

## South Africa Elections



De La Mauviniere/AP



Silva/AP

Mandela and De Klerk receive Nobel "peace" prize. At right, corpses on street outside ANC headquarters after Inkatha tried to storm building. For a Bolshevik workers party in South Africa! For a black-centered workers republic!

# ANC/De Klerk Deal Is Betrayal of Black Freedom

APRIL 25—After many vicious decades of British colonial rule and white-supremacist apartheid, the 30 million black South Africans (*three-quarters* of the total population) will be able to vote in the upcoming National Assembly elections. The white ruling class has been forced into this concession by the long years of bloody struggle by the superexploited South African masses.

The days leading up to the elections have seen a campaign of terror bombings, almost certainly the work of hardline white right-wingers. The threat of white-supremacist revolt against the African National Congress-dominated government which Nelson Mandela will head after the elections, is real and

dangerous. But the enormously wealthy white mine owners, industrialists and financiers and their senior partners in Wall Street and the City of London—the real owners and rulers of South Africa—are staking their future on the National Peace Accord, their deal with the ANC leadership. They correctly calculate that the ANC (already installed in the corridors of power since last December through the Transitional Executive Council) will uphold and administer capitalist rule in government.

The "Randlords" know that the ANC's vast political authority is the strongest tool at their disposal for suppressing  
*(continued on page 6)*

# Citizenship Now for Issam Yamani!

Issam Yamani, a 38-year-old Palestinian immigrant, faces deportation from Canada because of his political support to the radical-nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Like countless other Palestinians, Yamani's family was driven into exile in 1948 when Israel expelled hundreds of thousands of Palestinian men, women and children. He himself was born in an impoverished refugee camp in Lebanon. After working for many years in the Persian Gulf countries, Yamani came to Canada in 1985 as a landed immigrant. Three years later he applied for citizenship, only to be refused after the Canadian Security Intelligence Service intervened.

Yamani lives in a Toronto suburb with his wife and two children, who are also included in the deportation order—even though the children are both Canadian citizens. A political science student at York University, he has never been convicted of a single offense in Canada, not even a parking ticket. Yet CSIS and the immigration department are moving to deport him as a "subversive," "'potential' terrorist" and "potential threat to Canadian security."

They are targeting Yamani explicitly on the basis of his connections with the PFLP (of which his father Ahmad was the co-founder) and his work to financially assist Palestinian organizations in the Occupied Territories. These organizations include the Palestinian Women's Committee, Union of Agriculture and Work Committees, a family sponsorship program, Middle East Children's Alliance and Union of Popular Committees for Health. The money forwarded to them by Yamani came from the Palestine National Fund, a Palestine Liberation Organization reserve administered personally by PLO leader Yasir Arafat, as well as individual donations. Yamani has also been active in the Committee for a Democratic Palestine, a publicly active group in North America which politically supports the PFLP. He has never denied supporting the PFLP's politics, telling the *Toronto Star* (14 April): "That is my political belief and it is well-known because of my father."

Yamani's lawyer, Barbara Jackman, told the *Star* that CSIS and the government "consider him guilty by association, not for anything he's done but because he has been associated with people in the PFLP." His appeal to the Federal Court against the deportation order is to be heard on May 17-19. We say: Stop the deportation! Hands off Issam Yamani!

The attempt to deport this Palestinian activist is part of a worldwide capitalist offensive against immigrants and refugees. Here in Canada, desperate immigrants from Somalia are special targets of racist persecution, while the Ontario NDP govern-

ment is now eliminating medicare funding for refugees and foreign workers.

The move to expel Yamani also reflects Canada's support to the Zionist state of Israel which has dispossessed and oppressed the Palestinian people, and which is responsible for countless atrocities such as the infamous Hebron massacre of dozens of Palestinians on February 25. Today Canada is backing the U.S.-brokered "peace" accord between Israel and Arafat's PLO leadership. This "peace" deal is no more than a codification of Palestinian national oppression, with the PLO assigned the role of tax collectors and policemen for the Zionist state in the Gaza Strip and Jericho (see "Zionist Killers Rampage Against Palestinians," *SC* No. 95,



Toronto Star

Issam Yamani.

January/February 1994). The PFLP has opposed Arafat's treacherous deal, albeit through forming an ignominious political alliance with the Muslim fundamentalist Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

It is no accident that Canada is today targeting for removal a prominent left-wing opponent of the sellout Israel-PLO accord. "I think that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, CSIS wants monsters to fight," Yamani told the press in early April. The vendetta against this Palestinian activist represents the intersection of state-sponsored "terrorism" hysteria against Palestinians and other Arabs with growing anti-immigrant racism.

During the Gulf War, Canadian security officials whipped up an anti-Arab witchhunt, speaking darkly of "Iraqi agents" and "radical Palestinian groups" targeting "a vast array of strategic facilities." But, as we noted when CSIS was founded eleven years ago: "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).

Defend Issam Yamani—Canadian citizenship for Yamani now! Down with the Israel-PLO "peace" accord, a trap for the Palestinian masses! Israel out of the Occupied Territories! For a socialist federation of the Near East! Mobilize the Canadian labor movement against deportations and for full citizenship rights for immigrants! ■

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# Defend Serbia Against Imperialist Attack!

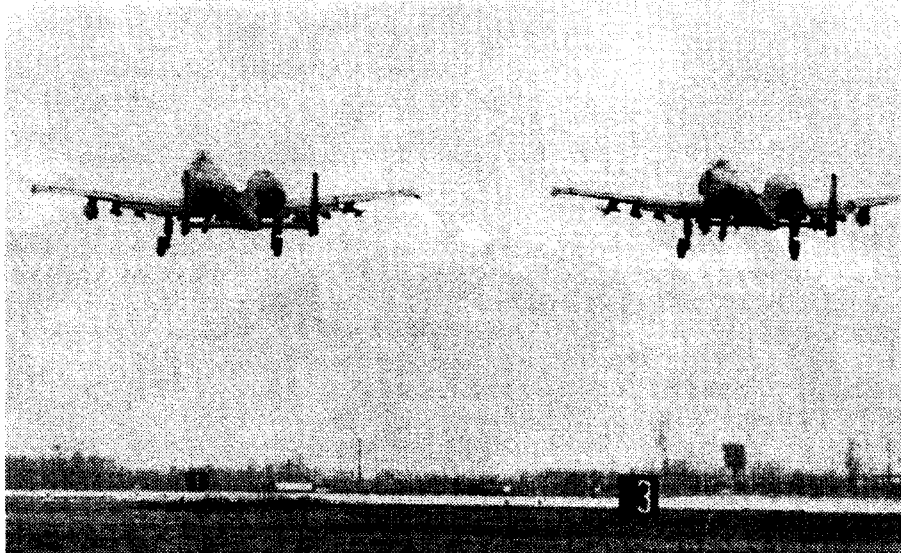
## All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now!

APRIL 24—In an ominous move, the imperialist powers are threatening to become active combatants and sharply escalate the three-year-old war that is ravaging the former Yugoslavia. On April 22, NATO issued an ultimatum to the Serbs demanding that they immediately pull back their forces besieging the Muslim enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia—and refrain from attacking four other UN-declared “safe areas”—or face aerial bombing. NATO’s war threat has now been endorsed by Yeltsin’s Russia. While the Bosnian Serb forces have reportedly begun withdrawing artillery, the imperialists could launch military strikes at any moment.

The Western powers are increasingly frustrated at their inability to impose order in this tinderbox of Europe. The imperialist economic blockade of Serbia, while causing terrible suffering for the civilian population—especially old people, young children and the poor—had no effect on the war on the ground in Bosnia. The previous NATO attempt at using military force—the pinprick raids against Serbian forces around Gorazde on April 10-11—backfired. The Serbs blockaded 5,000 UN “peacekeepers” throughout Bosnia, Serbian gunners shot down a British Sea Harrier fighter, and the offensive against Gorazde was stepped up.

The latest military moves by the Western imperialists reflect divergent appetites in the Balkans. Clinton’s White House keeps harping on NATO’s “credibility”—and its own—as the U.S. seeks to act as top cop in a “New World Order”...without risking American casualties. Washington’s junior partners in Ottawa agonized that Canadian UN “peacekeepers” might get caught in the line of fire, but soon signed on for air strikes. Reunified German imperialism, which instigated the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, seeks to reestablish its historic overlordship in the western Balkans—Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. Meanwhile, in the wake of the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union, Russia wants to reassert its “great power” status in the region, particularly toward its traditional client state Serbia.

But despite differing long-term interests and short-term concerns—the Americans want to go further and arm the Muslims, the French, British and Canadians are worried about their troops on the ground, the Russians don’t want to see Serbia too humiliated—they are all united for the moment in forcing the Serbs into line and more generally imposing an imperialist carve-up of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.



Mellace/Reuters

**American A-10 Warthogs take off from Italy to enforce imperialist “no fly” zone over Bosnia.**

While opposing *all sides* in the fratricidal civil war between the Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims, we call upon the working people to defend Serbia against imperialist attack. The nationalist atrocities carried out by all sides in Bosnia pale in comparison to the crimes of the Western imperialists. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 were a prelude to the first imperialist world war, which slaughtered millions of working people. The U.S. which spouts about “democracy” is responsible for the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the carpet-bombing of Vietnam and the terror bombing of Iraq. And the German Fourth Reich, which sanctimoniously denounces Serbian “ethnic cleansing,” is self-proclaimed successor state to the Nazi regime which murdered millions of Slavs, Jews and Gypsies. Imperialist hands off Serbia—Down with the starvation blockade! All U.S./Canadian/UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans, now!

### Western Imperialism Behind Balkan Bloodbath

Western propaganda blames the war on Serbian “aggression” and “age-old tribal feuding” in the Balkans. In reality, this orgy of murderous nationalism originates in the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe, prepared by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic-nationalist misrule and engineered by the United States, Germany and the other NATO powers. Since the imperialist powers had different policies, they did not intervene in Yugoslavia in a united and decisive way.

In the ethnic-nationalist wars set off by the secession of Croatia and Slovenia in the summer of 1991, tens of thousands have been killed and maimed, and hundreds of thousands driven from their homes. All sides have embraced the most reactionary “traditions,” with the Croats harking back to the pro-Nazi World War II Ustasha regime, the Serbs glorifying monarchist Chetniks and the Muslims unfurling the green

(continued on page 10)

# Stop Racist Witchhunt in Toronto!

Just after noon on March 14, a Toronto judge sentenced prominent black activist Dudley Laws to nine months in jail and a \$5,000 fine. This followed a years-long vendetta in which the RCMP, Toronto cops and courts entrapped the Black Action Defense Committee (BADC) spokesman and charged him with smuggling immigrants across the U.S. border.

Speaking at a defense rally outside Metro Police headquarters on March 16, a Trotskyist League spokesman emphasized that the state witchhunt against Laws had nothing to do with supposed breaches of immigration law, but was a blatant attempt to silence and intimidate active opponents of racist cop terror. While systematically harassing black youth and spying on civil rights activists and organizations, Toronto police have gunned down eight black people in the last four years alone.

Three weeks later, the cops and the bosses' media whipped up another round of racist hysteria following the April 5 murder of Georgina Leimonis, a young white woman, in an Annex-area café. This was indeed a brutal crime, but for the cops it served merely as the signal for another racist onslaught. As newspapers ran blurry surveillance camera photos of three black suspects, a witchhunt atmosphere was fomented against all black people in Toronto. Police Association chairman Art Lymer joined a rally outside the café where he railed against immigrants who he claimed were "importing crime." Police chief William McCormack further fanned the racist fires with a speech denouncing so-called "urban terrorism." But black people, and any unionist who ever walked a picket line, know who the real armed "terrorists" are. They wear blue.

We reprint below a Trotskyist League leaflet issued on March 12.



SC photo

Dudley Laws (right) at 3 October 1993 protest against Toronto cops' racist strip-search of Jamaican tourist Audrey Smith.

## Stop the Racist State Persecution of Dudley Laws and Other Black Activists

The Trotskyist League strongly denounces the politically motivated witchhunt against prominent black community leader Dudley Laws. We demand that the ongoing campaign of police harassment targeting Mr. Laws and the organization for which he is a spokesman, the Black Action Defense Committee, be terminated immediately, that all convictions against Mr. Laws be thrown out and that he be freed.

Dudley Laws was not targeted by the cops and courts for violations of immigration laws: this was merely a pretext. The capitalist powers-that-be have been out to get him for years because he is a forthright spokesman against racist police violence and murder of blacks in Toronto and elsewhere. In December 1989 the head of the Police Association made a public attack on him for "stirring up hatred against the force," warning ominously that "violence is going to be provoked against" Laws and other BADC spokesmen, and that "their life is going to be put in danger."

To make good on that threat, Metro cops and the RCMP collaborated in a massive sting operation to entrap Dudley Laws for bringing in "illegal aliens." Press reports estimate this cost more than \$1 million and involved nearly 10,000 hours of police time. Outrageously, the Ontario Court judge who registered three convictions against Laws last month ruled that there was no evidence of police hostility toward Laws and that he was not a victim of police entrapment!

The cop witchhunt against Dudley Laws is only the tip of the iceberg. Evidence at his trial exposed a Metro police "intelligence report" which targets dozens of black organizations and individuals for surveillance and harassment. This persecution is being conducted in the midst of the worst economic crisis

since the 1930s. The capitalist rulers of this country and their governments fear that the anger of workers, youth, the unemployed and minorities will be turned against them. To avert this possibility, they are resorting to the time-honored method of "divide and rule": whipping up anti-immigrant hysteria, and scapegoating black people and other minorities. In this campaign of intimidation and repression, the capitalists have the reliable support of Ontario's NDP government, which is moving to eliminate health care for refugees, just as it earlier imposed the wage-slashing "social contract" on public sector workers in the interests of Bay Street.

The entrapment and conviction of Dudley Laws demonstrates yet again that the capitalist state cannot act in the interests of the oppressed. It exists for one purpose only: to enforce the domination of the handful of filthy rich capitalist parasites who run this country. The cops are the rulers' armed fist, the overwhelming source of violence against minorities and working people. No "civilian review" or "community control" scheme will ever change that reality. The oppressive capitalist system and the racist state that defends it must be swept away by the multiracial working class through socialist revolution.

The Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League, has protested the persecution of Dudley Laws in a letter to the Ontario NDP Attorney General. The defense of Dudley Laws against the racist police vendetta is in the urgent interest of all defenders of democratic rights, of all who could be caught up in the ever-widening net of state persecution. How many other "radical" activists are on their hit list? ■

## Anger Mounts Over UI/Welfare Cuts

# Ontario Hydro Workers Shafted

In late March, the capitalist ruling class got a real scare. The 14,700 members of the Ontario Power Workers Union (PWU) were poised to strike against giant Ontario Hydro and its job-slashing chairman, Maurice Strong. After taking more than 6,000 permanent layoffs in a single year, Hydro workers were spoiling for a fight. Panicky captains of industry conceded that the union held the high ground. A Ford Canada executive stated the obvious: "A shutdown by Ontario Hydro would bring the industrial core of the province to a halt."

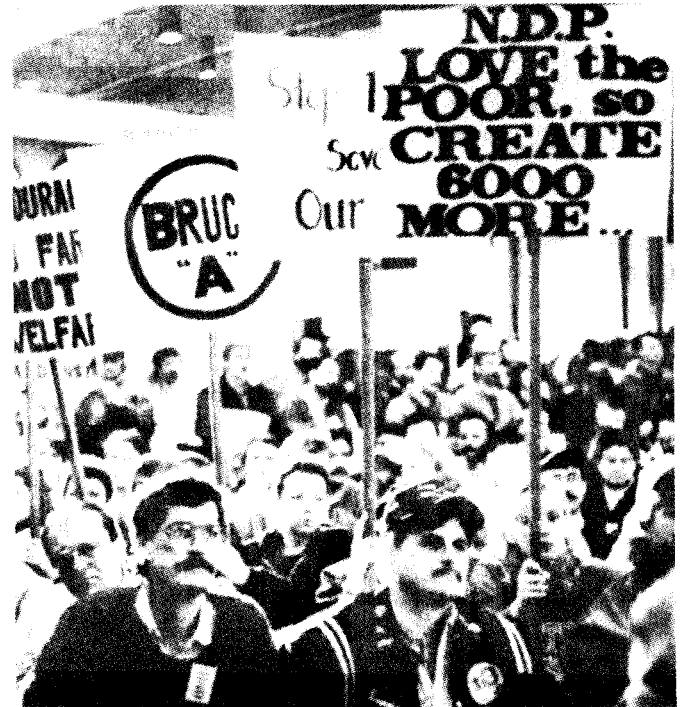
A solid strike by the PWU could have detonated the pent-up working-class anger which has accumulated through years of the worst global depression since the 1930s. By pulling the plug on the Ontario electrical grid and *defying* the threatened back-to-work legislation from Bob Rae's anti-labor NDP government, PWU workers could have impelled workers across the country into struggle against the ravenous profiteers who have lined their own pockets while driving the economy into the ground.

But the lights stayed on. Power Workers president Jon Murphy and his cronies smothered the militancy, desperate to avoid a confrontation with the Hydro bosses and their NDP government. PWU negotiators swiftly agreed to a two-year wage freeze. They waived their legal right (under the NDP's vaunted "anti-scab" law) to prevent Hydro from redeploying managers to operate thermal generating stations during a walkout. Finally, they led the union right into the tender embrace of the Hydro bosses, selling the workers' interests for...a seat on the corporation's board of directors! Murphy hailed this "gain" as "tremendously important." Let's be clear: a seat on the board simply means Murphy or his designate will participate directly in the destruction of Hydro workers' jobs and benefits, screening the bosses' attacks from the workers' anger through the fraud of union "input."

Labor's gotta play hardball to win! The PWU skates seized on Bob Rae's threat to impose binding arbitration as an excuse to cave in. But every serious workers' struggle quickly comes up against the capitalists' government and state—their cops and courts. They've got a law against every tactic the workers need to win; and if they don't, they'll pass one. Like the betrayal of the federal public sector strikes in 1991, which could have toppled the hated Mulroney Tories, Murphy's sellout of the Ontario Hydro workers poses starkly and urgently the need for a new leadership of the union movement—an anti-capitalist leadership committed to using all the weapons of the class struggle, mobilizing labor's social power in a fight for a genuine workers government.

### Organize the Anger! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

If there ever was a time to fight, it's now. Nearly two million are *officially* unemployed, the highest rate in the G7 group of imperialist powers. The bosses say things might get better... sometime next millennium. In Metro Toronto alone, where an estimated one quarter of all children live in poverty, 365,000 people—15 percent of the population—are on welfare.



NOW

Ontario Hydro workers denounce NDP austerity job-slashing, March 1993.

Having created millions of poor people, the ruling class has now declared open season on them. Jean Chrétien's federal Liberals are threatening to further cut UI payments, increase the work weeks needed for eligibility and slash eligibility itself in half, from 52 weeks to 26. This would throw at least 40,000 more unemployed workers onto the welfare rolls immediately.

At the same time, across the country provincial governments—Tory, Liberal and NDP alike—are hard at work gutting social programs. In Ontario, the hated Rae regime has already cut "non-resident" workers and students off medicare. Now it wants to force young people off welfare and send them to labor camps. Taking up the right-wing hysteria about "welfare cheats," Rae's "deficit busting" government has laid out \$10 million for 270 welfare cops to "review" every one of the province's 1.3 million welfare claims over the next two years.

In Quebec such welfare cops—the infamous *bou bou macoutes*—have been intimidating the poor for years. One of their victims told the *Toronto Star* (2 April) how an "agent drilled her on how quickly she went through sanitary napkins and how much she spent on lipstick and an occasional Coke at the mall," looking for any excuse to lift her \$674-a-month welfare check. Nobody is safe from the *bou bou macoutes*: neighbors and relatives, even letter carriers and priests, face \$1,000 fines if they refuse to answer questions about welfare claimants!

Among working people and the oppressed, there's no lack of will to fight back. Tens of thousands are expected to march

(continued on page 12)



## South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

and denying the hopes and demands of the black masses. And the expectations are enormous. The huge formerly disenfranchised non-white majority sees these elections as opening the road to "freedom" and a share of the wealth produced in South Africa.

Although the elections are billed by the ANC as the "transition to democracy," in fact they are a far cry from "one person, one vote." *Whatever the outcome*, the main party of the white ruling class, the National Party, led by President De Klerk, is guaranteed a place in a "Government of National Unity" for a five-year period. This is included in the "sunset clause," agreed to by the ANC, which gives a cabinet seat to any party obtaining five percent or more in the ballot, and then imposes the need for approval by two-thirds of the cabinet on "certain issues." The National Party and the other main white party, the Democratic Party, will thereby have effective veto power over all major decisions.

Even if the ANC wins two-thirds of the vote, Nelson Mandela has made it very plain that his party intends to defend the dominance of the apartheid masters. In speech after speech, Mandela has bent over backwards to reassure and conciliate the capitalists, whose junior partner he has now become. All the radical talk of the years of struggle—the rhetoric of "socialism" by the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the COSATU union federation—has evaporated, to be replaced by the language of "moderation" and compromise. The "independence" (from government control) of the Reserve Bank is guaranteed, supervision by the IMF/World Bank is entrenched, the rights of capitalist property are incorporated into a "Bill of Rights"!

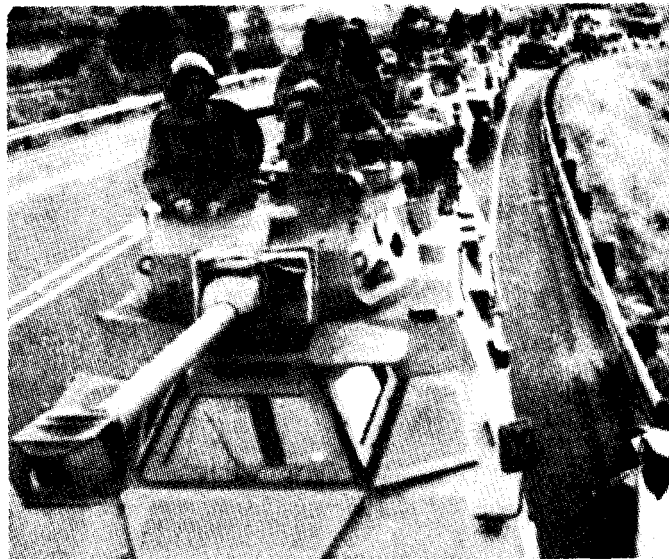
The South African Police and the South African Defence Force (SADF)—the butchers of Sharpeville and Soweto and the former colonial occupation forces of Namibia and Angola—will be left under their existing command. Meanwhile the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), is dissolved and partially incorporated into the SADF or the impotent National Peacekeeping Force, which is increasingly charged with policing the black townships.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose Zulu Inkatha movement has allied with the Conservative Party and white reactionaries even further to the right, has for months been attempting to sabotage the elections. Inkatha forces have whipped up and perpetrated horrendous attacks on ANC supporters, seeking to exploit tribal divisions. But now Mandela has guaranteed Buthelezi's cousin, the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelethini, the status of a "constitutional monarch," complete with king-sized personal subsidies, in a successful effort to get Inkatha to end its boycott of the elections.

The capitalists are gambling on an ANC-led government as their best hope of obtaining stable conditions for continued extraction of southern Africa's natural resources and superexploitation of its black proletariat. Faced with appalling conditions of poverty and inequality of the black masses, the ANC is promising a paltry five-year "Reconstruction and Development Programme." But the prospects for capitalist stability are slim indeed. There is no way South Africa can sustain a capitalist "democracy" given the vast gulf separating the desperately impoverished black toilers and the privileged, dominant white caste. A coalition government between the ANC and Nats must be highly fragile and unstable, facing both

the demands of the black masses which it cannot meet and disruption by diehard and well-armed white racists.

Genuine universal suffrage, universal schooling, equality of all the peoples of South Africa, full citizenship rights (including the right to vote) for the hundreds of thousands of migrant workers drawn from neighboring countries and their families, equal pay for equal work, the right of the rural black population (particularly in the barren bantustans) to land stolen over the centuries, first by Afrikaner colonial settlers and then by the



Agence France Presse

**Racist South Africa army enters Natal, where apartheid-funded Inkatha waged terror campaign against elections.**

British imperialists, equality for women—to realize all these elementary democratic demands requires that capitalist rule be overthrown by workers revolution.

South African capitalism's viability, its ability to compete in the world market, is based on the system of superexploitation symbolized by the lives of the mine workers. The core of the economy has been and remains gold mining. With the richest veins having run out, the Randlords like Anglo American are left with vast quantities of low-grade ore that they can mine profitably only by paying slave wages. Over the last 90 years, nearly 90,000 South African miners have died at work: apartheid capitalism is literally black blood transmuted into white gold. And for the apartheid bosses, that is not negotiable.

### **ANC/SACP: Black Front Men for Neo-Apartheid Capitalism**

The understanding that in a country like South Africa it is impossible to satisfy the many unfulfilled revolutionary democratic tasks short of the seizure of power by the socialist proletariat is central to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. This was demonstrated by Lenin's Bolshevik Party as it led the successful struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in October 1917. Securing basic democratic rights, let alone the huge economic expansion and redistribution required to give a decent life to all the people of South Africa, can only come by breaking the economic and political power of the giant mining and manufacturing houses through expropriation of their assets, laying the basis for an economy planned under the rule of workers councils.

South Africa requires a *black-centered workers government*, not the installation of aspiring black exploiters in the



Independent

### Militant black South African miners demonstrate at headquarters of mine in Johannesburg.

antechambers of *verligte* [enlightened] apartheid power—which is what the ANC offers and desires. A vote for the ANC—including its Communist Party members and affiliated trade-union leaders of COSATU—is a vote to perpetuate the racist oppression and superexploitation of the black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers in a different political form.

From being a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement in opposition, the ANC is in the process of integrating its leading elements into the South African ruling class as it becomes a bourgeois-nationalist ruling party. The *Wall Street Journal* (3 March) reports, “Blacks Enter South African Boardrooms.” South African corporations, especially those looking for government contracts, are falling over each other to recruit ANC cadres as managers. They are also prepared to buy off sections of the black middle class and skilled workers by widening pay differentials in the black workforce.

Today the ANC leaders are no doubt getting fitted for top hats and morning coats on London’s Saville Row. Nelson Mandela will perhaps ride to his presidential inauguration in the red Mercedes-Benz armored limo built for him by the militant Mercedes workers in East London before the ANC tops with the aid of the SACP sold out their militant 1990 strike. As the ANC tops become increasingly estranged from the township masses, the SACP and COSATU leaders are playing a vital role in defusing discontent. The SACP’s Stalinist theory of “two-stage revolution” (democracy first, socialism in the sweet bye and bye), is a reformist rationale for subordinating the working class to the nationalist ANC.

The ANC sellout to the South African ruling class is so blatant, including the open repudiation of its liberal-nationalist Freedom Charter, that most groups claiming to be Trotskyist have criticized the Mandela/De Klerk “powersharing” deal. But, mesmerized by the popular support for the ANC and the SACP, several of these groups share the practical conclusion of the Stalinist reformists. The Marxist Workers Tendency (MWT), which sees itself as part of the ANC, calls for voting ANC. “Kick out the Nats!” they headline, proclaiming: “the elections give us the chance to crush the party of apartheid and dictatorship. Every vote must be used to close the door on the

old South Africa” (*Congress Militant*, February-March 1994).

The MWT are the co-thinkers of the British Militant Labour group, which likes to posture as a thoroughly orthodox Trotskyist tendency. Yet one of Trotsky’s crucial fights in the formation of the international Left Opposition to Stalin was against the latter’s policy of entry into the Kuomintang (the bourgeois-nationalist party in pre-revolutionary China). The Stalinist policy led straight to disaster in the bloody Shanghai massacre of 1927 in which thousands of worker communists were slaughtered by KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek. Organizational *separation* and political independence from the nationalists is the bedrock of a working-class revolutionary party. And those who today call for votes to the ANC are assuming the political responsibility for the inevitable massacres of South African workers by the ANC/De Klerk neo-apartheid regime.

Other smaller groups have also directly capitulated to the ANC/SACP in these elections. The International Socialists of South Africa (ISSA), co-thinkers of the Canadian I.S., call for a vote to the ANC. ISSAer Terry Bell, in an article reprinted in *Socialist Organiser* (21 April), argued:

“In this particular battle, the working class is lined up behind the ANC alliance against the NP [De Klerk’s National Party]... Since revolutionary socialists stand for the self-emancipation of the working class, the Left should argue that we vote—without illusions in party or parliament—with the class on April 27.”

So since many workers have illusions in the bourgeois nationalists, these consummate opportunists call...for feeding their illusions.

One small South African grouping, the Comrades for a Workers Government who publish *Qina Msebenzi* and are affiliated with the British Workers International League, have in the past been identified with the demand for a “mass workers party.” But as the elections approached they switched gears and came out for a “Vote ANC” line which echoes that of the MWT. In effect, they treat the bourgeois-nationalist Congress as if it were a reformist workers party which had entered a popular front, rather than a force outside the workers movement. The bottom line is that an ANC government—like other bourgeois-nationalist regimes in the Third World, such as Peronism in Argentina, the Mexican PRI, the Ba’athists in Iraq and Syria—could (and may be driven to) *smash* the unions, whereas for a reformist workers party, which bases itself on the labor movement, this would be suicidal.

Meanwhile, the militant nationalists of AZAPO, derived from the “Black Consciousness” movement, are calling to boycott the elections. While the ANC/NP “powersharing” deal, on which these elections are based, violates even the elementary principles of bourgeois democracy, nonetheless the black masses are determined to participate in their first-ever chance to vote in any way on the South African government. Proletarian revolutionaries seek to use the elections, as the Bolsheviks did with the votes for the tsarist Duma, as a platform for their communist program. In particular, Marxists would counterpose the fight for a workers party to voting for the ANC, the co-rulers of a capitalist “new South Africa.”

### Critical Support to the Workers List

One of the groups running is the Workers List Party (WLP), initiated by the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA). After examining the program and statements of the

(continued on page 8)

## South Africa...

(continued from page 7)

WLP that are available to us, we Trotskyists of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have decided to call for *critical support* to the Workers List Party in the April elections. The platform of the WLP can be summarized by its opening sentences:

"The WLP enters the elections in order to promote the formation of a 'Mass Workers Party' (MWP). We believe that only a workers party will be able to carry forward the struggle of the exploited and oppressed masses of South Africa. We do not believe that any of the white or black nationalist parties can solve the crisis of unemployment, homelessness, disease, illiteracy and poverty that afflict the urban and rural poor; those who live in the crime-ridden townships and squatter settlements of our cities, in the rural slums, in the Bantustans and in the slave-like conditions on the white farms and in the dorps [small farming towns]. These parties cannot do so because they accept the capitalist system."

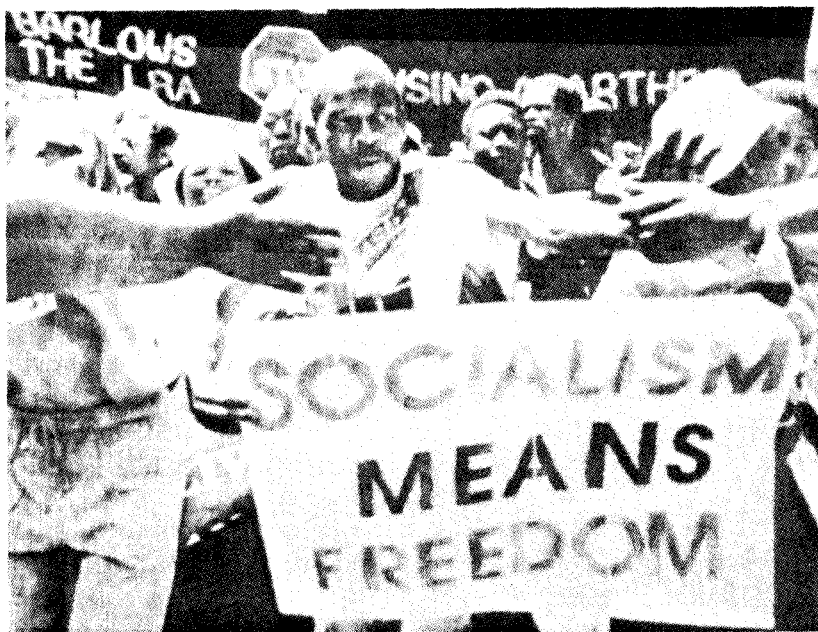
—"Manifesto of the Workers' List Party of South Africa," reprinted in *Socialist Organiser* [London], 17 March

The WLP calls for "nationalisation under workers control of the monopoly companies, banks, mines and land without compensation." The party's manifesto also "reject[s] the idea of a Government of National Unity that includes the racists." It says that a "genuine constituent assembly could be no more than a stepping stone to a Workers' Government." The WLP claim to be standing some 80 candidates in all regions. With an electoral system based on national and regional party slates (rather than constituencies), a vote for the WLP will be counterposed to a vote for the ANC.

The question of political organization of the proletariat, independent from and in opposition to the nationalist ANC, is a key strategic question for South Africa today. In this regard, the WLP does draw a crude class line and a vote for it will be seen in South Africa as a vote for a workers party rather than the ANC.

At the same time, we emphasize that the platform of the WLP is left-reformist. *Never once* does it explicitly attack the ANC, which takes some doing in South Africa today. Nor does it raise the need for a *socialist revolution* against the neo-apartheid ANC-NP capitalist regime. While calling for "self-defence and a workers' militia," the WLP platform does not call for smashing and replacing the existing capitalist state machine which is the direct continuity of the apartheid state. While the WLP speaks of "a socialist democracy" and "democratic planning process," this is in the spirit of European social democracy rather than the kind of revolutionary regime based on workers councils (soviets) that would be needed in order to expropriate the wealth of the Randlords and crush the bitter-end resistance of the apartheid racists backed by international imperialism.

Yet in South Africa today, more than anywhere else on the planet, virtually every social and democratic struggle necessarily poses the question of workers revolution. WOSA/WLP has campaigned heavily on the right to a job, and reportedly plans a march for jobs on May 6, at the opening of the National



Steve Hilton-Barber/Afrapix-Impact Visuals

**ANC's deal with De Klerk means continued racist capitalist oppression in neo-apartheid South Africa.**

Assembly. But while their platform calls for "a 35 hour week without loss of pay, an end to retrenchments [layoffs], scab labour and lockouts," it presents these demands in a pressure campaign directed toward the capitalist parliament rather than calling for sharp class struggle such as plant occupations, establishing genuine workers control (dual power in the workplace) and demanding a sliding scale of wages and hours to create jobs for all.

Although the WLP makes ritual reference to "internationalism," in reality this tendency has long stood for a certain species of South African "nation-building." WOSA's principal leader, Neville Alexander, writes: "The existing South African state forms the boundaries of the potential nation, not the particular existing cultures" (in Alex Callinicos, ed., *Between Apartheid and Capitalism: Conversations with South African Socialists* [1992]). The WLP platform's call for "a united socialist nation" reflects an understandable reaction to the divide-and-rule policies of apartheid (most visible in the alliance of the Zulu-nationalist Inkatha with the most reactionary, fascist supporters of an Afrikaner *Boerestaat*).

The colonial-derived South African state consists of different national, racial and ethnic groups, with the whites on top, the black Africans on the bottom and the coloureds and Indians occupying an intermediate position. The goal of communists is not to forge "one nation" in the borders of the 1910 Union of South Africa but to achieve political and social equality for *all* of South Africa's diverse peoples. This requires a racially integrated Leninist party. We call for a socialist federation of southern Africa, with regional autonomy, should they desire, for such peoples as the Ovimbundu in Namibia/Angola, the Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe and the Zulus in Natal.

In giving critical support to the WLP slate, we note that we are not able to judge the reality of its campaign on the ground in South Africa. We also point out that groups with centrist politics like WOSA (whose demand for a workers party is consciously confined within the framework of a social-democratic Labourite program) are highly susceptible to calls



# International Campaign Protests Repression of Kurds

Chanting "From Germany to Ankara, Defend the Kurdish People!" on April 14, 50 demonstrators mobilized by the Partisan Defense Committee picketed outside the German Canadian Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Toronto. The action, part of an internationally co-ordinated series, was called to denounce the German government's ban on the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and the Turkish left group Devrimci Sol. Protests were also held outside German consular offices in New York, Paris, London and Sydney, Australia.

The worldwide demonstrations raised the alarm against threatened mass deportations of Kurds to Turkey, where last year some 4,000 were killed in Ankara's genocidal war on the 15 million-strong Kurdish minority. Germany backed up its NATO ally by outlawing a wide range of Kurdish political, cultural and social organizations last November, subjecting the half million Kurdish immigrants in Germany to a virtual state of siege.

In Toronto the PDC, Trotskyist League and others were joined by two dozen supporters of the PKK. A Kurdish speaker, denouncing the Turkish government onslaught and the attacks of the German state, told the protesters: "Yesterday it was the Jews, today it's the Kurds." TL and PDC demonstrators carried signs opposing the Canadian Liberal government's stepped-up anti-immigrant campaign of deportation and persecution targeting Kurds, Palestinians, Iranians and others.

In his address to the protest, TL spokesman John Masters emphasized:

"Our comrades in Germany, the Spartakist Workers Party, have mobilized actively against racist terror, in defense of the Kurds. While sharing the bitter anger of all Kurdish protesters, we say the answer is not narrow nationalism, and certainly not indiscriminate violence—however understandable the causes—against Turkish cafés and centers. It is *class struggle*. We fight instead to



SC photo

**PDC-initiated protest, Toronto, April 14. Defend the Kurdish people!**

mobilize the powerful German working class in protest against anti-Kurdish terror. And we emphasize that the hundreds of thousands of Kurdish, Turkish and other minority workers in Germany's mines, mills and factories can be decisive in leading workers' struggles against the German Fourth Reich....

"We of the Trotskyist League, together with our co-thinkers of the International Communist League, say the only solution is to mobilize the working people of the world—including here in North America—to rip power from the bosses' hands through socialist revolution. We say: Defend the PKK! Stop the deportations! Defend the Kurdish people! Down with imperialism's bloody new world order!" ■

to pressure the popular front, or to vote for the "workers parties of the popular front." One may ask whether, under a constituency-based electoral system, were WOSA and its allies unable to stand candidates everywhere, would the WLP have opposed in principle any vote to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC, including its COSATU/SACP allies? This is not merely a hypothetical question, but goes to the heart of the debate over a workers party in South Africa which has been raging in the black union movement over the last year.

In pushing this issue, WOSA looks to the example of the Brazilian PT (Workers Party) of Luis Ignacio Silva ("Lula"), as a Third World variant of the British Labour Party. Many "workerists" within COSATU, the main political current toward which WOSA is now orienting, have talked of forming a workers party only *after* the April elections, in order to *not* break with the ANC at this crucial juncture. We emphasized last fall that "the workers party needed today is not a South African version of British Labourism, but a Bolshevik-Leninist party forged on the program of permanent revolution" ("South Africa: Mandela/De Klerk's Neo-Apartheid Fraud," *Workers Vanguard* No. 587, 5 November 1993).

Without a party of the Bolshevik type, the South African masses, like the workers of all countries, will be unable to make

a successful socialist revolution. A revolutionary workers party can come about only through the intervention of a Marxist cadre, committed to sweeping away every vestige of apartheid capitalism and dedicated to the cause of international socialism. There can be no justice in South Africa until the non-white majority has power in a revolutionary workers state which would unite Xhosa and Zulu, coloured and Indian, with ample room and full democratic rights for those whites who would join in building a society based on genuine equality.

A proletarian revolution in the industrial powerhouse of South Africa would be a beacon to the whole of sub-Saharan Africa, helping to lift the continent out of imperialist-enforced starvation and poverty. It would be an inspiration to the hundreds of millions—black, Asian, Latin American—across the world who have suffered the violence and degradation of racial arrogance at the hands of the haughty white ruling classes of the Western powers—whether in the colonies or within the imperialist metropolises themselves.

For a black-centered workers republic! For a socialist federation of southern Africa! For a South African Trotskyist party as part of a reformed Fourth International! Those who labor must rule!

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 599, April 29

## Serbia...

(continued from page 3)

banner of Islamic fundamentalism. These were precisely the forces which Tito's Communist Partisans overcame while defeating the German Wehrmacht to create a multinational Yugoslav workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed.

But the nationalist jackals, all of them, picking at the corpse of Yugoslavia, are not the only forces responsible for the communalist bloodbath. Behind them stand imperialist powers who are increasingly pushing their own particular interests as economic rivalries emerge which were formerly muted by shared anti-Sovietism. Of these, Germany is most directly responsible for the destruction of Titoist Yugoslavia. After buying out East Germany in 1990 from the disintegrating Soviet Stalinist regime, German capital is pursuing important economic interests in the Balkan peninsula, which produces strategic minerals—chrome, zinc, lead, copper, bauxite, silver.

In late 1991, Germany steamrolled the European Community into recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia over the objections of Britain and France, allies of Serbia during the interwar period. The establishment of a Croatian nationalist state provoked a revolt by the large Serb minority, backed by the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav federal army. The war for eastern Croatia ended—or, more accurately, was temporarily suspended—with the Serbs controlling 30 percent of the territory of that former Yugoslav republic, a region now renamed the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Then came the three-sided communalist slaughter in Bosnia between the Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The Serbs in Bosnia are predominantly peasants and owned 65 percent of the republic's land although making up only a third of its population. The Muslims, slightly less than half the population, are largely an urbanized people. Consequently, when the fighting began the Serb forces gained control of most of the country and besieged the cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

The *Wall Street Journal* (21 April) pointed to the fundamental dilemma facing Western imperialism, headlining "Serbs Bet That the West Won't Risk the Thing They Fear: Ground Troops." In Bonn, the Kohl government is pushing hard to overcome "constitutional" objections to sending in the German army as "peacekeepers." But Germany has another problem. Such an action would provoke a violent response from those peoples who suffered as the Nazis laid waste to the South Slavic lands. It would certainly inflame anti-German sentiment in Greece, which has backed the Serbs. More generally, a German army in the Balkans would send shudders throughout Europe—East and West.

Unlike Germany, the U.S. has no intrinsic interest in how Bosnia and the other former Yugoslav republics are divided between the contending Balkan nationalisms. Originally, Washington sought to bring about the restoration of capitalism in the region while preserving a federated Yugoslav state. When these plans were torpedoed by the Fourth Reich, the U.S. had no coherent Balkan policy. However, the Serbs' defiance of Western imperialist diktats, their open contempt for UN resolutions and NATO threats, is an affront to the American would-be masters of the world. Some in the U.S. ruling class have been itching to teach the Serbs a bloody lesson.

But the U.S. has its own constraints...on the home front. The continuing potency of the "Vietnam syndrome" was revealed and reinforced recently in Somalia. The U.S. troops supposedly sent on a UN "humanitarian" mission to help feed the starving



SC photo

**Trotskyists call to defend Serbia against imperialist attack, Toronto, April 14.**

people of this East African country were in fact a colonial expeditionary force which massacred hundreds of black Africans. But when Somali clan warriors managed to turn the tables and kill a few dozen U.S. soldiers, the overwhelming response of the American public was: Pull U.S. forces out, now!

While Clinton waffles on Bosnia from one week to the next, the Pentagon generals have been vocally "dovish" about getting stuck in a Balkan "quagmire." Anxious to avoid *any* American casualties in the Balkans, the policy of U.S. ruling circles is to arm and incite the Muslims and Croats against the Serbs. This was expressed in a particularly open and cynical way by Democratic Senator Joseph Biden: "The Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats are perfectly capable of fighting for themselves.... There's not a need for a single American soldier. Let's supply them with weapons and let them go after the Serbs" (*New York Times*, 18 April). In other words, U.S. imperialism is willing to fight the Serbs to the last drop of Croat and Muslim blood!

### Russia: Soft Cop for the NATO Powers

Enter at this stage Russia, the historic patron of their Serbian "Slavic little brothers." Partly to divert popular discontent at home over the economic devastation resulting from the capitalist counterrevolution, the Yeltsin regime—fully backed by the nationalist opposition led by fascist demagogue Vladimir Zhirinovskiy—saw in the Balkan crisis a golden opportunity to posture as a "great power." Moscow's deputy foreign minister and chief envoy in the Balkans, Vitaly Churkin, proclaimed: "The West should learn a lesson from the current Bosnian crisis. The lesson is that Russia should be treated as an equal partner" (*Economist*, 26 February).

But this is not counterposed to acting in concert with Western powers. We noted in "Bosnia: Powder Keg of Europe" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 595, 4 March) that the Russians intervened to help broker a German plan to establish a Greater Croatia overlapping a Greater Serbia. The Croat and Muslim regions in Bosnia would link up with Croatia. Krajina Serbs would dissolve their statelet and accept the sovereignty of the Croatian government. In turn, the Bosnian Serbs, with a diminished territory, would be allowed to link up with Serbia.

Moscow's slated role in selling this deal was to solace the Serbs, for example, promising the Krajina Serbs that the Russians would protect them against the fascistic Croatian regime.

When several hundred Russian soldiers, wearing the blue helmets of UN "peacekeepers," entered the environs of Sarajevo in mid-February, they were welcomed by the besieging Bosnian Serb forces, who saw them as protectors against the threatened NATO air attacks. We quoted in our earlier article a commentary by the *Wall Street Journal* (22 February) complaining that the interplay between Russia and the U.S. over Bosnia "looked more like confrontation" than "cooperation." Indeed, the Clinton White House was initially irked by Moscow's move. But the Russian intervention's purpose was to implement a UN ultimatum to the Serbs to pull back from Sarajevo. Far from intervening to defend the Serbs, the now-capitalist Russian army is acting as the shill and cat's paw for Bonn's plan to impose an imperialist partition of ex-Yugoslavia by squeezing the Serbs.

Speaking to a conference of his Christian Democratic party, German chancellor Kohl bragged about his close cooperation with the Russian leader: "I want to say very clearly that I am happy that with Boris Yeltsin and the Russian government, a new power is now assuming its responsibility." Russian emissary Vitaly Churkin emphasized that they were working together to line up their respective clients: "Some of us have privileged contacts: the Americans with the Muslims, the Germans with the Croats and we with the Serbs. We are seeking to use them for the common good" (*Libération* [Paris], 23 February). The Yeltsin regime was in no way inclined to confront the Americans. When U.S. warplanes shot down four Serb planes for violating a "no fly" zone at the end of February, Moscow supported this action.

It did not take long for the Serbian nationalists to see through the double game being played by their Slav "big brothers." A UN analysis of the situation in Bosnia in late March reported that the Serbs "see everyone winning except them, view the Russians as siding with the United States and against them, feel diplomatic and military pressure on the increase." The Serbs were now deriding Russian envoy Churkin as the "American postman."

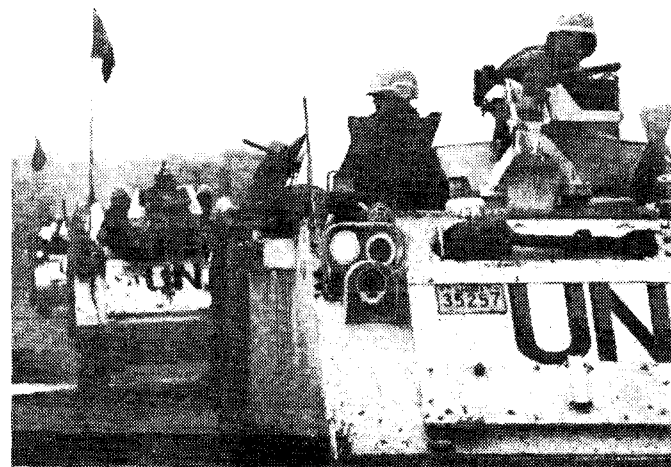
At the same time, the German-brokered deal between the Croats and Muslims, who had been fighting one another, freed up Muslim forces to launch an offensive against the Serbs. When the Muslims refused to halt their offensive against Serbian-held territory in central Bosnia in early April, the Serbs responded with stepped-up attacks on Gorazde, leading up to the latest showdown with the NATO powers.

The Serbs' belligerent response embarrassed Moscow. Churkin exclaimed, "The Bosnian Serbs must understand that by dealing with Russia, they are dealing with a great power and not a banana republic." Yeltsin himself declared: "The Bosnian Serb leadership must fulfill its promises given to Russia, stop the attacks and withdraw from Gorazde...enable the introduction of UN forces in the area and unblock the UN personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina." Clinton praised Yeltsin's stance as "very helpful." Russian workers must oppose the pan-Slav demagoguery of Yeltsin and Zhirinovskiy and demand: Russian troops out of the Balkans now!

While defending Serbia against imperialist attack, we maintain a position of revolutionary defeatism toward all three sides in the nationalist civil war wracking the former Yugoslavia. However, decisive military intervention against the Serbs by one or more imperialist powers would change the character of the

war, subordinating the Croat and Muslim nationalist forces and posing the need for revolutionary defensism toward Serbia. In any case, we call on the workers to join in overthrowing their capitalist rulers—in Milosevic's Serbia no less than Tudjman's Croatia and Izetbegovic's Bosnian statelet—in the struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

Important sections of the American ruling class now look on the Bosnia crisis as a test of their ability to control the post-Cold War world amid the devastation and turmoil wrought by



Reuter

### Canadian UN "peacekeepers" in Bosnia. All UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans now!

counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc and increasing rivalry with German and Japanese imperialism. This view was clearly expressed in an editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* (20 April): "The Balkans War is not an isolated aberration but a small-scale model of the large-scale security challenges to come. Taking it as that, the major powers can, if they choose, introduce themselves as well as the Serbs to a new world order."

The "New World Order"—proclaimed by Washington as it was terror-bombing Iraq, with full Canadian support, in the Gulf War—is a formula for intensified U.S. imperialist domination and exploitation of working people around the globe. If NATO attacks on the Serbs in Bosnia are effective, it will embolden the U.S. rulers to unleash the Pentagon war machine from South America to southern Africa, from East Europe to East Asia. But heavy bombing against the Serbs could bring in its wake imperialist troops fighting on the ground, sucking NATO forces into an ever-widening Balkan War. U.S./Canada/UN/NATO out of the Balkans!

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 599, 29 April

## Contact the Trotskyist League/ Ligue trotskyste

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(416) 593-4138

**Vancouver:** ..... Box 2717, Main P.O.,  
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2,  
(604) 687-0353

## Power Workers...

(continued from page 5)

in Montreal on May Day to denounce the dismantling of UI and other social programs. Newfoundland teachers and public workers are set to strike against Clyde Wells' Liberals. In March alone, 3,000 demonstrators took to the streets of Edmonton against Conservative budget cuts; in Bathurst and Beauséjour, New Brunswick, furious unionists shouted down Jean Chrétien and burned him in effigy; and in Shawinigan, Quebec, the PM's home town, hundreds more stormed a press conference trying to get their hands on him.

To combat unemployment and poverty, the working class must fight for a sliding scale of wages to match inflation, and a sliding scale of hours to divide the available work among all workers at no loss in pay. The union sellouts and social democrats will reject such demands as "utopian." In the context of today's generalized capitalist offensive, the right to health care, quality education and a decent pension are also "utopian"—if you accept the framework of the capitalist profit system. The struggle to defend our jobs and livelihoods must be linked to a fight for *workers power*. And the key to this is a class-struggle union leadership and a revolutionary workers party.

Last year in Canada the average wage hike was zero; in the private sector it was *less than zero!* Strikes are at their lowest ebb since World War II. The labor bureaucrats oppose any struggle that challenges the bosses' "right" to profits and the sanctity of their laws. So they ditch "confrontation" (i.e., the class-struggle methods that built the unions) and bed down with the corporations.

Even as Jon Murphy was "winning" his seat on the Ontario Hydro board, 25,000 B.C. forestry workers, their families and supporters converged on Victoria to protest the decimation of their livelihoods. But the bureaucrats of the IWA-Canada explicitly used the Victoria protest to shackle workers to the forestry bosses. Targeting tree-hugging, petty-bourgeois urbanites as the main enemy, the union tops took the field as open waterboys for MacMillan Bloedel and the other forestry corporations which have slashed tens of thousands of union jobs through mechanization and speed-up.

At the same time, the labor traitors appeal to and reinforce the most backward prejudices instilled by the ruling class to divide and rule along race, sex and national lines. Thus some B.C. woodworkers carried ugly anti-gay slogans directed against "environmentalist" NDP MP Svend Robinson. Similarly, tirades in defense of "Canadian jobs" fuel "white Canada" racism by laying the blame for the capitalist economic disaster at the feet of refugees, of immigrants, of Mexican and Japanese workers.



Workers Vanguard

**New Jersey Teamster pickets, April 6. Union tops on both sides of border push nationalist protectionist poison. For joint class struggle from Yukon to Yucatán!**

In St. Catharines, Ontario, some CAW workers sport racist anti-Asian T-shirts to "protest" the sale of the GM foundry to China. With their protectionist poison, the bureaucrats drive a wedge between Canadian workers and their brothers and sisters at home and internationally. Today the social-democratic union brass manipulate anti-"foreigner" racism to line up working people behind "their" rulers' trade wars; tomorrow they will herd them off to die in interimperialist shooting wars—just like they did in 1914.

To this must be added the historic refusal of the Anglo-chauvinist CLC bureaucracy to support the right of the oppressed Québécois nation to self-determination, which has helped drive many French-speaking workers into the arms of labor-hating bourgeois-nationalists like Lucien Bouchard's Bloc Québécois. These crippling divisions all hamstring any possibility of successful working-class struggle. To overcome them, we need a revolutionary workers party, built through a relentless fight against *all* forms of nationalism and pro-capitalist social democracy—including, but not limited to, the widely discredited NDP. Such a party would act as the spokesman for all the oppressed, calling for defense of immigrants and refugees, for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers, for internationalist unity of the proletariat against capitalism—all as part of the fight for North American socialist revolution. ■



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### Corrections

Our article "Free Arrested Yellowknife Strikers!" (SC No. 94, November/December 1993) incorrectly stated that the Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers is a Canadian Auto Workers affiliate. Merger talks have been held, and the question is to be debated at a CASAW convention in May. The article "Down With Censorship!" (SC No. 96, March/April 1994) misdated the first edition of John Milton's *Areopagitica*, which appeared in 1644. ■

## Vancouver Anti-Fascist Six...

(continued from page 16)

some 500 anti-racist protesters marched on the fascists' "secret meeting" in a downtown hotel and sent the Nazis scurrying over the walls, scrambling over fences and into the darkness like cockroaches when the lights are turned on. This was a big victory, a vindication of our strategy of mobilizing the power of labor to sweep the fascists from the streets.

### Union Support Grows for Anti-Fascist Six

Across the country support has rolled in to demand "Drop the charges against the May 6th anti-fascist protesters!" Union locals, including the Vancouver and Toronto locals of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) and Local 100 of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (CBRT) have backed the demand. So have dozens of union presidents, executive board members, stewards and other officials.

Emphasizing that "CUPW has a stake in this issue," the Vancouver Local has produced its own leaflet, "Defend Vancouver Anti-Fascist Protesters," which proclaims "the labour movement must send a clear message to the powers-that-be that it won't tolerate seeing anti-fascist workers being set up and railroaded by the cops and courts.... Trade unionists jamming the courtroom the day the anti-fascists appear would send a message to the cops, courts and government: Drop the charges

against the May 6th anti-fascist protesters!" Local 391 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) has protested to the NDP attorney general, Colin Gabelmann, demanding the charges be dropped, and has publicized the local's stance in its newsletter. As well, the president of the CBRT Seamen's Section wrote that Local 400 "is on record as opposing racist organizations which promote fascist ideology through hate mongering tactics. These organizations must be exposed for what they are.... We urge the Crown to drop all charges against [the May 6th] anti-racist protesters."

Union locals and individual members have contributed hard-earned dollars to the defense campaign, as have civil rights activists and anti-racist militants who have dug deep to help raise the thousands of dollars for legal fees, publicity and all the other myriad expenses necessary to defeat this blatant attack. The government and the cops have the entire resources of the state at their disposal. What the anti-fascists have is the support of the working people who hate everything the Nazis represent.

The police report filed against the anti-fascist six explicitly states that "charges are warranted in this matter to assist in sending a message...[to] 'pressure groups', or radical activists." The state's "message" to labor and any opponents of fascist terror is dead clear: free rein for the fascists, state persecution for those who would oppose them. As defendant Tom Hansen, a member of CUPE, told the *Vancouver Sun* (31 August 1993), "I get attacked by those holding the meeting and then I get arrested." "This is clearly a political prosecution," he added

(continued on page 14)

## Drop the Charges Against the May 6th Anti-Fascist Protesters!

The following individuals and organizations have endorsed the above demand (partial list as of 24 April 1994):

**Donna Abram**, Staff Representative, College Instructors and Educators Association\*, Vancouver

**Anti-Fascist Info**, Vancouver

**Robert W. Anwyll**, Executive Board Member, Ontario Public Service Employees Union\*, London, ON

**Beth Beeson**, Shop Steward, Telecommunications Workers Union Local 1\*, Vancouver

**Trevor Berry**, National Director, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Pacific Region\*

**Raymond Betemps**, Shop Steward, TWU Local 1\*, Vancouver

**Black Action Defense Committee**, Toronto

**Melina and Kevin Bowden**, Vancouver

**Robert S. Borch**, National Director, CUPW\*

**Bal Brar**, Shop Steward, CUPW Surrey Local\*, BC

**Ken Bryant**, Vice President, Canadian Auto Workers Local 3020\*, Burnaby, BC

**Jim Buller**, Toronto Typographical Union (CWA) #91\*; Chair, Municipal Committee, Metro Toronto Labour Council\*

**Canadian Auto Workers Local 1859**, Tillsonburg, ON

**Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Local 100**, Burnaby, BC

**Canadian Union of Educational Workers Local 3**, North York, ON

**Canadian Union of Postal Workers Toronto Local**

**Canadian Union of Postal Workers Vancouver Local**

**Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 391**, Vancouver

**Muriel Collins**, Membership Secretary, CUPE Local 79\*, Toronto

**David Crain**, President, CBRT Local 400\*, Vancouver

**Freedom Socialist Party/Parti Liberté Socialiste**

**Sonny Ghag**, 2nd Vice President, IWA-Canada Local 1-3567\*, New Westminster, BC

**Ron Golemba**, Associate Chief Steward, OPSEU Local 558\*, Toronto

**Max Halber**, Past President, 411 Senior Centre Society\*, Vancouver

**Gord Hill**, Vancouver

**H. N. Hurford**, President, CUPW Langley Local\*, BC

**International Socialists National Steering Committee**

**Al Jensen**, President, CAW Local 432\*, President, Lower Mainland Council\*, Vancouver

**David Lethbridge**, Salmon Arm Coalition Against Racism

**Barbara Loewi**, Vancouver

**Phil Lyons**, Exec. Dir., National Academy of Older Canadians\*

**Winston McGregor**, Financial Secretary, Communications Energy and Paperworkers Local 41-0\*, Mississauga, ON

**Michael B. McManus**, President, International Union of Elevator Constructors Local 82\*, Vancouver

**Partisan Defense Committee**

**R. Marie Pawelchak**, Rec. Sec., CUPE Local 606\*, Nanaimo, BC

**Keith A. Phelps**, Bus. Rep. and Rec. Sec., United Catering, Restaurant, Bar and Hotel Workers Local 1064 (RWDSU)\*, Livonia, MI

**Brent Rogers**, Bus. Rep., United Brotherhood of Carpenters Local 1237\*, Dawson Creek, BC

**Ron Schroeder**, Counselor, TWU Local 38\*, Vancouver

**Lynn Sheard**, Human Rights Officer, CAW Local 3020\*, Burnaby, BC

**Linda Shepherd**, President, CUPW Kamloops Local\*, BC

**Socialist Challenge**

**Spartacus Youth Clubs**, Toronto and Vancouver

**Don Stang**, President, TWU Local 1\*, Vancouver

**William J. Storrington**, Local Chairman, United Transportation Union\*, Toronto

**Ken Theobald**, Development Education Centre\*, Toronto

**Hilda L. Thomas**, Retired Professor of English, UBC\*, Vancouver

**Ann Thomson**, B.C. Teachers Federation\*

**Douglas J. Tingley**, Plant Chairman, Exec. Board Member, IWA-Canada Local 1-3567\*, New Westminster, BC

**Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste**

**Kathryn Walker**, Toronto Coalition Against Racism\*

**Lillian Whitney**, Nanaimo, BC

\* Organization listed for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers

do not necessarily agree in any particular with the defense campaign materials published by the PDC.



## Vancouver Anti-Fascist Six...

(continued from page 13)

later, "a move on behalf of the police to intimidate unionists, socialists, communists and others from having demonstrations."

On the night of the demonstration the undercover police Integrated Intelligence Unit secretly videotaped the demonstrators. Another defendant, independent anti-fascist John Lipscomb, has hosted public screenings of this tape which reveals anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry on the part of the cops, who express open sympathy with the Nazis.

The NDP government in Victoria and the cops are out to squelch any social protest in this province, from breaking Vancouver teacher strikes to throwing the book at Clayoquot Sound environmentalists. Outrageously, the state convicted one of the anti-fascist protesters charged following the January 22 demonstration, Gord Hill, and is still prosecuting the other, Jody Bailey. Drop the charges now!

### Web of Hate

With these obscene charges against the anti-racists, the government backs the "right" of the Nazis to organize. But the fascists "speak" with lynch ropes, iron bars, gas chambers and death camps. Just look at the fascists who came out on May 6:

**Ron Gostick** is the head of the Canadian League of Rights, an innocent-sounding title for a very sinister gang. *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network* (HarperCollins, 1994), written by Warren Kinsella (formerly a special assistant to Jean Chrétien and now executive assistant to a prominent federal Liberal MP) reports that Gostick "has rallied to the side of virtually every single white supremacist and neo-Nazi this country has produced in the past 30 years...." Gostick's *Canadian Intelligence Service (CIS)* newsletter has sung the praises of James Keegstra, Ernst Zundel, Malcolm Ross, David Irving, Doug Christie and innumerable others who deny the fact of the Nazi Holocaust (like Doug Collins and John Ball who demand that *Schindler's List* be banned). These "historical revisionists" alibi Hitler because they want to perpetrate another Holocaust.



SC photo

Vancouver cops seize protester on May 6 demonstration.

Gostick himself openly professes his kinship with the Nazi mass murderers who found a safe haven in Canada after World War II. *CIS* (December 1993) brazenly declares that it "will oppose with all its resources the shameful so-called Canadian 'war-crime' trials for 'crimes' allegedly committed nearly half a century ago by foreign nationals in distant lands during the stress and duress of wartime." Gostick, who runs, in the words of the Canadian Jewish Congress, "perhaps Canada's primary antisemitic organization," has since 1949 ranted about a "Communist-Zionist-Monopolist-Finance enemy of...Christian civilization." Among his Canadian friends are notorious Toronto fascist Paul Fromm and Eileen Pressler's nest of Nazi-lovers in B.C., the Council on Public Affairs. "I would like to see Canada develop at the present time as a White Country," says Gostick, railing against "race-mixing which usually brings tension, violence, race problems, and ultimately mongrelization" (quoted in *Is God a Racist?*, Stanley Barrett, 1987).

Gostick, currently based in High River, Alberta, is intimately connected with an international coterie of crazed fascists and anti-communists. He sponsored a tour by Gordon "Jack" Mohr, an ex-John Birch Society leader who was a featured speaker at the Nazi terrorist Aryan Nations hate fest in 1984 where he gave "pointers on how to derail trains and blow up roads" (Kinsella). Mohr brags that he runs a private army of white-supremacist scum.

The Canadian League of Rights' Australian counterpart is headed by Eric Butler, author of *The International Jew* and "one of the world's worst Holocaust-deniers" (*Canadian Jewish News*, 29 November 1990). In Melbourne skinheads wearing swastika T-shirts came out to one of Butler's meetings in October 1991 to groove on the ravings of Doug Christie, beloved lawyer of Canadian and other fascists. In the U.S. Gostick is closely tied to the crazed Liberty Lobby, "the best financed anti-Semitic organization in the United States." Founder of the Friends of Rhodesia Association (when that country was run by white colonialist pigs), Gostick is hooked up with the pro-apartheid National Forum of South Africa. Tying many of these groups together, including the CLR, is the World Anti-Communist League which was headed by key Contragate operative U.S. General Singlaub, who oversaw Israeli arms shipments to the contra butchers in Nicaragua. Backed by Taiwan and South Korea, the WACL includes the demented Moonies, as well as

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numerous capitalist “intelligence” operatives along with their kill-crazy partners and agents.

Claiming that Gostick only wanted to talk about “Referendum and Recall,” his backers have tried to whitewash this hardcore fascist, booking meetings for him in public libraries and hotels. It’s a very good thing that Gostick’s surfacing in Vancouver last May was met with militant, orderly and democratic protest by trade unionists and others.

“Hosting” Gostick at his “Procult Institute” at 314 Water Street in Gastown was **Jud Cyllorn**, “a dyed-in-the-wool hate-monger” and “an unapologetic white supremacist and racist” (Kinsella). Once an intimate of and advisor to ex-Social Credit B.C. premier Bill Vander Zalm, Cyllorn self-published *Stop Apologizing*, several hundred pages of racist dementia against black people, Asians and homosexuals, among others. One of the chapter heads is “Racism—A Natural Phenomenon.”

“White, male and proud of it, writer of ‘hate’ book says” headlined the *Vancouver Sun* (26 November 1991). Cyllorn unabashedly hates Jews and Catholics, and reserves special venom for Native people who he obscenely claims have a history of “throwing live babies on fires.” He hates “Third World immigrants” and made that the basis of his officially registered “no” committee during the constitutional referendum in 1992. In his crazed 13-page police complaint which alleges he was assaulted (and which forms the bulk of the prosecution’s file on the Vancouver Six), Cyllorn rants against “Afro-Americans...dressed like they were ready to do a Coke commercial” and the “Leon Trotsky (real name Bronstein) philosophy...to ‘Destroy Everything.’” An admitted fraud in his business practices (who also got convicted for assault on a deputy sheriff) Cyllorn is openly connected with Eileen Pressler’s Nazi den in Salmon Arm and Tony McAleer’s Canadian Liberty Net. McAleer crawled out of his hole on May 6 to try and take pictures of the anti-fascist protesters.

Then there’s **Ernest Britskie**, who “is one of the unofficial leaders of Vancouver’s resident hate movement. Over a decade or so of involvement in the far right, Britskie has formed links with a startling variety of neo-Nazi, Klan, white supremacist and Christian Identity groups” (Kinsella). The *Vancouver Sun’s V Magazine* of May 1989 detailed Britskie’s connections to the murderous Aryan Nations based in Idaho and to local gun-toting, “Seig Heil” saluting Nazis. “The war’s coming,” screeches Britskie who is on intimate terms with the skinhead boot-boy thugs of the Nazi Aryan Resistance Movement, which in turn is connected with Tom Metzger’s White Aryan Resistance. WAR skinheads brutally murdered an Ethiopian man in Oregon in 1988.

### Mobilize Labor/Minorities to Stop the Fascists!

Fascists are not just right-wing ideologues with racist “ideas.” They are paramilitary action squads whose program is to kill, culminating in genocide. They are the sworn enemies of the labor movement, looking to break strikes, terrorize picket lines and smash the unions. In situations of intense class struggle when the capitalists feel their rule is being threatened by the working class—as in Germany and Italy in the 1920/30s—they will finance these fascist killers and allow them to come to power in order to smash the workers and their organizations.

Today, with counterrevolution triumphant in East Europe and the ex-Soviet Union, the capitalist rulers worldwide are going after the working people, minorities, the sick, the young. In the face of a worldwide capitalist economic crisis Canada’s rich white rulers, aided and abetted by the NDP social demo-

crats, have gone after immigrants with a racist frenzy, revved up their anti-union strikebreaking and unleashed their cops against the population. With the NDP running the B.C. government in Victoria, the cops have brutally beaten Asians, Native people, gays, foreign students. The NDP exonerated the cops who were caught on videotape as they pummelled and kicked Chinese worker Zhang Feng Hua in what many called Vancouver’s Rodney King case. This of course has only thrown gas on the fires of the fascists who are out to get all those who do not fit their idea of the “pure race.”

While small in numbers now, the fascists are the mortal enemies of all working people and must be crushed in the egg before they grow. We fight for labor-centered mobilizations to stop the fascists, unleashing the power that must be brought to bear in the fight for a socialist revolution to overthrow the decrepit rule of the capitalist bosses and bring to power the



SC photo

**Unionists, minorities call to stop the fascists, May 1993.**

working people who built all the wealth of this society.

Cyllorn told the *Victoria Times-Colonist* (7 May 1993) that the fascists were “expecting 75 to 100 people and if the protesters come there will be lots of surprises” including a “Rambo-squad.” It didn’t happen. Instead the May 6th anti-fascist mobilization sent a loud and clear message that Vancouver is a union town, a Jewish, Asian and gay town, not a Nazi town. Now the people who stood up openly against the fascists are being persecuted. They fought for us—we need to fight for them now. **Be there, 9:00 a.m., May 31st at the courthouse, 222 Main Street in Vancouver! Organize your union local, community or student group—bring your banners! Fill the courtroom through the trial!**

Spread the word! Join those who have sent protests demanding “Drop the Charges!” to: Attorney General Colin Gabelmann, Parliament Buildings, Victoria BC, V8V 1X4, fax number (604) 387-6411. Send financial contributions, payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmark them “Anti-Fascist Defense.” Contact the PDC for leaflets, posters and information at: Box 4932, Main P.O., Vancouver BC, V6B 4A6, (604) 687-0353; Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON, M5T 2W1, (416) 593-4138.

It was labor/minority power that drove the fascists from the streets of Vancouver in January 1993. That same social power must be brought to bear now to stop the witchhunt of the anti-fascist protesters and to keep the fascist scum on the run. All out May 31st! ■

## Keep the Fascists On the Run!

# Defend the Vancouver Anti-Fascist Six!

The trial of six anti-fascists is set to open in Vancouver on May 31. These militants, five of whom are trade unionists, face trumped-up assault charges for the "crime" of defending themselves and others against fascist provocateurs.

A year ago, on May 6, 1993, 60 protesters successfully mobilized against a meeting of the notorious white supremacists of the "Canadian League of Rights." CLR founder Ron Gostick, an infamous

**All Out May 31,  
9:00 a.m.  
222 Main Street  
Vancouver**



SC photo  
**Labor-centered mobilization in Vancouver, 6 May 1993, outside meeting of white-supremacist "Canadian League of Rights."**

fascist for some five decades, wanted to make an appearance in Gastown that night. But following a call the night before from anti-racist militants in Victoria who had succeeded in getting Gostick canceled there, nixing his hotel booking, the Trotskyist League and Partisan Defense Committee began organizing in Vancouver. Less than 24 hours later an integrated protest, centered on a core of dedicated unionists, came out in answer to the call "Let's keep the Nazis on the run! Labor/minorities have the power!"

For well over an hour the protesters—blacks, Asians, Jews, unionists, socialists, gays, youth—closed down the meeting chanting "No Nazis in Vancouver! Fascists off the streets!" As clearly shown in the widespread local TV coverage of the demonstration, the protesters repeatedly had to fend off attacks by the would-be Hitlers. Gostick's "host," infamous racist Jud Cyllorn, came out of the hall armed with an iron bar. The day after the militant action, anti-fascist protesters were greeted as heroes at work, on the streets and in coffee shops.

Three months later, six of the anti-fascist protesters were arrested at the behest of this same Cyllorn. One of them was dragged out of bed at 5:00 a.m. by the cops and locked up in jail for eight hours. Another was held overnight. As Miriam Scribner, one of the defendants, and spokesman for the PDC, said: "These arrests are an outrage! It is no crime to stop the fascist scum. Sweeping the fascists from the streets is a life and

death matter for all those the fascists have lined up in their sights."

Vancouver has been the scene of stepped-up racist and fascist violence. Race-terrorists have firebombed the homes of South Asian and Chinese families and burned a cross outside the house of Iranian immigrants. Gay men are stalked and beaten with horrifying frequency. A synagogue and a cemetery were defaced with Nazi slogans and swastikas, and a gay bookstore was bombed. Last May in the Vancouver-area suburb of Delta, notorious Nazi Ernst Zundel staged a provocation addressing a rally of some 75 would-be stormtroopers. But these demented psychopaths and misfits, a tiny fringe minority, *can* be stopped.

On January 22, 1993, 3,000 anti-racist protesters prevented the Nazis of "Canadian Liberty Net" from holding a rally at the Art Gallery. While the official organizers of the protest were intent on diverting anti-fascist militancy into an impotent liberal gabfest, the PDC and the TL mobilized disciplined union contingents that evening in response to our widely distributed, urgent call: "All Out to Stop the Fascists!" Later that night

*(continued on page 13)*