

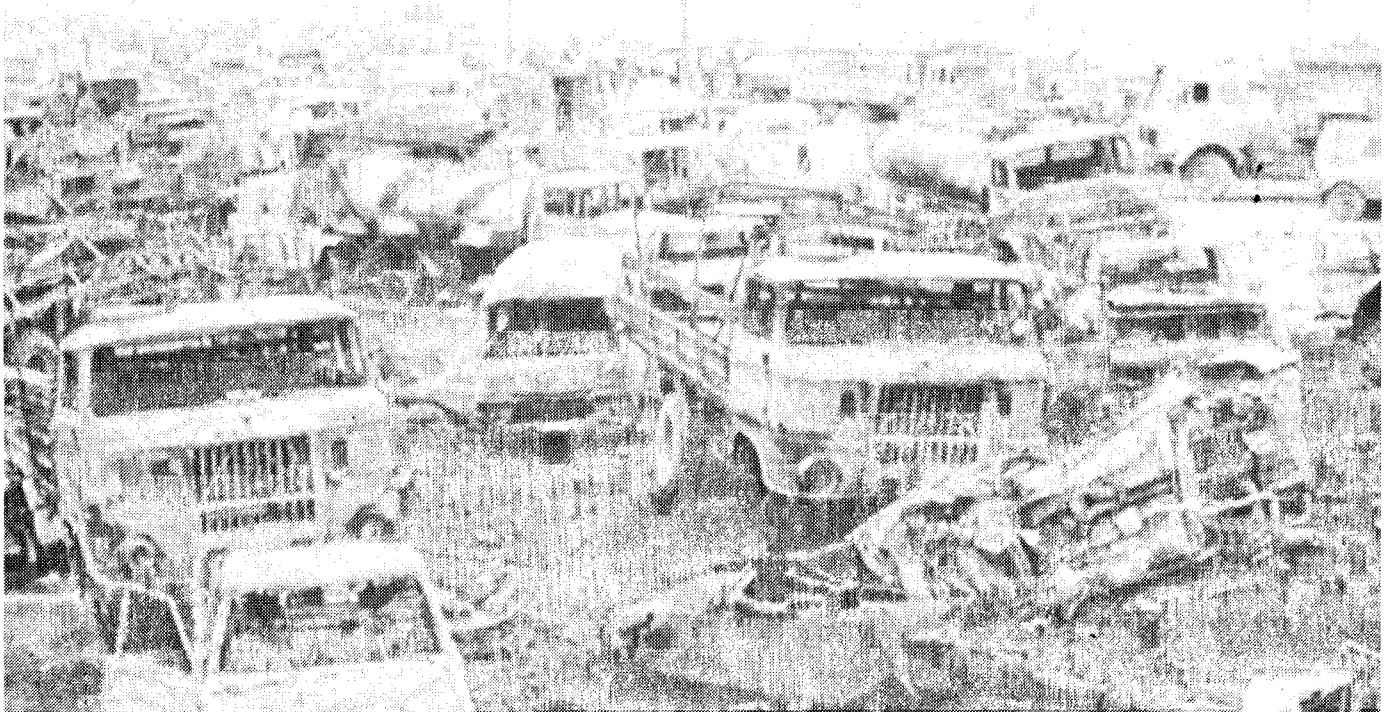
SPARTACIST

CANADA

Spring 1991 No. 83 25¢

Bush, Mulroney Gloat Over Desert Massacre

“New World Order”: Imperialist Barbarism



Rebours/AP

Charred remains of imperialist slaughter of Iraqi soldiers withdrawing from Kuwait. As planes repeatedly bombed “killing box” for over 12 hours, pilots boasted it was “like shooting fish in a barrel.”

U.S. imperialism’s easy win in its one-sided, bloody war of devastation against Iraq is a deadly danger to working people and the oppressed everywhere.

The flag-wavers came out in force, with military parades and yellow ribbons everywhere. The U.S. Congress staged a spectacle for the conquering commander in chief that resembled something between a football pep rally and a Nazi beer hall meeting. Democrats and Republicans alike repeatedly rose to chant “Bush! Bush! Bush!” and wore American flags like

armbands. Bush gloats that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein “walks amidst ruins,” while a pumped-up officer in the field trumpets Washington’s message to “the rest of the world”: “If the U.S. is going to deploy forces, watch out.”

Washington’s junior partners in Ottawa played their part in raining death upon the people of Iraq. Now Joe Clark has been sent to tour the Near East, hoping to share the spotlight for helping with the slaughter, and sniffing around for a few

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Partisan Defense Committee Fund Appeal

Defend Arrested British Spartacist!

At a February 2 demonstration against the Gulf War in London Alastair Green, a comrade of the Spartacist League/Britain, was arrested, dragged off the march, hit in the face with a police helmet and then charged with "obstructing a police officer" and "threatening behaviour." The police action against our comrade was carried out expressly on the basis of the SL/B's political positions on the war—for the defeat of U.S./British imperialism and defense of Iraq. The Partisan Defense Committee is undertaking an urgent publicity and fundraising campaign to mobilize support for Green's defense.

It is often said that civil liberties, no less than the truth, are among the first casualties of war. The British Conservative government and the Labour governments before it have a despicable record on this score: to name but a few, the judicial frame-up of the Birmingham Six, Winchester Three and Guildford Four, the "ban" on Sinn Fein and Irish Republican spokesmen, the savage attack on and round-up of anti-poll-tax demonstrators last year.

During the Gulf War, the British government sought to silence those who would take a side against U.S. and British imperialism. Comrade Green's arrest and assault was of a piece with the deportations, internment and star chamber "hearings" meted out to Iraqi and other Arab residents in Britain. In these efforts, Tory prime minister John Major has been able to count on the eager complicity of the Labour Party, including its "left" wing, as well as the pacifist leaders of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), organizers of the February 2 demonstration. On January 23 the *Independent* newspaper quoted CND leader Marjorie Thompson baiting those who stood with Iraq in the war as "agents provocateurs," and expressing the wish that they be off the demonstrations.

On February 20, less than three weeks after the arrest of our comrade, eleven other antiwar activists were arrested at a picket called by Black People Against the War in the Gulf. Police decreed that the protesters' chant "U.S. murderers"



Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain supporter Alastair Green seized by police at February 2 demonstration against Gulf war.

was an "offense"—even as U.S. and British bombers were raining death down on Iraqi civilians in Baghdad. We demand that all these charges be dropped!

The political and legal defense effort necessary to spike the government gag on our comrade will cost a lot of money. We seek to mobilize all the material and moral resources at our disposal to defend Alastair Green and win the broadest support for this just cause among the working class and the left. This fight is also on behalf of all those who face similar treatment at the hands of the imperialist war criminals and their local dogs of war. Among those who have already lent their support to this case are prominent academics and authors such as Raymond Challinor and Gilles Perrault, Labour MPs Ken Livingstone and Bob Parry, well-known British leftists such as Paul Foot and Peter Fryer as well as a number of left organizations from England, Scotland and Ireland.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Trotskyist League. *Spartacist Canada* urges our readers to give generously and now to the defense fund. We also request statements of support from individuals and organizations. Contributions to assist the defense of comrade Green (earmarked "Green case") can be sent to the PDC at P.O. Box 314, Station B, Toronto, Ont. M5T 2W1. ■

SPARTACIST CANADA

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PRODUCTION MANAGER: Russell Stoker

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Arthur Llewellyn

BUSINESS MANAGER: M. McPherson

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SC photo

“We’re Fighting to Sweep Away Imperialism”

Millions around the world took to the streets to protest the U.S.-led blitzkrieg against the Iraqi people. North Africa seethed. In Turkey, 60,000 coal strikers and their families marched on Ankara chanting the slogans “No to war!” and “Let there be no war, let there be no human beings dying!” In West Europe, hundreds of thousands demonstrated from Bonn to London. On the morning the terror bombing started in the Gulf, 100,000 workers rallied in Milan city square as a de facto general strike shut down the northern part of Italy. From West Europe to North America, Japan to Australia, sections of the International Communist League intervened with our call for the *defeat of imperialism* and the *defense of Iraq* against the U.S.-led slaughter. We worked to turn popular revulsion against war toward the revolutionary program of Marxism, the only way forward to genuine peace and freedom for all the peoples of the planet.

In Canada, tens of thousands of youth, workers and minorities voiced their anger against the warmongers. Late on the evening of January 16, when reports of the first American air strike broke, 1,000 people gathered in front of the U.S. consulate in Toronto. The CBC national news reported that the Trotskyists were calling to “Defend Iraq Against U.S. Attack!” The second half of the Trotskyist League banner read: “Defeat U.S./Canadian Imperialism!” A TL leaflet issued the same week read:

“What this war is about is the American Empire wants to be cops of the world. Remember Reagan’s rape of tiny black Grenada! Remember the thousands murdered in Panama only a year ago! Remember the two million murdered in Vietnam by Washington, with Canada’s full complicity!...

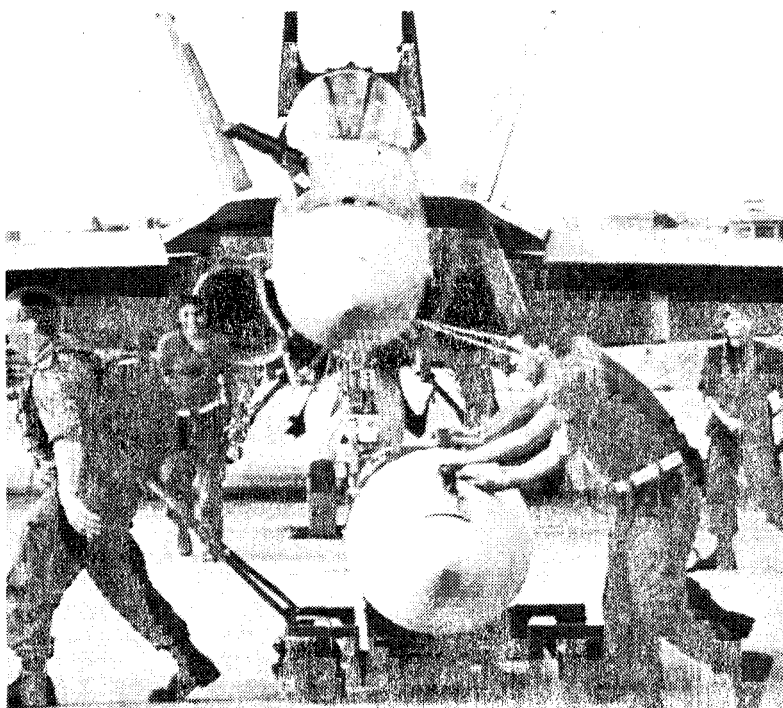
“American imperialism, along with its Canadian junior partner, is the enemy of mankind. It must be defeated,

through class struggle.... The enemy is capitalism.”

As early as last August the Trotskyist League was mobilizing against U.S./Canadian war moves in the Persian Gulf. Working jointly with Arab organizations and others, we helped build the first united-front Gulf protest demonstration in Toronto, where our speaker denounced the imperialist sanctions and blockade and our comrades led chants of “U.S., Canada: Hands off Iraq!” At the University of British Columbia, University of Alberta and other campuses in Toronto and elsewhere, Trotskyist League spokesmen aggressively presented our anti-imperialist program at teach-ins and forums. In the weeks leading up to and following the outbreak of war, thousands of Trotskyist newspapers were sold at demonstrations in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Edmonton, Vancouver, Victoria.

As we fought for our anti-imperialist program of struggle at rallies and demonstrations, we were often confronted by the “official” organizers of the popular-front antiwar movement. These petty censors strove, unsuccessfully, to purify “their” demonstrations of revolutionary politics on behalf of hoped-for bourgeois bloc partners. Their attempts were largely frustrated: on January 19 in Toronto the Trotskyist League addressed a section of the march—numbering about a thousand and including many Arabs—with speeches calling for defeat of U.S./Canadian imperialism and defense of Iraq. TL spokesman Yossi Schwartz emphasized the need to defend the Palestinian people against the Zionist terrorists, as the crowd took up our chant, “Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinians!” A Mohawk woman followed, speaking about the Canadian state’s armed assault on Native people last summer.

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Fred Chartrand/CP



Chartrand-Buston-Poling/Canapress

Audrey McLaughlin called for “peaceful” starvation of Iraqi masses via UN sanctions. As terror bombing of Iraq began, her NDP only wanted to make sure Canadian imperialist troops would be kept away from front lines.

The NDP and Imperialist War

“We agree that Saddam Hussein must be stopped,” said New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin as she pledged her party’s allegiance to imperialist aggression in the Gulf. Echoing George Bush, McLaughlin assured the MPs who assembled to rubber stamp Mulroney’s war moves last January that the NDP “will remain committed to a new world order...” “My party and I are proud,” she added, “of the contribution made by Canadian men and women in the Middle East to enforce the sanctions against Saddam Hussein and Iraq.”

During the Gulf war, sundry liberal pacifists and much of the left tried to pass off the NDP as an “antiwar” party. But this was false to the core. McLaughlin & Co.’s “opposition” to Bush/Mulroney was nothing more than a pious objection to using Canadian troops in “offensive” actions. NDP justice critic Svend Robinson emphasized, “There’s no need to bring the troops back to Canada. They can be withdrawn to the Gulf of Oman” (*Globe and Mail*, 19 January). Meanwhile, the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) issued an official statement on the war which called for the Canadian forces to “provide humanitarian and logistical support to the coalition.”

While the U.S. was hitting Baghdad with 16,000 tons of bombs a day, the CLC statement condemned...the “unprovoked and senseless attack by Iraq against Israel.” These social-democratic champions of Zionism said not a word about the mass slaughter of the Iraqis—just as in 1982 the CLC and NDP were silent on the bloody Zionist-organized massacre of Palestinians at the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps. Recognizing that “Canada is now, in effect, at war with Iraq,” the CLC called for “full support” to the Canadian troops in the Gulf.

The social democrats and labor fakers would have preferred more time for sanctions to starve the Iraqis—a cleaner way to enforce imperialist domination in the Middle East. But as the bombs rained down, the Maple Leaf went up. “The reality is that our Canadian troops are in a war situation,” said Ontario NDP premier Bob Rae: “regardless of party,” it’s time “to give them every form of moral support....”

While we Trotskyists campaigned for the defeat of U.S. and Canadian imperialism, defense of Iraq and labor strikes against the war, the fake-left across the country sought “unity” with the thoroughly pro-imperialist NDP in sundry “antiwar” coalitions. The Ontario NDP Left Caucus, in which supporters of the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Challenge (among others) are embedded, called “participation of the mass-based NDP” the key to successful antiwar struggle, and “congratulate[d] Audrey McLaughlin for her forthright and unequivocal opposition to the war” (*Left Caucus Newsletter*, Spring 1991). Groups like the International Socialists built platforms for NDP politicians to spout social-patriotism, while trying to censor the voices of anti-imperialists.

Internationally, too, the social democrats backed to the hilt their imperialist masters. Britain had the second largest contingent of troops in the Gulf, so Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock howled for war with particular enthusiasm, while Tony Benn’s Labour “lefts” pushed sanctions and a “UN solution.” French imperial president François Mitterrand of the Socialist Party sent 10,000 troops to the Gulf, while at home banning protest demonstrations and stepping up the racist persecution of France’s sizable Arab minority.

The NDP in power would be no different. They are sworn

upholders of imperialist “order”—*above all in time of war*. No less than the Tories and Liberals, they are for the super-exploitation of the weaker, less-developed countries of the world, including the Middle East, for the sake of “our way of life,” i.e., capitalist profit. Ever since 1914, social-democratic parties like the NDP have utilized their organic links to the labor movement to mobilize working people to support bloody wars launched by their “own” imperialist rulers.

**Social Democracy:
Imperialism’s Bloodhounds**

When World War I began, the social democrats broke openly and consciously with socialist principles. Fine resolutions calling for class struggle against the war everyone knew was coming were swept aside on August 4, 1914 as the German Social Democrats (SPD) voted for the Kaiser’s war credits. In the interests of the German imperialists’ struggle for colonies the SPD supported the slaughter of millions of young workers. Across Europe chauvinism ran amok in the labor movement as the French, British, Belgian and Italian social democrats supported their own “democratic” imperialists against the German and Austro-Hungarian autocrats.

This world-historic betrayal of the working class was no aberration, but an organic product of imperialism. Through the fabulous riches ripped out of the colonies, the imperialists essentially bought the upper crust of the workers movement. As Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin wrote in his pamphlet *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916):

“Obviously, out of such enormous *superprofits* (since they are obtained over and above the profits which capitalists squeeze out of the workers of their ‘own’ country) it is possible to bribe the labour leaders and the upper stratum of the labour aristocracy. And the capitalists of the ‘advanced’ countries are bribing them; they bribe them in a thousand different ways, direct and indirect, overt and covert.”

Lenin called these traitors “social-imperialists”—socialist in words and imperialist in deeds, “the real agents of the

bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class, real channels of reformism and chauvinism.”

In the fall of 1918 the German imperialists were defeated. Under the impact of the terrible carnage of the war, and the victorious October 1917 Russian Revolution, in late 1918 a revolutionary wave swept Germany. Desperate to secure their class rule the defeated German imperialists called on the SPD to deal with the insurgent proletariat. As in August 1914, they were not found wanting. It was the social democrats, not the defeated and divided German bourgeoisie, who crushed the 1918-19 German Revolution in blood and executed the revolution’s leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The CCF in WWII: Racist Warmongers

These are the counterrevolutionary traditions of social democracy, including here in Canada. The NDP’s immediate predecessor, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, was created in 1932. Whereas in Europe the social democracy had roots in the working class, the CCF was a fusion of Fabian Christian “socialism” and prairie populism driven by the desperate poverty of the depression. Like their “Fabian-imperialist” mentors, the CCF tops were hostile to class struggle and deeply anti-Communist, and considered the British parliamentary system the highest form of human government. And like their forbears in Germany and Britain, nothing was too dirty if it served the interests of their imperialist masters.

The CCF went all the way with the bourgeoisie in the second imperialist war. Their campaign for the internment of 24,000 Japanese Canadians surely ranks as one of the CCF’s greatest crimes against the oppressed, as they joined the Mackenzie King government in whipping up a racist frenzy. “First things come first,” shrilled their paper *The Federationist*, “ALL JAPANESE MUST BE REMOVED FROM THE COAST FORTHWITH AND NOT NEXT SUMMER...” (19 March 1942, quoted in Werner Cohn, “The Persecution of Japanese (continued on page 16)



Robert Sennecke



Walter Gircke

Germany, December 1918: Workers demonstrate under the slogan “All Power to Workers’ and Soldiers’ Councils.” Social Democratic leaders Scheidemann, Noske and Ebert (above left) rescued German capitalism, murdered revolutionary leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Fight the Anti-Arab Witchhunt!

Caught in an eruption of wartime chauvinism, Arab people in West Europe and North America have become targets of a hysterical campaign of state persecution. The British government has rounded up, detained or expelled over 170 people, mostly Palestinians and Iraqis, many of whom had lived in Britain for 15 years or more. In France, the large working-class population of North African origin has been targeted as a potential "fifth column" in a government "anti-terrorist" campaign. Deportations have also begun in Germany, where Arab homes have been broken into by squadrons of cops. In the U.S., immigration authorities were ordered to photograph and fingerprint anyone with an Iraqi or Kuwaiti passport, while the FBI began interrogating immigrants and Arab American citizens for "terrorist links."

In Canada too, Arab people have faced a racist "terror scare" whipped up by state security officials and the kept press, who spoke darkly of "Iraqi agents" and "radical Palestinian groups" targeting "a vast array of strategic facilities." Here, too, Palestinian refugees have been singled out—at least two have been jailed in Toronto and held on exorbitant bonds.

"I trust that the sad experiences of interning Japanese, German and Italian Canadians will not be repeated," said one Arab community leader in Montreal. Many rightly feared exactly that, as the bloodhounds of CSIS turned up at the workplaces of Arab Canadians, or interrogated them for hours in their homes. Many were shown surveillance photographs of themselves and others at antiwar protests. Elsewhere, armed, uniformed police officers intruded on antiwar meetings organized by the Trotskyist League and other left organizations, as the government sought to produce a "chilling

effect" on all dissent and protest against its predatory war aims.

Arab refugees trying to get into Canada now find the doors bolted against them. In a move reminiscent of the government's "none is too many" policy toward Jews fleeing Nazi genocide half a century ago, Canadian embassies were ordered to "defer" visas to Iraqis and Palestinians (*Globe and Mail*, 26 January). This, even as Israel prepares to expel the Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, and Palestinians living in "liberated" Kuwait face torture and death at the hands of the returning slavemasters.

Those who manage to make it here have found themselves stripped of such basic rights as *habeas corpus*. An Iraqi man and his pregnant wife (supporters of the *anti-Hussein al-Dawa* party) who sought refugee status at Pearson International airport in Toronto were detained by order of CSIS. When a judge ordered them released, CSIS had the ruling quashed with a "national security certificate" signed personally by the Minister of Immigration and the Solicitor General.

The New Democrats have played vile handmaiden to this dirty state campaign. Alberta NDP MLA Ross Harvey demanded prosecution of any residents who enlist in the Iraqi army should they try to re-enter Canada. Ontario's NDP government warned it was "taking international threats of terrorism seriously" and increasing security "at any Ontario location considered vulnerable to attack" (*Globe and Mail*, 15 January).

"Peace movement" organizers took the cue. Groups like "End the Arms Race" in Vancouver kept Arab spokesmen off their rally platforms. Elsewhere, defense of the Palestinians was suppressed by "consensus" and sometimes shouted down. The cowardly chauvinism of sections of the antiwar movement was most graphic in Toronto January 19, when a large group of demonstrators booed an Iraqi antiwar organizer and tried to shout him down with cries of "Iraqi murderers!" Trotskyist League comrades came to his defense, leading chants of "Defend Iraq against U.S. attack!"

Parading the bogus spectre of "international terrorism" is a stock in trade of the Canadian state. Throughout the Cold War decade of the 1980s, Sikhs, Tamils, Latin American refugees were targeted in turn for midnight raids and large-scale deportations. Then as now, the purpose of the "terror" scare was to regiment the population for war through *fear*—most of all, fear of the state itself. As we noted when CSIS was founded under the Liberal Trudeau regime: "It is the Canadian government and its secret police who are the subversives, terrorists and criminals. Gearing up behind their senior partners in Washington to plunge all of humanity into thermonuclear holocaust they contrive the spectre of 'international terrorism' to legitimize their own terror tactics, their own consummately violent state and their war on the working class and oppressed" (*SC* No. 58, June 1983).

The government's racist anti-Arab witchhunt must be stopped! We call on the labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights to defend those of Arab descent from government repression. **Free the detainees! No deportations! Full asylum for refugees from Zionist and imperialist terror and Arab reaction in the Middle East! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families!** ■

Trotskyist League Forum



Toronto

U.S./Canada: Bloody Hands Off Near East!

**DOWN WITH BUSH'S
"NEW WORLD ORDER"!**

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- **Down with the Sheiks, Colonels, Zionist Butchers!**
- **For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!**
- **For Class Struggle Against the Warmongers in Washington and Ottawa!**

Speaker: Yossi Schwartz, Trotskyist League

**7:30 p.m., Saturday, April 6
Trinity-St. Paul's United Church
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Donation: \$1.00

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Liberal Mask is the Real Face

The I.S. and the Gulf War

As American B-52s and Canadian CF-18s rained death upon the Iraqi people, a new generation of youth began marching in protest, attending teach-ins, snapping up socialist literature and looking for a way to stop the U.S.-led war machine. This bloody imperial war put all would-be socialist organizations to a fundamental test.

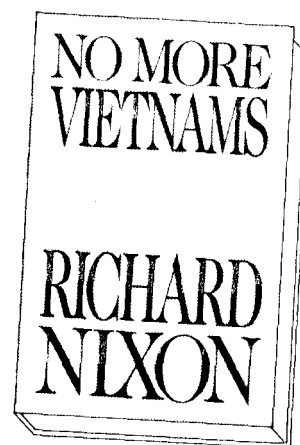
The International Socialists were the main movers and shakers behind several "antiwar coalitions" in Toronto and other cities. The March issue of their paper *Socialist Worker*

itself, this call—indeed any hint that the I.S. might be for defeating imperialism and defending Iraq—disappeared entirely from the pages of their press!

Why? The I.S. noticed that a big part of the capitalist ruling class and especially their NDP handmaidens had misgivings about a Gulf war. Of course McLaughlin, Chrétien & Co. were more than happy to see Iraqi children starved through economic sanctions, and only wanted Ottawa to "return" to its "traditional peacekeeping role" (like when Canadian troops



SC photo



For working people around the world, Vietnam was a victory. Bloody U.S. imperialists, beaten on the battlefield by the Vietnamese, say "No More Vietnams." So does the I.S., shown here at a Toronto rally, January 19.

claims that, throughout the war, the I.S. worked among antiwar activists as "a pole for the absolutely essential anti-imperialist left." As Stalin reportedly said, paper will take anything that's written on it. But just who do the I.S. think they're kidding, when they claim to have acted as "anti-imperialists" during the Gulf War?

The truth is that, even before the bombs began to fall, the I.S. abandoned even a pretense of an anti-imperialist line. They flatly *refused* to call for the defeat of imperialism or defense of semi-colonial Iraq—indeed they *denounced* and attempted to *suppress* those who did raise such calls. In Toronto February 16 they maneuvered to exclude Trotskyist League students from a campus antiwar conference. Their U.S. co-thinkers did the same at a Chicago conference January 19. Facing a yawning abyss between their nominal views and their real appetite—which is to tail NDP (or U.S. liberal Democratic Party) politics—the I.S. resorted to exclusions and even threats of violence in a vain attempt to police the antiwar movement and suppress their own contradictions.

Why They Dropped Defense of Iraq

Last October *Socialist Worker* stated correctly (albeit in tiny print): "If it comes to war, we must support Iraq against the U.S., Canada and the other imperialist powers in the region." But this was a line never to be seen again. For the next five months, first as war hysteria escalated and then during the war

helped butcher three million Koreans?). Theirs was a different, less risky, imperialist policy for defeating Iraq.

The I.S.' reaction was to throw overboard their sometime call to "support Iraq" against imperialism, in order to lash up with whatever NDP types and others they could muster in "broad" coalitions for "troops out." Like all such coalitions, the ground rules included implicit (sometimes explicit) agreement that no political positions be raised which might offend the sensibilities of a "peace-loving" pro-imperialist NDP or Liberal. Come its December-January issue, *Socialist Worker* was having wet dreams about the "fantastic" possibilities of the NDP opposing the war:

"Think of Audrey McLaughlin standing up in the House...calling for the troops to get out immediately.

"Think of Bob Rae...standing up and announcing that the left and the workers' movement will have nothing to do with sending young men and women to die in the Gulf..."

With the reality so totally different, *Socialist Worker* was reduced to moaning about how "at the critical moment" the NDP "collapsed in the face of pro-war patriotism." Give us a break: as early as last August, even "left" NDPers like Edmonton's Ross Harvey were calling to jail Arab Canadians who wanted to stand with Iraq.

And the I.S. didn't just bury their own views: they tried to censor those of other leftists. They worked overtime to keep

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I.S. and Gulf War...

(continued from page 7)

Trotskyist League spokesmen, and sometimes Arab leftists as well, off the speakers list at antiwar demos. They tried (unsuccessfully) to shout down anti-imperialist slogans. Perhaps the height of obscenity came the night of January 16, when close to 1,000 marched through Toronto right after the U.S. launched its terror raids on Baghdad and the Israeli Zionists began locking up the entire Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza. Every time the TL contingent called to "Defend Iraq Against U.S. Attack," I.S.ers on bullhorns tried to drown us out. When the march passed the Israeli consulate, the same I.S. marshals turned their efforts to suppressing the slogan "Defend the Palestinians!"

Marxism vs. Pacifism

In the *Communist Manifesto* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels state: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims." That is an elementary credo of Marxism we Trotskyists live by. Many working people, students, and especially black, Hispanic, Arab and other minorities *hated* Bush's war. What they needed was *leadership*. Here, as in the U.S., Europe and elsewhere, our intervention posed the need to politically organize the widespread anger in revolutionary workers parties which could lead class-struggle action against the capitalist state.

But the I.S. thought they had a better idea, and cynically peddled the notion to their membership that censorship is really very clever, that they can rope in more people by pretending to be just liberals and then drop the mask when they've determined folks are "ready" for socialism. But for the I.S. the liberal mask is the face.

Take their favorite slogan, "No more Vietnams." Nothing better illustrates the chasm separating these opportunists from a Marxist opposition to imperialist war. George Bush promised the American people "no more Vietnams." Richard Nixon titled his memoirs *No More Vietnams*. That's because the heroic Vietnamese people defeated U.S. imperialism and freed their country from neocolonial bondage and capitalist exploitation. This was a victory for workers all over the world—

Che Guevara coined the slogan "Two, three many Vietnams!" Stung by that defeat, the U.S. was unable to directly intervene on behalf of South Africa's racist army in Angola or send the Marines in against Sandinista Nicaragua. The call for "No more Vietnams" meant no more *losing* wars for imperialism.

Well, the I.S. *got* their "no more Vietnams." While the U.S. imperialists were defeated in Vietnam, in Iraq they prevailed, over the blood of tens of thousands. And now Bush brags about burying the "Vietnam syndrome," the better to prepare for more American imperial wars of intervention.

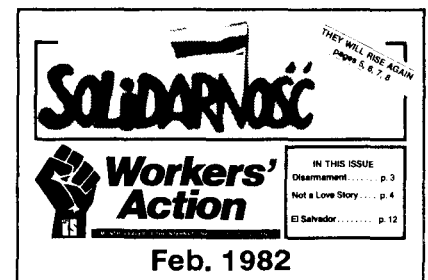
The I.S. built coalitions which were an obstacle to the development of socialist consciousness, because they fostered the illusion that the bourgeoisie can be "pressured" to act against its own class interests. The U.S. war on Iraq was a war for imperialist hegemony—to really fight against it you had to oppose the economic and social system that produced the war. Why did the avowed socialists of the I.S. pretend otherwise? Because for them, "the movement" is everything and their ostensible political program is excess baggage to chuck overboard whenever convenient.

And how do they hope to win youth to Marxism? They promote the myth that people will automatically be radicalized in the course of organizing a bourgeois pacifist movement, or by "linking issues" between various "movements" for reform. If this were true, who needs Leninists? The principal effect of pacifist and reformist ideology is to obscure the class nature of war and oppression and prevent the cohering of a politically independent working-class struggle against the imperialists and their social-democratic agents.

The reformist leaders of the Vietnam antiwar movement in the U.S. and Canada similarly dissipated the anger and militancy of that generation. They consciously suppressed revolutionary politics to keep the protests "safe" for the Democratic Party politicians they pandered to. In Canada they channeled youth radicalization into pro-NDP social democracy, peddling the lie that Canada's imperialist rulers could be pressured into opposing their U.S. counterparts. The Canadian capitalists were supposed to be "brave neutral mediators" vis à vis the warmongers in Washington. The failure of that antiwar "strategy" is seen in the fact that just 15 years since the U.S. was defeated in Vietnam, humanity is again victim to a genocidal war for the global ambitions of the U.S. ruling class.



Der Spiegel



Poland: I.S. hailed *Solidarność* as "the greatest union the world has ever seen." Today *Solidarność* government enforces IMF austerity. Hunger, unemployment have driven thousands of workers to soup kitchens.

Socialist Worker

Monthly paper of the International Socialists

March 1989

...the backwardness lies outside the borders of the Afghani state. ... lies elsewhere, among the working classes of Iran, India, ... or in the West, where the ... power to challenge this system rests.

...stance began as a reaction to the nationalist zeal of the middle classes. ...calized forms of exploitation in the ... were fought for and ... a feudal system of land ... in resistance to even the ... al land reform, the ... subjection of women in

However, the importance of the defeat of the Russian army should not be overlooked by western socialists. Just as a defeated America turning tail from Vietnam fuelled the aspirations of national liberation struggles throughout America's sphere of influence, so a defeated Russia will spur the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in Eastern Europe and inside Russia itself.

Afghanistan: I.S. supported CIA-backed mujahedin assassins who shoot schoolteachers, doctors. When Gorbachev ordered Soviet withdrawal, I.S. cheered.



DPA

Trotsky urged his followers always to “call things by their right names.” In contrast, the I.S. claimed (in the words of the U.S. version of *Socialist Worker* [October 1990]) that raising anti-imperialist politics in demonstrations against the Gulf War would be a “serious tactical error,” because this would create “confusion.” In other words, you can’t call to fight imperialism and defend Iraq because people aren’t ready to be told the truth (which must presumably be reserved for the enlightened few).

As the U.S. prepared to escalate from air bombardment to a bloody ground war, most of the I.S.’ hoped-for “antiwar” bloc partners predictably ran for cover, and protests against the war became smaller. Still, in the last days of the war, the I.S. desperately kept trying to suppress anti-imperialist slogans, even as ever larger sections of antiwar demonstrators were taking them up. Take the February 10 protest in Toronto, when at least a third of the 400-strong crowd joined throughout in TL-led slogans to “Defeat imperialism, Defend Iraq!” Why was the I.S. still frantically trying to drown them out with “No blood for oil”? Could it be because the liberals, pacifists and NDP politicians they were trying to suck up to will never be “ready” to call for the defeat of Canadian and U.S. imperialism?

Origins of the I.S.: Cold War “Socialists”

The problem for the I.S. is that they have a wildly twisting weathervane where communists need a good backbone. Crossing the class line and ending up in the camp of imperialism is nothing new for this organization. They were born as a political current in Britain in 1950, a time of intense pressure from Cold War anti-Communism. Unable to take the heat, one Tony Cliff led a right-wing split from the Trotskyist movement. At issue was his refusal to defend North Korea against a bloody (and UN-sponsored) assault by U.S./British/Canadian imperialism.

The North Korean deformed workers state fought to evict the U.S. imperialists from the former Japanese colony, provoking an uprising of revolutionary proportions in the imperialist-occupied south, which threatened to take over the land and the factories. The British Labour government

swung in behind the U.S., sending troops to fight the Koreans and later the Chinese as well. *Three million* Koreans were slaughtered in that war, yet Cliff’s group openly refused to defend North Korea, in a direct echo of the Labour Party’s bitter anti-Communism. When the Cold War turned hot in Korea, Cliff’s ridiculous theory that the USSR (along with North Korea, China, etc.) is “state capitalist” provided a convenient rationale for straightforward capitulation to imperialism.

Since 1917, when the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolsheviks smashed the power of the capitalist class and instituted a workers state for the first time in history, the “Russian question” has been the litmus test for any organization that lays claim to Marxism. Although the gains of the revolution have been corroded by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, the imperialists have not given up their drive to reconquer that lost market for capitalist exploitation. We Trotskyists fight to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution while struggling to oust the bureaucrats and restore workers democracy. As Trotsky wrote:

“The workers’ state must be taken as it has emerged from the merciless laboratory of history and not as it is imagined by a ‘socialist’ professor, reflectively exploring his nose with his finger. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones.”

—*In Defense of Marxism*

The I.S. scorns these “old positions.” In just about every conflict where the imperialists have sought to “roll back Communism”—from Poland to Afghanistan to East Europe and the Baltics today—they have stood in the camp of imperialism. Echoing Reagan and the pope, the I.S. proclaimed Polish Solidarność in huge headlines as “The Greatest Union the World has Ever Seen!” (*Workers’ Action*, February 1982). Now Walesa and his “union” are in power, grinding Polish workers’ living standards into the dirt with IMF-directed “shock treatments” and eliminating abortion rights.

In Afghanistan, the I.S. backed the reactionary feudalist
(continued on page 10)

I.S. and Gulf War...

(continued from page 9)

mullahs and landlords, armed and funded by the CIA, against the Red Army which fought on the side of social progress. When Gorbachev ordered the Soviet pullout, *Socialist Worker* (March 1989) wrote glowingly that "a defeated Russia will spur the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in Eastern Europe and inside Russia itself." Yeah, like the imperialist-backed right wingers, even fascists and anti-Semites, who have flowered throughout East Europe and the USSR. Today *Socialist Worker* runs occasional little articles about the deprivations German reunification is bringing for workers and women of the former DDR. What should any of this matter to this outfit, which thought there was nothing worth defending in the DDR in the first place?

Throughout, while the I.S. (like most of the pro-NDP left) was howling with the imperialist wolves, the Trotskyist League had the Marxist program to swim against the current. We called to "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples" and to "Stop Solidarność' Counterrevolution!" Our comrades in Germany fought against the capitalist reunification, and today call for workers' resistance to the new imperialist Fourth Reich.

The I.S. simply wouldn't recognize the class line if they tripped over it—which they do, regularly. Take the 1984-85 British miners strike. All sectors of society—leftist students, steelworkers, blacks and Asian immigrants, gays and women—united in active solidarity with the miners because they saw the strike as a spearhead of a fight to bring down the vicious Thatcher government. But the I.S.' British co-thinkers incredibly declared: "The miners' strike is an extreme example of what we in the Socialist Workers Party have called the 'downturn' in the movement" (*Socialist Review*, April 1984).

The sellout Labour Party tops worked overtime against

solidarity in action by other unionists who were eager to be called out on strike with the miners. As miners battled cops and scabs in the pits and villages throughout Britain, Tony Cliff boasted at an SWP public meeting in London on 23 August 1984: "We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe, they cross picket lines. We have a steelworker in Ravenscraig who crosses picket lines. We have a steelworker in Llanwern who crosses picket lines." This was no "mistake": when workers at the University of Toronto went out on strike in late February, an I.S. supporter shamelessly told a strike support meeting, "I'll have to cross the picket lines!"

Playing cop against anti-imperialists during an imperialist war, censoring the defense of a third-world country (Iraq) while it is being bombed by "our" capitalist rulers, playing the role of loyal coalition-builders for the NDP, crossing workers picket lines, peddling "left" anti-Communism and hatred of the Soviet Union...this is the sorry record of the International Socialists. Ironically, the "we hate Russia" I.S. also employ just about every despicable practice that Stalinism has used—from physically excluding Trotskyists to building illusions in "democratic" capitalism and building class-collaborationist popular fronts while duplicitously "boring from within." But don't take our word for it. Those interested in checking out some still razor-sharp polemics against earlier versions of I.S. politics are encouraged to start with Lenin's *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* or Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism*.

Pumped up by their bloody victory over Iraq, the imperialists are going to step up the war at home against working people, blacks and other minorities. Anyone who's looking for a way to struggle against the capitalist rulers won't find any answers in the phony "anti-imperialists" of the I.S. If you hate the racism and oppression of this rotten system, if you want to fight war by fighting the imperialist system which breeds it—not just in words, but in action—then you've got to look to the Trotskyist League. ■

U of T Workers Strike

"On strike—Shut down U of T" and "Picket lines mean don't cross" said the University of Toronto Trotskyist League as more than 4,000 unionists—teaching assistants, maintenance and library workers—struck this elite institution in late February/early March.

With the cost of living soaring and the Ontario NDP government cutting education spending while jacking up tuition fees, the U of T administration stonewalled, trying to bust the striking unions. Some professors stopped lecturing in solidarity with strikers, while students heeded calls to boycott classes and facilities and city workers joined the pickets.

As in all campus strikes, the key to victory was to *shut down the university*. While fake "leftists" like supporters of the International Socialists concocted excuses for crossing picket lines, TL supporters joined and built the lines. A TL leaflet emphasized: "Students who want to change this bankrupt system must unite with those who have real social power in this society: the working class.... Students: Join the picket lines! Together we can shut this campus down!"



SC photo

Defend the Mohawks!

Forty-one Mohawk men and women are currently on trial in Quebec Superior Court. They are facing 100 charges on 28 counts in the aftermath of last summer's standoff at Kahnawake and Kanesatake between Mohawk Warriors and provincial/federal security forces. In all, more than 150 have been charged for defending their land and communities, arms in hand, from two centuries of genocidal state terror. On January 26, Dennis Nicholas (whose *nom de guerre* was "Psycho") was sentenced to two and a half years on weapons and theft charges, as well as "obstructing police and soldiers and participating in a riot." We demand: Release the prisoners—Drop the charges!

Marauding cops, especially the vengeful Sûreté du Québec (Quebec Provincial Police), continue to terrorize Mohawk communities. On January 8, 150 federal and provincial cops in riot gear stormed into Kahnawake after an attempted arrest for a minor traffic violation met with stiff Native resistance. Speaking after the incident, Quebec security minister Claude Ryan ominously insisted that "all necessary force will be used to assure public order" (*Globe and Mail*, 9 January). The elementary safety of Native people demands: Cops out of the reserves! And stay out!

The state is doing everything in its power to obstruct any effective legal defense of the charged Mohawks. Many have been refused legal aid because they are from outside Quebec or earn more than the \$170 a week ceiling. Others have been deserted by lawyers unwilling to work at legal aid rates. One of the few attorneys who remain remarked angrily, "The odds are so loaded against the Mohawks, it's incredible. In my view, to proceed under these circumstances is vindictive, not the administration of so-called justice" (*Globe and Mail*, 22 February).

The railroading of these fighters is meant as a message to *anyone* who tries to resist the racist capitalist state. Working



Rob Galbraith/Reuters

26 September 1990: Military police seize Mohawk Warrior at Kanesatake.

people, defenders of civil liberties, anti-racists, must come to their aid. The Partisan Defense Committee has made a contribution toward the costs of the Mohawks' legal defense. We urge others to do so as well. Contributions can be sent to: Liberation of the Mohawk Nation Defense Fund, Acct. No. 80186, P.O. Box 1987, Kahnawake, Québec J0L 1B0.

Sweep Away Imperialism...

(continued from page 3)

Throughout, TL comrades coupled our call for class struggle against the war with the need to break the working class from its social-democratic misleaders. In Edmonton on January 26, when prominent NDP MP Svend Robinson made a pitch for sanctions against Iraq, our comrades chanted "Pro-sanctions is pro-war! Break with the pro-imperialist NDP!" The same day at an Ontario Federation of Labour convention in Toronto our banner calling for "Labor Strikes Against the War!" attracted much interest.

The struggle against war can only be a struggle to get rid of the racist capitalist system that breeds war, untold misery and oppression for the poor and working people at home and abroad. What sets the TL apart from the social-patriotic left is our forthright opposition to our "own" imperialism. Not endless peace crawls to pressure the ruling class, but revolutionary struggle to overthrow the capitalist system. Not appealing to the NDP and Liberals, but fighting for labor strikes against the war, to unleash the power of the working class. To defeat imperialism we need a revolutionary party which is not afraid to swim against the stream. Take a side—join us! ■

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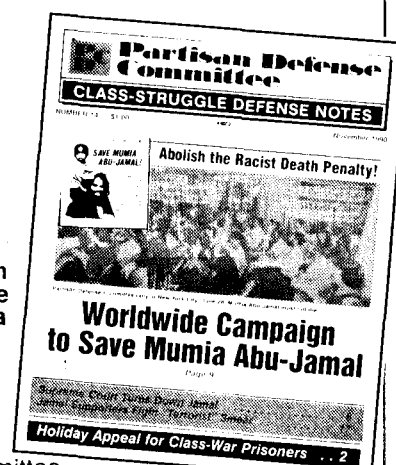
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“New World Order” ...

(continued from page 1)

of those lucrative contracts from the restored Kuwaiti monarchy to rebuild what the imperialists' killing machine had just bombed into rubble.

The imperialists are “walking tall” over the corpses of tens of thousands of Arab people. They have shown the world what they have in store for anybody who steps out of line: the “highway of death” from Kuwait City to the Iraqi port of Basra, an air raid shelter in Baghdad blown to smithereens, cities devastated by night after night of carpet bombing. A doctor in Basra, desperately trying to treat wounded children with his medical facilities in tatters, commented bitterly: “Your great American soldiers can go home to their families now. They can tell them they devastated our lives and the lives of our children. Our country is no more.”

But having devastated Iraq and destroyed its army, Washington finds it has now opened a Pandora's box. Two weeks after Bush urged Iraqis to overthrow Saddam Hussein, the U.S. seemed to be again tacitly backing its former Iraqi ally, as Iran proclaimed an uprising in Shi'ite-dominated southern Iraq. Meanwhile, Kurdish rebels temporarily allied with the Shi'ites claim to hold sections of the Kurdish-dominated north, where much of Iraq's oil is located. And the Near East seethes with bitterness against the U.S. and the butcher Bush.

“By God, we've kicked this Vietnam syndrome,” crows Bush. This bankrupt empire that can't produce a decent car or VCR has registered to the peoples of the world that it still excels in one area: high-tech mass slaughter “Made in U.S.A.” Now Washington and Wall Street are out to resurrect the American Century, which was born out of the U.S. victory in World War II and died in America's stinging defeat in Vietnam. But this is not 1945. The threadbare character of the



Workers Vanguard

International Communist League fought to mobilize workers power against imperialist war. Spartacist League/U.S. and Labor Black League march in San Francisco, January 26 (above). ICL contingents at demonstrations in Sydney, Australia (below left) and Paris (below right) denounce Soviet complicity with U.S. invasion, demand “Break the Blockade of Iraq.”

Australasian Spartacist

Le Bolchévik



imperialist triumphalism is captured in the simple fact that the center of world finance, New York City, is too broke to pay for its ticker-tape parade. Like the war itself, the victory celebrations will be financed hat in hand.

The world had better watch out. Who's next—Cuba, North Korea? It's not too hard to imagine "Desert Storm" being turned into "Caribbean Hurricane"—a blockade of Cuba, followed by merciless bombing and, finally, a ground assault. Already they've lined up the UN to investigate "human rights abuses" in this small country whose social revolution still sticks in Washington's craw. But the Cuban people will fight to defend the social gains they wrested from the Mafia-run dictatorship and *yanqui* imperialists.

And back in North America, working people and the oppressed are under the gun. Just since the beginning of "Desert Shield," 700,000 more workers have been added to the ranks of the American jobless, while Bush vows to veto legislation which would prevent employers from firing strikers wholesale. In Canada, official unemployment now tops ten percent as factory after factory, especially in the southern Ontario industrial heartland, shuts its gates for good. January alone saw 90,000 jobs lost across the country, an all-time record. And as Bush called to bring "that same sense of urgency" with which the Iraqi people were slaughtered to the "war on crime," the viciously racist Los Angeles police complied, with a sadistic, near-fatal beating of a black motorist—caught on videotape and broadcast on national TV.

As a factor in U.S. bourgeois politics, Bush and his generals did manage to spike the "Vietnam syndrome." The Democrats have been thoroughly cowed. But amid all the triumphalist hoopla, popular pro-war sentiment in the U.S. as in Canada remains shallow—it was hardly tested. In Quebec, even at the height of war hysteria two-thirds of the population opposed Canada's involvement. Much of the American black population refused to support the U.S. invasion. Many of the many hundreds of antiwar GIs who now face prosecution for refusing to take part in the slaughter of non-white Muslim peoples are black. The working class, with its sizable component from black, Hispanic and other oppressed minorities, remains the Achilles' heel of North American imperialism. And it is our task to bring down the bloodthirsty imperialists before they blow up the world.

Imperialist War Criminals on the Loose

While the Pentagon preens itself on its high-tech war machine and Bush boasts that "America in Desert Storm was a first class talent," this was not so much a war as a one-sided, ruthless massacre. London *Guardian* columnist Martin Woolacott observed: "The essence of the war was that a military machine that had been built to confront the Soviet Union in Central Europe was relocated in Saudi Arabia to deal with an enemy that had not a twentieth of Soviet capacity or offensive power." Indeed this one-sided slaughter would have been inconceivable even a couple of years ago, when Iraq was Moscow's client and Washington still had to take Soviet military might into account.

The whole war was a display of the capacity of the U.S. to kill. For all the hype about "precision bombing," insofar as one can tell from the lying coverage in the Pentagon-controlled press, it was overwhelmingly the same old Vietnam-style terror bombing by B-52s dropping their multi-ton bomb loads at high altitude (and missing most targets). "Smart bombs" worked, but Apache helicopters ran out of gas, laser range finders were



Reuters

Victims of U.S.-led blitzkrieg. Tens of thousands of Iraqi dead were left in the desert.

screwed up by sandstorms, and a big chunk of the reported "Allied" casualties came from "friendly fire." But that made little difference, as Hussein ordered his troops to withdraw from Kuwait after the second day of the ground offensive. Only a handful of the thousands of Iraqi military casualties were sustained in combat; most were apparently shot in the back.

New York Times (2 March) correspondent R.W. Apple described the "scene of terrifying destruction" along the road from Kuwait City to Basra: "Burned-out, bombed-out vehicles of every description littered the highway, with charred Iraqi bodies everywhere." As retreating Iraqi units were bottled up by U.S. forces, "F-15, F-16 and F-111 fighter-bombers, unslowed by anti-aircraft fire, swept overhead again and again." Like the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki after Japan was prepared to surrender, the grisly massacre along the "highway of death" was coldbloodedly aimed at showing the world the full extent of American bloodthirstiness against any who dare to challenge U.S. imperialism.

As part of its "New World Order," the U.S. is intent on establishing a "regional security pact" in the Near East similar to the short-lived Baghdad Pact (CENTO) after World War II. But while America's new-found Arab allies are more than willing, Zionist Israel refuses even to pay lip service to Washington's appeals to trade "land for peace" in order to mollify the Arabs, confident that the endless flow of foreign aid dollars will continue no matter what. The entry of the Moledet party, committed to the expulsion of all Palestinians

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“New World Order” ...

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from the Occupied Territories, into the Israeli cabinet is a signal of the government's determination to carry through a genocidal “final solution.”

As anti-government fighting broke out in Iraq, Washington began to talk like Saddam Hussein was once again a semi-client of the U.S. This was the import of American warnings to Baghdad not to use poison gas against the rebels. In Riyadh, American military briefers praised Iraqi treatment of POWs. One American official was quoted as saying, “it's far easier to deal with a tame Saddam than with an unknown quantity” (*New York Times*, 10 March). The prospect of an Iraqi Shi'ite regime linked to Iran was particularly unsettling. And were the Kurds in Iraq able to finally carve out an independent state, it would be a nightmare for NATO Turkey, where more than ten million Kurds chafe under an oppressive dictatorship.

The imperialist invasion created turmoil throughout North Africa, conjuring up images of a new wave of Western crusaders intent on gang-raping the Arab peoples. The *Wall Street Journal* (4 March) writes, “The gruesome pictures of the slaughter of Iraqi troops retreating from Kuwait and the allied onslaught in the closing hours of the war are likely to exacerbate anger among radical and anti-Western Arabs.” Washington planners are particularly worried that Egypt, with its sizable proletariat, could blow.

And the behavior of the oil-bloated rulers of Kuwait since the war ended will only inflame the impoverished Arab masses. Over the years Kuwaitis have amassed personal fortunes ranging into the high billions while imported laborers—mainly Palestinians, but also other Arabs as well as Bangladeshis and Filipinos—did all the work. The returning slavemasters are now haughtily taking out their wrath against their defenseless slaves. As soon as Kuwait was “liberated,” a bloodbath was launched against the resident Palestinian population and all others deemed “collaborators.”

While the Western media trumpeted reams of manufactured “Iraqi atrocities” against Kuwaitis—such as Bush's favorite tale of yanking newborn babes out of incubators, which turned out to be a flat lie—the Kuwaitis have been carrying out gruesome torture and systematic assassination of Iraqis and

Palestinians who fall into their hands. Kuwait City's predominantly Palestinian Hawali district was surrounded and ransacked by self-styled “resistance fighters” who rounded up hundreds and indiscriminately shot scores, while U.S. officers kept Western journalists away.

It has been the hapless fate of the Palestinian people, who serviced the technical and social infrastructure of the Gulf states and many other Arab regimes, to be the first victims of every conflagration in the Near East. Driven from their homes by Zionist mass terror in 1947-48, they now face persecution and terror in every corner of their diaspora. Yet the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO, devoid of any perspective other than pressuring (begging) the Arab bourgeoisies and the imperialists, latches onto one after another despot as hoped-for “savior” of the Palestinian people, from Egypt's Nasser to Saddam Hussein.

National justice for the Palestinians, Kurds and myriad other oppressed minorities requires that the working class throughout the Near East determine the fate of the region, instead of being subordinated to various national/religious movements which only lead to endless cycles of fratricide and perpetuate the power of imperialism. The key is forging a revolutionary internationalist leadership which can unite the toilers of the region in common struggle to assure the national rights of all the peoples of the region. For a federation of workers republics in the Near East!

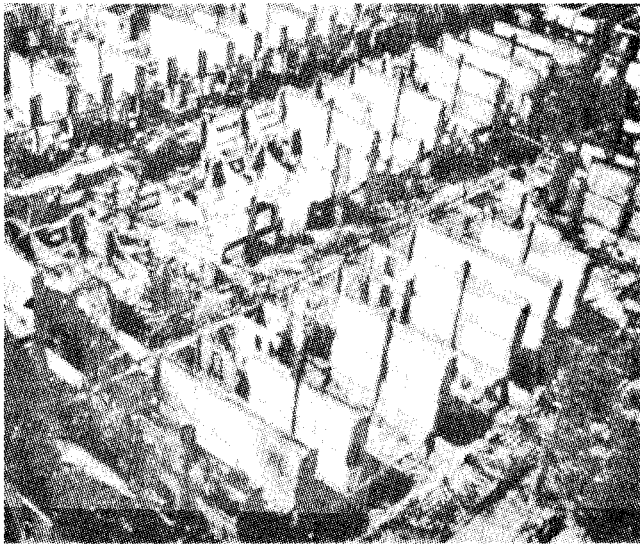
Defeat U.S./Canadian Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

Hoping to cash in on a replay of the Vietnam antiwar movement, various left-wing organizations tailored their numerous “antiwar” coalitions to whatever would be acceptable to a hoped-for “pro-peace” wing of the bourgeoisie. In the name of “unity,” they either rejected outright or buried the call for *defeat* of U.S. and Canadian imperialism. From the Communist Party to the International Socialists and more, they pleaded “No Blood for Oil!” and “Stop the War.” And those—like the U.S. Revolutionary Workers League and British Workers Power—who nominally called for defense of Iraq were more than willing to bargain it away for a seat on one or another coalition steering committee.

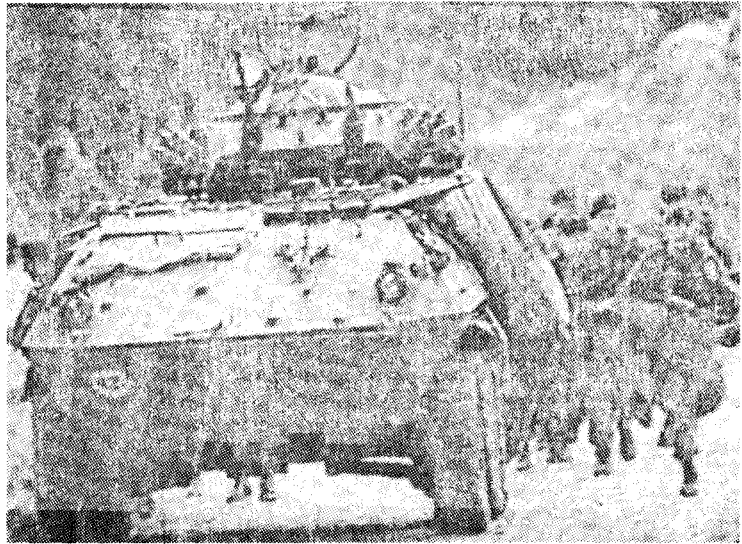
The U.S. group Socialist Action, schooled in the Vietnam



Imperialists' war in Gulf enraged Near Eastern, North African masses. 60,000 striking Turkish coal miners and their families marched on Ankara, chanted “No to war!”



UPI



Dick Loek/Toronto Star

Capitalist war on minorities, working people at home. Police bombing of black MOVE commune in Philadelphia, 1985 (left) murdered eleven people. At right, Canadian army units advance against Mohawks at Oka.

antiwar popular front, spoke for the lot of them when it claimed: "The criminal war on the Arab people can be brought to a halt, just as the assault on the Vietnamese people was halted—by millions marching in the streets of America." What stopped the dirty war waged by U.S. imperialism (with Canadian complicity) in Indochina was not "peaceful, legal" peace crawls but a Vietnamese victory on the battlefield, as even liberal journalist Murray Kempton noted: "Vietnam inspired peace marchers, including myself, in hundreds of thousands from 1965 to 1973; and the war still went on to be lost not to the home front but to General Giap" (*Newsday*, 3 February). The Vietnamese people were spurred on to victory because they were fighting for a social revolution, while the Iraqi people had nothing more inspiring to look to than the despot Hussein, who was more adept at waging war against his own people than against the imperialists.

So this time around the U.S. won, and the imperialist Democratic Party "doves" were revealed to be imperialist chickens. So too were Jean Chrétien and his gang, while Audrey McLaughlin's NDP only wanted Canadian troops out of the firing line. Now Bush has "stopped" the war, by *his* means. U.S. troops, most of them, will soon be "home." Precious little *North American* blood has been shed for oil. The social-patriotic "peace" movement in Canada and the U.S. got what they called for, and the result was a bloody disaster that spells more wars, because imperialism was not *defeated*.

We of the Trotskyist League, Canadian sympathizing section of the International Communist League, took a clear, principled stand, for *defeat of U.S./Canadian imperialism and defense of Iraq*. We have the right to voice our outrage over the tens of thousands of Iraqis who lie dead under the rubble of Basra and Baghdad or in the desert slaughter fields. As for the so-called "antiwar left" patriots, whether in Canada or the U.S., we hope you gag on your goddamn yellow ribbons!

Bush said the Gulf War was not a "war to end all wars." Indeed, it represented the opening shots of the *next* world war, marking the intensification of interimperialist rivalry. U.S. imperialism, assisted by its Canadian allies, sought to demonstrate in the Gulf War that it has the capacity and the stomach to brutally police the world. But Japan and Germany—who were Washington's indirect targets in this war—are far more

economically viable than America, whose industrial heartland has been turned into a giant rust bowl. The United States is the world's biggest debtor nation, and despite rosy economic forecasts the recession is deepening on both sides of the 49th parallel.

Canadian cities are experiencing an explosion of new demand on welfare rolls, already strained to the limit as unemployment hits levels unheard of since the early 1980s. As the massacre of Iraqis unfolded, Michael Wilson announced a viciously anti-poor, anti-worker budget, slashing social spending even as the Tories announced that "cost is no object" in maintaining Canadian imperialism's military presence in the Gulf. The Tories slapped wage controls down on federal government workers, while provincial governments from B.C. to Newfoundland have done the same, and the NDP government in Ontario institutes its own education and social services cutbacks.

North America has the accumulated social tinder which can blow up this rapacious imperialist system from within. Especially among the doubly oppressed U.S. black population it is widely understood that "our war is at home"—against racism, unemployment, homelessness and all the other social evils of this truly evil empire.

Bush may be high on his transient 89 percent poll ratings (Mulroney can only dream), but the class struggle is the decisive motor force of history. To take but one recent example: following her successful Falklands/Malvinas adventure in 1982, British prime minister Margaret Thatcher's popularity rose as high as Bush's is now, while returning British troops threatened striking railway workers: "Call off the rail strike, or we'll call an air strike." But a year later, Britain was hit by the most explosive and deepgoing class struggle it has seen this century, as the yearlong miners strike galvanized wide layers of British society, especially minorities and other working people, against the Thatcher government.

Sharp struggles lie ahead. Key to victory in the coming class battles against the American and Canadian ruling class, and indeed in determining the fate of all humanity, is the timely forging of an internationalist party of socialist revolution.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 522, 15 March



UBC Archives

Tashme, B.C.: 24,000 Japanese Canadians were thrown into prison camps during World War II. NDP's predecessor, the CCF, joined Liberal Mackenzie King government in whipping up racist frenzy for mass internment.

NDP...

(continued from page 5)

Canadians and the Political Left in British Columbia, December 1941-March 1942," *B.C. Studies*, Winter 1985-86).

The day after Japan struck Pearl Harbor, on 8 December 1941, the Canadian government seized the 1,200 fishing boats owned by Japanese Canadian fishermen. A full month before the U.S., Canada—much harsher and more ruthless in its persecution of the Japanese community—established its concentration camps. Yet this wasn't good enough for the CCF. B.C. provincial leader Harold Winch accused Ottawa of "criminal negligence" for its "inactivity." *The Federationist* worried about erring "on the side of over-lenency," and advised that "It is better that a few innocent persons should suffer along with the guilty through internment" (8 January 1942). CCF member Grant McNeil helped organize the internment, serving on the advisory board to the B.C. Security Commission whose task was to oversee the concentration camps.

More than three decades later Grace MacInnis, a CCF

member of the provincial legislature and daughter of party founder J.S. Woodsworth, still justified this brutal incarceration as a positive boon. In a 1973 interview, she mused:

"And in the long run the strange thing is that, although the method was wrong and cruel and harsh and everything else, I think the Japanese Canadians have a freedom now that they wouldn't have otherwise had...."

"I don't think they would have had the initiative or the courage or the something to get out of this...to spread across the country."

Today, in a grotesque historical falsification, the NDP and many academics try to cast the CCF as defenders of Japanese Canadians during World War II. In truth, the CCF backed this racist atrocity of the Liberal King government because, as leader M.J. Coldwell put it, they were for "total mobilization for total war." They campaigned for conscription and at the CCF's sixth national convention in 1940 David Lewis told delegates that "the faith and policies of democratic socialism are indispensable not only to win greater justice in time of peace but also to win military victory in a war fought for democracy" (quoted in Walter D. Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF 1932-61*, Toronto, 1969).

One of the greatest fictions about World War II is that this was a "war for democracy." For both the CCF and the Communist Party (which also campaigned for the internment) this justified support for the war crimes of the Western imperialist bourgeoisie, from Dresden and Hamburg to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But far from being a "progressive," "anti-fascist" war on the part of the Allies, this was a reactionary, inter-imperialist struggle to redivide the world which left tens of millions dead.

Hitler's barbaric regime was widely and acutely hated by the world proletariat, but just try telling an impoverished worker or peasant in the colonies of India, Africa or the Middle East that the U.S. and Britain were fighting for "democracy." It was the chauvinist class-collaboration of the social democrats and Stalinists which assisted the bourgeoisie in cloaking their imperialist war in democratic garb. The revolutionary Trotskyists in Canada and the U.S., themselves suffering persecution for their opposition to the war, defended Japanese Canadians and Japanese Americans. They upheld the right of asylum for desperate Jews fleeing Hitler's death camps in the

Contact the Trotskyist League

Correspondence for:	Address to:
Edmonton	PSSE P.O. Box 9605 Edmonton, AB T6E 5X3
Moncton	P.O. Box 563 Moncton, NB E1C 8L9
Montreal	C.P. Les Atriums B.P. 32066 Montréal, QC H2L 4V5
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Labor Challenge



August 1950: 130,000 railroad workers struck for 40-hour week. Largest strike in Canadian history was knifed by CCF to support Korean "war effort." Canadian troops were used to crush social revolution (below).

Tomelin/Dept. of National Defence



face of the anti-Semitic rulers who, especially in Canada, refused to give Jews sanctuary. They stood for the defeat of "their" capitalist rulers, while defending the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany.

Cold War Anti-Communism and the CCF

The concluding act in the imperialist allies' "great war for democracy" was the opening shot in the Cold War: the incineration of hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians in the nuclear holocaust unleashed over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This act of mass murder and destruction was meant above all to demonstrate to the USSR the nuclear military might of the U.S. imperialists.

Not widely known is that Canada played a crucial, if subordinate, role in the development of this devastating weapon, mainly as the sole supplier of vast quantities of uranium. To aid collaboration between the U.S. and the British, the Canadian government set up a University of Montreal laboratory for research projects related to development of the bomb. The Liberal government of Mackenzie King was privy to vital atomic secrets from the outset, including advance notice of when and where the bomb would be dropped. King, the man who orchestrated the internment of Japanese Canadians, who hated Jews and didn't mind Hitler all that much, recorded in his diary after the August 6 attack on Hiroshima, "It is fortunate that the use of the bomb should have been upon the Japanese rather than upon the white races of Europe."

As for the CCF, they called for "harsh peace terms for Emperor Hirohito, Japanese warlords and monopoly interests" and demanded that the Allies, fresh from A-bombing Japan, "assist the common people of Japan in their struggle toward democracy" (*CCF News*, 16 August 1945). When parliament reconvened in the fall, party leader Coldwell made many speeches, including about atomic energy and weapons, but was silent on this hideous racist war crime.

Following the war the CCF quickly won its spurs as hard-core Cold Warriors. They played a leading role in the mass anti-Communist purges from the unions. Driving Communists out of industry, expelling whole unions from the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL), hunting them down in every nook

and cranny of social life, the CCF and the labor bureaucracy, by now thoroughly interlinked, policed the working class on behalf of the capitalist rulers.

The CCF joined the imperialist drive for "containment" and "deterrence" aimed at the Soviet degenerated workers state. Backing the formation of NATO, Coldwell declared himself for "defeating the onward march of Communism." The vicious anti-Sovietism and NATO militarism didn't go down smoothly in the CCF ranks. By March 1949 the CCF tops were under full-scale attack from the B.C. wing of the party in a wave of resolutions condemning the "North Atlantic Security Pact." A month later two CCF members of the Manitoba legislature attacked NATO. To enforce his pro-NATO policy on the CCF, Coldwell carried the purges into the CCF's own ranks, throwing out party members in Manitoba and B.C.

1950: CCF Strikebreakers for the Korean War

In 1950 the imperialist powers led by the U.S. waged war under the UN flag to crush the "red menace" in Korea and "take back" China from the Communists. The Korean War lasted three years and saw three million Koreans killed. As with the Gulf War, the social democrats didn't waste any time getting on side. Not bothering with pious hopes for peace and negotiations, the CCF's July 1950 national convention called

(continued on page 18)



Ottawa Citizen



Canadian Dimension

Striking rail workers protest back-to-work legislation, Ottawa, 1987 (left). Quebec workers denounce union busting, 1989. The NDP and the CLC bureaucrats are an obstacle to working-class struggle. Break with pro-capitalist social democrats—build a revolutionary workers party!

NDP...

(continued from page 17)

on the government to dispatch ground forces to Korea.

The war on Communism in Korea brought war on the working class at home, aided by the labor bureaucracy. In early August, just weeks after the war broke out, 130,000 non-operating railroad workers struck to demand a 40-hour work week with no loss in pay and a general wage increase of 10 cents an hour. This sent the bourgeoisie into a frenzy. Not only was it the largest strike in Canadian history, it threatened to derail the Canadian rulers' war plans as the trains were used to transport the more than 20,000 troops of the Canadian Army Special Force sent to Korea. The Montreal *Gazette* hinted baldly about the "massive reserve of dictatorial authority" in the War Measures Act and called for strikebreaking legislation. The government's planned special session of Parliament, called to debate the Korean War defense policy and mobilization for war, convened early for the purpose of smashing the rail strike.

They rammed through the legislation in 72 hours, but before

it was even passed the labor tops and CCF had knifed the strike. CCL president and leading CCFer A.R. Mosher promised "the men will be back as fast as we can get them back" and the CCF's MPs gave backhanded support to the Liberal strikebreakers, chiding them for not convening the session sooner. Endorsing the back-to-work bill, they merely sought to modify it through a couple of amendments. Twelve of the thirteen CCF MPs ultimately voted against the bill (as did the Tories), but this was a mere fig leaf for sabotage already accomplished. Meanwhile Mosher issued a statement regretting any "inconvenience to which the Canadian public has been put...but we regret (still more) the comfort given to the subversive elements...the slowing down of the war effort directed against the communists in North Korea" (quoted in Charles Lipton, *The Trade Union Movement of Canada 1827-1959*, Toronto [1967]).

The Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers Party, condemned these pro-imperialist traitors, noting that the CCF leadership "permitted, even facilitated in some degree, the passage of the strikebreaking bill.... Far from exposing the boss government, the CCF gave it aid and comfort in its strike-breaking plot. In this great test these one-time 'socialists' played the logical role of people to whom the struggle of the workers is an alien, unwholesome thing disrupting 'national unity'" (*Labor Challenge*, mid-September 1950).

Exploiting their ties to the labor movement to push "national unity" with the capitalists at home and fuel counterrevolution abroad: this is the role of the Canadian social democrats. During the Cold War 1980s the NDP and CLC bureaucrats tried to mobilize workers behind counterrevolutionary Solidarność, which is now starving the Polish working class with IMF-imposed economic shock treatment. But they refused to lift a finger as the recession of the early 1980s threw hundreds of thousands out of work. In November 1989, while the newly elected Polish Solidarność government was demanding speed-ups and mandatory Saturday work from Polish miners, the CLC feted the clerical nationalist and anti-Semite Lech Walesa (now president of Poland) on the Canadian leg of his North American tour to drum up capitalist investment in Poland. These class traitors exulted in the capitalist reunification of Germany, while their German counterparts in the SPD

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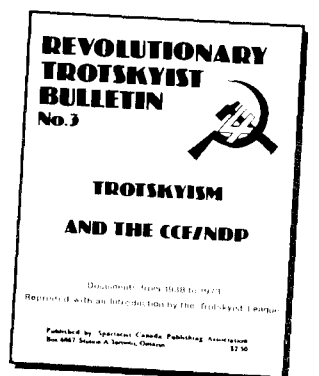
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spearheaded Kohl's counterrevolution which has already thrown millions of East German workers out of work.

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Now that the U.S. war criminals and their allies have reduced Iraq to smoldering rubble and slaughtered tens of thousands, the NDP has raised the call for "humanitarian aid" to Iraq. Like their earlier support to sanctions against Iraq, this is simply a call for continued imperialist domination in the region.

The idea that imperialism has a "civilizing mission" to bring freedom and democracy to the "benighted" peoples of the former colonies and neo-colonies is a racist falsehood propagated to whitewash the invasions and depredations that the capitalists use to enforce their dominion. Imperialism means fabulous profits for the exploiters, and the permanent enslavement of the colonies. As Leon Trotsky wrote:

"The exploitation of classes was supplemented, and its potency increased by the exploitation of nations.

"The bourgeoisie of the mother countries was enabled to secure a privileged position for its own proletariat, especially the upper layers, by paying for it with some of the superprofits garnered in the colonies. Without that any sort of stable democratic régime would have been utterly impossible. In its expanded manifestation bourgeois democracy became, and continues to remain, a form of government accessible only to the most aristocratic and the most exploitive nations. Ancient democracy was based on slavery, imperialist democracy—on the spoliation of colonies."

—*Marxism in Our Time* (1939)

In this terribly unequal imperialist war against Iraq, a poor semi-colonial country, we revolutionary Trotskyists called for mobilizing the working class in struggle, for the defeat of the imperialists and against the misery and degradation that capitalism means at home. In February the Mulroney Tories brought down their war budget—millions for the military and

wage controls for public service workers. With the economy ravaged by recession, with skyrocketing unemployment and soaring living costs and the hated GST taking vast sums from the pockets of working people, there is plenty of social hatred stored up for the rapacious capitalist rulers.

The only way out of this grim cycle of wars and depressions is for the working people, who produce all of society's wealth, to rip that wealth from the hands of the capitalists in a thoroughgoing socialist revolution. The NDP and CLC tops represent not a well-intentioned if partial step towards socialism, but an obstacle. Transmitting the chauvinism and racism of the capitalists to the working class, enforcing their class-collaborationist politics, they represent a crucial defense of the system of imperialist exploitation. We urgently need to construct the revolutionary workers party that will break workers from the NDP class traitors and lead the North American socialist revolution.

When the social democracy of Europe backed the imperialists in World War I, Lenin called for the formation of a new, communist International because he recognized that the social democrats were the irremediable and bitter enemies of class struggle. The Bolsheviks advocated not pacifism, but revolutionary struggle to hasten the defeat of their "own" imperialist government *in order to overthrow it*. And they did! In October 1917 the Russian working class, under Bolshevik leadership, seized power and took Russia out of the war.

Lenin's words on the fourth anniversary of the Revolution have great force today as the imperialist triumph over Iraq brings with it the threat of World War III: "The millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realising the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war, and imperialist peace...which inevitably engenders imperialist war, that it is impossible to escape that inferno, *except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution.*" ■

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Soviet Union...

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people in Poland and eastern Germany following the triumph of pro-Western "democrats"!

Opposed to the "democrats" are the self-styled "patriots," especially strong in the armed forces, who call for a return to law, order and discipline. Their law and order, despite its appeal to many, is aimed at making the working class restore and perpetuate the privileges of the bureaucratic elite. Many of the "patriotic" apparatchiks and military men will support using the army to suppress workers strikes and protests against the sharp consumer price increases announced by the Gorbachev regime.

Soyuz, the Russian Communist Party, the United Front of Toilers (OFT) and allied "patriotic" currents claim to stand above all for the unity and preservation of the multinational USSR. Yet these "patriotic" organizations embrace Great Russian chauvinists, tsarists and vile anti-Semites, whose program can only fuel nationalist and communalist blood-letting. Genuine Soviet patriotism demands a return to the proletarian internationalism of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky.

The Soviet working class has to date been trapped within the political framework set by the contending factions of the bureaucracy and intelligentsia. Thus coal miners in the eastern Ukraine and Siberia are now striking in a desperate defense of their plummeting living standards. At the same time, leaders of the recently formed Independent Union of Miners—who have direct ties to American imperialism—are supporting Yeltsin's demand for Gorbachev's resignation and the transfer of effective economic power to the (pro-capitalist) republican

governments.

Gorbachev accuses Yeltsin of using "neo-Bolshevist" methods, but in reality Yeltsin is a White Guardist. What the Soviet Union urgently needs today are real Bolsheviks. In 1991 an impending catastrophe threatens the working people, and no less than in 1917 a revolutionary program is needed to fight it. Soviet working people must cut through the false division between "democrats" and "patriots," both products of the terminal degeneration of the reactionary and parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. Both are enemies and oppressors of the working class in the interests of world capitalism. The working class must take political power into its own hands and reconstruct society in its own interests.


For Centralized Economic Planning Under Workers Democracy

The stagnation of the Soviet economy during the last Brezhnev years has given way under Gorbachev to bureaucratized chaos. Both the central and republican governments have flooded the country with increasingly worthless rubles while state shops stand empty. The chemical industry is operating at a fraction of its capacity. Steel mills cannot get coking coal. Plants producing machinery cannot get steel. At the largest truck plant in the world, in Volgograd, the main production line stands idle for lack of inputs. And now the United States is auctioning off lucrative oil concessions in the Bering Sea which were signed over by ex-foreign minister Shevardnadze.

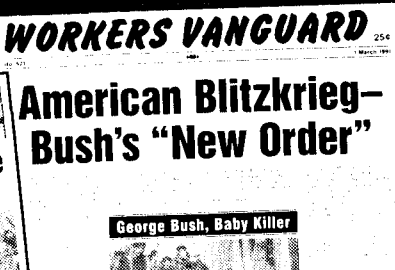
The same apparatchiks who for years have run the collectivized economy into the ground are now *looting* state enterprises in order to buy their way into a new bourgeoisie as junior partners of Wall Street and Frankfurt. Independent workers committees must be formed in factories, mines, railroad yards and

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Above: Retired Soviet army officer confronts anti-Communist at last year's May Day celebration in Red Square. Left: Anti-Semites, monarchists emboldened by Gorbachev/Yeltsin's drive to capitalist restoration parade portrait of tsar Nicholas II.

other enterprises to prevent bureaucratic sabotage as well as attempts at privatization.

Such workers committees can be the basis of *soviets*, drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners, those at all levels of society who would be communists and those few members of the intelligentsia who overcome their corrupt appetites and embrace the cause of the working class. There must be no place in these soviets for the new parasites and exploiters, nor for those within the bureaucracy who are their ideologues and sponsors. The workers and their allies will themselves, by their free vote, indicate which parties they recognize as soviet parties. We stand for a government based on soviet democracy such as was established by the October Revolution of 1917. These will not be talk shops such as the present legislative bodies, for which the Soviet people have developed a healthy revulsion, but organs to directly carry out the will of the working people.

The "democratic" agents of capitalist counterrevolution exploit popular revulsion against Stalinist bureaucratic rule to argue for a parliamentary system of government as in the West. In the economically privileged capitalist countries of West Europe, North America and Japan, whose rulers brutally exploit hundreds of millions of impoverished toilers in the so-called Third World, parliamentarism serves as a "democratic" cover for the class rule of the bourgeoisie. However, the real basis of bourgeois rule in even the wealthiest capitalist societies is fear on the part of the workers that if their labor ceases to be of value to those who own the means of production, they and their families could be sleeping on sidewalks and eating out of garbage cans.

Denunciations of the Stalinist "administrative and command" system of the economy have become the main ideological cover for advocates of capitalist restoration. Many working people identify centralized planning and management as such with bureaucratic commandism, arbitrariness and parasitism. This is false. The central direction of the economy

by a government of soviets is the *only way* that the working class can *democratically* determine the allocation of society's resources in order to ensure social equality at the highest level of productivity—more and better.

We oppose competition between atomized enterprises, which necessarily fosters greater inequality and undermines the social solidarity of the working class. For the same reason, we reject the syndicalist program of workers self-management of enterprises (which is cynically promoted by pro-capitalist forces to introduce a market economy), calling instead for centralized management by a workers government. At the enterprise level, democratically elected factory committees should control working conditions. They could debate the plan in conjunction with fellow workers in other plants. They could dismiss incompetent and corrupt managers, and achieve real labor discipline based on socialist consciousness and the standards set by and enforced by workers collectives.

At a broader level, genuine soviets could make sovereign decisions on what to subsidize. Market forces will never provide adequate childcare, for example. The Soviet Union could easily have the best medical system in the world, far surpassing the class-determined care available (to some) in capitalist countries. By getting rid of the criminal chaos in distribution of agricultural products with an iron hand, a government of soviets could easily supply all its own wheat and have plenty of foreign exchange left over to provide the entire Soviet population with Japanese VCRs and quality pantyhose. And such a revolutionary regime would *increase* aid to countries like Vietnam and Cuba facing the economic strangulation of imperialism.

As Trotsky wrote in 1932: "Only through the interreaction of these three elements, state planning, the market, and Soviet democracy, can the correct direction of the economy of the transitional epoch be attained." The highest soviet body should decide on a plan determining the basic direction of the economy: the level and structure of investment in the means

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Soviet Union...

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of production, military spending, construction of new housing, schools, hospitals and the like. The production of consumer goods should take into account market calculation, so that the output of specific goods and services is continuously adjusted to meet demand. Democratically organized consumer cooperatives should oversee the price and quality of products.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

Among the prominent ideological opponents of Western-type capitalism are Stalin apologists such as Nina Andreyeva and Slavophile reactionaries such as Valentin Rasputin. Our intransigent opposition to capitalist restoration has *nothing in common* with "barracks socialism" or longing for traditional patriarchal Russian society. The Trotskyists insist that only socialization of the means of production can provide the material basis for genuine national and sexual equality, and for maximizing individual freedom, i.e., the freedom to develop one's capacities to the fullest.

We fight for the political, economic and social equality of all Soviet peoples. In particular, we must combat all expressions of anti-Semitism, which in Russia today truly serves as "the socialism of fools," the diversion of class hatred from its rightful targets onto the backs of scapegoats. The new Black Hundreds of Pamyat and the rest of the fascist filth must be smashed through working-class action. If not, these pogromists will spread their bloody terrorism far and wide.

The young Soviet republic opened the door of liberation for Jews and national minorities and they repaid by enlisting in the revolutionary effort to lay the basis for building a just society. From Soviet literature to science to military technology and the Red Army, the contribution of Jewish citizens has been inestimable. For years, the imperialists and Zionists have sought



YIVO institute

Jewish workers' self-defense unit in Odessa, April 1918. The Bolshevik Revolution purged Russia of pogromist Black Hundreds.

to rob the Soviet Union of its educated Jewish population. Now Gorbachev and Russian-nationalist anti-Semites are cooperating in this criminal attempt to stampede Jews out of the Soviet Union and into the Zionist deathtrap of Israel, crippling the creative forces of Soviet society. In the struggle to restore Bolshevism in the Soviet Union, it's important to recall that the Bolshevik Central Committee which carried out the first successful workers revolution in history was disproportionately composed of Jews and other ethnic minorities.

We stand for the social equality of women, which requires the right to free, safe abortions and free, quality childcare, and for the greater participation of women in the leadership of society. Fighting against Solzhenitsynite medievalism, we defend the right of individual freedom in sexual life (e.g., homosexuality, pornography). The early Soviet state abolished laws against homosexuality. Likewise, we oppose political and artistic censorship and other expressions of petty police tyranny.

The October Revolution and formation of the Soviet Union was possible because the Bolsheviks *united* the workers and peasants of all nationalities against their common enemy: the tsarist autocracy, landlords, capitalists, foreign imperialists and petty-bourgeois nationalists of all stripes. Bolshevik internationalism was exemplified by such individuals as the Armenian Stepan Shaumyan, who led the Baku Commune based on Azerbaijani, Armenian and Russian oilworkers, and by Christian Rakovsky, the Romanian-born veteran revolutionary who headed the first Bolshevik government in the Ukraine and later became a leader of the Left Opposition.

To prevent the disintegration of the USSR amid fratricidal nationalism, it is necessary to recapture the proletarian internationalism which animated the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. We stand for the democratic reorganization of the Soviet Union and for the right of any nationality with a leadership that *opposes* counterrevolution to withdraw to any extent it sees fit. We resolutely combat capitalist counterrevolution even where it attempts to cover itself with the fig leaf of "national independence," as in the Baltic republics today.

It is necessary to politically arm the workers against Gorbachev & Co.'s lies that the capitalists of the world, from Washington to the rulers of the new Fourth Reich, have become friends and saviors of the Soviet people. The outbreak of the first imperialist world war in 1914 signaled that the forces of production had outgrown the bounds of both the capitalist system and the nation-state. In the imperialist epoch, capitalism is inseparable from militarism and from wars for the division and redivision of world markets and spheres of exploitation.

The October Revolution broke the chain of world imperialism at its weakest link, Russia. No less than 14 imperialist armed forces invaded the fledgling Soviet state, allying with and supporting the White armies. Lenin recognized that the Bolshevik victory in the Civil War was but a temporary respite. He ceaselessly told the truth that only the *world proletarian revolution* could save the Soviet workers state. For this reason, Lenin, together with Trotsky and other internationalists, formed the Communist International, which attracted to its banner the most revolutionary-minded workers and idealistic leftist intellectuals from North America to the Far East.

Stalin perverted and then liquidated the Communist International in the name of building "socialism in one country," a reactionary and utopian program for the *defeat* of

revolutions abroad and ultimately of the Soviet Union itself. Stalin's global class collaboration in the 1930s—first the attempt at a "people's front" against Nazi Germany with the "democratic" imperialist powers of Britain and France, then the non-aggression pact with Germany—laid the basis for Hitler's Operation Barbarossa. Twenty million Soviet citizens were killed defending their country and liberating all of Europe from the nightmare of Nazism. On the basis of the Red Army's destruction of the Third Reich, subsequent threats to the USSR by nuclear-armed American imperialism led the Kremlin to undertake bureaucratically deformed social, i.e., anti-capitalist, revolutions in East Europe as a defensive measure.

Now Gorbachev's abject capitulation before imperialist military and diplomatic pressure, beginning with the pullout from Afghanistan, has unraveled the post-World War II order.

The Afghanistan intervention, although undertaken by Brezhnev for narrow defensive military reasons, opened the possibility to extend the social gains of October to the peoples of hideously backward Afghanistan. We supported the Red Army intervention and condemn the withdrawal as a deadly danger to the Afghan masses, first and foremost to unveiled women, and to the USSR itself.

Far from appeasing imperialism, the withdrawal from Afghanistan signaled to the NATO capitals that the Soviet government had lost its will to fight. Far better to have fought imperialism in Afghanistan than to have to now fight it within the borders of the Soviet Union! With the Soviet leadership's withdrawal from Afghanistan and acceptance of German reunification, U.S. imperialism invaded the Persian Gulf to assert control over world oil supplies and used the Pentagon's arsenal of megadeath to batter Iraq, a former Moscow client state. This has further emboldened the imperialists, for whom the USSR remains the main target. The Trotskyists stand for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union—weakened and betrayed for decades by Stalin and his heirs in



TASS
Protest last September in coal mining center of Donetsk against attempts to remove Lenin statue. Center sign says: "Hands Off Lenin!"

the Kremlin—against the forces of capitalist imperialism.

The defense and regeneration of the Soviet Union must be linked to the perspective of socialist revolution worldwide. Capitalist development itself has brought into being an international division of labor. Thus the struggle to secure for the Soviet masses the good things of life—both material and cultural—presupposes participation in the world economy. And this means the replacement of the imperialist-dominated world market by an internationally planned socialist economy. A planned economy, implemented on the scale of the world productive forces and under the control of democratic workers soviets, would have spared mankind the wars, Holocaust, misery, hunger and threat of nuclear annihilation of the last half century.

For decades, the oppressive, corrupt and parasitic Kremlin oligarchy falsely claimed the historic mantle of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. In reality, it was the Trotskyist Left Opposition which preserved and carried forward the revolutionary program of Red October. Stalin was the gravedigger of the Bolshevik Party, whose surviving cadre he murdered in the Great Purges of the 1930s. It is urgently necessary to build a new Bolshevik party in the Soviet Union, uniting the most militant, class-conscious workers with the most committed Marxist intellectuals. Only under the leadership of such an authentic communist party, section of a reformed Fourth International, can the Soviet working class and its allies sweep away the remnants of the degenerate Stalinist bureaucracy and defeat the forces of capitalist restoration, laying the basis for a socialist future.

* * *

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Pro-Imperialist "Democrats," Hardliners and Gorbachev

Where is the Soviet Union Going?

After six and a half decades of Stalinist rule, the Soviet Union is lurching toward catastrophe. As the economy collapses, the forces driving toward capitalist counterrevolution and bloody nationalist strife have grown apace and the contending elements of the disintegrating bureaucracy are threatening each other with civil war.

President of the Russian republic Boris Yeltsin, who now leads the pro-Western forces of open capitalist restoration (the so-called "democrats"), has demanded that Gorbachev resign and surrender political power to the governments of the various republics. Gorbachev, now leaning for support on old-line apparatchiks and military men, responded that this will lead "to the path of confrontation, right up to civil war." And now Yeltsin has issued an open declaration of war against the Kremlin, vowing that the outcome will be decided by the end of March.

Meanwhile, the country is careening into chaos. Three-quarters of the meat shops in Moscow are empty as other republics have cut off supplies. Police in Tomsk use tear gas to "calm down" women shoppers waiting in line. While the bourgeois mafias and many intellectuals have stocked provisions, Kazakhstan miners and their children live from hand to mouth on rations.

In the non-Russian republics, the rise of anti-Soviet nationalism threatens to rip apart the USSR, with the remnants becoming neocolonies of Wall Street, Frankfurt and Tokyo. The secessionist governments of the Baltic republics are intent on joining the capitalist "free world," while the large and heavily proletarian Russian-speaking population in this region faces national oppression and expulsion. In Georgia, the rabidly nationalist Tbilisi regime has launched a murderous pogrom against the Ossetian minority. Gorbachev's March 17 refer-



Gamma

Soviet troops outside Lithuanian parliament in Vilnius. Crisis of Stalinism paves the way for capitalist restorationists, reactionary secessionists.

endum on preserving the Union will resolve nothing. Only the multinational Soviet working class can prevent the bloody dismemberment of their country which would accompany the restoration of capitalism.

The advocates of outright capitalist restoration, from Russia's Yeltsin to Lithuania's Landsbergis, claim that the "free market" is the road to economic renewal and prosperity. In reality, it will mean closing down thousands of enterprises, throwing millions of workers into the streets, runaway inflation and the total dismantling of medical care, childcare and other social programs. Look at the gutting of the livelihoods and wholesale impoverishment of the working

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**Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!
For a Socialist Union of Soviet Republics!**