

# China: WTO Entry Means Imperialist Plunder

In the lead-up to the Seattle summit of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the U.S. and China signed an agreement, capping 13 years of diplomatic jockeying, which paves the way for China's entry into the WTO. In China and internationally, the deal is seen as a major political victory for the "pro-reform" wing of the Beijing regime led by President and Communist Party (CCP) chief Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji.

China's entry into the WTO would mean eliminating what remains of the state monopoly of foreign trade, a key component of the collectivized economy created by the 1949 Chinese Revolution. The WTO deal follows on a 1997 decision by the CCP to sell off the bulk of state-owned industry, as Jiang, Zhu & Co. aim to utilize the pressure of intensified foreign competition to ram through widespread privatization. Foreign firms would be permitted to own up to 50 percent of such strategic sectors of the economy as telecommunications. Tariffs now protecting state-owned industrial enterprises would be drastically cut, leading to the loss of an estimated half million jobs in auto and fully one-third of all jobs in steel as "uncompetitive" enterprises are shut down. Lower agricultural tariffs could throw as many as ten million more peasants into the already huge army of migrant laborers.

But this outcome is not at all predetermined by the WTO agreement. Rather, *what is urgently posed is struggle by the Chinese proletariat to defend the already greatly attenuated gains of the 1949 Revolution.*

Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post* (1 December) wrote that in the space of one week shortly after the WTO agreement, "sit-ins, demonstrations, and disruptions to railway lines have been reported in cities including Xian, Chongqing, Hengyang, Beijing, and Changsha." Even retired army officers have been protesting, demanding the jobs they were supposed to get after leaving the army.

In May-June 1989, working people rebelled against the effects of Deng Xiaoping's "market socialism," transforming the student protests at Tiananmen Square into an incipient proletarian political revolution against the Beijing bureaucracy. Ten years

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Harrity/U.S. News and World Report

At left, Chinese premier Zhu Rongji with U.S. president Clinton in April. Below, migrant laborers at Shanghai construction site. Chinese proletariat must wage fight for political power to defeat threat of capitalist enslavement.



Co De Kruijff

**Defend Chinese Deformed Workers State Against Imperialism, Internal Counterrevolution!**

**For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust Stalinist Bureaucracy!**

# Young Spartacus

## Anti-Abortion Bigots Off UBC!

The University of British Columbia has been targeted by anti-abortion bigots for repeated provocations over the past semester. On 29 September, 200 students rallied against an anti-abortion outfit which threatened to set up a display grotesquely equating abortion rights with the Nazi Holocaust. But the strategy pushed by the rally organizers was not to drive these bigots off campus through mobilizing students and campus workers, but to pressure the administration to ban them. Indeed, the anti-abortionists' displays were initially kept off campus, not by militant counterprotest, but by the UBC administration imposing "security" fees of \$15,000 per day on the "pro-lifers." Such measures will undoubtedly be used to squelch leftist and workers' rallies in the future.

On November 23, student bible-thumpers of "Lifeline" set up a similar anti-abortion exhibit, which was promptly ripped to shreds by outraged students. This act of public hygiene was met with an outcry against the students spearheaded by the student government president. The Vancouver Spartacus Youth Club has denounced this witchhunting furor against defenders of abortion rights. We reprint below a September 23 SYC leaflet distributed at UBC.

\* \* \*

On September 27, the anti-abortion bigots of the "Center For Bio-Ethical Reform" threaten to come to campus. They should be met with mass, militant protest—a united front action of all defenders of women's rights. Students should particularly look to mobilizing the social power of the working class like the CUPE workers currently campaigning to protect union jobs on campus.

It is grotesque that these anti-woman bigots seek to hold this provocation in the name of opposing "genocide" against the "unborn." Their purpose in coming to UBC is to recruit to their campaign to eliminate abortion rights, which would mean returning to the days when thousands of women died in back alleys from botched illegal abortions. As part of the bloody war on women's right to abortion, last October American abortion provider Dr. Barnett Slepian was shot dead by an anti-abortion fanatic in his own home. This followed assassination attempts against three doctors in Canada: Garson Romalis in Vancouver, 1994; Hugh Short in Ancaster, 1995; and Jack Fainman, Winnipeg 1997.


We Marxists of the Spartacus Youth Club don't call on

either the UBC administration or the capitalist government to "ban" the anti-abortion bigots—such "bans" would inevitably be used against campus protests and workers' rallies. Looking to such forces—or to the cops and courts, central components of the capitalist state—to play a "neutral" role in the fight for women's rights is suicidal. The state is a machine for the repression of any social struggle that would challenge the bourgeois order, of which the oppression of women is a cornerstone. The attacks on student protesters at the APEC summit amply show that the cops are not "neutral" when it comes to suppressing left-wing protests.

Thus it is ominous that at the first meeting of "Students for Choice"—formed to oppose the "pro-lifers" coming to campus—an RCMP officer and a representative of "campus security" were invited to address the group. Their presence was meant as a warning to would-be student radicals. The *ubyssey* (September 17, 1999) quotes the cop as saying: "We don't want to see anyone get incited into doing something where they're going to face a criminal investigation." While a representative of the Spartacus Youth Club denounced the cops' presence and left the meeting in protest, supporters of the International Socialists present sat mutely on their hands. This fits in perfectly with the I.S.'s reformist view that elements of the racist capitalist state can be "won over" to the side of the working class and oppressed, as expressed in their support for the unionization of jail guards and cop "strikes." The state cannot be "reformed" in the interests of the oppressed, it must be smashed through workers revolution. Cops off campus!

A spokesperson for Students for Choice, Erin Kaiser of the AMS [Alma Mater Society, UBC student government], said of the anti-abortion terrorists, "They have a right to be here in terms of free speech, but if they're disseminating hate literature, then no they don't." This amounts to an impotent appeal to "hate crimes" legislation: among materials handed out at the meeting were complaint forms to the B.C. government's Human Rights Commission. As the "pro-life" bigots have stepped up their attacks across North America, protests against them have been *derailed* by the faith that bourgeois feminists place in capitalist "law and order" to defend women's rights, particularly in B.C. with the social democratic NDP in power. For example, the sum total of the strategy of the BC Coalition for Abortion Clinics has been to pressure the government to "protect" abortion clinics and hospitals with "bubble laws" (injunctions against picketing). These injunctions brought in by the capitalist NDP government have *demobilized* mass defense of the clinics against bible-thumping bigots; and similar laws in the U.S. have been used against *defenders* of abortion clinics, leading to their arrest.

Effective defense of a woman's right to abortion is *counterposed* to reliance in the capitalist government, the cops or courts. The oppression of women is rooted in the institution of the family, the economic unit and guardian of capitalist private property. In sharp contrast to the NDP, which rules for the capitalists, we need to build a genuine workers party to fight for socialist revolution which alone can lay the basis for women's liberation. **Free abortion on demand—Free quality health care for all! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! Anti-abortion bigots off campus! ■**

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# Canadian, All Imperialist Troops Out of East Timor!

An occupation force of thousands of imperialist troops, including more than 600 Canadian paratroopers, has poured into East Timor since mid-September. Under the guise of a "humanitarian" mission, the Australian-led imperialist forces are enforcing misery and squalor—lack of food, medical care and education—on the long-suffering people of East Timor, while moving to disarm the East Timorese independence fighters of FALINTIL.

The arrival of this United Nations "peacekeeping" force followed a concerted campaign by social democrats, labor

## Independence for East Timor!

bureaucrats and reformist "socialists" who demanded that Canada, Australia and other imperialist powers send in the troops. In sharp contrast to this pro-imperialist treachery, the Trotskyist League and other sections of the International Communist League have stood unambiguously against the neocolonial invasion. In so doing, we emphasize our opposition to the depredations of our "own" ruling class, demanding that the Canadian imperialists as well as Australia, the U.S. and all UN forces get out of East Timor and stay out. Independence now for East Timor!

The imperialist military occupation began one month after the people of East Timor voted overwhelmingly for independence from Indonesia. That vote was followed by a systematic campaign of terror by death-squad "militias" sponsored by the Indonesian army which killed hundreds and drove thousands from their homes. The imperialist powers cynically seized on the scenes of men, women and children being slaughtered or having their homes burned down as a pretext for yet another military intervention in the name of "human rights."

In Canada, the NDP social democrats and the trade-union bureaucracy took the lead in demanding imperialist intervention. A Canadian Labour Congress delegation, including NDP MP Svend Robinson, traveled to East Timor in August, and on their return immediately called on the federal government to send "peacekeepers." When Ottawa was slow to act, the CLC announced a union boycott of cargo to and from Indonesia in order to pressure the government to dispatch troops.

The CLC tops were following the lead of the union bureaucracy in Australia, which organized large chauvinist demonstrations calling on the government in Canberra to send in the army. The labor bureaucrats in both countries dressed up these protests as "solidarity" with the beleaguered East Timorese people, but these were in fact reactionary, *pro-imperialist* mobilizations. While the Australian labor tops demanded "Peacekeepers in," leaders of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers rallied outside the Indonesian embassy in Ottawa with placards reading "Go Aussies, Go!"

The idea that imperialist military intervention will bring independence and freedom for the East Timorese is a horrible lie. The capitalist rulers in Ottawa, Washington and Canberra backed Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1975 and for 30 years supported and armed the bloody Indonesian



Canadian Press

## Canadian imperialist troops land in East Timor.

regime. The same bloodsoaked imperialists have devastated Iraq and Serbia, and slaughtered millions in their losing effort to defeat the Vietnamese revolution. As the Spartacist League/Australia, section of the ICL, stated in a 1 October leaflet titled "East Timor Independence Now! All Indonesian and All UN Imperialist Troops Out Now!":

"The UN intervention has nothing to do with defending the East Timorese people and everything to do with defending the interests of the imperialist powers, chiefly the U.S. and its Australian junior partner. The UN mission's name—'Operation Stabilise'—captures its true intent: to enforce neocolonial stability in Australia's 'backyard' and prop up the Indonesian police-state regime in the face of massive social unrest."

Denouncing the chauvinist calls for "labor boycotts" of Indonesia, our comrades wrote: "A class-struggle leadership would mobilise workers to stop arms and supplies to the *Australian occupation force*. This would be a powerful act of solidarity with workers throughout the region and a blow to the capitalists at home."

East Timor is now de facto an Australian possession. The East Timorese people will be subjected to the same racist overlordship as in Australia's other neocolonies like Papua New Guinea and Fiji, aimed at furthering imperialist exploitation. As to the Australian rulers' credentials as opponents of genocide, just look at the barbarity they have meted out over the past 200 years to the Aboriginal peoples who were nearly exterminated, their lands and even children stolen from them. Today the struggle for East Timorese independence must take place directly *against* the bloody jackboot of the Australian, U.S., Canadian and other imperialist occupiers.

The only real ally of the desperately poor people of East Timor is the international working class, from the proletariat of Indonesia and throughout Asia to the workers of the

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# Anti-Native Racism Profits Fishery Bosses

On September 17, the Supreme Court acquitted Donald Marshall, Jr., a New Brunswick Mi'kmaq, of illegally catching and selling eels. In its ruling, the court upheld the terms of two 1760-61 treaties which established the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet peoples' right to earn a "moderate livelihood" from fishing and hunting, without a license and out of season. On New Brunswick and Nova Scotia reserves, where unemployment runs over 80 percent, the prospect of access to paying work on the water and in the forests was greeted as a way out of poverty. "No one would hire us or give us jobs," said Melvin Augustine. "We had nothing. But now we can all be



Peter Power/Toronto Star

**Mi'kmaq fishermen raise Warrior flag after Native equipment destroyed in October 3 racist rampage.**

independent businessmen. We can fish, we can hunt. We can make money. We waited 240 years for this" (*Toronto Star*, 6 October).

It will take far more than the Supreme Court's grudging and highly partial acknowledgment of hunting and fishing rights to redress the grinding racist oppression of aboriginal people. At the same time, it is in the direct interest of the proletariat and all the oppressed that the organized working class forcefully defend whatever residual rights Native peoples have been able to maintain, whether through treaties or by other means.

Instead, the Mi'kmaq were met with an orgy of racist demagoguery and violence. Following the Supreme Court decision, Mi'kmaq boats loaded with quickly purchased traps headed out onto Miramichi Bay to harvest what they could before the huge and lucrative lobster fishery officially opened for the season. The appearance of this small Mi'kmaq flotilla touched off a furor. On October 3, a fleet of 150 boats crewed by white fishermen systematically destroyed every Native lobster pot in the waters of Miramichi Bay. That night on shore, Mi'kmaq on the reserve at Burnt Church, N.B. were subjected to angry white mobs shouting racist taunts and mocking Native dances. Three Native men were brutally assaulted; one was hospitalized after he was struck in the head with a baseball bat.

This backlash against supposed "special rights" for Native

people was not fomented by the Reform Party or the Ku Klux Klan, but by the leaders of the Maritime Fishermen's Union (MFU)! Playing on widespread fears about the future of the East Coast fishing industry, white fishermen were cynically mobilized in the name of "conservation." Frenzied mass meetings from Yarmouth, N.S. to Baie Ste. Anne, N.B. seethed with vile pogromist sentiment against a handful of Native fishermen. Endorsing the vandalism against Mi'kmaq boats and equipment on Miramichi Bay, MFU executive secretary Michael Belliveau declared, "It's pretty clear the traps had to come out of the water" (*Globe and Mail*, 4 October).

**Who benefits?** The uncertainty and anger of fishermen and onshore workers has been diverted against aboriginal people, and away from the industry bosses who have wrecked one sector of the Maritimes fishery after another in their devil-take-the-hindmost scramble for profits. Only the bourgeoisie wins in this reactionary game of racist divide-and-rule. Everybody else loses, including the hard-pressed white fishermen themselves. The outcry against the Mi'kmaq is a chemically pure example of how pro-capitalist union bureaucrats tie working people to the interests of their own exploiters, and how they act as the transmission belt for racism and national chauvinism into the workers movement. Down with anti-Native racism!

## Canadian Capitalism and Native Oppression

Once again, a struggle for the rights of aboriginal peoples has become a lightning rod for all the reactionary crap that permeates Canadian capitalist society. Indeed, the development of Canadian capitalism was premised on the destruction of pre-existing aboriginal societies through fraud, military conquest, and the devastating impact of disease following European contact.

The 1760 "Treaty of Peace and Friendship" upheld by the Supreme Court in the Marshall decision was simply a diplomatic maneuver to help secure the victory of English over French colonialism during the Seven Years War. Wolfe's defeat of Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham the previous year ended the struggle for supremacy in North America, in which the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet had generally favored the French. As late as 1749, the English governor Lord Edward Cornwallis had put a bounty on Mi'kmaq scalps, openly urging genocide. Cornwallis, honored at Halifax's 250th birthday celebrations last summer, called on his colonists "to Annoy, distress, take or destroy the Savages commonly called Mic-macks, wherever they are found" (quoted in Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* [1992]).

Six years later, in 1755, the British undertook the wholesale expulsion of the Acadians, the French-speaking population of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. This early act of ethnic cleansing saw thousands of Acadians scattered as far as Louisiana (where they are today known as Cajuns) and Belle Isle, off the west coast of France. Acadians who sought to escape the British round-ups were often sheltered by the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet, to whom they were closely related by ties of marriage and trade. Today, Burnt Church, N.B. (named for an Acadian church burned by British troops) is a cluster of three separate communities—Native, Acadian and English-speaking. Trying to calm passions in

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# Labor/Black Mobilization Rides KKK Out of New York

New Yorkers came out in their thousands on October 23 determined to make sure the Ku Klux Klan didn't ride in their city. They were mobilized by the call initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, "All Out to Stop the KKK on October 23!" Able to show their faces only under the protection of an army of cops, 17 Klansmen cowered outside the New York State Supreme Court, surrounded on all sides by at least 8,000 determined anti-Klan protesters. As these hooded and robed racists scurried back into the courthouse under police escort barely midway through their scheduled rally, the trade unionists and others assembled under the PDC "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK!" banner broke into nonstop chanting: "We stopped the Klan! We stopped the Klan!"

"We gave a message to the city: This is not Klan country!" said a member of Social Service Employees Union Local 371, which came together with members of transit, postal, construction, civil service and many other unions to form the backbone of the mobilization to stop the Klan. These unionists were above all what gave the mobilization its disciplined and determined character.

The thousands who turned out saw this labor/black mobilization as their own, and many had indeed helped build it. Workers at transit locations, hospitals and UPS depots, on buses and subways, at municipal office buildings took stacks of leaflets to distribute and poster. Students from minority community colleges to elite universities endorsed and helped build the mobilization. Unions internationally also endorsed—from the South African National Council of Trade Unions to the Mexican SUTIN nuclear workers and SME electrical workers unions. The Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) Toronto local voted to back the mobilization, and members came to New York to display their union banner. The Vancouver CUPW local also sent greetings to the mobilization.

## A Workers Party in Action

What was seen in New York on October 23 was exactly what the PDC had said was necessary to stop the Klan: a mobilization of the social power of the multiracial working class, standing at the head of all those the Klan has lined up in its sights. It was a united-front mobilization, which allowed for the expression of many diverse political viewpoints by all those who shared a commitment to the urgent necessity to stop the KKK. But it tapped into far more than that, intersecting accumulated anger among the city's working people, especially blacks and Hispanics, who are fed up with being pushed around for years in the one-sided war against workers and the poor.

Many of the thousands who mobilized were looking for the answer not only to stopping Klan terror but to fighting back against the entire system of racist capitalist exploitation and oppression. Many shouted, "That's right, that's right" when PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson denounced both the Democratic and Republican parties as enemies of labor and the oppressed. Calls for the working people to build their own class party were met with applause.



Workers Vanguard

**October 23: Thousands came out to stop Klan terror.**

What was seen in New York on October 23 was a microcosm of a workers party in action, i.e., the working class mobilized in its own interests, acting independently of the government and parties of the capitalist class. The PDC—a class-struggle legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the views of the Marxist Spartacist League/U.S., sister organization of the Trotskyist League—initiated the call which brought to bear the social power of labor and its strong, militant component of black workers in defense of all the oppressed.

The successful labor/black mobilization brought to life the connection between labor's fight and the fight for black freedom. Black oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism. There is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than the working-class conquest of power, and there will be no proletarian revolution to end class exploitation unless the working class actively takes up the fight for black rights.

The working class has the numbers, the organization and the power to win all those things that the American ruling class appropriates for itself—health care, education, decent housing, abortion rights. What is lacking is the kind of leadership necessary to fight—a leadership of the unions that doesn't bow down to the bosses' laws, parties and state agencies, a workers party that doesn't respect the property "rights" of the bourgeoisie. We need a workers party that fights for a workers government to rip the means of production from the capitalist class and institute a planned socialist economy that operates not for the profit of a few greedy exploiters but for the working people who produce the

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## KKK Out...

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wealth of society. That is the kind of party that the communists of the Spartacist League are fighting to build.

### The Political Battle to Stop the Klan

Just as the mobilization to stop the Klan gave a real taste of the social forces and leadership required for socialist revolution in America, it also exposed starkly the enemies and obstacles to organizing struggles of the working class in its own interests and in the interests of those at the bottom of society. These included the capitalist cops, courts, and the Republican city administration; the American Civil Liberties Union, which continued its decades-long defense of the "constitutional rights" for the fascist terrorists; the Democratic Party, whose calls for a "demonstration of tolerance" were aimed at trying to demobilize the working people and others who wanted to stop the Klan.

From the day that the Klan's rally was publicly announced in a 13 October article in the *New York Post*, there was a contention of two counterposed class forces—those representing the interests of the capitalist ruling class and those representing the interests of the working class and its allies. The PDC's call for a labor/black mobilization was issued immediately, and met with overwhelming support when it hit the streets. The city administration and New York police responded by setting to work in an attempt to block this mobilization. As it became clear that thousands of New Yorkers were rallying behind the PDC's call, an unholy cabal centered on the Democratic Party moved into high gear, announcing a "demonstration for tolerance"—which would share a sound permit with the KKK race-hate provocation!

The political purpose of the Democratic Party rally was underlined when black Democrat Al Sharpton filed a "friend of the court" legal brief along with the black establishment *Amsterdam News* defending "free speech" for the KKK. Many of those who came out on October 23 had personal experience with the burning cross, the lynch rope, the shotguns through which the Klan "speaks." They remembered the five leftists and union organizers shot in cold blood in Greensboro, North Carolina 20 years ago; James Byrd Jr., a black man in Jasper, Texas, dragged from the back of a pickup truck to his death; Matthew Sheppard, beaten and left for dead for being gay; Joseph Ileteo, a Filipino American postal worker in Los Angeles shot dead. Here in Canada last year, fascist skinheads beat Sikh caretaker Nirmal Singh Gill to death in B.C.

Except for some Democratic Party faithful like hospital union president Dennis Rivera and a token endorsement by the leadership of the New York Central Labor Council, the call for "tolerance" fell on deaf ears. The *only* organization to leap into the camp of the Democratic Party with energy and purpose was the International Socialist Organization (sister group of the International Socialists [I.S.] in Canada), which did its level best to give a cover to the Democratic Party—and the Klan—*against* the organized working class.

The ISO endorsed a meeting called by various lawyers and liberals to organize behind the "demonstration for tolerance." When representatives of the PDC intervened to call for uniting all those who wanted to stop the Klan on October 23, there were no takers. While shamelessly enlisting with the Democrats, the ISO tried to cover its despicable role by issuing a little-distributed leaflet under the heading "Stop the

Klan!" Since their main purpose was *opposed* to stopping the KKK, this was pure cynicism. On site on October 23, the ISO continued to try to deceive people who had mobilized in response to the PDC's call by steering them into the site of the Democrats' location, which was a police trap. When people discovered this deception, many who tried to leave found their way blocked by the cops.

While the anti-Klan demonstrators understood the role of the cops in protecting these nightriding terrorists, an ISO speaker stood on the Democratic Party platform in front of a banner of the Latino Officers Association. Such behavior is not unusual for the ISO and its international co-thinkers. The Canadian I.S. hailed a 1996 strike by Ontario prison guards, and the ISO's British patron, the Socialist Workers Party, even ran an article titled "Are All Coppers Really Bastards?" which claimed that when cops "rebel collectively" they would "cease to be agents of the state" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 8 February 1997). When cops "rebel collectively" it is to get more firepower and throw off any constraints. We say: cops are not workers but the armed fist of the bourgeois state!

With the ISO acting as the donkeys for the Democratic Party in trying to demobilize the mass labor-centered protest to stop the Klan, whatever pretenses it had to the cause of "workers power" have been stripped bare. The ISO stands exposed as the servants of capital against the interests of the working class, black people and all the oppressed.

### The Fight for a Workers America

Today the Klan is a lowlife, terrorist bunch held in reserve by the American capitalist ruling class. But this ruling class, a tiny minority which expropriates all the real wealth of society, needs the homegrown Nazis of the KKK to be deployed to crush the organizations of the working class when the masses can no longer be lulled by the lie that their interests are represented by capitalist "democracy."

The political battle required to build the labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan from riding in New York City contains important lessons for all those who want to struggle against union-busting, racism, poverty, homelessness, war and all the other hideous expressions of a system rooted in exploitation and racial oppression. Central is that the capitalist state is not neutral. It is the instrument for organized violence to ensure the rule of one class—the capitalists—over another class, the proletariat. As Marxists, we know that the bourgeois state at its core consists of special armed bodies of men—the cops, the military, the prison system and the whole "justice system"—whose job is to protect the profits and rule of the capitalists and to repress the workers. All historical experience has shown that the working class cannot reform the state and use it in its own interests but must create its own state, a workers state. The revolutionary fight for proletarian state power is the only road to black freedom and the emancipation of all the oppressed.

What is needed to realize these aspirations is a workers party, which can bring the consciousness to the working class of its social power and historic interests in fighting the rule of capital and every manifestation of the barbarity of this system. A workers revolution will break the power of the few and liberate the many—the working people and their allies—who will employ the wealth created by their labor for the benefit of the majority both in America and around the globe. On October 23, thousands of New York's working people and minorities got a small taste of that workers power. ■

# China...

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later, the choices for China are increasingly stark: **proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution**. The raw social material for a proletarian political revolution certainly exists. What does not now exist and must be built is a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to direct spontaneous and localized labor strikes and protests toward the overthrow of the Stalinist regime and its replacement by a government of democratically elected workers, soldiers and peasant councils.

In their own way, the imperialist bourgeoisie and their spokesmen understand that restoring capitalism in China would first require **breaking the resistance of the Chinese working class**. Shawn Xu, head of research at a joint venture between the China Construction Bank and the Wall Street giant Morgan Stanley, calls China's entry into the WTO "the most significant move since the start of economic reforms themselves 20 years ago." But the celebratory mood among international financiers and their Chinese agents is tempered by fears of social, especially labor, unrest. In a *New York Times* piece which ran a few days after the trade deal was announced, a worker in a Beijing textile factory stated bitterly that now "even more workers will be laid off." "Such fears and angers, shared by millions across the country," warns the *Times*, "add up to one of China's greatest challenges."

Meanwhile in the U.S., the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy joins with right-wing bourgeois politicians in railing that Clinton "betrayed" American interests with the China/WTO deal. A focal point of the recent anti-WTO protests in Seattle was the AFL-CIO tops' anti-Communist campaign against China, as the chauvinist United Steelworkers leadership staged a "dumping" of Chi-

nese steel in the harbor while Teamsters chief Jimmy Hoffa Jr. shared a platform with CIA-sponsored Chinese "dissident" Wei Jingsheng. The Canadian Labour Congress bureaucracy, which endorsed and joined the national-chauvinist protests against the WTO, has also championed imperialist-backed Chinese dissidents like Wei and Hong Kong-based "labor organizer" Han Dongfang.

The imperialist rulers promote these anti-Communist dissidents even as Washington brandishes its military might against China, most recently through the proposed Asian "theater missile defense" system which may include capitalist Taiwan. This is in no way counterposed to the policy of "engagement" with the CCP regime. All wings of the American capitalist class are united around their goal for China: to overturn the 1949 Revolution and recapture the "right" of untrammelled exploitation of the country's working masses.

The Chinese Revolution was a world-historic event, destroying the rule of the murderous warlords and blood-sucking moneylenders, the rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been cruelly exploited since time immemorial. Barbaric practices rooted in the old Confucian order, such as the binding of women's feet, were wiped out. A nation which had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation. Landlord/capitalist rule was replaced by a centrally planned, collectivized economy. It is the duty of the proletariat internationally to stand for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

However, the People's Republic of China was from the outset a **bureaucratically deformed** workers state. Issuing out of the victory of Mao Zedong's peasant-based People's Liberation Army (PLA), the 1949 Revolution resulted in the

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Selling the Trotskyist press at China National Day celebrations in Vancouver.

## China...

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rule of a materially privileged bureaucratic caste which modeled its regime on the Soviet Union under Stalin, governing the country with an iron hand and completely depriving the proletariat of political power. Pursuing the reactionary Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," the Maoist bureaucracy paid lip service to "Marxism-Leninism" while selling out revolutionary struggles internationally and promoting the nationalist project of transforming China into a great world power on a par with the U.S. Chasing the same nationalist chimera, Mao's bureaucratic heirs continue to deepen capitalist "market reforms" initiated more than 20 years ago, bringing the country to the brink of capitalist restoration.

Adding to the pressure exerted by foreign imperialist capital is the existence of a powerful offshore Chinese bourgeoisie, centered in Hong Kong and Taiwan but present throughout Southeast Asia. Where the Russian bourgeoisie was destroyed as a class by the October Revolution of 1917, the Chinese capitalists were able to flee the mainland in the late 1940s, maintaining their cohesion as a class and retaining kinship links inside China. The Chinese bourgeoisie has a powerful bastion in Hong Kong, which provides a conduit for CCP officials and their "princeling" offspring to enrich themselves, often linking up with Hong Kong tycoons. Meanwhile, capitalist Taiwan remains a dagger aimed at the Chinese deformed workers state, serving as a base for imperialist military pressure and a principal source for the massive incursion of Chinese capital into the mainland.

To defeat the powerful forces of capitalist counterrevolution now threatening the Chinese working class, it is necessary to adhere to the principles of *proletarian internationalism* which governed the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky and the early Chinese Communist Party, born out of the May Fourth Movement protests against the degradation of China before Japanese and Western imperialism. A political revolution in China must be linked to the class struggles of the militant Indonesian and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers, and with those in the U.S., Canada, Japan and other imperialist centers. Only through socialist revolution in these countries will the threat of capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation be eliminated once and for all and the basis laid for the development of China in a socialist Asia.

### "Market Reform" Misery

After the crushing of the 1989 working-class revolt, the Beijing regime put its market-based "reforms" on hold for several years. But the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe spurred the Beijing bureaucracy to plunge even deeper into the "free market" sea while maintaining an iron grip on the working people and impoverished peasantry. Recommencing in 1992, moves toward capitalist restoration have now greatly accelerated with China's imminent entry into the WTO. After 1997, key state industries have been converted to shareholding companies, with a majority stake held by the government. Now, the regime is allowing government shareholders to sell part of their stakes to private interests. And the *South China Morning Post* (24 November) notes that "Beijing is about to intro-

duce a stiff inheritance tax partly with a view to containing the economic—and political—influence of the rising class of private entrepreneurs." The imposition of an inheritance tax is an expression of just how far down the road the capitalist "reforms" have gone.

CCP head Jiang's son is one of China's most successful capitalist entrepreneurs, while Zhu's son is an executive of a Morgan Stanley joint-venture investment bank. The Chinese Stalinists hope to place themselves and their offspring among China's new exploiters. This development was analyzed by Leon Trotsky in his decisive 1936 analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, *The Revolution Betrayed*:

"Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class. On the other hand, the victory of the proletariat over the bureaucracy would insure a revival of the socialist revolution."

Trotsky posed the stark choice for Soviet society—and this applies with immediacy to China today: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?" The Soviet proletariat, whose consciousness had been poisoned by decades of Stalinist nationalism, betrayals and lies, failed to act to stop the counterrevolution unleashed by Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 seizure of power, which culminated over the following year in the final undoing of the October Revolution.

Despite the Chinese bureaucracy's stated intention to impose a full-fledged market economy, the state-owned sector still accounts for over 40 percent of China's economy. Writing shortly before the trade deal with the U.S., the Hong Kong-based *Far Eastern Economic Review* (7 October) explained: "It's precisely because state-owned enterprises have traditionally performed such critical employment and social-welfare roles that Beijing is reluctant to dismantle the system too quickly.... It fears that throwing millions of people out of work could result in political and social instability." As Trotsky wrote of Stalin's regime, the bureaucracy "continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat."

Certainly, the Beijing Stalinists have gone much further toward capitalist restoration than had the Soviet bureaucracy in the late 1980s, condemning increasing sections of Chinese society to abject poverty. Tens of millions of peasants who have gone bankrupt and rural youth deprived of a livelihood in the countryside have flooded into the cities looking for work. But with urban jobs hard to find, many of these migrants—an estimated two million in Beijing alone—are homeless, forced to become beggars and prostitutes to survive. Even official Chinese sources project that by 2006, those without jobs or "not fully employed" will be nearly 20 percent of the working-age population, while some estimate that effective unemployment has already reached 20 percent. With the loss of a job goes the housing, medical, education and retirement benefits tied to employment in state-owned industries.

Among those hardest hit by the attacks on the "iron rice bowl" are women and the aged. Nearly two-thirds of those laid off from state firms are women, who as a result end up with smaller pensions. Today in the impoverished countryside, rural families who can't afford tuition commonly keep their



daughters out of school; with the return to family farming and its attendant reactionary social attitudes, girls are deemed worthless to educate. Meanwhile, the pre-revolutionary scourge of the kidnapping of women to be sold as "wives" has revived. Older workers are in increasingly desperate straits as their formerly guaranteed retirement and health benefits are torn up.

A Chinese Trotskyist party would undertake special measures to organize the superexploited migrant workers, who form a potentially powerful link between the urban working class and the vast peasant interior. It would advance the rights of women, from defending their jobs to fighting their re-enslavement by bride-procurers and household tyrants.

### Union Bureaucrats Push Anti-China Campaign

Successor to the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, the WTO is a pillar of the post-Soviet "New World Order," prescribing "neoliberal" policies designed for the untrammeled exploitation of Third World countries by American, Canadian, West European and Japanese industrialists and financiers. Right-wing proponents of economic nationalism in the U.S. and Canada, and even more so various leftists, often view the WTO and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as all-powerful global agencies laying down the law to member states. In reality, the WTO, IMF, World Bank, et al. are based on agreements between the various imperialist states and represent a series of compromises between their divergent national interests. And such agreements are broken when those national interests so dictate, as the imperialist powers compete for spheres of exploitation, among which a capitalist China ranks as the golden fleece. Counterrevolution in China would not lead to a flowering of economic development courtesy of imperialist investment, but would rather turn the country into a battleground for cutthroat rivalries among the major capitalist powers.

While the imperialists aim at a "cold" capitalist restoration from above carried out by leading elements of the Beijing bureaucracy, sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie are pushing for a combination of economic warfare and military pressure, replicating the Cold War II offensive against the Soviet Union in the 1980s. The main advocates of a Cold War offensive against China today include both the pro-Democratic Party American labor bureaucracy and the Republican Party right wing.

AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney told the National Press Club in November that the Clinton administration "prostrates itself for a deal with China that treats human rights as a disposable nuisance." The AFL-CIO bureaucracy combines anti-Communist hostility to China with flag-waving trade protectionism about "saving American jobs." Agitation against imports from China (or Japan) invariably has a strong undertone of "yellow peril" racism. The anti-Asian hysteria fanned by the United Auto Workers tops during their campaign against Japanese cars in the 1970s led directly to the heinous murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin outside a Detroit nightclub in 1982 by two racists, one of them a Chrysler foreman. Similarly in Canada, the labor bureaucracy's protectionist calls to "save Canadian jobs" from "cheap labor" in China and other Asian countries feed straight into vicious racism against Chinese and other Asian immigrants.

At the same time, these labor lieutenants of imperialism pretend a touching concern for Chinese workers. China is a country, Sweeney declaimed to the Press Club, "where any-



Giase/Seattle Post-Intelligencer

### Seattle, November 30: Union tops' chauvinist, anti-Communist signs read "People First Not China First."

one attempting to organize a union is immediately arrested and imprisoned." These labor bureaucrats don't give a damn about the rights and interests of workers in China or elsewhere. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy in particular collaborated closely with the U.S. government to install and maintain anti-labor military juntas throughout Latin America and Asia. Both the AFL-CIO and CLC tops played a critical role in promoting capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the ex-USSR, especially through their support to Polish Solidarność. Throughout much of the Third World, the U.S. labor federation is known as the "AFL-CIA."

Through their anti-Communism and chauvinist protectionism, the labor bureaucrats serve to chain the workers to their capitalist class enemy. Politically, this class-collaborationist program is served through the labor bureaucracy's support to the Democratic Party in the U.S., and to the right-wing social-democratic NDP in Canada. We fight to forge a class-struggle opposition within the unions to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. We fight for a new leadership of labor based on the understanding that the interests of the working class are irreconcilably counterposed to those of the capitalist class enemy and that workers in all countries must be united in class-struggle solidarity. In the U.S. we fight to break the working class from the capitalist Democratic Party, and in Canada to split the working-class base of the NDP from the pro-capitalist tops, in order to forge genuine workers parties as the necessary instrument in the struggle for socialist revolution against the entire system of racist capitalism.

### For International Proletarian Revolution!

Unlike the workers of East Europe and the USSR before counterrevolution, many Chinese workers have already seen the brutal effects of the capitalist market. This development necessarily affects the dynamics of social struggle within China and the political consciousness of its working class. Widespread labor strikes will in part target foreign-owned firms and joint ventures. This is not to say that Chinese workers are immune from illusions in Western-style "democracy." But they have far fewer illusions in "free market" capitalism and the supposed benefits of integrating into

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## China...

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the imperialist-dominated global economy. In the 1980s, Lech Walesa's Solidarność demanded that Poland join the IMF, whereas virtually all reports indicate that Chinese workers are fearful toward entry into the WTO. Even those who sacrifice a lifetime's savings to be smuggled into "free world" America find themselves, if they manage to evade racist immigration prison hellholes, consigned to decades of servitude, toiling in sweatshops under 19th-century conditions.

The danger that China will be thrown back into capitalist slavery is ever more acute. It is urgently necessary to mobilize the Chinese proletariat to defend the collectivized economy and other social gains of the Chinese Revolution. But this struggle can only be brought to victory with the program and perspective of international proletarian revolution. In "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capi-

talist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), we wrote:

"A proletarian political revolution in China would immediately face virulently hostile imperialist reaction. It would also send shock waves around the world and decisively encourage the international proletariat which has been politically and economically *thrown back* by the bourgeois onslaught and triumphalism over the so-called 'death of communism' since the 1991 capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union.... "To smash the threat of capitalist re-enslavement and open the road to a socialist future, Chinese workers must look to the international class struggle. It is by linking their fight for political revolution with the struggle to smash capitalist rule from Indonesia and South Korea to Japan and the U.S. that the Chinese proletariat will form the bridge to a socialist future. Above all, China's workers must be won to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu, which for decades has been trampled on by Stalinism. For a Trotskyist party in China, section of a reborn Fourth International!"

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 725, 10 December

## East Timor...

(continued from page 3)

imperialist countries from Australia and Japan to Canada and the U.S. Indonesia, the fourth most populous country in the world with vast natural resources, is a social volcano waiting to explode. Tens of millions of toilers have been driven to destitution by the Asian economic crisis, while national and ethnic minorities seethe under the domination of the Javanese-centered bourgeoisie. The imperialist intervention in East Timor is a dagger aimed at the combative Indonesian proletariat, posing the threat of direct imperialist repression. It simultaneously serves to promote nationalist support within Indonesia for the Jakarta regime.

The Indonesian proletariat must struggle to transcend the dominant Javanese chauvinism fostered by the bourgeoisie, championing the right of self-determination for all the oppressed peoples in the archipelago as part of a revolutionary struggle for power. The new government of Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati Sukarnoputri and Amien Rais is an attempt to put a "democratic" face on the deeply repressive Indonesian state. But as elsewhere in countries of belated capitalist development, all wings of the bourgeoisie are so tied to imperialism and fearful of the proletariat that they are incapable of fulfilling the tasks historically associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Achieving these tasks and putting an end to the brutal exploitation of the masses requires the proletarian seizure of power.

This is the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution, which is inextricably linked to the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist heartlands. The Trotskyist League and other sections of the ICL fight to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties which can imbue the proletariat with the consciousness of its historic task of sweeping away capitalism worldwide. This requires sharp political combat against the pro-imperialist social democrats and labor bureaucrats whose flag-waving chauvinism ties the working class to the capitalist class enemy.

### Reformist Left in the Camp of Imperialism

In stark contrast, virtually the entire reformist left has

lined up behind the capitalist rulers in supporting—implicitly or explicitly—the imperialist occupation of East Timor. In Australia, numerous purportedly socialist organizations—from the Democratic Socialist Party to the Communist Party and the International Socialist Organisation (ISO, co-thinkers of the Canadian International Socialists)—leapt into attending, organizing and in some cases leading the chauvinist demonstrations of "national unity" which screamed for the government to send in the troops. They wildly cheered the anti-Indonesia actions led by the union bureaucracy which were explicitly designed to hurry Australian military intervention—and were promptly called off as soon as the army went in. Hostile to any independent mobilization of the proletariat in its own class interest and to the socialist principle of "not one man, not one penny for the bourgeois army," these groups unashamedly subordinated themselves to the pro-imperialist Australian Labor Party and trade-union bureaucracy.

So too in Canada. Tailing the Canadian ruling class via the agency of the New Democrats and the union bureaucracy, much of the reformist left has long promoted the lie that Canada is a "peace-loving" society, especially in contrast to the United States. In fact Canada is a rapacious imperialist power, albeit of the third rank, whose "peacekeeping" façade covers for the predatory interests of the capitalist rulers of Bay Street and their senior partners in Wall Street and Washington.

The idea of dispatching UN troops to global trouble spots as supposed "neutral mediators" was invented by former Liberal prime minister Lester Pearson in the 1950s. From the start, the role of these "peacekeepers" was to police the imperialist status quo, including in areas where the direct introduction of U.S. Marines might have produced explosive anti-colonialist revolts—e.g., the Congo, the Sinai peninsula. The brutal reality behind Canada's "peacekeeping missions" was exposed by the fascist-infested Canadian Airborne Regiment's torture and murder of black youth in Somalia in 1993.

The flag-waving patriotism which accompanies the hoopla about Canada as "peacekeeper" serves to line up the working class behind the supposed "national interests" of the capitalist exploiters and oppressors. It also serves to foment chauvinism against the Québécois as well as immigrants,

Native people and other oppressed minorities. Today, reformist “socialists” call on the Canadian army to “defend” the rights of oppressed nationalities like the East Timorese. This is the same Canadian army that was sent to Quebec in 1970 to arrest hundreds of leftists and trade unionists under the War Measures Act and suppress struggles for independence. As recently as 1990 it was unleashed to besiege and arrest the Mohawks at Oka.

The Communist Party (CP) has long been the most notorious ostensibly socialist champion of Canadian “peacekeepers.” As the drumbeats for imperialist intervention in East Timor grew louder, the CP acted as press agents for the CLC union bureaucrats, openly backing the call for imperialist troops. Under the headline “World Pressure Forces E. Timor Action,” the 1 October *People’s Voice* uncritically printed an East Timor Alert Network statement calling to “back the speedy deployment of an international force to support the U.N. in taking control of security.”

For its part, the New Socialist Group (NSG) issued a leaflet which hailed the pro-imperialist demonstrations in Australia and demanded that the government in Ottawa “end all ties, economic and military, with Indonesia.” In Sudbury, the NSG initiated a September 18 demonstration which similarly called for “Economic and Military Sanctions Against Indonesia Now!” Thus these “socialists” call on the imperialist government to engage in an *act of war*—for that is precisely what imperialist sanctions amount to. Witness the case of Iraq, where sanctions were a prelude to the imperialist terror war of 1990 and in the aftermath have killed well over a million Iraqi men, women and children.

The International Socialists (I.S.) have been somewhat more shamefaced in pimping for imperialist intervention, but they are no less guilty. The 15 September *Socialist Worker* says: “We know from bitter experience that UN ‘peacekeepers’ are not the solution.” Yet their Australian co-thinkers repeatedly joined the “Send the troops” demonstrations there, describing one such rally as “fantastic.” They even *endorsed* rallies in Melbourne on September 8 and 10 which prominently called for “Peacekeepers in!” *Socialist Worker* hails the reactionary union boycott campaign in Australia, exulting: “We had a taste of that power last week when Australian dock workers banned work on Indonesian cargo ships.” The grotesqueness of these “union bans” is underlined by the fact that Australian dock unions banned *wheat* shipments to Indonesia, where workers are facing starvation due to the Asian capitalist economic crisis.

Not once in numerous articles on East Timor has the I.S. raised the elementary call for the Canadian, Australian and other imperialist troops to get out. Indeed, their Australian group went so far as to complain that there weren’t enough “peacekeeping” troops! Under the headline “Troops no answer to Timor’s agony,” the Australian *Socialist Worker* (24 September) lamented:



Komulainen/Canapress



Canapress

**Canadian troops upholding imperialist diktat in East Timor enforce capitalist racism, chauvinism at home. At left, Mohawk Warrior confronts soldiers at Oka in 1990. At right, army occupies Quebec under martial law, 1970.**

“The 7000 troops of the ‘peace-keeping’ force are not a serious attempt to deal with the East Timor’s [sic] crisis.

“According to the government’s own military analysts, it would take 4000 just to monitor the border between East and West Timor.”

And the British parent group of the I.S. and ISO, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), heavily built a 21 September “Freedom for East Timor” rally in London whose opening speech was a panegyric to “the brave Australian soldiers.” When SWP leader John Rees took the podium, he focused on criticizing Tony Blair’s Labour Party government for doing too little, too late in East Timor, complaining that Britain had contributed only “a few Gurkhas” to the intervention force!

The I.S. and their international co-thinkers have a long history of siding with the forces of imperialism. Their British founders were expelled from the Trotskyist movement in 1950 for refusing to defend the North Korean and Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers states against attack by British, U.S. and Canadian imperialism (again under a UN façade). They went on to side with every manner of imperialist-sponsored anti-Communist scum against the Soviet Union, from the fascist-infested “captive nations” nationalists of the Baltic states to the CIA-bankrolled *mujahedin* in Afghanistan whose “holy war” of the 1980s aimed at the enslavement of women (see “Afghanistan: Hell for Women,” *SC* No. 111, Winter 1996/97).

Indeed from the I.S. to the NSG (whose founders split from the I.S. four years ago) to the supporters of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, a whole cabal of pseudo-socialists howled with the imperialist wolves in cheering capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe. This historic defeat for the international proletariat has meant horrific destitution for working people, especially women, unleashed murderous communalist bloodletting and intensified interimperialist rivalries. We Trotskyists fought for the unconditional military defense of the bureaucratically

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## East Timor...

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degenerated and deformed workers states in the USSR and East Europe against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution. We fought for workers political revolution to oust the conservative, nationalist Stalinist usurpers who undermined and ultimately strangled the gains of the Russian Revolution of 1917, the first and to date only successful workers revolution in history.

The fake-left's abandonment of the defense of the world's first workers state was at bottom an embrace of bourgeois "democracy." This was carried forward in the 1990s in their espousal of the war aims of NATO imperialism in the Balkans. Fueled by and in turn fueling murderous nationalism, capitalist counterrevolution ripped apart the Yugoslav deformed workers state, leading to all-sided reactionary "ethnic cleansing." As the imperialist powers maneuvered to extend their influence, the reformist "socialists" consistently lined up behind whoever their "own" rulers were backing. In 1999 most of them took up the imperialists' war cry over "poor little Kosovo," hailing NATO's pawns of the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) even as Serbia was being bombarded by NATO in the largest military assault in Europe since WWII.

The Trotskyist League declared: Defeat U.S./Canadian imperialism through workers revolution! We called for the military defense of Serbia while giving not an ounce of political support to the Serb-chauvinist regime of Slobodan Milosevic. While we have long upheld the right of the Kosovo Albanians to separate from Serbia and form an independent state, this question had become decisively subordinated to the defense of Serbia against imperialist attack. Today, the imperialists and the UCK are reversing the terms of oppression, beating, torturing and driving out Serbs and Roma (Gypsies). Against all the bloody nationalist regimes we fight for the proletarian internationalist perspective of a socialist federation of the Balkans, saying: U.S., Canada, NATO, all imperialist forces out!

### Imperialism and Socialist Revolution

The occupation of East Timor takes place against the backdrop of increasing tensions throughout Southeast Asia. Like Canada, Australia is a junior partner of Washington, and it has long relied on the U.S. military presence in the Asian Pacific Rim as a shield, particularly against Japan, as was seen in World War II in the Pacific. The occupation of East Timor better positions Australia to act on behalf of the U.S., not only to help quell any challenge to capitalist rule in Indonesia but to assist in policing the Straits of Malacca, a strategic waterway through which most of Japan's oil passes. Meanwhile the Japanese government, which is footing much of the bill for the UN operation, is trying to push through a law allowing it to more easily send troops abroad.

No longer bound together by common hostility to the Soviet Union, the major capitalist powers like Japan and Germany are today engaged in more open, heightened competition with the U.S. and each other for markets and spheres of influence. In recent years, the American bourgeoisie has sought to reassert its economic dominance in the region, including by buying up industrial concerns from South Korea to Indonesia at bargain basement prices in the wake of the Asian financial crash. During the Cold War, Washington was

content to allow its local satraps a bigger share of the loot in order to maintain them as anti-Communist bulwarks in the region. But no longer.

On top of this, a particular focus of imperialist appetites in Asia is the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, which has been targeted for destruction from its inception in 1949 and more recently has faced increasingly bellicose threats by the U.S. As the Stalinist bureaucracy in Beijing drives headlong toward capitalist restoration, the U.S. and Japanese imperialists are jockeying for position over who would get the lion's share in exploiting the Chinese masses.

Southeast Asia is a minefield of competing capitalist interests and aspirations, as well as nationalist and ethnic hatreds which are a legacy of colonialism. Subjugation under the thumb of the imperialist "democracies" constantly reinforces the social backwardness and grinding poverty of these societies. There can be no "humane" imperialism. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained, imperialism is the epoch of capitalist decay, in which the bourgeoisies of the wealthiest countries extract fabulous profits from the super-exploitation of the toiling masses in the backward, dependent countries and compete among each other to redivide the world for a bigger share of profits. Only socialist revolution in the imperialist centers and the semicolonial world can do away with the subjugation of the masses of the "Third World" and put an end to the imperialist wars which are inherent in this capitalist system.

Interimperialist rivalries for markets and spheres of influence abroad lead directly to attacks on the working class and oppressed at home, as the bourgeois rulers seek to increase their profits by ratcheting up the rate of exploitation while scapegoating oppressed minorities in order to reinforce their rule. Thus the same Canadian capitalist class that helped to bombard Serbia, that continues to kill Iraqi children through starvation sanctions, that is now helping to occupy East Timor, is destroying social programs while attacking the unions and the rights of the Québécois, Native people and immigrants. And it's not just the Liberals in Ottawa or their right-wing Tory and Reform rivals. While linked to the unions via the labor bureaucracy, the New Democrats are thoroughly pro-imperialist and nationalist. Wherever they rule provincially, they have ravaged health care and social services, engaged in anti-union strikebreaking like that against the Saskatchewan nurses last spring, and whipped up chauvinism against Quebec, immigrants and aboriginal people.

Many working people and youth want to fight back against these attacks. But the bourgeoisie's austerity offensive cannot be defeated so long as the proletariat is saddled with chauvinist, pro-capitalist misleaders who support the imperialist interests of their "own" ruling class. The pro-capitalist labor tops, bought off by superprofits from the bourgeoisie, line up with their own imperialist rulers in times of war abroad and undermine the class struggle at home. Our aim is to build an internationalist revolutionary workers party which can lead a socialist revolution to destroy the entire system of capitalist imperialism. That requires a fight to split the working class base of the NDP away from the pro-capitalist leadership, not least through forging a class-struggle leadership in the unions that opposes the ruling class down the line. Real solidarity with the Indonesian and East Timorese masses means a struggle to overthrow the Canadian ruling class through workers revolution. ■

# NDP “Socialist Caucus” Backs Imperialist Intervention

While Canadian troops were en route to Australia to join the UN imperialist occupation force being assembled in late September, the self-styled “Socialist Caucus” of the NDP held a public forum on East Timor in conjunction with a provincial NDP gathering in Toronto. The initiators and central leaders of the Socialist Caucus are prominent supporters of Socialist Action (SA), a group which claims to stand in the traditions of Trotskyism. On paper, they purport to oppose imperialist aggression and to fight for a “workers’ agenda” against the NDP leadership. Yet their forum was devoted to *supporting* Canadian imperialist intervention in East Timor—just like the thoroughly pro-imperialist NDP tops.

The featured speaker, Ken Luckhardt of the Canadian Auto Workers, was part of the Canadian Labour Congress delegation to East Timor last August which called on the federal Liberal government to send UN “peacekeeping” troops. In his presentation to the Socialist Caucus forum, Luckhardt praised the reactionary ban on Indonesian goods by Australian trade unions, saying this helped sway “public opinion” to the need to send the troops. His punch line was: “I’m sure, once the massacres started, all of the groups in this room have been lobbying for intervention.”

Leading off the discussion period, a Trotskyist League spokesman sharply denounced this pro-imperialist position:

“The speaker said all groups called on ‘our’ government to intervene. Not us! As revolutionary internationalists, we are *opposed* to imperialist intervention. And make no mistake, that’s exactly what is happening in East Timor today. While we call for independence now for East Timor, that’s not what the UN occupation is about. Rather it’s an attempt to stabilize that region of Asia by, in the main, Australia—with the help of our ‘own’ ruling class.

“In fact the pro-capitalist heads of the CLC have come out in favor of troops to East Timor, of course under the UN flag. And in contrast to this speaker’s support for trade-union actions against Indonesia, our comrades in the Spartacist League/Australia call for the hot cargoing of *Australian* military goods.

“UN intervention has always meant imperialist terror. Just look at what has been done to Iraq over the past eight years under the UN flag, or Somalia. And whether wearing blue helmets or not, the U.S. capitalists, along with their junior partners like Canada, are the biggest terrorists in the world today. But the NDP and its ‘left’ tail, like the Socialist Caucus, push the illusion that Canadian imperialism can play some sort of ‘progressive’ role.... Those, like this lawyer for Western intervention, who claim that what’s being done in East Timor can somehow be seen as ‘progressive,’ simply breed illusions in imperialism—with a ‘human rights’ veneer, of course.”

After our comrade finished, prominent Socialist Caucus and SA leader Joe Flexer rose to respond. Sputtering “This is an emergency” and denouncing the TL as “sectarians,” Flexer openly backed the imperialist intervention, saying “We need the UN in there!”

Socialist Action is part of a dissident wing of the decomposing pseudo-Trotskyist “United Secretariat of the Fourth International” (USec), whose sections internationally have

dissolved themselves into all manner of pro-capitalist social-democratic organizations, and even thoroughly bourgeois outfits like the Party of the Democratic Revolution in Mexico. During the NATO bombardment of Serbia last spring, the USec’s flagship section in France openly called for imperialist ground troops, saying: “A multinational force under UN control must guarantee and oversee on the ground the application of such an accord [with Serbia]” (*Rouge*, 8 April 1999). In September, a USec resolution endorsed the

**Sydney, Australia:  
Trotskyist campus  
speakout on Sep-  
tember 9 denounces  
imperialist occupa-  
tion of East Timor.**



Australasian Spartacist

dispatch of UN troops to East Timor, calling on this imperialist occupation force to “guarantee the immediate disarmament of the civil militias created and backed by the Indonesian army, and the arrest of its leaders” (*International Viewpoint*, November 1999).

On paper, SA claims to oppose the USec leaders’ support to imperialist military interventions. Their co-thinkers in the U.S. even headlined an editorial, “Against UN Intervention in East Timor” (*Socialist Action* [U.S.], October 1999). But at their September 25 meeting, these charlatans went on record *supporting* this same UN intervention. And this is no isolated instance. Last spring, despite their lip-service opposition to NATO’s bombing of Serbia, SA leaders tried to attend a *pro-war* rally in Toronto organized by ethnic Albanians whose signs and speeches said “Thanks for your support, NATO!”

SA and its “Socialist Caucus” are nothing more than a “left” cover for the pro-imperialist machinations of the NDP and CLC tops. As our comrade concluded: “Imperialism isn’t some sort of policy that can be changed by ‘democratic’ pressure. Unlike other so-called left groups, like Socialist Action and other apologists for ‘human rights’ imperialism, we understand that what’s needed are not lame appeals to make the government more humane, but rather a break from the pro-capitalist NDP and the forging of a revolutionary party to sweep away this system of racism and war once and for all.” ■

## Anti-Native Racism...

(continued from page 4)

the wake of the October 3 violence, the mayor of Neguac, the Acadian fishing village next to the Mi'kmaq reserve noted, "The Mi'kmaq Nation saved the Acadians. If it wasn't for their help, I wouldn't be talking to you now. I'd be in Louisiana" (*Globe and Mail*, 9 October).

Ever since the Conquest of 1759-60, Native oppression has been entwined with the historic oppression of French-speaking people in this country. The 1885 North West Rebellion pitted Catholic French-speaking Métis and their Native allies against the central government of John A. Macdonald. After the defeat of the uprising, many of its leaders, including Louis Riel and Wandering Spirit, were executed at the insistence of the Protestant Ontario Orange Order. More recently, the 1990 siege of the Mohawk Warriors at Oka by the Canadian army and Quebec police was accompanied by frenzied anti-Native racism by Quebec nationalists.

Especially since Oka, Ottawa has sought to use Native people as a cudgel against Quebec's national rights. The Nisga'a treaty negotiated by the B.C. NDP regime and the federal Liberals was in part an attempt by both these rabidly Anglo-chauvinist governments to posture as "enlightened" and "open-handed" vis-à-vis the Parti Québécois sovereignists on the question of land claims. (See "Labor Must Defend Native Rights," *SC* No. 118, Fall 1998.) Similarly, Ottawa presents itself as the "ally" of the Cree and others who inhabit Northern Quebec, a resource-rich region which the Quebec bourgeois nationalists claim as their own.

Chauvinist bigotry against Quebec has long been used by the capitalist rulers and their labor lieutenants (and especially the NDP) to rally English Canadian workers to the side of their own bourgeoisie in the name of "national unity." Virulent Anglo chauvinism in turn has driven Québécois workers into the arms of the bourgeois nationalists of the PQ. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste calls for Quebec independence in order to cut through the entanglements of chauvinism and nationalism which currently bar the way to joint anti-capitalist class struggle by the workers of Quebec and English Canada. At the same time, we support the right of the aboriginal peoples of Northern Quebec to determine whether to join an independent Quebec or remain in a rump Canada. However, we adamantly oppose the calls of some Quebec Native leaders for Canadian army intervention in the case of secession.

### Cops and Courts: Enemies of Native Rights

Illusions in the good offices of the "democratic" Canadian state are widespread. Following the anti-Native violence on Miramichi Bay, many Mi'kmaq demanded that the RCMP

protect their lives and property, and that the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) uphold the Marshall decision. But the RCMP and DFO had other plans. RCMP patrol boats stood off and watched as Native traps were destroyed on October 3, refusing to make arrests or to lay charges against the vandals. DFO boats dragged the waters for Mi'kmaq traps that had not been authorized for "ceremonial and sustenance purposes" before the ruling. Non-status Natives were cut off from any fishing rights whatsoever and arrested if they were part of the crew on a status Mi'kmaq boat. When the Burnt Church and Indian Brook bands defiantly told the DFO to stuff a "voluntary moratorium," Ottawa clamped down with severe restrictions on the number of traps allowed by each community. The 1,200 people living on the Burnt Church reserve were limited to a mere 600 traps—the equivalent of *two* commercial lobster licenses!

The Canadian capitalist state—the cops, the courts, the army and government agencies—are weapons of violent repression whose only purpose is to maintain the capitalist order against the working class and oppressed. This repression falls more heavily on aboriginal people than on any other sector of society. The Oka siege and the massive military operation ordered by the B.C. NDP government against sun dancers at Gustafsen Lake were spectacular examples of this. In urban centers, where most Native people live, they are subject to daily racist abuse and police terror. Thus they are disproportionately represented in the prison population. In Saskatchewan, for example, where Natives are ten percent of the population, they make up three-quarters of inmates. Donald Marshall himself spent years in prison, framed by the police for a murder he did not commit.

The role of the state on the impoverished Native reserves is typified by the murder of Connie Jacobs and her ten year-old son Ty in Alberta. The pair were gunned down by the RCMP in collusion with welfare administrators who were trying to take away Jacobs' children. Jack Ramsey, the former Reform Party "law and order" spokesman, was recently convicted of attempted rape of a 14-year-old Native girl when he was an RCMP officer posted to a remote Saskatchewan reserve. The disgusting Ramsey perfectly symbolizes the oppressive relationship between the police and the aboriginal population.

We Trotskyists warn against any illusions in the capitalist state, and as an elementary measure we demand that the cops, courts and state welfare agencies get off the reserves and stay off. However, whether they live on distant and barren reserves, or in the cities where they swell the ranks of the homeless and destitute, Native people have long been forcibly isolated from any participation in social production or in Canadian capitalist society at large. Therefore, as we emphasized in our 1998 Programmatic Theses: "Only the destruction of capitalism can hold out the possibility of voluntary integration, on the basis of full equality, for those aboriginal peoples who desire it, and the fullest possible regional autonomy for those who do not."

### Capitalist Anarchy and Socialist Revolution

Calling on Ottawa to suspend the Marshall decision, John Risley, head of the giant Clearwater fisheries conglomerate, cynically complained that "the current industry doesn't have the capacity" to allow the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet to make a "moderate livelihood" catching lobster. In fact, unlike the decimated East Coast groundfish industry, the lobster fish-

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ery is rolling in profits. Moreover, the 14,000 Mi'kmaq traps are a vanishingly small fraction of the 1.8 million traps set annually by licensed commercial fishermen who supply Clearwater and the other bloated corporations. So "conservation" in this case is a red herring. But as long as profiteers like Risley run the show, fishermen and other resource workers will always be one season away from disaster.

Like all natural resources, the fisheries are at the mercy of irrational and wasteful destruction by Canadian capitalism. In Newfoundland, some 19,000 working people were put out of work overnight by the 1993 collapse of the cod fishery, brought on by decades of plunder by homegrown corporations. The already impoverished outports, where the fishery was the only real source of income, were devastated. The response of the union tops was to whip up a nationalist hue and cry against foreign fishermen, cheering on the coast guard and the navy as they fired on and seized Spanish boats in international waters in 1995.

On the West Coast it was no different, as a clash over salmon quotas in 1997 led to anti-U.S. grandstanding by then NDP premier Glen Clark and his backers atop the B.C. Federation of Labour. The B.C. labor tops have also actively fomented racism against Native people over out-of-season fishing rights. In 1993, leaders of the UFAWU fishermen's union helped found a "Fisheries Survival Coalition," set up to protest the small commercial Native fishery. This coalition, in

which the Reform Party has been active, went on to organize racist protests against the "preference" given to Native fishermen. Thus, rather than waging a serious campaign to organize Native fishermen into a joint union of all fishery workers, the union bureaucrats have helped to foment the worst racist backwardness. This undermines any prospect of successful class struggle against the greedy bosses and governments whose drive for profits depleted the fish stocks in the first place.

It will take the destruction of capitalism and establishment of a planned economy under workers rule to utilize natural resources in such a way that the needs of the population can be met without sacrificing the needs of future generations. Yet for labor to win even its defensive battles against layoffs, union busting and wage slashing, it must throw off nationalism and racism. These are the chains used by the labor bureaucracy and the NDP to shackle proletarian power to the interests of Canadian capitalism.

The unremitting defense of Native people's lives and rights by the organized working class must be an integral part of the proletariat's fight to overthrow capitalism—the common oppressor and exploiter of all. What is necessary is a revolutionary workers party which opposes every manifestation of capitalist injustice and oppression, striving to transform the proletariat into an instrument of socialist revolution. Such a party can only be built in relentless struggle against the pro-capitalist labor misleaders. Labor must defend Native rights! ■

## Quebec...

(continued from page 16)

the anti-Quebec "national unity" crusade, especially in the West, fostering Anglo chauvinism among working people the better to derail class struggle and ram through capitalist austerity measures. Committed to upholding the interests of Canadian capitalism, the New Democrats and their allies in the English Canadian union bureaucracy use Maple Leaf nationalism to tie the working class to the interests of its "own" bourgeoisie. Thus the labor traitors help to set the workers against each other along national lines, poisoning the prospects for working-class struggle against capitalism.

Chauvinist demagoguery in English Canada has driven the Québécois workers deeper into the arms of their "own" exploiters, reinforcing support for the bourgeois-nationalist PQ and Bloc Québécois. Support for a third referendum has recently been in free fall as a result of popular opposition to the PQ government's austerity attacks on health care and other social programs. By savaging the working class and poor, the PQ regime has sought to prove to the bourgeoisie in Quebec and elsewhere, particularly on Wall Street, that an independent Quebec would be "fiscally responsible." But while decrying these attacks, the nationalist Quebec union bureaucrats have quashed every outburst of class struggle in the name of "national solidarity."

Last summer the labor tops worked overtime to keep a widely popular strike by Quebec nurses isolated lest it provoke a major class confrontation with the PQ government. Following this sellout, they scuttled a threatened province-wide strike by 400,000 public sector workers in November. Now, in the face of Ottawa's chauvinist bill, the labor tops are moving rapidly to patch up their differences with the PQ government. In turn, the PQ has dropped its hard line against union demands, including by increasing a supposedly non-

negotiable wage offer, in order to forge a "broad coalition" against the Chrétien law.

The reaction to the federal Liberals' latest provocation once again reveals how chauvinism and nationalism are a concrete obstacle to the polarization of society along class lines, i.e., to proletarian struggle against capital. We advocate independence for Quebec first and foremost in order to cut against the dominant Anglo chauvinism among English Canadian workers, but also to break the grip of nationalism on the Quebec proletariat.

We seek to get the national question off the agenda in order to bring the decisive class questions to the fore. To liberate the working class from the rule of capitalism—with its mass poverty, racism and wars—requires building a binational, multiracial revolutionary workers party, part of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International. This is the road to uniting the working class in struggle, infusing it with the understanding of the need for socialist revolution to put an end to all forms of oppression and bourgeois injustice. Down with Ottawa's chauvinist referendum law! For Quebec independence! ■

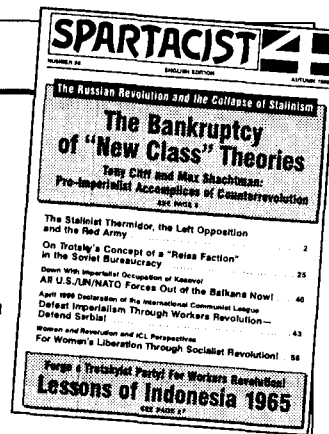
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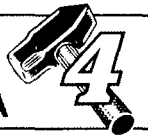
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# Ottawa vs. Quebec's National Rights

The move by the federal government to set conditions on future Quebec referendums has once again stoked the flames of reaction. Ottawa's new law is yet another attempt to maintain Quebec forcibly within a "united" Canadian state dominated by Anglo chauvinism. This chauvinism binds the workers of English Canada to the interests of their "own" capitalist rulers. And in Quebec it has pushed the working

## For Quebec Independence!

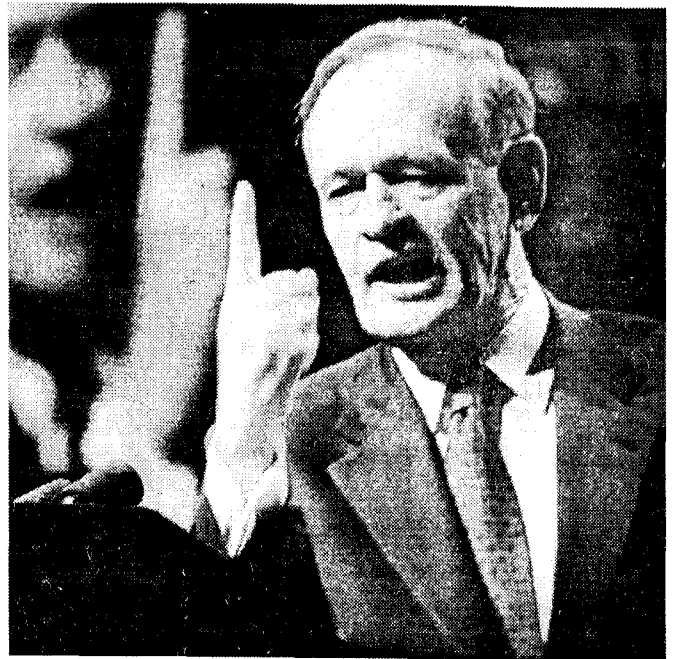
class into the arms of the Québécois bourgeoisie. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste advocates independence for Quebec in order to cut through the deep national animosities dividing English- and French-speaking workers and open the road to anti-capitalist class struggle.

In introducing the legislation, Jean Chrétien and his lieutenant Stéphane Dion raved that the 1980 and 1995 Quebec sovereignty referendums were "crooked" and "illegal." Their new law requires that any future referendum question be approved by the Anglo-dominated federal parliament. It would then have to be adopted by far more than a simple majority—Chrétien is said to favor a threshold of 66 percent of eligible Quebec voters. Even if the conditions were met, the federal government and every provincial legislature would have a veto. Thus, the legislation all but outlaws the basic democratic right to self-determination for Quebec.

The new law follows the 1998 Supreme Court ruling that Quebec cannot unilaterally secede from Canada. Both declarations are typical of the high-handed arrogance of the Anglo ruling class in its dealings with Quebec. Ottawa's new law even specifies that Quebec must guarantee minority and aboriginal rights. Breathtaking hypocrisy! Chrétien's Liberals represent the same bourgeoisie that only lifted the official color-bar to non-white immigration in 1967; the same that invented the reservation system which is the symbol and instrument of the wholesale dispossession of the Native peoples.

As well, Chrétien's diktat raises again the reactionary spectre of partition. For Marxists, state boundaries are hardly sacred, and certainly the aboriginal peoples who are the overwhelming majority in Northern Quebec should have the right to decide their own fate in the event of Quebec sovereignty. However, the threats by Chrétien and Dion (and even more by Preston Manning's Reform Party bigots) to carve up the island of Montreal along linguistic lines are a scare tactic aimed at further inflaming Anglo chauvinism.

The forcible subjugation of the Québécois people was a cornerstone of Confederation. Ever since, the chauvinist



Canadian Press

**Referendum law introduced by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien is Anglo-chauvinist provocation.**

Anglo rulers have been determined to maintain the oppressive status quo. In 1970, faced with growing nationalist sentiment including among an increasingly restive proletariat, Ottawa staged a military occupation of Montreal and abrogated civil rights under the War Measures Act. Eight years later, after the election of the first Parti Québécois government, federal Liberal prime minister Pierre Trudeau again threatened to "use the sword" against any move to Quebec independence.

The latest move by Chrétien, a former Trudeau cabinet minister, has been opposed by other federalist parties worried that it will revive the currently flagging fortunes of the sovereignist Parti Québécois. While Quebec Liberal leader Jean Charest came out against the draft law, NDP leader Alexa McDonough called Chrétien's proposals "reckless" and "inflammatory." This was hardly out of concern for the national rights of the Québécois, which the New Democrats have spit on for decades. Rather, McDonough chastised Chrétien for "alienating and dividing the federalist team" (*Globe and Mail*, 2 December). As if to prove her point, Western NDP premiers Roy Romanow and Gary Doer ostentatiously ignored McDonough's line, publicly praising the prime minister's chauvinist legislation.

The NDP social democrats have been in the forefront of  
*(continued on page 15)*