



For Class Struggle Against Imperialist War!



Trotskyists posed revolutionary alternative to nationalist reformism on November 16 Toronto antiwar march.

On November 16 and 17, in cities across the country, thousands of people marched to register their opposition to the threat of U.S.-led imperialist war on Iraq. Impelled into the streets by gut-level hatred of slaughter-for-profit, high school students joined leftists and trade unionists, church groups and anti-poverty activists, Palestinian refugees and other Arab immigrants to say "no to war." But just saying "no to war" won't be enough to stop it; as Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky observed 70 years ago, "to condemn war is easy; to overcome it is difficult."

In Toronto and Vancouver, Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents initiated by the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste and the Spartacus Youth Clubs intervened in the protests with calls against UN sanctions, for defense of Iraq and for class struggle against the capitalist rulers emblazoned on banners and placards. Our contingents offered a pole of attraction to militant youth and workers opposed both to war and to the reformist nationalism of the official protest organizers.

In Toronto, Trotskyists bullhorned the crowds: "If you

want to struggle against the racist rulers of North America; if you know that pressuring the capitalist rulers is a dead end; if you are disgusted at the pro-capitalist NDP social democrats and their waterboys who claim to be Marxist, like the International Socialists, join the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent!" Hundreds stopped to listen and discuss, and to buy our communist newspapers; and youth from places as distant as Japan, Mexico and France took up our placards.

Energetically chanting "Petitions and vigils can't stop this war! Workers revolution is what we're for!" we posed a

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Statement of the International Communist League

Defend Iraq Against U.S. and Allied Imperialist Attack!

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Our comrade Cory Pearson, a long-time member of the New York Spartacist League, died on October 16, eleven days after suffering a heart attack from which he never regained consciousness. Cory was 54 years old.

Growing up in a Southern family amid the turbulent civil rights movement, Cory was driven by an abiding interest in the history of black struggle. He was drawn into campus radicalism while an engineering student at Cornell University in the late 1960s, especially affected by the militant black student occupation there in 1968. Cory joined the Revolutionary Communist Youth, the Spartacist League youth group at the time, in 1973 and became a member of the SL the following spring. Won to Trotskyism while working in Washington, D.C., where we had no branch, Cory moved to New York City in order to be an active member of the organization. A few years later, Cory got a job as a phone worker. He was a member of Communications Workers Locals 1150 and 1101 for more than 20 years.

Throughout his life as a party member, Cory worked with the SL/U.S. newspaper *Workers Vanguard* in one capacity or another, for many years as its chief photographer and member of the production department and more recently in the circulation department. Whatever he undertook was carried out with a keen sense of professional standards and of Lenin's injunction that the press is the scaffolding of a communist organization.

Among the many pictures Cory took for *Workers Vanguard* over the years, he was particularly proud of a 1977 photo of striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky with a hand-lettered sign reading, "Warning: The Stearns Miners Have Determined That Scabbing Is Dangerous to Your Health." Seven years later, a picket at the Phelps Dodge

copper mine in Arizona saw Cory's photo and hand-lettered a similar sign.

Cory used his considerable skills not only to get the one picture in any situation that would most effectively illustrate


our politics, but to build up a professional photo apparatus and to train other comrades. He organized a darkroom, first in his own apartment and then in the party headquarters. He spent many hours talking or writing to comrades about how to improve their photos and visited other locals and national sections of the International Communist League when he could. Others have been trained by Cory indirectly, through the pamphlet *Political Photo Journalism* which he wrote in the mid 1970s. A comrade currently in the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany recalls how Cory "wove the necessary technical information into the purpose of our photography. He wrote, 'Remember, you will be documenting the revolution.'... And these words echoed in my head more than once in the political revolution in the DDR," the former East Germany, in 1989-90.

Those who worked with Cory even briefly remember his infectious enthusiasm, his generosity and his wide, eclectic range of interests. Cory was equally at ease talking about politics, nature photography, art or music. Over the years, he amassed an impres-

sive collection of jazz recordings and photographs he had taken of jazz artists and other entertainers.

We extend our condolences to Cory's comrade and wife of 20 years, Ellen, to his brother and three sisters, and to his many comrades and friends around the world. Cory will be remembered by all who knew him, and he will be remembered as well through his photographs and through the many younger comrades he helped train to become, like him, devoted and professional party workers.



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Down With U.S./Canada "Anti-Terrorist" Hit List

Hands Off Communist Party of the Philippines!

The U.S., Canada and other countries have added the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) to their repressive hit list. On August 9, Washington declared the CPP and its New People's Army (NPA) "foreign terrorist organizations," making it illegal to provide any "material support or resources" to the CPP, whose supporters can be deported from the U.S. or denied entry. A few days later, at the behest of the U.S., the Dutch government froze the personal bank account of CPP leader Jose Maria Sison and denied him the housing and food and medical allowances he is entitled to as a refugee in the Netherlands. Numerous other Filipino leftists in the Netherlands face a similar danger, including Sison's comrade, Luis Jalandoni. These measures are particularly ominous amid threats to extradite Sison to the U.S.

The Canadian government quickly added the CPP, NPA and Sison to its own "terrorist" list. With a media hysteria campaign comparing Sison to Osama bin Laden, the European Union is now also poised to ban the CPP.

Sison spent nine years in the jails of former U.S.-backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos, where he was also tortured. In 1986 he was released by Corazon Aquino, Marcos' successor, only to be charged with subversion by the Aquino regime while he was abroad. Repeated assassination attempts, first under Aquino and later under Joseph Estrada, failed.

The witchhunt against Sison and the CPP/NPA comes in the context of a crackdown against leftists and Muslim secessionists in the Philippines by the government of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, aided by hundreds of American troops. Despite our fundamental political differences with the Stalinist CPP, we call on the workers movement internationally to defend them against state repression. The attacks on the CPP in the name of the "war on terror" underline that the assaults on the rights of Muslims and Arabs are ultimately aimed at the left and labor movement.

Canada, which like the U.S. has a large Filipino population, is threatening a full-scale witchhunt of the Filipino left. A small right-wing biweekly in Vancouver, the *Asian Pacific Post* (September 19-October 9), reported that Canadian cops and spies "are tracking the fundraising activities of several B.C.-based Filipino-Canadian associations to determine if they are pumping money to communist rebels in the Philippines." An unnamed government official told the *Asian Pacific Post*: "We are looking at a variety of issues pertaining to fund raising by the Filipino groups, looking at bank accounts and the extensive remittance system used by the migrant workers to send money home."

Among the groups to be spied on and harassed are the B.C. Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines, SIK-

LAB (an overseas Filipino workers group) and the Filipino-Canadian Youth Alliance-Vancouver. Another group under attack is the Filipino Nurses Support Group, a labor organization representing Filipino nurses. Showing how wide-



October 21: Manila demonstrators burn effigy of Gloria Arroyo in protest against government's plan to impose "anti-terror" measures.

spread this witchhunt is, one of the named groups is the Philippine Women's Center, one of whose programs has been subsidized by the Canadian government.

The government threats to spy on remittances effectively target every immigrant worker, since virtually all immigrants send money to their families back home. An estimated four million Filipinos work as seamen, toil in the oil fields of the Near East, or work as domestic servants, garment workers or nurses in Europe and North America. Their remittances, as much as U.S.\$4 billion per year, make up about 6 percent of the Philippine economy and are a major source of hard currency in this terribly poor U.S. neocolony.

An example of how devastating a clampdown on remittances can be is last year's shutdown of the Somalian-connected al-Barakaat, one of several *hawalas*, or informal money-transferring networks, used by Somali immigrants. In the wake of September 11, al-Barakaat was put on the "terrorist" list and closed down in the U.S., Canada and elsewhere, as U.S. authorities claimed that it was a conduit for moving Al Qaeda money. In Somalia—devastated by hunger

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OCAP, "Direct Action" and Capitalist Oppression

Repelled by the brutal poverty and racism of capitalist Canada, a militant anti-poverty movement has emerged in cities across the country. Thousands have taken to the streets in protests initiated by the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) and similar radical-activist organizations elsewhere. OCAP's often audacious actions on behalf of the poor, immigrants and other victims of capitalist oppression have attracted youth disgusted by the belly-crawling and electoralism of "social justice" outfits and reformist "socialist" groups who act as satellites and shills for the pro-capitalist NDP.

OCAP exemplifies the more militant side of the split in the Canadian left which has been especially evident since the April 2001 Quebec City protests. This was highlighted again last summer in protests against the G-8 imperialist summit. While OCAP worked with Montreal's anarchist CLAC and others to bring thousands to Ottawa for a march emphasizing opposition to the Canadian rulers, the wretched International Socialists (I.S.) attacked these leftists for not joining with the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats and New Democrats to build a nationalist and protectionist protest in Calgary. Unlike the brazen Canadian nationalism on display in Calgary, the Ottawa protest denounced U.S. and Canadian "state terrorism" against countries from Iraq to Afghanistan and the Philippines, as well as the criminalizing of immigrants and refugees under the new "anti-terror" laws.

OCAP's occupation of an abandoned Toronto rooming house last summer was widely popular, including among trade unionists who rallied to help fix up the "Pope Squat" and defend it. This act of defiance during the pope's visit, with the city awash in cloying religious reaction, was refreshing indeed! Pope Squat rallies attracted hundreds, and as the squatters repaired the building it became a center for lively political discussion. On Labour Day as thousands of unionists marched through Toronto, the Trotskyist League intervened with signs including "Hands Off OCAP!" and later joined OCAP militants at the Pope Squat.

The Housing Question

In late October OCAP tried to seize another empty building, leading a demonstration of several hundred including TL and Spartacus Youth Club supporters, but were blocked by hundreds of heavily armed riot cops mobilized from around the province. A week later, on a freezing November 1, the cops broke up the Pope Squat, throwing the more than 30 residents on to the street. At an angry meeting the next morning, a TL supporter won a hearing and applause when she said that the labor movement which makes this city run needs to champion the cause of the homeless and oppressed, that the powers that be, including the cops, would think twice about busting up this squat if they were met by a few thousand trade unionists.

A woman in the meeting called out, "This won't get a roof over my head tonight!" That's true: it won't. Certainly, OCAP's occupations have provided desperately needed shelter for the homeless; meanwhile the provincial and city governments' actions constantly *create* homelessness. Nevertheless, such occupations cannot solve the terrible crisis of



August 2 Toronto demo in support of "Pope Squat."

homelessness, the racism, unemployment and grinding poverty which are intrinsic to the system of capitalist exploitation.

Joining in the struggles of all the oppressed against the capitalists' attacks, our perspective is to build a working-class revolutionary party which fights to make these struggles part of the motor force for socialist revolution. In this way, all the "drops and streamlets of popular resentment" at capitalism's outrages must, in the words of Russian Revolution leader V.I. Lenin, "be combined into a *single* gigantic torrent" that sweeps away this oppressive economic system. Such a party will be built in political combat against the NDP-loyal, pro-capitalist union bureaucrats who scarcely fight for their own members' interests, let alone those of the most vulnerable and oppressed.

Writing on the miserable living conditions of workers and poor in his 1872 work *The Housing Question*, communist leader Friedrich Engels explained:

"Whence then comes the housing shortage? How did it arise?... It is a necessary product of the bourgeois social order; that it cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great masses of the workers are exclusively dependent upon wages, that is to say, on the sum of foodstuffs necessary for their existence and for the propagation of their kind; in which improvements of the existing machinery continually throw masses of workers out of employment; in which violent and regularly recurring industrial vacillations determine on the one hand the existence of a large reserve army of unemployed workers, and on the other hand drive large masses of the workers temporarily unemployed onto the streets.... In such a society the housing shortage is no accident; it is a necessary institution and it can be abolished together with all its effects on health, etc., only if the whole social order from which it springs is fundamentally refashioned."

The question is: how can we forge a movement which can abolish capitalism, the root cause of the misery that grinds away at millions?

While OCAP regularly denounces the "rituals of token
(continued on page 21)

Capitalist War on the Homeless

The past few months have seen stepped-up protests against homelessness across the country. Toronto's Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP), the Anti-Poverty Committee in Vancouver and similar organizations elsewhere have staged militant demonstrations and seized abandoned buildings to provide desperately needed housing. In response, city and provincial authorities have unleashed the cops to break the occupations, throwing hundreds back on the streets and staging mass arrests.

Poverty and homelessness have skyrocketed over the past decade as capitalist governments at all levels—including NDP provincial regimes—have taken an ax to social programs like welfare and subsidized housing. In Toronto, the median income of single-parent families fell nearly 20 percent in the 1990s. With rents soaring, the city now has a staggering 2,000 evictions a month, while an estimated 7,000 people are homeless every night during the frigid winter months.

Homeless advocates led by OCAP seized an abandoned building in late July, providing housing for several dozen people. The city and province ignored repeated demands to turn the "Pope Squat" into social housing, then sent the cops to retake the building on November 1. Five weeks earlier, security guards backed by police had demolished the Tent City shantytown on undeveloped land in the port area, bulldozing shelters and evicting more than 100 people.

Vancouver protests have centered on the Downtown Eastside, a neighborhood plagued with poverty, drug addiction and racist police brutality against Native people and immigrants. In mid-September, protesters seized the long-abandoned Woodward's building, which takes up an entire block in the area. Rallies of up to 600 people, including trade unionists with flags and banners, came out in support. But the cops broke up the squat after one week, arresting 54 people. In the aftermath, the streets surrounding Woodward's have been turned into a tent city where up to 150 people camp out each night. Obscenely, newly elected mayor Larry Campbell, whose COPE coalition was heavily backed by the NDP, union tops and reformist left, declared he would support a court injunction to remove the tent city.

After the provincial Liberal government decided to drop all charges against the Woodward's 54 in early November, Calvin Woida, one of the defendants, said, "This is a victory for social housing, and a victory for poor and marginalized people. But we cannot be complacent. We will not stop fighting until everyone has a home." It speaks volumes about the brutal irrationality of the capitalist system of private property that tens of thousands are left without shelter while hundreds of buildings stand empty. For the capitalists, if a building can't be rented or sold at a profit then it stays boarded up, even as people die on the streets. Socialist revolution could solve the crisis of homelessness overnight by expropriating the bourgeoisie's mansions, luxury hotels and office towers and turning them over to the poor.

Trotskyist League supporters have joined with OCAP, the Anti-Poverty Committee and other activists on demonstra-



Peter Power/Toronto Star

Toronto cops evict Tent City squatters at the behest of Home Depot, which owns the undeveloped site where homeless had built shelters.

tions to defend the homeless. We point above all to the need for organized labor to wield its muscle on behalf of the poor and in defense of advocates for the homeless who face increasing repression. We print below a September 22 protest letter to B.C. attorney general Geoff Plant from the Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the TL.

* * *

We join the Anti-Poverty Committee in expressing our outrage at the early morning arrest of approximately 60 Woodward's squatters on Saturday, September 21. In violently attacking and breaking up the squat, the police used pepper spray against a group that included two pregnant women and several others with medical conditions.

By occupying Woodward's, the squatters infringed upon that most sacrosanct feature of the capitalist system, private property. For years there have been empty promises, including from the previous NDP governments, that the derelict Woodward's building would be converted into social housing to help alleviate the grinding poverty of Vancouver's heavily Native Downtown Eastside. Now the Liberals plan to sell the building off to a private developer, further demonstrating their contempt for the poor and homeless. This illustrates yet again that the poorest, most downtrodden of this city are simply seen by the government as expendable, human refuse to be swept away.

The persecution of the Woodward's squatters is of a piece with the B.C. government's assaults on workers and all the oppressed—from the racist anti-Native treaty referendum last spring to the sweeping cutbacks of social services. The Woodward's squatters do not stand alone: the B.C. Federation of Labour and the Vancouver District Labour Council are among those organizations that rallied to support the occupation. We demand: Stop the persecution of the homeless and those who would struggle on their behalf! Drop all charges against the Woodward's squatters! ■

Just Out!

Prometheus Research Library Book

From 1931 to 1933, during a period of stagnation that James P. Cannon later aptly labeled "the dog days of the movement," an intense struggle rent the American Trotskyist organization, the Communist League of America. The CLA was the North American section of the International Left Opposition, which was founded a few months after Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky had been forced into exile from the USSR.

As the letters, articles, circulars, and minutes in this collection reveal, the two CLA factions, around Cannon on the one hand and Max Shachtman on the other, came to the verge of an organizational break in early 1933, a split that Trotsky feared could lead to the stillbirth of American Trotskyism. Trotsky's sharp intervention in 1933 broke the factional impasse and allowed the American Trotskyists to intervene into the emerging class battles. Their work included a propaganda campaign against the rise of Hitlerite fascism in Germany exposing the criminal passivity of the Stalinized Communist International. Their subsequent work included fusion with the Musteite American Workers Party and their leadership of the successful Minneapolis Teamsters strikes.

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Philippine CP...

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and imperialist depredation, without banks, post offices or other infrastructure—such networks are used by 80 percent of the population to conduct daily banking and, most of all, to receive the overseas funds on which many rely for their existence. Less than a year later, as the U.S. added the CPP to its "terrorist" lists, it *delisted* al-Barakaat because...it had "no terrorist links"!

Seizing on the U.S. banning of the CPP, the Philippine government broke off "peace" negotiations with the CPP/NPA guerrilla forces and declared the CPP "terrorist." The Philippine military, with the aid of hundreds of U.S. "advisers," has used the campaign against the unsavory Abu Sayyaf guerrillas as a pretext to go after dissidents, leftists and secessionists among the oppressed Muslim minority in Mindanao and other southern Philippine islands. "Disappearances" and attacks on leftists and trade-union leaders sharply increased since the U.S. troops arrived early this year. Arroyo has also intensified the campaign of vilification against the NPA, calling it worse than Abu Sayyaf in order to

set the leftist guerrillas up for liquidation.

There have been protests in the Netherlands, Canada and the U.S. against the deadly witchhunt of the CPP. It is vital that the working class take up the fight against the government's attacks on the left and democratic rights; the laws that now target mainly immigrants will be used against the whole working class. The same U.S. government that has outlawed the CPP also invoked the anti-union Taft-Hartley law against the West Coast ILWU longshore union. In Oakland, California on February 9, ILWU Local 10 was an instrumental force in the united front protest initiated by the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee in defense of immigrants and against the "anti-terror" laws. Among the many organizations endorsing the protest was the Filipino Workers Organization, and one of their leaders addressed the rally.

The defense of the CPP and other Filipino leftists is a crucial task for the international workers movement. **Fight the "anti-terror" witchhunt! Hands off the CPP and Jose Maria Sison! Full asylum for Sison! U.S. troops out of the Philippines!**

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 790, 1 November



Japanese Trotskyists Say:

Abolish the Emperor System! For a Workers Republic!

Debate Over Female Emperor

The following article has been translated from Japanese Spartacist No. 26, September 2002.

* * *

The debate over whether or not a female heir can ascend to the imperial throne, intensified after the birth of the "royal baby" last December, has brought together supposedly diverse elements, ranging from the anti-woman, ultra-nationalist [Prime Minister] Koizumi to bourgeois feminists to Doi Takako, leader of the Social Democratic Party [SDP]. This thoroughly reactionary debate has nothing to do with "gender equality," as anyone who lives in this deeply entrenched and revoltingly male chauvinist society should know. Rather it is about how best to salvage the "imperial household" and recast the blood-stained emperor system as a "monarchy for the masses." If word of this debate were to reach Kanno Suga, executed by the government in 1911 [for plotting to assassinate the emperor], she would be writhing in her grave.

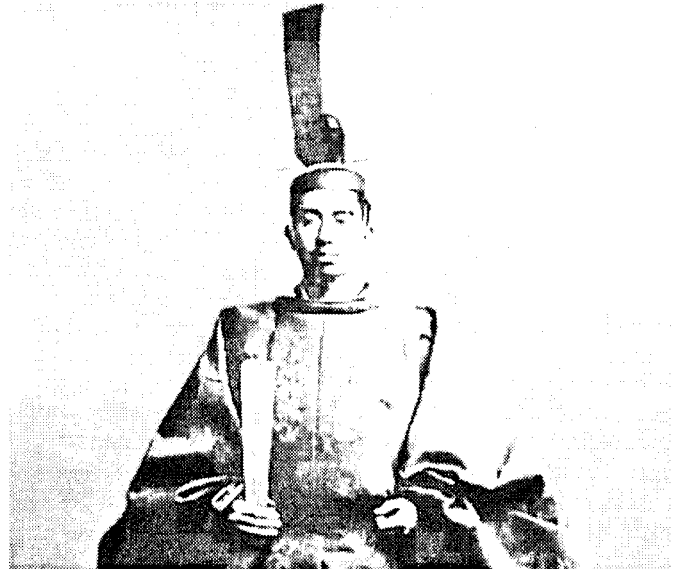
It was under the name of the emperor that Japanese imperialism and its military committed monstrous crimes during the Pacific War [World War II]--the Nanjing Massacre, the Nazi-like biological military Unit 731, the brutal colonization and subjugation of half the Asian continent, the enslavement of the *ianfu* [comfort women] and forced laborers, and the massive roundups and imprisonment of burakumin [descendants of feudal-era outcasts] and the heroic men and women of this country who fought against social injustice. We call for the abolition of this reactionary institution and the establishment of a workers republic.

It doesn't matter if the monarch's chromosomes are xy or xx--the emperor system is a feudal anachronism that should have been swept away a long time ago. Its ideological purpose is as a popular focus for national chauvinism and reaction. Only in a country where women are so oppressed would any woman find the prospect of an empress appealing. One need only look at Britain which has a queen to see that gender is no impediment to the ruthless pursuit of the imperialist, anti-working class goals of the British capitalist class. In this country, women's oppression is deeply intertwined with the perpetuation of the emperor system, whose purpose is to sanctify social and sexual hierarchy, the family, private property and the "glory" of the Japanese state. If the emperor system were abolished, women would still not be liberated. We would still have a capitalist system in which women are oppressed. The ever-present degradation, inequalities and superstitions that target women can only be rooted out by a workers revolution that dislodges the capitalists and their kings (or queens) and places the proletariat in power. That's why we fight for socialist revolution. The fight for women's rights goes hand in hand with the strug-

gles of the organized working class as a whole against an exploiting class that considers its rule an "immutable right." The tremendous wealth in this country is produced by the sweat and toil of its working people--both female and male. Those who labor must rule!

Rallying Symbol for Reaction

The overriding concern of the ruling class is that in the last few decades only daughters have been born to the imperial family. Journalist Keiko Tatsuta bluntly summed up the anxiety: "If no boys are born in the future, the Imperial House-



Bettmann/Corbis

Emperor Hirohito in court ceremonial robe. Emperor system sanctifies social and sexual hierarchy.

hold itself would theoretically no longer exist" (*Japan Times*, 24 November 2001). It is not just for ideological purposes that the emperor system is important for Japanese capitalism. The monarchy has always been the bourgeoisie's favored institution in periods of social turmoil. The leaders of the Meiji Restoration used the emperor as a "divine umbrella" to legitimize their rule. After Japan's defeat in the Pacific War, the emperor system was preserved through a bargain between the Japanese ruling class and the U.S. occupation forces for the single purpose of clamping down on working-class struggle at a time when social revolution was a real possibility. Today, in the midst of mass unemployment, welfare cuts and homelessness, privatizations and an increasingly strong state mounting an offensive to remilitarize the country, the continued, orchestrated "royal baby watch" is intended to unite the nation around a common cause.

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Japan...

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The emperor system is not merely an affront to the proletariat of this country and Asia. According to the constitution, the emperor's role is supposedly limited to such things as acting as adviser and spokesman for the ruling class, performing certain functions of state like putting his "divine" seal of approval on a new prime minister. The existence of these limits obscures the real danger to the proletariat the monarchy could once again become. In recent years, the emperor has been acting more and more like the head of state, and several attempts have been made to bring back laws against *lèse majesté*. The emperor system is the rallying cry of the fascist and militaristic right wing, who have become more emboldened since official recognition of the *hinomaru* and *kimigayo* [flag and anthem], both symbols of the emperor and imperial Japan. In any deep future crisis of the bourgeois order, the emperor would be wielded as a buttress to reactionary mobilizations and a sign of "legitimacy" for a government of extreme reaction.

The Left and the Emperor System

The politics of the reformist left consists of oppositional activity within the framework of bourgeois society, characterized by Trotsky as "the training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state." The emperor system continues unimpeded by the fake left in this country. The primary responsibility for this lies with the SDP and Communist Party (JCP), both mass bourgeois workers parties with a pro-capitalist leadership and program, and a predominantly working-class membership. As part of their general commitment to capitalism, they help prop up this symbol of privilege. When Hirohito died in 1989, Doi Takako signed the condolence book and attended the funeral. In the summer of 2000, JCP leader Fuwa sent condolences on the death of the Empress Dowager because they grew up during the same years! Loyal opposition parties indeed.

The SDP and JCP's shameless acceptance of the emperor system is a key component in suppressing working-class anger and opposition to this feudal remnant. Since its inception as the Japan Socialist Party, the SDP has embraced this reactionary institution, ending its founding conference in 1945 with the three banzai shouts ["Long live the emperor!"]. In April 2001 in the shadow of the crown princess's pregnancy, the SDP leadership met, whereby "Doi Takako took a positive posture toward a female emperor on the basis of gender equality. However, within the party, this question is not completely resolved" (*Women's Information*, January 2002). What was resolved eight months later was "to send congratulations on the birth of a child who has been anticipated. We hope for her healthy growth."

When the Communist Party thought they had an opportunity to administer a capitalist Japan in 1998, they revised their long-held position of opposition to the emperor system. As reported in the *Japan Press Weekly* (8 December 2001), "JCP Secretariat Head Ichida Tadayoshi said, 'Parliament can give a congratulatory message as a form of courtesy on a festive event of the family which is referred to as the symbol of the state by the Constitution.... The JCP envisages a future in which the *Tenno* (emperor) system will end based on the people's consensus. At the present, the JCP is committed to defending every clause of the Constitution!'" This was echoed by party head Shii a few days later when he said

"The birth of any new life is equally delightful" (*Women's Information*, January 2002). Sharing in the so-called democratic happiness over a new life is quite a bitter pill for its membership to swallow, who understand well that all life is hardly equal in a capitalist society.

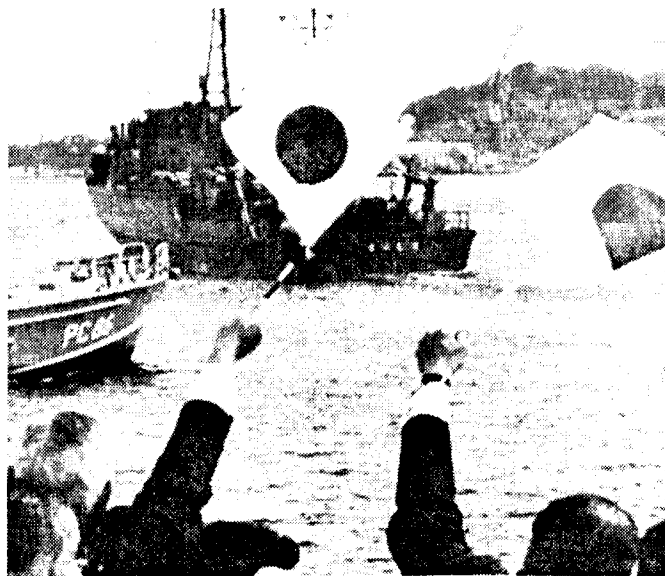
Popularization of the Imperial Family, Bourgeois Panic Over Falling Marriage, Birth Rates

Hirohito's death was like a gift for the imperial family, lifting it from its "tainted" history. Today, it is presented as the "nation's first family, united with the people in warmth and affection." No longer surrounded by the aura of divinity, the imperial family is supposed to mirror a "modern, democratic, middle-class Japan." Now we are being saturated with news stories about the royal family as if they lived in the neighboring apartment complex, or the three-generation house next door.

The Empress Michiko is portrayed as a "commoner" who raised her own children and "assumed some of the typical duties of a housewife." Princess Masako, a "Harvard educated woman who gave up her career to settle down and have a family," is held up as a role model for women who are increasingly postponing marriage and having children. This is the borrowed womb, and good wife/wise mother recast for the 21st century.

The police crackdown on high school girls hanging out in Shibuya and Ikebukuro [districts of Tokyo], the media smear campaign against young women, labeling them as selfish "parasite singles," the stigma and laws against illegitimate children, the one surname per family rule, the refusal to give pensions to divorced women, the cutting of subsidies for single mothers are all frontal assaults against women in an attempt to bolster the sanctity of the nuclear family for the "good of the nation."

With the lowest birthrate of almost any nation, the population agency in the Health, Labour and Welfare Ministry has been working overtime, churning out scare stories that within 100 years the population of Japan would not even fill the Tokyo Dome [baseball park]. A recent survey found that more than half the women in their 20s are not married, and have no plans to do so, prompting Cabinet Secretary "Japan must go



Resurgent militarism: minesweeper leaves for Persian Gulf in 1991, first Japanese military mission abroad since WW II.



Ethan Hoffman



Reuters

In deeply chauvinist Japan, fight for women's rights is key to workers struggle. At left, hostesses bow to businessman at Tokyo reception. At right, Japanese nurses protest in 1993.

nuclear" Fukuda to promote the recent marriage of teenage pop diva Utada Hikaru by saying, "We want lots of people to get married and have many children" (BBC, 6 September).

Responding to the government's hysteria, the local government of Aji, a small town in Kagawa Prefecture, has started organizing *omiai* [marriage introductions] to deal with its dwindling population. Chibu in Shimane Prefecture was the first village to begin a "cash for babies" program. In the early 1990s they began offering ten calves to every farming family that had a child. Around the same time, Kawano in Fukui Prefecture instituted its "give birth and nurture incentive program," which offers ¥100,000 for the first and second children, ¥1 million for the third and a whopping ¥1.5 million for each subsequent child. The program notes that if a couple "produces" 15 children, they would be entitled to more than ¥19 million. We note, that is, if the couple can find the energy to do so after being almost *karoshi*-ed [overworked] to death, and if they can find the privacy for those few moments of intimacy that are so sorely lacking for most families in this country. Not surprisingly, the instigator of this program, which is reminiscent of World War II campaign slogans to procreate, was formerly in the *kempeitai* [prewar military thought-police].

The JCP jumped on this reactionary baby bandwagon in 1999 when they announced that a high birthrate is an index of social equality for women. The next year they noted that their "proposal for economic reforms to correct 'capitalism without rules' is closely connected with the task of overcoming the 'low birthrates'" ("Draft Resolution of the 22nd Congress of the Japanese Communist Party," 2000). We wonder whether their next step will be to hand out "medals for motherhood," just like Joseph Stalin did.

Decisions concerning whether to marry or not, to have children or not, the sex of one's companion or who one sleeps with are individual and consensual matters, and none of the government's nor the JCP's business. What is needed is the teaching of reproductive biology in the schools; education on AIDS; free, safe birth control for all who want it; free, 24-hour daycare centers and nursing care for the elderly; free education and a living stipend for all students; and affordable housing. These are transitional demands, most of which will not be met under capitalism, but are a

bridge between today's conditions and the consciousness of wide layers of the working class which lead to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat.

Women's Oppression and Class Society

Women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the family and has been a feature of all class societies. The family is a key social unit for the maintenance of capitalism. For the capitalists, the family provides the basis for passing on accumulated wealth. And where there is no property to pass on, the institutionalized family serves to raise the next generation of workers, care for the sick and aged, and instill conservative social values and obedience to authority. It is the family—and the necessity to control sexual access to the woman to ensure that the man knows who his real heir is—which generates the morality codified in and reinforced by religion. It is the family that throughout a woman's life gives definition to her oppressed state: as daughter, as wife, as mother. As 19th century revolutionary Friedrich Engels wrote in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884): "The overthrow of mother right was the world historical defeat of the female sex. The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and became a mere instrument for the production of children."

Engels went on to explain that "the first premise for the emancipation of women is the reintroduction of the entire female sex into public industry." For genuine communists, the rate of women's participation in the labor force is a real index of their social status, and the higher the better. We understand and appreciate that the social conditions under which working people live are determined in struggle against the capitalist class. The fight for the full integration of women into the workforce is literally a life and death question for the Japanese working class, which is either unemployed, literally working itself to death, or committing *karojisatsu* [suicide brought on by too much overtime]. Women and minority and immigrant laborers are a key ally in the fight for a shorter workweek. Among the results of a union misleadership that won't fight for women's rights are weak unions that don't defend any of their members and an uncontested misogynist climate in society as a whole. The leadership of

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Statement of the International Communist League

Defend Iraq Against U.S. and Allied Imperialist Attack!

Down With the UN Starvation Blockade!

The following statement was issued on October 23.

U.S. imperialism is leading the world to war. Tens of thousands of American and British troops are getting positioned for a full-scale attack on Iraq, while other powers from Australia to Turkey elbow each other for a role in the slaughter and a share of the loot. The White House has already revealed plans for a post-Saddam Hussein military occupation of Iraq. Look at the war chest of nuclear weapons the U.S. has and threatens to use today and it's clear that the fate of life on this planet is threatened by the continued existence of this imperialist order.

In the war against Iraq, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) clearly takes a side: We stand for the military defense of Iraq without giving a milligram of political support to the Saddam Hussein regime. Hussein is a bloody oppressor of Iraqi workers, leftists, Shi'ite Muslims, the Kurdish people and others. As such, he was a close ally and client of U.S. imperialism for two decades before he made a grab for Kuwait in 1990. Now the U.S. wants a more pliant regime and tighter control of the oil spigot, not least to put economic rivals like Japan and Germany, who are more dependent on Near East oil, on rations. With its renewed saber rattling over North Korea, Washington makes clear that that country will be next on its hit list in the event of an easy win in Iraq. The fact that the imperialists have not already threatened to bomb North Korea in response to news that it may be developing a nuclear capability only underlines that nuclear weapons are the sole guarantor of a country's sovereignty in today's world. Every victory for the imperialists in their predatory wars encourages further military adventures; every setback serves to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed.

The colossal military advantage of the United States against neocolonial Iraq—a country which has already been bled white through 12 years of UN sanctions which have killed more than 1.5 million civilians—underscores the importance of *class struggle* in the imperialist centers as the chief means to give content to the call to defend Iraq. Every strike, every labor mobilization against war plans, every mass protest against attacks on workers and minorities, every struggle against domestic repression and against attacks on civil liberties represents a dent in the imperialist war drive. To put an end to war once and for all, the capitalist system that breeds war must be swept away through a



Workers Vanguard

Washington, D.C., October 26: Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent organized by Spartacist League/U.S. and Spartacus Youth Clubs cut against pro-Democratic Party politics of demonstration organizers.

series of revolutions and the establishment of a rational, planned, egalitarian socialist economy on a world scale. *Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack!*

The extent to which Washington's allies in the United Nations, especially Germany, have openly criticized the Bush administration's rabid provocations in the Near East is a measure of the growth of tensions among the imperialist powers in recent years. But while objecting to the rudeness of an American cowboy boot on their necks, all the subordinate imperialist states will acquiesce to the diktats of the master of capitalist ruling classes, U.S. imperialism, because they lack the might to oppose the U.S. and they want to be rewarded with at least a share of the spoils. As an official for the French oil company TotalFinaElf bluntly stated, "We want the oil and we want to be in the game of rebuilding the country. If there were a new regime and we have not been with the Americans, where will we be?"

War: The Continuation of Politics by Other Means

The American ruling class cynically manipulated the grief and horror felt by millions at the criminal and demented attack on the World Trade Center to wage war on Afghanistan. But the patriotic consensus in the U.S. is wearing thin, and elsewhere there is massive opposition to a war against Iraq. War demands civil peace, and from Los Angeles



Le Bolchevik



SC photo

Above left, French Trotskyists at October 12 Paris protest oppose racist cop terror, call for class struggle against French capitalists and for defense of Iraq. Above right, Trotskyist League contingent on November 17 demonstration in Vancouver denounces UN starvation blockade.

to London the imperialist warmakers are revealed as vicious domestic union-busters and strikebreakers. Declaring that a strike could “threaten national security,” the Bush administration has brought down the force of the capitalist state to coerce the powerful American dockers union, the ILWU, to work under the dictates of the union-busting employers association. Across the seas, British firefighters are threatened with strikebreaking by the army. Plunging stock markets rob millions of workers of their pensions while public scandals expose insatiable corporate greed. Tens of thousands of working people, including the entire workforce at a number of Fiat plants in Italy, face a future of being chopped off like a gangrenous limb by owners seeking to protect their own profit margins amid the capitalist economic crisis. Civil liberties have been shredded and the capitalists have intensified their assault on social welfare and other gains wrested through decades of workers struggles.

Everywhere, the anti-immigrant witchhunt has been whipped up to fever pitch in an effort by the capitalist rulers to deflect working-class struggle with racism and xenophobia. The anti-immigrant hysteria provokes a tide of blood as *thousands* of desperate refugees die trying to cross the U.S. border from Mexico or to land a rickety boat in Australia or Europe. Having brought in large numbers of immigrants when their labor was needed, in the face of recession the bourgeoisies of West Europe do not need more immigrants as a supply of cheap labor. All this shows clearly that the capitalist system is the biggest threat to working people everywhere. A decade ago, the rulers crowed about the supposed “death of communism.” But capitalism has brought the world to an impasse which the Iraq war illuminates with the terrifying glare of missiles streaking across a night sky. The fight for authentic communism (not its Stalinist perversion) through the instrumentality of revolutionary workers parties is the only way forward.

In the U.S., not even dizzying flag-waving or the heavy fist of state repression has induced the masses to embrace war with Iraq. In Europe, hundreds of thousands of workers and anti-imperialist youth have demonstrated their opposi-

tion to this war. The problem is that the antiwar protests in Europe have all been channeled into a national-chauvinist direction of getting one’s “own” rulers to stand up to the Americans. In the U.S., antiwar liberals and leftists bleat, “Money for jobs, not for war” and so fuel the lie that fundamental priorities of the capitalist rulers can be altered to serve the interests of working people.

The truth is that this whole capitalist system is based on the extraction of profit for the owners of the means of production through the exploitation and subjugation of the workers who produce the wealth of society. War is a concentrated expression of this, as competing capitalist ruling classes scramble to steal natural resources and to carve out new markets for export of capital and fresh sources of cheap labor. The leader of the Russian Revolution, V.I. Lenin, emphasized the difference between *bourgeois pacifism*, which lulls the masses into passivity and embellishes capitalist “democracy,” and the yearning for peace by the masses. Following the outbreak of the first interimperialist world war, Lenin wrote:

“At the present time, the propaganda of peace unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action can only sow illusions and demoralise the proletariat, for it makes the proletariat believe that the bourgeoisie is humane, and turns it into a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of a so-called democratic peace being possible without a series of revolutions is profoundly erroneous.”

—“The Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad”
(February 1915)

In wars between the imperialist predators and plunderers and their colonial and semicolonial victims, the proletariat has a side. As Lenin stressed in his 1915 pamphlet *Socialism and War*: “If tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on [Tsarist] Russia, and so on, these would be ‘just,’ and ‘defensive’ wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slave-holding and

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predatory "Great" Powers."

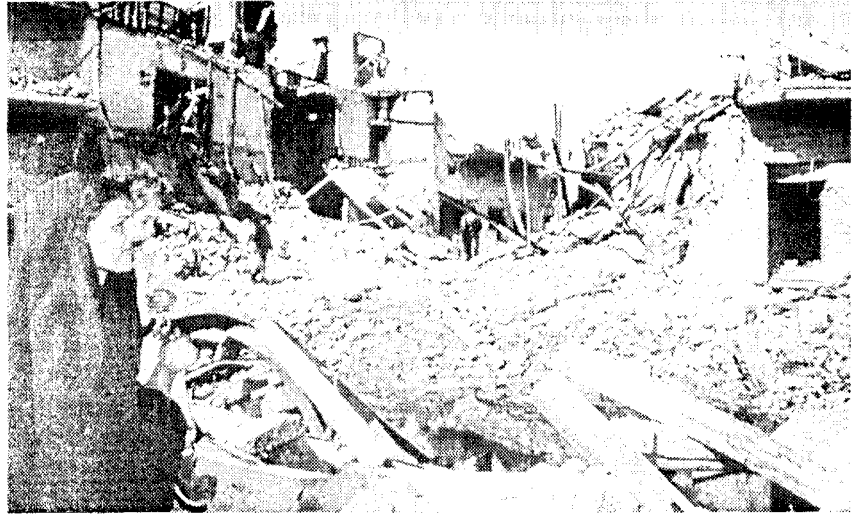
There are palpable opportunities to organize class-struggle opposition to imperialist war and to break the narrow nationalist and economist limits of strikes contained by labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. During the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia, Italian COBAS unions organized a one million strong political general strike against the war. Fiat workers, who today battle plant closings in Italy, organized a campaign of material aid—a campaign which all sections of the ICL actively supported—for their class brothers and sisters at the Yugoslav Zastava car plant, which had been bombed by the imperialists. Last year, Japanese dock workers at Sasebo pointed the way forward by "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) Japanese military goods destined for the war in Afghanistan. Today, courageous Turkish workers at the U.S. airbase in Incirlik, which is planned to be a major launching pad for the Iraq war, threaten a strike.

What's essential is to draw a class line and unshackle the working people and anti-imperialist youth from bourgeois politicians, their agents in the trade unions and their left servants, who seek to channel justified hatred of war into illusory calls for parliamentary reforms of the profit-driven system that breeds war and, in West Europe, into support for their own national bourgeoisie against the Americans. In the heart of the imperialist beast, the Spartacist League/U.S., American section of the ICL, has pointed the way forward with revolutionary internationalist contingents in the antiwar protests. We demand: *For class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade! All U.S./UN/imperialist troops out of the Persian Gulf and the Near East!*

Bush Doctrine: Nuclear Top Cops of the World

In September, the Bush administration released its "National Security Strategy," a diplomatic bombshell enshrining the principle of "pre-emptive" war, including with nuclear weapons, against anyone who steps in America's way and avowing that no power will ever catch up with the huge military advantage the U.S. has amplified since the Soviet Union was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. (The U.S. military budget is now greater than that of the next 19 countries combined.) This threat is directed first and foremost against China, as well as against America's imperialist rivals. The new policy represents a significant shift from how America has dominated the world since it emerged triumphant over its rivals in the first and second imperialist world wars. For decades, the U.S. has wrapped its outright brigandage in the guise of "democracy" and "liberating" people from "dictatorship." The United Nations often served as the "humanitarian" fig leaf for the terror and destruction of U.S. imperialism worldwide, from the 1950-53 Korean War to the starvation blockade of Iraq.

Complaints by European social democrats and fake leftists about American "unilateralism" do not represent any *class* opposition to U.S. imperialism, merely the squeals of less powerful states and their apologists who want a bigger cut of the take and would prefer to be treated less rudely.



Baghdad neighborhood destroyed by U.S. missile attack in 1997.

Their maneuvers in the UN are essentially power plays to squeeze the U.S. a bit for their own rival national interests. Lenin called the UN's predecessor, the League of Nations, a "den of thieves," and the UN serves that purpose today: regulating global disputes within the framework determined by the most powerful imperialist powers, covering all its maneuvers as "peace" missions. Now the U.S. feels confident to drop this mask and snarl an overt "Roll over, or you could be next." And they do roll over, acquiescing to exempting the American military from international war crimes tribunals and to U.S. appeals to Iraqis to assassinate their head of state!

The White House policy change is not merely semantic nor an absence of diplomatic niceties. This is the shape of the "new world order" emerging from the demise of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was the homeland of the October Revolution of 1917, the world's first and, to date, only victorious workers revolution. The exploitative capitalist system was overthrown and replaced by a planned, collectivized economy. Yet in the absence of socialist revolutions in Germany and other advanced industrial countries, the young workers state remained impoverished and encircled by hostile imperialist powers, and the Soviet workers themselves were politically expropriated by a conservative bureaucratic caste, akin to the labor bureaucracy which sits atop the trade unions in capitalist countries. Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution, fought the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin and struggled to return the Soviet Union to the road of revolutionary internationalism. In 1933, Trotsky called for a political revolution to oust the bureaucracy, while continuing to insist that it was the duty of the proletariat internationally to militarily defend the world's first workers state from internal or external attempts at capitalist restoration.

Despite Stalinist deformation, the Soviet Union represented the industrial and military powerhouse for every state that overthrew capitalist rule, from Vietnam to Cuba. Without Soviet military might to stay its hand, U.S. imperialism has been riding roughshod over and expanding its military presence on every continent and on every sea. Interimperialist rivalries that were usually subordinated to the common cause of destroying the Soviet Union have now come to the fore. The re-election of German chancellor Gerhard Schröder on the basis of his anti-American stance in the Iraq



Iraqi women demonstrate in 1998 against United Nations sanctions that have led to deaths of more than one and a half million people.

conflict, the first time since the end of World War II that capitalist Germany has expressed overt opposition to a major American military-strategic policy, is one indication of the widening rift in the imperialist camp. Japan's wooing of North Korea in September in defiance of Bush's aim to starve and quarantine that "rogue state" is another. Mexican president Fox, who wants to be Bush's man in Latin America, can't even get a diplomatic crumb tossed from Washington's table for his services rendered. During the 1991 Gulf War, Germany and Japan alone paid over 25 percent of the cost of the war, with other U.S. allies (like Saudi Arabia) covering almost all of the rest. Yet Schröder vows not to pay a pfennig this time, and Japan has made clear it does not intend to contribute either. The deepening world economic recession is exacerbating tensions between the West Europeans, the United States and Japan. Economic trade wars between and within the rival blocs for larger shares of the world market will ultimately lead to military conflicts.

Today the U.S. has its sights set on holding and grabbing more of the oil wealth of the Near East, but the ultimate prize it wants is China. Emboldened by capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, the U.S. is mounting military pressure on China—from the expansion of U.S. bases in the Philippines to new bases on the Afghan border. At the same time, the U.S. and other imperialists, as well as overseas Chinese capitalists, promote incursions of the capitalist market in "Special Economic Zones" for free-market exploitation in the heart of the Chinese deformed workers state. China is one of seven potential targets in the cross hairs of U.S. plans for a *nuclear first strike*, as laid out in the "Nuclear Posture Review" issued by the Pentagon earlier this year. Nonetheless, the miserable Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy endorsed the U.S. "war on terror" in Afghanistan. As well, elements of the bureaucracy seek to become a new capitalist ruling class, assisting the economic penetration of China by the imperialists and the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie. The terrible reversal of human progress by every measure, from infant mortality to life expectancy to literacy, since capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and East Europe is a warning to the Chinese working masses that a sellout to the "free world" means a free fall into capitalist exploitation and misery—and so much the more so for China, with its vast expanses of eco-

nomie backwardness. The gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which lifted China from the yoke of imperialist domination, ended the enslavement of women and vastly improved the conditions of life of the worker and peasant masses through the creation of a planned, collectivized economy, are at risk. We Trotskyists fight for the *unconditional military defense* of China—as well as North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies which undermine the workers states.

The ICL threw every resource at its disposal into the fight to stop capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, and earlier in East Germany. We sought to reimplant the authentic communism of Lenin's Bolsheviks, and to bring to the working class Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the contradictory character of the deformed workers states, in order to build revolutionary internationalist parties as the instrument to defend the old gains and conquer new ones. We did not succeed, but the bitter result of capitalism's victory—a far more dangerous world of unbridled imperialist exploitation and war—makes the struggles at hand all the more urgent and steels our resolve. In contrast, virtually the entire "left" howled along with the imperialist wolves in backing the forces of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. In so doing they expressed their rapprochement with their national bourgeoisies. Thus it is not surprising that, reflecting growing differences among the major capitalist powers, these "leftists" went on to act as "human rights" drummer boys for their imperialist rulers against Serbia in 1999 and today adopt an "antiwar" posture which is nothing but pink window-dressing on the national interests of their own capitalist ruling classes.

Fake Left Marches to the Beat of Their Own Capitalist Rulers

It is correct to oppose American imperialism, but to promote the idea that the European imperialists are more benevolent and progressive than their American rival is nothing but vile social-chauvinism. Yet this is precisely the counterfeit currency of the European "left." Thus the Italian Rifondazione Comunista (RC), the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Workers Power (WP), among a raft of others, signed a call "To All Citizens of Europe and to All Their Representatives" which proclaims:

"Those who show solidarity with the people of Iraq have no hearing in the White House. But we do have the chance to influence European governments—many of whom have opposed the war. We call on all the European heads of state to publicly stand against this war, whether it has UN backing or not, and to demand that George Bush abandon his war plans."

What a poignant appeal to the German bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, to the French imperialists who soaked Algeria in blood, to the British who pillaged the Indian subcontinent and carved up the Near East and whose imperialist troops enforce brutal repression of the Catholics in Northern Ireland! How about today's minor players, like the Belgians, whose colonial occupation of the Congo was unrivaled in brutality, or the Dutch, who subjugated Indonesia and also

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engaged in an intercontinental slave trade? Let's not forget it was the Italian bourgeoisie which set up concentration camps in Libya and which used poison gas against the Ethiopian population. Moreover, this bloody colonial past paved the way for the murderous repression of dark-skinned immigrants by West Europe's rulers today, from the racist *Rasterfahndung* (a computerized system for racial profiling of mainly Muslim immigrants) in Germany to the institutionalized racist cop terror of France's "Vigipirate" campaign, Italy's drowning of boatloads of Albanian refugees, Britain's deportations of asylum-seekers, and on and on.

Perhaps the "leftist" signatories of the above-quoted statement feel their imperialist masters "owe" them one. After all, they *did* help install the reactionary governments in place across Europe. The British SWP declared itself "over the moon" when Bush's poodle Tony Blair first became prime minister. The French LCR vigorously campaigned "in the streets and at the polling booths" to "stop Le Pen" and install the right-wing Gaullist Jacques Chirac. The German Cliffite group Linksruck helped put Schröder, who seized on the Balkans War to become the first man to roll Bundeswehr tanks out of Germany since Adolf Hitler, back in office as an anti-American "peace" candidate. Italian RC leader Bertinotti talks out of the left side of his mouth about a "European general strike for peace" (conspicuously excluding the American workers), while simultaneously appealing to the European heads of state, including the right-wing, fascist-allied Berlusconi, to oppose the war. In effect, Bertinotti calls for a "strike for peace" by capitalist governments. *Proposta* and Falcemartello (the Italian offshoot of the British Grantites), nestled inside RC, refuse to take a side to *defend Iraq* and promote mobilizations against U.S. military bases in Italy without addressing Italian imperialism. Indeed, *Proposta* supported the previous RC/"Ulivo" government which invaded Albania in 1997. In cyberspace, Workers Power and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) calls to "defend Iraq," but on the streets of Britain they campaigned for Tony Blair, who wages war on Iraq. Workers Power openly campaigned for

the defeat of Serbia by the Kosovo Liberation Army—tool of NATO imperialism in the Balkans War—and turned up at a London demonstration which featured the call "Good luck NATO!" WP also issued the demented proclamation that "in the aftermath of NATO's victory in Kosova, a pre-revolutionary situation is maturing" ("The Fight to Overthrow Milosevic in Serbia," 11 August 1999 LRCI statement).

In Britain, the Cliffite SWP froths mightily against "Bush's war," yet it supported the entry of British imperialist troops into Northern Ireland in 1969 and still can't bring itself to call for their immediate unconditional withdrawal! While occasionally denouncing the United Nations in their newspapers, various international affiliates of the Cliff tendency make up the right wing of the antiwar movement and criminally build illusions in the UN, whose sanctions against Iraq are *a murderous act of war*. In 1990-91, the SWP built the Committee to Stop the War in the Gulf headed by Tony Benn, who supported UN sanctions. Now Linksruck has published a petition on its Web page demanding: "We appeal to the German Federal Government with much concern: To do everything possible in the framework of the UN in response to the U.S.A. to avoid the threatened war!"

In Australia, the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) announces in its 4 October issue of *Socialist Worker* that it backs the Victorian Peace Network (VPN), an antiwar confab which states, "UN resolutions on disarmament and human rights will only work if they are applied equally, without fear or favour. All the nuclear powers and all Middle East states must abolish their stocks of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons." This is an openly pro-imperialist call for the *disarmament of Iraq* in the face of impending U.S./British attack. As for the imperialists, they will only be disarmed when they are expropriated by victorious workers revolutions. Clinging to the coattails of liberals like the VPN, the ISO ends up again in the camp of the imperialists.

Similarly, the Marcyite Workers World Party (WWP) in the United States talks a little more left in its newspaper but in practice dedicates its efforts to subordinating the antiwar movement to capitalist politicians in the Democratic Party of war and racism. The WWP promotes Ramsey Clark, who was top cop under the Vietnam War administration of Lyndon Johnson and today demands that U.S. imperialism "lead



Fremson/NY Times



Reuters

Above left, Jenin after Israeli attack in April. At right, fascist Zionist settlers rampage in Hebron in July.

us on the road to peace”!

U.S. military bases across Europe and Asia, as well as high-tech spy installations such as Australia's Pine Gap, have become deserving targets of antiwar protests by leftists and trade unions. It would be a good thing if the U.S. were deprived of its international launching pads for war against Iraq. For all of German chancellor Schröder's electioneering against war in Iraq, it is highly unlikely that he will interfere in any way with the key American air bases and military installations across Germany which house some 70,000 American troops. What we need is not an “antiwar movement” of social-chauvinist support to one's “own” bourgeoisie, but a revolutionary proletarian and internationalist opposition to the U.S./NATO bases. The Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the ICL, calls for the immediate withdrawal of all German troops from the Balkans, Afghanistan and the Near East. And while much of the left campaigned for imperialist intervention in East Timor in 1999, the Spartacist League/Australia opposed the Australian military presence there from the outset.

The French Lutte Ouvrière (LO) group appears to have set itself apart from the swamp and even denounced “the total hypocrisy of the European states regarding the escalation of Bush's warmongering” (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 6 September). Yet LO offers *no* perspective for any class-struggle fight against war, much less against the domestic reflection of this war drive: an escalation of police-state terror against immigrants, *sans-papiers* (undocumented immigrants) and “second generation” youth. LO has swung wildly in recent months, from grotesque support to cop “strikes” and calls for *more* cops in poor neighborhoods to opposing police brutality. Yet where LO is consistent is precisely in their steadfast refusal to fight for anything but the most narrow economic demands in the proletariat. Incredibly, in months of LO factory leaflets you can not find one word against anti-immigrant racism, but plenty of their perpetual reformist babble about “banning layoffs.” Thus LO does its bit to tie workers to their exploiters with the lie that the capitalist system can somehow be regulated under a “good” government to be humane.

In Lenin's classic antiwar primer *Socialism and War*, written in 1915 in the crucible of World War I, he wrote:

“Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same politico-ideological content—class collaboration instead of the class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's ‘own’ government in its embarrassed situation, instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments so as to advance the revolution.”

Indeed, the pseudo-Marxists' support to their own rulers as somehow more moral and humane than the American bourgeoisie is the same argument used by the German Social Democrats as “justification” for “defense of the fatherland” and voting war credits to the Kaiser in 1914. This renunciation of the fundamental Marxist perspective of class vs. class—encapsulated in the clarion call of the *Communist Manifesto* “Workingmen of all countries, unite!”—impelled Lenin to rip off the dirty shirt of the Second International and build a new, Communist, Third International. The betrayal by the Social Democrats made Lenin realize that opportunism had a material base in the workers movement itself, particularly in the trade-union officialdom which tied its fortunes to the capitalist system. Lenin's greatest contribution to Marxism was his conclusion that a decisive *split* from the opportunists was the *precondition* for the prole-



Novosti

Soldiers march through Moscow under banner of communism in 1917. October Revolution pulled Russia out of the carnage of World War I, inspired exploited and oppressed around the world.

ariat to fight for its own class interests and its own class rule. Contrast this understanding with the base opportunism of groups like Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers International, headed by the British Socialist Party, which may occasionally make orthodox-sounding statements about capitalism being the root cause of war but is wedded to support to social democrats like the German Party of Democratic Socialism.

Lenin explains in *Socialism and War*:

“Today *unity* with the opportunists *actually* means subordinating the working class to their ‘own’ national bourgeoisie, and an alliance with the latter for the purpose of oppressing other nations and of fighting for dominant-nation privileges; it means *splitting* the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.”

He concludes that the task at hand is:

“To rally these Marxist elements, however small their numbers may be at the outset; to reanimate, in their name, the now forgotten ideals of genuine socialism, and to call upon the workers of all lands to break with the chauvinists and rally about the old banner of Marxism—such is the task of the day.”

Near East Trip Wire for Nuclear War

In order to fully and effectively mobilize the workers and rural toilers of Iraq against American imperialism, it is necessary that the Iraqi regime be overthrown and replaced by a government of workers and peasants councils (soviets) such as was established by the 1917 Russian Bolshevik Revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. A Leninist-Trotskyist party in Iraq today would thus seek to combine the struggle for national independence against American militarism with a social revolution against the Iraqi capitalists and landlords. Arab leaders throughout the Near East fear that a U.S. invasion of Iraq will ignite social turmoil in their own countries. Meanwhile, Israel continues to pound the Palestinians, shattering every building block of society in the Occupied Territories and posing the very real possibility of mass expulsion of the Palestinian people. It is the U.S.-led war on Iraq that would provide the “cover” for Sharon's genocidal plans. Turkey fears that the destruction of the Saddam Hussein

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ICL Statement...

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regime could incite struggle by the oppressed Kurdish people in Iraq—and Turkey—for their national rights. The Near East is a patchwork of artificial states whose borders were literally drawn by the imperialists to suit their colonial appetites, including control of vital oil reserves.

Imperialist domination has *reinforced* social backwardness and the brutal repression of women, of homosexuals, of national, ethnic and religious minorities in the Near East. Not least, it was U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet "holy war" in Afghanistan in the 1980s which, along with the bankruptcy of Arab nationalism and the nationalist betrayals of the Stalinist Communist parties, helped fuel the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the Near East. Where much of the rest of the left marched in lockstep behind the imperialists and against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, uniquely we took a side *with the Red Army* against the CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries. The Soviet presence brought the hope of liberation to the Afghan peoples, especially the women enslaved by Islamic law and the veil. We proclaimed: Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples! We opposed Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal from Afghanistan and presciently warned of the impulse it would give to counterrevolution, noting "It's better to fight in Afghanistan than in Moscow."

In urban centers throughout the Near East, there is a modern industrial proletariat which has the social power and class interest to transcend ethnic and religious division and sweep away the capitalist order. The task is to render the proletariat conscious of its interests, combatting all variants of nationalism, including the "progressive" nationalism of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and all manner of religious fundamentalism. The key is forging a revolutionary leadership based on Trotsky's program of permanent revolution, which teaches: "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leaders of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses" (*The Permanent Revolution*, 1929).

Trotsky stressed that "the subsequent fate of the [proletarian] dictatorship and socialism depends in the last analysis not only and not so much upon the national productive forces as upon the development of the international socialist revolution." Today in the Near East, the struggle against imperialist war and domination and against oppressive capitalist rule by the despotic sheiks, colonels and Zionist rulers cannot be resolved within the confines of a single country. Justice for the Palestinian people, national emancipation for the Kurds, freedom from the veil and *sharia* (Islamic law) for women, require sweeping away the medieval fundamentalists in Iran and Sudan, the bloody butchers in Syria and Iraq, the reactionary monarchies in Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, and the kill-crazy Zionist rulers of Israel. ***U.S./NATO and all imperialist forces out of the Near East! Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinian people! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! For a socialist federation of the Near East!***

These struggles must be linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe,



AP

U.S. longshoremen picket near Los Angeles during coast-wise lockout last fall.

North America and Japan. Throughout the imperialist centers, immigrant workers and their children represent a living bridge linking class struggle between the metropolis and the former colonies and linking racially oppressed immigrants to the power of the proletariat as a whole. A struggle against war and against national and racial oppression cannot be waged through the politics of compromise pushed by the social democrats, the ex-Stalinists and their so-called "far left" tails. The struggle against war presupposes a revolutionary instrument of struggle, an internationalist Trotskyist party. This is the task to which the International Communist League is dedicated.

The vast machinery of death in the hands of the imperialists is a measure of the enormous scientific and technological progress made possible by the Industrial Revolution. Today, science and technology are centrally deployed to advance the bourgeoisie's untrammled pursuit of profit through grinding exploitation of the overwhelming mass of the world's population and threaten the very existence of human civilization. Turning science and technology to the benefit of humanity requires wresting the means of production from the hands of the capitalist imperialist rulers and creating an international planned economy. Only in this way can the needs of the billions of toilers now consigned to dreadful and stultifying poverty begin to be met and the threat of war ended once and for all. ***Only socialist revolution can end imperialist war—Reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!*** ■

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Class Struggle...

(continued from page 1)

clear, revolutionary alternative to the widespread illusion that popular protest can actually stop war. Our contingents aggressively engaged in struggle against such illusions which, infused with reactionary Canadian nationalism, are actively fostered by the very forces now leading "the movement." Notably, a leaflet by the International Socialists (I.S.) distributed in Toronto on November 16 was headlined "Don't let Chrétien back this war!" As if the imperialist rulers of this country really were on the people's leash, to be brought to heel with a sharp tug!

Even more outrageous was the mobilizing leaflet put out by Vancouver's November 17th Peace Coalition, endorsed by the I.S., the Communist Party, the Worker-Communist Party of Iran/Iraq and the NDP. It sported a big red Maple Leaf, the emblem of Canadian bourgeois nationalism and its "values"—like anti-Quebec chauvinism, anti-Native bigotry and xenophobic anti-immigrant racism. An early version of the leaflet called on militants to unite in action with, among others, business owners! Even a federal Liberal cabinet minister and former B.C. deputy attorney-general, Stephen Owen, felt comfortable endorsing a "peace coalition" like this one!

On November 17, the revolutionary internationalists marched in sharp opposition to such open nationalist appeals for class collaboration. Our efforts drove official protest organizers to distraction. When our Vancouver comrades raised the slogan "Canadian peacekeeping is a lie: it means sanctions, bombs and spies!" incensed social democrats, including at least one supporter of the Communist Party, tried to shove their way into the contingent, grabbing at the bullhorn.

Building the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents in the weeks leading up to November 16-17 meant, first and foremost, politically counterposing them to the antiwar posturing of the pro-capitalist New Democrats, who are now claiming to be the "peace party" that always opposed the UN's murderous sanctions against Iraq. When NDP "leftist" Svend Robinson tried to push this demonstrable lie at a UBC meeting on November 7, a student from the Vancouver Spartacus Youth Club nailed him. Quoting NDP leaders from the time of the first Gulf War a decade ago, the comrade proved that the NDP had *demand*ed sanctions as an "alternative" to war.

In fact, a key political goal of the November 16-17 protest organizers was to provide the biggest audience possible for NDP speakers. The exception was in Quebec, where the NDP is despised for its Anglo chauvinism. The November 17 demonstration in Montreal was organized by the nationalist Quebec union tops. It was therefore heavily working-class in composition, including several thousand in organized union contingents. But it was no less dominated by pro-capitalist illusions—including demands that Ottawa "firmly condemn" war against Iraq—than the protests in English Canada.

For the reformist left in English Canada, building the NDP as the natural leaders of the "peace movement"



SC photo

Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents offered rallying point for youth opposed to oppressive Canadian capitalism.

required some characteristically shameless groveling and truth-avoidance. On October 24, members of the I.S. sat in respectful silence when NDP leadership hopeful Joe Comartin approvingly told a meeting of their Toronto Committee Against War and Sanctions on Iraq that foreign minister Bill Graham's position on war with Iraq was "pretty much on line." And at the November 16 demonstration, when Ontario NDP MPP Marilyn Churley hypocritically denounced UN sanctions and praised the Archbishop of Canterbury for his antiwar stance, they all cheered wildly.

In contrast to such cynicism in pursuit of "progressive" allies among the bourgeois oppressors and their social-democratic apologists, on November 16-17 our Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents fought for an independent class-struggle perspective against capitalist oppression at home and abroad. As the imperialist war drive gathers momentum, youthful militants and working people opposed to war and capitalist oppression should read and think about our mobilizing leaflet for the contingents, which is reprinted below. If you agree, get in touch with the Trotskyist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs. We have a world to win.

* * *

The American imperialist behemoth is preparing a new massacre of the Iraqi people. The U.S. nuclear cowboys are determined to assert their "right" to ride roughshod over the peoples of the world. Our opposition to this war is based on our struggle in defense of working people and the oppressed internationally against the imperialist order, in which a handful of rich and powerful states including Canada dominate the world and exploit the working masses. The Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs are building a revolutionary internationalist contingent to march in the November 16-17 antiwar demonstrations in Toronto and Vancouver based on the demands: *For class struggle against the U.S./Canadian capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade!*

The Canadian government, despite its stated preference for United Nations approval of military action, has already signaled

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Class Struggle...

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that it will back a U.S. war on Iraq. With or without UN backing, any such war will be a predatory war of conquest, while on the Iraqi side it will be a just war of national defense. Opponents of imperialist barbarism must take a side: for the military defense of neocolonial Iraq against imperialist attack, while giving no political support whatsoever to the vicious Saddam Hussein regime. Every unchallenged act of aggrandizement by the U.S. and its allies, every new easy win further emboldens them to lash out against their perceived enemies at home and abroad; any defeat of the imperialist ambitions of the U.S. and its Canadian junior partners would be in the interest of workers and the oppressed throughout the world.

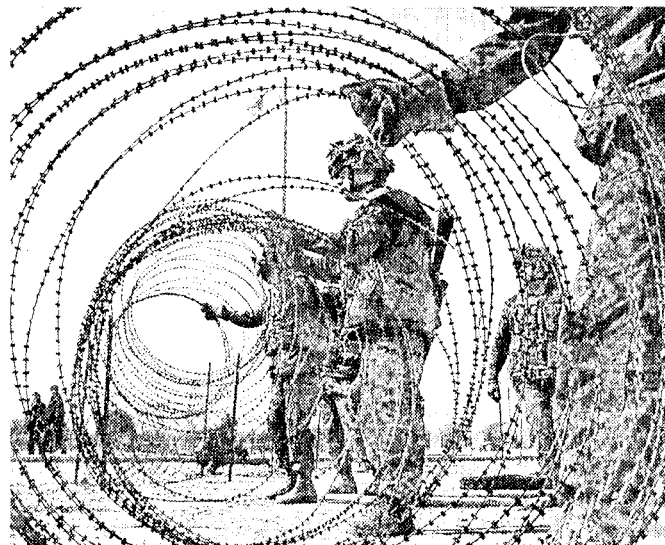
For class struggle against Canadian capitalism! We take as our starting point intransigent opposition to the Canadian capitalist rulers, Washington's loyal economic and military partners. A decade ago, Canadian imperialism was an enthusiastic participant in the first Desert Slaughter of Iraq. To this day, Canadian warships in the Persian Gulf help enforce the UN's starvation blockade, an uninterrupted *act of war* which has led to the deaths of at least 1.5 million Iraqis.

In the post-9/11 climate, in which the capitalist rulers are witchhunting entire immigrant communities and trying to outlaw any kind of dissent, it is good that thousands have come out already to protest war moves against Iraq. Those opposed to this war must look to the working class, which is the only power in society that has the ability and interest to stop it. Every strike, every labor mobilization against the war plans and attacks on workers and minorities, every mass protest in defiance of the assaults on civil liberties is a blow against the drive to war.

Without the working class the capitalist profit system cannot function, a fact amply demonstrated during the recent lockout of the IAWU longshore union in the U.S., which brought trade on the American West Coast to a halt. We look to the example of the Japanese dockworkers in Sasebo, who last year refused to handle Japanese military goods destined for use in the war against Afghanistan. We fight to build a revolutionary party that can infuse the working class with an understanding of its historic task to sweep away the capitalist order and reorganize society on an egalitarian socialist basis.

It is important that trade unions in this country including the Canadian Labour Congress have issued statements against the threatened war. Unions from the Canadian Auto Workers to the B.C. Health Employees Union and the Quebec CSQ labor central have endorsed the coming antiwar protests. But far from mobilizing the social power of organized labor against the exploiters and in defense of all victims of imperialist brutality, the union bureaucracy works to reinforce illusions in the capitalist government in Ottawa. Thus the C.L.C.'s antiwar statement calls on the Chrétien government to "intervene as a third party on the side of peace." In counterposition to the pro-capitalist labor tops, we fight for the perspective of independent labor action against the war.

Our perspective is also opposed to the liberal and social democratic politics of the official organizers of the November 16-17 protests, whose demands centrally aim at pressuring the government in Ottawa to oppose Bush's war. The Toronto Coalition Against Sanctions and War on Iraq, in which the reformist International Socialists (I.S.) are



Bernard Weil/Toronto Star

Canadian troops in Kandahar, Afghanistan. Military adventures go hand in hand with racism, austerity at home.

prominent, declares that among its goals is "To denounce Canadian policy on Iraq and to mobilize people towards a radical change of this policy." And the first demand of an I.S.-initiated model antiwar resolution for student unions is "that the Canadian government actively oppose any new war on Iraq."

Such demands amount to pleas for the Canadian rulers to act as a force for peace in opposition to their bellicose senior partners in Washington. This is made explicit by End the Arms Race (EAR), co-initiator of the Vancouver demonstration, which calls on Ottawa to "invest in the real security of Canadians" instead of preparing for war. Meanwhile the Communist Party of Canada, one of the main promoters of EAR, campaigns for an "independent Canadian foreign policy." Such faith in the alleged progressive potential of this country's rulers vis-à-vis the U.S. can only serve to channel opposition to the coming war into deadly illusions in Canadian capitalism. The rulers of capitalist Canada are vicious oppressors of the working class, immigrants, Native people, the Québécois. The enemy of working people and radical youth in this country is here at home, the Canadian capitalist class!

No illusions in the pro-capitalist NDP! The reformist left takes its cue from the NDP social democrats, building platforms for New Democrat MPs to pontificate against the UN sanctions. What hypocrisy! During the build-up to the first U.S.-led war on Iraq, the NDP demanded the enforcement of these very sanctions. In the words of then NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin, "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." Today, the NDP attacks the Liberal government from the right by demanding that another **\$1 billion** a year be spent on the "underfunded" Canadian military. We say "Not a penny, not a man for the imperialist army!" and call for all Canadian troops to get out of the Near East, Persian Gulf and Central Asia.

NDP MPs like foreign affairs spokesman Svend Robinson are chiefly concerned with opposing "unilateral" action by the U.S. and fostering illusions in the UN. The UN is nothing more than a "democratic" cover for imperialist bloodshed and plunder. It was the UN that in 1947 presided over the

partition of Palestine and the ensuing Zionist expulsion of some 700,000 Palestinians from their homes. It was under UN auspices that the imperialists waged the 1950-53 Korean War against the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states. That war claimed upwards of three million Korean lives. And it was under the UN that the first Gulf War was prosecuted.

Speaking at a Vancouver rally organized by the Campaign to End Sanctions Against the People of Iraq, also a sponsor of the November 17 demonstration in that city, Robinson called for UN weapons inspectors to get back into Iraq, adding that only if inspectors are prevented from doing their job should the UN seek a more "robust" mandate. This demand for UN weapons inspectors, echoed by some anti-war protesters, buys the lie that the biggest proliferator of weapons of mass destruction, the U.S., is concerned with anything other than expanding its rapacious rule. Weapons inspectors are nothing more than spies who in 1998 helped the U.S. and Britain pinpoint targets for bombing Iraq.

Raising demands like "Homes not bombs" (*Socialist Worker*, 23 October), the pro-NDP left poses the question as if the capitalists just need a change of priorities. But the threat of war does not spring from a bad policy that can be changed by militant popular protest. War is the concentrated expression of the brutal everyday workings of this imperialist system, which is driven by competition for sources of profits and spheres of influence between rival advanced capitalist countries. As revolutionary socialist Rosa Luxemburg noted in her 1911 speech "The Road to Peace," for the imperialist rulers to abandon militarism, they "would have to begin by disarming in the commercial and political field, by giving up predatory colonial campaigns, by abandoning the international politics of spheres of influence in all parts of the world—in a word, in their foreign as well as domestic politics, they would have to do the exact opposite of every-

thing which the nature of the present politics of the capitalist state demands."

For a revolutionary workers party! For socialist revolution! Unless the struggle against imperialist war is based on opposition to all parties and agencies of capitalist class rule, it will be manipulated by the bourgeois liberals and pro-capitalist NDP social democrats to channel discontent back into support for the very capitalist system that breeds war. The best historic model for successful proletarian struggle against war is the 1917 Russian Revolution, which brought the working class to power and pulled Russia out of World War I as the opening shot of the international proletarian struggle against all the imperialist warmongers and the rule of capital worldwide. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of this revolution, wrote:

"To condemn war is easy; to overcome it is difficult. The struggle against war is a struggle against the classes which rule society and which hold in their hands both its productive forces and its destructive weapons. It is not possible to prevent war by moral indignation, by meetings, by resolutions, by newspaper articles, and by congresses. As long as the bourgeoisie has at its command the banks, the factories, the land, the press, and the state apparatus, it will always be able to drive the people to war when its interests demand it."

—"Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (July 1932)

The Spartacus Youth Clubs, student/youth auxiliaries of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, work to train young radicals to be professional revolutionaries dedicated to building the workers party that will fight for workers rule. Only workers revolution can break the stranglehold of the imperialists around the globe and open the road to a socialist society of material abundance and genuine equality. March with the TL/LT and SYCs in the Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent on November 16-17! ■

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Japan...

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all three union federations has refused to fight against the exclusion of women and minorities from full-time employment in major industries. They also refuse to organize part-time, non-lifetime and so-called contingent workers, all of whom are predominately female. Women comprise less than 20 percent of the union membership in this country, and less than 5 percent of the executive union posts. In desperation, several separate women's unions have been formed, only further dividing and weakening the working class.

The only effective response to the capitalists' offensive is united class struggle, mobilizing the broadest ranks of labor in the interest of all workers. We fight to organize the unorganized, unionize all "non-regular," minority and immigrant workers into common industrial unions that would fight for the full integration of women into the workforce; for equal pay for equal work; and for equal access to free technical training and job upgrading.

The 1917 Russian Revolution: Committed to Full Social Equality for Women

The 1917 October Revolution was the first—and to date the only—successful socialist revolution in history. After the working class seized power in its own name led by the Bolshevik Party, the new Soviet government under Lenin and Trotsky took immediate steps to alleviate the oppression of women. The aim of the Soviet legislation was the replacement of the nuclear family as a social and economic unit through the socialization of household labor and the equalization of educational and vocational opportunities. These two goals were key to the undermining of the capitalist social order and to the construction of a new society. The government took steps toward replacing women's household drudgery by setting up cafeterias, laundries, and childcare centers to allow women to enter productive employment.

Illegitimacy was abolished in law, eliminating discrimination against children born outside of marriage and freeing mothers from the burden of a double standard which had punished them for the consequences of having had the child. Subsequent legislation declared marriage to be a contract between free and equal individuals that could be dissolved

at the request of either partner, eliminated all discrimination against homosexuals, established hundreds of institutions devoted to the care of mothers and children (at no cost), made abortion legal, free and available on demand, assured equal pay for equal work, and opened up unheard of opportunities for women in industry, the professions, the party and government. Thousands of schools were opened to women for the first time on the basis of preferential admissions. These sweeping gains were possible because the working class expropriated the property of the capitalists and established a planned, collectivized economy.

The Bolsheviks were limited in what they could actually implement in the way of replacing the functions of the family by collective social institutions in a relatively backward country, mainly peasant in its composition, which had been materially devastated by World War I and the ensuing civil war. Still, their example points the way to what could be accomplished under the rule of the proletariat in a far more economically and technologically advanced country like Japan.

The October Russian Revolution has been undone and its gains destroyed. Surrounded and pounded by the imperialists for seven decades, the Soviet Union was destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. We fought for unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution up until the very last barricade. The responsibility for the Soviet counterrevolution lies primarily with the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped political power from the working class in 1923-24 and betrayed the revolutionary purpose of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party and the revolutionary Communist International that they founded. Not the least of the Stalinists' crimes were the glorification of the family and the reversal of many gains for women. We called for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Struggle for an Egalitarian Socialist World

The woman question is a lever for revolution. The liberation of women is central to our program and we consider the question of women's participation in the revolutionary struggle as a strategic question. In short, this means that without the participation of women, without women leading and organizing the work and the struggles, the working class and its revolutionary party would fail in its historic tasks.

Liberating women from family servitude and the myriad of feudally derived traditions tied to the continued existence of the emperor system is a central task of a Japanese workers republic. The emancipation of women requires a socialist revolution and the creation of a planned economy in which women will have full access to participation in the productive forces of society, and the institution of the family will be replaced with collective childcare and housework. Marxists fight to rip the means of production out of the hands of the capitalists in order to put them at the service of the needs of the working people who create the wealth. The program of communism is for a classless society in which the family is transcended by superior sexual and social relations which will be free of moral or economic coercion. Our slogan is: "For women's liberation through socialist revolution!"

For new October Revolutions to free the working class from the tyranny of capital—and the monarchy! ■



Spartacist Japan

Japanese Trotskyists at protest against attacks on Korean minority in Japan. Signs read "For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!" and (in Korean) "Korean Workers Need a Bolshevik Party!"

OCAP...

(continued from page 4)

protest," their "movement of generalized resistance" ultimately flows back into the sterile impasse of political reform. In an article in *New Socialist* (October-November 2002), OCAP's spokesman John Clarke writes that "No concept of 'squatters' rights' has ever become part of the legal and social fabric in Canada precisely because no generalized resistance to the 'property rights' of the greedy and socially destructive has emerged." Clarke continues:

"As the numbers of under-housed and destitute people increase, the reclaiming of so precious a resource as abandoned housing is such a glaring and obvious way forward that it is almost a given that major actions along these lines lie ahead. If the scale and tenacity of such actions reaches a high enough level, governments will have to accept large scale squatting or themselves act to turn these properties into housing.

"A mass squatters' movement in Canada would be a crash course in practical anti-capitalist resistance. Their sacred 'property rights' and 'rule of law' would have to give way to the much more meaningful right of communities to act in their own defence and to win the basic human right to shelter. If we can take housing, why not banks and factories?"

The idea that the capitalists' property rights would give way to pressure from a "mass squatters movement" is a reformist fantasy. Clarke all but ignores the existence of the *capitalist state*—the heavily armed apparatus of cops, courts and prisons which regularly targets OCAP activists, and whose purpose is to protect the capitalists' property rights through repression. Seizing the banks and factories from the hands of the capitalist exploiters will require a massive struggle based on the working class—a workers revolution which will replace the capitalist state with a *workers state*.

OCAP and the Working Class

Unlike some anarchist groups which view the working class as at best a "sector" of the oppressed, OCAP often points to the potential power of organized labor, while also recognizing the betrayals of the union misleaders. During protests against a Tory convention in Toronto last March, Ontario Federation of Labour bureaucrats collaborated with the cops to isolate an OCAP-initiated demonstration. Later, an OCAP executive statement addressed this saying: "Under the present leadership, unions have become a sleeping giant and the vast power of organized labour is held back from being brought into the struggle." But OCAP has no program to overcome this obstacle.

The power to challenge the dictatorship of capital lies uniquely with the proletariat, with its strategic immigrant component. But the unions are headed by a conservative bureaucratic apparatus who are bribed with some of the crumbs from the capitalists' fabulous profits won through brutal imperialist exploitation. These pro-capitalist misleaders act to police and contain workers' struggles for the bosses. Together with their "political arm," the NDP, they carry into the working class the bourgeois poisons of racism and chauvinism and, most of all, the idea that the rule of capital is inviolable.

Our perspective is a fight within the unions for a new, anti-capitalist leadership linked to a revolutionary party. Combating the racism, anti-Quebec chauvinism and anti-woman bigotry which the rulers manipulate to divide and weaken the working class, such a party would act as a champion of all the oppressed. In the course of day-to-day strug-

gle, it would strive to make the workers conscious that they have the collective social power and historic interest to establish their own class rule.

Without a perspective of forging a revolutionary alternative to the sellout union tops and NDP, OCAP oscillates between two tactics. On the one hand, it seeks an alliance with a layer of more left-talking union bureaucrats, typified by CUPE Ontario president Sid Ryan and the CAW's Buzz Hargrove. During the Pope Squat, OCAP held press conferences with Hargrove and even NDP housing spokesman Michael Prue aimed at pressuring city and provincial governments to aid the homeless; and OCAP activists went repeatedly to City Hall to lobby local councilors and housing officials for support. On the other hand, the union bureaucracy's refusal to mobilize the working class in defense of the oppressed leads OCAP to *substitute* a strategy of "direct action" by youth and the poor for the social power of labor, when the point is to *fuse* the two.

In October 2001, OCAP organized a "snake march" to "Shut down Bay Street," aimed at disrupting Toronto's financial district. Over 2,000 mainly youthful protesters came out, defying violence-baiting media hysteria and in the face of a massive cop mobilization. Disgracefully, union bureaucrats like Hargrove, who were burying their heads in the wake of September 11, abandoned these militant youth and boycotted this action.

In the aftermath, one OCAP supporter argued that the labor movement's failure to strike in conjunction with this protest "shows that the Labor movement remains firmly in retreat or is arguably a reactionary force. As one anarchist youth put it 'It's ridiculous that the class struggle is being left to a handful of us punk-ass kids to fight in the street'" (*Northeastern Anarchist*, Fall/Winter 2001). In the next issue, another OCAP supporter argued the way forward is "Acts of direct action at the point of oppression." Both are wrong. Dismissing the labor movement as a "reactionary force" conflates the workers with their sellout misleaders, writing off the only social force with the power to actually advance the struggle of working people and the oppressed. Social power lies at the *point of production*, in the factories where the capitalists' wealth is produced.

The Fight for Revolutionary Leadership

For anyone with a gut hatred of capitalist injustice, joining an OCAP-organized action to thwart a deportation or prevent an eviction is something to be proud of. The question is how to connect these struggles with the goal of eliminating the whole system of racism, poverty and oppression. Placing the resources of society in the hands of the toiling masses requires a social revolution like that in Russia in October 1917. The workers in Russia could not have achieved this victory without a proletarian vanguard party. Lenin's Bolsheviks waged a long struggle, in periods of deep reaction as well as proletarian upheaval, to forge this party and root it in the working class. It is through the struggle to build a revolutionary party that the audacity and militancy of youth can be united with the social power of the working class.

In the founding document of the Fourth International, revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky emphasized that "The Bolshevik-Leninist stands in the front-line trenches of all kinds of struggles, even when they involve only the most modest material interests or democratic rights of the working class." We fight for demands which are in the urgent interest of the

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OCAP...

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working people and poor, such as a massive public works program to build quality housing for all. But in contrast to the reformists whose program is defined by pressuring the capitalists for reforms of the existing system, our purpose is to win workers to the understanding that they must get rid of the entire capitalist system.

Against the labor misleaders—the “left” talkers as well as open right-wingers—we fight to expose the lie that the workers and the bosses have some kind of common interest, and work to rally the proletariat in class solidarity with immigrants, minorities and the poor. An example of this perspective was provided by the February 9 labor-based mobilization in Oakland, California initiated by our co-thinkers in the U.S.

This united-front action brought together immigrant, black and white workers—including a solid core of ILWU longshoremen—as well as leftist youth and others. In building it, our comrades sought to win workers to the need to tear through the straitjacket of “national unity” promoted by the capitalist rulers and break down the poisonous racial and ethnic divisions among the oppressed that they promote. Marching through downtown Oakland, the multiracial, working-class protesters chanted: “National unity is a lie—Bosses profit, workers die!” and “Immigrant rights, black rights: Same struggle, same fight—Workers of the world unite!”

One week after the Oakland demonstration, which OCAP endorsed, a TL contingent joined a Toronto protest in defense of immigrants initiated by OCAP among others. Speaking to demonstrators gathered outside a detention center near the airport, a TL spokesman emphasized, “We have to fight now for our rights and those of our immigrant brothers and sisters,” adding:

Palestinians...

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spraying and tear-gassing at random. Nineteen protesters, including 12 students, face reprisals ranging from five-year bans to expulsion. Two face criminal prosecution. In the aftermath, the Concordia administration banned all meetings, information tables, posters and literature on the conflict in the Near East for more than two months. Riot cops were stationed outside the campus and the rector was empowered to summarily expel students who breached the ban. Ominously, this clampdown has set the stage for stifling all kinds of political dissent. On October 16, student union vice-president Yves Engler was charged with trespassing for distributing information about anti-FTAA protests. **Drop the charges against Engler and all the anti-Netanyahu protesters now! No academic reprisals!**

Zionist Smears and Provocations

On November 15, Concordia won a Quebec Superior Court injunction barring NDP MPs Svend Robinson and Libby Davies and left-wing academic Judy Rebick from addressing students on “Peace and Justice in the Middle East.” Using the double-talk of a Zionist smear campaign that aims to run tank treads over democratic rights on campuses across the country, Christine Beaudoin, the university’s lawyer, intoned: “This isn’t an issue of freedom of speech but one of violence and rioting.” The MPs went



Workers Vanguard

ILWU longshoremen at 9 February Oakland demo.

“We can’t fight with the NDP. They voted to send Canadian troops to Afghanistan, they embraced the bourgeoisie’s ‘war on terrorism,’ only asking that a ‘sunset clause’ be inserted [in the repressive Bill C-36]. In or out of power, the NDP serves to chain the workers to their oppressors. With the assistance of much of the fake-left, they channel militancy and struggle back into dead-end parliamentarism. We need a party that will stop at nothing but workers revolution, serving as a tribune of all the oppressed.”

While standing with OCAP against bourgeois repression, while joining its protests on behalf of the poor, we say: only a class-conscious proletariat can throw back the capitalist offensive, and only workers socialist revolution can finally put an end to capitalist poverty, racism and war. ■

ahead with their speeches on an adjacent sidewalk, addressing a crowd of 500 Arab and left-wing students.

Right-wing media mogul Izzy Asper (one of the key sponsors of Netanyahu’s tour) ranted that the anti-Netanyahu protesters were “thugs” comparable to “Adolf Hitler and his brownshirts.” Netanyahu himself accused the demonstrators of “supporting bin Laden” and being an example of “the mad zealotry that endangers our world.” This hue and cry is part of an orchestrated campaign to intimidate and silence opponents of Israeli state terror against the Palestinians.

This is far from limited to Concordia. The Toronto Women’s Bookstore was pilloried in the media and threatened with a boycott for selling buttons opposed to Israel’s occupation. University of Toronto professor Sherene Razack was the victim of a smear campaign by the *National Post* and B’nai Brith for circulating a petition against Israeli atrocities in the Occupied Territories. At York University, Spartacus Youth Club literature tables featuring our defense of the Palestinians have been repeatedly besieged by foam-flecked Zionists. Yet Arab and black students, at times outnumbering the Zionists, have defiantly come to our defense, buying our newspapers and expressing their solidarity.

Comparing the racially integrated, left-wing youth at Concordia with Hitler and bin Laden is obviously beyond the pale. But to the pro-Zionist forces, whose logic-chopping and outright lies are boundless, all opponents of the Israeli army’s atrocities are to be slandered as anti-Semites and supporters of terrorist suicide bombings. In attacking Professor

Razack for her solidarity with the Palestinians, B'nai Brith legal counsel David Matas expressed this vicious amalgam perfectly in stating that criticism of Israeli state terror and torture means that "the Jewish community worldwide is portrayed as a criminal people" (*National Post*, 27 August).

In fact, the garrison state of Israel is not only oppressive to the Palestinians, but is also a *death trap for Jews* who are ruled over by nuclear-armed madmen perfectly capable of annihilating everyone in the region. Meanwhile the reactionary Arab regimes use Israel's atrocities to prop up their own rule and spread anti-Semitic lies. We are intransigent defenders of the Palestinians against Zionist state terror; at the same time we are equally opposed to Arab-nationalist calls to "drive the Jews into the sea."

Against all varieties of deadly nationalism, we counterpose a program of proletarian revolutionary internationalism. The system of private property and private ownership of the means of production contains within it the components of nationalism and religion, which make impossible the settlement of the competing national claims of the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples. Only thoroughgoing socialist revolutions against the Zionist state and the dictatorial Arab regimes can bring genuine self-determination and social justice for all the peoples of the region.

Bourgeois Democracy and Bourgeois Repression

Today Concordia has a large Arab and Muslim student body, but for many decades it was a haven for Jewish students barred from Anglo upper-class McGill with its anti-Semitic quotas limiting the number of Jews. The openly anti-Semitic Canadian ruling class refused to let desperate Jewish refugees fleeing the Nazi Holocaust into Canada, declaring "None is too many." It is obscene that they now snarl that pro-Palestinian activism is anti-Semitic!

A September 11 *Globe and Mail* editorial brooded: "The sort of intolerance on display at Concordia is...also dangerous. If allowed to spread, it would undermine the Canadian experiment: a society of people from all over the world who get along, talk out their differences and are sworn to uphold a shared vision of a peaceful democracy." "Peaceful democracy"? Tell that to Canada's brutally oppressed Native people or to the Québécois jailed by Ottawa's army in the 1970 October Crisis. Tell it to the more than 100 Arabs and Muslims arbitrarily rounded up and jailed in this country in the wake of September 11.

Illusions in Canadian "values" and "democracy" are what the ruling class uses to mask its brutal, profit-driven rule. This is also the stock-in-trade of the nationalist Canadian "left," especially the NDP. It is a good thing Robinson has sought to break through the pro-Zionist consensus of the bourgeoisie and the NDP leadership. But his and Davies's speeches at Concordia were full of typical NDP appeals to "our government" and "our values," and in a subsequent *Globe and Mail* (25 November) article Robinson joined the chorus denouncing "bullies who violently denied Mr. Netanyahu the freedom to speak." In fact, the "values" prevailing in this class-divided society are those of the capitalist exploiters, with whom the exploited and oppressed can have no common interest.

Standing to the left of social democrats like Robinson and Davies is Jaggi Singh, a well-known anarchist and one of the organizers of the anti-Netanyahu protest. In the 13 September *Globe and Mail*, Singh eloquently defends the Concordia



SC photo

Barred from campus, NDP MP Svend Robinson addresses pro-Palestinian rally on street outside Concordia.

protesters, exposing the slanders against those who took a stand in defense of the Palestinians. But what program does Singh offer leftists, workers and pro-Palestinian activists for struggle against the Canadian imperialist ruling class?

Singh co-authored a "warrant," distributed the day of the demonstration, that called on the government to arrest Netanyahu on the basis of its war crimes legislation (recycling a similar petition to imprison former Indonesian dictator Suharto on his 1997 visit to Canada). After describing Netanyahu's many atrocities, this *faux* arrest warrant states that, "Legal authorities in Canada—the federal and provincial governments and their respective law enforcement agencies—are bound to uphold this warrant by virtue of federal statutes." Singh and the anarchists might claim that they were "ironically" exposing the false pretenses of the Canadian rulers. But in fact such calls feed the very illusions in Canadian imperialism that are promoted by liberals and social democrats. The racist Canadian capitalist state is the tool of class oppression: mimicking its fraudulent "human rights" rhetoric only reinforces the lie that it can be pressured to act on behalf of the oppressed at home and abroad.

The horrors to which the Palestinians have been subjected have galvanized angry protest around the world. Yet many of these protests are aimed at calls on the United Nations or some wing of the imperialists to intervene. Any such intervention would be aimed at *quelling* Palestinian national struggle. It was the UN that ratified the founding of the state of Israel in 1948, dispossessing the Palestinian people. It was UN troops that oversaw the disarming of Palestinian militants in Lebanon, setting the stage for the Sabra and Shatila massacres in 1982.

The international proletariat, hundreds of millions strong and producing all the world's wealth, is the sole force that can break through this impasse. Winning the working class to a revolutionary perspective means building a party that can punch through the false consciousness and nationalism purveyed by the social democrats, obstacles which "left" NDP spokesmen like Svend Robinson uphold and which anarchists like Jaggi Singh cannot overcome. The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to do exactly that in helping to build a revolutionary workers party that fights for all of the oppressed worldwide. *Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinians! Down with the witchhunt against leftist and Arab students!* ■

Defend Leftist and Palestinian Protesters!



Zionist provocation at Concordia was meant to silence protest, like September 28 pro-Palestinian demo in Ottawa (above) in which TL/SYC marched. At left, student union leaders protest administration gag order on Near East debate.

Pro-Palestinian student activists are increasingly targeted for repression and intimidation by a cabal of university administrations, the capitalist state, organized Zionists and right-wing media. On campuses throughout North America, any student or professor who publicly opposes the Israeli slaughter and starvation of Palestinian children, women and men is liable to be branded a racist and an anti-Semite, if not an outright ally of "terrorism." While the climate of increased repression following the criminal attack on the World Trade Center last year has seen pro-Palestinian activists witchhunted, Zionist barbarism has also polarized the campuses, drawing many, especially minority youth, into political protest.

On September 9 at Montreal's Concordia University, as many as 1,000 protesters stopped an appearance by former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Under this blood-drenched war criminal, Israeli forces murdered over 60 unarmed Palestinian protesters in September 1996. Net-

anyahu authorized the torture and detention of thousands more Palestinians as well as the destruction of hundreds of their homes, all the while vastly expanding the Zionist settlements in the Occupied Territories. Today he denounces prime minister Ariel Sharon—the butcher of the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps in 1982—as too "soft" on the Palestinians. Even various bourgeois newspapers admitted it was a provocation to bring Netanyahu to Concordia, with its large Arab and leftist student population.

In order to prevent anyone sympathetic to the Palestinian cause from attending Netanyahu's talk, the Concordia administration shut down a whole section of the campus. The students succeeded in breaking the "security" blockade and entering *their* university. Faced with this mass outpouring of outrage, Netanyahu was forced to cancel his appearance—a very good thing!

The Montreal riot police responded by clubbing, pepper-
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Concordia: Zionists Bulldoze Democratic Rights