strained joints from grinding repetition on the shop floor, phone calls at home from harassing supervisors and insurance companies, poverty, hip replacements—that is the lot of workers at the “Modern Post.”

One consequence of trying to appease the bosses was starkly demonstrated in the fall 2008 strike of 2,100 members of the Union of Postal Communications Employees (UPCE), who are mainly office and technical workers. The leaderships of both postal unions signed a rotten scabbing pact that

ordered CUPW members to work behind UPCE picket lines. Isolated, the strike went down in defeat and management succeeded in shafting the UPCE with the same kind of short-term disability plan that it threatens CUPW with today. In the past, there were many instances of solidarity—including workers refusing to scab on one another’s strikes—between CUPW members and those in the former Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), which merged with CUPW in 1989. However, mutual scabbing deals have more and more become the norm, contributing to an erosion of the workers’ consciousness.

Today, the CUPW leadership offers advice on how “another post office is possible,” including mooting “partnerships” with private banks (“The Future of Canada Post,” October 2010). But the bosses of this crown corporation care only about the bottom line, and no amount of “responsible” business advice from the union leadership can change that. Playing by the bosses’ rules will only bring defeat.

### The Legacy of 1965

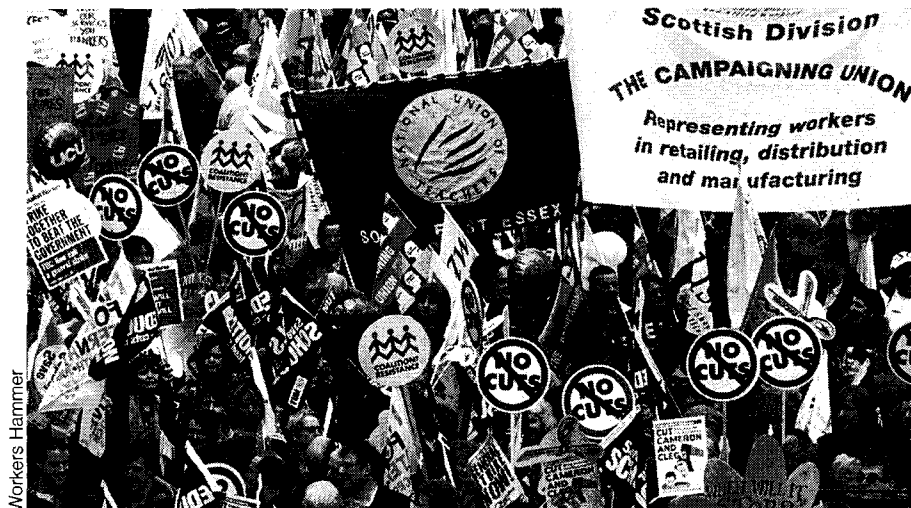
Beating back the assault on CUPW will require a mobilization of labour’s social power. The very right to form a union was once illegal. Labour’s victories were wrested from the capitalists by defying bourgeois “law and order” and using the methods of the class struggle: strikes, mass picket lines, factory occupations and hot-cargoing (refusing to handle) struck goods. Hard-fought strikes can galvanize the rest of the labour movement and, when victorious, tear up the bosses’ anti-strike laws and injunctions.

That is what happened in the “illegal” postal strike of 1965. Just as the auto strikes of the late 1930s and 40s and the Stelco steel strike of 1946 were crucial to forging strong industrial unions in Canada, the 1965 postal strike was key in winning public sector workers the right to strike and form unions. Previously, a government job meant low pay and arbitrary work rules. Paternalism and patronage were rampant and unions were proscribed. As Quebec premier Jean Lesage put it in 1964, “the Queen does not negotiate with her

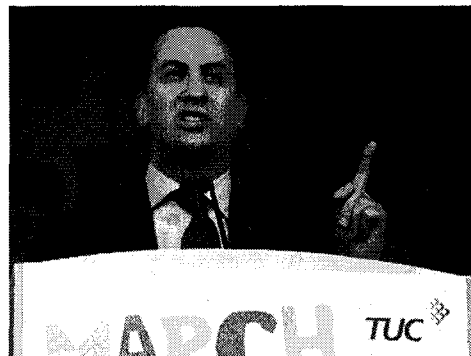
(continued on page 15)



# Britain: For Class Struggle to Defend Public Sector Jobs!



Workers Hammer



Reuters

London: As hundreds of thousands of trade unionists protested Conservative government's austerity plan on March 26, Labour Party leader Ed Miliband proposed own program of cuts.

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Hammer* No. 214 (Spring 2011), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League.

## WORKERS HAMMER

On 26 March, a massive turnout of up to half a million trade unionists demonstrated in London against the savage budget cuts announced by David Cameron's government. The demonstration consisted of a sea of trade union banners, representing local council workers, teachers and lecturers, health workers and firefighters—in a show of anger against the Conservative-Liberal Democrat government's assault on healthcare, social services, pensions and much more. The public sector jobs massacre saw 132,000 jobs lost in 2010, while the overall unemployment figure stands officially at 2.5 million, the highest for 20 years.

Low-paid public sector workers, a high proportion of whom are women and minorities, are the core of the trade union movement today. But rather than a strategy to mobilise that social power for a class-struggle fight to defend jobs, the TUC's [Trades Union Congress's] "March for the Alternative" was intended to channel this anger into supporting another Labour government. For the first time in over a dozen years, a trade union demonstration in Britain was addressed by the Labour Party leader. Ed Miliband, who was elected leader last September with the support of the trade unions, intoned on the platform that "there is an alternative," adding that "there is a need for difficult choices, and some cuts" to reduce the budget deficit, but this government "is going too far and too fast." For a clue as to what Miliband's "alternative" might be, one only has to recall that before the last election Labour promised cuts deeper and tougher than under [1980s Tory prime minister Margaret] Thatcher.

Deep cuts, fast or slow cuts: these are the "choices" being offered to the working class by the servile trade union bureaucracy. Throughout Europe—from Greece to Ireland

and Spain—every capitalist government is trying to force the working class to pay for the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression—a crisis that was caused by the capitalist system itself. An effective defence of jobs today requires hard *class struggle*—strike action across the public sector. But the trade union leadership is an obstacle to the kind of fight that is necessary because they too share the political framework expressed by Miliband, that the alternative to "Tory cuts" are Labour government cuts.

The ground for the present devastating public sector cuts was prepared by 13 years of Labour governments that relentlessly attacked jobs, pensions, health and education services; froze pay below inflation and slashed tens of thousands of civil service jobs. And all the while, the union leaderships stood by and refused to lead battles against the Labour government. Recall then FBU [Fire Brigades Union] leader Andy Gilchrist calling off the firefighters strike in 2002 when it threatened to "hinder" the armed forces preparing to invade Iraq.

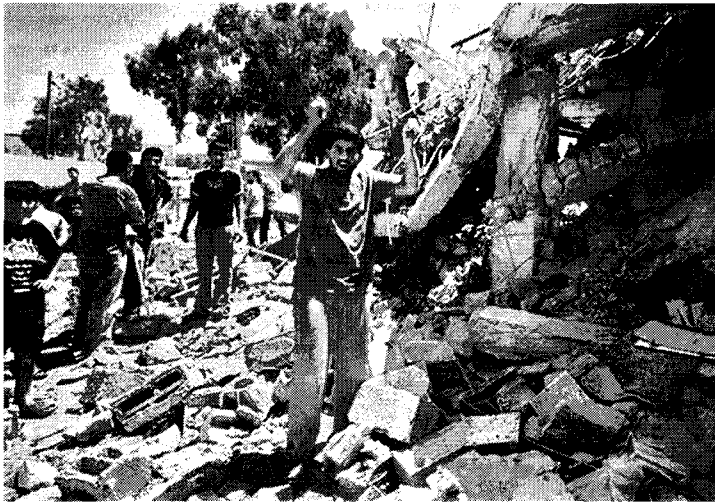
Visit any of the public sector unions' websites and find "alternatives," *not* for a fight to beat back the rapacious bourgeoisie *but for solving British capitalism's budget deficit*. [The public sector union] Unison's recipe calls for "a 50 per cent tax on bankers' bonuses" and a "Robin Hood Tax" on bank transactions. The Public and Commercial Services union, which organises civil servants, offers similar counsel to the bourgeois rulers including "We could free up billions of pounds by not renewing Trident [submarine-launched missile system]."

The "socialist" outfits who ride Labour's coattails look to none other than the bold class warriors of the TUC to call a general strike, while cravenly rebuilding illusions in the election of a Labour government. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) runs the National Right to Work coalition, whose slogan is "Break the Con-Dem Coalition!" (read: and replace it with a Labour government). When Ed Miliband won the Labour leadership contest last year, they enthused that his win was "another avenue to bring pressure to bear on Labour

(continued on page 14)

# ***U.S. Murders Its Frankenstein's Monster Bin Laden***

## **“War on Terror”: Marauding Abroad, Repression at Home**



AP



Reuters

**Left: Aftermath of murderous U.S. drone attack in northwestern Pakistan, November 2010. Right: April 30 NATO bombing of Tripoli residence of Libyan leader Qaddafi's son, killing the son and three grandchildren.**

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### **Imperialists Out of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Libya!**

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*The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 980 (13 May), newspaper of the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League.*

The May 1 assassination of Osama bin Laden in his compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan, was an act of imperialist arrogance typical of the U.S. “cops of the world.” The day before, the NATO imperialists had bombed the house of Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi’s son, missing Qaddafi, their intended target, but killing his son and three grandchildren. A few days later, a U.S. drone attack in Yemen killed two people in an unsuccessful attempt to take out Anwar al-Awlaki, one of at least four American citizens officially targeted for assassination by Washington.

The Obama administration did not even inform its Pakistani “allies” in advance of the incursion into their country by a military death squad. The raid was carried out by Navy SEAL commandos, a gang of specially selected and trained hitmen who shot and wounded bin Laden’s youngest wife and killed his son and three others. In murdering the Al Qaeda leader and dumping his body in the Arabian Sea, Washington destroyed its own Frankenstein’s monster. The U.S. had sponsored bin Laden and other Islamic reactionaries against the Red Army in Afghanistan in the 1980s as part of the decades-long imperialist drive to strangle the Soviet Union and foment capitalist counterrevolution.

Barack Obama, who came into office with broad support from the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy and the reformist left, is simply carrying out his duties as Commander-in-Chief. In escalating the bloody occupation of Afghanistan, he is doing what he promised to do if elected. Obama was more than willing to ignore other campaign promises in the interests of continuing the imperialist “war on terror.” His decision to maintain the U.S. concentration camp at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, as well as the system of kangaroo-court military commissions for accused terrorists, underlines the continuity of Obama’s policies with those of his Republican predecessor. Politicians and the bourgeois media are now engaged in a sick debate over how “effective” torture was in extracting information that helped track down bin Laden. Our position on those who have been tortured and brutalized—from Afghanistan and Iraq to Guantánamo—is simple: Free the detainees!

Seizing on the bin Laden kill, Obama appealed to “the sense of unity that prevailed on 9/11,” waving yet again the bloody shirt of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Obama got a quick spike in the polls. But the “spontaneous” rallies of jubilation outside the White House and World Trade Center site, replete with bloodthirsty chauvinism, quickly dissipated and got little traction among working people. It is not so easy this time to whip up a spirit of shared “national interest” among workers, who have been thrown out of their jobs and homes by the millions and have seen their hard-won medical and pension benefits slashed by the capitalist class represented by the Democrats and Republicans. A common response even among workers who bought into the mission to “get” bin Laden was: OK, you got him,



now when can we get out of Afghanistan? Obama made clear on May 1 that he had no intention of changing course in Afghanistan or relaxing the “anti-terror” crackdown on the home front.

The September 11 attack on the World Trade Center was a heinous crime, with nearly 3,000 people from all walks of life wantonly killed. Unlike the World Trade Center, the Pentagon was and is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military and, being a military installation, the possibility of getting hit comes with the territory. That fact did not make the attack an “anti-imperialist” act. In any case, terrorism almost always gets innocent people, including the passengers and crews on the hijacked airliners and the maintenance staff and secretaries at the Pentagon.

A Spartacist League/U.S. Political Bureau statement on the World Trade Center attack issued the day after (printed in *WV* No. 764, 14 September 2001) declared that those who perpetrated this act “embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors!” The statement went on to warn:

“It’s an opportunity for the exploiters to peddle ‘one nation indivisible’ patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of this society away from themselves and toward an indefinable foreign ‘enemy,’ as well as immigrants in the U.S., and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people.”

This is precisely what happened. Beginning with rounding up immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries for imprisonment and deportation, the U.S. government has shredded civil liberties and vastly expanded police powers, a particular danger to black people and to the labor movement as well. In December 2001, striking teachers in Middletown, New Jersey, were compared to the Taliban by the school board after they defied a back-to-work order. The following year, as West Coast longshoremen organized by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) were engaged in tough contract talks, the head of Homeland Security warned that strike action could be treated as a threat to “national security.” The government later imposed the Transportation Workers Identification Credential, making longshoremen, rail workers and truckers undergo immigration

review and criminal background checks—an invitation to purge blacks and other minorities as well as union militants. The FBI has also extended the “anti-terror” dragnet to include antiwar activists and reformist leftists, many of whom had supported Obama’s election.

When U.S. imperialism launched its wars in Afghanistan in 2001 and in Iraq in 2003, we, as revolutionary Marxists, stood for the military defense of those neocolonial countries without giving an iota of political support to the reactionary Taliban or to Saddam Hussein’s blood-soaked capitalist regime. We stressed that every victory for the imperialists encourages more predatory wars, while every setback serves to assist the struggles of working people and oppressed the world over.

We called for *class struggle against the imperialist rulers at home*, in counterposition to the labor bureaucracy, which treacherously signed on to the “war on terror” while sometimes complaining about how it was applied. It is the historic task of the proletariat, led by a revolutionary party, to sweep away the system of capitalist imperialism. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained in a May 1917 speech titled “War and Revolution,” this will lay the basis for the “socialist system of society, which, by eliminating the division of mankind into classes, by eliminating all exploitation of man by man and nation by nation, will inevitably eliminate the very possibility of war.”

### Bin Laden: Product of Anti-Soviet Cold War

The post-September 11 “global war on terror” is but one of the many facets of capitalist reaction that followed the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. Proclaiming themselves the “world’s only superpower,” the U.S. rulers have launched one bloody military action after another. Even as it remains embroiled in the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, the U.S. is stepping up murderous drone attacks in Pakistan while NATO escalates its bombing campaign on behalf of the pro-imperialist opposition in Libya.

Pakistani military leaders are fuming over the brazen disregard for their country’s national sovereignty manifested in the raid against bin Laden. U.S. officials, in turn, are

(continued on page 10)



Draz/SIPA

Left: At April 1989 Washington, D.C. demonstration, PDC raised funds for victims of CIA-backed Islamic *mujahedin*. Above: Bin Laden in 1989 directing *mujahedin* forces near Jalalabad.

## “War on Terror” ...

(continued from page 9)

demanding to know how bin Laden could have resided for years in a garrison town dominated by military installations without the protection of powerful figures in the Pakistani military or security forces.

The fact is that bin Laden and his ilk were promoted not only by the Pakistani authorities but, in the first instance, by the U.S. For decades, the U.S. fostered the growth of Islamic fundamentalism as a bulwark against “godless Communism” and even secular nationalism. In 1950, John Foster Dulles, who would become Secretary of State in the Eisenhower presidency, wrote: “The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find it and develop it.”

The origins of bin Laden’s Al Qaeda stem from the U.S.-backed war against the Soviet Union’s 1979 intervention in Afghanistan. In the biggest CIA covert operation in history, money and arms were funneled to the *mujahedin* (holy warriors) based in western Pakistan. The main conduit was Pakistan’s top intelligence agency, the ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate), led by fervent Islamist Hameed Gul. By the CIA’s own estimate, as many as 70,000 Islamic fundamentalists recruited from more than 50 countries by the CIA and ISI were trained at Islamist schools, which still flourish in Pakistan.

Washington started funneling arms to the *mujahedin* soon after the Soviet-allied People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) came to power in April 1978. As modernizing left nationalists, the PDPA attempted to implement a program for redistributing land, lowering the bride price, educating women and freeing them from the prison of the head-to-toe covering called the *burqa*. As the Islamic hierarchy launched a fierce insurgency, the Soviet Union intervened at the PDPA’s request to prevent the collapse of its client regime. Beginning with Democrat Jimmy Carter and continuing under Republican Ronald Reagan, the U.S. seized on the Red Army intervention to launch a renewed anti-Soviet offensive across the globe, in particular waging a proxy war aimed at killing Soviet soldiers and officers in Afghanistan.

For Marxists, there was no question which side working people and the oppressed world over had in this conflict. The threat of a CIA-backed Islamic takeover on the USSR’s southern flank posed pointblank the need for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Moreover, the Soviet intervention and the possibility of a prolonged integration of Afghanistan into the Soviet system opened the perspective of social lib-

eration for the Afghan masses, particularly women. This was, as we wrote at the time, the first war in modern history in which a central issue was the rights of women. While most professed leftists around the world echoed the imperialists in condemning the Soviet intervention, the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) uniquely raised the slogans: “Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!”

Among those who flocked to enlist in the *jihād* against Communism was Saudi millionaire Osama bin Laden, the son of a construction magnate who had been a close friend of the former Saudi king, Faisal. In Ahmed Rashid’s *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (2000), bin Laden recounts that his “volunteers were trained by Pakistani and American officers. The weapons were supplied by the Americans, the money by the Saudis.”

The *New York Times* took note of this history in its obituary of bin Laden. But what really caught our eye was the following editorial gem from the International Socialist Organization (ISO):

“One inconvenient truth you won’t hear much about in the media’s celebration of bin Laden’s death is the fact that the U.S. government helped him form al-Qaeda.

“When the former USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the U.S. saw an opportunity to turn the country into a battlefield in the Cold War....

“The U.S. ignored progressive and secular forces in Afghanistan, instead funneling support to fundamentalist groups that were not only anticommunist, but notorious for their brutality.... These were the rebels who Ronald Reagan praised as ‘freedom fighters’.”

—*Socialist Worker* online, 3 May

An inconvenient truth that you are definitely unlikely to hear from the ISO is that these anti-communist social democrats were themselves firmly in the camp of Washington’s “freedom fighters,” howling along with the imperialists that the Soviets should get out of Afghanistan. When the Kremlin bureaucracy announced in 1988 that it was pulling out the Soviet troops, the ISO wrote that “we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin’s heirs” (*Socialist Worker*, May 1988). For Trotskyists, the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan was a *historic betrayal* that paved the way to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union itself, which the ISO, true to form, hailed as well.

As for bin Laden, after having joined hands with the U.S. in the “holy war” against Communism, he became incensed by the deployment of U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia during the 1991 “Operation Desert Storm” against Iraq. Al Qaeda went on to launch a series of attacks on U.S. facilities overseas, setting the stage for 11 September 2001.

### Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Socialist Revolution!

In a starry-eyed response to the killing of bin Laden, Phyllis Bennis of the liberal Institute for Policy Studies wrote in a May 2 article titled “Justice or Vengeance?”:

“The president’s speech last night could have aimed to put an end to the triumphalism of the ‘global war on terror’ that George W. Bush began and Barack Obama claimed as his own. It could have announced a new U.S. foreign policy based on

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# Salute Heroic Japanese Nuclear Workers

*The Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S. sent the following statement of solidarity to the Federation of Electric Power Related Industry Workers Unions of Japan on March 19.*

The Partisan Defense Committee salutes the heroic members of your union who are risking their lives in an effort to control the dangerous situation at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant following the earthquake and tsunami. The PDC is a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League/U.S., which, along with the Spartacist Group Japan, are sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

The valor and dedication of the Fukushima Daiichi workers stand in sharp contrast to the parasitism and greed of the owners and managers of TEPCO [Tokyo Electric Power Company] and their unofficial spokesmen in the government. They have endangered the population with their obfuscation and mismanagement. For the capitalists in every country and every industry, the overriding concern is their profits and not the safety of the workers or the interests of society as a whole.

All of this underlines the urgent need for trade-union control over safety and all working conditions at every level. If the labor of those who toil is to serve the interests of society and not the bottom line of the bosses, it is necessary for the working class to take power and rule on the basis of a collectivized planned economy.

We intend to circulate this message to organizations within the workers movement internationally and encourage them to likewise extend their support.

\* \* \*

The PDC urges trade unions and other organizations to send their own letters to the union in solidarity with the



Doro-Chiba

**Nuclear cleanup workers, not given waterproof boots, were forced to use thin plastic bags to walk in radioactive water.**

nuclear power workers at the Fukushima plant—known as the “Fukushima 50”—some of whom have already been hospitalized. Messages can be e-mailed to: [icemjaf@blue.ocn.ne.jp](mailto:icemjaf@blue.ocn.ne.jp). The PDC has contributed \$500 to the union and urges others to make their own contributions. The information for wiring funds is as follows. Bank Name: Mizuho Bank, Ltd.; Swift Code: MHBKJPJT; Branch Name: Shiba Branch; Branch Address: 5-34-7, Shiba, Minato-Ku, Tokyo 108-0014, Japan; Account Name: Nihon Kagaku Enerugi-Kouzan Roudoukumiai Kyougikai; Account Number: 054-3316103. Please state “Earthquake” on the wire transfer form. ■

justice, equality, and respect for other nations. But it did not.... “It’s ineffably sad that President Obama, in his claim that bin Laden’s death means justice, didn’t use the opportunity to announce the end of the deadly U.S. wars that answered the attacks of 9/11. This could have been a moment to replace vengeance with cooperation, replace war with justice.”

It is not surprising that the ISO reproduced this piece on its Web site without comment. For years, the ISO, the Workers World Party (WWP), the Party for Socialism and Liberation and others tried to build an “antiwar movement” whose basic premise was “Anybody but Bush” in the White House. The plain fact is that the Obama White House has, as promised, carried on and escalated the “war on terror” initiated under George W. Bush, causing some consternation among the ISO, WWP and other opportunist groups that had celebrated Obama’s election.

Writing in the *New York Times* (8 May), conservative columnist Ross Douthat observed that the killing of bin Laden “operationalized Bush’s famous ‘dead or alive’ dictum” and highlighted the continuity in foreign policy under both Republicans and Democrats. Citing the war in Libya, the escalating drone strikes in Pakistan and the “policy of targeted assassination” of U.S. citizens, Douthat wrote:

“Imagine, for a moment, that these were George W. Bush’s policies at work.... Imagine the outrage, the protests, the furious op-eds about right-wing tyranny and neoconservative overreach. Imagine all that, and then look at the reality. For most Democrats, what was considered creeping fascism under Bush is just good old-fashioned common sense when the president has a ‘D’ beside his name.”

In truth, Democratic politicians barely worked up a whimper in protest against the foreign adventures of the Bush gang, while the reformists’ “antiwar” movement dissipated more and more the closer it got to the 2008 elections. Sowing the illusion that the Democrats in office could be pressured to carry out a humanitarian foreign policy and to meet the needs of working people at home, the reformists serve, to the extent their forces allow, to reinforce the ties binding workers, minorities and youth to the other party of U.S. imperialism.

For the working class to take the offensive against the depredations of its rulers—at home and abroad—will require a new leadership, a workers party of the Bolshevik type that fights for a workers government. Our task is to build such a party in the “belly of the beast” of U.S. imperialism, to fight for the only answer to exploitation, repression and imperialist war: international socialist revolution. ■

# NDP "Surge"...

(continued from page 3)

approval the NDP's "hawkish turn," commenting that "Layton has been undisguised in his panders to the pro-military zeitgeist." The New Democrats have also backed Conservative "law and order" legislation, strengthening the repressive powers of the capitalist cops and courts whose central targets are working people and oppressed minorities. The necessary fight to unite the workers, at the head of all the oppressed, in a struggle against the rapacious capitalist system requires a break with NDP-style social democracy and the forging of a new, revolutionary leadership.

## "United Canada" Anglo Chauvinists

The reformist left groups had particular praise for the NDP's breakthrough in Quebec. *Socialist Worker* declared that the NDP now "unites workers and their struggles in Quebec and Canada." Fightback claimed that the NDP rise signaled Quebec workers' "rejection of the old sterile federalist-nationalist debate." Utterly besotted with the New Democrats' parliamentary gains, Fightback even equated these to the massive 1972 Quebec general strike, writing: "For the first time since the Common Front general strike of 1972 there is the possibility of working class issues dominating the politics of the province" (marxist.ca, 27 April).

Such claims that the working class is now united under Layton's NDP and that the Quebec national question is passé are utterly bogus. The NDP has always been an Anglo-chauvinist opponent of the national rights of the Québécois, and thus of any prospect of united working-class struggle against Canadian capitalism. The election has changed none of this.

Quebec is a nation with its own language and culture and an increasingly distinct political economy. Opposition to national oppression has long fueled class and other social struggles there, particularly since the shackles of the Catholic Church were thrown off in the 1960s and early 70s. This was a period of tumultuous social protests and workers struggles, culminating in the 1972 province-wide general strike, which saw trade unionists take over radio stations, factories and whole towns.

Far from offering even token "solidarity" to the Quebec workers, NDP leader David Lewis supported the jailing of their leaders, while the CLC bureaucrats used the occasion to

condemn Quebec's national rights as "selfish." Confronted with such hostility, the Quebec working class turned increasingly to the bourgeois nationalism of the Parti Québécois and later also the Bloc, which emerged in the federal parliament after the collapse of the Meech Lake constitutional talks in the early 1990s. The New Democrats strongly backed the "pro-Canada" forces in the 1980 and 1995 Quebec sovereignty referendums, the latter of which lost by a mere percentage point despite a mixture of bribes, threats and shadowy military maneuvers orchestrated by the government in Ottawa.

The continued existence of an artificial "united Canada," where one nation dominates and oppresses the other, has long inflamed national animosities and tensions. In English Canada, the Maple Leaf patriotism pushed by the NDP and labour tops binds the workers to the interests of their own exploiters. In Quebec, the labour misleaders push workers to support "their" capitalists via the PQ and Bloc. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste advocates Quebec independence in order to remove this source of division among the workers, and bring to the fore the need for them to fight against the capitalist exploiters of each nation, not each other.

The New Democrats' long record of upholding chauvinist "Canadian unity" against the national rights of the Québécois was highlighted in 2000 by their support to the Clarity Act, a reactionary federal law that effectively bans Quebec's democratic right to self-determination (i.e., to independence). Layton and his Quebec lieutenant, former provincial Liberal cabinet minister Thomas Mulcair, sought to obscure this during the election campaign. Seeking to attract so-called "soft nationalists," they pledged to expand the use of French in the federal public sector and reopen negotiations on the constitution, which successive Quebec governments have refused to sign since it was adopted in 1982.

They also promoted the "Sherbrooke Declaration," a hitherto obscure policy paper adopted at the party's 2006 convention. The pro-NDP reformist groups in English Canada joined in painting this as a move toward upholding Quebec's national rights. *Socialist Action*, for example, claimed that Layton "asserted that he would repeal the undemocratic Clarity Act" and "recognize a declaration of Quebec independence after a sovereignty referendum win." The I.S. alleged that the NDP now "respected Quebec sovereignty." In fact, the Sherbrooke Declaration explicitly upholds the NDP's past positions on Quebec, including its support to the 1998 Supreme Court ruling that barred Quebec's unilateral right to secession.

A useful summary by Richard Fidler in *The Bullet* (11 May), e-bulletin of the Socialist Project, notes:

"The document refers to Quebec only once as a 'nation' (quotation marks in the original) and says that Quebec's national character 'can be expressed in the context of the Canadian federation.' It 'recognizes Quebec's right to self-determination,' but emphasizes that in the NDP view this right can be 'exercised within Canada,' and that in any case it 'is not useful or necessary' to 'legally formalize this process.'...

"There is nothing in this document that is incompatible with the parliamentary NDP's support of the infamous *Clarity Act*."

So much for the New Democrats "respecting Quebec sovereignty."

## Myth of the "End of Separatism"

Much of the capitalist media, especially in English Canada, saluted the NDP's gains in Quebec, saying, in the words of one right-wing pundit, "Better socialists than separatists."

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Translated from "Québec Solidaire: No Choice for Workers," SC No. 165, Summer 2010

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Un article de... (text too small to read)

**Common Front union protests during massive Quebec labour upsurge in April-May 1972. General strike posed question of power—who shall rule: the bosses or the workers?**



Echoing this, NDP grandee Stephen Lewis crowed to a “Democracy Now” interviewer that the Québécois “have rejected the separatist, sovereignist instinct” and that the election “brings Quebec back into Canada.” In reality, the New Democrats benefited from a protest vote, not a rejection of Quebec nationalism.

Previously a marginal force in Quebec, the NDP managed to tap into popular disenchantment with *all* the entrenched federal parliamentary parties, including the Bloc, which was widely seen as tired and worn-out. Yet polls show that 40 percent of the Québécois continue to seek a sovereign country, and the PQ is widely expected to win the next provincial election against a deeply unpopular Liberal regime. Many supporters of Quebec independence decided to vote NDP federally this time around, with the understanding that the fundamental decisions about Quebec’s place in (or outside) Canada will eventually be decided within Quebec, not by politicians in Ottawa.

Writing in the *Toronto Star* (13 May), Université de Montréal professor Pierre Martin noted: “The NDP attracted Quebec voters with a promise of creating elusive ‘winning conditions for Quebec in Canada,’ which may lead some ‘soft nationalists’ to give Canada another chance.” He continued:

“But the NDP is in no position to fulfill these expectations, and with little Quebec representation in the Harper cabinet, the stage has been set for renewed disillusionment with federalism. “All these factors seem to suggest the election could lead to a strengthening rather than a weakening of the idea of sovereignty.”

While backing the NDP in English Canada and thus adapting to the chauvinist Canadian capitalist status quo, in Quebec most of the reformist left tails bourgeois nationalism. (An exception is the Fightback group which, in a direct echo of the English Canadian labour tops and NDP, denounces Quebec independence as “divisive.”)

Just about every “socialist” group with a presence in Quebec has liquidated into the petty-bourgeois populist Québec Solidaire. QS, which won a seat for the first time in the last Quebec election, portrays itself as an alternative home for sovereignists repelled by the austerity attacks of the PQ when it was in power in Quebec, most recently from 1994 to 2003. But for all its for-the-people rhetoric, QS’s program does not even pay lip service to the class struggle, let alone socialism.

A recent QS conference made this explicit, coming out for a “plural economy” based on a “quadripartite [!] model” including a “*private economy* composed of private enterprises.” In the federal election, QS merely said, “Don’t vote

Conservative”—i.e., vote Bloc, NDP or even Liberal. After the vote, party leader Amir Khadir praised Layton for his “intelligence and understanding of Quebec.” Far from representing a “left alternative,” as the I.S. et al. would have it, Québec Solidaire is a populist obstacle to working-class consciousness and struggle.

### **For Class Struggle, Not “National Unity”!**

A May 3 editorial in the *Globe and Mail* saluted both the Tory victory and the NDP’s advance in Quebec but expressed concern at the continued national divide in Canada. “Not since 1917 has a majority government been so under-represented in Quebec,” it noted, adding:

“And with the Parti Québécois well-placed to take eventual power in Quebec City, we are entering a new phase in Canada’s dealings with Quebec. Mr. Layton and Mr. Harper will be fierce opponents in the House of Commons. On national unity, they must speak, as much as possible, with one voice.”

Against the “national unity” pushed by the bourgeois rulers and their social-democratic agents, it is necessary to fight for a program of proletarian class struggle that defends all the oppressed. In English Canada, that means unstinting opposition to Anglo reaction and advocacy of Quebec independence in order to break the Maple Leaf national chauvinism that holds sway among the workers. In Quebec, while it is necessary to support independence and oppose all manifestations of national oppression, the central task is to fight against the bourgeois nationalism that continues to dominate among the workers.

The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste is fighting to build the nucleus of a revolutionary Marxist party that can root itself in the working class. Such a party would be binational, multiracial and internationalist, and would champion forthrightly the cause of all those victimized and oppressed under capitalism. It would give conscious leadership to the struggles of the workers not only to improve their present conditions but to do away with the entire system of exploitation and wage slavery.

“Unity” with the oppressors, or with their social-democratic political agents, is the road to defeat. The only way to smash the all-sided assault on social programs, to win jobs, decent living standards, free quality medical care, childcare and decent pensions for all is by ripping the productive forces from the hands of the capitalist class through socialist revolution and putting them in the hands of those whose labour makes society run. ■



## Bay of Pigs...

(continued from page 4)

obstacle to the necessary extension of socialist revolution to the Latin American mainland and, crucially, to the U.S. imperialist heartland.

The fight to defend and extend the Cuban Revolution has been a hallmark of our tendency from its inception as the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Against the SWP majority, which equated the Castro regime with the revolutionary Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky, the RT fought for the understanding that Cuba had become a *bureaucratically deformed workers state*. Indeed, following the Bay of Pigs, the Castro regime tightened its political grip on the country. The Trotskyist press was suppressed, key labor leaders were replaced by Stalinist hacks, a one-party system was instituted, etc. The RT upheld the need to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties in Cuba and in the U.S., where the SWP majority was increasingly abandoning a revolutionary perspective, instead tailing Castroism and black nationalism.



Bettmann

Two years after defeat of Bay of Pigs invasion, Cuban gusanos presented their sponsor, U.S. president Kennedy, with brigade flag.

## Britain: For Class Struggle...

(continued from page 7)

to fight" (*Socialist Worker*, 25 September 2010). In the meantime a poster on their website lists their own recommendations to the capitalist rulers, "Why There's No Need to Slash Spending." Cuts can be avoided by taxing the rich, clamping down on tax evaders, and cutting defence spending—the tired, hopeless call of reformists everywhere to reorder the priorities of the capitalists in favour of the working class.

The Socialist Party, after calling for a one-day public sector strike and a 24-hour general strike, go on to showcase their abiding faith in the capitalist state, and Labour, approvingly quoting an article from Labourlist.org: "A cascade of 'no cuts' budget decisions by local authorities could be the most effective resistance to the cuts so far." The Socialist Party continues, "By using their reserves and borrowing

Based on our analysis of the Cuban Revolution, the SL was able to extend Marxist theory to encompass how bureaucratically deformed workers states were created (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory"). In Cuba, a petty-bourgeois movement under exceptional circumstances—the absence of the working class as a contender for social power in its own right, the flight of the national bourgeoisie, hostile imperialist encirclement, a lifeline thrown by the Soviet Union—was able to eventually smash capitalist property relations. But Castroism (like other peasant-based guerrilla movements) could not bring the working class to political power. As stated in the International Communist League's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program":

"Under the most *favorable* historic circumstances conceivable, the petty-bourgeois peasantry was only capable of creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, that is, a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counterrevolution of Stalin in the Soviet Union, an anti-working-class regime which blocked the possibilities to extend social revolution into Latin America and North America, and suppressed Cuba's further development in the direction of socialism. To place the working class in political power and open the road to socialist development requires a supplemental *political* revolution led by a Trotskyist party."

The Soviet Union, which provided Cuba with crucial military support and economic aid, is no more, destroyed in 1991-92 by capitalist counterrevolution after decades of Stalinist misrule and imperialist pressure. The Cuban economy has suffered massively in the aftermath, although not evenly and uniformly. While the predominant section of the U.S. capitalist ruling class seeks to keep a stranglehold on the island through the trade embargo, some elements seek to relax the embargo along with Cuba's diplomatic isolation from the U.S., seeing this as a more effective means of subverting the gains of the revolution. Meanwhile, Cuba remains in the imperialists' military crosshairs, a fact that its people are reminded of every day by the presence of the U.S. naval base (and detention-torture center) at Guantánamo Bay. U.S. out of Guantánamo Bay now! Our defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against the class enemy is an integral part of our program for the overthrow of bloody U.S. imperialism through proletarian revolution here, in the "belly of the beast." ■

powers to avoid making cuts, councils can gain time to build a mass movement in their support," and "Ed Miliband could promise that an incoming Labour government would write off all local authority debts incurred from avoiding cuts" (*Socialism Today*, March 2011).

What is necessary to fight against the massacre of public sector jobs and social services is to mobilise the multiethnic working class in a fight for *jobs for all*, through a shorter work week with no loss in pay, and to undertake union organising to draw into their ranks all of the working class, including its minority and immigrant components. In the course of class struggle, workers must replace the Labourite cringers atop the unions with workers' leaders who aim to win battles on the picket lines. Striving to forge such a *class-struggle* leadership of the unions is an integral part of the fight for a multiethnic revolutionary workers party whose aim is no less than doing away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery through socialist revolution. ■



## CUPW...

(continued from page 6)

subjects.”

By 1965, postal workers in Montreal had had enough. They formed rank-and-file strike committees in defiance of their housebroken “professional association,” and picket lines soon spread to post offices across the country. In the face of threatened government injunctions and mass firings, the pickets held firm. After more than two weeks, the government was forced to concede wage increases and rewrite some of its labour laws. CUPW and LCUC were formed soon after. In 1967 the government enacted the Public Service Staff Relations Act, and in spite of its severe restrictions some 260,000 government workers won the right to unionize and strike.

It was not accidental that the 1965 postal strike began in Quebec, where opposition to national oppression was fueling an increase in class struggle. Instead of solidarity, the struggles of Québécois workers in this period often met with chauvinism from the NDP and the Canadian Labour Congress misleaders. This in turn pushed Québécois workers into the arms of their own class enemies, represented by the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois. We advocate independence for Quebec in order to fight Anglo chauvinism and lay the basis for making clear to the workers of both English Canada and Quebec that their enemies are their own respective capitalists, not each other.

### For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

Any serious struggle by the working class must confront the fact that the Canadian state is the bosses’ state. It is not neutral. Consisting at its core of the cops, courts, army and prisons, the capitalist state enforces the rule of private property and the deepening misery of the workers. State repression has been repeatedly wielded against the postal unions. Over the decades there has been one strikebreaking injunction after another. Cops have busted up picket lines and raided union offices. CUPW was targeted and disrupted by the CSIS secret police. In 1980 CUPW president Jean-Claude Parrot spent two months in prison for defying the anti-labour government of Pierre Trudeau. Over a decade later the Ontario NDP government of Bob Rae jailed the president of CUPW’s Toronto local, Andre Kolompar, and other union members for defending their picket lines during a 1991 postal strike.

With the proliferation of electronic communication and private couriers, CUPW faces an objectively more difficult situation today than in the days when Canada Post had a virtual monopoly of mail distribution. However, a powerful countrywide postal strike that chokes off the flow of mail would still have a major impact from coast to coast. It could not only win the demands postal workers need, but could also inspire the rest of the labour movement to take on the capitalist offensive. A class-struggle strike leadership would appeal in the first instance for active solidarity from the UPCE workers and the Teamster-organized Purolator couriers. Organize the non-union postal franchises! Picket lines mean don’t cross! A joint struggle against the postal bosses would also lay the basis for the merger of all postal workers into one industrial union.

The fight against growing unemployment and impoverishment poses sharply the demand for full employment

through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Under capitalism, technological advances such as those wielded by Canada Post are always used to beef up profits through speed-up and job cuts. In a rational society, such advances would be put in the service of the working people. But that requires a struggle to sweep away the supremely irrational capitalist system, replacing it with a society where those who labour rule.

As the revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in the founding program of the Fourth International, the Transitional Program (1938), “Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the slops of a crumbling society. *The right to employment* is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation.” He continued:

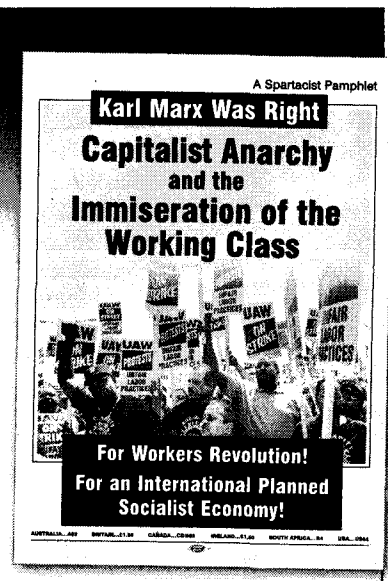
“If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. ‘Realizability’ or ‘unrealizability’ is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery.”

It is in the interests of the entire working class that CUPW beat back the bosses’ onslaught. If the union movement is to wage the battles necessary for defense of the workers and all the oppressed, a political struggle is necessary to get rid of the sellouts atop the labour movement who strangle the workers’ fighting spirit. It is in the crucible of the class struggle that a new leadership of the unions can be forged. This is not simply a question of militancy but of political program. What is needed is a leadership that will arm the workers with an understanding both of their social power and their historic interests to free humanity from the exploitation, all-sided misery and war inherent to a system based on production for profit. Forging such a leadership is in turn an integral part of the fight for a multiracial, binational revolutionary workers party whose aim is no less than doing away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery through socialist revolution. ■

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## War on Workers...

(continued from page 1)

Libya. The parliamentary parties may spar over budgets or the lies and obfuscation that are the stock-in-trade of capitalist politics, but *all* of them—the New Democrats included—spoke as one in supporting this new imperialist war on a neocolonial country.

The same parties are also united in ensuring that the working class bears the ravages of the worst capitalist economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Workers coast to coast have been devastated by job losses and anti-union attacks. Pensions, wages and the right to strike are under the gun; massive cuts to health care and other social services loom if the capitalists get their way. At the same time, the racist rulers seek to divide the working class, whipping up anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim hatred, especially through the so-called “war on terror.”

This one-sided class war didn't start with the Harper Tories. The Liberals carried out the most sweeping assaults on social programs in Canadian history in the 1990s and early 2000s. As for the social-democratic NDP, it has propped up Liberal and Tory regimes alike, thus taking responsibility for austerity cutbacks and massive hikes in military spending. Two years ago, Jack Layton obscenely told workers to have the “courage” to “take a pay cut so your friends at the plant can keep their job” (*Toronto Star*, 23 January 2009). Today, the New Democrats vow to balance the federal budget by 2014 while promising to spend just as much on the military as the Tories.

The capitalist order means bloody imperialist occupations and wars from Afghanistan to Libya and poverty and misery for working people at home. A successful fight against this ruinous social system requires a leadership that understands that the interests of the working class and the capitalist class are counterposed and irreconcilable. With its hands on the means of production, the working class uniquely has the social power and interest in sweeping away this deeply inhumane system.

What is needed is a class-struggle workers party committed to smashing capitalist rule and instituting a rationally planned, socialist economy based on meeting human needs, not private profit. Such a party can only be built through political struggle against the NDP and the trade-union bureaucracy, whose quest for “partnership” between labour and capital has shackled the workers to the enemy class and sapped their fighting power.

Class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism abroad. While giving no political support to Libya's capitalist strongman Qaddafi, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League, stands for the military defense of that semicolonial country against imperialism and the opposition forces who are acting on the imperialists' behalf. We demand that all NATO forces, including Canadian ships and planes, get out of the region, and we demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S., Canadian and other imperialist forces from Afghanistan. Every step taken by workers in Canada and other imperialist coun-



Thomas/Toronto Sun

**Steelworkers march in Hamilton, January 29, to protest U.S. Steel lockout. Unchain labour's social power to smash capitalist onslaught!**

tries to halt the depredations and military adventures of their “own” ruling class is a step toward their liberation from capitalist exploitation, impoverishment and oppression.

### **No Vote to the NDP, Labour Front Men for Canadian Imperialism!**

In endorsing the assault on Libya, the New Democrats did what comes naturally: over the years, they have backed just about all of Canada's wars and other military adventures. As for the servile reformists who falsely call themselves socialists, they too are doing what comes naturally in campaigning for the NDP in the election. It is a measure of the reformists' political bankruptcy that the NDP's support for the NATO bombing of Libya has not deterred them in the slightest.

And why would it? Groups like the International Socialists, Fightback, New Socialists and Socialist Action have all ardently championed the cabal of pro-imperialist “democrats,” CIA stooges, monarchists and Islamists that comprise the Libyan opposition. They have done so in the name of a so-called “Libyan revolution.” But what kind of “revolutionary” appeals to the imperialists to impose a “no-fly zone” and launch air strikes in their country, as the opposition leaders did from early on? The reformists' belated objections to Canadian and other imperialist military intervention aren't worth the paper they're written on.

We stand with V.I. Lenin, leader of the world's first successful workers revolution in October 1917 in Russia, who explained nearly a century ago that capitalist parliaments are “*instruments for the oppression* of the workers by the bourgeoisie.” “Important questions under bourgeois democracy,” Lenin emphasized, “are decided by the stock exchange and the banks.” This holds true whoever is on the parliamentary benches: Tories, Liberals or NDP social democrats.

We Trotskyists would of course never accord any political support to the Conservatives or Liberals, who represent the ruling class of “united” Canada, or to the small-time capitalist Green Party. Similarly, we give no support to the Bloc Québécois, a party of the bourgeoisie in Quebec. The parasitic

capitalist class that these parties represent accrues its profits through savage exploitation of the working class and is the most bitter and direct enemy of all the oppressed.

Nor is there any basis for workers and oppressed minorities to give the NDP even the most savagely critical support today. While linked to the unions through the labour bureaucracy, the NDP is what Marxists term a *bourgeois workers party*, whose thoroughly pro-capitalist program of maintaining the present system is sometimes packaged in “social justice” rhetoric. Whenever they have ruled provincially, as in Ontario and B.C. in the 1990s or Manitoba and Nova Scotia today, the New Democrats administer capitalism against the interests of workers and the oppressed.

### Down With Anglo Chauvinism— Independence for Quebec!

Harper opened the election campaign with a vicious diatribe against a supposed “socialist-separatist” coalition government that would include the Bloc Québécois. This was an echo of the anti-Québécois chauvinism he unleashed against the short-lived Liberal-NDP coalition supported by the Bloc in late 2008. We declared in a 22 December 2008 statement that the Liberal-NDP coalition was “an *enemy* of the interests of the working class.” At the same time we sharply denounced the wave of anti-Quebec bigotry, emphasizing:

“As opponents of the chauvinism of ‘our’ capitalist rulers—and of all forms of nationalism—Marxists advocate independence for Quebec. We seek to get the national question off the agenda, to create conditions where it can be clear to the workers in both English Canada and Quebec that their own capitalist exploiters are the enemy, not each other. Absent this, chauvinist bigotry against Quebec and the national antagonisms that this generates will continue to divide the working class, undermining its ability to struggle against capitalist exploitation. The palpable anger among working people against the massive job losses must be directed against the capitalist rulers, not into chauvinism and nationalism.”

—*Spartacist Canada* No. 160, Spring 2009

“Canadian unity” nationalism is particularly promoted in the labour movement by the NDP, which, for example, upholds the Clarity Act, a law effectively outlawing Quebec’s democratic right to self-determination, i.e., to independence. This serves to drive Québécois workers into the arms of their own class enemies, represented by the bourgeois-nationalist Bloc and Parti Québécois. Only by championing the national rights of the oppressed Québécois can Marxists lay a basis for winning the Quebec workers to a perspective of internationalist class struggle.

### Down With Canadian Nationalism! For an Internationalist Revolutionary Workers Party!

Labour’s capacity to fight the capitalists’ attacks is hamstrung by the union misleaders who tie workers to the so-called “national interests” of capitalist Canada and promote the NDP and even the Liberals (or in Quebec, the Bloc and PQ) as “progressive.” Canadian Auto Workers leader Ken Lewenza, who two years ago agreed to unprecedented wage and benefit cuts at Chrysler and General Motors, perfectly epitomizes these labour traitors. Today, Lewenza’s “defense” of unions consists of convincing the capitalist class that unions are really in *their* interests because they “play a constructive and valuable economic role” in negotiating cutbacks “which share the pain and preserve needed jobs” (*National Post*, 9 April). To Lewenza, the unions are a bulwark against

struggles that might challenge this system. Without unions, he broods, “Who knows where and how the simmering fury of exploited, poor people would then bubble up?”

These misleaders—agents of the ruling class inside the workers movement—must be thrown off. The fight to rebuild the trade unions as instruments of proletarian struggle is closely tied to the need for a multiracial, binational revolutionary workers party. That requires, above all, a political struggle against the social-democratic NDP and for a new class-struggle leadership of the unions. Against the bourgeoisie, which manipulates all manner of racism and bigotry in order to poison class struggle, such a party will be a genuine tribune of the people, fighting to defend the rights of minorities and immigrants, and championing the struggle for women’s liberation.

The Communist Party of Canada (CPC) and the Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada, two remnants of Canadian Stalinism, are also running candidates in this election. Both parties are notorious for their promotion of Canadian nationalism, from protectionist calls for Canadian-owned industry, to the CPC’s call for an “independent Canadian foreign policy.” It is a *lie* that Canadian capitalists are better than American (or Japanese or German), or that protectionist tariffs and a Canadian boss will protect jobs and stop plant closures. Such nationalist schemes retard united, internationalist class struggle, pitting workers in this country against their class brothers and sisters abroad. While opposing the NATO attack on Libya, these Stalinist-nationalists propound the worst illusions that capitalist Canada can be pressured to be a force for “peace.” Neither draws even a crude class line against the bourgeoisie; thus they merit not even the most critical support from class-conscious workers.

There is no answer to the boom-and-bust cycles of capitalism short of proletarian socialist revolution that takes power out of the hands of the irrational capitalist ruling class and replaces it with a planned, socialized economy. Only the achievement of a world socialist order can eliminate the age-old problem of poverty, scarcity and imperialist war. It is to this end that the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste devotes all our resources. ■

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# Defend Libya Against Imperialist Attack!

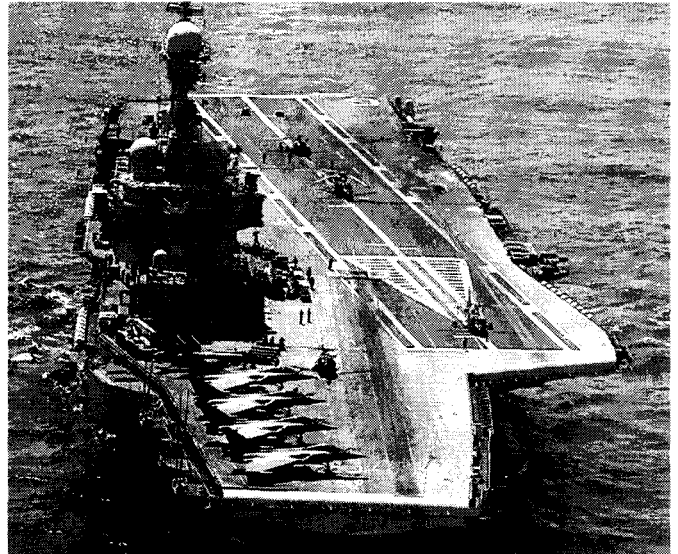
## Statement of the International Executive Committee of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

*The following statement was issued on March 20.*

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) calls on workers around the world to take a stand for military defense of semicolonial Libya against the attack begun yesterday by a coalition of rapacious imperialist governments. The French, British and U.S. rulers, in league with other imperialist governments and with the blessings of the sheiks, kings and military bonapartists of the Arab League, wasted not a moment in acting on the green light given by the United Nations Security Council on Thursday to slaughter countless innocent people in the name of “protecting civilians” and ensuring “democracy.” French air strikes were quickly followed by U.S. and British missile attacks, while Egypt’s military regime is providing arms to the Benghazi opposition forces. From Indochina and the Korean peninsula to the U.S.-led occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan today, the “democratic” imperialist rulers wade in the blood of millions upon millions of their victims. Recall that Britain and France historically carried out untold massacres in the Near East, Africa and the Indian subcontinent in order to pursue their colonial subjugation of those areas. Recall that Italy, now providing the use of its air bases for the attack, is responsible for the deaths of up to half the population of Cyrenaica in eastern Libya during its colonial rule prior to World War II.

Prior to the current attack, the conflict in Libya had taken the form of a low-intensity civil war, heavily overlaid by tribal and regional divisions, between the Tripoli-centered government of strongman Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi and imperialist-backed opposition forces concentrated in the country’s eastern areas. *Workers Vanguard* No. 976 (18 March), newspaper of the U.S. section of the ICL, noted that “Marxists presently have no side in this conflict.” But as the article continued: “In the event of imperialist attack against neocolonial Libya, the proletariat internationally must stand for the military defense of that country while giving no political support to Qaddafi’s capitalist regime.” The civil war in Libya has now been subordinated to the fight of a neocolonial country against imperialism. Every step taken by the workers of the imperialist countries to halt the depredations and military adventures of their rulers is a step toward their own liberation from capitalist exploitation, impoverishment and oppression. ***Defend Libya against imperialist attack! U.S. Fifth Fleet and all imperialist military bases and troops out of North Africa and the Near East!***

Recall that the slaughter of well over a million people in Iraq began with the imposition of a UN-sponsored starvation embargo and a “no fly zone” in the 1990s. The latest action by the Security Council, including the neo-apartheid South African regime led by the African National Congress, underscores yet again the character of the United Nations as a den



AP  
French aircraft carrier *Charles de Gaulle* off coast of Libya, April 12.

of imperialist thieves and their lackeys and semicolonial victims. The abstention by the representative of China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, gave tacit approval to imperialist depredation, emboldening the very forces which seek to overturn the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

The crocodile tears shed by the imperialist rulers and their media mouthpieces over the Libyans killed by the Qaddafi regime during the recent wave of protests stands in sharp contrast to their muted response to the continuing massacre of protesters in Yemen—whose dictatorship is a key component of Washington’s “war on terror”—and their ongoing support to the Bahraini kingdom, which hosts the headquarters of the U.S. Fifth Fleet. To aid in crushing mass protests, Bahrain last week invited in troops from the medievalist and theocratic Saudi monarchy, a key bulwark of U.S. imperialist interests in the region. In the eyes of the imperialist rulers, Bahrain’s Shi’ite majority and the Yemeni masses are less than human, with no rights they are bound to respect.

Numerous social-democratic leftists, typified by the United Secretariat (USec) and the British Cliffite Socialist Workers Party, have done their part to prepare the ground for imperialist massacres in Libya by cheering on the so-called “Libyan Revolution.” Having urged support for the cabal of pro-imperialist “democrats,” CIA stooges, monarchists and Islamists that comprise the Benghazi-based opposition, these reformists now feign to balk at imperialist military intervention in support of the opposition. The New Anti-Capitalist Party, constituted in 2009 by the USec’s French section,

## Imperialists Escalate...

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mission was highlighted on April 30 when NATO bombed the house of Qaddafi's son, killing him and three grandchildren. This was NATO's third attempt to assassinate Qaddafi in just over a week. On April 25, at least two large bombs destroyed a building in central Tripoli containing a library frequented by Qaddafi and another where he had recently hosted an African Union delegation. Just before that, missiles struck his personal compound, recalling the 1986 U.S. bombing of Libya, during which his infant daughter was killed in a similar assassination attempt.

The continued escalation of the war against Libya further exposes the lies spread by the imperialists and their media mouthpieces to justify the bombing campaign. Presented as a short-term action to establish a "no-fly zone" and "protect civilians"—the terms of the United Nations Security Council resolution giving cover to the terror bombing—the intervention is a drive by the imperialists to impose their diktat on this oil-rich country. From the outset, NATO was bombing Libyan government forces and, soon afterward, such Qaddafi strongholds as his hometown of Surt. The only civilians at risk there were those near exploding NATO ordnance.

Since the Obama administration handed off control of military operations to NATO in late March, U.S. warplanes have continued to fly hundreds of sorties along with their British, French and Canadian partners. Drone attacks have hit Misurata (now under rebel control) as well as Tripoli. In Pakistan, where the White House has leaned heavily on CIA-directed drone aircraft to launch missile attacks against Taliban fighters, more than 1,500 people, overwhelmingly civilians, have been slaughtered by Predators since August 2008. A recent such strike on April 22 claimed 25 lives, among them at least five children.

Before the imperialist attack on Libya, the country was being torn apart by a low-level civil war between the Qaddafi government, which had been playing ball with the imperialists, and an imperialist-backed opposition. In the fight between these two bourgeois forces the proletariat had no side. But once the U.S.-led bombing began, the civil war became subordinated to imperialist military intervention. As we emphasized in an International Communist League statement of March 20 (see facing page), in this bloody imperialist war, the workers of the world have a side: military defense of semicolonial Libya against imperialism and the opposition forces, which are acting on the imperialists' behalf.

signed a call for a demonstration yesterday demanding that the Benghazi outfit be recognized as "the only legitimate representative of the Libyan people"—which French ruler Sarkozy had already done! At the same time, those left groups that have promoted illusions in Qaddafi's "anti-imperialist" pretensions—such as the Workers World Party in the U.S.—seek everywhere and at all times to chain the working class to a mythical "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie.

We pledge today, as we did at the time of the U.S. Reagan administration's bombing of Libya in 1986, to "undertake every effort to propagandize the need for the world working class to take the side of Libya" against its imperialist enemies ("Under Reagan's Guns in Libya," WV No. 401, 11 April 1986). In the pursuit of profit and domination, the same



EPA

**Ships carrying over 800 Libyan refugees arrive on island of Lampedusa, Italy, May 7. An estimated 1,200 Libyan refugees are missing and presumed dead.**

For Marxists, military defense of Libya against the imperialists does not imply the slightest political support to Qaddafi's bloody capitalist rule. It is necessary to oppose every military occupation and attack waged by the imperialists to further their domination of the planet. Every setback they suffer weakens the class enemy of the world proletariat and assists the struggles of working people and the oppressed. It is the proletariat in Egypt, Tunisia and elsewhere in North Africa and the Near East that has the potential social power and class interest to lead all of the impoverished and oppressed in socialist revolution against all the murderous regimes of the region. Revolutionary workers parties must be built that will link the fight for socialist federations of North Africa and the Near East to the struggle for proletarian revolution in the imperialist centres.

### Imperialist Terror and Intrigue

A Libyan government spokesman denounced the April 25 attack on Tripoli as "an act of terrorism, an act worthy of mafia gangs not governments." The imperialist gangsters made clear early on that their intent was to oust Qaddafi one way or another. A joint letter issued on April 15 by Barack Obama, British prime minister David Cameron and French president

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capitalist ruling classes that brutally exploit the working class "at home," only to throw workers on the scrap heap during periods of economic crisis, as today, carry out murderous imperialist attacks abroad. The struggle against imperialist war cannot be conducted separately and apart from the class struggle. Only socialist revolution can overthrow the system of capitalist imperialism which breeds war. Our path is that of the October Revolution of 1917, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, which was a beacon of revolutionary internationalism for the proletariat everywhere. We struggle to reforge the Fourth International as an instrument that can lead the working masses, from the Near East to the imperialist centers, forward to new October Revolutions and a world socialist society. ■



# Imperialists Escalate...

(continued from page 19)

Nicolas Sarkozy declared that any outcome short of Qaddafi's removal would be an "unconscionable betrayal." Every offer of a cease-fire from Qaddafi has been met with flat rejection. As if to hammer home this point, the April 25 bombing attack laid waste to the building where South Africa's Jacob Zuma and two other African presidents held talks with Qaddafi earlier in April to try to work out a peace deal!

For all their overwhelming military might, the imperialist powers are between a rock and a hard place when dealing with Libya, particularly as the U.S., Britain, Canada and other NATO powers are mired in the Afghanistan occupation, not to mention the nearly decade-long U.S. occupation of Iraq. The Libyan opposition forces are a motley crew with no unified command, and the Western powers themselves are far from united on where to take this, reflecting their divergent interests.

Germany abstained on the March UN Security Council vote and withdrew its ships from the NATO mission enforcing the arms embargo on Libya. More recently, it volunteered troops for a proposed 1,000-strong combat force approved by the European Union (EU) on April 1 whose mission, if called upon by the UN, would ostensibly be for "humanitarian assistance" for the western port city of Misurata. What the imperialists have done in Misurata—besides helping lay waste to it—is to make a show of ferrying several thousand migrant workers out of the besieged city to Benghazi. But such concern for the desperate plight of North African refugees dries up the moment they make it to the shores of Europe, where a renewed border clampdown is under way. The ICL says: Down with racist "Fortress Europe"! No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

As Britain, France and Italy were rushing military officers to Benghazi, the *Financial Times* (22 April) reported that a senior British Ministry of Defense official dismissed the possibility of ground forces under EU command being placed in Libya. Paris, which has been flexing its military muscle in Ivory Coast and elsewhere in Africa, continues to voice support for the EU plan. In the London *Guardian* (19 April),



SC photo

**Flag of imperialist France flies at Toronto "Freedom for Libya" demo, promoted by reformist left, March 19.**

Simon Tisdall plainly laid out the situation:

"Britain is now publicly doing what it expressly said it would not do when the no-fly intervention began: putting boots on the ground in Libya. France is taking similar action.... Escalation is in the air—and on the ground. The EU is discussing what it says is an approved 'concept of operations' for sending European troops to Libya to protect refugees and humanitarian relief efforts. Nato strike aircraft, unsuited to killing alleyway snipers, are instead widening their target range to include Gaddafi's communication lines and his home town of Sirte. And off the record, nobody bothers to deny that British and other special forces are already operating in theatre."

The British *Independent* (20 April) described the British advisers as "a team hand-picked for their track records in their specialist fields," including "one of the most battle-hardened commanders in the British Army, with extensive experience of combat in Afghanistan." However they are dressed up, these trained killers clearly are no advance team

for the Red Cross—and neither are their French or Italian counterparts. One historical example of the havoc caused by such agents is the mid 1960s civil war in Yemen, the southern part of which had a longstanding British presence. Between 1963 and 1967, a contingent of no more than 50 British mercenaries, mostly veteran officers, trained royalist forces and planned ambushes in the course of a civil war fought against Yemeni republicans backed by the Egyptian army of Gamal Abdel Nasser. In this period, over 20,000 of Nasser's troops were killed, as against 5,000 on the other side.

As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin taught, imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, marked by the concentration, domination and export of finance capital. In their insatiable drive for profit, the imperialist bourgeoisies

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**Trotskyist League speaks out in defense of semicolonial Libya at Toronto union rally, April 9.**

exploit the world's backward countries for raw materials, cheap labour and new markets. At the dawn of the modern imperialist epoch in the late 19th century, this exploitation was accomplished largely through direct colonial occupation and territorial annexation. Today, almost every last Third World country has won formal independence but remains subordinated to the imperialist powers, with the exception of the deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and Laos.

The peoples of Libya are no strangers to the ravages of imperialism. The Turko-Italian war of 1911, in which thousands of Arabs were butchered, was a conflict over the possession of what would become Libya. That conflict in turn set off a 20-year resistance struggle against the Italian imperialists, who dropped poison gas on civilians and imprisoned more than 100,000 in concentration camps. After World War II, during which both Axis and Allied forces wreaked havoc on the country and its people, the imperialists patched together the state of Libya, replacing Italian rule with a British-imposed monarchy. That monarchy was in turn deposed in 1969 by the Free Officers' Movement that installed Qaddafi in power.

### **Imperialism's Social-Democratic Drummer Boys**

Defense of Libya against imperialist bombardment should be elementary, not only for proletarian opponents of capitalist rule but for anyone repulsed by capitalist powers imposing their diktat on Third World countries through overwhelming military might. Yet the bulk of the "socialist" left internationally has worked to line up workers and youth behind the imperialist murderers by championing the opposition that is acting as their ground troops. They have done this in the name of the so-called "Libyan revolution." But these Libyan "revolutionaries" appealed to the imperialists to impose a "no-fly zone," launch air strikes or otherwise intervene militarily in their country!

The French New Anti-Capitalist Party (NPA) early on pledged its "total support to the insurgents." Over Libya, this social-democratic group—established two years ago by the French section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec)—achieved convergence with French president Sar-

kozy, who welcomed key anti-Qaddafi leaders in the Elysée Palace on March 10 and declared the opposition National Council to be Libya's legitimate government. The day after the UN Security Council voted to authorize the "use of force in Libya," the NPA chimed in with a March 18 statement declaring that "the Libyan people...should be given the means to defend themselves and the weapons they need to throw out the dictator." The NPA endorsed the call for a rally held the next day in support of the imperialists' stooges in Libya, which took place as the bombing started.

While the NPA statement muttered that "military intervention is not the solution," Gilbert Achcar, a London-based leftist who associates himself with the USec and the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), had no such reservations. Echoing the imperialists' lying pretext of "protecting civilians" from the vengeance of Qaddafi's forces, Achcar declared in a 19 March *ZNet* article that "no one can reasonably oppose" the UN resolution authorizing the air attacks. In a March 25 statement, Achcar responded to the "storm of discussions" provoked by this pro-imperialist dreck by upholding his craven apology for the U.S.-led bombardment.

In Britain, Conservative prime minister David Cameron, an early proponent of attacking Libya, was backed by Labour Party leader Ed Miliband. And behind Labour stand Britain's house-trained reformists, the SWP, who counselled: "Instead of bombing Libya, Western governments could hand all the assets they have seized from Gaddafi's regime to the revolutionary forces" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 22 March). In other words, the imperialist gangsters who have ripped off the assets of a sovereign country should hand them over to their flunkys.

The SWP's estranged American cousins in the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which initially embraced the CIA-funded National Salvation Front with open arms, now claims to have discovered that some pretty reactionary forces are in the leadership of the anti-Qaddafi opposition. The ISO spares a few words, on paper, to express opposition to the bombing. But that does not prevent it from continuing to embrace the opposition forces, no matter what atrocities the imperialists carry out on their behalf. At a March 20 forum in New York City, ISO honcho Ahmed Shawki declared: "Today, the West is bombing Libya as its way of getting a foothold back into the Middle East. But we should have no truck whatsoever to do with the Libyan regime or a defense of it, and join all of those involved in the Middle East people getting rid of its dictators."

In Canada, the International Socialists (I.S.), affiliated to the British SWP, also hailed Qaddafi's imperialist-backed opponents while claiming to oppose the bombing. The utter hypocrisy of this stance was exposed at a March 19 demonstration in Toronto called by the I.S.'s creation, the Toronto Arab Solidarity Campaign, where the I.S. stood shoulder to shoulder with people carrying huge French and Canadian flags and chanting "Kill Qaddafi!" A Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste comrade reported: "Once we saw the vile character of the demo, we increased the size of our team: not to be part of it, but to make our opposition to this pro-imperialist carnival clearer and give it more impact. We

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## Imperialists Escalate...

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stood to the side, with placards and chants, declaring 'Imperialists Hands Off Libya'."

The destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92 emboldened the imperialists, centrally the U.S., to carry out a series of bombings, wars and occupations against weaker countries. Capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union removed what had been the main impediment to imperialist deprivations, today exemplified by the slaughter of Afghans and Iraqis by U.S.-led occupation forces.

The social-democratic "left" helped pave the way for these atrocities by hailing the counter-revolutionary forces, from Polish Solidarność to Boris Yeltsin's Russian "democrats." Having discarded even the pretense of advocating proletarian socialism, the reformists increasingly and all the more openly march under the banner of bourgeois "democracy." The USec, among others, promoted imperialist military intervention against Serbia in 1995 under the guise of providing humanitarian aid for workers in Bosnia. Four years later, the same characters were calling for a European imperialist expeditionary force in Kosovo.

It is noteworthy that a March 22 "Joint Statement" by various Communist Parties around the world—including the Greek KKE, the Canadian and Portuguese CP and the Indian CPI and CPI (Marxist)—condemns the imperialist intervention against Libya and does not support the pro-imperialist opposition (which it simply avoids mentioning). However, the statement fails to call for military defense of neocolonial Libya, pushing instead a pacifistic appeal for "the peoples" to demand an end to the imperialist intervention.

The U.S. Workers World Party (WWP) and Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) voice similar opposition to the attack on Libya, mainly driven by their longstanding political support for bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces in Third World countries that make a pretense of being "anti-imperialist." The ANSWER coalition, founded by the WWP and now controlled by the PSL, recently staged a series of demonstrations calling to "stop the bombing of Libya" and raising the reformist-pacifist demand that the imperialist rulers spend money on jobs and education, not war. This is the timeworn formula the WWP, PSL and others have used to build class-collaborationist "antiwar movements" that unite "the people" behind a supposedly more benign wing of the blood-soaked, profit-bloated capitalist ruling class.

Lastly, mention should be made of David North's Socialist Equality Party (SEP), best known as the "World Socialist Web Site," whose propaganda today appears rather critical of Qaddafi and states opposition to imperialist military intervention. We urge any readers who take the SEP's "Marxism" for good coin to take a closer look at these political bandits, who comprise a special category in the annals of renegades from Trotskyism.

The SEP self-servingly disappears its history as participants in the squalid pro-Qaddafi machinations carried out by the dominant party in its "International Committee of the Fourth International" (IC), the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) in Britain led by one Gerry Healy. After years of hail-



no credit

**Libyan resistance leader Omar al-Mukhtar arrested and later hanged by Italian fascists in 1931. More than half the population of Cyrenaica (eastern Libya) was locked up in concentration camps, where at least 70,000 died.**

ing the mythical "Arab Revolution," Healy's IC openly championed blood-drenched bourgeois regimes like Qaddafi's in its paper *News Line*. The mercenary nature of this is a matter of public record. By their own later admission, Healy's IC received *at least* well over £1 million from a variety of Near East sheiks and bonapartist butchers over a period of years beginning in the mid 1970s, including over £500,000 from Libya (see "Northite Blood Money," *Workers Vanguard* No. 523, 29 March 1991). And this was really *for services rendered*. In "Healyites, Messengers of Qaddafi" (WV No. 158, 20 May 1977), we noted of Qaddafi's Libya, "where communists are to be jailed and butchered and their books burned, ostensible leftists would have to do some pretty peculiar things to survive—and *News Line* has made it clear the WRP would be more than willing to do them." The Healyites went on to hail the murder of Iraqi Communist Party members by Saddam Hussein in 1979.

As we wrote in "Healyism Implodes" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86): "Once you discard the struggle for the building of Leninist parties to lead the working class in the liberation of mankind, and take off in search of get-rich-quick schemes, you will end up in a despicable place—if not a Healy, perhaps the more ordinary kind of scoundrel voting war credits for his own ruling class."

Imperialist wars, occupations and terror-bombing campaigns are inherent to the system of capitalism in its decay. The quest for cheap labour, raw materials and exclusive markets that compels the imperialist rulers to wage military adventures abroad is accompanied by incessant attacks on the wages and conditions of workers on the home front. The current worldwide capitalist economic crisis has brought massive unemployment accompanied by wage-slashing, elimination of social services and a full-bore assault on trade unions. The only way out is the one blazed by the workers revolution of October 1917 led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party. The International Communist League is dedicated to building workers parties of the Bolshevik type that can infuse the proletariat with an understanding of its historic task of overturning the imperialist order and reorganizing society worldwide on an egalitarian socialist basis. ■

# Reformists in Cahoots With Pro-NATO Reactionaries

## “Antiwar” Demo in Vancouver

On April 9, soon after Canadian and other NATO bomber jets began raining death and destruction on neocolonial Libya, the Canadian Peace Alliance (CPA) and its local affiliates held “antiwar” protests in several cities. Yet the official publicity for the rallies in at least Vancouver and Toronto ostentatiously did *not* oppose the assault on Libya! Indeed, in its call for the Vancouver protest, the Stopwar.ca coalition—which includes the Communist Party of Canada, International Socialists and other pseudo-“Marxists”—called to “support the uprising” in Libya, an “uprising” already supported by NATO jets.

The elementary duty of genuine Marxists is to oppose all the predatory wars of the imperialist rulers against weaker, “Third World” countries. We call to defend Libya against the current imperialist onslaught, while giving no political support to the bourgeois bonapartist regime of Muammar Qaddafi. We fight to mobilize the working class to struggle against our “own” capitalist rulers and their bloody attacks from Afghanistan to Libya. This is the polar opposite of most of the fake-left who, having long pleaded with the capitalist rulers for “peace” in Iraq and Afghanistan, have more recently embraced the pro-imperialist Libyan “opposition” that called for the NATO bombings in the first place. In so doing, these groups put themselves in the camp of forces backed by the U.S., Canadian and European imperialist powers.

This was especially clear at the April 9 Vancouver rally for “People Power, Not War!” organized by Stopwar.ca and the CPA, where *pro-imperialist* speakers were given extended speaking time to justify the NATO bombing! While claiming to be “absolutely opposed” to the bombing, the organizers were unfailingly polite to these apologists for imperialism, letting no less than three of them speak extensively. Supporters of the Trotskyist League responded by loudly heckling and chanting “Defend Libya against NATO bombings!” and “Imperialist lies!” while raising slogans against Canadian, U.S., French and British imperialism. Others in the crowd of about 100 joined in booing the speakers.

Also present at the protest was the local Third World nationalist outfit Mobilization Against War and Occupation (MAWO). This organization postures as more “militant” than Stopwar.ca, and carried a couple of placards against the bombing of Libya. *Yet at no point did MAWO raise a peep of protest against the charade on stage.* Five days later, in an act of cowardly ass-covering, MAWO sent an open letter to Stopwar.ca and the CPA complaining of the presence of the “pro-war speakers.” The letter noted that “Stopwar.ca and CPA co-chair Derrick O’Keefe spoke at the end of the rally to confirm that they had invited these speakers knowing full well the pro-war message they were going to put forward.” Naturally, MAWO failed to mention its own silence at the time. And its conclusion was merely to argue for an all-inclusive “antiwar movement”: “...now is not the time to remain divided based on petty or sectarian differences....”



Stopwar.ca

April 9 protest for “People Power, Not War!” outside Vancouver Public Library.

None of this is surprising. Far from being any kind of “anti-imperialist” alternative, MAWO’s liberal “antiwar” politics are not fundamentally different from those of Stopwar.ca, only adding a pinch of uncritical cheerleading for reactionary Third World capitalist dictatorships such as the mullahs’ Iran. Working hand-in-hand with Stopwar.ca in the build-up to the 2003 U.S.-led attack on Iraq, MAWO’s founders in the Fire This Time group—a cultish clique centred on one Ali Yerevani—only created a separate “antiwar” front following organizational quibbles within Stopwar.ca.

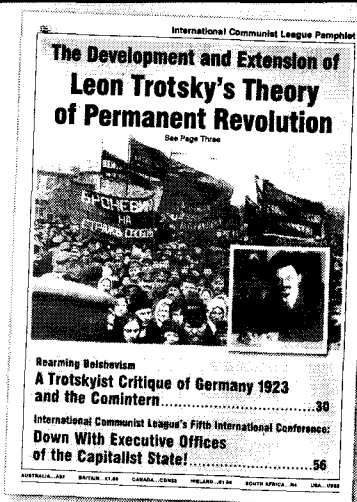
These various “antiwar” outfits all appeal to a supposed liberal wing of the bourgeoisie against the wrongdoings of its very own capitalist system. Most of the fake-left groups behind the CPA and Stopwar.ca routinely call to vote for the NDP, which supports the NATO bombing of Libya. We Trotskyists oppose the illusions such organizations sow in the capitalist system and put forward our proletarian and internationalist program for socialist revolution to sweep away this system of war, oppression and exploitation. ■

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## *Under Humanitarian Guise*

# Imperialists Escalate War on Libya



Reuters photos

**Bomb attack on Libya, March 20. Inset: Charles Bouchard, Canadian commander of NATO military assault.**

*The following article is adapted from Workers Vanguard (Nos. 977 and 979, 1 and 29 April), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.*

Since March 19, NATO forces have pounded Libya, carrying out some 7,000 bombing missions in their drive to topple the regime of bourgeois strongman Muammar el-Qaddafi. Tripoli, the capital city, is now being subjected to heavy bombardment as the NATO imperialists target buildings and infrastructure, including government offices in residential areas. On May 20, NATO bombed the harbours of Tripoli, as well as Khoms and Surt (Sirte), sinking eight ships.

In mid-April, Britain, France and Italy—North Africa's former colonial rulers—dispatched military officers to Benghazi to shore up the opposition forces that have acted as the imperialists' ground troops and whip them into shape. These forces were joined by military "advisors" from tiny oil-rich Qatar, an important U.S. ally in the Persian Gulf. The Obama administration, which claims to have ruled out "boots on the ground" in Libya, on April 22 ordered additional firepower into the skies in the form of remotely piloted Predator drones armed with Hellfire missiles.

The Canadian government has contributed seven CF-18 fighter-bombers to the assault force, which have flown hundreds of bombing raids. The commander of the NATO military operation is a Canadian, Lieutenant-General Charles Bouchard. Parliament endorsed the war on Libya unanimously, including the social-democratic New Democratic Party. Now "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition" and ever true to the interests of Canadian imperialism, the New Democrats have made clear that when the initial Canadian mandate expires on June 16 they are prepared to support its extension.

The murderous purpose of the imperialists' "humanitarian" *(continued on page 19)*

**Defend Libya  
Against Imperialist Attack!**

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