

Defend Iraq Against Imperialist Attack!

*Echoed by Ottawa, Washington has announced conditional acceptance of a deal between United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan and Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. But the threat of a military slaughter is far from over: The huge array of firepower assembled in the Persian Gulf is not being withdrawn, and Clinton has warned Iraq of "serious consequences" if the U.S. does not get what it deems to be full "compliance" with its dictates for "weapons inspection." Whether or not the rulers in Washington and Ottawa decide **this time to yet again** rain destruction on Iraq does not change one iota the murderous character of this imperialist system. We print below a statement issued by the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste on February 23 before the deal was announced.*

* * *

Once again, the imperialists in Washington and Ottawa are intent on butchering Iraqi men, women and children. The rulers in Ottawa, who have waged war on workers and the poor at home by destroying living standards and social programs, now want to rally the population for war abroad. But the enemy of Canada's workers and oppressed is not in Iraq, it is the ruling class of Ottawa and Bay Street. It is in working people's vital interest to defend Iraq against the looming imperialist attack, and to fight to smash the starvation blockade and United Nations sanctions which have already killed more than 600,000 Iraqi children. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, section of the International Communist League, says: **U.S., Canada: Hands off Iraq! Defeat U.S./Canadian imperialism through class struggle at home!**

Behind the current military moves stand intensified interimperialist rivalries over Near Eastern and Central Asian oil fields and pipeline routes. The 1991 Gulf War was an attempt by Washington to secure control of the region through projecting its military power, ultimately aimed against Japan, Germany and other U.S. rivals. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the conflicting interests
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Massive military buildup in Persian Gulf is show of terror by U.S. imperialism, fully supported by its junior partner in Ottawa. AP

Defeat U.S./Canadian Imperialism Through Class Struggle at Home!

NDP Targets Native, Poor Families

Welfare Child Abductions in B.C.

The lumber town of Quesnel in the B.C. Interior has been the setting for a viciously cruel and racist attack on the poor by the provincial NDP government. In December and January, the government's Children and Family Ministry abducted no fewer than 71 children from their parents in this town of 25,000 people. Claiming they were acting to stop "child abuse," Ministry social workers swooped down on dozens of working-class, poor and aboriginal families, grabbed their children, and dumped many of the kids in motel rooms.

Local residents now call the Ministry the "black stork," and live in fear that their kids may be next. By the government's own statistics, some 21 percent of all children in B.C. are below the official poverty line. With unemployment in Quesnel at 14 percent and the government's welfare pittance barely enough for survival, working-class parents are now losing their children because they don't have money to buy decent clothing and furniture. When a child of a single father was sent to the hospital for health concerns, the Ministry "got nervous" and grabbed all his children. Some of the boys and girls abducted in Quesnel have been transferred to towns more than a hundred kilometers away.

In this racist society, it is not surprising that more than a third of the children seized are Native. Outraged at the Ministry's actions, the Carrier Chilcotin tribal council told the government to keep its hands off and stop seizing aboriginal children. In a grotesque twist of the knife that exposes the hypocrisy of the rulers' "child abuse" hysteria, many aboriginal parents in the area were themselves seized as children and subjected to "education" in the notorious church-run "residential school" in nearby Williams Lake, where many suffered repeated sexual and physical abuse. The federal government's recent "apology" to Native people across Canada for the decades of abuse they suffered in such state-financed "schools" is beneath contempt.

Vicious attacks on aboriginal people are nothing new for the B.C. NDP. It was at the NDP's urging that the RCMP and army laid siege to Native militants at Gustafsen Lake three years ago. The provincial attorney general then dragged more than a dozen Native militants through the courts in

a racist show trial, sentencing one, William "Wolverine" Ignace, to eight years in jail. Free William Ignace!

Ruling on behalf of the capitalists, the New Democrats have hit B.C.'s working people and oppressed with wave after wave of austerity assaults. Slashing school programs, shutting hospitals and day care centers, attacking poor, minority and single welfare mothers, the NDP is responsible for the very real abuse of children. Pushing reactionary "family values," three years ago the government enacted a "Criminal Records Review Act," under which *one-sixth of the adult population* is subjected to intrusive criminal record checks, ostensibly to judge if they are "fit" to work with children. This law especially targets women workers, who predominate in the service sector, and is also a perfect tool for weeding out union militants. The whole purpose of witchhunts like this is to strengthen the bourgeois state, including the cops and courts, in order to protect the rule of the capitalists and enforce their system of exploitation.

Thanks to the endless government cutbacks, social workers around the province have to carry twice the normal caseload. With the Ministry insisting they carry out its brutal policy of "saving" children by abducting them from their families at the slightest pretext, five of the six social workers in Quesnel took "stress leave" last summer. The Ministry then sent in new staff to carry out the seizures. One exasperated social worker noted, "Their modus operandi has been to remove, remove, remove. This is a bit like a Mafia hit" (*Vancouver Sun*, 9 February).

The Quesnel welfare child abductions show that, in the eyes of the NDP, if you're Native, poor or a single working mother, then you're "unfit" for parenthood. With their vicious war on the poor and oppressed minorities, the NDP social democrats push the same right-wing social reaction as Preston Manning's Reform Party. In promoting "family values," they aim to reinforce the family as the central institution for imparting discipline, obedience and the perverted values of the capitalist ruling class. At the same time, their "child abuse" scares are meant to instill suspicion, guilt and fear, especially among working mothers. Workers and the oppressed urgently need their own revolutionary party which can champion the cause of all of capitalism's many victims and mobilize to sweep away the entire bankrupt system of oppression and misery. ■

SPARTACIST CANADA

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Anglo Chauvinism's Day in Court

Independence for Quebec!

The narrow defeat of the 1995 Quebec sovereignty referendum fueled a renewed frenzy among the Canadian ruling class to find a way to "save Canada." Since then, Ottawa and the English Canadian premiers have promoted various chauvinist schemes aimed at keeping Quebec within a "united" Canada. Now the Chrétien Liberal government has asked the federal Supreme Court to declare that a "unilateral" declaration of independence by Quebec would be "illegal."

This constitutional show trial is the centerpiece of Ottawa's hardline Plan B against Quebec independence. While bourgeois pundits cynically predict the court will issue a "nuanced" ruling, the bottom line is hardly in doubt. At a sovereigntist rally in Montreal, Parti Québécois premier Lucien Bouchard mocked Chrétien's demagogic appeal to the "rule of law": "They got together, a few of them, in Ottawa and they said to each other: 'it's a cinch. We'll ask the judges, who are appointed by us, to interpret the Constitution, which we wrote and imposed ourselves, and have them tell us that they outlaw Quebec sovereignty'" (*Toronto Star*, 21 February).

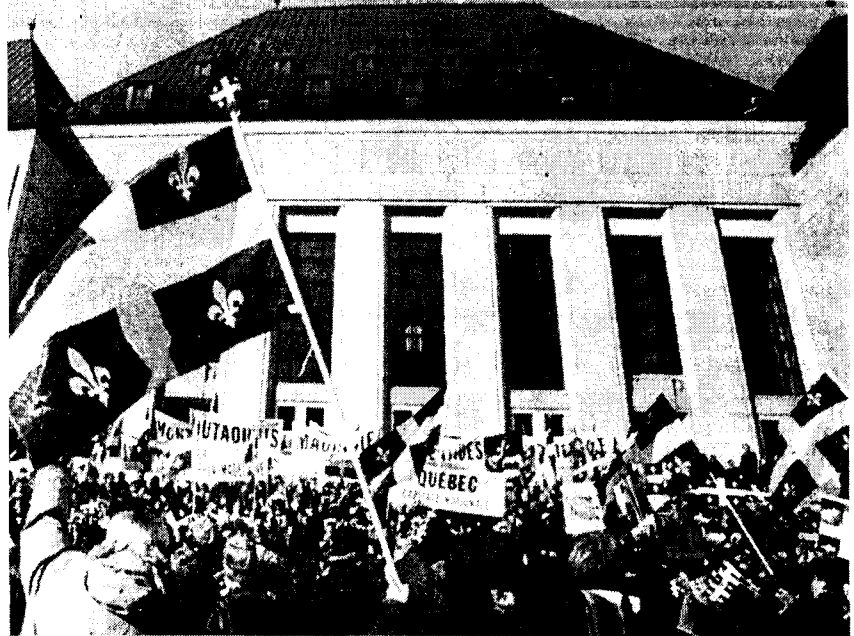
Once again, the Quebec national question is dominating and polarizing political life in this country. The confinement and subjugation of the French-speaking Québécois nation in the Anglo-dominated Canadian state serves to set worker against worker along national lines, deeply poisoning the prospects for anti-capitalist working-class struggle. We advocate independence for Quebec in order to cut through this divide and remove the national question from the agenda.

Chrétien's rabid Anglo-chauvinist crusade has already borne sinister fruit. Last year, a Compas poll revealed that **43 percent** of Canadians outside Quebec believed the use of military force to partition Quebec would be "understandable." Now, fanning those flames, a federal "expert" has told the Supreme Court that the only way Quebec could secede was "by the traditional means of winning a war of independence," while ominously remarking that "international law permits the state to preserve its territorial integrity by military or police measures." This is hardly idle rhetoric to the Québécois, who remember well the military occupation of Montreal and suspension of civil liberties during Pierre Trudeau's fabricated 1970 "October Crisis."

Fearing that Chrétien's in-your-face provocations will backfire and harden support for independence, various federalist politicians have come out against the Supreme Court challenge. Among them are leading Quebec Liberals Daniel Johnson and Claude Ryan, and even the haughty editorialists of the *Globe and Mail* (16 February), who declared Ottawa's suit a "misuse of the court" and advised the red-robed justices to "find a way to stand aside." In the Commons, Jean Charest accused Chrétien of "playing the game of the

extremists." His Conservatives, along with the NDP, voted for a Bloc Québécois motion affirming Quebec's right to "decide [its] own future."

Chrétien raged at Charest that "Someone who believes in Canada does not vote with those who want to break up Canada." But Charest and the NDP social democrats have hardly become partisans of Quebec's national rights. The NDP in particular has long fostered anti-Quebec sentiment among the workers of English Canada. B.C. NDP premier Glen



Reuters

Quebec nationalists protest Supreme Court show trial, February 16.

Clark has been among the most rabid of Anglo chauvinists, declaiming against any hint of "special status" for Quebec. And the Saskatchewan NDP government was one of the first to endorse Ottawa's Supreme Court challenge against Quebec. Premier Roy Romanow enthused that Chrétien's appeal "may put an end to [the question of secession] by virtue of a definitive statement of law" (*Globe and Mail*, 18 November 1997).

Chrétien's federalist critics are promoting the patronizing sop known as the Calgary Declaration, with its meaningless rhetoric about Quebec's "unique character" in Confederation. But Plan A (Calgary) and Plan B (the Supreme Court threats) are only flip sides of the chauvinist coin. The various "national unity" campaigns all serve to rally English Canadian workers behind their "own" ruling class, even as the capitalists savage social programs and destroy the living standards of working people.

Ottawa is also using the Native question as a cudgel against Quebec independence, cynically manipulating demands by the Inuit and Cree of northern Quebec for the right to determine their own future. The hypocrisy is breathtaking. This is the same government that unleashed the army against the Mohawks at Oka, while both NDP B.C. and Tory Ontario have met assertions of aboriginal rights with vicious police repression. We defend the right of the Native peoples of northern Quebec to decide their own fate. However, our primary

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New Socialists, Socialist Challenge "Regroup"

Anti-Leninists Tie the Knot

Imperialist triumphalism over the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has impacted widely on those who claimed to adhere to revolutionary Marxism. Buying into the bourgeois lie of the "death of Communism," much of the left is repudiating even any pretense of Leninism as they seek "regroupments" with larger reformist organizations, and even openly capitalist forces. The "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (Usec), which for years falsely claimed the continuity of Trotskyism, is in terminal collapse. Its "official" section in English Canada, Socialist Challenge (SC), has been long reduced to a few tattered remnants. Now they have thrown in the towel altogether, dissolving into the New Socialist Group (NSG).

The NSG is itself a cast-off of the International Socialists (I.S.), part of the British-based tendency of Tony Cliff. Cliff was expelled from the Trotskyist movement in the early 1950s for refusing to defend the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states against imperialism. For decades, his outfit aligned itself with imperialist-backed forces fighting for counterrevolution against the Soviet Union. The NSG, whose key founders were long-time leading members of the I.S., explicitly stands on this anti-Communist tradition.

The December issue of the Usec journal *International Viewpoint* (IV) describes SC's "regroupment" with the NSG as "Canada's New Left." In fact, it's just the recombination of a couple of pretty disheveled reformist outfits whose cadres long since accommodated to the bourgeois order. For SC, joining the NSG entailed dumping very little ideological baggage. During the 1980s, the Usec abandoned any show of upholding the Trotskyist position of defense of the

degenerated and deformed workers states of the Soviet Union and East Europe against imperialism and counterrevolution. They hailed Solidarność, the company union for the CIA and Western bankers which led the counterrevolution in Poland. Like the Cliffites, they welcomed the final destruction of the Russian Revolution, signaled by Boris Yeltsin's 1991 countercoup in Moscow. While IV (16 September 1991) called to "struggle alongside Yeltsin," Cliff's British *Socialist Worker* (31 August 1991) exulted that "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing."

The NSG split from the I.S. to the right, denouncing not the Cliffites' anti-Communism but the very idea of a revolutionary party. They also complained that the I.S. had become a "bureaucratic sect." Certainly, the Cliffites' bureaucratic methods, which include exclusion and thuggery against other left organizations, are repulsive. They are the means by which the I.S. resolves the gaping contradiction between their Marxist pretensions and the frenetic reformist activism to which they subject their members.

But this is not what the NSG was on about. Even the I.S.'s caricature of "Leninist party building" was too much for the NSGers, because they wanted to thoroughly immerse themselves in "the movement." IV praises the NSG's "non-vanguardist, pluralist conception of building a revolutionary socialist organization." These are code words for servile adaptation to social-democratic and liberal bourgeois forces, a hallmark of the United Secretariat internationally.


The one issue that apparently stood in the way of "regroupment" was the Quebec national question. For years, successive Canadian Usec groups have uncritically cheered Quebec nationalism. The Quebec Usec affiliate, Gauche Socialiste, is immersed in the tiny Parti de la Démocratie Socialiste, which acts as a reformist pressure group on the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois. The I.S., on the other hand, *opposes* Quebec independence. They regularly line up with "Canadian unity" chauvinists, most recently joining the Reform Party, among others, in support of the so-called Calgary Declaration (see "I.S. in Camp of 'National Unity,' Again," SC No. 115, Winter 1997/98). In the end, the NSG felt compelled to "reconsider" their inherited Cliffite line. So now, in the words of IV:

"While not embracing the Socialist Challenge/Gauche Socialiste claim that Quebec independence, in itself, would weaken Canadian capital, the NSG and Socialist Challenge now agree on support for practical moves toward Quebec independence."

Thus the new partners are both for independence, but can't agree why.

The Quebec national question is indeed crucial for revolutionaries. The forcible confinement of Quebec within Canada has poisoned relations between English Canadian and Québécois workers, undermining prospects for proletarian struggle. In English Canada, the anti-Quebec chauvinism pushed by the NDP and labor bureaucracy serves to line up

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“Fortress Europe” Bars Kurdish Refugees

We publish below a January 12 protest statement by the International Communist League denouncing a chauvinist campaign against Kurdish refugees by the West European bourgeoisies. European sections of the ICL have distributed this statement in English, French, German and Italian under the headline: “Down With Racist ‘Fortress Europe’! For a Workers Europe! Asylum for Kurds and All Refugees from Right-Wing Terror! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!”

ICL Protest Statement

The Turkish regime’s 13-year war against the Kurdish population has devastated Eastern Anatolia, totally destroying some 3,500 villages and forcing more than three million Kurds to flee their homes. Kurds in northern Iraq have also been repeatedly hit by military offensives—most recently last month—carried out by Turkey with the backing of its NATO allies, the U.S., Germany, Italy and France. This comes on top of the seven-year starvation blockade of Iraq following the massacres carried out by NATO/UN troops in the 1991 Gulf War. Yet, when 900 Kurds from Turkey and Iraq, along with other refugees fleeing right-wing terror, arrived last month off the Italian coast in two packed freighters, the European imperialist powers, with Germany in the lead, launched a hysterical, racist campaign against the “refugee flood.” The racist masters of capitalist Europe are determined to keep out the victims of right-wing terror, racist persecution and desperate poverty generated by their drive for profit in the neocolonial Third World. The International Communist League demands: Down with the NATO/UN starvation blockade—Hands off Iraq! Turkish army out of Kurdistan! No deportations! Asylum for Kurds and all refugees from right-wing terror!

Capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe has sharpened interimperialist conflicts over the redivision of world markets. This has led to the creation or consolidation of rival trade blocs, such as the European Union (EU), which are reactionary attempts by the imperialists to compete for markets abroad while savagely attacking the working masses at home. The cutting edge of the capitalist offensive is racist terror against immigrants and refugees, who are scapegoated for the growing misery and unemployment created by the capitalist system itself. The ruling classes of Europe have deliberately fomented racist hysteria as the ideological preparation for new imperialist wars and to divide the workers and poison their class consciousness.

Throughout Europe, it is the social democrats and ex-Stalinists who, using their positions of leadership of the organized working class, are doing the racist dirty work for the imperialists. While reformists and centrists support them as a supposed “lesser evil,” these parties are, in the words of



Piscitelli/Arcieri

Desperate Kurdish refugees from Turkey and Iraq have been thrown into concentration camps by popular-front government in Italy.

Lenin, “bourgeois workers parties” based on the organized working class but sworn to protect the capitalist order. The parliamentary governments they form, whether in coalition with the bourgeois parties or alone, are *capitalist* governments, carrying out the anti-immigrant and anti-working-class policies demanded by their bourgeois masters.

In Italy, the coalition government of the ex-Stalinist Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) and various bourgeois politicians enforces one of the most vicious anti-refugee policies in Europe. With the support of Rifondazione Comunista (RC), the other by-product of the breakup of the reformist Italian Communist Party, this racist regime has passed laws that threaten up to 300,000 people with deportation. Last spring, the Italian navy sank a ship in the Adriatic packed with desperate refugees fleeing chaos and poverty in Albania, killing 89. With the blood of this massacre on its hands, Italian imperialism then sent troops to establish “order” in Albania. Meanwhile, thousands of Albanian refugees who made it to Italy were herded into concentration camps and quickly deported. Today, those same camps are used to imprison Kurdish refugees. Responding to German dictates that his government crack down on Kurdish refugees, a PDS minister—speaking on the eve of a meeting of police chiefs from Turkey and the EU—vowed to “fight with the most absolute firmness against illegal immigration.”

The policies of the French coalition government of Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin have been as anti-immigrant as its Italian counterparts and as racist as its conservative

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Kurds...

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predecessors. Jospin's popular front—a class-collaborationist coalition of the Socialists and the French Communist Party with bourgeois politicians—was elected on a wave of mass strikes and demonstrations against neo-Gaullist Alain Juppé's racist, anti-working-class policies. Yet the popular front has continued the racist "Vigipirate" campaign in which the army is used to terrorize immigrant ghettos. The government's "new" laws on immigration are in some ways even more restrictive than the reactionary laws of the previous regime! Meanwhile, the *sans-papiers* (undocumented workers) are to get the boot: Jospin toured Morocco, Senegal and Mali last month to prepare the mass deportation of over 100,000 people. And as hysteria was whipped up over Kurdish refugees, massive contingents of French police were sent to seal off the Italian border against Kurds.

In Germany, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats (CDU) are also waging war against that country's two million immigrants and refugees of Turkish and Kurdish descent. Their children—including those born in Germany—were forced last year to apply for visas in order to remain in the country. Turkish leftist and Kurdish nationalist groups, including the PKK (Kurdish Workers Party), are banned. Even showing the Kurdish national colors is illegal, as it is in Turkey. Having used its economic muscle to dictate the terms for the dismemberment of the former Yugoslav deformed workers state, which resulted in millions of refugees, Bonn moved last year to expel some 300,000 Bosnian immigrants—the biggest mass deportation since Hitler's Third Reich. Now, German interior minister Manfred Kanther enjoins Italy to "secure its borders," declaring that Germany will not accept a "criminally organized migration movement because of world conflicts like Bosnia" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 7 January).

Meanwhile, the Social Democrats (SPD) are attacking Kohl from the *right*, denouncing the CDU government for not pressuring Rome earlier to stop Kurdish immigration and calling for restoring strict border control between EU countries. SPD-ruled Hamburg has been turned into an anti-immigrant police state. The SPD election campaign there last fall was so obscenely racist that even the bourgeois press was forced to note that it was "one of the most xenophobic election campaigns conducted by the left in post-war Germany" (*London Independent*, 22 September 1997). In whipping up anti-immigrant racism, the SPD has also given a green light to Nazi thugs throughout Germany.

In Bremen, where the SPD governs together with the CDU, imprisoned Kurds facing deportation are waging a hunger strike against torture, overcrowding and other abusive conditions. Six of the protesters are said to be in imminent danger of dying. An SPD state justice ministry official was forced to resign, but his replacement contemptuously dismissed the hunger strike as taking place during the month



H. Cristoph

Aluminum factory in the Ruhr. Turkish and Kurdish workers are strategic component of industrial proletariat in Germany.

of Ramadan "fasting time" (*Neues Deutschland*, 8 January). Meanwhile some 370 Kurdish prisoners are undertaking a hunger strike in a Turkish jail in the city of Erzurum. We say: Down with the ban on the PKK and the Turkish leftist Devrimci Sol! Free all leftist and Kurdish nationalist political prisoners! Down with the racist "laws on foreigners"! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The frantic rush by Italy's European neighbors to impose border controls against Kurdish immigration fly in the face of the 1995 Schengen agreement by which the main European countries agreed to do away with passport checks at their respective frontiers. This points up the real purpose of Schengen: to consolidate racist "Fortress Europe" against refugees and immigrants fleeing the exploitation and inhuman conditions in backward countries under the boot of imperialism. Like the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, which envisioned a common European currency by the end of the century, Schengen was billed as a step toward melding the existing capitalist societies into a single supranational European state. But this is reactionary utopianism. The bourgeoisie, by its nature, is a nationally limited class, whose rise to power was closely associated with the consolidation of powerful nation-states, serving to protect the bourgeoisie's national market while competing internationally with rival capitalist states. As Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote during World War II and on the eve of the Nazi Holocaust:

"The world of decaying capitalism is overcrowded. The question of admitting a hundred extra refugees causes a major problem for such a world power as the United States.... Amid the vast expanses of land and marvels of technology, which has also conquered the skies for man as well as earth, the bourgeoisie has managed to convert our planet into a foul prison."

— "Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution"
(June 1940)

The racist policies being pushed by the capitalists and their social-democratic henchmen have greatly reinforced fascist bands throughout Europe, who feel they have a green light to carry out murderous attacks against immigrants and leftists. However, the ultimate aim of these racist shock



Italian Trotskyists initiated August 1993 protest in Milano to denounce racist cop terror, call for labor to champion full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

troops of capitalist reaction is the eradication of the whole of the organized workers movement. Immigrant workers are a key component of the industrial proletariat, whether they be Kurds in Germany, North Africans in France or black Africans in Italy. French workers, in a series of mass demonstrations protesting the expulsion of *sans-papiers* over the past two years, have shown the potential for mobilizing the multi-ethnic proletariat against racist terror. In Germany, a number of protests and strikes have united ethnic German and foreign-born workers, as in last spring's powerful week-long miners strike. The crucial need is to break the workers from the reformist betrayers and the forging of revolutionary workers parties as part of a Leninist-Trotskyist international party.

The petty-bourgeois nationalist PKK calls on the UN and imperialist powers to broker a "political solution" to the Kurdish question in Turkey. The EU is as much an enemy of the Kurds as the Turkish government. A major reason for the recent rejection of Turkey's bid for EU membership was the fear by the German and other bourgeoisies of massive immigration by Kurds and Turks. Meanwhile, the Turkish bourgeoisie jockeys for support between U.S. and German imperialism, while forging a bloody alliance with the anti-Palestinian Zionist rulers of Israel. And when PKK leader Kani Yilmaz visited London three years ago to push for a "political solution," he was arrested and imprisoned for two years before being extradited to Germany, where he is now on trial for leading a "terrorist association." Freedom for Kani Yilmaz!

While the Near Eastern bourgeoisies are the immediate oppressors of the Kurdish people, there can be no self-determination for the Kurds without opposing imperialism and its repeated interventions in the area. Following the 1991 Gulf War, Iraqi Kurdistan was declared to be a "safe haven" for Kurds, to be policed by the U.S. and other imperialists under a UN fig leaf. Yet the Turkish regime, armed to the hilt by the U.S. and Germany, has repeatedly invaded this "safe haven" to round up and kill supporters of the PKK.

The national emancipation of Kurdistan requires the revolutionary overthrow of four capitalist regimes—Turkey, Iraq,

Iran and Syria—among which the 25 million Kurds in the Near East are partitioned, and the throwing off of the yoke of imperialist domination. The allies and motor force for Kurdish emancipation are to be found in the proletariats of those countries, who have their own scores to settle with their exploiters. It is vital in those countries to forge revolutionary multi-national workers parties committed to the national liberation of Kurdistan through socialist revolution. The Kurdish proletariat in diaspora—in the major industrial centers not only of the Near East but (together with Turks) of West Europe—represents the living bridge between the struggle for the emancipation of the Kurdish nation and proletarian revolution in imperialist West Europe.

This is the perspective of Trotsky's permanent revolution for countries whose capitalist development has been retarded by imperialism: the tasks of political democracy and national emancipation can only be achieved through the seizure of power by the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries. This perspective requires the construction of Leninist vanguard parties that combat every form of social and national oppression as an integral part of the struggle for working-class political power. For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan in a Socialist Federation of the Near East! Down with imperialist "Fortress Europe"! For a Socialist United States of Europe! For the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International to fight for new October Revolutions worldwide! This is the task to which the International Communist League is dedicated. ■

TL/SYC Events

TORONTO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

17 March

The Family and Women's Oppression

31 March

The Fight for a Leninist Vanguard Party Today

Alternate Tuesdays, 7:00 p.m.

International Student Centre,
33 St. George (n. of College)

For more information call (416) 593-4138.

VANCOUVER

Women and Revolution Public Meeting Women's Emancipation and the Struggle against Imperialism

Tue. 10 March, 7:00 p.m.

Langara College, Room A230

Sponsored by the Spartacus Youth Club

Trotskyist League Forum

Independence for Quebec!

Fri. 27 March, 7:30 p.m., Britannia Community Centre
Room L4, 1661 Napier St. (off Commercial Drive)

For more information call (604) 687-0353.

IMF "Bailout" Means Misery for South Korean Workers

Last December, former "dissident" Kim Dae Jung was elected president of South Korea amid one of the sharpest crises in the country's history. As the series of financial collapses which first erupted in Thailand last summer engulfed the world's eleventh-largest economy, South Korea has been thrown into turmoil. December 3, the day outgoing president Kim Young Sam acquiesced to the onerous terms of a \$57 billion "bailout" proposal by the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF), has been dubbed "National Humiliation Day" and compared to the Japanese colonization which ended in 1945. Among the working class, there is widespread fear and anger over the threat of massive wage cuts and even more massive layoffs—as many as one million in the coming months.

Even as the IMF deal was being pushed through, the imperialist-imposed partition of Korea was again highlighted, as the U.S., South Korea, China and North Korea began the first-ever "peace" talks aimed at bringing to a formal close the 1950-53 Korean War. For the past half century, the Korean peninsula has been divided at the 38th parallel between a capitalist police state in the South and a bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North. To this day, close to 40,000 American troops remain on South Korean soil—including a mammoth garrison right in the heart of the capital, Seoul—for which the U.S. demands some \$350 million a year from the South Korean government. The North Korean delegation at the talks rightly demanded the removal of this imperialist occupation force. As proletarian internationalists, our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. have consistently called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from Korea.

The conditions imposed by the IMF, under direct U.S. diktat, are clearly designed to undermine South Korea's capacity to compete economically—even as a weak rival—by clipping the wings of the high-flying industrial/financial conglomerates, the *chaebol*, and limiting exports of cars and other manufactured goods. With the South Korean *won* plunging in value against the dollar, the IMF deal also opens the way to a stream of imperialist takeovers, as former constraints on foreign investment and banking operations have been pried wide open.

While South Korea's capitalist rulers are far from happy about having to bow before the IMF, they are sure to use this opportunity to go after the combative independent labor movement organized in the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU). With the *chaebol's* profit margins squeezed by competition on the international market and their attempts to intensify exploitation at home frustrated by the power of the unions, the previous Kim Young Sam regime



South Korean workers protest against austerity measures dictated by U.S.-dominated IMF. Reuters

U.S. Troops Out! For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

tried to ram through laws codifying the illegal status of the KCTU, allowing mass layoffs and strengthening the draconian National Security Law. This provoked an upsurge of workers' struggles, which could well happen again in response to the imposition of IMF-dictated austerity measures.

If the South Korean workers go into battle, they will not be fighting alone. Throughout Southeast Asia, economic crisis has impelled workers onto the streets. Suharto's Indonesia has been hit by strikes on almost a daily basis. Meanwhile, the question being asked everywhere is, "Will China be next?" As the venal Stalinist regime ruling the deformed workers state accelerates capitalist "market reforms," it faces enormous pressures on all sides. Foreign investment has plummeted this year, helping to undercut Beijing's designs for a "cold" restoration of capitalism, while strikes and protests against layoffs and falling living standards have mounted. The alternatives posed pointblank in China are proletarian political revolution, creating a regime based on workers democracy and proletarian internationalism, or bloody capitalist counterrevolution and untrammelled imperialist exploitation.

The workers of South Korea can play a leading role in the fight for a socialist Asia. Proletarian revolution in South Korea would not only sweep away the bloodsucking *chaebol* capitalists and their police-state terror but, together with workers political revolution in the North to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, would bring about the revolutionary reunification of Korea. This fight must be based on a perspective of internationalist unity with Chinese workers facing the threat of capitalist counterrevolution and with the proletariat of Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. The

International Communist League fights to forge Bolshevik parties in Korea and around the world in struggle for new October Revolutions.

"Democratic" Police State

The South Korean bourgeoisie prides itself on performing a "miracle on the Han" in developing the country's industrial base over the past three decades. But there was nothing miraculous about this; rather, it was based on grinding exploitation of the proletariat enforced by an enormous police-state apparatus backed up by the U.S. military gendarmerie. Writing about backward countries in the epoch of imperialism, Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky noted in his 1940 article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

"The feebleness of the national bourgeoisie, the absence of traditions of municipal self-government, the pressure of foreign capitalism, and the relatively rapid growth of the proletariat, cut the ground from under any kind of stable democratic regime. The governments of backward, i.e., colonial and semi-colonial, countries by and large assume a Bonapartist or semi-Bonapartist character; they differ from one another in that some try to orient in a democratic direction, seeking support among workers and peasants, while others install a form close to military-police dictatorship. This likewise determines the fate of the trade unions. They either stand under the special patronage of the state or they are subjected to cruel persecution."

South Korea is a prime example of this. For years, independent trade unions were completely outlawed, while the proletariat was saddled with a corporatist formation, the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, which was set up under the auspices of the Korean CIA (now named the Agency for National Security Planning) and under the tutelage of the Cold War AFL-CIO bureaucracy. It was only as a result of a wave of militant workers' struggles in 1987 that the South Korean bourgeoisie abandoned open military rule and proceeded to implement presidential elections every five years. It was out of this upsurge that the KCTU, which now has over a half million members, emerged.

These developments have fostered illusions in the democratic credentials of the *chaebol* bourgeoisie, which are promoted as well by self-styled leftist organizations like the United Secretariat. Recently, these fake Trotskyists claimed: "Ten years after the end of authoritarian rule, the political landscape in South Korea has changed enormously. The country is no longer a police state" (*International Viewpoint*, 15 July 1997). This will come as news to the many radical students and trade-union militants who continue to be imprisoned by the regime. The National Security Law, which bans even vaguely leftist activity as aiding the North Korean "enemy," continues to be wielded by the regime against militant workers and political opponents.

A prime beneficiary of "democratic" illusions in South Korea is newly elected president Kim Dae Jung, who was jailed—and nearly assassinated—under the former military dictatorship of Park Chung Hee. In the past, much of the petty-bourgeois nationalist student left has looked to Kim, as has the KCTU leadership. They are echoed by the International Socialists of South Korea (ISSK), tied to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and the International Socialists in Canada. An interview with a "South Korean socialist" in the British *Socialist Worker* (22 November 1997) parroted the standard liberal refrain that Kim "was a democracy campaigner in the 1970s and 1980s," while complaining that he has since "moved to the right." In fact, the



Reuters

Clinton during 1993 visit to 38th parallel dividing North and South.

Cliffite social democrats agree with this capitalist politician on fundamental questions, sharing the anti-Communist hatred by South Korea's capitalist rulers for the deformed workers state in the North. Cliff was expelled from the Fourth International in 1950 for publicly opposing defense of the Soviet Union, China and North Korea during the Korean War.

Kim traces his origins to the Korean Democratic Party set up by U.S. occupation forces in 1945. His bloc partners in the December elections included Park Tae Joon, head of one of the largest *chaebol*, and Kim Jong Pil, who founded the KCIA and served as prime minister under dictator Park! Two years ago, Kim Jong Pil was screaming for a crack-down on the "burgeoning leftist activism on campuses" (*Korea Times*, 26 April 1996). Now he is about to be appointed to a top government position. A Clinton aide welcomed the election outcome as a "big opportunity," while the *New York Times* (20 December 1997) noted that the South Korean leader's "credibility with the unions" places him in a "good position to convince his followers that they need to endure a year or two of pain." And the return to government of Kim Jong Pil underscores that this will involve intensified repression against the workers movement.

Appealing to populist/nationalist sentiment, Kim Dae Jung vowed to "renegotiate" the terms of the IMF agreement during the election campaign, but backed off as soon as the imperialists put their foot down. Indeed, Kim had called for IMF intervention in early November, well before the regime did. A revolutionary workers government in Korea would cancel the imperialist debt outright as part of the expropriation of industry and infrastructure.

The fact that Kim Dae Jung and the other two leading presidential contenders were forced to drop calls for renegotiating the IMF accord underscores the dependent character of the South Korean bourgeoisie. Korea in this century is an archetypal example of uneven and combined development: modern industry coexists alongside rural backwardness, where many remain as impoverished tenant farmers, with a police-state regime, albeit with some trappings of parliamentary democracy. South Korea's political structure is manifestly closer to that of Malaysia and Indonesia than to Japan's.

As Trotsky explained in advancing the perspective of permanent revolution, in countries of belated capitalist development, the bourgeoisies—tied to the imperialist powers on the

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South Korea...

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one hand and confronted by a growing proletariat on the other—are incapable of throwing off the yoke of imperialism and resolving the other tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. These tasks can only be accomplished by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and placing the proletariat in power. This was confirmed by the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

Socialist revolution in the backward countries would necessarily have to link up with—and would act as a powerful impetus for—the fight for proletarian power in the imperialist centers. In the 1938 Transitional Program, Trotsky stressed that in backward countries “the struggle for the most elementary achievements of national independence and bourgeois democracy is combined with the socialist struggle against world imperialism.” This is posed particularly acutely in Korea, where the imperialist-imposed partition places the question of national unification directly on the agenda. A proletarian vanguard party in Korea would be in direct competition with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists who seek to unify the country on a capitalist basis, destroying the collectivized foundations of the deformed workers state in the North. Trotskyists call for unconditional military defense of North Korea against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution as part of the fight for **revolutionary reunification** through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North.

Coming atop decades of imperialist military encirclement and starvation embargo, the demise of the Soviet Union and the Beijing bureaucracy’s drive toward capitalist restoration have pushed the North Korean deformed workers state into near-terminal decline, with wide swathes of the country beset by famine. Under the regime of Kim Jong Il and his father, “Great Leader” Kim Il Sung, the Pyongyang bureaucracy has pursued the autarkic program of *Juche* (self-reliance), a variant of the Stalinist nationalist dogma of “socialism in one country” infused with Korean mythology. The North Korean Stalinists have always opposed the fight to extend social revolution throughout the peninsula, calling instead for “peaceful reunification” under nationalist colors—a recipe for **capitalist** reunification.

The South Korean proletariat has time and again demonstrated its capacity for militant struggle, not least in the 1996 general strike against Kim Young Sam’s anti-labor law. But it has lacked a political party organized independently of the capitalist rulers. Last year, the KCTU fielded a candidate in

South Korea’s presidential elections. But far from seeking to rally the working masses in struggle **against** South Korea’s capitalist rulers, the “People’s Victory 21” campaign headed by former KCTU leader Kwon Young Kil is a class-collaborationist lash-up, including various liberal groups, which promotes nationalist opposition to “foreign interference,” blending in with bourgeois rhetoric which seeks to deflect class anger away from the domestic exploiters. This has not prevented the South Korean International Socialists from supporting Kwon’s candidacy as a “step forward” (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 22 November 1997). The South Korean proletariat can go forward only on the basis of complete and unconditional independence from the bourgeoisie.

U.S. Imperialism and IMF Austerity

The IMF package imposed on South Korea is so severe that no less an authority than Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs denounced it. Describing the IMF as a “small, secretive institution” which has the power to “dictate economic conditions of life to 75 developing countries,” Sachs fumed: “The IMF threw together a draconian programme for Korea in just a few days, without deep knowledge of the country’s financial system and without any subtlety as to how to approach problems” (London *Financial Times*, 11 December 1997). Sachs ought to know what’s drastic—he is the architect of the “shock therapy” which has driven millions of workers in the former Soviet Union to the brink of starvation. Sachs expected the imperialist rulers to adopt a rational, far-sighted approach to capitalist counterrevolution and pour billions into Russia to erect a stable capitalist economy there as part of a post-Soviet “New World Order.”

But capitalism is anything but rational. As we have repeatedly observed, the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 ushered in an era of heightened interimperialist competition, as the conflicting interests of the major imperialist powers were no longer subsumed in a (U.S.-led) anti-Soviet alliance. Germany, Japan and the U.S. have each sought to carve out trade blocs and spheres of influence, with the latter two in particular engaged in fierce competition in the Asian Pacific region. The American bourgeoisie has seized on the burgeoning financial crisis in Southeast and East Asia to impose its interests in the region, using the IMF as its instrument of choice. In the wake of the IMF bailout of Thailand, foreign investors have been busily buying up local banks. And the “opening” of South Korea—with an economy bigger than those of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia combined—could be a bonanza for U.S. and Japanese moneymen alike.

As interimperialist rivalries sharpen, we fight to win workers in the U.S., Japan and other imperialist countries including Canada to the understanding that **the main enemy is at home**. This means, first and foremost, a sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor tops. Even as it turns a blind eye to the barrage of attacks being leveled at the labor movement in the wake of the victorious UPS strike, the U.S. AFL-CIO bureaucracy is wallowing in its successful protectionist campaign to stop Democratic president Clinton’s “fast track” trade proposal. The Spartacist League/U.S. fights to break workers and minorities from the racist, capitalist Democrats and to forge a revolutionary workers party to sweep away the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Front Line in the Cold War

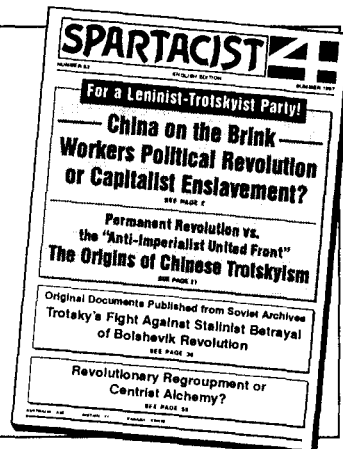
In a spread on South Korea, the British *Socialist Worker* (22

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November 1997) claims that in 1953 "Korea was partitioned between the pro-Russian North and pro-US South after a war between client states of the superpowers which claimed four million Korean lives." This "third camp" rendition of the Korean War is part of the Cliffite school of falsification, aimed at alibiing Cliff's capitulation to Anglo-U.S. imperialism.

In fact, U.S. occupation forces, with Stalin's criminal acquiescence, divided the country at the 38th parallel only days after landing on the peninsula in 1945. In the North, the Kim Il Sung regime, basing itself on the Soviet Army, proceeded to expropriate the capitalists and landlords, carrying out a social revolution from above. In the South, the U.S. imperialists and their local lackeys—Japanese soldiers, colonial police and the capitalists, who had previously loyally served the brutal Japanese occupation—proceeded to suppress a series of massive worker/peasant upheavals. The 1950-53 war—in which some three to four million people were killed and North Korea was virtually leveled—was a continuation of this counterrevolutionary policy by U.S. imperialism, targeting as well the Chinese deformed workers state which had issued out of the victory of Mao Zedong's peasant-based guerrilla forces in 1949. While the last Soviet forces had been withdrawn from the North by 1948, U.S. troops remained in the South to prop up its hand-picked puppet, Syngman Rhee, followed by one dictatorial regime after another.

While Washington poured billions of dollars into South Korea to maintain a militarily strategic base of operations for its Cold War designs; on an economic level the U.S. sought to make South Korea subordinate to Japan. As late as the 1970s, the North Korean economy was stronger than that in the South. At the same time, South Korea's position as a key Cold War asset gave the weak local bourgeoisie some leeway. When military strongman Park Chung Hee took power in a 1961 coup, he embarked on a program of forced-pace industrialization, funneling the huge funds derived from the U.S. military presence, as well as Japanese financial and technological assistance, to develop the *chaebol*, many of whose founders had gotten their start servicing the American occupation. Between 1965 and 1973, Seoul got more than \$2 billion for services rendered to U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam, through lucrative contracts to supply American forces and as payment for the 300,000 South Korean troops shipped off to fight there.

Japanese investment in South Korea took off in the 1960s, especially after Park signed a "normalization" treaty in 1965. Park used some \$800 million in Japanese aid and investment to build the most efficient integrated steel mill in the world—despite American objections—laying the basis for large shipbuilding and auto industries. South Korea imported parts and equipment from Japan and exported finished products to the U.S. When South Korea faced a serious financial crisis—and IMF demands—in 1980, it was bailed out with Japanese assistance, including a massive \$4 billion loan package on favorable terms.

However, as the huge *chaebol* operations—epitomized by the gigantic shipworks of Hyundai Heavy Industries—began to compete with Japan and the U.S. on the world market, Japanese capitalists began to withhold the most modern technology from their South Korean "partners." As long as the Soviet Union existed, U.S. ruling circles were unwilling to risk destabilizing South Korea by imposing protectionist measures against Hyundai or Samsung, or by pressuring



Financial Times

Workers took to the streets in general strike one year ago against anti-labor laws.

Seoul into opening up financial markets. With the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, the interests of the U.S. in the peninsula have shifted. Counterrevolution in North Korea remains one of its goals, but a stronger South Korean bourgeoisie is not. When South Korea's rulers pleaded for assistance from Washington and Tokyo this time around, they had the door slammed in their faces.

The American military presence on the peninsula is not only a dagger aimed at the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states but an assertion of U.S. interests in the region against the South Korean bourgeoisie and Japanese imperialism. It also serves as a warning to South Korea's working masses, threatening to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order. From their suppression of the "autumn harvest" rising in 1946 to orchestrating the bloody Kwangju massacre of 1980, in which some 2,000 people were killed to put down an insurrectionary revolt, U.S. forces have been a key bulwark for counterrevolutionary repression on the peninsula. Yet not once in nine articles on Korea over the past two years has the American Cliffite *Socialist Worker* raised the call for U.S. troops out. (Indeed, only one, reporting on South Korean student protests, even mentioned the U.S. military presence.) This underscores our characterization of the "third camp" as the *camp of imperialism*.

Acting as "third campists" of the second mobilization is a group grandiosely calling itself the "International Bolshevik Tendency," formed by defectors from the Spartacist tendency who couldn't stomach our hard Soviet-defensist line at the height of Reagan's Cold War II. In a lengthy article on last year's strikes in South Korea against the anti-labor laws, these counterfeit "Trotskyists" do not once raise the call for defense of the North Korean deformed workers state, nor do they so much as *mention* the U.S. military presence in the South, even as they scream to "dislodge the crumbling bureaucratic dictatorship in the North" (1917, [March] 1997).

In the first instance a capitulation to imperialism, the line of the "third camp" in South Korea represents an embrace of the interests of the *chaebol* bourgeoisie. The Cliffites demonstrated this even as their own comrades were dragged off to prison under the National Security Law. At the time of ISSK leader Choi's arrest, the Cliffites assured the anti-

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South Korea...

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Communist regime that “he had not broken the National Security Law by reading banned literature from the North or belonging to a foreign organization. On the contrary, he had published books critical of regimes like North Korea” (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], February 1993).

For a Trotskyist Party in Korea!

The Korean proletariat must reappropriate the history of the pioneer labor militants who were won to the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky and fought heroically against Japanese colonialism from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. In its “Statement of Mission,” the Korean Labor Federation, founded in 1925, proclaimed: “Our purpose is to liberate the working class and to build a completely new society. We will fight with the capitalist class with the collective power of the workers until a final victory is won” (quoted in Martin Hart-Landsberg, *The Rush to Development: Economic Change and Political Struggle in South Korea* [1993]).

The courage and combativity of the South Korean proletariat have been amply demonstrated in the struggles to forge independent unions in defiance of the police-state regime over the past 30 years. Thousands were imprisoned or killed for labor’s cause. To this day, South Korean workers commemorate Chon Tae-il, a Seoul textile worker who immolated himself in November 1970 to protest anti-labor

repression. Following his death, Chon’s mother founded the Chonggye Garment Workers Union, one of the first independent unions. Throughout the 1970s, young women workers—many of them brought in from the countryside to work up to 16 hours a day in stifling sweatshops for no more than the price of a cup of coffee—played a key role in organizing trade unions. Their heroic efforts, in the face of brutal degradation and terror by company thugs and legions of cops, paved the way for the subsequent formation of unions in heavy industry in the 1980s.

To become conscious of its historic tasks, the South Korean proletariat must champion the cause of all the oppressed, from the fight for women’s emancipation to the defense of Filipino and other immigrant workers. As we wrote in “For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!” (*WV* No. 612, 9 December 1994):

“Only a party grounded in revolutionary internationalism can lead the South Korean proletariat to power against the *chaebol* bourgeoisie and oust the bureaucratic caste in Pyongyang through workers political revolution. A Trotskyist party would draw in all the oppressed behind the working class, basing itself on the program of permanent revolution. Only proletarian state power can emancipate the country from the stranglehold of U.S. and Japanese imperialism and resolve the belated tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Against the Stalinist/Confucian glorification of the family, which serves to maintain the age-old subjugation of women, a revolutionary workers party would act as a tribune of the people, fighting all manifestations of social oppression.”

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 681, 2 January

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

of the imperialist “allies,” which had been subordinated to the Cold War drive to restore capitalism in the Soviet bloc, have increasingly come into the open. Wars are the means by which the competing national ruling classes resolve these conflicts and carve out new spheres of exploitation. Only the overthrow of capitalism through international workers revolution can put an end to war and give humanity a future.

Racist Canadian Imperialism and its NDP Frontmen

Seven years ago, Canadian troops joined the “Desert Storm” massacre of more than 100,000 Iraqis. The Canadian forces now on their way to the Gulf may be militarily inconsequential, but they are politically important, helping to provide a “multinational” facade for the U.S. assault. Since the Second World War, Canadian imperialism has always acted in concert with its vastly more powerful senior partner to the south. At the same time, Canada has cultivated an image as a “democratic” soft cop, whose blue-helmeted “peacekeepers” are welcome where the presence of U.S. marines might be overly provocative. But Canadian imperialism is itself a brutal enemy of the workers and oppressed. From Haiti to the Balkans, Canadian troops enforce neocolonialism and prop up the oppressive status quo. *Canadian troops out of the Gulf, Haiti and the Balkans!*

Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. The capitalist rulers are destroying jobs, gutting working conditions and tearing apart medicare, welfare and UI in order to boost their profits. In order to “divide and rule” the

working class, they foment chauvinism against Quebec and scapegoat immigrants and refugees. To defend its own interests, the working class must take up the defense of all the oppressed, while opposing the depredations of Canadian imperialism abroad. *Independence for Quebec! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

The NDP—the “political arm” of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy—today cynically postures as an opponent of the war moves against Iraq, and bemoans the effects of the UN’s brutal blockade. Yet in the run-up to the 1991 Gulf massacre, these right-wing social democrats *demand* sanctions as the supposedly “peaceful” alternative to bombing. Then-NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin declared: “My party and I are proud of the contribution of Canadian men and women in the Middle East to enforce the sanctions against Saddam Hussein and Iraq.” Endorsing Ottawa’s war frenzy she emphasized that “Saddam Hussein must be stopped, while “left” Alberta NDPer Ross Harvey called to jail Arab Canadians who wanted to stand with Iraq.

Racist frontmen for imperialist barbarism, today the New Democrats merely seek a “diplomatic” solution in the interests of Canadian imperialism, and even denounce the Liberal government for “weakening the national defense of Canada” through cuts in the military budget. Meanwhile their social-democratic counterparts in Britain, Tony Blair ruling Labour Party, stand foursquare with Washington and have mobilized British troops and aircraft carriers to join the assault on Iraq. Workers and all those who want to fight racist capitalist oppression must break from the pro-imperialist NDP and build a revolutionary workers party to lead the working class to power.

As during all imperialist military adventures, the go-

ernment and media are working overtime to churn out lies, demonizing "the enemy" and banging the drums for war. Supposedly, the war moves are aimed at forcing Saddam Hussein to allow UN "weapons inspectors" free rein in finding and eliminating purported stocks of chemical and biological weapons. In fact, there is little evidence that Iraq has such weapons. In any case, since the rudimentary technology needed to produce them is much the same as that needed to produce food supplies and other basic necessities, the imperialists would literally have to bomb Iraq back to the Stone Age to meet their stated goal.

The frenzy over Saddam Hussein's supposed weapons of mass destruction obscures the fact that it is the big imperialist powers, armed to the teeth, who are the deadly dangerous enemy of humanity. The U.S. maintains the world's largest nuclear arsenal and enormous stores of chemical and biological weapons. It is the only power to have used nuclear weapons in wartime, incinerating over 200,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And the Canadian imperialists need no lessons in racist savagery when they get the chance. Witness the fascist-infested Canadian Airborne Regiment's UN murder mission in Somalia.

Unlike in 1991, the U.S. has been unable to garner support for bombing Iraq from its Arab client states. Even the pliant Saudi regime has refused to let American bases there be used for bombing runs. Meanwhile Turkey, anticipating the imperialist terror bombing of Iraq, has deployed thousands of troops to *build a wall* to keep out all Kurdish refugees fleeing for their lives. For its part, Zionist Israel, which has been passing out gas masks to everybody but Palestinians as part of a war scare, firmly backs Washington. Israeli troops in the West Bank have fired rubber-coated steel bullets and tear gas at Palestinians protesting the U.S. war moves. And Israel has its own significant nuclear arsenal, as revealed in 1986 by the Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, who was kidnapped and thrown in jail by the Zionist state. ***Israel out of the occupied territories—Defend the Palestinians! Free Mordechai Vanunu!***

While opposing the war moves against Iraq, Trotskyists give absolutely no political support to the capitalist regime there, which has secured its rule through anti-Communist massacres, anti-working-class repression and bloody subjugation of the Kurdish people. We pursue the perspective of permanent revolution, fighting for workers revolutions to bring down all the sheiks, colonels, Zionist rulers, kings and mullahs who lord it over the brutally exploited peoples of the region. It is the task of the Iraqi working class, leading oppressed women and ethnic, national and religious minorities, to sweep away the bloody regime of Saddam Hussein. ***For a socialist republic of united Kurdistan! For a socialist federation of the Near East!***

For Socialist Revolution to End Imperialist War

Since the onset of U.S. war preparations, the Trotskyist League and our youth affiliates, the Spartacus Youth Clubs, have joined protest demonstrations emphasizing our call to defend Iraq against imperialist attack. Speaking at a February 14 demonstration in Toronto, TL spokesman Angela Summers emphasized: "Despite the fine words of the NDP 'opposing' war, once the Gulf War started they were right behind it. During the Gulf War, the liberals and reformists looked to the UN and other imperialist agencies, and sought



SC photo

February 14 protest in Toronto. TL/SYC fight to win youth, workers to revolutionary perspective against imperialist war.

to pressure Canada to 'bring the troops home,' which can only breed illusions in Canadian imperialism.... Canadian imperialism, posing as 'peacekeepers,' have the blood of thousands on their hands!"

In contrast, various liberals and pro-NDP "socialists" seek only to pressure the ruling class to "Stop the War." Raising the liberal-pacifist slogans "No Blood for Oil" and "Stop Killing Iraqi Children," the International Socialists' *Socialist Worker* (11 February) never once calls for defense of Iraq against U.S./Canadian assault. It does not so much as hint at the need for working-class struggle to overthrow the imperialist warmongers. This is hardly an oversight. During the Gulf War, these perennially pro-NDP reformists ditched their paper position in defense of Iraq in order to build "anti-war coalitions" jointly with New Democrats and pacifist liberals. And they're doing the same again today.

Revolutions against the mass slaughter of the Iraqi people could impel a new layer of young workers and students into political protest. Especially to these youthful militants we emphasize that no war has ever been stopped by pacifist "moral witness" or protest, no matter how militant. Pacifism relies on the illusion that imperialist militarism can be restrained by reason and pressure. But wars are the inevitable outgrowth of capitalism, a supremely irrational system based on private profit and competition among rival states.

Because of its central role in capitalist production, the working class is the only social force which can banish the threat of imperialist war, by seizing political power and abolishing capitalism forever. In so doing, the workers will liberate not only themselves but all the oppressed, opening the road to genuine freedom. This perspective requires building a new, revolutionary leadership counterposed to the pro-imperialist New Democrats and union bureaucrats and their reformist "left" tails. Together with our comrades throughout the International Communist League, we fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. Only such a party can link the struggle for the emancipation of the toilers of the former colonial world to the fight for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers. ■

Anglo Chauvinism...

(continued from page 3)

point of departure is to underline that within the framework of racist capitalist rule, this simply means the "right" of the aboriginal populations to determine by whom they will be oppressed and brutalized. Only a planned socialist economy under working-class rule can put an end to the deepgoing oppression of the Native peoples in a truly egalitarian society.

While Anglo chauvinism ties the workers of English Canada to their own bourgeoisie, it also drives the workers of Quebec deeper into the arms of their bourgeois-nationalist would-be masters. Like other capitalist governments across the country, Bouchard's PQ regime is taking an ax to social programs, while calling on the workers to "sacrifice" in the name of "national solidarity." The PQ's demand for across-the-board 6 percent pay cuts for municipal workers was met with one-hour strikes and protests in February. Intent on ramming through his austerity package, Bouchard recalled the National Assembly, threatening to impose contracts on the public sector unions. But with the Supreme Court case looming and "their" premier under hysterical Anglo-chauvinist fire, the nationalist Quebec labor tops backed

down, quickly inking a sheaf of sellout deals.

This is another clear example of how the existence of two separate and increasingly divergent nations, one oppressing the other, undermines working-class struggle. The recognition by English Canadian and Québécois workers that their respective capitalist rulers—not each other—are the enemy, can only come through Quebec independence. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fights to advance the cause of working people through building a revolutionary party that acts as a tribune of all the oppressed. As we wrote in "For Quebec Independence!" (SC No. 105, September/October 1995):

"Nationalism and chauvinism have been the key strands in the ropes which bind the English-speaking and French-speaking workers to their 'own' capitalist enemies, setting them against each other, and against anyone else who is 'not us.' Thus French-speaking Haitians in Montreal, English-speaking Jamaicans in Toronto, Asians in Vancouver, aboriginal peoples struggling to assert their rights, are all victims of racist abuse and open state terror 'justified' in large part by the vicious logic of nationalism which currently defines and bedevils this country. "We advocate independence for Quebec to help clear the way for united struggle by the racially integrated working class of the whole continent against the system of exploitation and oppression that threatens the future of all humanity." ■

Anti-Leninists...

(continued from page 4)

the working class behind the Anglo rulers, while in Quebec it has driven the workers deeper into the arms of their own nationalist bourgeoisie. Only independence for Quebec can cut through these mutual animosities, laying a basis for the workers of each nation to understand that their "own" capitalist rulers are the enemy, not each other.

But such considerations have nothing to do with the position(s) of the NSG and SC. While noting that chauvinism has "exacerbated divisions within the pan-Canadian working class," not once does the IV article so much as mention the crucial role of the NDP and labor bureaucracy in fostering national hatreds. Indeed, as they wallow in various social-democratic swamps, both the NSG and SC have regularly provided an enthusiastic left cover for the Anglo-chauvinist New Democrats and union tops.

If the history of the past century teaches anything, it is this: a revolutionary vanguard party, based on thoroughgo-

ing programmatic agreement, is the indispensable instrument for a workers victory over capitalism. In this period conditioned by the colossal defeats for the international proletariat signified by capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, the forging of a Leninist party remains absolutely essential to make the working class conscious of its historic task of overthrowing capitalism. Genuine *revolutionary* regroupment is central to building such a party. Like other sections of the International Communist League, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste has been built in large part through such regroupments, in which subjective revolutionaries have been won from reformist and centrist groupings to the program and party of Leninism.

In 1990 the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, composed of left oppositionists in SC's Edmonton branch, waged a struggle against USec revisionism. The RMT was repelled by SC's organizational liquidation into various social-democratic "movements." They opposed the USec's support to counterrevolutionary nationalists like Solidarność, and fought for the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states combined with proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies. After being expelled from SC, the RMT carried out a Leninist fusion with the Trotskyist League based on principled programmatic agreement. As they wrote in a declaration reprinted in *Spartacist Canada* No. 81, November/December 1990:

"The methodology of tailing whatever enjoys mass appeal has made the [USec] leadership incapable of applying the ABCs of Marxism to a given situation, arguing that we must be part of the movement at all costs, so as to 'influence' it in a positive direction....

"The fight for revolutionary leadership is inseparable from the fight to reconquer the revolutionary foundations of the Fourth International, and to break decisively from the misleadership of the United Secretariat. 'Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer' (Leon Trotsky)." ■



First published in 1978, this pamphlet provides a detailed historical and theoretical account of Lenin's struggle for a vanguard party. Includes: "In Defense of Democratic Centralism"

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Immigrant Rights...

(continued from page 16)

For political refugees from right-wing terror, "removal" is often a warrant of execution. Today at least 1,000 Iranians, many of them leftists, are waiting to be "sent home." And Ottawa is seeking to deport Manickavasagam Suresh, co-ordinator of the Toronto-based World Tamil Movement, back to Sri Lanka where he faces torture and death. Up to 8,000 people have protested outside the Don Jail to stop his expulsion, but Ottawa remains intent on carrying it out. Free Suresh! No deportations to death!

The overwhelming majority of immigrant workers find themselves relegated to low-wage industries like garment and electronics assembly, at best. Many, especially women, must toil as grindingly exploited domestics, or even sex slaves in clandestine brothels. Immigrant workers also bear the brunt of capitalist "restructuring" and the wholesale attacks on social programs. More than a quarter of male Chinese immigrants in Toronto are unemployed, even as Ottawa slashes "Employment Insurance." Refugees awaiting hearings, who are forbidden to work, are hit especially hard by welfare payments driven below survival levels.

Immigrant workers must be integrated into the labor movement. But a campaign to organize the unorganized cannot be waged simply on the basis of a struggle over wages and working conditions. It must centrally confront the special forms of oppression and racist state terror that minorities suffer—for example, the so-called "war on drugs" which is used to "criminalize" whole communities, especially blacks, Latinos and Tamils. Like Ottawa's chauvinist crusade against Quebec independence, the capitalist rulers' efforts to incite anti-immigrant racism serve as an ideological tool to wreck working-class solidarity along racial and national lines. Labor must fight to smash the racist immigration laws, while fiercely defending the foreign-born against the deadly attacks of the state. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Anti-Immigrant Racism, the Labor Bureaucracy and the NDP

The federal government's war on the foreign-born reflects the intensification of interimperialist rivalries in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union. Internationally, the capitalist rulers have escalated their attacks on wages, working conditions and social programs in order to increase their competitive edge against rivals abroad. Foreign-born workers—as well as refugees, who now number 23 million worldwide—are at the cutting edge of this assault (see "'Fortress Europe' Bars Kurdish Refugees," page 5).

On the West Coast, the bosses' press is railing against an "Asian flu" destroying the B.C. economy. With resource- and trade-based B.C. reeling under the impact of the Southeast Asia economic crisis, the NDP-loyal union bureaucracy is helping to whip up a racist scare campaign about foreign workers on the Pacific Rim "stealing B.C. jobs." Such vicious "yellow peril" racism spells death to struggle against the austerity and unemployment produced by *Canadian* capitalism.

The reformist labor bureaucracy accepts the framework of capitalism, and is therefore committed to the national interests of its "own" ruling class. Despite occasional rhetoric about "solidarity," the "national unionism" of these labor tops compels them to act as agents of anti-immigrant racism among the workers. In Canada, their central target today is

Asians. This is conditioned directly by the growing competition between Japanese imperialism and the U.S.-dominated NAFTA bloc, in which Canada is a junior partner.

Through its nationalist protectionism, the labor bureaucracy poisons the labor movement against workers abroad—and, by extension, against immigrant workers in Canada. The CAW is currently mobilizing to "Save the Auto Pact" from incursions by Japanese and Korean car makers, laying the blame for domestic job losses at the feet of "foreign competition" with no commitment to "Canadian jobs." Similarly, the labor brass "opposes" NAFTA by waving the Maple Leaf, shouting about "Canadian values," and denouncing "cheap foreign labor"—i.e., Mexican workers.

Like its allies in the labor bureaucracy, the NDP is deeply



Anti-Asian hysteria fanned by bourgeois press is reinforced by chauvinist trade union bureaucracy.

loyal to Canadian capitalism. Thus it acts as a key transmission belt for bourgeois ideology into the working class, while carrying out the rulers' racist mandate when in power. On Bay Street's behalf, former Ontario NDP premier Bob Rae moved to exclude refugees and foreign students from government health insurance. And the B.C. NDP sought to impose a welfare residency requirement aimed not least at keeping unemployed immigrants out of the province.

Against all those who would point the finger elsewhere, we say that the number one enemy of Canada's working people—citizen, immigrant or refugee—is the Canadian capitalist class. Successful resistance to the ongoing austerity offensive to rip up social programs and drive down wages will never be led by those, like the NDP and labor bureaucrats, who endorse the interests of the enemy class. Those who labor must rule! Workers and the oppressed need a revolutionary party, committed to the overthrow of capitalism, which acts, in the words of Russian Marxist leader V.I. Lenin, as a tribune of all the oppressed. Without such leadership, labor struggle will continue to be wrecked on the shoals of racism and national chauvinism.

In the context of a world system of imperialism, the fight for workers revolution is necessarily an international one. The hundreds of thousands of immigrant workers and refugees can form a living bridge between labor in this country and class struggles in Asia and elsewhere. Against the chauvinist labor bureaucracy which ties the workers to the capitalist system of racism, exploitation and war, an internationalist, class-struggle leadership of the multiracial labor movement would embody the understanding that an injury to one is an injury to all. It will emblazon on its banner: Down with anti-immigrant racism! Workers of the world, unite! ■

Foreign-Born Workers: Key to Anti-Capitalist Struggle

Labor Must Defend Immigrant Rights



Marie France Coallier/Montreal Gazette

Fighting to organize a union at Peerless Clothing, militant strikers (above) demonstrate in Montreal in 1996. Immigrant and other minority workers form a strategic core of the working class.

Foreign-born workers are coming to the fore in important labor struggles, confirming their increasing centrality to this country's working class. At Peerless Clothing in Montreal, PC World electronics and the Westin Hotel in Toronto, heavily immigrant workforces have fought tough battles against the grinding exploitation of the low-wage ghettos where so many immigrants are forced to subsist. At the same time, second and third generation minority youth are finding their way into the core concentrations of industry and transport, where they will be called upon to take the lead in the class struggle between labor and capital.

Over the past 30 years, the Canadian working class has become decisively multiracial. Toronto now has more people of Chinese descent than any city outside Asia; Vancouver's fast-growing population is 30 percent Asian. As hundreds of thousands of Asians, blacks and Latinos integrate into the working class, they are being impelled into struggle against capitalist austerity. Simultaneously, they are a central target of national and racial animosities fostered by the imperialist rulers and reinforced by their agents in the working class—the pro-capitalist NDP and labor bureaucracy.

A class-struggle fight against anti-immigrant racism is key to any effective workers resistance to ongoing capitalist

attacks. Only a multiracial revolutionary party, in which immigrant and other minority workers must play a leading role, is capable of uniting the class into an effective weapon against the many forms of capitalist oppression. Such a party must confront every instance of bourgeois injustice. This is the only way working people can be made conscious of the necessity to sweep away capitalism through workers revolution. Labor must defend immigrant rights!

Racist Canadian Capitalism Targets Minorities

As an organic part of its austerity drive, the ruling class of Ottawa and Bay Street has upped its racist offensive against the foreign-born. A federal government advisory panel is calling for English or French language capacity to be made mandatory for all new immigrants, particularly to reduce immigration from Asia. Ottawa's panel also wants to automatically deny refugee status to anyone passing through a "safe third country." Visa requirements already instituted make it all but impossible for asylum seekers to even get on a flight to Canada. While Ottawa offers to accept prominent anti-Communist Chinese and Cuban exiles, deportations are on the rise: nearly 5,000 in the first eight months of 1997 alone.

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