

SC photo



Jim Gamet, Canada Wide

Trotskyists call for workers defense of immigrant rights as Canadian capitalism declares war on the foreign-born.

# For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism!

In April, Liberal immigration minister Sergio Marchi started honing the edges of Bill C-86, the Mulroney Conservatives' writ for wholesale exclusion and deportation of refugees. Thousands of C-86's destitute victims will now be forced to pay up to

## PART ONE OF TWO

\$1,500 for the privilege of being deported. "If you don't have it, what are they going to do," asked one social worker, "hold up your luggage?"

Simultaneously, Marchi announced that all but a handful of government-sponsored refugees will now lose their \$600 a month in income support payments, and that "application fees" for permanent residence would soar to \$500. Ironically, this is the exact amount of the notorious "head tax," imposed to stem Chinese immigration, from 1903 to 1923 (when the Chinese were frozen out altogether by the Chinese Exclusion Act).

And all of this follows hard on the stripping of medicare benefits from refugees by Bob Rae's Ontario NDP.

Having looted the economy and gutted its industrial base, the capitalist class who own this country know they have to deflect popular fury at the social havoc they have wrought. From coast

to coast, isolated eruptions of working-class anger have exposed the mountain of social tinder accumulated through years of the worst depression since the 1930s. An explosion of class struggle could spike the bosses' campaign to jack up the rate of exploitation, drive down wages and destroy the social services which working people uphold as their hard-won birthright.

The ruling class' anti-immigrant campaign is pushed by all its parties, in power and out. Combined in English Canada with equally reactionary anti-Québécois chauvinism, it is intended to make united class struggle impossible by dividing Canada's multiracial working class on ethnic and national lines. This must be fought! The working people have no country—Labor: Smash racist immigration laws!

## Down with the "Violent Crime" Scare!

Immigrants and refugees are the scapegoats for the economic disaster Canadian capitalism has created. The bourgeois parasites who live by the sweat of others have invented a new menace to "Canadian values"—the bogey of "imported crime." The war on "violent immigrants" now joins the "war on drugs" (used to criminalize Tamils and Caribbean blacks) and the Sikh/

(continued on page 11)

# Let Mumia Abu-Jamal Speak!

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a powerful fighter for black freedom, a man who was sentenced to die for a crime he did not commit, is directly in the sights of America's state killing machine. Jamal's case is what the death penalty in the United States is all about, the attempt to terrorize the minority population, part and parcel of the extralegal terror of the nightriding KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets—all to try to keep black people "in their place." Our fight for the abolition of the death penalty, and to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, is an inseparable part of our struggle for black equality in a socialist North America.

The voice of Mumia Abu-Jamal was heard on June 3 in New York City, when over 250 people filled the Ethical Culture Society's auditorium to hear the words of this award-winning black journalist who became known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his powerful articles and radio commentary championing the cause of the oppressed. The speak-out, hosted by actor Ossie Davis, was organized by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal to protest National Public Radio's (NPR) May 15 cancellation of a series of commentaries by Jamal, the former Black Panther Party member and MOVE supporter who has been targeted for death by the Philadelphia police.

Mumia has spent 12 years on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison, framed for the shooting of a Philadelphia police officer. His commentaries were to have been aired on the prestigious *All Things Considered* show, but NPR caved in and canceled under pressure from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), among other forces. Republican Senate leader Bob Dole spoke on the Senate floor threatening to go after NPR's funding.

They want to silence Jamal in order to make it easier to kill him, and the 2,800 other people on death row in Clinton's America. The executioners want their victims to be faceless and nameless. An articulate, compassionate black man describing the horrors of this barbaric system of injustice would give the lie to their racist propaganda justifying judicial executions with the claim that all its victims are guilty, crazed psychopathic ax murderers. In fact, as Jamal's commentaries powerfully expose, the system of legal lynching is integral to the racist oppression of black America.



Workers Vanguard

**Actor Ossie Davis and others read from Jamal's work at June 3 rally in New York City.**

The speak-out attracted a diverse audience and featured a wide array of presentations centered on Mumia Abu-Jamal's own words. The highlight was a moving reading from Jamal's commentaries by Ossie Davis, Judge Bruce Wright, author of *Black Robes, White Justice*, and Bernard White of WBAI radio. They came together on stage, their strong and dignified voices alternating, imparting the drama of Jamal's searing portrayal of black life on death row. The entire event was taped for broadcast, effectively breaking the ban imposed by NPR and bringing the man and his message to the public.

Mumia's greetings to the meeting were played via an audiotape made from prison. Jamal's wife, Wadiya Abu-Jamal, told the gathering: "For almost 13 long years we have suffered at the hands of the outlaw—this outlaw being the system—simply because Mumia can't stop telling the truth.... This outlaw has killed many, many innocent people, and will do it again. Each and every day. Please use all that's right within you to support Mumia and all innocent people on death row, so that he can help you, because he is still the voice of the voiceless."

Dr. Alan Berkman, a former political prisoner who served eight years in prison in the frame-up "Resistance Conspiracy" case, recalled seeing Mumia in prison, where "facing death, he spent an enormous amount of his time and energy helping the other prisoners deal with cases that were much less serious than his own." The meeting closed with a musical rendition of Jamal's essay, "To War for Empire," bitterly denouncing the Persian Gulf slaughter.

As the PDC and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal recognized in sponsoring the event, NPR's cancellation in the face of an increased police vendetta makes breaking the ban "a life and death issue of free speech." The meeting's urgency was magnified by the fact that the Pennsylvania state legislature is imminently expected to enact a bill, overriding the governor's veto, which would force him to begin signing death warrants.

(continued on page 8)

## SPARTACIST CANADA

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## Five of Vancouver Six Beat Trumped-up Charges

# “It’s No Crime to Stop the Fascists!”

VANCOUVER—For the last nine months, six anti-fascist protesters faced trumped-up charges of assault for defending themselves and others at a 60-strong demonstration on 6 May 1993 organized against Ron Gostick and his rabidly anti-Semitic and white-supremacist “Canadian League of Rights.” No matter that Gostick’s “host,” infamous racist Jud Cyllorn, came out and waded into the demonstration that night with an iron bar. (He was quickly disarmed by the protesters.) No matter that the protesters had to fend off repeated fascist attacks and provocations clearly shown on TV. The *anti-fascists* were charged (three months after the event!) because, as the official police report stated, they wanted to send “a message” to “radical activists.” The message: that it’s free rein for the fascists, state repression for those who oppose them.

But dozens of trade-union locals and officials, anti-racist organizations and many others sent their own message: “Drop the Charges Against the May 6 Anti-Fascist Protesters!” They showed their determination on the morning of the first day of the trial, May 31, when over 60 came out to a demonstration in front of the provincial courthouse initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, chanting “It’s no crime to stop the fascists! Drop the charges now!” Members of the Vancouver Local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Local 391 and the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Local 100 came out with their union banners.

Even before the trial date, the Crown Attorney dropped the charges against two of the Six, John Lipscomb and Oliver Scribner. As the trial convened, charges against telephone worker Glenn Mason were thrown out of court. Of the three who were dragged through the proceedings, the charge was dismissed against postal unionist Bob McBurney, and CUPE member Tom Hansen was found not guilty.

Outrageously, Miriam Scribner, Trotskyist League activist and a CUPE member, was found guilty and given a conditional discharge. Her “crime”? Spray-painting a yellow line down Cyllorn’s back to stop him from menacing the protesters.

The *Vancouver Sun* (2 June) reported on her testimony. She noted that “it was ‘an extremely dangerous moment’ when Cyllorn came out on the street carrying a metre-long length of metal pipe. Protest marshals managed to take the metal pipe away from Cyllorn, she said....” While celebrating the victory of five of the Six against the state’s attack, supporters were furious at this verdict. A telephone worker shop steward asked pointedly: you mean they convicted a 5-foot-one librarian for

spray-painting a 200-pound Nazi?

The charges emboldened the racist terrorists. Cyllorn skulked around Miriam Scribner’s workplace and in the days before the trial he made harassing and threatening telephone calls to unionists who publicly backed the Six. The response was anger



Unionists and other supporters rally before the trial of the Vancouver Six.

SC photo

at this open attempt at intimidation and a renewed determination to defend the anti-fascist protesters. This was reflected in the impressive labor support and turnout at the courthouse.

Speaking on behalf of the Vancouver CUPW, Acting President Jim Lougheed told the May 31 rally that “The Local has been supporting the six anti-fascist protesters since day one,” and called on those present to “go into that courtroom and show the state that they cannot trample on people who are willing to fight fascism.” That’s exactly what happened as supporters overflowed the courtroom, with more forced to wait outside. Many took time off work and were there for all three days of the proceedings.

Also speaking at the rally were representatives of the Iranian Immigrant and Refugee Society of British Columbia and the Freedom Socialist Party. The International Socialists declined an invitation to speak.

The rally received extensive coverage in the local media. Two Chinese-language daily papers (*Sing Tao* and *Ming Pao*) published photos and stories on the event. Days before, Vancouver’s mayor had refused to apologize for a February 1992 racist police assault, captured on videotape, on two Chinese workers, even as the city was compelled to pay thousands in compensation to these victims of cop terror. Mike Harcourt’s NDP provincial government had exonerated the cops of any wrongdoing.

The government went after the Vancouver Six claiming, in  
(continued on page 8)

# Young Spartacus

## I.S.: "Maintien le Droit"...uh, Gauche

The following article was originally distributed in Toronto on April 29 as a Spartacus Youth Club leaflet.

Here's a quick quiz:

- 1) Who recently assured the powers-that-be, in response to the racist campaign to bar observant Sikhs from joining the Mounties, that "The RCMP can obviously be as effective with a few in its ranks wearing turbans"?
  - a) RCMP Commissioner Norman Inkster
  - b) B.C. NDP premier Mike Harcourt
  - c) the International Socialists
- 2) Who thinks the answer to the racist provocations of the Newton Legion against Sikh veterans is to demand that the monarchists of the Royal Canadian Legion Dominion Command "Expel the Racist Legions"?
  - a) The Queen
  - b) the NDP
  - c) the International Socialists
- 3) Who, under the guise of "fighting the right," defends the federal Liberal government's racist immigration quotas?
  - a) Liberal immigration minister Sergio Marchi
  - b) the NDP
  - c) the International Socialists

If your answers are other than c), you've not been keeping up with the I.S.'s "Go for Growth" recruitment campaign, a cynical effort by these practised opportunists to attract young people who are outraged at the racial and sexual oppression of this capitalist society. (The quote on the RCMP comes from a widely distributed Vancouver I.S. leaflet which called for a March 20 "Day of Action Against Racism" around the slogans "Expel the Racist Legions!" and "Yes! Turbans in the RCMP.")

As the tribune of all the oppressed, communists oppose racist segregation and discrimination wherever they rear their heads, including in the Legion and the RCMP. But we understand that racial oppression is rooted in the nature of capitalism, requiring a struggle to overthrow the ruling class through workers revolution. Not so the I.S., which wants to "fight racism" by appealing to the very forces—like the RCMP brass and the Legion devotees of Britain's long-dead white man's empire—that uphold and defend this racist system. The I.S.'s British parent group, the Socialist Workers Party, even supports cop "strikes" and cop "unions," and favors recruiting prison guards!

With a liberal opportunist weathervane where a backbone ought to be, the I.S. continually exposes its own reformist cynicism. In the name of opposing the Reform Party's racist hue and cry over immigration, the I.S.'s *Socialist Worker* (March 1994) states emphatically that "all anti-racists must defend the Liberals' decision to retain earlier immigration levels." Demonstrating Stalin's dictum that paper will take anything that's written on it, the very same article states: "Anti-racists and socialists have no stake in supporting any limitation on immigration levels under any circumstances." Go figure. Indeed, whatever happened to the I.S.'s former call to "open the borders," itself a utopian appeal tantamount to advocating the abolition of national states under capitalism?

There can be no progressive or rational immigration policy under capitalism, where all immigration laws are necessarily



Battistoni/Vancouver Sun

### I.S. reformists (left) on parade in Vancouver

racist and chauvinist. Marxists adamantly oppose these laws, fight against racist deportations and demand full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families.

When they're not tailing after the Liberals, the I.S. claims to be "building the socialist alternative to the NDP." Really? They joined with the New Democrats (and the Tories and Liberals) in calling for a yes vote in the 1992 Charlottetown referendum, which was a plebiscite on preserving the capitalist status quo. When Bob Rae's union-busting NDP government got elected in Ontario four years ago, the I.S. wrote that the "first instinct of every socialist" should be to "celebrate" (*Socialist Worker*, October 1990). Today, with angry Ontario unionists demanding a break with the NDP for its vicious anti-working class attacks, *Socialist Worker* is still sticking with the New Democrats: "The key issue for trade union militants is not to disaffiliate from the NDP, but to increase the pressure of an independent working class voice on the NDP government" (November 1993).

That just about sums up the I.S.'s "real socialist alternative": at best, a limp "pressure" group on the Big Time NDP social democrats. In contrast, we Trotskyists fight to build a revolutionary workers party, through breaking the NDP's working-class base away from the pro-capitalist leadership.

The I.S.'s love affair with social democracy compels them to embrace the NDP's deep-dyed anti-Communism. In the name of "anti-Stalinism," the I.S. and its co-thinkers internationally spent decades waltzing with the pro-imperialists of the Second International, supporting imperialism's Cold War drive to destroy the Soviet Union, which the I.S. claimed was "state capitalist." In August 1991, they got what they wanted: the I.S. hailed Boris Yeltsin's Moscow counter-coup. "Communism has collapsed," cheered their British mentors, "It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

(continued on page 7)

# South Africa: Acid Test For the Left

## For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

The imperialist media and reformists around the world have been unanimous in hailing the election of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first black president, often in identical words. The *New York Times* (4 May) waxed positively lyrical: "It was a magical moment: the peaceful passage from an era of oppression to a dawn of liberation in South Africa." The *Financial Times* (27 April), spokesman for the international financiers of the City of London, earlier celebrated Mandela's victory as the "Dawn of South Africa's Freedom." And the *Militant* (9 May), newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. and the Communist League of Canada, headlined "South African Elections Mark 'Dawn of Freedom'."

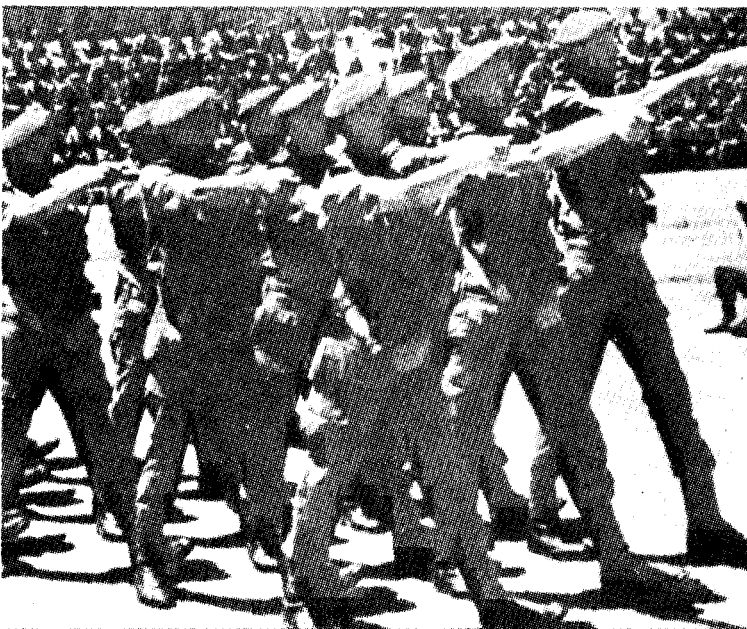
In contrast, we told the stark truth about the pact between the African National Congress and the apartheid masters, that "ANC/De Klerk Deal Is Betrayal of Black Freedom" (*SC No. 97*, May/June 1994). Where the *Militant* gushed about a "victory" for classless "democracy," writing of "Birth of New S. Africa: A Victory for Humanity" (16 May) and "Mandela President; Apartheid Is Buried" (23 May), we said bluntly of the now-bourgeois nationalists in power, "Mandela/ANC Front for Racist Capitalist Rule," and stressed that "Black Freedom Requires Socialist Revolution" (*Workers Vanguard No. 600*, 13 May). While noting that "The heroic struggles of the black masses over the past two decades have forced the white ruling

class to abandon the rigid system of racial oppression known as apartheid, in which there was a garrison 'democracy' for the privileged white minority and totalitarian police-state repression of the vast non-white majority," we added:

"The Randlords and their imperialist backers believe that they have preserved the bedrock of apartheid capitalism by donning 'democratic' trappings.... However, just as the struggles of the black toilers for freedom and equality broke down the old apartheid system, so they will break down the neo-apartheid 'power sharing' deal between the Randlords and their new black front men."

The South African elections were an acid test for the left, and for a host of groups dramatically exposed their socialist pretensions. In backing Mandela's ANC, whether openly or with a fig leaf of "independence," they were making common cause with their "own" bourgeois rulers. This is not surprising from those who had earlier called for sanctions by the imperialist governments and capitalist corporations to pressure the apartheid regime. They may see this as *their* victory, but for the South African masses it means that a black president and cabinet ministers will now order the army and state machinery carried over from apartheid to crack down on black township squatters and striking workers. The ANC in office cannot deliver any of the demands of its base. The Mandela/De Klerk regime sits atop a powder keg.

In different guises, the *Militant's* line was that of the entire reformist left. "Congratulations, President Mandela," read an editorial in the Communist Party of Canada's *People's Voice* (May 1994). The rump CPC surely envies the South African CP's Joe Slovo, who is now housing minister in the Mandela/  
*(continued on page 6)*



Steve Hilton-Barber

The hated SADF apartheid army, rebaptized SANDF, is still the fist of racist capitalism against the black masses. Opportunists echo imperialist myth that "freedom" has arrived.



## South Africa...

(continued from page 5)

De Klerk government, having been elected along with a slew of other SACP ministers on the ANC ticket. The International Socialists, who called for a "critical vote" to the ANC, cheered that its election was "a victory for South African blacks and all those internationally who have been involved in the fight against apartheid" (*Socialist Worker*, May 1994). Meanwhile, their U.S. co-thinkers in the ISO ran a banner headline "AMANDLA!" (Freedom).

These groups are peddling deadly illusions to the oppressed masses of South Africa and elsewhere. While a tiny layer of black leaders has been integrated as junior partners into the white bourgeoisie, effective power is still in the hands of the apparatus inherited from apartheid. Even the *New York Times* (4 June) recognized that Mandela "is bound by a constitutional promise to protect the jobs and perquisites of public employees"—in particular of the military and security forces, the core of the state power. Thus defense minister Joe Modise, an SACP leader and former commander of the ANC's guerrilla wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK—Spear of the Nation), announced that Georg Meiring, former head of the South African Defence Force, would be in charge of the "new" South African National Defence Force for the next five years. In Chile in the early 1970s, Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) signed "constitutional" guarantees not to touch the hierarchy of the military officer corps, which eventually overthrew the leftist government in the bloody Santiago coup at a cost of tens of thousands dead.

Allende's UP was a *popular front*, in which the working class is chained to the bourgeoisie through a class-collaborationist coalition. In South Africa, the institutionalized racial oppression adds a key additional factor. The ANC is a nationalist popular front in the form of a party, including the SACP and leaders of the COSATU unions. In office, it necessarily betrays the aspirations to national liberation of its millions of black supporters, and turns its back on its own bourgeois-democratic program. Long gone is the 1955 ANC Freedom Charter's talk of nationalization of the mines and key industries. Allocating less than 3 percent of the budget to the heralded "Reconstruction and Development Program," Mandela's inaugural speech to parliament "seemed tailored more for corporate boardrooms than the townships where many of South Africa's poor blacks live," noted the *Washington Post* (25 May).

Writing to South African supporters six decades ago, Leon Trotsky outlined the policy of a communist vanguard toward the ANC, which then as now was the hegemonic organization of black African toilers: "The Bolshevik-Leninists unmask before the native masses the inability of the Congress to achieve the realization of even its *own demands*, because of its superficial, conciliatory policy" ("On the South African Theses," April 1935). Yet today many of those who claim to be Trotskyist, rather than unmasking the ANC and waging a fight for *proletarian* power, are building support for the new black bourgeois co-rulers. In a May 16 speech in New York, Peter Taaffe, leader of the British Militant Labour tendency, *opposed* the call for a workers party now in South Africa, saying: "The working class in South Africa has to go through the experience of an ANC government. The slogan of a workers party was an incorrect slogan in the period prior to the elections in South Africa. We wanted the biggest possible ANC majority." Speaking in Toronto a week later, Taaffe claimed a call for a workers party

prior to the elections was "ultraleftism."

This support to the ANC also includes fostering dangerous illusions about the state. In South Africa, Militant Labour's supporters in the Marxist Workers Tendency of the ANC have been sidling up to the *black cops* of the apartheid regime. *Congress Militant* (September 1993) even ran an interview with "comrade Enoch Nelani," national deputy president of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU), demanding that these enemies of workers and black struggle be admitted to COSATU. Justifying this, in his New York speech Taaffe marveled that the "black cops in South Africa who *mowed down* workers organizing trade unions" are now "organized into a trade union themselves." "These very same killers," he went on, "these very same black police who were tools of the apartheid regime, were *radicalized* by the situation." His conclusion: "We can neutralize the forces of the state and win them over."

This is the classic lie of all reformists, which has led to bloodbaths of the workers from Spain in the 1930s to Chile in the '70s. We repeat the fundamental truth proclaimed by Marx and Engels and in Lenin's *State and Revolution*, that the existing capitalist state power must be destroyed by a workers revolution and replaced by a proletarian power, which in South Africa would be a black-centered workers government.

In the South African elections, we gave critical support to the Workers List Party (WLP) initiated by the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (see *SC* No. 97). While sharply criticizing its left-reformist program, we noted that in advocating the building of a workers party and in standing against the nationalist ANC, the WLP's campaign drew a crude class line.



Reuters

**F.W. De Klerk and Nelson Mandela join hands. ANC now rules on behalf of white Randlord capitalists.**

There were other organizations on the left which claimed to oppose a vote to the ANC on the basis of class principle and called for a vote to the WLP. Among them were Socialist Organiser (S.O.) and Workers Power (WP) in Britain. But where we fight for a revolutionary party, a Bolshevik opposition to the ANC, these groups are looking to create a South African

version of British Labourism, a Menshevik party to tail after the ANC with a fig leaf of "independence."

Again the question of the state is the touchstone. S.O. supported the use of the apartheid army in the KwaZulu bantustan: "socialists should support the use of force—even by the SADF—to ensure that the elections take place in Natal KwaZulu" (*Socialist Organiser*, 14 April). To preach illusions in the fascist-infested and racist SADF (now rebaptized the SANDF) is the height of opportunist folly, for it is precisely these forces that will be unleashed by the ANC/De Klerk government against the black masses!

Workers Power argues that in South Africa, "The workers do not need the experience of voting for a popular front or an embryonic bourgeois party." But while giving critical support to the Workers List, WP made it clear that it did so reluctantly and yearned to give "critical support" to the popular front through the back door. "Had it been possible to vote separately for the workers' organisations and candidates within the ANC alliance then revolutionaries should have supported these candidates critically" (*Workers Power*, April 1994). So if South Africa had British-style constituency elections, WP would have called for votes to the SACP and COSATU candidates on the ANC ticket. This ploy makes a mockery of class independence.

An elementary precondition for considering critical support to a workers organization is that it run independently of the bourgeoisie. Yet centrists like Workers Power in effect say to the reformists: "Break with the bourgeoisie! If you do, we will support you—and if you don't, we will support you anyway, if only South African election laws would let us play our little game of voting for the 'workers parties of the popular front'! But since they don't, we're stuck." That is not a tactic to set the plebeian and proletarian base against their pro-capitalist misleaders, but a strategy of tailing after the class traitors. In reality, Workers Power wants to replicate the Labour Party everywhere so they can tail it.

Meanwhile, Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) seems to have a bad case of conflicting opportunist appetites. Prior to WOSA's decision to put up the Workers List, the USec's *International Viewpoint* (February 1994) promoted "the idea of calling for a vote for the ANC while running an independent campaign of immediate democratic and social demands"—i.e., putting up a phony militant platform to cover for a vote to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. *Workers Power* (May 1994) reports that South African USec supporters "withdrew from WOSA, condemning the decision to stand against the ANC." In its April edition, *International Viewpoint* printed a financial appeal for WOSA, while skeptically commenting about the Workers List: "It remains to be seen which approach

is the most pedagogical and constructive towards the hundreds of political and trade union activist members of the ANC and SACP who will in their majority vote for the ANC ticket."

Last December, the Canadian USec supporters of Socialist Challenge pronounced the ANC/De Klerk deal a "limited victory." Since then, neither Socialist Challenge nor its latest split-off Socialist Action has taken a position on developments in South Africa. What unites these 57 varieties of pseudo-Trotskyists is that, rather than putting forward a revolutionary program based on the objective needs of the workers and oppressed, they guide themselves by the present consciousness of the masses. Thus in practice, they are nothing but a "left" gloss on the reformist and bourgeois-nationalist misleaders.

Authentic Trotskyists fight intransigently for the political independence of the proletariat in opposition to the bourgeoisie. So long as the South African proletariat is yoked to the cart



**ICL told the truth. "Power sharing" deal preserves neo-apartheid capitalism, as power of black proletariat is shackled to bourgeoisie through nationalist popular front.**

of nationalism, through the ANC and its competitors such as the Pan Africanist Congress and AZAPO, and chained to the bourgeoisie by the popular front, this spells bloody defeat for the South African masses. Black liberation from white-supremacist rule, whether it is called "apartheid" or not, can only come about through a workers revolution led by a racially integrated Trotskyist party, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. This is the program of the International Communist League.

*This article includes material from Workers Hammer No. 141, May/June 1994, newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain and Workers Vanguard No. 602, 10 June 1994, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.*

## International Socialists...

(continued from page 4)

Yeltsin's capitalist counterrevolution swiftly resulted in untold misery for the working people, women, Jews, gays and racial minorities of the ex-USSR. We notice the I.S.'s "rejoicing" has been a little less exuberant lately.

On March 15 the Vancouver I.S. co-sponsored a meeting on "racism and resistance" at the University of British Columbia. Except for the "Socialist" in their name, I.S. speakers managed not to utter the "S" word all evening. (Caution: these are professional opportunists—don't try this at home.) Intervening

for the Spartacus Youth Club, Angela Summers laid bare the gulf between revolutionary Marxism and the I.S. reformists who prattle about an "effective" RCMP:

"The cops are the armed fist of the capitalist state. They exist to protect the wealth and property of a tiny minority who exploit and live off the labor of the overwhelming majority. It cannot be reformed or 'pressured' into acting on behalf of the working people and the oppressed. The bourgeois state must be *shattered* by workers revolution.

"We fight for the integrated working class to take up the cause of the foreign-born, minorities and all the oppressed on the way to tossing the entire racist ruling class into the dustbin of history!" ■

# Vancouver Six...

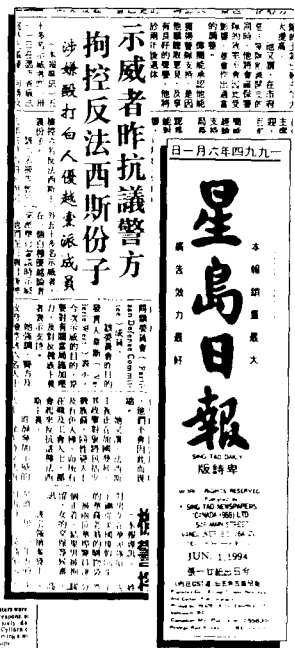
(continued from page 3)

the words of the judge, that “as long as [the fascists] don’t contravene the criminal law, they have a right to hold their meetings and associate with each other.” But the fascists are not just right-wing ideologues with demented ideas. They “speak” with lynch ropes, iron bars, gas chambers and death camps. The *Vancouver Sun* (3 June) quoted PDC spokesman Oliver Scribner: “While small in number now, the fascists are the mortal enemies of all working people and must be crushed in the egg before they grow,” he said. ‘Fascist terror is not free speech.’”

Trying to hide the obvious fact that they were aiding and abetting the fascists, both the prosecutor and the judge went out of their way to declare that they were “neutral.” This idea, preached especially by the NDP social democrats and their reformist tails, was challenged by Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Angela Summers at the May 31 rally:

“There’s a very important lesson here: the capitalist state is *not* neutral. The police, the courts, the whole system exists to protect the propertied classes, the bosses, the rich white rulers of this country. They will not and cannot be pressured into ‘stopping’ the fascists. In fact, by their actions they embolden and encourage the racist terrorists.”

On 22 January 1993, some 3,000 anti-racist protesters prevented Nazis of the “Canadian Liberty Net” from rallying in Vancouver. Against those who wanted an empty gabfest to just “say no” to the fascists, the PDC and TL mobilized disciplined union contingents in response to our widely distributed call “All Out to Stop the Fascists!” A few months later, on May 6, the



Chinese- and English-language dailies covered trial of anti-fascist militants.

PDC and TL brought out a core of unionists, blacks, Asians, gays and socialists to the demonstration (organized on less than a day’s notice) that shut down the fascist meeting for over an hour. Our program is to unleash the power of labor and minorities to stop the fascist terrorists—and it works. *Keep the Nazis on the run!*

The PDC extends its warm thanks to all those who endorsed the demand to “Drop the Charges” and who dug deep to help out financially. But more is still needed: it has cost thousands of dollars to defend the Anti-Fascist Six. Send your contributions, payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked “Anti-Fascist Defense,” to: Box 4932, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC, V6B 4A6. ■

# Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 2)

And with the state gubernatorial race heating up this year, the FOP is pushing hard to make the legal murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal a key issue, bombarding the media with demands for his immediate execution.

Leonard Weinglass, Jamal’s lead attorney, reported on the defense team’s efforts to uncover ignored and/or suppressed evidence that will prove Jamal’s innocence, as they fight for a new trial. “We are in a race against time to save this innocent and eloquent spokesman of the African American community,” Weinglass wrote last year—and time is getting even shorter.

Paul Cooperstein of the Partisan Defense Committee put Jamal’s case in historic perspective: “1887: the Haymarket martyrs—labor organizers, anarchists, leaders of the eight-hour day movement—hanged in Chicago. 1915: IWW member Joe Hill, executed by a Utah firing squad.” He recalled the anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, and the “Scottsboro Boys”—nine black youths whose lives were saved by mass international protest—and pointed out: “In the Cold War witchhunt of the ‘50s, when Reds were branded as spies who deserved to die, the

courageous Rosenbergs were electrocuted for being Communists and Jews. Now, the impending sentence of death against Mumia threatens to be the first political execution since the Rosenbergs.” The PDC spokesman concluded, “Ultimately it is only socialist revolution that can end the system of capitalist lynch law and guarantee the rights of the oppressed. In a socialist America, maybe with Geronimo ji Jaga in the Ministry of Justice, Mumia Abu-Jamal in the Ministry of Information, then and only then can we start to speak of justice.”

The NPR’s censoring of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and the outcry it produced, has heightened the urgency of the fight to save Jamal. The speak-out raised over \$2,000, all proceeds going for Jamal’s legal defense. Much, much more is urgently needed, as death penalty cases can cost as much as a million dollars. Contributions to Jamal’s defense can be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked “Jamal,” and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. For more information on the case, or to order a video of Mumia speaking from prison to show to your union, community or school group, contact the PDC at Box 314, Station B, Toronto, ON M5T 2W1. Join the fight now—Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! ■



# FSP: "Family Values R Us"

In capitalist society, where the many are exploited to enrich the few, those on top must have ideological devices to keep those on the bottom cowed and subservient to the rule of capital. For decades, "godless Communism" served as the all-purpose bogeyman to regiment the population to stand on guard in defense of "the free world." But, as American author Gore Vidal aptly noted in his 1979 essay "Sex is Politics," when the threat of external "enemies" failed to rouse "a howl of manly rage, particularly from ladies at church receptions," the powers-that-be reverted "to the tried-and-true hot buttons: save our children, our fetuses, our ladies' rooms from the godless enemy."

Today, there is a crusade for "family values," against pornography, abortion, Woody Allen, homosexuality, for that matter any sex outside of "holy matrimony." As they increasingly grind down and impoverish the working class and oppressed, the rulers cannot tolerate the "liberties" of a restive population. The purpose of the anti-sex witchhunt is to bolster the bourgeois status quo and the repressive institution of the family, the main source of the oppression of women and a key conservatizing prop which serves as an ideological transmission belt for the "values" of the capitalist rulers.

Sex is a potent weapon in the bourgeoisie's arsenal because it engages explosive fears and prejudices. Yet today the erstwhile "sexually liberated" feminist bra-burners join the bible-thumping right wing as reborn Torquemadas burning issues of *Playboy* and preaching "politically correct" sex, particularly evidenced in the "date rape" hysteria that has swept the campuses.

Naturally, as communists, we oppose the bourgeoisie's "family values" campaign. Although this would seem unremarkable, it has our fake-left opponents howling. For a decade and a half they stood with their own rulers (in the name of "anti-Stalinism") in imperialism's fight to destroy the Soviet workers state and recapture it for capitalist exploitation. Now these "radicals" and "socialists" are lining up behind the campaign to defend "our ladies' rooms from the godless enemy."

The most hysterical proponent of this view is surely the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP). Our *Women and Revolution* article "The 'Date Rape' Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt" (No. 43, Winter 1993-Spring 1994) has them raving like Vyshinsky, Stalin's chief prosecutor at the Moscow Trials. At a March 4 Trotskyist League forum in Vancouver to commemorate International Women's Day, two male members of the FSP handed out a leaflet headlined, "Decades of homophobia and sexism turn malignant: Trotskyist League maintains gag order on lesbian and gay members, new pro-date rape campaign launched." And from here the lies simply gallop along.

The slanders are so deranged that responding would be more vexatious than trying to answer the question "when did you stop beating your wife?" Nonetheless, we can't help but note that it takes a truly fevered brain to claim, as the FSP leaflet does, that our organization, which stands virtually alone in defending the rights of the North American Man/Boy Love Association, is "worried that they will lose respect from the Archie Bunkers

of the labour movement."

It is a measure of how much leftists in North America imbibe the preachments of their "own" ruling class, that our organization is attacked for opposing the "moral" strictures of the capitalist state! As we noted in our *W&R* article:

"The 'date rape' hoax is a cynical and dangerous business because it invokes government authority to intervene as moral arbiter in our most intimate affairs and fuels a state-sponsored campaign of sexual regimentation in the service

Decades of homophobia and sexism turn malignant  
Trotskyist League maintains gag order on lesbian and gay members, new pro-date rape campaign launched

The virulently anti-gay, anti-feminist Trotskyist League (T.L.) of Canada (and its U.S. counterpart) maintains a strict gag order on its lesbian and gay members. As with U.S. president Bill Clinton's military "don't ask, don't tell" policy, the League claims their "don't ask, don't tell" policy is enforced on the question of their homosexual members. But, in reality the T.L. is deeply worried that it will lose respect from the Archie Bunkers of the labour movement if they permit their members to come out. They designate the cause of socialism by imputing (then out-picting) the homophobia and sexism of labour's privileged upper crust.

Recently, the T.L. and the Spartacist League announced their pro-date rape position (*Women and Revolution*, No. 43, Winter 1994). They charge women who protest general sexual harassment and assault, and other non-consensual acts which do not result in concrete, identifiable physical damage are "female hysterics" and "anti-sex witch-hunters."

The combination of the T.L.'s reduced class role and its virulently deranged pro-date rape position are meant to send a harmful message to women and gay activists: your position in the movement is poor. According to the T.L., the only women and gays eligible to participate in the socialist struggle are silent, unprotesting robot types prepared to submit to all sorts of sexual indignities dictated out by straight, supermacho judicial males.

The anti-women, anti-gay T.L. program is parallel message to straight men in the movement: they say it's OK to be homophobic and to treat a gay partner as if he or she is illegitimate and a bit of a wife-beater because the T.L. and the Spartacist League will defend you.

T.L. Spartacist male chauvinists are effectively taking the barricades with their own class to defend the bourgeoisie. Their struggle campaign against feminist demands for complete equality and dignity of women and gays in every sphere is objectively counter-revolutionary. When chiding bourgeois leaders, the T.L. and Spartacist aggressively attempt to discredit the leadership of women and gays in the struggle for socialism. They "promote" women's liberation will be equivalent after the sort of liberation offered by their feminist women and sexism, the T.L. fails to recognize that there is no socialist revolution without the leadership of proud, defiant women, lesbians, gays and people of colour. It's precisely these set that working class who have the guts and it does to stand up against all forms of sexual racism today and overthrow the capitalist while doing so.

Along with T.L. and Spartacist chauvinists they are active on the one issue for society: a fighting socialist feminist class movement on equality and dignity for the entire work-



Clara Fraser takes aim at sexism on the Left.

Jim Coley/Freedom Socialist

## Hysterical liberals led by Clara Fraser (shown here in *Freedom Socialist* photo) go off the deep end with deranged anti-Trotskyist diatribe.

of bolstering the reactionary institution of the family. While Marxists cannot decree either a just or a pleasurable solution to the ambiguities that arise out of the intersection of race, sex and class in this capitalist society, we can and do oppose all attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated and decreed 'norms.' Back-alley abortions, prostitution, unwanted pregnancies, physical and sexual violence and racial oppression are the sordid reality behind 'public morality'... To create genuinely free and equal relations between people in all spheres, including sex, requires nothing less than the destruction of this class system and the creation of a communist world."

In its only semi-genuflection toward a political polemic against our organization, the FSP's leaflet (which is otherwise simply a raving-screed) declares, "the T.L. fails to recognize that there will be no socialist revolution without the commanding leadership of proud, defiant women, lesbians, gays and people of colour." Actually, there will be no socialist revolution without the leadership of a revolutionary workers party, one that in Lenin's words is a "tribune of all the oppressed." The axis of struggle which does not figure in the FSP's kaleidoscope of the oppressed is *class*. It is the multiracial working class—including, of course, millions of women, gays, lesbians and other oppressed—which has the social power to overthrow capitalism.

The FSP's politics have long been a pseudo-Marxist variant of the old New Left slogan "the most oppressed are the most revolutionary." Far from having anything to do with addressing the conditions faced by the most oppressed, this view is simply the expression of the discontents of the petty bourgeoisie. As

(continued on page 10)

## FSP "Family Values" ...

(continued from page 9)

we noted in our *W&R* article, "'Date rape' hysteria serves as a diversion from the real oppression and exploitation suffered by the vast majority of women in this country. Most working-class and minority women can't afford to go to college, but rather endure the constant menace of violence and rape as they go to and from backbreaking, low-paying jobs or to pick up their continually threatened welfare pittance."

To redress the conditions faced by these women—not least the masses of desperately impoverished welfare mothers who in and of themselves have no social power—requires revolutionary *class struggle* uniting the power of the integrated organized labor movement with all strata of the oppressed in common struggle to bring down the system of capitalist exploitation and degradation. To be sure, blacks, Asians, women and others in this racist society, who have the least to lose and the most to gain, will play a leading role in the fight for a socialist North America. And, noting their plurality in the population, "even" white men will have a role in such a revolutionary struggle.

### Trotskyism and the Fight for Gay Liberation

Why is the FSP going after our organization in such a heated frenzy? Over the years we haven't had much to do with their organization, nor they with ours. Indeed, the best they could dredge up of any significant intersection between our two organizations was a 1977 article from their press condemning the Red Flag Union, a group of gay militants who were won to communism and joined forces with the Spartacist League/U.S. This article was attached to their Vancouver leaflet.

This was almost *twenty years* ago! But the proverbial elephant never forgets. (FSP leader Clara Fraser turned her 1967 divorce proceedings into her own particular political *raison d'être* and has yet to stop harping about it.) Today, the FSP leaflet declares that our fusion with the RFU "exposes the unabashed homophobia of the T.L. and the Spartacist League"! To the FSP, it was a crime against nature that a group of serious gay militants would transcend their own personal oppression in

favor of a proletarian revolutionary worldview.

The FSP shrieks that we maintain a "gag order" and "strict closet rule" on our gay and lesbian members. In a cover letter to their leaflet against us, mailed out to other left organizations, they ask for "comment on our enclosed outing of the Spartacists." Unlike the FSP which elevates sexual preference to a political principle, we believe that the sexuality of our members, or anyone else for that matter, is nobody's business but that of the individuals involved. Our party and all its members fight against the special oppression of homosexuals as a Leninist tribune of the people, mobilizing the working class to defend gay rights and to strike down the bourgeoisie's stultifying "moral" codes. In contrast, the oh-so-liberated FSP simultaneously preaches "outing" (a stupid and viciously vindictive practice which smacks of McCarthyite witchhunting), while joining the feminist anti-sex witchhunt which openly appeals to the capitalist state to enforce its "moral" order. If that means censorship, that's fine with the FSP, which praises anti-porn queen Catherine MacKinnon's "trail-blazing legislation that attacked porn as sex discrimination" (*Freedom Socialist*, March-May 1994).

Although hardly the right-on r-r-revolutionaries they postured as, at least the New Leftists of the '60s/early '70s saw the liberation of their "sector" as a fight *against* the powers-that-be in this society. These days an entire petty-bourgeois "victim generation" look to the capitalist rulers for "salvation." Meanwhile, the aging New Left leftovers have gone from "give peace a chance" to "give war a chance"—calling for imperialist military intervention to bring "humanitarianism" and "democracy" to Haiti and Bosnia. This too is echoed by the FSP, who chastise U.S. imperialism for its "arms embargo which has left the Bosnians almost defenseless" and demand that it "be lifted immediately"!

### Liars and Liberals

For some months, the FSP's tiny Vancouver branch has been raving about the "testosterone politics" of the Trotskyist League. Why? Because we mobilized trade unionists, minorities, youth and other anti-fascists to stop the Nazis of "Canadian Liberty Net" last January 22, 1993. And the FSP? They stood on the side of the cops trying to stop a crowd of 500 anti-fascists who had sent a gang of fascist skinheads packing.

Most recently, the FSP was kind enough to overlook our supposed "macho" politics and write a letter in defense of the arrested Vancouver Six anti-fascists, whose number included several Trotskyist League supporters (see article, page 3). Here they appeal to the very NDP government which prosecuted the anti-fascists to "join hands with all the targets of fascism, in a united front effort to stop the bigots in their jackboots"!

In its defense letter, the FSP humbly petitions the NDP Attorney General not to use the courts "to harass, persecute and prosecute activists fighting for a multi-cultural, non-sexist, pro-union, secular Canada." This description of our arrested supporters is rather at variance with the FSP's slanders of us in their "date rape" leaflet. Nonetheless, we must also save ourselves from this flaccid depiction of our politics. We are fighting for a *socialist* North America which will create the material basis to replace the patriarchal family, liberate women and do away with the inequalities and pathology of this decaying capitalist system. As we concluded our *Women and Revolution* article on the "date rape" issue: "In a classless society social and economic constraints over sexual relations will be non-existent, and in the words of Frederick Engels, 'there is no other motive left except mutual inclination'." ■

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# Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

Arab "terrorism scare" in the vocabulary of racist hysterics.

In Toronto, reaction to the brutal murder of Georgina Leimonis laid bare the iron link between the "anti-violence" crusade and anti-immigrant racism. Leimonis—attractive, young and white—was gunned down in cold blood during a robbery at a popular cafe. Her murderers were black. The bourgeois media immediately portrayed the whole black community as the source of violent crime, while the cops circulated blurry surveillance photos of the male suspects, urged public "vigilance" and harangued crowds outside the cafe. Around factory lunchroom tables black union men quietly worried about how to keep their heads down, and for how long. On June 17, when Immigration Minister Marchi introduced changes to the Immigration Act to make deportation of "criminals" easier, he flourished the Leimonis murder as his motivation.

These days, every violent crime linked to an "immigrant" (non-white) suspect is cynically leapt on to justify calls for more cops, tougher jail terms, immediate deportation of immigrants convicted of criminal offenses, collection of crime statistics based on "race," and restriction of immigration. At the same time, non-white victims of racist violence are largely ignored, and killer cops who beat up Asians and gun down black youth walk free.

We warn: this fraudulent, racist attack on the vulnerable immigrant sectors of the working class is intended to strengthen the repressive and intrusive powers of the state against the working people as a whole. In its own defense, the labor movement must vigorously oppose all such measures! The necessary hard class struggle against plant closures and layoffs, in defense of jobs and social services, will inevitably come up against the armed fist of the bosses' state—the cops and courts. Directly, the current campaign against "violent criminal immigrants" will be used to justify "tougher sentences" for strikers who defend their picket lines and to get rid of foreign-born union militants who today make up a strategic core of Canada's multiracial labor movement.

Against the attempt of the capitalists to wreck proletarian unity along race and national lines, the working class must demand: Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families! Defend refugees—Stop the deportations!

The escalating attacks of the Canadian ruling class are part of a rising tide of anti-immigrant racism throughout the Western "industrial democracies." In the spring of 1993 the German parliament abolished the right of asylum; the following day, German Nazis burned to death five Turkish women and children in their home. In France the government has stepped up deportations and framed a policy of "zero immigration," trampling on the right established by the French Revolution that every child born in France was a French citizen. Similarly, in California, Republican governor Pete Wilson proposed to abolish the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which grants citizenship to anyone born in the United States.

Last year the United Nations recorded the migration of 100 million people. Nearly 20 million of these were refugees, displaced victims of the immiseration and bloodshed spawned by imperialism's New World Disorder. More than any other factor, the collapse of the Soviet Union—which has sparked fratricidal civil wars and freed the hands of the imperialists to engage in renewed colonialist military adventures—has produced this massive flow of refugees.

As long as the Soviet Union provided an external enemy, the imperialist ruling classes felt the need to polish up their democratic pretensions by cosmetically liberalizing some aspects of immigration policy. No longer. In the wake of the counterrevolutionary overturn of the Stalinist-run workers states, immigrants and refugees are increasingly supplanting "godless Communism" as the main "foreign threat" to "domestic security." From Bonn and Paris to Ottawa and Washington, the mutually antagonistic imperialist ruling classes agree on one thing: throw them out and keep them out.

At bottom, capitalist immigration policy is about controlling the supply of labor. As the Russian revolutionary V.I. Lenin pointed out in his 1916 book, *Imperialism*, the economic and political power of European and North American capitalism rests on the ruinous exploitation of millions of people in the colonies. When there is a need for labor, the capitalists import it from such poor countries. When the economic boom collapses, they deliberately incite anti-immigrant racism in order to weaken working-class solidarity, cut off the flow of immigrants and expel those already in the country.

## Canadian Immigration Policy: Exploitation and Expulsion

The history of Canadian immigration is full of particularly brutal examples of this pattern not least because, unlike the U.S. and France, the Canadian ruling class has never been constrained by formal democratic principles entrenched in a revolutionary-bourgeois constitution. For example, the 1914 War Measures Act authorizing the suspension of all civil liberties at the whim of Cabinet was originally drafted to suppress "enemy alien" immigrants during the first imperialist world war. In 1970 the same War Measures Act would be employed by Pierre Trudeau to place Quebec under martial law and detain labor and nationalist leaders without trial.

In the late nineteenth century, a key goal of the Dominion bourgeoisie was to secure the strategic port of Vancouver for Britain against northward American expansion. To achieve this, in the 1880s, the western leg of the Canadian Pacific Railroad was built by 15,000 Chinese navvies. Their cheap imported labor saved Cornelius Van Horne and his CPR \$3.5 million between 1880 and 1885, but it cost the Chinese laborers dearly. Over 2,000 of them died building the "national dream." In 1885, when the line was completed and the demand for their labor dried up, the explicitly racist head tax was imposed to prevent further Chinese immigration.

With the CPR in place, Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton was charged with populating the vast "empty" space

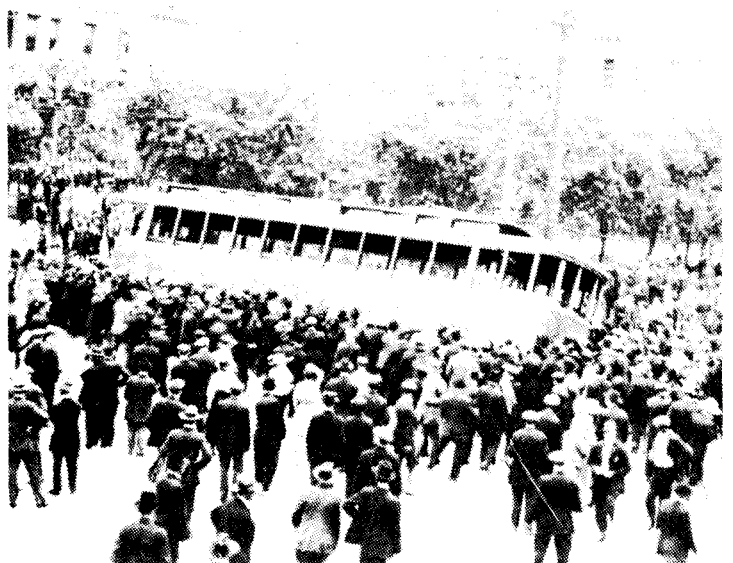
(continued on page 12)

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Manitoba Archives

Scabs and thugs (above left) mobilized against “aliens” to break militant 1919 Winnipeg General Strike.

## Immigration...

(continued from page 11)

between Fort William and the Rockies. Britain alone could not provide enough. But the British-derived Canadian rulers’ search for alternative “civilized” West European immigrants ran up against emigration quotas in France and Germany, both of which preferred to colonize their own African “possessions.”

In desperation, in 1899 Sifton set up an illegal, clandestine web of European shipping agents to smuggle North European farmers to Canada. This network operated until it was “exposed” in 1905. Sifton’s extraterritorial adventure neatly highlights the pious hypocrisy of the Canadian bourgeoisie today over “immigrant smuggling,” the crime for which they recently set up and convicted Toronto black activist Dudley Laws.

Still short huge numbers of immigrants, Sifton for the first time turned to the formerly “undesirable” Slavs of Eastern Europe. No sooner had such non-British immigrants begun to flow in than they were met with an orchestrated campaign of nativist hatred. The Ku Klux Klan flourished in Saskatchewan on the basis of Protestant bigotry directed against French-speaking Catholics and Slavic farmers. Quebec nationalist Henri Bourassa rose in Parliament to declare that “Our partly French and partly English country” was becoming “a land of refuge for the scum of all nations.” Social-democratic saint J.S. Woodsworth, later a founder of the CCF, worried about “how difficult is the problem of Canadianizing them, even without the influx of another immigrant.”

Such official chauvinism directly inspired racist violence. When the economy nosed over into recession in 1907, in Vancouver the white-supremacist Asiatic Exclusion League organized a pogrom. Rioters stormed through Japanese and Chinese neighborhoods, smashing windows and beating residents.

Anti-immigrant racism has always been poisonous to working-class struggle. The hysteria organized from Parliament Hill at the beginning of the century, combined with the soft-core “socialist” chauvinism of Woodsworth and his ilk, served to cripple proletarian class unity. Union leaders refused to organize non-white workers, preserving “their” workers organizations as white job trusts and calling on the bosses’ government to defend (white) workers’ interests.

These labor traitors’ strident racist appeals to the capitalist state were inevitably fatal to the interests even of the white workers themselves. In 1900, B.C. union leaders organized a mob to attack a Japanese demonstration in support of a joint strike of Japanese and white fishermen. Under the pretext of preventing “violence,” the government declared martial law, sent in the militia and *broke the strike*.

In contrast, the revolutionary syndicalists of the Industrial Workers of the World supported integrated unions and fought to recruit immigrant workers. IWW leader Bill Haywood cabled the leadership of a 1903 Vancouver Island miners strike: “We approve of calling out any or all men necessary to win at Lady-smith. Organize the Japanese and Chinese if possible.” Many of the best Wobbly militants would go on to help found the Communist Parties of the U.S. and Canada.

## Immigration, Anti-Communism and the Working Class

Much of Canadian capitalist immigration policy has been designed to snuff out the growth of labor radicalism and prevent the coherence of a revolutionary leadership of the working class. During the Great Depression, thousands of unemployed immigrant workers were deported as “a drain on the public purse.” Not accidentally, many among them were class-conscious worker militants and Communists.

In World War I, the government’s rabid chauvinist campaign against “enemy aliens”—Germans, Austro-Hungarians, Poles and Ukrainians, and the revolutionary Marxist tradition many brought with them—reflected the fear of revolutionary agitation. In 1914 the Borden government passed a spate of legislation targeting “enemy aliens.” The draconian War Measures Act passed through parliament without opposition. The War-time Elections Act denied the vote to those who had emigrated from “enemy countries” after 1902.

Under the War Measures Act, “enemy aliens” were required to carry identity cards and report regularly to police. In 1918, an order-in-council made it illegal to possess any publication in an “enemy language” without a license from the Secretary of State. By war’s end, 83,000 “enemy aliens” had been interned in concentration camps including, briefly, Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky.

After the war, the spectre of the “enemy alien” became a bludgeon against an upsurge of labor struggle, in particular the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. Historian J.M. Bumstead, writing in *The Beaver* (June/July 1994), describes how in January 1919,

“mobs of returning soldiers wrecked the local offices of the Socialist Party of Canada, terrorized immigrants on the streets, and demonstrated against a meatpacking plant alleged to have employed ‘alien’ labour....

“The [Winnipeg] *Tribune* on 13 May reported a dominion-wide veterans’ campaign against radical bolshevik newspapers which it was claimed the soldiers held responsible for the current industrial unrest and upheaval.”

The powerful Winnipeg General Strike panicked the ruling class, and sent them into a frenzy of “King and Country” chauvinism against the spectre of Bolshevism. They were right to worry. In part inspired by the Russian Revolution and the German Spartacus uprising, the Winnipeg General Strike won broad support among immigrant workers and split the ranks of the returning soldiers. It was pro-strike soldiers, not the reformist official “strike leaders,” who demanded the government recognize compulsory collective bargaining. Soldiers led the “silent parade” which was attacked by the Royal North West Mounted Police and “citizen volunteers” on “Bloody Saturday,” June 21, leaving two immigrant workers dead.

Typically, although “To hell with the alien enemy!” was the rallying cry of the strikebreakers, the reformist union tops did nothing to defend immigrant workers or to forge worker/soldier/immigrant unity in struggle. Instead, they appealed to the very veterans associations who were the shock troops for

the employers’ Citizens’ Committee of One Thousand, offering to “discuss” the “alien question”!

Significantly, as Bumstead records, “Not a single ‘new immigrant’—enemy alien or otherwise—was actively involved on the leadership level of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike.” When the strike was broken on June 26 and the police arrested scores of foreign-born workers under Section 41 of the Immigration Act, to be deported as “anarchists and Bolsheviks,” the official strike leaders raised not a peep of protest.

But while the Winnipeg General Strike was defeated, the Russian Bolshevik Revolution which helped inspire it remained a beacon for the most advanced elements of the working class. The Communist Party of Canada was formed in 1921. From the hardrock mines of northern Ontario to the coal fields of southern Alberta, immigrant workers with their traditions of militant class struggle were the first to rally to it.

As part of the fight for North American socialist revolution, the Trotskyist League inscribes on our banner “Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers and Their Families!” This is in the spirit of the 1918 founding constitution of the Soviet workers state, whose Article 20 reads:

“Acting on the principle of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic shall grant all political rights enjoyed by Russian citizens to foreigners resident within the territory of the Russian Republic for purposes of employment and belonging to the working class or to the peasantry not employing hired labor. Local soviets [councils] shall be authorized to confer upon such foreigners, without any troublesome formalities, the rights of Russian citizenship.”

[TO BE CONTINUED]

## Defend North Korea...

(continued from page 16)

to reassert its role as imperialist top dog in the Pacific Rim. China may well veto sanctions in the UN Security Council and Japan and South Korea balk at provoking the North. However, Tokyo and Seoul are now talking about supporting economic measures against the North even without a UN resolution. This is crucial to Washington, since the only concrete action proposed against the already isolated Pyongyang regime is the cutoff of funds repatriated to the country from North Koreans resident in Japan.

Clinton & Co. are in a sticky position. Alternating bluster about sanctions with offers of diplomacy, they face a dilemma: “How do you isolate the world’s most isolated country?” asked a top South Korean official. “The truth is, it can’t be done.” As for all-out war, the Pentagon’s own war scenarios project that—even with a U.S. “win”—the result would be devastation in the South. It has occurred even to mad-dog Cold Warriors like the *New York Times’* A.M. Rosenthal that, while North Korea only has two small power-generating nuclear reactors, South Korea has nine large ones, which if they were hit with conventional weaponry would inundate the country with radioactive fallout.

### Nuclear “Nonproliferation” Hypocrisy

Constantly bullied by International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) demands for inspections of its power facilities, North Korea at first refused to allow these inspections and even threatened to pull out of the NPT. But under the constant pressure of the annual “Team Spirit” military maneuvers, in

which U.S. and South Korean forces rehearse an invasion of the North, Pyongyang agreed to IAEA inspections, offering more than the treaty requires. Not satisfied with anything but abject surrender, U.S. imperialism and its IAEA front men keep demanding new “conditions” every time the Kim Il Sung government makes a concession.

The latest round of escalation came when the North started removing spent fuel rods from its Yongbyon nuclear reactor late last month, and the IAEA demanded that 300 of the 8,000 rods be set aside for later determination whether any plutonium reactor by-products had been diverted *five years* ago. Pyongyang offered to negotiate an arrangement to inspect key rods and has allowed IAEA inspectors on site. Even IAEA chief Hans Blix denies that there has been any violation of the treaty, but the U.S. is now pointing to North Korea’s efficient removal of the rods to justify its latest war threats.

What imperialist arrogance! Estimates of the amount of plutonium North Korea may have managed to produce in its tiny reactor are measured in *grams*. (It takes 22 pounds of *weapons-grade* plutonium to make one reliable A-bomb.) By contrast, last month it was revealed by American scientists that the U.S. has “lost” more than *13,600 pounds of weapons-grade plutonium* from its Hanford Nuclear Reservation, enough for hundreds of powerful A-bombs. With an arsenal vast enough to blow up the world many times over, the Pentagon has nearly a thousand nuclear warheads aimed just at North Korea. And the U.S. is the only country ever to *use* nuclear weapons, incinerating some 200,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and leaving a generation of maimed and malformed babies.

In the 1960s, it was discovered that hundreds of pounds of  
(continued on page 14)

## Defend North Korea...

(continued from page 13)

enriched uranium bomb material "lost" by the U.S. had found their way to Israel. When Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu revealed to the world that the Zionist state had over 200 A-bombs, he was slammed into a dungeon in the Negev desert, where he remains to this day. Yet Washington has not so much as rapped the knuckles of its war-crazed junior partners in Tel Aviv, who still refuse to sign the "Nonproliferation" treaty. Likewise, South Africa's apartheid rulers last year admitted to a cache of six bombs (developed in collaboration with Israel and Germany) which they intended to "destroy" given the prospect of a majority-black ANC government.

Meanwhile, Japanese imperialism, which also howls against the North Korean "nuclear threat," has been amassing plutonium at the rate of *several tons* a year, aiming at a stockpile of 85 tons in the next couple of decades. While demanding that North Korea "obey" the NPT, Japan has itself been exempted from many of the treaty's provisions and has been making noises about entirely repudiating the agreement. And with the February launch of its sophisticated H-II missile, Japan clearly has the capacity to send nuclear payloads to any part of the world.

The hysterical imperialist claims that North Korea possesses nuclear weapons are probably untrue—not merely trivial in extent. The international working class must defend the right of North Korea and the other remaining deformed workers states (China, Vietnam, Cuba) to have nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the imperialist war criminals. *Down with Washington's sanctions blackmail! Defend North Korea against imperialist provocations!*

### New World Disorder in the Pacific

Washington's nuclear brinkmanship on the Korean peninsula must be seen through the lens of growing interimperialist rivalry in Asia. Noting that "relations between Seoul and Tokyo have never been better," *U.S. News & World Report* (4 April) recently complained about a "strategic realignment...that eventually may reduce America's influence in Northeast Asia." Indeed, Washington's frenzied anti-proliferation push is aimed in large part at Tokyo, which has been using the North Korean bogey as an excuse for forging ahead with its own nuclear arsenal and to grease the skids for a propaganda assault on widespread pacifist opposition at home to the development of nuclear weapons. Defense Minister Aichi Kazuo sees the North Korean standoff as "a wonderful opportunity...to expand Japan's role" (*Asian Wall Street Journal*, 23 March).

While giving verbal support to the American threats, Japan—as the major investor in Korea, South and North—seeks a more deliberate push toward counterrevolution in the North. Editorial comment in the Japanese bourgeois press continually urges North Korea to adopt a more conciliatory posture toward the U.S. and wants the Beijing regime, further down the road of "market socialism," to exert similar pressure on Pyongyang. The Spartacist Group Japan (SGJ) calls on the Japanese working class to defend North Korea against imperialist threats and to oppose the Japanese bourgeoisie's drive to revive its "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" of neocolonial exploitation—the main enemy is at home!

U.S. sabre rattling is also not popular in Seoul as the Kim Young Sam regime is caught between a rock and a hard place. South Korea does have to pay lip service to U.S. imperialism's

aggressive military stance but is not anxious to go to war. The North's ground forces are far superior to Seoul's puppet army and a new Korean war could easily wipe out the country's huge industrial monopolies, the *chaebols*. Nor can South Korea afford to rapidly swallow up a collapsing North Korea as German imperialism did with its *Anschluss* (annexation) of the former East Germany (DDR). Thus Seoul sides with Tokyo's desires for a less precipitate drive toward capitalist restoration in the North.

### For the Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

Following the collapse of Soviet Stalinism and with China heading fast down the road of capitalist restoration, the North Korean deformed workers state is militarily isolated and in great peril. Its policies of extreme autarky are a dead end. Proletarian political revolution in the North intertwined with socialist revolution in the capitalist South is the only way to salvage the social foundations of the workers state. A revolutionary upsurge by the combative working class in the South, joined by radical students and discontented peasants, would certainly reverberate across the 38th parallel, as well as inspiring outbreaks of class struggle throughout the region, particularly in China and Vietnam, where workers face the ravages of "market socialism." The revolutionary reunification of Korea would also inspire resistance by the powerful industrial proletariat of Japan, the key to a socialist Asia, and propel the sizable Korean population in Japan into struggle.

The most volatile social factor on the Korean peninsula is the South Korean working class, from the strategic Hyundai workers in Ulsan to militant teachers in Seoul. The "honeymoon" has long been over for the Kim Young Sam "reform" regime. As last summer's strikes at Hyundai and the banning of the student group Hanchongryon show, while the military is no longer formally in power, the state apparatus continues to rule through naked military and police terror.

What is needed is the creation of a Leninist-Trotskyist party that can link workers' struggles into a common fight, winning the radical student movement and rural population to its side, and overthrow the venal puppet government of U.S. imperialism, whether it is represented by (former military head of state) Roh Tae Woo or Kim Young Sam.

### Juche vs. International Communism

The Stalinist Kim Il Sung and his cultist, nepotistic regime undermine the defense of the socialized property forms. The world capitalist market has proved itself far stronger than Kim's doctrine of *Juche* (self-reliance) which, stripped of its Korean nationalist parables, is the same old Stalinist crap that "socialism" can be built in a single country while (vainly) striving for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism at the expense of socialist revolution elsewhere. Kim's version of this discredited nationalist dogma glorifies a bizarrely bureaucratic, impoverished and autarkic "socialism" in half a country with an illusory notion of "self-reliance" rooted in feudal obscurantism and reactionary Confucianism. In the absence of political revolution, Stalinism will be the gravedigger of the North Korean workers state.

Bereft of Soviet and Chinese aid, the Pyongyang regime faces a grave economic crisis and sees no alternative but to open the economy, as have China and Vietnam, to imperialist penetration. Having already enacted a joint-management law, at a December 1993 plenum of the ruling Workers Party additional

measures were taken to draw in Western capital. This sharp turn to "market socialism" was underscored in Kim's New Year's address, as he called for a popular mobilization to make this year "a reformative turning point toward a new stage of development of North Korean socialism." What this "new stage" means for the working class is an expansion of the free-trade zones, like the ones created in Nampo, Rajin and Sonborg, where workers will be directly exploited by foreign capital and profit extracted from their labor. A "peaceful" reunification of Korea, as Kim Il Sung has long called for, would mean turning the North into a giant free-trade zone—dismantling the planned economy and restoring capitalism. The resulting immiseration would be far worse than the social disintegration of the former DDR.

*Juche* is antithetical to the internationalist traditions of Lenin's Bolsheviks and the early Communist International prior to Stalin's usurpation of political power leading to the strangulation and eventual destruction of the Comintern. Pioneer Korean Communists, driven into exile by Japanese imperialism's 1910 occupation of the peninsula, played an important role not only in their own country but in the Chinese and Japanese Communist parties as well as the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Far East. Koreans in the Soviet Maritime District eagerly joined the Red Army to fight against the White Guards and Japanese imperialism during the Civil War.

The first Comintern representative to set foot on Japanese soil was a Korean, and many Korean youth studying in Tokyo joined the Japanese CP. Courageous Korean Communists, dispatched by the Comintern from the USSR, China and Japan, tried to organize an indigenous Korean party, but these efforts were thwarted by the brutally efficient Japanese occupation police. The Korean contribution to early Asian communism was reflected at the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East, held in Moscow in 1921, where 52 of the accredited 144 delegates were Korean. The nationalist dogma of *Juche* could only prevail in the Korean party after its internationalist traditions had been purged, first by Stalin and later by Kim Il Sung. But the working class has a long memory, and the greatest tribute we can pay to the founding internationalist spirit of Korean communism is to build a new Leninist-Trotskyist Korean communist party.

Today North Korean schoolchildren learn by rote epic fairy tales of how Kim Il Sung "led" the Korean revolution. Nonsense! The North Korean workers state was created not by *Juche* but by the Soviet Red Army's rout of Japanese imperialism. Land was soon redistributed and industry nationalized in the northern half of Korea. When North Korean troops advanced south in 1950 they were welcomed as liberators; popular support for the Northern side was often expressed in strike action. In contrast, when MacArthur led imperialist troops back into Seoul under the bloody UN flag, his reception was anything but warm. To this day, most South Koreans despise the U.S. troops who continue to occupy their country.



Reuters

**Hyundai workers fight off riot police, July 1993. Combative South Korean proletariat can spark revolutionary struggle north and south of 38th parallel.**

Sanctions and other war measures against North Korea will also mean increased attacks against Koreans in Japan. The government has already threatened legislation that would make it illegal to send money to North Korea. Such a law would particularly target Chosen Soren, the main Korean social organization in Japan sympathetic to the North. In April, Osaka police raided eight Chosen Soren offices. Right-wing storm troopers have also targeted Chosen Soren offices and businesses and launched cowardly attacks on Korean schoolgirls. On June 1, the Spartacist Group Japan issued a leaflet demanding: "Hands Off Chosen Soren! For Labor/Minority Mobilizations to Stop Racist Attacks Against Korean Residents in Japan!" Yet most of the Japanese left, refusing to defend North Korea against imperialist attack, also fails to lift a finger in defense of Koreans in Japan against the racist government.

The Communist Party (JCP) offers tepid opposition to the threat of imperialist sanctions against North Korea, while pushing a wretched no-nuke pacifism and supporting "peaceful" measures by the United Nations. Domestically the JCP is steeped in chauvinist protectionism, doing nothing to defend non-Japanese workers against government and right-wing attacks. The JCP today has no Korean members and their trade-union federation refuses to organize Koreans and other non-Japanese workers into common industrial unions.

Japan's revolutionary proletarian party has yet to be built. That party, like Lenin's Bolsheviks who fought against the tsarist prison house of nations, will fight in the interests of the working class and the minority populations to create a workers republic. The Spartacist Group Japan is fighting to build a multinational Leninist-Trotskyist party. Those who hate racism and chauvinism, who believe that the working class has no country—as Marx and Engels wrote in 1848—who defend North Korea against imperialist provocations, who want to fight against discrimination against Koreans and other minorities in Japan as part of the fight for socialist revolution, should join the SGJ. ■



## Oppose U.S. Sanctions Threat!

# Defend North Korea Against Imperialist Provocations!

The following is adapted from an article in the publication of the Spartacist Group Japan, Spartacist No. 16, May 1994.

TOKYO, June 6—The 1950-53 Korean War was never officially ended, merely “suspended” when the U.S.-led United Nations invasion forces failed to overwhelm North Korea and its Chinese

### **For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!**

allies. Ever since then, Washington has continued its relentless drive to undermine and destroy the North Korean deformed workers state, created in 1945 when the Soviet Red Army drove Japanese imperialism out of Korea. In the past 18 months, taking advantage of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and China’s headlong rush toward capitalist restoration, the Clinton administration has carried out a calibrated campaign of nuclear blackmail and military buildup aimed at forcing the Pyongyang regime of Kim Il Sung to disarm, roll over and play dead.

On June 2, U.S. president Clinton declared that Washington would seek to impose economic sanctions against North Korea for alleged violations of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), which Pyongyang was strong-armed into signing in 1985. When war secretary Perry threatened all-out war several months ago if the North refused to capitulate, the U.S. began beefing up its formidable military garrison of 37,000 troops south of the 38th parallel armistice line, shipping in Patriot missile batteries, Apache attack helicopters and spare parts for war planes. The Pentagon has dispatched the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Carl Vinson* into the region, and last week the *Independence* was placed on full alert. Despite reams of Pentagon/CIA “reports” that North Korea is readying to invade the South, the only military buildup going on in Korea is Washington’s.



Reuters

**South Korean students protest visit of U.S. war secretary William Perry in April, as Washington rattles its nuclear sabre against North Korea.**

The imperialist news media have branded North Korea an “outlaw state,” like Saddam Hussein’s Iraq on the eve of the Persian Gulf slaughter. Heralding Clinton’s announcement, a rabid editorial in the *New York Times* (1 June) warned that “time is running out” and laid down a naked ultimatum that if Pyongyang didn’t bow to U.S. *diktat*, “it may leave the U.S. no recourse but to seek economic sanctions and prepare for any military reactions.” Pyongyang has rightly denounced any economic embargo as an “act of war.” The manufactured nuclear scare is so transparent that the *Washington Post* (24 April) reports from South Korea: “Even U.S. soldiers and airmen say Washington recently has seemed gripped by a hysteria about North Korea’s nuclear program that seems inappropriate....”

The U.S. is playing a deadly game of nuclear brinkmanship, alternating between bellicose threats and offers to “negotiate.” The U.S. has had a hard time lining up regional support for a military adventure on the Korean peninsula. And no wonder, for Washington’s purpose is to throw around its military weight

(continued on page 13)