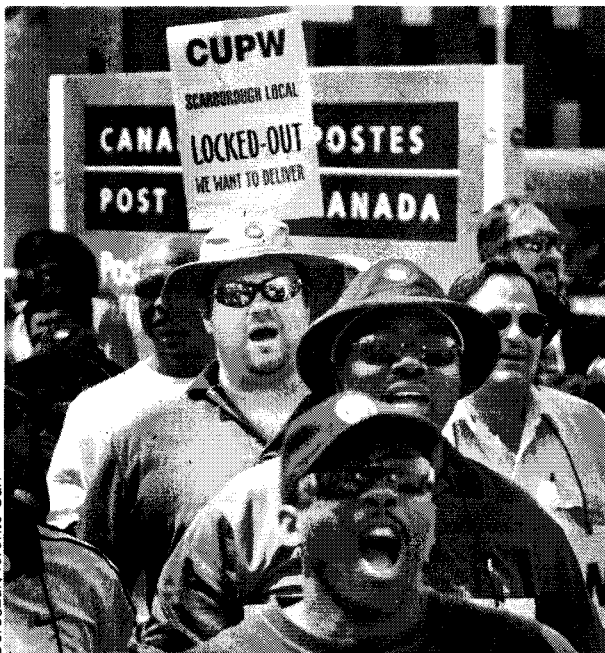


For a Class-Struggle Leadership of the Unions! **Defeat Capitalist War on Public Sector Workers!**



Talotta/Toronto Star

Left: Locked-out Canada Post workers rally in Toronto, June 16. Above: April 9 Toronto march protesting cuts to jobs and social services. Defeating capitalist attacks requires unleashing social power of multiracial working class.

Working people everywhere have paid with their jobs, benefits and pensions to bail out the bankers and corporate magnates whose financial swindles kicked off the worst economic crisis since the 1930s. Amid this devastation, profits are soaring once again along with CEO salaries and bonuses. Having bilked the public purse of billions for this “recovery,” the capitalist rulers are whipping up an outcry against public sector workers and their unions as supposedly living high off the hog at the taxpayers’ expense.

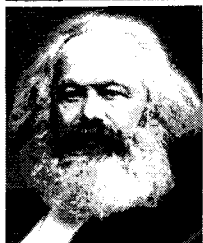
The industrial unions in this country have been ravaged by deindustrialization and a one-sided class war by the ruling class. Two years ago, leaders of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) surrendered some \$20 an hour in wages and benefits to help bail out Chrysler and General Motors, a demoralizing defeat that helped set the stage for broader attacks. Nickel miners in Sudbury went through a year-long lockout in 2009-10 that ended with major concessions by the union. Steelworkers in Hamilton remain locked out in a bitter battle over pensions that began late last year. The workforces in both

these industries, which once numbered in the tens of thousands, have been decimated by many years of job cuts.

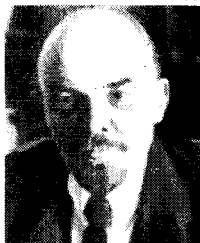
With fewer than one in six workers in the private sector now in unions, public sector workers—71 percent of whom are organized—now make up by far the largest proportion of union members in Canada. Yet many public sector unions remain constrained by the bosses’ laws from going on strike. Without the ability collectively to withdraw their labour, the workers are left at the mercy of the employer. A union that can’t (or won’t) strike is like a lion without claws or teeth.

Governments at all levels, led by the Harper Conservatives, are now moving to further curtail the right to strike. Emboldened by their majority status, the Tories brought down legislation in early summer that forced nearly 50,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) to take down picket lines and return to work or face huge fines and the seizure of union assets. In addition to banning strikes for four years and kicking Canada Post’s rollback

(continued on page 17)



Marx



Lenin



Trotsky

Class Struggle and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

On the eve of the victorious October 1917 Revolution in Russia, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin wrote his classic pamphlet The State and Revolution. This blistering polemic targeted the reformist leaders of the Socialist International, notably its pre-eminent theoretician Karl Kautsky, for their systematic revision of revolutionary Marxism in the interests of propping up the capitalist order. In a second edition of the pamphlet published a year later, Lenin added a short section which underlined the Marxist understanding that to be successful, the class struggle of the workers must lead to the overthrow of the bourgeois state and its replacement by "the proletariat organized as the ruling class," i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is often said and written that the main point in Marx's theory is the class struggle. But this is wrong. And this wrong notion very often results in an opportunist distortion of Marxism and its falsification in a spirit acceptable to the bourgeoisie. For the theory of the class struggle was created *not* by Marx, *but* by the bourgeoisie *before* Marx, and, generally speaking, it is *acceptable* to the bourgeoisie. Those who recognise *only* the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the bounds of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the theory of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism; distorting it, reducing it to something acceptable to the bourgeoisie. A Marxist is solely someone who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. This is what constitutes the most profound distinction between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the *real* understanding and recognition of Marxism should be tested. And it is not surprising that when the history of Europe brought the working class face to face with this question as a *practical* issue, not only all the opportunists and reform-

ists, but all the Kautskyites (people who vacillate between reformism and Marxism) proved to be miserable philistines and petty-bourgeois democrats *repudiating* the dictatorship of the proletariat. Kautsky's pamphlet, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, published in August 1918, i.e., long after the first edition of the present book, is a perfect example of petty-bourgeois distortion of Marxism and base renunciation of it *in deeds*, while hypocritically recognising it *in words* (see my pamphlet, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Petrograd and Moscow, 1918).

Opportunism today, as represented by its principal spokesman, the ex-Marxist Karl Kautsky, fits in completely with Marx's characterisation of the *bourgeois* position quoted above, for this opportunism limits recognition of the class struggle to the sphere of bourgeois relations. (Within this sphere, within its framework, not a single educated liberal will refuse to recognise the class struggle "in principle"!) Opportunism *does not extend* recognition of the class struggle to the cardinal point, to the period of *transition* from capitalism to communism, of the *overthrow* and the complete *abolition* of the bourgeoisie. In reality, this period inevitably is a period of an unprecedentedly violent class struggle in unprecedentedly acute forms, and, consequently, during this period the state must inevitably be a state that is democratic *in a new way* (for the proletariat and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial *in a new way* (against the bourgeoisie).

Further. The essence of Marx's theory of the state has been mastered only by those who realise that the dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from "classless society," from communism. Bourgeois states are most varied in form, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*.

—V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (2nd Edition, 1918)

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Barbaric Mutilation of Bangladeshi Woman



Province

Vancouver, June 26: Protest rally in support of Rumana Monzur (above), blinded in savage attack by husband. Religious reaction is deadly enemy of women.



Leidentfos/PNG

Women and Revolution

On June 5, in the city of Dhaka, Bangladesh, 33-year-old Rumana Monzur was permanently blinded and disfigured by her husband. For 25 long minutes, he tortured Rumana, gouging out her eyes and chewing off her nose and parts of her face. An assistant professor in international relations at Dhaka University, Rumana has been pursuing a master's degree in political science at the University of British Columbia (UBC) in Vancouver. She returned home to Dhaka in May to visit her family, including her five-year-old daughter, while completing her thesis. This attempt on her life was intended to put a stop to Rumana's academic career; in her own words, "he hated the idea that I would become educated."

Reportedly, it was only after the Dhaka University teachers union in Bangladesh threatened to strike that Rumana's husband Hassan Sayed was arrested on June 15. He has now been charged with attempted murder. His arrest came on the heels of June 14 protests by students and teachers at the university who organized two human chains and a march through the campus. In view of the danger of making her story public, protesters also demanded security for Rumana's family. Additional calls were made for the government and Dhaka University to pay her medical bills. Because of the publicity surrounding this horrific crime, Rumana was able to receive medical care in India and Canada, but attempts to save her vision were tragically in vain. She has now been granted temporary residence in Canada, along with some of her immediate family.

Her story also sparked outrage in Canada. On June 26, students at St. John's College, the UBC residence where Rumana had been living, organized a 300-strong rally. The protest drew students, teachers, trade unionists and women's organizations, as well as supporters of the Trotskyist League. Placards carried included "Justice for Rumana" and "Respect Women's Right to Education."

At the rally and in Canadian newspaper articles some feminists insisted that the attack had nothing to do with religion

and was purely a "domestic violence" issue, claiming that to say otherwise would be racist. It is true that violence against women occurs in all societies, crossing class, religious and national bounds, but what happened to Rumana had all the markings of an attempted "honour killing." There have been countless such murders in the Near East, in South and Central Asia as well as in many imperialist countries. These brutal crimes grow out of the clash between a woman's desire for independence from "traditional" culture and the legacy of pre-capitalist social and economic norms that persist in large swathes of the world.

The attack on Rumana is reminiscent of the murder of 17-year-old Aqsa Parvez at the hands of her father in suburban Toronto four years ago, and of the series of brutal murders of Sikh women in B.C. by their husbands and other relatives. Aqsa had refused to wear the Islamic *hijab* (headscarf); a pattern among the Sikh women was that their relative economic independence, with jobs as teachers, nurses, software engineers, etc., clashed with traditional Sikh society, where arranged marriages and dowry are the norm. In Rumana's case, her academic pursuits and independent life abroad were similarly at odds with traditional Muslim culture.

Such crimes highlight the explosive mixture of women's oppression and anti-immigrant racism in Canada today. We denounce attempts by racist reactionaries and capitalist politicians to exploit these horrible murders in order to fuel anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim bigotry. Racist hysteria against Muslims has been the domestic fuel of the rulers' "war on terror," which has seen countless frame-ups, detentions, people "rendered" to other countries to be tortured and a sustained assault on the rights of everyone. As an extension of the "war on terror," veiled Muslim women have been repeatedly scapegoated.

We sharply oppose this racist ruling-class drive against Muslims and other minorities. At the same time we strongly solidarize with women who seek to throw off the strictures of religious traditionalism. Bangladesh, like the rest of the Indian subcontinent, bears the imprint of pre-capitalist social

(continued on page 15)

Palestinian Trotskyists' 1948 Statement

The Partition of Palestine and the Arab-Israel War

Each May, as the Zionist rulers celebrate the anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel, Palestinians across the Near East mark the *nakba*, or catastrophe: the expulsion in 1948 of more than 700,000 Arabs from their homeland in Palestine. The United Nations General Assembly had voted the previous year in favour of ending the British mandate in Palestine and creating two independent states, one Zionist and the other Palestinian Arab. Through mass killings and terror, the Zionists drove out most of the Palestinian population from their homes and villages. Following the declaration of the founding of the Israeli state in May 1948, a number of bourgeois Arab regimes intervened militarily, not to defend the Palestinians but to seize land that had been allotted to them under the UN partition plan.

The small Palestinian Trotskyist group, the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL), upheld the position of communist internationalism in the 1948 War between Israel and the Arab states. While recognizing the right of both the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab peoples to national self-determination, the RCL resolutely opposed the imperialist-imposed partition and took a position of revolutionary defeatism toward both sides in the war. That position is today upheld by the International Communist League.

We reprint below an excerpted editorial, titled "Against the Stream," that was originally published in the RCL's Hebrew organ *Kol Ham'amad* (Voice of the Class). The English translation was published by the then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party in *Fourth International* (May 1948). The excerpts refer to Ernest Bevin, who was foreign minister in Britain's Labour Party government; Chaim Weizmann (Weizmann), Israel's first president; and the Husseinis, a clan of Palestinian landowners and political leaders.

* * *

Politicians and diplomats are still trying to find a formula for the disastrous situation into which Palestine has been plunged by the UNO [United Nations Organization] deciding upon partition. Is this a "breach of international peace" or are we dealing with merely "hostile acts"? As far as we are concerned there is no point in this distinction. We are daily witnessing the killing or maiming of men and women, old and young, Jew or Arab. As always, the working masses and the poor suffer most.

Not so very long ago the Arab and Jewish workers were united in strikes against a foreign oppressor. This common struggle has been put to an end. Today the workers are being incited to kill each other. The inciters have succeeded....

"Keeping order" in Palestine costs England over 35 million Pounds a year, an amount which exceeds the profit she can extort from this country. Partition will release her from her financial obligations, enable her to employ her soldiers in



1948: Palestinians in Ramle surrender to Zionist forces who would go on to expel them en masse.

the productive process while her source of income will remain intact. — But this is not all. By partition a wedge is driven between the Arab and Jewish worker. The Zionist state with its provocative lines of demarcation will bring about the blossoming forth of irredentist (revenge) movements on either side, there will be fighting for an "Arab Palestine" and for a "Jewish state within the historic frontiers of Eretz Israel (Israel's Land)." As a result, the chauvinistic atmosphere created thus will poison the Arab world in the Middle East and throttle the anti-imperialist fight of the masses, while Zionists and Arab feudalists will vie for imperialist favors....

If the Anglo-American imperialists had forced this "solution" on Palestine of their own, the rotten game would have been patent in the whole Arab East. However, they dodged: the "problem" was passed on to the UNO. The function of the UNO was to sweeten the bitter dish cooked in the imperialist cuisine, dressing it, in Bevin's words, with the twaddle of the "conscience of the world that has passed judgment." Exactly! And the diplomats of the lesser countries danced to the tune of the dollar flute, reiterating the "public opinion of the world." And the peculiar casts in this performance enabled Great Britain to appear as the Guardian Angel overlooking with sympathy for either side.

And the Soviet Union? Why did not her representatives call the UNO game the swindle it really is?—Apparently, the present foreign policy of the SU is not concerned with the fighting of the colonial masses. And as the Palestine question is a second-rate affair for the "Big," the Soviet diplomats saw fit to dwell upon what Stalin had said about "the Soviet Union being ready to meet America and Britain halfway, economic and social differences notwithstanding."...

The Jewish worker having been separated from his Arab colleague and prevented from fighting a common class struggle will be at the mercy of his class enemies, imperialism and

(continued on page 14)

Defend the Palestinians!

NDP Backs Zionist Butchers

In July, the “Freedom Flotilla II,” an international convoy determined to bring humanitarian supplies to the besieged Palestinian population of Gaza, was detained by Greek officials at the behest of Israel. The one vessel that managed to make it into international waters, the *Dignité-Al Karama*, was stormed by Israeli commandos, and the activists aboard were detained and deported. It was a repeat, minus the open bloodshed, of the Zionist assault on the *Mavi Marmara* last year, when nine pro-Palestinian activists aboard the Turkish ship were killed and dozens injured. The Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip, imposed in 2007, has vastly deepened the misery of its 1.5 million inhabitants, who live in what is essentially an open-air concentration camp, subject to repeated air assaults by Israeli forces.

Her Majesty’s Loyal Opposition of the NDP took the opportunity to join in the hue and cry against these courageous defenders of the Palestinians. Then-leader Jack Layton met with the Israeli ambassador to assure him “that it was not New Democrat policy to support the flotilla.” Meanwhile, two NDP MPs who had publicly endorsed the flotilla were smacked down in private “conversations” with Layton, and instructed to withdraw their support. Quebec MP Alexandre Boulerice capitulated publicly, leaving B.C. MP Alex Atamanenko as the sole dissenter. Following the murderous assault against the *Mavi Marmara* a year earlier, Layton similarly publicly chastised NDPer Libby Davies, reaffirming Israel’s “right to exist in secure borders in a safe context.” As we have noted, Israel’s “secure borders” mean the apartheid wall, full land and sea blockade of Gaza, and regular military assaults on the Occupied Territories.

According to a report on the NDP’s June convention in

Vancouver by oppositional party member Zev Tiefenbach, efforts to put forward a motion in support of the flotilla were ostentatiously quashed: “NDP staffers arrived in droves (multiple first-hand sources claim that at least 50 MP’s and staffers were involved) standing at the back of the room exclu-



Guez/AFP/Getty

May 15: Zionist troops take aim at Palestinian refugees protesting in Golan Heights. Two were killed, dozens wounded.

sively to vote down the resolution.” Tiefenbach continued: “Indeed, the only visibility that the entire Palestine-Israeli question received in the entire convention was a full-page ad in the official convention guide which proclaims that, ‘The NDP and the...Jewish community, together in our commitment to the state of Israel’” (“NDP Convention: Party Activists vs. Community Militants,” cpavancouver.org). All of this is utterly consistent with the NDP’s entire history as a staunchly pro-Zionist political party.

At least two NDP MPs, Peter Stoffer and Pat Martin, are *(continued on page 13)*

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Young Spartacus

“Fightback,” the NDP and the Capitalist State

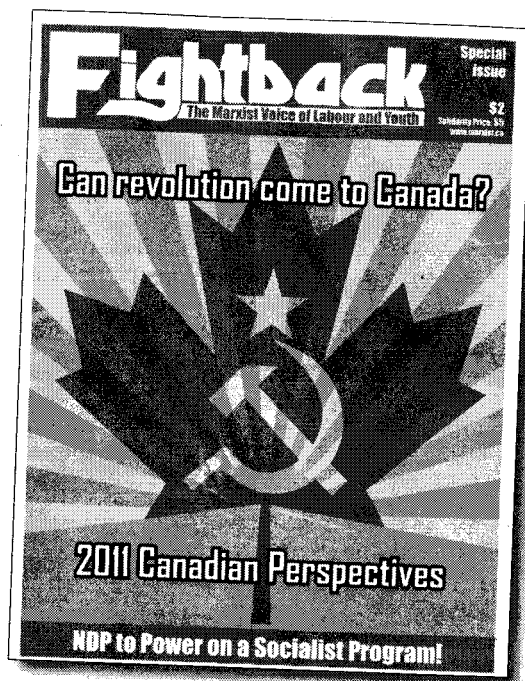
Reformists in Action

Since the May federal election, various fake-Marxists have been exulting about the “orange surge” that catapulted the NDP onto the benches of the official opposition. Socialist Action, the International Socialists, the Fightback group and others were quick to describe this as an opportunity for the NDP to lead a fight against the Tories’ attacks on workers and the poor. While such a struggle is desperately needed, the NDP’s aim is not to uphold the interests of workers and the oppressed, but to become the next party to run the Canadian capitalist state. Thus it should come as no surprise that in the lead-up to the party’s June federal convention the leadership pushed to remove any references to “democratic socialism” from the NDP constitution.

This provided Fightback, affiliated with Alan Woods’ International Marxist Tendency, a perfect stage to pump their fists as the best defenders of the supposed “socialist soul” of the NDP. In articles and online videos they boast about their supporters’ interventions at the convention. Striking a patriotic note, one of them delighted the assembled New Democrats by proclaiming that a fight needs to happen “across this great country” so that in 2015 there can be “an NDP socialist government for the first time in the history of North America.” Another won a standing ovation when he proudly declared: “I’m a democratic-socialist and I don’t care who knows it, and we’re going to fight against the Liberals, and we’re going to beat them and the Tories, and be the government of this country” (marxist.ca, 23 June). He was right about one thing: Fightback is “democratic socialist,” a standard self-description for those who revere the bourgeoisie’s parliament and oppose workers revolution, which is the only way to end exploitation and oppression.

Despite its occasional lip service to Marxism, Fightback is an organic part of the NDP, politically and organizationally; even the latter’s support to NATO’s relentless bombing of Libya did not shake their loyalty. The NDP’s 2011 federal election platform was the most right-wing in its history, promising to boost the military budget, hire at least 2,500 more cops and “invest in small business.” This party has been in power provincially many times and, far from running “socialist” governments, has always administered capitalism with a vengeance. In the 1990s the Ontario NDP imposed across-the-board pay cuts on government workers and jailed striking postal workers; in B.C., it sent the army and police against Native protesters.

Particularly rightist even for social democrats, the NDP is what Marxists call a *bourgeois workers party*. Linked to the unions via the labour bureaucracy, it has a thoroughly pro-capitalist program. Parties like the NDP play a useful role for the bourgeoisie, defending capitalism within the working class where the exploiters need it most. While sometimes



The Fightback group: Maple Leaf “Marxists.”

spouting empty “social justice” rhetoric, they direct the struggles of the oppressed into the safe channels of parliamentarism. Above all, they stand as an obstacle to socialist revolution. In his “Imperialism and the Split in Socialism,” V.I. Lenin, leader of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, stressed that “unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged all along the line against these parties—or groups, trends, etc., it is all the same—there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a socialist labour movement.”

As Leninists, we aim to break workers from the politics of social democracy as part of the necessary fight to split the working-class base of the NDP from the pro-capitalist leadership and to forge a revolutionary party. Reformists like Fightback do the opposite: their everyday work strengthens the chains that shackle workers to the NDP. It is the duty of revolutionaries to expose those who endeavour in the name of Marxism to reconcile workers and radical youth to pro-capitalist parties like the NDP, thereby deceiving opponents of capitalism and enhancing the prestige of these parties. For decades the NDP has been a home for self-described socialists who, by trying to push it to the left, sink deeper into reformism and abandon any pretense of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism.

A Left Prop for the Capitalist State...

Fightback’s prominent call, “NDP to power on a socialist program!” does not at all mean workers revolution; it is a commitment to maintaining the capitalist state, albeit with the NDP at its head. In contrast, we are guided by the Marxist understanding that every state is a *class* dictatorship, an organ of oppression of one class by another. Our program is

to struggle to smash the capitalist state through workers revolution. Only then will the working class be organized as the ruling class, as the dictatorship of the proletariat, opening the road to socialism—a classless, egalitarian society. We stand with Lenin who underscored that “the working-class must *break up, smash* the ‘ready-made state machinery,’ and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it.” Like the Canadian-nationalist NDP of which it is a part, a corollary of Fightback’s acceptance of the Canadian capitalist state and the Anglo chauvinism that permeates it is opposition to Quebec independence (see “‘Fightback’ and the Quebec National Question,” *SC* No. 162, Fall 2009).

Fightback not only rejects the need to smash the capitalist state, but shamelessly acts to reinforce its repressive apparatus. A June 7 article on their website states that as part of their leadership of the Toronto Young New Democrats, Fightback supporters officially managed a so-called “genuine working-class campaign” for federal NDP candidate Susan Wallace in the May election. Fightback sometimes postures as a defender of minority youth against cop violence, but their candidate pledged to give the police “more tools to protect our children.” We ask these “law and order” reformists to explain that to the parents of Junior Manon, Eric Osawe and all the other minority youth who have been victims of the racist cops and their “tools.”

...and a Left Cover for Cop Repression

Fightback’s campaigning for pro-cop politicians is consonant with its notorious slanders of the Black Bloc in the wake of the G20 mass arrests in June 2010. When the bourgeoisie, the NDP and the union tops vehemently denounced the supposed “violence” of these anarchists, we released a statement defending them and all other protesters against state repression despite our political differences. As we noted in a subsequent polemic, Fightback was on the other side, joining the witchhunt:

“A June 30 public meeting on the G20 events run by this group featured speakers who actually praised the cops! One of them, United Steelworkers leader and Ontario NDP vice-president Mike Seaward, declared that ‘most of the day the police acted rationally—they were good.’ Meanwhile, a Fightback leaflet for the meeting ranted that ‘the Black Bloc are not part of our movement and there is no difference between them and police provocateurs.’”

—“Police State Crackdown in Toronto,” *SC* No. 166, Fall 2010

That the police insinuate provocateurs into the workers movement and left-wing protests is a given for anyone familiar with the workings of the capitalist state. However, Fightback’s denunciation of the Black Bloc anarchists as police agents has nothing to do with this—it is an excuse for refusing to defend leftists against state repression.

At left-wing forums and demonstrations, the Spartacus Youth Club ensured that Fightback became well-known for its treachery. Stung by this, these reformists moan in their “Prospects for Revolution: 2011 Canadian Perspectives” (*Fightback*, 31 March) that “It is scandalous that some have chosen to deliberately distort our call for working class communities to defend themselves against provocateurs as some sort of love for the police.” No love for the police? Their apologetics later states: “We, of course, uphold the democratic demand for the right of rank-and-file police and soldiers to form unions—defending this right potentially brings them closer to the workers.” Fightback’s line—police sí, anarchists



Olson/Getty

Toronto, June 2010: Cops attack G20 demonstrators. NDP, fake left joined witchhunt of Black Bloc anarchists.

no—amounts to kicking out of the workers movement those who break capitalist property and inviting in those who break the heads of workers and leftist protesters.

Cops, along with the military, courts and prisons, form the core of the capitalist state, which violently defends the rule of capital. Demands for cop “unions” are not “democratic” but are necessarily linked to strengthening their ability to brutalize minorities, break strikes and terrorize anyone who opposes capitalism. We demand: Cops, prison, security guards out of the unions!

Whitewashing history to cover their reformism, Fightback goes on: “During the 1919 Winnipeg general strike the Winnipeg police came over to the strikers. We ask our detractors, was this a good thing?” Only a sellout to the bourgeoisie could ignore the fact that on “Bloody Saturday,” the Royal North-West Mounted Police (predecessor of the RCMP) and a group of police “specials” killed two strikers and injured more than 30 others, placing Winnipeg under military control and effectively crushing the strike. While the Winnipeg police had earlier voted to “strike,” they pledged to “break the heads” of workers if they stayed on duty and later adopted a resolution that read: “we stand behind constituted authority and are willing to do all in our power to preserve law and order as loyal British subjects” (quoted in Norman Penner, *Winnipeg 1919: The Strikers’ Own History of the Winnipeg General Strike*, 1973). We ask the loyal subjects of Fightback, is this “coming over to the strikers”?

As a revolutionary Marxist organization the SYC, youth affiliate of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, bases its principles on the lessons of the Russian Revolution of 1917, in which the class-conscious workers did not share Fightback’s touching faith that the cops could “come over.” Their attitude during the overthrow of the tsar in February of that year was summed up by Leon Trotsky: “The police are fierce, implacable, hated and hating foes. To win them over is out of the question” (*The History of the Russian Revolution*, 1930). Fightback may claim to be “the Marxist voice of labour and youth,” but in theory and practice its pro-NDP “democratic socialism” leads inevitably to illusions that the bourgeois state can serve the interests of the working class. Against this, the SYC fights to win youth to the perspective of building a party that will lead the working class to smash the capitalist state through socialist revolution, avenging all victims of cop terror and laying the basis for a communist future. ■

Peruvian Elections and the Shadow of Fujimori

Reformist Left Backs Bourgeois Populist Humala

The following article was first published in Workers Vanguard No. 984 (5 August), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

The second round of Peru's presidential elections on June 5 produced a narrow victory for the bourgeois populist Ollanta Humala, a former military officer during the darkest days of the country's internal war in the 1980s and early '90s. Humala, who was backed by Peru's trade unions and reformist left groups, defeated Keiko Fujimori, the daughter of disgraced former president Alberto Fujimori. During his decade in power (1990 to 2000), Fujimori unleashed brutal terror against workers, peasants and the poor, using the excuse of the peasant-based insurgency of Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). Nearly 70,000 people were killed in this bloody conflict. At the same time, Fujimori's economic "shock therapy" sharply increased poverty among the rural and urban masses. Later sentenced to 25 years in jail on murder, kidnapping and corruption charges, the ex-president was regularly visited by his daughter at his exclusive prison in Lima during the election campaign.

In the years since the fall of Fujimori, Peru has seen an economic boom under presidents Alejandro Toledo and Alan García. Mineral exports—including copper, zinc, gold and silver—have surged, while the country has signed free-trade deals with the U.S., the European Union and China. Tall buildings and fancy restaurants, hotels and shopping centers have proliferated in Lima. But there has been little or no progress at all for the majority of Peruvians, who live in the shantytowns of the capital or in the country's rural areas. As of 2009, 62 percent of the population was still trying to survive on less than \$3 a day.

The backdrop to Humala's election was an explosion of protest among the rural poor. Spain's *El País* (7 June) newspaper reported that there are "more than 230 active or latent social conflicts" in Peru, notably protests by indigenous communities against land seizures. In 2009, a clash between police and the indigenous peoples inhabiting the northern Amazonian province of Bagua left 33 dead, 23 of them cops, and hundreds injured. This followed months of protests against government decrees opening the area to imperialist investment, which the García regime was forced to withdraw. This June, clashes between indigenous Aymara people and police over concessions to the Canadian mining company Bear Creek left at least six people dead and 30 wounded in the southern region of Puno, near the Bolivian border. The



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July 6: Peru's President-elect Ollanta Humala meets with Hillary Clinton at State Department in Washington, D.C.

government was again forced to back down, canceling Bear Creek's mining license.

Humala received his strongest vote in the largely indigenous rural areas, while Keiko Fujimori got a majority of the vote in Lima and other coastal cities. In the first round, where Humala won 32 percent and Fujimori 24 percent, the main candidates of the ruling establishment were all eliminated, including an ex-president, a former cabinet minister and Lima's former mayor. The candidate of the ruling APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) quit early in the campaign, and APRA itself won only four of the 130 seats in the Congress.

The votes for Humala and Fujimori were not so much for them as against their counterpart. Many of those who voted for Humala in the second round did so to prevent the comeback of "fujimorismo." Among the bourgeois forces who backed him were ex-president Toledo and the acclaimed right-wing writer (and former presidential candidate) Mario Vargas Llosa, who proclaimed that Humala would "defend democracy in Peru" and prevent "the ridicule of a new dictatorship" (EFE, 19 May). Meanwhile, many who voted for Keiko Fujimori did so based on persistent imputations that Humala was a radical leftist or even a communist, and to more or less maintain the status quo.

Some commentators noted that Humala probably won the election because Keiko Fujimori made more mistakes. She went from defending her father's government as "the best Peru has had in its history" to apologizing for his crimes. Among the crimes that received widespread attention were those perpetrated by the nefarious Colina Group, an army death squad linked to the highest levels of the regime. It was responsible for atrocities like the 1991 Barrios Altos massacre,

in which 15 people accused of being supporters of Sendero Luminoso were killed in downtown Lima, and the 1992 La Cantuta massacre, in which nine students and a university professor were kidnapped and killed. Also in 1992, the Colina Group assassinated union leader Pedro Huilca, secretary general of the General Central of Peruvian Workers (CGTP), and then framed up members of Sendero Luminoso for the killing.

Another issue received widespread attention during the campaign: the forcible sterilization of more than 300,000 women as part of a government campaign from 1993 to 1999. This followed an International Monetary Fund “recommendation” to control population growth. The Fujimori government implemented several sterilization plans, being particularly aggressive in indigenous rural areas. Several documents have surfaced showing that the authorities established minimum numbers of sterilizations per week. Over 25,000 men, again mainly indigenous, were also sterilized. Many women have come forward to denounce these barbaric acts, which had serious effects not only physically (they suffer from severe and constant pain and can no longer work their land) but also psychologically; many ended up being abandoned by their husbands.

Break With Bourgeois Populism!

Humala, whose Nationalist Party is essentially a personal vehicle, campaigned at the head of an alliance called Gana Perú (Peru Wins) that included reformist left groups like the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) and the Socialist Party, among others. These reformists continued their perpetual policy of tying the working class to bourgeois forces; for example, they supported Alberto Fujimori for president in 1990 against Vargas Llosa. But this time they were an integral part of a victorious “left” slate, running their own candidates for Congress under the Gana Perú banner. For ostensible socialists to push a program of collaboration with bourgeois forces is always and everywhere a betrayal of the interests of the proletariat.

The labor bureaucracy—including in the CGTP, the Workers Unitary Central (CUT), SUTEP teachers union and other smaller unions—also actively supported Humala and some unions ran candidates on his slate. The Stalinist PCP and Maoist Patria Roja-Movimiento Nueva Izquierda (Red Fatherland-New Left Movement [PR-MNI]) are the driving force behind the major unions, although they are fairly weak parties. Last year the PR-MNI backed the victorious candidate for mayor of Lima, Susana Villarán of the bourgeois Fuerza Social (Social Strength) coalition. Buoyed by this success, the PR-MNI initially stood aloof from Humala’s alliance, only to end up in a full-throttle campaign for the new president.

Far from being some sort of radical, let alone a communist, Humala has bent over backward to show that he will be a “responsible” leader of capitalist Peru. In the 2006 elections, which he lost to García after leading in the first round, Humala campaigned as an ally of Venezuela’s bourgeois populist strongman Hugo Chávez. This provoked the ire of the Peruvian capitalists and their U.S. imperialist masters,



Thomas Quirynen

June 2009: Deadly police attack on indigenous protesters in oil-producing area of Bagua Province.

who feared that he would move to nationalize sectors of the economy as Chávez has done in Venezuela, thereby reversing the wave of privatizations that began under Fujimori.

This time around, Humala made every effort to distance himself from Chávez, pledging not to undertake nationalizations and to maintain a “free-market economy,” albeit with “a better and more just distribution of resources.” He promoted the “Brazil model,” where a popular-front regime centered on the Workers Party (PT) has overseen capitalism for the past nine years. The PT sent Luis Favre (former pseudo-Trotskyist and brother of Jorge Altamira, leader of the Argentine Partido Obrero) to help Humala’s campaign. On the other side, Keiko Fujimori surrounded herself with her father’s circle and hired as a consultant Rudolph Giuliani, the former mayor of New York City who was infamous for unleashing police terror in the ghettos and barrios.

After the vote, the losing camp speculated how they could have prevented Humala’s victory and the winners repeated incessantly that they “respect private investment and private property.” All agreed that it was necessary to “keep the markets calm” and “reconcile the Peruvian family.” Humala’s first foreign visit after his victory, before being sworn into office on July 28, was to Brazil. Meeting with PT president Dilma Rousseff, he saluted that country’s “successful model of growth.” (After nearly a decade of PT rule, Brazil remains one of the most unequal countries in the world, with an immense gap in living standards between the elite at the top and the worker and peasant masses.) He then went on to hold friendly meetings in Washington with Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama. And now a conglomerate of U.S. and Peruvian capitalists has announced the largest mine investment in Peru’s history.

Among the tiny pseudo-Trotskyist organizations in Peru, the Nuevo PST (New Socialist Workers Party, followers of the late Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno) unashamedly supported Humala. In an online article, they called to “respect the hope that vast sectors of workers and the people have put in Ollanta Humala,” adding that “we are ready to join them in their experience of voting critically for him”

(continued on page 16)

New Move to Reinstate Death Sentence for Mumia

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 984 (5 August), newspaper of the *Spartacist League/U.S.*

The Philadelphia district attorney's office recently petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court to reinstate the death sentence for black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The D.A. is seeking to reverse an April 26 ruling by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, which for the second time upheld a 2001 decision by District Court judge William Yohn overturning the sentence on the grounds of faulty jury instructions (see "Federal Appeals Court Orders New Sentencing Hearing," *WV* No. 980, 13 May). Yohn simultaneously upheld every aspect of the frame-up conviction that sent Mumia—a former Black Panther Party spokesman and later a MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist—to death row on false charges of killing Philly police officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981. From top to bottom, the courts have repeatedly refused to hear the overwhelming evidence of Mumia's innocence, including Arnold Beverly's confession that he was Faulkner's killer.

The D.A.'s petition reviles the Third Circuit for obstructing the legal lynching not just of Mumia but also of many others, largely black and poor, railroaded to death row "up South" in Philadelphia. The brief rants that the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, signed by Bill Clinton to speed up the pace of executions, "will remain ineffective in the Third Circuit until the circuit court enforces it." The prosecution calls on the Supreme Court to order the Third Circuit to apply the 1996 law to foreclose virtually any federal *habeas corpus* challenge to Pennsylvania death sentences. Where the Supreme Court stands on ruthless application of the death penalty was seen on March 28, when it turned down the appeal of Troy Davis, a black inmate in Georgia, despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence.

In its own way, the D.A.'s brief highlights that Mumia's case is crucial in the struggle to abolish the death penalty. The ultimate sanction wielded by the capitalist rulers in their repression



Mumia Abu-Jamal

COC Productions

of workers and minorities, the death penalty is a barbaric legacy of medieval torture. In the U.S., capital punishment can be traced directly back to chattel slavery, when black people could be put to death for any act deemed "insolent" or a challenge to slaveholders. Since then, the death penalty has gone hand in hand with KKK lynchings and summary executions carried out by cops on the street. Over 3,200 sit on death rows across the U.S., 54 percent of them black or Latino.

The cops, prosecutors, lawmakers and their mouthpieces in the bourgeois press will not rest until Mumia is strapped onto an execution gurney. Mumia's fight for life and freedom is not for him alone. By executing this eloquent spokesman for the oppressed, the forces of the state want to send a message to all who would fight against the exploitation, oppression and imperialist war inherent in the decaying capitalist system that they, too, are in the state's gun sights. The only "alternative" to execution held out by the courts is that Mumia rot in prison for the rest of his life, without the possibility of parole. As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have always insisted, fighters for Mumia's freedom must place no reliance on the racist capitalist courts but must look instead to link Mumia's cause to the class struggles of the multiracial proletariat. To put a final halt to the grisly workings of the capitalist rulers' machinery of death will take nothing less than proletarian socialist revolution. ■

Protest Roundup of Montreal Leftists!

The following statement was issued on August 28 by the *Partisan Defense Committee*, the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the *Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste*.

The Partisan Defense Committee denounces the arrests of eight leftists this summer by the "anti-gang" unit of the Montreal police. On June 29, Patrice Legendre, a supporter of the Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire (PCR), and three other militants were arrested in an operation involving some 30 cops. Over the next few weeks, four more activists—members and leaders of the Association pour une Solidarité Syndicale Étudiante (ASSÉ), a 40,000-strong student union—were also picked up. The ASSÉ activists face between four and nine charges each in connection with protests against tuition fee increases last March, when students occupied the offices of the Quebec finance minister and the Conference of Rectors and Principals of Quebec Universities.

These arrests, part of a broader campaign of disruption and

provocation, are the result of the dirty deeds of a police "anti-gang" squad called GAMMA (Guet des Activités et des Mouvements Marginaux et Anarchistes—Surveillance of Activities of Marginal and Anarchist Movements). The creation of this agency in January, along with the eight arrests, marks an intensification of a long-running war on the left by the Montreal cops.

The pretext for the first round of arrests was an altercation at this year's May Day demonstration organized by Anti-Capitalist Convergence (CLAC). The Montreal cops routinely stage provocations against May Day protesters; this year they tried to arrest a photographer associated with *Partisan*, the PCR's newspaper. As the PCR reports, "dozens of protesters responded by confronting the police, telling them to release the activist." The cops backed off. Now police have thrown numerous serious charges against demonstrators including "assault with a weapon" and "assaulting a police officer."

Ominously, it appears that the cops are also trying to implicate PCR supporters in an incident that occurred in

(continued on page 23)

Hong Kong: Fake Trotskyists Hail Imperialist Running Dog Liu Xiaobo

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 981 (27 May), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

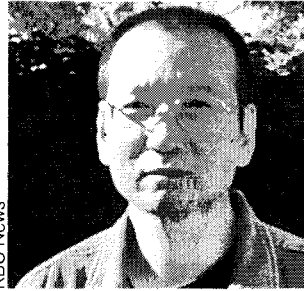
It always seems that the more flagrant and bloody the depredations that the imperialists are engaged in, the louder they beat the drums over “human rights” wherever capitalism has been overthrown. In this vein, U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton lashed out during high-level talks with Chinese representatives in Washington a few weeks ago. Referring to a renewed crackdown on dissidents, Clinton blustered that China’s leaders are “trying to stop history, which is a fool’s errand.” Liberal editorial writers and columnists have done their assigned part by bashing China over “human rights.” This at a time when the U.S. ruling class is carrying out murderous occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan and bombing Libya, and the use of torture in the “war on terror” evokes only mild debate about just how effective it is.

A major focus of the recent clamor over “human rights” in China has been the imprisoned anti-Communist intellectual Liu Xiaobo. Especially after Liu was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize last year, the Western bourgeois media glorified him as a stalwart champion of “democracy” and “human rights.” A noteworthy exception was a piece in the liberal London *Guardian* (15 December 2010), which exposed him as a rabid supporter of U.S. imperialist militarism, past and present. Under the headline “Do Supporters of Nobel Winner Liu Xiaobo Really Know What He Stands For?” Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong commented:

“If Liu’s politics were well-known, most people would not favour him for a prize, because he is a champion of war, not peace. He has endorsed the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, and he applauded the Vietnam and Korean wars retrospectively in a 2001 essay. All these conflicts have entailed massive violations of human rights. Yet in his article ‘Lessons from the Cold War,’ Liu argues that ‘The free world led by the US fought almost all regimes that trampled on human rights.... The major wars that the US became involved in are all ethically defensible.’ During the 2004 US presidential election, Liu warmly praised George Bush for his war effort against Iraq and condemned Democratic party candidate John Kerry for not sufficiently supporting the US’s wars.”

It is practically a requirement for those awarded the Nobel Peace Prize that they be imperialist war criminals (e.g., Henry Kissinger and Barack Obama) or toadies of the imperialists (e.g., the Dalai Lama).

Joining the imperialists in praising Liu are the pseudo-Trotskyists who publish *October Review* out of capitalist Hong Kong, the one part of the People’s Republic of China (besides the tiny enclave of Macao) where the CCP does not exercise a monopoly of political organization. Describing this vocal apologist for American imperialist militarism as someone who “fought for democracy through peaceful means,” *October Review* (31 December 2010) ran an article, headlined “Liu Xiaobo Must Be Released Now! Human Rights Must Be Restored in China!” that was suffused with the anti-Communist code words “human rights” and (classless)



KBC News

2010 Nobel “Peace” Prize winner Liu Xiaobo (left) joins roster of imperialist toadies and war criminals like Henry Kissinger (below at right with U.S. president Richard Nixon in 1972).



AP

“democracy.” “Liu being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize is also a criticism of Chinese authorities,” we are informed, “hence it can be an encouragement for the development of the democratic movement in China.” With the same language, the *Washington Post* (30 January 2009)—a major mouthpiece for American imperialism—hailed Liu’s Charter 08 movement as China’s “new democracy movement.”

“Human Rights” Imperialism Against China

Liu emerged as Washington’s most favored Chinese anti-Communist “dissident” a little over two years ago as the primary author of the Charter 08 manifesto which, as we wrote at the time, was “an explicit program for capitalist counter-revolution in the Chinese deformed workers state, wrapped in the envelope of ‘democracy’” (*WV* No. 933, 27 March 2009). Charter 08 demanded the privatization of state-owned enterprises—the collectivized core of the Chinese economy—as well as agricultural land. This was a program to reverse the social gains of the 1949 Revolution, which, if realized, would plunge China back into imperialist subjugation and untrammelled exploitation. Not surprisingly, the organizations Liu has been involved in have been funded by the National Endowment for Democracy, a notorious CIA front.

While we recognized that Charter 08 represented a counter-revolutionary program, we did not support the repression of its initiators and signers by the Stalinist bureaucracy, which defends its privileged position through fierce, all-sided political repression. Liu and the other right-wing intellectuals were not and are not presently leading a movement threatening the

(continued on page 12)

Liu Xiaobo...

(continued from page 11)

existence of the Chinese workers state, as was the case, for example, with Solidarność in Poland in 1981. As revolutionary Marxists (Trotskyists), we called to “smash Solidarność counterrevolution” and fought to win Polish workers to a program of defense of the Polish and Soviet workers states against capitalist counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies.

In China today, that program is essential to politically defeat the Charter 08 movement and its apologists on the left, such as *October Review*. Charter 08 retrospectively supported the imperialist-backed Guomindang (Nationalist Party) regime of Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the civil war of the late 1940s. The 1949 Chinese Revolution was a progressive social revolution of world-historic significance. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been exploited from time immemorial. The creation of a centrally planned, collectivized economy laid the basis for enormous social progress.

However, the revolution was deformed from its inception under the rule of Mao Zedong’s CCP regime, a nationalist bureaucratic caste resting atop the workers state. Unlike the Russian October Revolution of 1917, which was carried out by a class-conscious proletariat guided by the Bolshevik internationalism of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, the Chinese Revolution was the result of peasant-guerrilla war led by Mao’s Stalinist-nationalist forces. Patterned after the Stalinist bureaucracy that had usurped power in the USSR, Mao and his successors, including today’s Hu Jintao regime, have maintained the profoundly anti-Marxist notion that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—could be built in a single country. In practice, “socialism in one country” has meant accommodation to world imperialism and opposition to the perspective of international workers revolution, which is essential for the advance to socialism.

At some point, the explosive social tensions within China will shatter the political structure of the ruling bureaucratic caste. And when that happens, the fate of the most populous country in the world will be starkly posed: proletarian political revolution to establish a government based on elected workers and peasants councils and open the road to socialism, or capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation.

In their own way, China’s Stalinist rulers sense that they are sitting atop a social volcano. This is clearly evident in their response to the mass protests that toppled Egyptian despot Hosni Mubarak. The state-directed television news showed pictures of protests from afar in which not a single demonstrator was visible. Instead they focused on broken windows at banks, trucks in flames and looting, accompanied by commentary about how the government was striving to restore order. In the wake of the political turbulence in North Africa, there has been increased suppression of dissent (arrests and detentions of activists, artists and lawyers as well as more Internet censorship).

For their part, elements in American ruling circles evidently saw an opportunity to encourage some Chinese intellectuals and other members of the educated (and materially privileged) petty bourgeoisie to take to the streets in the name of “democracy.” This was labeled “the Jasmine revolution.”



U.S.A.F.

U.S. bombing during Vietnam War, one of many imperialist wars upheld by Liu.

Anti-Communist émigrés in the U.S., grouped around the Democratic Party of China, took to their computer keyboards and issued calls in cyberspace for actions in Beijing, Shanghai and other Chinese cities. A headline in the *New York Times* (29 April) captured it: “Trying to Stir Up a Popular Protest in China, From a Bedroom in Manhattan.” The “Jasmine revolution” turned out to be a bust. Only a handful heeded the call, including the U.S. ambassador, who just “happened to be passing by” one of the announced locations at the time. The very places chosen for these “democracy” protests spoke to their upper-class character: Starbucks, McDonald’s and Wangfujing, a fancy shopping district in Beijing patronized by foreign tourists and China’s newly rich.

Fake Trotskyists Push “Democratic” Counterrevolution

Someone might argue that would-be participants in the “Jasmine revolution” were cowed by effective police-state repression. However, this same period saw a three-day strike and angry protests in Shanghai by truckers, most of whom own their own rigs, directed at soaring prices for gasoline and also high government fees. There is no lack of seething discontent among large sections of the Chinese populace—workers in both state-owned and private enterprises, peasant leaseholders and also members of the urban petty bourgeoisie. The question is what political direction will opposition to the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy take. A decisive factor will be the character and aims of the leadership of such opposition.

When the political situation in China opens up, revolutionary Marxists will confront tendencies that advocate classless “democracy” while also claiming to stand for the interests of the working class and even for socialism. These will include groups that falsely claim the mantle of Trotskyism, such as *October Review*. This outfit is aligned internationally with the United Secretariat (USec), which has a long history of serving “bourgeois-democratic” counterrevolution by prostituting Trotsky’s revolutionary opposition to Stalinism. During the last phase of the Cold War in the 1980s-early ’90s, the USec, led by the late Ernest Mandel, supported every imperialist-backed, anti-Communist force in the Soviet sphere, from Solidarność in Poland to the “democrats” around Boris Yeltsin in Russia. The *October Review* crowd

NDP Backs Zionist Butchers...

(continued from page 5)

prominent members of the "Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Antisemitism" (CPCCA). This pseudo-parliamentary body has held "hearings" to investigate "the new anti-Semitism," a slur levelled against *anyone* who would protest Israeli state repression. Upholding an obscene amalgam between actual anti-Semitism and opposition to Israel's barbarism against the Palestinians, the NDP loyally serves the ruling Tories' hard pro-Zionist agenda. Indeed, this sinister campaign aims to make it a *crime* to criticize Israel. And it's not just the ranting right wingers in the New Democrats' upper echelons like Pat Martin who partake of this demagoguery. Last year, NDP MPP Cheri DiNovo, a darling of the fake-socialist "left," voted in the Ontario provincial parliament to condemn "Israeli Apartheid Week" because it "serves to incite hatred against Israel."

Always on the right wing of the spectrum of international social democracy, the NDP has of late shifted its posture even further rightward. It has dropped its paper opposition to NATO and NORAD, endorsed huge increases in military spending and joined the unanimous endorsement in parliament of the NATO bombing of Libya. Riding high on its recent transitory electoral victories, the NDP has been increasingly presenting itself as the party of "middle-class families," aiming to displace the Liberals as the alternative to the Tories.

NDP leaders would evidently like to refashion the party along the lines of the U.S. Democrats, i.e., as a purportedly "progressive" bourgeois party, though this process is nascent and reversible. Their occasional posturing against the "excesses" of capitalism plays a useful role for the bourgeoisie, after all, by corraling the militancy of workers and the oppressed into the dead end of parliamentary reformism. In sharp contrast to those reformist leftists who strive to "win the NDP to socialism," we Trotskyists understand that the NDP is a bourgeois workers party. Linked to the unions via the labour

bureaucracy, it has a thoroughly pro-capitalist program of maintaining the present system.

In Quebec, where the NDP won most of its seats, the party's strident pro-Zionism runs up against strong sentiment in defense of the Palestinians among working people and youth. All three Quebec labour federations endorsed the Gaza flotilla, and the left-nationalist Québec Solidaire (with which the NDP presently shares a substantial voting base) had a representative on one of the boats. Even the bourgeois-nationalist Bloc Québécois felt compelled to withdraw from the CPCCA, citing its pro-Israel bias.

The NDP's chauvinist stance towards the Palestinians mirrors its chauvinist position on Quebec. The NDP has always, ardently, supported a "united Canada," and is thus hostile to the struggles of the Québécois people for national self-determination. For our part, we Marxists are intransigent opponents of the prevailing Anglo chauvinism, and we advocate Quebec independence as the best means to win the workers of both nations to a perspective of anti-capitalist class struggle.

Workers and the oppressed throughout the world must defend the Palestinian people against Zionist aggression and demand: *All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories!* At the same time, it is crucial to understand that a just solution to the valid, conflicting claims of the Palestinians and the Hebrew-speaking people to a tiny slice of land is not possible under capitalism. The way forward lies through the joint class struggle of Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab workers, connected to class struggle throughout the region and leading to socialist revolution. A socialist federation of the Near East requires not only a revolutionary struggle against the Zionist butchers and the collection of dictators, mullahs and military regimes that rule the rest of the region, but also against the imperialist sponsors of oppression in the Near East, whose class rule the New Democratic Party upholds. ■

is, if anything, even more strident in expressing anti-Communist hostility toward China than were the Mandelites toward the Soviet Union. But this is simply a matter of degree.

Genuine Trotskyism means carrying forward the revolutionary proletarian-internationalist banner of the October Revolution of 1917. As we concluded our article on Charter 08:

"A proletarian political revolution producing a China of worker and peasant councils would be a beacon for the oppressed working masses of Asia and the entire world, dealing a deathblow to the bourgeoisie's 'death of communism' propaganda, lifting up the downtrodden masses of the former Soviet Union and East Europe and inspiring the workers in the imperialist heartlands. This, ultimately, is the only perspective that can defeat the siren call of 'democracy' pushed by imperialist-backed outfits as well as fake 'socialists' who are enemies of the gains of the Chinese Revolution." ■

斯巴达克派 **SPARTACIST** 2009年11月

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Palestinian Trotskyists...

(continued from page 4)

the Zionist bourgeoisie. It will be easy to arouse him against his proletarian ally, the Arab worker, "who is depriving him of jobs and depressing the level of wages" (a method that has not failed in the past!). Not in vain has Weitzmann said that "the Jewish state will stem Communist influence." As a compensation, the Jewish worker is bestowed with the privilege of dying a hero's death on the altar of the Hebrew state.

And what promises does the Jewish state hold out? Does it really mean a step toward the solution of the Jewish problem?

The partition was not meant to solve Jewish misery nor is it likely ever to do so. This dwarf of a state which is too small to absorb the Jewish masses cannot even solve the problems of its citizens. The Hebrew state can only infest the Arab East with anti-Semitism and may well turn out—as Trotsky said—a bloody trap for hundreds of thousands of Jews.

The leaders of the Arab League reacted to the decision on partition with speeches full of threats and enthusiasm. As a matter of fact, a Zionist state is to them a godsend from Allah. Calling up the worker and fellah [peasant] for the "holy war to save Palestine" is supposed to stifle their cries for bread, land and freedom. Another time-honored method of diverting an embittered people against the Jewish and communist danger.

In Palestine the feudal rule has of late begun to lose ground. During the war the Arab working class has grown in numbers and political consciousness. Jewish and Arab workers stood up against the foreign oppressor, against whom they together went on strikes. A strong leftist trade union had come into existence; and the "Workers' Association of the Arabs of Palestine" had been well on the way of freeing itself from the influence of the Husseinis. The murder of its leader, Sami Taha, committed by hirelings of the Arab High Committee could not restrain this development. But where the Husseinis failed, the decision of the imperialist agency, the UNO succeeded. The partition decision stifled the class struggle of the Palestine workers. The prospect of being at the hands of the Zionist "conquerors of soil and labor" is arousing fear and anxiety among the Arab workers and fellahs. Nationalist war slogans fall on fertile soil. And feudal murderers see their chance. Thus the policy of partition enables the feudalists to turn back the wheels of history....

The two camps today mobilize the masses under the mask of "self-defense." "We have been attacked, let us defend ourselves!"—say the Zionists. "Let us ward off the danger of a Jewish conquest!"—declares the Arab Higher Committee. Where does the truth lie?

War is the continuation of politics by other means. The war led by the Arab feudalists is but the continuation of their reactionary war on the worker and the fellah who are striving to shake off oppression and exploitation. For the feudal effendis [lords] "Salvation of Palestine" means safeguarding their revenues at the expense of the fellahin, maintaining their autocratic rule in town and country, smashing the proletarian organizations and international class solidarity.

The war waged by the Zionists is the continuation of their expansionist policy based on discrimination between the two peoples: they defend *kibbush avoda* (ousting of Arab labor), *kibbush adama* (ousting of the fellah), boycott of Arab

goods, "Hebrew rule." The military conflict is a direct result of the policy of the Zionist conquerors.

This war can on neither side be said to bear a progressive character. The war does not release progressive forces or do away with social and economic obstacles in the path of development of the two nations. Quite the opposite is true. It is apt to obscure the class antagonism and to open the gate for nationalistic excesses. *It weakens the proletariat and strengthens imperialism in both camps.*

Each side is "anti-imperialist" to the bone, busy detecting the reactionary—in the opposite camp. And imperialism is always seen—helping the other side. But this kind of exposure is oil on the imperialist fire. For the inveigling policy of imperialism is based upon agents and agencies within *both* camps. Therefore, we say to the Palestine people in reply to the patriotic warmongers: *Make this war between Jews and Arabs, which serves the end of imperialism, the common war of both nations against imperialism!*

This is the only solution guaranteeing a real peace. This must be our goal which must be achieved without concessions to the chauvinist mood prevailing at present among the masses.

How can that be done?

"The main enemy is in our own country!"—this was what Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had to say to the workers when imperialists and social democrats were inciting them to the slaughter of their fellow workers in other countries. In this spirit we say to the Jewish and Arab workers: *The enemy is in your own camp!*

Jewish workers! Get rid of the Zionist provocateurs who tell you to sacrifice yourself on the altar of the Hebrew state.

Arab worker and fellah! Get rid of the chauvinist provocateurs who are getting you into a mess of blood for their own sake and pocket.

Workers of the two peoples, unite in a common front against imperialism and its agents! ■

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Barbaric Mutilation...

(continued from page 3)

and economic norms. This neocolonial country is dominated by the dictates of the imperialist order while also subject to the tyranny of religious obscurantism; capitalist exploitation manipulates and deepens the ancient traditions and taboos.

The concept of “family honour”—control of a woman’s sexuality by her family—is not the exclusive purview of Islam but occurs in a number of religions, including Christianity. It is the reflection of the treatment of women as the property of their husbands or fathers. This was powerfully captured by Friedrich Engels in his classic work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884): “In order to make certain of the wife’s fidelity and therefore of the paternity of the children, she is delivered over unconditionally into the power of the husband; if he kills her, he is only exercising his rights.”

Understanding the deadly consequences for a woman in Bangladesh if her “virtue” is questioned, Rumana’s family solicited testimonies from classmates and friends in Vancouver to attest to her fidelity after her husband accused her of adultery to “justify” his torture. Such allegations have meant death for many women and young girls. This was the fate of Hena Acuter, a 14-year-old rape victim who was whipped to death in January following a “fatwa” issued by local Muslim clerics that declared her an adulteress. Since then at least three other Bangladeshi women have reportedly killed themselves after being subjected to similar public humiliation and torture.

In places like Bangladesh, burdened by centuries-old “customs,” even basic questions of democratic reform can be explosive. In 1994 Bangladeshi writer Taslima Nasrin was hounded out of the country by Islamic fundamentalists incensed by her fight for the rights of women, including to contraception and abortion (see “Women and the Permanent Revolution in Bangladesh,” *Women and Revolution* No. 44, Winter 1994-Spring 1995).

In April of this year, reactionary fundamentalists staged a general strike in response to the government’s National Women’s Development Policy. The policy has drawn the fundamentalists’ ire for its modest reforms to family law codes enacted under Islamic edicts. A number of left-leaning women’s groups, including the Women’s Cell of the Communist Party of Bangladesh, have rallied under the platform “Equal rights is our minimum demand.” They protest the incompleteness of the government policy and demand a “unified” family law and equal rights of inheritance for women. Whatever reforms can be wrested from the bourgeois rulers, however partial, must be defended. However, reliance on appeals to bourgeois governments to protect women and create real equality between the sexes is a dead end.

Christianity and Judaism, in their many variants, also preach stifling moral codes to uphold the patriarchal family, the main social institution oppressing women. But these religions, though they had roots in pre-capitalist society, adapted to conform with rising industrial capitalism and the bourgeois democratic nation-states where they existed. The radical democratic principles of the Enlightenment were the ideological reflection of historical material advances over a backward, feudal society. As a religion Islam has not had to adapt, largely because it is rooted in those parts of the world where the imperialists have reinforced social backwardness as a prop to their domination.



Reuters

Police attack woman garment worker during protests in Dhaka, Bangladesh, 30 June 2010.

The emancipation of women as part of the liberation of all the downtrodden of Bangladesh and the entire subcontinent requires a struggle for *permanent revolution*—the working class seizing power at the head of the peasantry and oppressed masses through socialist revolution, reorganizing society on the basis of collectivized property and fighting to extend the revolution internationally, especially to the imperialist centres. The best historical model for this is the great October 1917 Revolution in Russia led by the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky. Such a perspective means taking up the fight against religious obscurantism and women’s oppression. Bangladesh has a vibrant and potentially powerful working class with a significant component of women workers concentrated in the garment and jute industries. Such women workers will be a great motor force for the revolution. As Trotsky wrote in 1924:

“And this, moreover, means that the Eastern woman who is the most paralysed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, that she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress; she will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas, a new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the revolution and for the ideas of communism than the awakened woman worker.” ■

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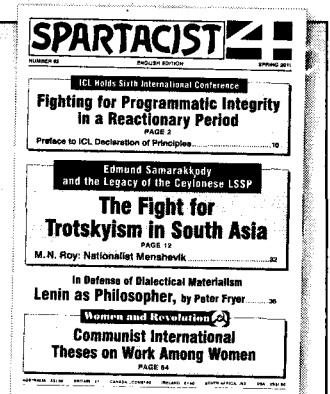
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All South America



SC photo

Lima's modern financial centre contrasts with its impoverished slums.

Peru...

(continued from page 9)

(litci.org, 17 May). The Corriente Marxista Revolucionaria, supposedly a left split from Alan Woods' International Marxist Tendency, advised Humala to "adopt a socialist program which will openly call to eliminate capitalist private property and replace the bourgeois state with a workers democracy" (militante.org, 9 June). While sometimes posturing in defense of Peru's poor and indigenous masses, Humala is a bourgeois politician who will necessarily defend the brutal and exploitative profit system against any threat to capitalist rule.

Fujimori's Bloody Legacy

During the rule of Alberto Fujimori, the International Communist League denounced the government's bloody war against workers, peasants, the poor and leftist groups like the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) guerrillas. In April 1997, an army death squad staged a coldblooded mass execution of 14 MRTA members who had occupied the Japanese ambassador's residence, where they had held various military butchers, high-ranking businessmen and government officials hostage in an attempt to win freedom for some 450 of their comrades in Fujimori's prisons. The ICL organized protests internationally against this massacre, calling to "Free all victims of Fujimori's terror!"

While criticizing the MRTA's guerrillaist strategy as incapable of eliminating capitalist exploitation and oppression, we saluted the valor of its militants, who had won broad sympathy among the Peruvian workers and peasants. We contrasted the MRTA to Sendero Luminoso, whose activities generally merited nothing but revulsion. Despite the leftist rhetoric it espoused, Sendero was known for its pathological violence, from publicly executing prostitutes to murdering political opponents, including MRTA supporters and union organizers. As we wrote: "This repulsive group appears to have parallels with Pol Pot's genocidal Khmer Rouge in Cambodia with its primitivist, anti-urban ideology, cult of personality, and gangster operations" ("Peru: For Workers Revolution to Smash Fujimori Dictatorship!" WV No. 659, 10 January 1997).

As for the remnants of Sendero today, the wing around jailed leader Abimael Guzmán calls for "national reconciliation." Guzman's lawyers formed a party, the Movimiento por Amnistía y Derechos Fundamentales (Movement for Amnesty and Fundamental Rights), with the idea of participating in the elections. In the end, a couple of their supporters ran on the Justice, Technology and Ecology Party list. Sendero's other, still clandestine, wing was blamed by the authorities for the killing of five soldiers during an ambush of a military patrol that was headed to supervise the elections in the Apurímac and Ene Rivers Valley area of southeastern Peru. This is a historic Sendero base that has continued to see periodic rebel activity.

For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

To the class-collaborationist perspective of the Peruvian left, we Trotskyists counterpose the fight for *proletarian revolution* as the only road to liberate the masses. While the reformists give a left cover to Latin American bourgeois populism, we seek the independent mobilization of the working

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**Tras la destrucción del SME
Bolchevismo vs. sindicalismo
"independiente"**



La destrucción del Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas (SME) y la reorganización de la fuerza laboral en el sector eléctrico. La huelga de los trabajadores de Luz y Fuerza del Centro (LFC) —pese a su carácter sindical— y la huelga de los trabajadores de la industria eléctrica en el estado de México en el verano de 2009 —a la luz de la crisis en la construcción a raíz de 2008— y la huelga de los obreros de la industria textil en el estado de México en el verano de 2011.

El movimiento de reforma productiva neoliberal. La dimensión del problema en el sector eléctrico. Una labor sindicalista que apunta a la "reforma" privatizadora de Luz y Fuerza del Centro (LFC) —pese a su carácter sindical— y la huelga de los trabajadores de la industria eléctrica en el estado de México en el verano de 2009 —a la luz de la crisis en la construcción a raíz de 2008— y la huelga de los obreros de la industria textil en el estado de México en el verano de 2011.

Ir a la página 4

¡Romper con AMLD y el PRD burgués!
 ¡Por un partido obrero leninista-trotskyista!

El AMLD de Espartaco... La LFTD se alinea con la fuerza patronal... 12
 Índice: Huelgas obreras... Según el ejército en el estado... 13
 Huelga de Electricistas... Chile: La LFTD... 14



SC photo

**April 1997
Toronto
protest
against
Fujimori
regime's
massacre of
Tupac
Amaru Revolu-
tionary
Movement
guerrillas.**

class against all wings of the capitalists in the fight for a workers and peasants government. The most left-talking of these populists, Chávez in Venezuela, has used the country's oil profits to implement some modest social reforms as well as some land distribution and minimal nationalization of industry. But while we defend such nationalizations against imperialist attack, these are not socialist measures; rather, they are part of a program to tie the working masses to the domestic bourgeois rulers.

Peru today presents an extreme example of combined and uneven development. Vast shantytowns abut the colonial-style mansions of the venal bourgeoisie; the rich, beholden to their U.S. imperialist masters, live in luxury while millions of rural indigenous poor struggle merely to survive. As elsewhere in the semicolonial world, the national bourgeoisie's weakness and dependence on imperialism make it utterly incapable of achieving the tasks of the classic bourgeois revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, which laid the basis for economic modernization and the creation of industrial societies.

Defeat Capitalist War...

(continued from page 1)

demands to a government-appointed "arbitrator," the law imposed a wage settlement even lower than the corporation's last offer.

CUPW leaders had launched city-by-city rotating strikes in early June. When workers in Toronto and Montreal were brought out simultaneously in a one-day strike on June 14, the company responded with a countrywide lockout. The Tory back-to-work edict came less than a day later, an unconcealed act of collusion with union-busting management. Making clear that it was declaring war on all union struggles, the government also moved to break a strike by 3,800 Air Canada customer service agents. In this case, the CAW union leaders quickly abandoned the strike, signing a deal that accepted multiple concessions, notably on pensions, the central issue in the strike.

Such attacks are not only coming from the federal Tories. Earlier this year, the Ontario Liberal government banned strikes by Toronto transit workers at the behest of the city's right-wing mayor Rob Ford, who is preparing a frontal assault

The sole force that can show a way forward is the working class, with its tremendous potential social power, particularly in the rapidly growing (and hugely profitable) mining and natural gas industries. The proletariat must champion the cause of all the victims of Peruvian capitalism, from the indigenous masses to the urban poor and women, whose deep oppression is reinforced by the hold of the Catholic church. Smashing the chains of imperialist oppression requires the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party dedicated to the overthrow of capitalist rule and the establishment of a workers state. Such a revolution must have the perspective of spreading elsewhere in Latin America—notably to the industrial powerhouse of Brazil—and, crucially, to the advanced capitalist countries of North America.

The ICL is fighting to build an international revolutionary workers party—a reformed Fourth International—that can link the struggles of the workers of the semicolonies to those in the imperialist centers. In Latin America, such a party will be built in opposition not only to the flagrantly pro-imperialist "neoliberal" right wing but also to bourgeois nationalists and reformist politicians of all stripes. The task of tearing Latin America out of backwardness and subjugation to imperialism falls to the proletariat. As the Peruvian Trotskyists of the Grupo Obrero Marxista (Marxist Workers Group) wrote in 1946:

"Our revolution, simultaneously democratic and socialist, cannot develop and triumph within the narrow framework of the national state. It cannot triumph unless imperialism is crushed. It cannot triumph without the assistance of revolutionary victories in other Latin-American countries.... We call upon the Peruvian proletariat to fight for its historic objectives, for world communism, in the confidence that 'the masses of the backward countries, led by the conscious proletariat of the advanced countries, will achieve communism without having to pass through the different stages of capitalist development' (*Supplementary Theses on the Colonial and National Question*, adopted by the Second World Congress of the CI [Communist International])."

—"Manifesto of Peruvian Trotskyists," *Fourth International* (March 1947) ■

on city workers through outsourcing and job and service cuts. From coast to coast, the rulers are bringing down the austerity axe on tens of thousands more jobs, claiming this is necessary to "balance the budget" and "keep Canada competitive."

Labour Tops and NDP: Obstacles to Struggle

The unions are elementary defense organizations of the working class against unbridled exploitation. But struggle against the onslaught of the ruling class has been undermined by a labour leadership that accepts the inevitability of capitalist austerity while seeking to soften the blows. The union tops couple this with fealty to the NDP social democrats, or in some cases the Liberals, around a program of Canadian nationalism and protectionism which falsely asserts that the workers share a common interest with Canadian big business and governments.

The New Democrats, now Her Majesty's Official Opposition in parliament, postured against the Tories' recent back-to-work laws. But the NDP's claim to stand on the side of striking workers is sheer hypocrisy, as shown by its record of breaking strikes and jailing union leaders while running

(continued on page 18)

Defeat Capitalist War...

(continued from page 17)

governments in various provinces. In 1975 the first-ever NDP government in B.C. broke the strikes of pulp workers, railworkers, supermarket employees and propane truck drivers. A generation later, in 2000, they broke a strike by school support staff. In Ontario, an NDP regime jailed the president of CUPW's Toronto local for defending picket lines in a 1991 strike, and in 2008 the Ontario New Democrats endorsed Liberal legislation breaking a strike by Toronto transit workers.

Down-the-line supporters of Canadian capitalism, in the midst of the postal showdown the NDP endorsed Harper's call for a three-month extension of support to the brutal NATO military assault on neocolonial Libya. The very day CUPW members were forced back to work, foreign affairs minister John Baird visited Canadian NATO troops in Italy, where he signed a bomb destined for use against Libya that included the message, "This postal service don't strike." This powerfully underscores the link between imperialist war abroad and attacks on workers at home.

The eulogies from ruling-class spokesmen for NDP leader Jack Layton following his recent death from cancer are a measure of the services rendered to Canadian capitalism by the New Democrats, and by Layton in particular. The Tory government gave Layton an official state funeral, while Stephen Harper saluted his "dedication to public life." It is instructive to contrast the bourgeoisie's laudatory treatment of the late NDP leader to its unconcealed contempt for the poor and unemployed; its racist repression of immigrants and refugees; its imperialist pillage of the semicolonial world. The social role of the NDP has been, and remains, to tie the working people to supporting the rulers' violent and barbaric social system, perhaps cushioned by a few cosmetic and highly reversible reforms.

Unchain the Unions!

The social power of public sector workers is not that of industrial workers, who can directly stop the wheels of production and thus of profit from turning. But public sector unions include transportation, utility and other workers who provide the means and services by which the economy runs—the infrastructure vital for a modern society. While the capitalist media whips up a propaganda barrage about "public outrage" against these unions, the truth is that some hard class struggle would win plenty of allies among the unemployed, immigrants and all those who have been thrown under the bus by the ruling class.

"Public opinion" is, in the end, determined by the ebbs and flows of the class struggle. As V.I. Lenin, leader of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, stressed: "Whereas the liberals (and the liquidators) tell the workers: 'You are strong when you have the sympathy of "society",' the Marxist tells the workers something different, namely: 'You have the sympathy of "society" when you are strong'" ("Economic and Political Strikes," 1912).

In the face of the rulers' savage offensive, the number of strikes has plummeted. Last year saw the fewest in more than half a century; by some measures, labour struggle in Canada is at its lowest ebb since the 1930s. What stands in the way of the necessary militant class struggle is the union bureaucracy, which has for the most part surrendered abjectly in the



Talotta/Toronto Star

Oshawa call centre workers sacked in July without final pay. Capitalist profit system means misery for workers.

face of the austerity onslaught, the continuation of decades of bowing before the bosses.

Leaders of the Amalgamated Transit Union in Toronto rolled over with barely a peep of protest when the Ontario government banned their right to strike. Two months after the short-lived CAW strike at Air Canada, Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) leaders called on the airline's flight attendants to accept a tentative deal that threatens their pension plan. A letter by the president of CUPE's Air Canada Component, Jeff Taylor, sought to justify the betrayal: "One of the main deciding factors is the Conservative government, a government that would rather enforce back-to-work legislation than allow your union to strike. This was a key reality that drove the bargaining committee's decision" (*Toronto Star*, 21 August). The union tops preach that struggle is not possible, that workers will just have to eat it. Nonetheless, 87 percent of the union voted down the sellout deal.

In the case of CUPW, while the union's leaders refused to swallow Canada Post's outrageous demands, they at no time sought to unleash the full power of the union on the picket lines. Their strategy of rotating strikes meant that the mail kept flowing until the company moved to shut down operations in preparation for the government intervention. The CUPW tops even offered to call off the strikes if management reinstated the old, expired contract. And once the lock-out began, their only response was a series of punchless rallies featuring stale "solidarity" rhetoric from union bureaucrats and NDPers.

The miserable defeatism that characterizes today's union misleaders threatens disaster for the workers. Labour has never won *anything* by meekly accepting the bosses' rules. Once, unions themselves were illegal under the capitalists' laws. It took "illegal" strikes, notably by postal workers, to win the right to organize for hundreds of thousands of government workers in the 1960s. The best working-class leaders recognized the need to face down state repression and go to jail if necessary for the workers' cause. As we wrote last issue, in an article titled "All Labour Must Stand With CUPW!" which was distributed heavily at postal worker pickets, rallies and meetings:

"It is in the interests of the entire working class that CUPW beat back the bosses' onslaught. If the union movement is to



Hamilton, January 29: Massive rally in support of Steelworkers, locked out now for almost a year in struggle to defend pensions.

Thomas/Toronto Sun

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."

—SC No. 169, Summer 2011

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The question of turning the unions into fighting organizations for the working class is fundamentally a political one. In an article written more than 70 years ago, the Marxist leader Leon Trotsky wrote: "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," 1940).

The economic devastation that now stalks the capitalist world is the product of the workings of a deeply unjust and irrational social system based on production for profit derived from the exploitation of the working class. The obscenely wealthy capitalists appropriate the results of the workers' labour as their own, while working people are left to wonder if they will have a job tomorrow. Many feel that the best they can do is to try to hold onto their jobs. But the same conditions that grind down the workers and set them one against the other in a fight to survive can and will also propel them forward to unity in battle against the class enemy.

What are the obstacles to such united class struggle? First and foremost is the lie that there is a "common interest" or possible "partnership" between the exploited and the exploiters. The working class must champion its own interests, which are also the interests of all the oppressed. Thus in this country the labour movement must defend the national rights of Quebec against the chauvinist Canadian rulers and their NDP handmaidens. Anti-Quebec bigotry divides the working class, with workers in English Canada rallied behind their "own" exploiters and those in Quebec pulled into the framework of bourgeois nationalism. The New Democrats have a long history of supporting "united Canada" chauvinism against Quebec. This includes endorsing the Clarity Act, which seeks to ban Quebec's democratic right to national

self-determination. They have renounced none of this.

Various reformist leftists (echoing bourgeois commentators) assert that the NDP's surge in Quebec in the federal election means that national antagonisms are a thing of the past. But nothing could be further from the truth. The continued significance of the national question was underlined in its own way by the furor whipped up in English Canada when it emerged that the NDP's new interim leader, former federal public sector union leader Nycole Turmel, was until recently a member of the Bloc Québécois. While Turmel asserted that she has always backed "Canadian unity" and only joined the Bloc because it was a purportedly "progressive" force in her native Quebec, this was of no consequence to the witchhunters of the Canadian ruling class, for whom even a hint of possible support to "separatism" is tantamount to sedition. As revolutionary internationalist opponents of chauvinism and oppression in all their manifestations, we Marxists advocate independence for Quebec.

To unite the working class in anti-capitalist struggle, it is necessary to champion the rights of immigrants and oppose the rulers' stepped-up campaigns for deportations and the detention of refugees. It is necessary to fight for women's rights including free 24-hour child care and free abortion on demand. It is necessary to oppose Ottawa's repressive "anti-crime" hysteria and the "war on terror" hysteria against Muslims and other minorities. The working class must take up the cause of *all* the oppressed!

The labour bureaucrats and New Democrats claim that the workers must "sacrifice" to preserve the profits and rule of Canadian capitalism. This road has led to disaster. It is necessary to fight for the perspective of mobilizing labour's immense potential power against the exploiters, taking up such demands as jobs for all through sharing the available work at no loss in pay; a massive program of public works to rebuild crumbling roads, hospitals, schools and transit systems; for decent pensions, health care and other social services for everyone, fully guaranteed by the state. Such measures will not be granted by the capitalist ruling class, whose only interest lies in maintaining its profits and privileges.

The achievement of such basic measures, and more, requires a fight for the workers to wrest power from the hands of the exploiters through socialist revolution. Only then can we begin the rational reorganization of society in the interests of the vast majority. The fight for a class-struggle leadership to rebuild the unions is linked inextricably to the fight to forge a binational, multiracial revolutionary workers party including through political struggle against NDP-style social democracy. The need for revolutionary Marxist leadership is today posed acutely, not only to defend the working class against the menace of its own devastation, but to do away with the source of that devastation, the capitalist system itself. ■

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Greece...

(continued from page 24)

Greek government would default on its loan obligations, began spurning Greek government bonds. The plummeting price of those bonds threatened European banks, especially in France and Germany—foreign financial institutions are exposed to some 340 billion euros in Greek public and private debt.

To try to head off the crisis, at least temporarily, the European Union (EU) and the IMF agreed last year to a 110 billion euro “rescue package” on condition that Athens impose draconian austerity measures on Greece’s working people. The October 2009 elections replaced the right-wing New Democracy (ND) regime with the bourgeois-populist Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) of George Papandreou, with the bourgeoisie calculating that the masses would more readily accept “sacrifice” if demanded by PASOK. The PASOK government answered the EU and IMF’s ultimatum with a year-long campaign of slashing public sector workers’ wages, gutting pensions and ramping up taxes. These attacks hit hardest at the poorest in society, including immigrant workers. In addition, Greek officials, in response to EU/IMF demands that they raise cash by privatizing a host of state-owned enterprises, have launched what the bourgeois press describes as a “fire sale,” auctioning off airports, ports and prime land.

European capitalists fear that a default by Greece could immediately pose a similar collapse by other heavily indebted countries such as Ireland and Portugal, which have already received bailouts from the EU and IMF, and Spain, whose economy is larger than that of Greece, Ireland and Portugal combined. Fearing the potentially catastrophic effects of such contagion, the EU/IMF hastily agreed last month on a second “rescue package” for Greece, amounting to a further 120 billion euros. Yet hardly anyone believes that these bailouts will do more than delay the inevitable default.

Everyone can see that the fate of the Greek working class, and much of the petty bourgeoisie, will be ever more dire without a radical solution. The working masses have demonstrated their combativity time and again. But the workers’ leaders, whether the despised PASOK-loyal tops of the General Confederation of Workers of Greece (GSEE) and the Confederation of Public Servants (ADEDY) or the far more militant-sounding Greek Communist Party (KKE) and its PAME labor front, have thus far succeeded in channeling workers’ anger into what amounts to militant parliamentary lobbying. In effect, they appeal to the Greek capitalists to stand up to their senior partners in Germany and France. This nationalist class collaboration is a recipe for demoralization and defeat.

The allies of the Greek proletariat are to be found not among its “own” exploiters but among the workers elsewhere in Europe and beyond. A proletarian upheaval in Greece could trigger a wave of class struggle throughout Europe against the ever more brutal and incessant attacks of the capitalists against the jobs, benefits and living standards of all workers on the continent. A workers government in Greece would immediately repudiate the imperialist debt. Such an act would require a direct appeal to the proletariat, from Germany and France to Spain and Portugal, to come to the defense of their Greek class brothers and sisters against the combined forces of the European bourgeoisies.

As long as Greek workers are mobilized primarily



Germany’s Merkel and France’s Sarkozy lay out draconian bailout conditions to Greek prime minister Papandreou, February 4.

against the foreign diktats of the IMF and EU, they will be unable to see that opposing the imperialists is intertwined with overthrowing the Greek bourgeoisie. The Greek government is not simply a tool of the European and other imperialist powers, as some signs in the Athens demonstrations suggest, but of the Greek bourgeoisie that has always exploited, suppressed and bled the working class in the pursuit of profit.

The question that is objectively posed is the need for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order and the establishment of working-class rule. Yet there is a huge disparity between the objective needs of the Greek working class and oppressed on one side and the political program of their leadership on the other. The repeated strikes and protests are designed to dissipate the anger of workers, whose militancy is clearly not the issue. The problem is that the working class is hamstrung by a leadership that accepts the need for the working class to bear some degree of austerity to “bail out” capitalism, while objecting that the terms and conditions dictated by the IMF and the European Central Bank (ECB) are too severe.

The program of the labor bureaucracy—defined by what is “practical” under capitalism—has led to disaster for the working class. To overcome the gulf between the workers’ present consciousness and the necessity for a workers government based on organs of proletarian power, a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party would put forward a series of transitional demands, starting from the felt needs of the masses and pointing the way toward the seizure of state power by the working class and the expropriation of the rapacious capitalist class.

To combat mass unemployment, it is necessary to demand the sharing of available work, with no loss of pay, and a massive program of public works. To protect even their current living standards—already among the lowest in Europe—workers must demand that wages be indexed to inflation. To unmask the exploitation, robbery and fraud of the industrialists and bankers, workers should demand that the capitalists open their (real) books. With the imperialists demanding the dismantling of state enterprises, the proletariat must fight for the expropriation of the productive property of the capitalist class as a whole and the establishment of a planned economy under workers rule, where production would be based on social need, not profit.

Combat National Chauvinism!

Throughout Europe, the capitalist press and politicians have been whipping up a chauvinist frenzy against Greeks,

who are portrayed as lazy, ungrateful scroungers. Last year the right-wing German *Bild* (27 October 2010) screamed: "Sell your islands, you bankrupt Greeks... and the Acropolis too!" A recent London *Financial Times* (9 May) editorial demanded: "Athens must be put under the gun." For all the talk of bailing out Greece, the only "bailout" that is taking place is that of Europe's banks. Columnist Martin Wolf noted in the *Financial Times* (21 June): "It is far less embarrassing to state that one is helping Greece when one is in fact helping one's own banks."

With chauvinist arrogance, the European imperialists, led by Germany, are seeking to impose on Greece, an EU member state, the kind of diktat they are accustomed to issuing to neocolonial countries in the Third World. The *Financial Times* (17 June) reports that officials of the "troika"—the IMF, European Central Bank and European Commission—are demanding that "outsiders" be brought in "to make Greece's privatization program happen," adding that "because Greece seemed incapable of collecting taxes, international experts would come in to do that, too." The article further reports that Finnish officials were insisting that "Athens assets should be securitised so they could be used as collateral. If Greece defaulted, lenders would gain an airport or some other utility."

The imperialists' dismissive attitude to Greece's sovereignty has in turn fueled national chauvinism in Greece. Right-wing opponents of the EU/IMF's bailout include New Democracy, Greece's main opposition party. ND represents Greek business interests that have no intention of paying the imperialists' extortion themselves and fear, as BBC economics editor Paul Mason put it, "a tax bill the like of which they have never dreamed, nor indeed paid." However, ND and PASOK are united in the determination that Greek working people pay for the country's economic crisis.

Recent months have seen the explosive growth of a new movement, the so-called "indignant citizens" movement. The "Indignados" placed themselves at the head of the mass mobilizations outside parliament, where Greek flags proliferated, the Greek national anthem was sung and anti-American and anti-German sentiment was rife. Protesters have waved EU flags with a swastika at the center—equating "German" with "Nazi" and invoking the spectre of World War II, when Greece was occupied by German imperialism (followed by rampaging British troops).

In Spain, the Indignados movement arose in response to the austerity measures that were being enforced by the social-democratic Spanish Socialist Party government before its huge defeat in the last elections. In Greece, the petty-bourgeois Indignados emerged in the context of the abject failure of the trade-union bureaucracy to present any way forward for the struggles of the working masses. The two main trade-union federations, the GSEE and ADEDY, representing the private and public sectors respectively, are controlled by PASOK, which is imposing the austerity measures. Despite the "socialist" reference in its name, and the credentials given to it by opportunist left groups, PASOK is a capitalist party.

Broad layers of the middle class that could be rallied behind an insurgent proletariat struggling for power are instead being drawn into virulently chauvinist, anti-immigrant and anti-working-class movements. Displaying overt



Reuters

With virulent nationalism rising, June 12 protest by "Indignados" in Athens' Syntagma Square is awash in Greek flags.

hostility to the organizations of the working class and the left, the Indignados present themselves as a "pro-democracy" movement of all classes. As in Spain, all leftist political parties and trade unions, as well as red flags and banners, were banned from the Greek protests at first. Not surprisingly, given the nationalist fervor whipped up by the Indignados, Golden Dawn and other fascist outfits have been seen at the protests.

There has been an ominous rise in racist attacks, as desperately impoverished immigrants are used as scapegoats for the economic devastation. Earlier this year, fascist thugs rampaged through a heavily immigrant area of Athens, killing one person and wounding many more. Golden Dawn got over 5 percent of the vote in municipal elections in Athens late last year. According to the London-based Institute of Race Relations, Golden Dawn's Nikos Michaloliakos, accompanied by eight apparently armed bodyguards, gave a Nazi salute at a council meeting in Athens in January.

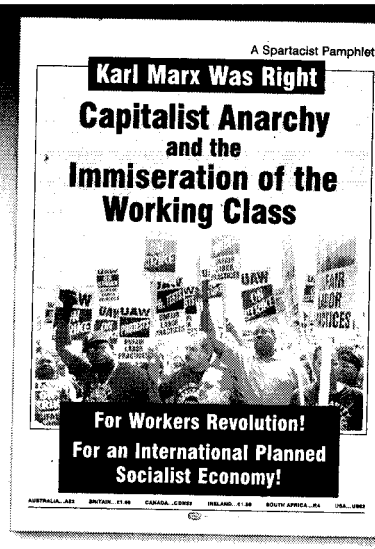
The fascists are emboldened by the racist policies of the
(continued on page 22)

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Bettmann photos

Left: July-August 1945 Potsdam Conference with Churchill, Truman and Stalin, who agreed to preserve capitalist rule in postwar West Europe. Right: Communist-led partisans in Piraeus, December 1944. Greek Stalinists had earlier entered capitalist government, went on to disarm workers.

Greece...

(continued from page 21)

government. Greece's border with Turkey is one of the front lines of "Fortress Europe," with EU border patrols employed to keep immigrants out. The Greek government has announced plans to build a razor-wire fence, equipped with sonar systems and thermal sensors, along the border. The workers movement must fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and to unionize foreign workers. *For union/minority mobilizations to stop fascist provocations! For integrated workers defense guards to protect immigrant neighborhoods!*

Communist Party: Left Face of Greek Nationalism

The Stalinist KKE adopts a posture of militant opposition to the PASOK government and promotes PAME as a class-struggle alternative to what it calls the "government- and employer-led" trade unions. But the Greek Stalinists present no fundamental alternative to the betrayals of the GSEE/ADEDY union misleaders. Despite its occasional verbal radicalism, the KKE is hostile to the program of workers revolution to overthrow Greek capitalism.

The KKE's political bankruptcy is evident in regard to the Indignados. In an article in *Rizospastis* (5 June), the KKE correctly noted that "the 'anonymous' leaders of the 'movement of the squares,' the 'non-partisan,' 'spontaneous,' 'non-politicized' citizens, appear to be politicized, declaring themselves 'anti-left.'" The article adds that with their slogans "Out with the left," "Parties out" and "Trade unions out," the Indignados are "not that democratic, or, to be more accurate, they are undemocratic." What the KKE cannot challenge, though, is the virulent nationalism of the Indignados, which the KKE itself shares.

Indeed, the KKE has made defense of "national sovereignty" its own calling card, and is particularly virulent in espousing Greek nationalism in relation to Turkey, the traditional enemy of its "own" bourgeoisie. For example, in a speech last year, KKE general secretary Aleka Papatrifa complained that the EU was not taking account of "our national sovereignty rights" when considering Turkey's bid for membership. She went on to chastise Papandreou for "trying to cover up the issue by

dividing the Aegean, something that will have an adverse effect on the islands' defense." Nationalism within the workers movement is the chief obstacle to constructing a genuine revolutionary workers party in Greece.

It is a travesty that the KKE retains a reputation as militant fighters against capitalism based on the Resistance against the Nazi occupation and the subsequent Greek Civil War of 1946-49. In pursuit of its program of class collaboration with the Greek bourgeoisie, the KKE handed power back to the bourgeoisie following World War II. The working class, backed by the peasantry, was the decisive force in the anti-Nazi Resistance, mounting massive strikes and demonstrations from late 1942 until the withdrawal of German troops in 1944. The working class, arms in hand, had state power in its grasp. But its leaders, the treacherous KKE, actually welcomed the arrival of British troops into Greece, enabling the imperialists to stabilize the situation, bring back the hated monarchy and massacre the workers.

The Greek Stalinists lived up to the terms of the secret Tehran agreement, whereby Stalin granted the imperialists the "right" to preserve capitalist rule in West Europe and Greece. Politically disarming the proletariat, the Stalinists went so far as to join a "national" government of the bourgeoisie. In February 1945, they signed the Varkiza agreement, which physically disarmed the KKE-led Resistance forces as British troops and the Greek National Guard were preparing to unleash a full-scale wave of terror against the masses. Only in February 1946 did the KKE finally abandon its suicidal policy and take up the "armed struggle" again. In October 1949, after ferocious repression, the Civil War was ended. The KKE ranks had fought heroically. But needless to say, the KKE learned nothing from the tragic consequences of its treachery and continues to pursue its bankrupt program of subordination to the Greek bourgeoisie.

What the Trotskyists wrote at the end of World War II holds true for the role of the Stalinists throughout the Civil War:

"The Greek masses were burning with revolutionary determination and wished to prepare the overthrow of all their oppressors—Nazi and Greek. Instead of providing the mass movement with a revolutionary program, similar to the Bolshevik program of 1917, and preparing the masses for the seizure of power, the Stalinists steered the movement into the blind alley

of People's Frontism. The Stalinists, who enjoyed virtual hegemony of the mass movement, joined with a lot of petty bourgeois politicians, lawyers, professors, who had neither mass following nor influence, and artificially worked to limit the struggle to the fight for capitalist democracy."

—"Civil War in Greece," *Fourth International*, February 1945

The social-democratic reformists in Greece—such as the Socialist Workers Party (SEK), which is affiliated to the British group of the same name, and Xekinima, the Greek affiliate of the Committee for a Workers' International (CWI)—stand to the right of the KKE in their enthusiasm for the anti-Communist, anti-working-class Indignados. For example, Xekinima calls to "Extend the movement to all work places, workers' neighbourhoods, and the youth" (socialistworld.net, 27 June). The notion of classless "democracy" that these groups promote has long been an anti-Communist code word that actually means support to bourgeois class rule. Thus, both the SEK and Xekinima supported capitalist restoration in the former Soviet Union in 1991-92 and hailed counter-revolutionary forces such as Polish Solidarność and Boris Yeltsin's Russian "democrats."

For Workers Revolution!

The Trotskyist Group of Greece fights to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party capable of leading the working class to power. Above all, this means breaking the workers from nationalism and winning them to a revolutionary internationalist perspective. During Round One of the present crisis, the TGG issued a 28 April 2010 leaflet that opposed the widespread Greek nationalism as "poisonous to class consciousness." Any effective struggle against the bosses' attacks must begin with the understanding that the workers have no country, until they seize the one they're in. Our comrades insisted: "What is needed is international workers solidarity across the EU against capital" (see "Down With PASOK Government's 'Stability Program'!" WV No. 959, 21 May 2010).

The Greek financial crisis has increased the seething national antagonisms in Europe, as seen in the diplomatic spats between France and Germany. German chancellor Angela Merkel, unpopular at home and with a shrinking majority in the Bundestag (parliament), has clashed with French officials and with the ECB over whether the bankers have to accept some losses. Following pressure from the IMF, Merkel agreed to a new bailout package while the

French banks have offered to roll over Greek debts for 30 years. Whatever divisions there may be within bourgeois circles over how to deal with the catastrophic financial situation, in Germany, France, Britain and Europe as a whole, each government is determined to make the working masses pay for a crisis that is caused by the capitalist system itself.

The EU is an imperialist trade bloc, centered on a pact between the French and German capitalist rulers to ratchet up the exploitation of the working classes at home while trying to gain advantage over their imperialist rivals as well as the smaller European states. At the same time, the EU is an unstable formation that intensifies national antagonisms and fuels chauvinism.

We Marxists oppose the EU from the perspective of proletarian internationalism. The comrades of our German section, the Spartakist Workers Party, last year published an article titled "Solidarity with the Greek Workers! For Class Struggle Against the German Capitalists!" (*Spartakist* No. 183, May 2010), which noted:

"The chauvinist campaign against Greece is being set in motion so as to prevent the German working class from hitting on the idea of placing blame for the crisis at the feet of the capitalist system and its own rulers. The workers movement in Germany must mobilize in solidarity with Greek workers and all the other victims of the EU imperialists—after all, they'll be confronted with similar attacks in the immediate future. The witchhunt against Greece also serves to split and weaken the multiethnic working class in Germany."

Today, despite the relentless bleeding of the Greek working people, the country remains mired in deep recession. The bankrupt capitalist class manifestly does not have any crumbs that it is willing to throw to dampen workers' anger. Short of a struggle for working-class power, the workers' struggles will continue to be frustrated. The perspective for Greek workers must be that of common class struggle with their class brothers and sisters—from Turkey to Germany and elsewhere around the world.

As the TGG wrote in its leaflet: "*What's needed is a socialist revolution to overthrow the capitalist state and replace it with a workers state that will lay the basis for building a socialist society.* For that, you need to build a revolutionary workers party—a party like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks—which will fight for a workers government. The TGG, Greek sympathizing section of the ICL, seeks to build such a party" (our emphasis). ■

Montreal Leftists...

(continued from page 10)

Trois-Rivières a year ago in which the doors of a Canadian Forces recruitment centre were shattered by an explosive device. The PCR notes that the day after the June 29 arrests the Integrated National Security Enforcement Team (INSET) installed itself in Trois-Rivières, flashing photos of the four arrested leftists. INSET, a joint "anti-terror" agency of the RCMP, CSIS, Canadian Border Services and provincial and municipal police forces in Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa and Vancouver, has harassed numerous Quebec activists, including PCR supporters.

The Montreal crackdown is part of a broader ruling-class offensive against leftists which includes the mass arrests and brutalization of G20 protesters in Toronto in 2010. Many anti-G20 activists and organizers still face trumped-up

charges. This is all aimed at intimidating those who oppose the violence, poverty and war that are endemic to the system of capitalist exploitation. This system, in which a tiny minority exploits the labour of the many, cannot be maintained except by force, and that is the core purpose of the capitalist state, with its repressive laws and its cops, courts and jails.

We have many political differences with the Maoist PCR and with the political views of the ASSÉ student leaders. But in the face of this state repression, our watchword is: "An injury to one is an injury to all!" It is in the interest of the entire labour movement to defend these activists and demand an end to the witchhunt. As we have always insisted, the ultimate target of such political repression, supplemented by the bogus "war on terror," is the multiracial working class and its struggles. The working class alone has the potential social power and material interest to be the gravediggers of the capitalist order. *Drop all charges against the arrested leftists!* ■

**Workers Must Rule!
For a Socialist United States of Europe!**

Greece: Mass Anger Over Savage Austerity



Reuters

Left: Mass June 28 protest in Athens during two-day general strike as parliament imposed sweeping austerity package. Inset: Victim of brutal cop attack on protesters the following day.

European Crisis and the Bankruptcy of Capitalism

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 983 (8 July), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

On June 29, as a two-day general strike virtually shut down the country and tens of thousands protested outside, the Greek parliament approved a new round of brutal austerity measures demanded by the Greek bourgeoisie and its imperialist overlords. The demonstrators—who included, in addition to workers, a broad range of the population from students and other youth to professionals and retirees—were viciously attacked by club-wielding riot police. More than a year of unrelenting attacks on the living standards of the Greek population has resulted in seething unrest across broad layers of society. In the last year alone, there have been at least a

dozen one-day general strikes and massive protests. Hundreds of thousands of jobs have been lost, homelessness has skyrocketed and many people, especially pensioners, are reliant on soup kitchens for their survival.

Video footage of the wanton violence meted out by the cops has provoked widespread indignation, as has another video documenting collusion between the police and hooded provocateurs who infiltrated the protesters. Police fired endless volleys of tear gas and stun grenades and pummeled protesters with chunks of masonry. At least 38 were reportedly arrested in what was blatantly a cop riot. ***We demand that all charges be dropped against the anarchists and other anti-austerity protesters, including those arrested during the earlier general strikes!***

It is clear for all to see that working people are being fleeced to pay for a crisis they are not responsible for. The economic crisis gripping Greece—a particularly severe expression of the world capitalist crisis—was triggered in the spring of last year as global financial capitalists, fearing that the heavily indebted

(continued on page 20)