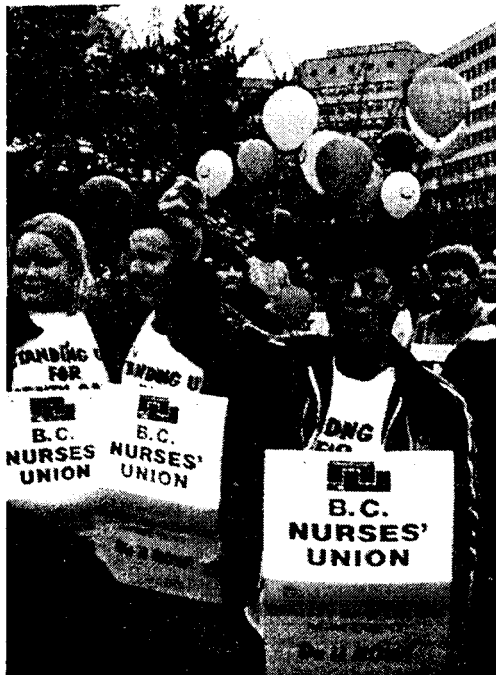


## Labor Must Defend Women, Immigrants!

# Racist Ruling Class Grinds the Poor



Rick Loughran/Vancouver Province



Jim Young/CP

Health care workers rally in Vancouver in March (left). June 23 women's anti-poverty protest in Ottawa.

Anna Wiersma, a single mother in Toronto, lost her job and her house three years ago. Forced onto welfare, she managed to find a rental apartment for herself and her two children. Last winter they were evicted, after the provincial government cut more than \$300 from her welfare check. As the sheriffs moved her into the street, with her son looking on, Wiersma told the *Toronto Star* (14 January): "If I paid my rent my children would starve. So I made a conscious decision to feed and

clothe my children and not pay my rent. I had no alternative."

A couple of years ago, the American bankers' house organ, the *Wall Street Journal*, dubbed Canada "an honorary member of the Third World," criticizing it for chronic government indebtedness and expensive social services, especially relative to the U.S. No more. Like other capitalist governments worldwide, Ottawa and the provinces have pushed through a

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**For a Revolutionary Workers Party!**

**Ontario Union Brass Peddle NDP Retreads . . . . page 3**

# **B.C. NDP: Enemy of Native Rights**

## **Defend Gustafsen Lake Protesters!**

One year ago, the B.C. NDP government set in motion the largest RCMP operation in Canadian history, ordering that a handful of Native people and their supporters be driven off ranch land they were occupying at Gustafsen Lake in the B.C. Interior. Branding the occupiers as "terrorists and criminals," the RCMP deployed hundreds of heavily armed cops backed up by helicopters and army Bison armored personnel carriers. Justifiably fearing that the cops were preparing a massacre, the last of the occupiers came out of their camp on September 17, 1995.

The B.C. government is continuing its racist vendetta. In a specially built courtroom in the Vancouver suburb of Surrey crammed with armed sheriff's deputies, 18 victims of the RCMP assault have been put on trial. The government's main targets, William "Wolverine" Ignace and his son Joseph, face attempted murder charges. William Ignace has already been held in jail for nearly a year since the RCMP operation. The other defendants face a mixture of mischief and weapons counts. Defense lawyers pointed out in their opening remarks that Joseph Ignace was not even present at Gustafsen Lake on the day the government claims he attempted murder, and that "In that back country everybody packs a rifle for hunting." This show trial is one more declaration by the NDP government that it is prepared to viciously suppress any struggle for Native rights.

The B.C. NDP's assault on the Gustafsen Lake protesters found its counterpart in Tory-ruled Ontario last fall when the Harris government ordered a massive cop operation against unarmed Natives occupying Ipperwash Provincial Park on the shores of Lake Huron. On September 6, 1995 paramilitary police commandos killed 38-year-old Chippewa Dudley George and wounded two others. Hoping to defuse outrage over this atrocity, nearly a year later the government charged one cop with a count of "criminal negligence." When his trial opened in Sarnia in mid-August, the court was packed with cops braying support for their own, while George's relatives were barred from the room.



Dave Buston/CP

**NDP government suppresses Native rights: RCMP with armored car at Gustafsen Lake siege.**

When they see temporary political advantage, the New Democrats sometimes posture as "friends" of Native rights. But, as Gustafsen Lake shows clearly, the NDP, ruling for the capitalist bosses, will not hesitate to unleash brutal state terror against the oppressed. As we wrote last year:

"Under capitalism, Native people face the 'choice' of poverty and isolation in the cities or squalor and deprivation on the reserves. The way forward lies through building a racially integrated revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. That requires a sharp political fight and break with the NDP social democrats, who would sanction the massacre of a small and defiant group of Native people in order to demonstrate their loyalty to 'law and order' and capitalist private property. Only the destruction of capitalism through workers revolution and the inauguration of the era of socialist development can redress centuries of crimes against the aboriginal peoples of this country, and permit their all-sided voluntary integration into society on the basis of the fullest equality."

— "Murderous State Terror Targets Native Peoples,"  
SC No. 106, November/December 1995

*Free William Ignace! Drop all charges against the Gustafsen Lake protesters! ■*

### **Note to Our Readers**

The Seventh National Conference of the TL/LT, held in late June, voted to return *Spartacist Canada* to a quarterly publication schedule beginning with this issue. This cut in frequency is necessary to free up resources for other aspects of our political work. Subscriptions will now cost \$3 for 4 issues of SC. They will continue to include *Spartacist* (English edition) and *Women and Revolution*. Current subscribers will, of course, receive their full six issues on the new schedule.

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# For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

## Ontario Union Brass Peddle NDP Retreads

On October 25-26, the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) is staging the fifth of its "Days of Action" in Toronto. As many as a quarter million unionists and others from across the province are expected to protest the austerity attacks by the right-wing Tory government of Mike Harris.

Tens of thousands have turned out for the earlier one-day strikes and rallies in London, Hamilton, Kitchener-Waterloo and Peterborough, looking for a way to stop the Tory onslaught. But the pro-capitalist sellouts atop the OFL have made it perfectly clear they mean the Tories no serious harm. Actual struggles on the picket line, notably the month-long OPSEU government workers strike last spring, have been left isolated and sold out. And the OFL's "Days of Action" have been carefully stage-managed to blow off pent-up steam, demoralize militants with one ineffective protest after another, and slowly herd the labor movement back to the camp of the NDP for the elections in 1999.

The OFL officially mended fences with the Ontario NDP last year, but thousands of union members still bitterly remember Bob Rae's union-busting Social Contract, which opened the door to Harris' all-sided offensive. Now the labor bureaucrats hope the selection of Howard Hampton to replace the hated Rae at the ONDP helm has finally turned the page.

Hampton sat in the Rae cabinet, where he supported the Social Contract. In 1992, as provincial Attorney General, he was personally responsible for jailing leaders of the striking Toronto postal union. His idol is Tony Blair, the right-wing head of the British Labour Party. Blair has set out to fashion a "New Labour" Party modeled on the capitalist U.S. Democratic Party, shunting aside organized labor in order to appeal to disaffected Tory supporters. Last year, Blair succeeded in removing the party program's tepid, reformist "Clause IV," which pledged to "secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry" and which called for "the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange." In its place, Blair inserted a statement extolling the "enterprise of the market and the rigour of competition"!

Despite Hampton's victory, the loudest cheers of the June ONDP leadership convention went to another candidate, Peter Kormos. Also briefly a Rae cabinet minister, Kormos won a reputation as a "maverick" for voting against the Social Contract. His campaign to return the party to its "traditional social-democratic roots" was a stalking horse to coax disaffected unionists back into the NDP trap. Kormos made this perfectly clear after the convention, declaring right-winger Hampton's win "a big victory for the rank and file across the board" which "shut the door on the Rae era" and "broke the

party machine."

Kormos also won support from the various reformist left organizations which circle around the NDP, notably the International Socialists (I.S.) and Labour Militant. Last year, both these outfits campaigned to re-elect the hated Rae government. This year the I.S.' *Socialist Worker* (1 May) called to "vote against the Rae years, vote against the Social Contract and back Kormos." *Labour Militant* (Summer 1996) enthused: "Many activists in the Kormos campaign are raising the idea of building a broad left alliance, uniting all socialists in the NDP, to fight the right wing leadership and attempt to



Toronto Star

Thousands march in OFL's June 25 Peterborough "Day of Action."

move the NDP in the direction of mass action."

At times, the I.S. and (less often) Labour Militant mutter vaguely about the need for a "socialist alternative" to the NDP. *But both are collaborating with the pro-capitalist labor tops in channeling militant workers back into the dead end of NDP parliamentarism.* That's what backing the NDP's "left" shill Peter Kormos really means.

Labour Militant's chatter about moving the New Democrats "in the direction of mass action," or even winning them to "revolutionary socialist policies," is a particularly cynical con-game. Until recently, their British parent group, Militant Labour, had buried themselves inside the dyed-in-the-wool pro-capitalist Labour Party for *decades*. They certified their own social-democratic credentials by refusing to call for British troops to get out of Northern Ireland, and by claiming that

(continued on page 29)

# Protectionism Is Poison to Labor Struggle

## Winnipeg Boeing Strike Defeated

Brutally attacked by the police and betrayed by their own misleaders, 870 unionists at Boeing's Winnipeg plant have suffered a sharp defeat. On August 16, members of Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 2169 ended their five-week strike, accepting the profit-bloated aerospace giant's terms: one-quarter of the strikers will be thrown permanently out of work! The Boeing strike could and should have been won. It was defeated by police terror and by the treachery of labor bureaucrats on both sides of the border.

Boeing's Winnipeg plant, set up with tens of millions of dollars in tax-free government loans, produces composite wing components critical to the company's Seattle-based operations. Boeing's plan was to use this "Canadian content" to secure fat government contracts. But the feds decided to buy European Airbus planes for Air Canada and the Defence Department (the scandal-ridden "Airbus affair," replete with kickback allegations, secret Swiss bank accounts and huge lawsuits). After spending \$700 million a year since 1991 without winning a place at the government hog trough, Boeing provoked a strike and threatened to pull out of Canada entirely.

Caught in a capitalist catfight, on July 11 the Winnipeg Boeing workers struck against the company's union-busting move to lay off high-seniority workers. The moment the walkout began, Boeing started trucking production equipment out. CAW pickets trying to stop this were met with brutal police repression, as dozens of Winnipeg cops pepper-sprayed picketers and clubbed them to the ground.

An amateur videotape played on national TV showed a cop viciously pummeling a unionist who was held down by four other cops. Handcuffed strikers were thrown into police wagons and gassed again while a police supervisor stopped a 911 operator from calling an ambulance. For defending themselves and their picket line, 13 picketers were charged with causing a disturbance. In a July 24 protest letter to the Winnipeg chief of police, the Partisan Defense Committee denounced the "vicious and criminal conduct of the Winnipeg police" and demanded that all charges against the strikers be dropped.

The police attack was a naked demonstration of the role of the cops as professional strikebreakers. Whining that the cops "took Boeing's side," CAW leaders and NDP legislators begged the cops' masters in the Justice Department to conduct a "review" of the cop riot in order to prevent further "violence." But the police are not supposed to be "neutral"—they are the bosses' enforcers, the armed fist of the capitalist state sworn to uphold and protect private property. What was needed to ward off the cops' violence was a massive mobilization of union power, surrounding the Boeing plant with thousands-strong pickets drawn from all of Winnipeg labor. But the Manitoba labor tops left Boeing workers to go it alone.

With the help of its police nightsticks and its labor lieutenants, Boeing was able to ship out nearly 50 semi-trailers loaded with production equipment, over half of the Winnipeg plant's capacity. In Seattle, the International Association of Machinists (IAM) tops ordered their members to work the transferred equipment—and to wear black armbands in "solidarity" with the Canadian strikers! As a result of all this, a



Winnipeg Free Press

**Amateur video shows cop assault on Boeing pickets.**

Boeing press release could boast that "no production delays were experienced...due to the work stoppage at Winnipeg."

What was needed to win the Boeing strike were concrete acts of international labor solidarity. As we wrote during the strike in *Workers Vanguard* No. 649 (2 August), "U.S. Boeing workers, as well as Teamsters, rail and all transport workers, must refuse to handle Boeing parts from Canada." But the pro-capitalist union leaderships would sooner pit "their" members against "foreigners" than call for joint strike action against the bosses. Last fall, the CAW tops kept the Winnipeg local on the job throughout a 69-day strike against Boeing in the U.S.

Such mutual backstabbing is the real meaning of the union bureaucrats' racist, chauvinist appeals on both sides of the border for protectionist programs to "save jobs" by scapegoating workers in other countries—usually dark-skinned workers in Asia and Mexico. The IAM tops called for a "partnership" between the union, the company and Clinton's White House to "save American jobs" as they sold out U.S. Boeing strikers. The CAW brass literally wave the Maple Leaf flag, mobilizing protests to "keep jobs in Canada." Their demands on the government to "buy Canadian" (in this case, "buy Boeing") serve to rally Canadian workers around their "own" exploiters at the expense of, for example, the European aerospace workers exploited by Airbus.

While the pro-capitalist IAM and CAW bureaucrats whip-saw U.S. and Canadian Boeing workers against one another, and turn both against their class brothers and sisters abroad, Boeing and the rest of the capitalist rulers laugh all the way to the bank. As the defeat of the Winnipeg strike graphically demonstrated, the protectionism pushed by the sellout labor tops is poison to working-class struggle. What is needed to unleash the power of labor and forge the necessary working-class solidarity across national borders is a fight to oust the chauvinist, pro-capitalist labor misleaders. As our *Workers Vanguard* article emphasized, "The task is to forge a class-struggle leadership of the unions as part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party that unites workers internationally in the struggle to sweep away all the capitalist bosses." ■

# Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

## Documentary Details Cop Frame-Up

The case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal made headlines across the U.S. again following the July 7 airing of "Mumia Abu-Jamal: A Case for Reasonable Doubt?" on Home Box Office. The HBO documentary, produced by the British independent TV network ITN, offers a graphic account of the 1982 frame-up trial and conviction of Jamal—an outspoken journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther—on charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner the previous December.

The HBO special makes it abundantly clear that Jamal's "trial" was a mockery of justice in which evidence was suppressed, black jurors were summarily excluded, witnesses were intimidated and testimony was fabricated. It notes that trial judge Albert Sabo was widely known as a "hanging judge" who has sent more people to death row than any other sitting judge in the U.S. The ITN crew interviewed trial witnesses as well as Jamal's defense lawyer and the prosecutor at the 1982 trial, and brought in independent experts to assess prosecution "evidence." The documentary also featured a prison interview with Mumia in which he powerfully reaffirms his innocence. This was the first press interview Jamal had been allowed since his civil suit against prison authorities for cutting him off from the media, a gag order which was recently partially overturned in court.

As we remarked in the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (July 1995), the prosecution's 1982 case—centered on a gun found at the scene, supposed "eyewitnesses" and a sham "confession"—consisted of "three legs, all lies." The HBO documentary takes apart the prosecution's "evidence" against Jamal point by point.

An interview with independent forensic expert Herbert MacDonnell cut the ground from under the prosecution contention that the presence of Jamal's gun at the scene showed he did the shooting. Pointing out that the police did not carry out the most elementary tests, not even smelling the barrel of the revolver to see if the gun had recently been fired, MacDonnell said, "That's not very forensic, that's common sense." MacDonnell concluded that much of the evidence against Jamal at the 1982 trial "would have been seriously questioned and perhaps destroyed by a good cross-examination, which could not be effected because there was no forensic scientist there."

As for Jamal's supposed "confession" when he was at the hospital to be treated for a near-fatal gunshot wound inflicted by Faulkner, the documentary quotes from the official report by Gary Wakshul, the cop who was with Jamal the entire time between his arrest and his medical treatment: "During this time the negro male made no comments." In the HBO interview, Mumia underlines that it took over *two months* for the cops to say anything about a purported "confession"! Furthermore, Dr. Anthony Coletta, the physician who was on duty at the hospital when Jamal and Faulkner were brought in,



Workers Vanguard

HBO documentary widely publicized the frame-up of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

told HBO:

"I was with Jamal from within a moment or two of him being brought into the emergency room, throughout this entire time in the emergency room and on into intensive care unit, and he neither made any confessions to me nor did he say anything that would be even remotely in the way of a confession to any other individuals."

Even as he lay near death awaiting treatment, Mumia was surrounded by cops, who continued to beat and torture him with guns drawn. Describing the harrowing scene at the hospital, Mumia's sister Lydia Wallace related his words to her from his bed: "I'm innocent, I'm innocent. They're trying to kill me, they're trying to kill me."

The ITN crew interviewed a number of witnesses present the night Jamal and Faulkner were shot. Dessie Hightower repeated his testimony at the trial that he saw a black man running from the scene of the shooting. As HBO pointed out, Hightower was the only witness at the 1982 trial who never changed his story. HBO also interviewed William Singletary, who did not appear at the trial. Singletary recounted how the cops intimidated him and repeatedly tore up his statements, in which he wrote that the running man was the shooter. Finally, Singletary recalled, he relented and wrote "word for word" a false statement dictated by the cops, even though he knew Jamal "was being wrongly, falsely accused."

HBO reported how "star" prosecution witness Cynthia White—the only one who claimed to see Jamal shoot Faulkner—was pressured by the cops into repeatedly tailoring her testimony to implicate Jamal in exchange for having charges for prostitution against her dropped. HBO quotes a declaration by Veronica Jones, another prostitute who was present at the scene, declaring that the cops tried to force her to make a similar deal: "They were trying to get me to say something that the other girl said." Jones has recently revealed that days before she took the stand in Jamal's trial, she was intimidated into changing her true statement that she saw two men flee the scene immediately after the shooting. On the basis of this new

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# KKK Terrorists Trounced in Chicago



Workers Vanguard photos

**June 29—KKK racist on the ground, protected by Chicago cop (left), as anti-Klan protesters turn out to stop race-hate provocation.**

The following article is adapted and updated from Workers Vanguard No. 648 (5 July), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

\* \* \*

When a gang of KKK nightriders tried to stage a race-hate provocation in downtown Chicago on June 29, they found themselves sprawled on the pavement of Daley Plaza and their fascist flag and Klan paraphernalia seized by outraged anti-racist protesters. The 15 racist terrorists of the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," armed with bolt-studded shields and flagpoles wielded as clubs, were countered by a spirited demonstration of nearly 100 union members, leftists and youth. The *Chicago Tribune* (30 June) reported that "Thomas Robb, leader of the group that traveled from Harrison, Ark., had blood on his shirt from cuts he suffered to his face."

The anti-fascist protest, initiated on less than 24 hours' notice by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Struggle League (LBSL), gave warning that KKK terror will not ride in Chicago! A number of black people passing by eagerly joined the demonstration. Some left groups like the International Socialist Organization and Progressive Labor Party arrived at the scene after the Klansmen had met the concrete.

Chicago police reacted predictably, protecting the vile Klan provocation by attacking protesters with pepper gas and mace and arresting nine. Those arrested included trade unionists, several supporters of the Spartacist League, a "Refuse & Resist" activist as well as anarchists and a young organizer in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program. Outrageously, one militant was hit with a "public morals violation"...for rubbing his posterior with the seized Klan flag! It was only the cops' cordon and their vicious assault on the anti-Klan dem-

onstrators that kept the nest of Klansmen from being swept out of the area entirely.

As the anti-Klan protest was ending, several youths leaving the area were brutally set up by the cops, who threw them to the ground and banged their heads against police cars. Some arrested protesters were kept locked up for close to three hours in an airless paddy wagon with the engine running—with the temperature that day near 100 degrees Fahrenheit! The racist violence of the cops is all too familiar to Chicago's minority population. Just two weeks earlier, an army of cops had been mobilized to beat up on mostly black basketball fans celebrating the Bulls' championship, arresting 650.

With Southern black churches being burned down at a rate not seen since KKK terror raged against the civil rights movement in the 1960s, the attempt to stage a Klan provocation in the center of Chicago was a deadly threat against blacks, immigrants, Jews, gays—all minorities—and a dagger aimed at the integrated labor movement. In the context of the drive against welfare and affirmative action, of massive increases in police powers and prisons and accelerated use of the racist death penalty pushed by the Democrats and Republicans alike, the Klan is seeking acquiescence to its presence in order to gain legitimacy. Given the right-wing political climate in the U.S., the danger is that the Klan be considered the "boys next door."

The anti-racist demonstration was an important affirmation that *the KKK cross-burners will not be tolerated in Chicago*. As Labor Black Struggle League spokesman Lisa Brockmeier stated in the *Chicago Tribune*, "We want them to know they are not welcome in Chicago. If we let them in here, then where is the next black church burning going to be?" In 1994, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a union-based,

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## Drop All Charges Against Anti-Klan Protesters!

# Young Spartacus

## Toronto "Youth Against Hate" Conference

# Anti-Racist Action's Cop-Loving Allies

Over the past four years, the Toronto-based Anti-Racist Action group (ARA) has organized militant demonstrations of youth against the fascists. From the outset, this earned them the enmity of the police, bourgeois liberals and "community leaders" who said that ARA was "as bad as the fascists" for looking to confront them! However, ARA's policy has been at best a kind of militant liberalism, combining "direct action" by their own small forces with appeals to various agencies of the bosses' government to "deal with" the Nazis.

While ARA has put the race-terrorists on the defensive on a few occasions, their narrow militancy *accepts* the boundaries of the existing racist order. When you reject the only program that can smash the capitalist system which breeds racism and fascist terror—the Marxist program of international working-class socialist revolution—you're stuck with trying to force the system to reform itself. That spells LIBERAL, and liberal politics were what played out at ARA's "Youth Against Hate" conference, held in June in Toronto.

The widely advertised weekend was billed as an opportunity for activists to "get involved in the discussion...about how different groups can support each other in exposing, opposing and confronting racism and fascism." What ARA actually organized was a forum totally dominated by *opponents* of militant struggle to stop the fascists, such as the League for Human Rights of B'nai B'rith Canada.

The Zionist B'nai B'rith's main game is whipping up support for the Israeli state and its brutal suppression of the Palestinian people. Closer to home, the League for Human Rights' American equivalent, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), is notorious as finger-men for the state. They've worked closely with the cops to spy on leftists, and have tried to wreck militant anti-fascist protests. In 1988, the ADL tried to destroy the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia through violence-baiting, smearing the PDC as "as much a threat to our democratic fabric as the Klan"! But they failed, as 1,000 black, white and Hispanic workers and youth came out to ensure that the Klan didn't ride in Philly.

Sharing the platform with B'nai B'rith at ARA's conference were others no less hostile to militant struggle against the fascist threat. These included direct agents of the capitalist state, from the Mayor's Advisory Council on Race Relations to the school board. The event was co-sponsored by the Canadian Anti-Racist Education and Research Society (CAERS), a Vancouver-based group which has been bankrolled by the B.C. government. In 1993, CAERS executive director Alan Dutton spearheaded a move to divert a labor/minority mobilization to *stop* a threatened fascist rally into an impotent gab-

fest at the Vancouver Art Gallery. Also invited to Youth Against Hate was Tim McCaskell, a "consultant" to the Toronto school board. At a 1981 anti-racist demonstration of 1,000 in Toronto, McCaskell personally led a goon squad against a Trotskyist League contingent in order to protect three hooded and robed Klansmen from the wrath of the protesters.

With such types as guarantors of bourgeois respectability, ARA appealed to Toronto City Council to help fund the conference. The city bosses "generously" agreed to donate \$8,000...at a price. Seeking further assurances that ARA was harmless to the racist status quo, City Council required them to renounce "the use of force," name their leadership, and present detailed financial records of conference expenses!



Canadian Jewish News

**Toronto police charge 1993 ARA demo. Racist capitalist state is enemy of all the oppressed.**

Malcolm X hit the nail on the head: "When they lay those dollars on you, your soul goes." In the past, ARA has chanted "Cops and Klan go Hand in Hand!" along with Spartacus Youth Club comrades on demonstrations against the Nazis. Yet the Youth Against Hate conference call politely requested that police officers "identify themselves at the door and in any workshop"! Suppose some uniforms had turned up. Would they have been allowed in to get some "anti-racist education"? (You have to wonder, since ARA spokesmen did not even object when, during the first conference session, their guest from the Simon Wiesenthal Centre regaled an audibly stunned audience with the importance of winning the racist killer cops over to "our side.")

### ARA "Broadens Out"

Reformist left groups (like the International Socialists, for  
*(continued on page 8)*

## Anti-Racist Action...

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example) love "broad coalitions," through which they hope to ingratiate themselves with "big time" social democrats and liberals. The precondition for such blocs is to agree *not* to disagree "publicly" over "principles." Necessarily, the politics of such lowest-common-denominator lash-ups always wind up being whatever the most "conservative" elements will accept.

Of course, Youth Against Hate wasn't a "coalition." B'nai B'rith and the state hardly have use for an ongoing "alliance" with the likes of ARA. But it was based on the same conception—so ARA's attempt to "broaden out" meant they built an audience and platform for declared enemies of struggle against the fascists, all in the name of "sharing experiences" and "networking" with anyone claiming to be anti-racist. *At best*, the end result of such unprincipled "joint initiatives" is inaction in the face of fascist terror.

Back in May 1993, B'nai B'rith, mainstream liberals and ARA shared the platform at an anti-racist forum at Toronto's Harbourfront. A band of Heritage Front thugs marched into the meeting led by their führer Wolfgang Droege, and were given the floor by the chairman. When comrades of the Trotskyist League shouted Droege down, they were thrown out of the meeting by the Metro cops at the request of the "anti-fascist" organizers, while ARA sat on its hands.

At the time, this abstention caused a huge fight inside ARA, and a realignment in its leadership. But at Youth Against Hate, ARA didn't merely sit on their hands. When a TL representative got up in one of the "discussion" periods to denounce the "anti-racist" pretensions of B'nai B'rith, he was cut off by the ARA chairman and threatened with physical expulsion.

As one conference participant observed, many young activists simply boycotted the event, having better things to do than be preached at by reps from City Hall about how the cops are our friends. In the past, a lot of militant youth have seen

ARA as an alternative to the apologists for the status quo, who tell the fascists' intended victims to "turn the other cheek." They must have gagged to see ARA's open capitulation to these same people. Yet from very early on, ARA's fundamental liberalism led them to appeal to the capitalist state to "take action" against fascists.

In 1993, ARA organized a demonstration of hundreds of youth against Paul Fromm, a fascist teacher at Applewood Heights Collegiate. But the aim of this mobilization was to pressure the Ministry of Education to fire Fromm and institute "anti-racist education." In a special leaflet, we warned: "Demands on the government to 'investigate' or 'silence' racists will ultimately be used to go after gay teachers, anti-racists, communists and others who 'undermine' capitalist society's 'core values'...." A case in point: Gerald Hannon, a gay rights activist and Ryerson University instructor, was suspended and barred from campus in a reactionary "family values" witch-hunt earlier this year by the same powers-that-be that ARA called on to deal with Fromm (see "Stop the Persecution of Gerald Hannon," SC No. 107, January/February 1996).

ARA has also organized spirited "surprise actions" outside "secret" Nazi meetings, chanting "Shut 'em down!" But the intent of these protests was expressed unambiguously by an ARA spokesman at a May meeting in Vancouver—to "create a symbolic jail, so that the police or the owners of the establishment could shut the meeting down."

The state is not some "neutral" referee, standing above social conflicts. Its *raison d'être* is to enforce the rule of the handful of filthy rich, white racist parasites who run this country. The fascists are the extreme, terrorist expression of the racist, anti-working class program of the bosses. But for all the dangers the Nazis represent, the *police* are the overwhelming source of violence against minorities and working people. The death toll of minority men and youth in Toronto at the hands of the racist cops is *nine* in the last year.

### Anarchism: Anti-Working Class, Anti-Revolutionary

Insofar as members of ARA adhere to any political ideology, it is the vague "anti-authoritarianism" of anarchism. Anarchism has gained renewed appeal internationally in the '90s among those who accept the bourgeoisie's oft-repeated lie that Marxian communism died and was buried along with the bureaucratically deformed workers states in the Soviet Union and East Europe.

Like the capitalists and their social-democratic frontmen, anarchists equate the Stalinist perversion of Marxism with the liberating program of communism. But the anarchists share with the Stalinists a fundamental premise: that proletarian revolution was and is impossible. Thus anarchist radicalism is reduced to demonstrations and other actions which, however militant, are simply moral appeals to the existing order to clean up its act.

In Spain in the 1930s, the leaders of the anarchist movement joined the capitalist Republican government in defense of "democracy" against Franco. This collaboration with the bourgeois state—a "broad coalition" on a grand scale that became known as the Popular Front—led to bloody defeat. What was posed point blank in Spain was workers revolution, and that was the one thing the anar-

### Marxism vs. Anarchism

A Trotskyist League Packet

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"The Origins of Anarchism,"  
Workers Vanguard No. 640,  
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"Mikhail Bakunin—Founder of the  
Anarchist Movement,"  
WV No. 641, 15 March 1996

"The Fight in the First International,"  
WV No. 642, 29 March 1996

"Anarchism and Syndicalism in the  
Pre-World War I Era,"  
WV No. 643, 12 April 1996

"The Syndicalists,"  
WV No. 646, 24 May 1996

"1914-1918: Imperialist War and  
the Realignment of the Left,"  
WV No. 649, 2 August 1996

"Open Letter to Toronto Anti-Racist Action,"  
Spartacist Canada No. 107, Jan./Feb. 1996

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SC photo

**SYC/TL fight to mobilize labor/minority power to stop the fascists.**

chists' "coalition partners" in the "broad anti-fascist front" feared above all. So, in the name of (capitalist) "democracy," the anarchists helped the Stalinists trample the insurrectionary working class, paving the way for Franco's victory.

ARA supporters doubtless want to rid the world of racism, women's oppression, poverty and war. Sharing these goals, the Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs have stood shoulder-to-shoulder with ARAers in *united-front actions* aimed at freeing black U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal as well as demonstrations against the fascists. Unlike popular-front "coalitions," the united front allows diverse groups to come together in action around shared goals while maintaining and struggling openly for their particular political views.

The watchword of the united front is: "march separately, strike together!"—allowing workers and youth to see what the different participating organizations really stand for in the framework of common action.

In these and other protests, we have emphasized that doing away with the system of capitalist exploitation requires international proletarian revolution. ARA leaders have sarcastically dismissed this as "your 'correct' (European) revolutionary line." But the Marxist understanding that the working class is the only revolutionary class is hardly a "European" matter. Indeed, despite the disgusting and bloody betrayals of Stalinism, Marxian socialism has long exerted a powerful attraction worldwide, not least in the non-European parts of the globe where imperialism has brought such barbarism and degradation.

Rejecting the very idea of overthrowing capitalism through workers revolution, ARA is *compelled* to flip back and forth between "street-level confrontation" and rubbing elbows with the suits from the Mayor's office. Under pressure to conform to what capitalism allows, ARA's "contradiction" is being resolved in favor of the status quo it once rebelled against. It's a short step from taking "anti-racist" dollars from the cops' paymasters to signing on as house "militants" to buff up City Council's "anti-racist" credentials.

In Washington, D.C. in 1982, in Philadelphia in 1988, in Springfield, Illinois in 1994, our comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Partisan Defense Committee organized successful labor/black mobilizations to *stop* the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis. In these and other united-front actions, we have fought to mobilize the working class, independently of the bosses' state, to lead the oppressed in the struggle against the fascists. To succeed, we have had to wage fierce political battles against the efforts

of those who preach reliance on the cops and courts: the bourgeois press, the sellout union bureaucrats, and the very same forces ARA embraced at its conference. Our aim is not only to achieve a decisive victory over the fascists at a single time and place, but to transform the multiracial working-class into the conscious historical force necessary to bring down the entire rotten imperialist order.

Under the banner of a class-conscious, revolutionary working class organized in a Leninist vanguard party, all the sectors of society devastated by capitalism can be united in a struggle to overthrow the exploiters. All the "drops and streamlets of popular resentment" must, in Lenin's words, "be combined into a *single* gigantic torrent" in a thoroughgoing social revolution. That is the goal of everything we do, and anti-racist militants should be part of that struggle. Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

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  - ② Canadian Imperialism: Enemy of Cuban Revolution—**Defend Cuba! For Workers Political Revolution!.....**Oct. 17
  - ③ Down with the War on the Poor: **For Class Struggle to Defend Women, Immigrants, Youth!.....**Oct. 31
  - ④ South Africa: **Fight Neo-Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!.....**Nov. 14
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Central Committee, Spartacist League/U.S.  
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## Quebec Youth Riot...

(continued from page 32)

fine. Yet the trial judge, stating "It would make me feel ill to release anarchist philosophers," sentenced the three to from one to three months in prison and two years probation, and issued a court order banning them from Old Quebec and Parliament Hill for a year.

The Partisan Defense Committee protested this state repression in a letter to Quebec justice minister Paul Bégin, noting that the witchhunt was "an abrogation of the most elementary civil liberties, recalling the police-state powers of Maurice Duplessis' 'Great Darkness'." The PDC wrote:

"The outrageous persecution of supporters of *Démanarchie* and Food Not Bombs is meant as a threat against all those who would dare to resist capitalist oppression....

"The PDC demands that the convictions registered against Stéphane Gogy, Chany Pilote and Stéphane Roy be quashed. Free Stéphane Roy immediately! Government, cops, courts: Hands off *Démanarchie* and Food Not Bombs!"

### Quebec Youth: Poverty and Nightsticks

The lurid cop/media tales of secretive anarchist covens orchestrating youth riots are absurd fantasies, designed to justify state repression. What really lay behind the Quebec City events (and similar blow-ups the same night in Trois-Rivières and earlier in Quebec City and Montreal) is elemental frustration, boiling over into fury, born out of daily police harassment of youth who face a "future" of mass unemployment and poverty.

Montreal is officially the poverty capital of Canada, with fully a third of the population forced to eke out a living below the government's own poverty line. Trois-Rivières stands second in the urban poverty tables, with Sherbrooke third and Quebec City seventh. Indeed, the postcard-pretty setting of Quebec's Old City, with its posh shops and fancy restaurants geared to tourism, contrasts starkly with the back streets of the city's Lower Town, where poverty and unemployment have been rife for decades.

The only large urban center between Montreal and the

Maritimes, Quebec City has become a magnet for disaffected jobless youth from the poor single-industry towns of Saguenay/Lac-Saint-Jean, the Lower St. Lawrence and elsewhere in Eastern Quebec. (One third of the youth arrested on June 23-24 were from outside Quebec City.) But despite the city's semi-bohemian reputation as a sort of North American Amsterdam, youth who try to venture into the chic tourist streets of the Old City or who gather in spots like Place d'Youville just outside the city walls, are subjected to constant police harassment and arrests.

### Capitalist Poverty and National Oppression

Throughout Canada, governments at every level have been gutting welfare, education, UI and health care, sharply widening the gulf between the rich and the poor. This economic devastation, a direct product of the capitalist profit system, savages youth as well as women and oppressed minorities. But in Quebec, the poverty endemic to decaying capitalism is intensified by *national oppression*—the historic and continuing subjugation of the francophone Québécois nation under English Canadian rule.

Official (i.e., understated) unemployment in Quebec is 13 percent and rising. And following the narrow defeat of the sovereignty referendum last fall, more jobs are being scrapped throughout Quebec as corporations threaten to move out in the face of continuing "political uncertainty." Unilingual francophones are hit especially hard since, unlike their counterparts in English Canada, they have no option of moving west in search of work, where anti-Québécois chauvinism and bigotry are pervasive.

While a layer of Québécois capitalists like Laurent Beaudoin and Pierre Péladeau has made it into the capitalist "big time," for the vast majority Quebec remains (with chronically depressed Newfoundland) the poorest area in Canada. At the same time, the Québécois bourgeoisie, aiming to be "masters in their own house," are now out to whip the Quebec economy into "internationally competitive" shape. The Parti Québécois government of Lucien Bouchard has launched unprecedented austerity cuts to health care and so-

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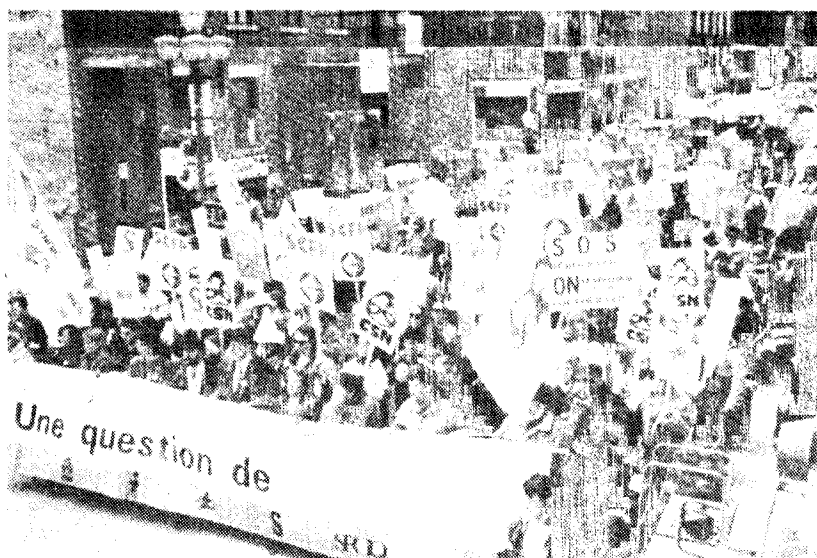
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Montreal union demonstration, April 1992. Nationalist labor bureaucrats chain combative working class to Québécois bourgeoisie.

cial services, along with more public-sector layoffs. Yet far from leading a fight against these frontal attacks on the workers and poor, the Quebec union bureaucracy tells the workers to *support* the PQ government, in the name of "national solidarity."

The hold of nationalism in Quebec is strengthened by the rabid English Canadian chauvinism in the rest of the country. While the viciously anti-Quebec Reform Party is the standard bearer for the "Maple Leaf Forever!" crowd, the NDP social democrats have been front and center in this reactionary crusade to uphold the oppressive unitary Canadian capitalist state. So long as Quebec remains subjugated within a "united" Canada, where Anglo chauvinism necessarily dominates, the prospects for anti-capitalist working-class struggle will remain deeply poisoned. We Trotskyists advocate *independence for Quebec* in order to break the grip of national chauvinism and lay the basis for redirecting the workers' grievances and struggles against the capitalist rulers in both nations.

### Riots Versus Class Power

The absence of class struggle enforced by the labor bureaucracy in the name of "national solidarity" helps ensure that social pressures are blown off—sometimes in bursts like the Quebec City youth riot—without posing the least danger to capitalist rule. Unlike militant proletarian struggle, such spontaneous flashes of undirected plebeian anger wield no social power. At best they lead nowhere. At worst, the culture of deep lumpenized poverty which produces them can also become a milieu ripe for fascist demagogues, who will seek to "direct" the despair generated by unrelieved capitalist misery against Native people, immigrants and other oppressed sectors.

In the 1960s and early '70s, Quebec workers were among the most militant and combative in North America. The May 1972 general strike saw them seize entire towns, beginning to threaten the very foundations of capitalist rule. This strike showed vividly the potential power of the working class—but it was defeated. The chauvinist labor tops in English Canada scandalously *denounced* the workers action, which was eventually derailed by the increasingly nationalist labor tops in Quebec.

At the time, these union bureaucrats were churning out manifestos calling to defeat capitalism and fight for socialism. But for all the rhetoric, when the working class actually posed a challenge to capitalist rule, the bureaucrats sold them out, acting as labor lieutenants for the bourgeoisie. Within months, they were channeling the Quebec workers' aspirations into the deadly embrace of the PQ. And today, they are openly in bed with Lucien Bouchard and the Employers' Council's Ghyslain Dufour. Their pro-capitalist policies are directly at the expense of Québécois workers and youth, for whom daily life only gets worse.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs defend the anarchist youth who have been targeted for state repression, as well as those arrested in the police crackdown on June 23-24. But unlike anarchists, who are content to be "against authority," we recognize the need to build a revolutionary party which can break the workers from chauvinism and nationalism and rally all the oppressed in a fight for socialist revolution. We fight for free, universal education; jobs for all; living stipends for youth so they can escape suffocating confinement in the family.

Such demands cannot be achieved under the decaying capitalist system. What is needed is a *fight for revolutionary leadership*. A Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, rooted in the working class, must be forged in political struggle against the labor misleaders. Only the workers in power can begin the task of creating a socialist society in which genuine human freedom will be based on the elimination of want. Only such a society can lay the material basis for eradicating capitalist misery and police-state power. Youth looking for a worthwhile fight must join the struggle for workers revolution. That's what the SYCs are all about—schools of revolutionary action and education. Join us! ■

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## KKK Trowned...

(continued from page 6)

united-front demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, with Chicago Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) workers at its core, which showed the power of labor, mobilized at the head of all the oppressed, to defeat Klan terror. ATU members were again among those who came out in Chicago on June 29 to stop the Klan.

The city's Democratic Party administration headed by Mayor Richard Daley Jr. sought to provide a safe haven for the Klan provocation by agreeing to their march plan at least a week ahead of time and then keeping it secret, while the big business media blacked out any news of the matter. Chicago's political establishment clearly feared the potential for a massive, militant outpouring by the Klan's many intended victims.

In a union town like Chicago, with its huge black and Hispanic population, there should have been thousands on the street to ward off the Klan threat. As the history of the "open shop" South shows, racist Klan terror goes hand in hand with smashing unions. The lack of a massive response to the KKK in Chicago can be laid squarely at the door of the misleaders of the labor movement, who are completely tied to the Democratic Party machinery, and of the demagogue Louis Farrakhan, who preaches the fool's gold of "black capitalism" and mirrors the Klan's racial separatism. This is suicidal for the oppressed black masses! Representing the tiny layer of the black "elite," most black radio stations refused to air appeals to turn out against the Klan.

The trouncing of the Klan in Chicago is a victory for all working people. The key to this successful anti-racist action

was the communist leadership provided by the Spartacist League and LBSL, which after hearing of the planned fascist provocation immediately began efforts to mobilize area unions and black and leftist organizations. In June 1982, a Spartacist-initiated united-front demonstration brought out over 3,000 trade unionists, blacks, Jews and youth in Chicago to stop a provocation by Nazi scum against a Gay Pride Day march.

**Trade unions, black community groups and all opponents of racism must demand the dropping of all charges against the anti-Klan protesters! When hearings began on July 23 for the largest group of protesters, dozens of their supporters marched outside Chicago's Cook County Circuit Court in a united-front picket initiated by the PDC. The demonstration was endorsed by more than a dozen union locals and labor officials. Statements of support for the arrested anti-Klan protesters have also been sent by a wide range of unions, from the ILWU longshore union on the West Coast, to the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, to the Fire Brigades Union in Scotland.**

**Send statements demanding that the charges be dropped against the anti-Klan protesters arrested on June 29 to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60602. Send copies of the protest statements and urgently needed financial contributions for legal defense (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the Partisan Defense Committee.**

**CHICAGO: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone: (312) 454-4931;**

**TORONTO: PDC, Box 314, Station B, Toronto, ON M5T 2W1, phone: (416) 593-4138. ■**

## Free Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 5)

evidence of police coercion, Jamal's defense team has applied to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to have his case remanded to the Court of Common Pleas.

In his HBO interview, 1982 trial prosecutor Joseph McGill repeated the argument he used to secure the death sentence against Mumia, namely that Jamal endorsed a Mao Zedong quotation which appeared in the Black Panther newspaper: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." As Mumia has repeatedly emphasized, the murderous repression by the racist capitalist state against the Black Panthers certainly demonstrated the aptness of that statement! Jamal himself was a target of the FBI's COINTELPRO war against black radicals from the time he emerged as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panthers in 1969.

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Though it refers to the voluminous FBI files on Jamal, the HBO documentary does not portray the massive extent of the FBI's racist vendetta against Jamal and the Black Panther Party. The COINTELPRO terror operation left in its wake a bloody trail of frame-ups and assassinations, with 38 Panthers killed and many others imprisoned to this day. The death sentence for Mumia is the long arm of COINTELPRO reaching into the courtroom. As we noted in the PDC pamphlet: "This sinister web of spying, intimidation and frame-up is not an aberration which can be cleansed from the system, as liberals would have it. Rather it goes to the very core of the capitalist state which, with its cops and courts, its prosecutors and executioners, is an instrument for the repression of the working class and the oppressed."

The racist machinery of death grinds on. Last year 56 people were executed in the U.S.; 20 more have been put to death this year. This is the fate the racist rulers seek for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The HBO documentary is a valuable weapon in Jamal's fight, publicizing to a wide audience the facts of the racist frame-up which sent him to death row. But Jamal's case amply demonstrates that any reliance on the capitalist "justice" system is a deadly illusion. It was only after an outpouring of international protest, including from trade unions representing millions of workers, that Jamal's execution was stayed in August 1995. What's urgently needed is to mobilize the social power of the working class and its allies in struggle to demand: *Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

—Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 649, 2 August

# Fake Lefts Tail Zyuganov's Chauvinist KPRF

## Washington Buys Russian Election

Boris Yeltsin's re-election as president of Russia in a July 3 runoff ballot was cheered by Western stock markets. The capitalist media exulted that the defeat of Yeltsin's opponent, Gennadi Zyuganov, meant "The End of Russian Communism"—though, in fact, Zyuganov's Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) is a thoroughly bourgeois-nationalist party. And U.S. president Bill Clinton hailed Yeltsin's victory as evidence that the Russian people had "turned their backs on tyranny" and were "turning the corner towards freedom."

For all its hoopla about promoting Russian "democracy," Washington enthusiastically welcomed Yeltsin's embrace of the sinister ex-general Aleksandr Lebed, an open advocate of bonapartist "order." Lebed's appointment to the powerful position of national security chief was in fact the most significant outcome of the election. This strident chauvinist and virulent anti-Semite is a self-professed admirer of former Chilean military dictator Augusto Pinochet, whose 1973 coup led to the slaughter of tens of thousands of Chilean workers and peasants. In particular, Lebed holds up Pinochet as a model for combining police-state terror with "free market" economics dictated by Wall Street.

The elections were immediately followed by a sharp escalation in terror against dark-skinned people. Seizing on mysterious rush-hour bombings of trolley buses in Moscow a week after the elections, Mayor Yuri Luzhkov, a key Yeltsin ally, claimed these were terrorist acts carried out by the "Chechen diaspora." Targeting Chechens and other Caucasian and Central Asian peoples, Luzhkov vowed to round up and expel "not only homeless down-and-outs but also those elements we consider dangerous."

At the same time, Yeltsin flagrantly repudiated his pre-election promise to end the unpopular war in Chechnya, a traditionally Muslim region in the Caucasus conquered by the tsarist empire in the early 19th century. Only days after the election, in the fiercest attack in months, Russian artillery bombarded two villages near the Chechen capital of Grozny, killing dozens of civilians. In the past year and a half, over 30,000 people, mainly civilians, have been killed in the savage colonial-style war in Chechnya and 600,000 have been driven from their homes. We of the International Communist League call for the defeat of the Russian invasion forces and for the right of Chechnya to decide its own fate.

Only six months ago, the Russian president had sunk to a 6 percent approval rating in opinion polls and ranked seventh in a field of presidential contenders. As late as mid-March, Yeltsin had all the preparations in the works for canceling the elections outright. As a report by David Remnick in the *New Yorker* (15 July) details: "One of Yeltsin's aides had already drafted a series of *ukazi*—decrees—on the dissolution of Parliament, the banning of the Communist Party, and the cancellation of the June 16th elections." Fearing destabilization and wanting to maintain some façade of "democracy," Yeltsin's imperialist patrons instead "bought the elections fair and square."

In the months before the elections, the imperialists showed \$14 billion in loans on the Russian regime. Yeltsin prom-



Frazza/AFP

Russian president Yeltsin with imperialist patron Clinton.

ised to pay \$1.6 billion in back wages for workers in the public sector, to help clear up \$4 billion in unpaid wages in private industry, to write off debts of collective and private farmers, to raise pensions and student benefits, etc.

The Russian president and his imperialist backers wasted no time renegeing on these promises. The post-election cold shower served only to underscore a *Washington Post* (5 July) headline which acknowledged that "Hard-Up Workers Greet Yeltsin Win with Little Joy." Indeed, it is a measure of the pervasive immiseration produced by capitalist restoration that despite the demonization and fear-mongering in the Russian media that a KPRF victory would mean a return to the Stalinist gulag, some 40 million people voted for Zyuganov.

Yet for Marxists there could be no question of extending any support to Zyuganov in the presidential elections. As we wrote after the KPRF won more than a third of the seats in the Russian Duma (parliament) elections last December:

"While many people supported Zyuganov's Communist Party because they lived better under the Soviet collectivized and planned economy, despite its bureaucratic deformations, the heavy vote for the KPRF does not represent a step forward for the working class in Russia. Despite its red flags and talk of restoring the Soviet Union, the KPRF is neither a communist nor even a reformist working-class party, but rather a bourgeois-nationalist party which promotes Russia's imperial ambitions."

The plight of Russia's working people and subjugated nationalities will not be bettered by replacing one set of nationalist thieves and butchers at the head of the Russian capitalist state with another. What is necessary is the reawakening of the dormant working class and its entry into the arena of class

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## Russian Election...

(continued from page 13)

struggle, fighting for its interests and those of all the oppressed on the road to a socialist revolution that sweeps away the new exploiters and their state. Key to this is the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party of the working class.

### "Wild Capitalism" and Would-Be Bonapartes

By the time of the first round of the elections in mid-June, it was expected that Yeltsin and Zyuganov would finish neck-and-neck in front. What was not expected was the strong showing of Lebed, who came in third with 15 percent of the vote. It turned out that Lebed's campaign was largely financed by the Yeltsin camp in order to take votes away from Zyuganov. The tactic worked as the bellicose ex-general effectively co-opted the main themes of the KPRF campaign—exaltation of traditional Russian culture, advocacy of a strong state dominating the region of the former USSR, "law and order," and a crack-down on pervasive government corruption. When asked by the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (24 June) whether he intended to become president at the end of Yeltsin's term, Lebed replied, "Possibly sooner." No sooner had the final votes been tallied than another power struggle erupted in and around the Kremlin, with Lebed pitted against Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, spokesman for the powerful natural gas monopoly, and newly reappointed economic czar Anatoly Chubais, a darling of the Western bankers.

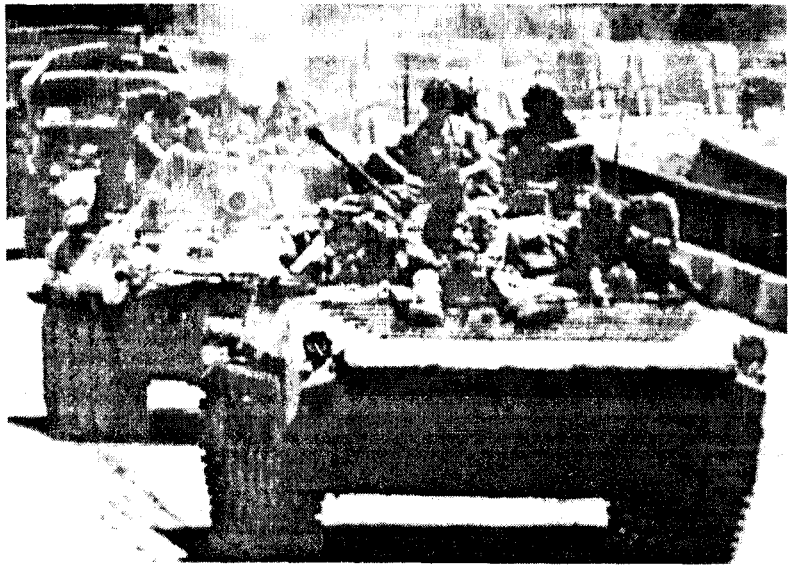
Lebed's meteoric rise expresses a powerful tendency in post-Soviet Russia for a "strongman" who can tame the present conditions of "wild capitalism," well described by American economist Rudi Dornbusch:

"Around the world, the lobbies of five-star hotels are now full of champagne-sipping Russian gangsters who gained control of state-owned assets. Yes, there are opportunities in Russia—enough to get many thousands of criminals instant wealth. But that wealth is created by corruption, theft, and violence on a scale probably unprecedented in history.... "Property rights are mostly a matter of how much more an investor is likely to put up in the future. And physical safety has to do with who shoots faster."

—*Business Week* (15 April)

Russia's new capitalists very much want to establish more Western-style rules of the game—e.g., that CEOs don't simply get offed by their competitors. And, of course, the same holds true for executives of multinationals and foreign banks operating in Russia.

The elections indicated that Russia's new exploiters are beginning to cohere as a politically conscious class. In late April, 13 major bankers, oil tycoons and industrial barons issued a barely veiled appeal that the elections—which had provoked warnings of civil war on all sides—be called off in favor of "a political compromise that can prevent acute conflicts that threaten Russia's basic interests" (*Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, 22 May). The proposed compromise was the formation of a broad coalition government including the KPRF, on the condition that it "not insist that society repudiate the hard-won achievements of the past decade." The statement ended by warning that "our country's en-



Days after re-election, Yeltsin violated truce in Chechnya, launching bloody army assault on Chechen towns. AP

trepreneurs have the necessary resources and will to influence both politicians who are too unprincipled and politicians who are too uncompromising." The call for a coalition government was also taken up by Zyuganov and Lebed.

What is clear here is that until the Western imperialists weighed in heavily, many of Russia's new capitalists were not wedded to Yeltsin's re-election. But thanks to the deep pockets of the International Monetary Fund, Yeltsin was able to piece off those sectors of the new exploiters, who in the end united behind his candidacy.

### Centrists in the Camp of Russian Chauvinism

When Yeltsin seized the reins of political power in August 1991, the ICL declared, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin/Bush Counterrevolution!" In contrast, much of the left internationally enthused over the "democratic" capitalist-restorationist forces led by Yeltsin and supported by the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys. Today, with Yeltsin widely despised, not only in Russia but even in mainstream Western social-democratic and liberal circles, many fake lefts have hopped on the KPRF bandwagon.

A prime example is the British centrist Workers Power (WP) group, which called for a "critical vote" to Zyuganov's KPRF as "an instrument of pressure for workers immediate needs and demands" (*Workers Power*, June 1996). Even while conceding that "its main ideological core is its repeatedly proclaimed patriotism," Workers Power prettifies the KPRF as a "bourgeois workers party" with "both historic and current links to the degenerated workers' state and the working class."

WP's ludicrous assertion that Russia remains a degenerated workers state is little more than a cynical cover for its earlier shameless support to Yeltsin's counterrevolution. Moreover, the idea that the KPRF is any kind of workers party is a complete fiction. Unlike the remnants of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Poland and Hungary, which transformed themselves into social-democratic parties linked to the trade-union movement, the KPRF is *not* based on or organically tied to the mass organizations of the working class, and it does not even claim to represent the class interests of the proletariat.



Truhanenko/NY Times

**“Free market” misery: coal miners in Vladivostok protest non-payment of wages.**

WP praises Zyuganov’s outfit for stopping the fascist demagogue Zhirinovskiy “from monopolising the discontent of millions.” In fact, the KPRF has largely supplanted Zhirinovskiy with similar chauvinist/populist appeals. For years, the Russian Stalinist has-beens have cohabited with outright fascists in a “red-brown coalition.” Zyuganov himself is a virtual embodiment of this grotesque bloc: he is a former head of the fascistic Russian National Sobor and a prominent figure in the “left-right” National Salvation Front.

Having called on Russian workers to vote for the KPRF candidate, Workers Power then cynically proclaimed—after he lost!—that “Zyuganov does not deserve the confidence of those millions...who voted for him,” remarking that “Zyuganov’s thoughts on religion, patriotism and Russia’s national destiny have been widely denounced as un-Marxist” (*Workers Power*, July-August 1996). “Un-Marxist”?! Zyuganov is a raving Russian chauvinist. One of his chief advisers is the rabid anti-Semite Aleksandr Prokhanov. And Zyuganov himself is no less an anti-Semite. His tract *I Believe in Russia* sounds like it was lifted straight from the anti-Semitic tsarist forgery, the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion,” which has again become a bible for Russian chauvinists. Zyuganov rants:

“Jewish influence grew not by the day, but by the hour. The Jewish Diaspora traditionally controlled the financial life of the [European] continent and became more and more the owner of the controlling interest in all the stocks of Western civilization and its socioeconomic system.”

—quoted in *New York Review of Books* (23 May)

**Russian Nationalism and Sham “Anti-Imperialism”**

As Geoffrey Hosking, a professor of Russian history at the University of London, pointed out: “If one disregards the rhetoric for a moment, however, then much of the difference between Yeltsin and the Communists vanishes” (London *Independent*, 5 April). Why, then, the hostility toward the KPRF among the NATO powers? To some measure, the imperialists were concerned that a KPRF electoral victory might lead to increased expectations among the downtrodden Russian masses. But the fake-lefts’ polyannish assertions to the contrary, there is no reason to believe that this would have taken

the form of class struggle. The KPRF’s appeal is based on Russian chauvinism with a veneer of populist rhetoric. A Zyuganov victory would likely have intensified chauvinist backwardness within the working class.

More importantly, the NATO powers opposed the KPRF not because it stands for communism in any sense but rather because it represents Russian imperialist ambitions. Even under Yeltsin, there have been serious tensions between Washington and Moscow, for example, over the expansion of NATO into East Europe and the interests of American oil companies in the Caucasian oil fields. The KPRF’s talk of “restoring the Soviet Union” is in fact a call for an expanded Russian-dominated imperialist state.

The small British Socialist Action group, formerly a denizen of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat swamp, openly embraces the KPRF’s chauvinist “patriotism.” Its position in this regard is both more intellectually honest and more reactionary than that of Workers Power. An article in *Socialist Action* (April-May 1996) lays out the core of its position, that defense of the Russian state against Western imperialist influence and pressure is in the present historic juncture progressive:

“With Russia’s existence once again threatened, progressive patriotic demands, such as opposing NATO expansion and rejecting IMF interference in economic policy, are therefore completely entwined with the other demands necessary to defend the Russian people from social, economic and national catastrophe.”

As the Chechen war so clearly demonstrates, the main targets of Russian nationalism are not the NATO powers and IMF but the *non-Russian* peoples of the former USSR. Far from being some sort of ersatz “anti-imperialism,” the KPRF’s chauvinist program reflects the real interests of the new Russian bourgeoisie, which understands that to build a capitalist state strong enough to play a world role requires that it dominate and exploit the industrial and agricultural resources of the Ukraine, the oil fields of the Caucasus, the mineral wealth of Kazakhstan and the cotton fields of Central Asia. And that is the *common program* of Yeltsin, Lebed, Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy. Thus the position of Socialist Action amounts to support for Russian subjugation and oppression of the Ukrainians, Azeris, Georgians, Uzbeks, etc.

For self-described leftists to vie with nationalist demagogues in East Europe and the former USSR on their own chauvinist terrain can only further disorient the working class and strengthen the system of capitalist exploitation to the benefit of world imperialism. The Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union, culminating in counterrevolution, offers a powerful if negative proof that the interests of the working class can only be defended with the perspective of international proletarian revolution. As we wrote in the Spartacist pamphlet, *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled* (August 1993):

“The proletariat which made the October Revolution learned from Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks that it was part of an international struggle. It understood that its only prospect for survival lay in the extension of the revolution to more advanced industrial powers....

“Only as part of the struggle to reforge an authentic world party of socialist revolution can the workers of the former Soviet Union cohere the leadership they need to sweep away the grotesque horrors they now confront.”

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 649, 2 August

# A Break in Fraternal Relations with Luta Metalúrgica

## Brazil: For Revolutionary Trotskyism, Not Trade-Union Opportunism

The International Communist League has dissolved its fraternal relations with the Brazilian Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LM/LQB) group. In a June 17 letter to LM by the ICL's International Executive Committee (IEC), we explained:

"For many months now the ICL has fought to bring the actual practices of Luta Metalúrgica/LQB into accordance with the revolutionary political program expressed in the Declaration of Fraternal Relations endorsed by both of our organizations in September 1994. In particular, since our January 1996 IEC meeting there have been sharp political struggles against LM's trade-union opportunism and centrist subordination of the revolutionary program to a policy of endless unprincipled blocs and amorphous combinations in the trade unions....

"As the LM/LQB is evidently adamant on its opportunist course, we therefore dissolve fraternal relations and separate our organizations. We look forward to opportunities for common struggle."

LM originated as a proletarian formation with a militant history in the steel industry center of Volta Redonda. In 1989, this group joined the Brazilian Causa Operária group (a tendency allied with the pseudo-Trotskyist Partido Obrero de Jorge Altamira in Argentina) but split in 1994 centrally over CO's centrist accommodation to the popular front. CO called

for a vote to the "workers' candidate," Lula, in the bourgeois formation, the Frente Brasil Popular, a class-collaborationist alliance between Lula's Workers Party (PT) and various "progressive" capitalist politicians (see "Brazil: IMF Candidate Wins Election," *Workers Vanguard* No. 608, 14 October 1994).

It was LM's opposition to the Lula Popular Front and also its understanding of the centrality of the fight against racial oppression—ignored by the rest of the Brazilian left—as a *strategic* question for socialist revolution in Brazil which laid the basis for our establishment of fraternal relations in the fall of 1994. Fraternal relations are a dynamic process of testing the apparent programmatic agreement through common work and debate of differences. A lengthy and difficult process in any case, this process was rendered more difficult in Brazil because of geographic distance, language difficulties and low level of communications technology. We sought to deepen our ties to LM, overcoming differences or potential differences, through patient and pedagogical discussion.

Recognizing that there is no stasis in fraternal relations, i.e., if we weren't moving forward we were sliding back, the ICL brought one of LM's leading representatives to an authoritative gathering of our International Executive Committee in January. We then invested significant resources to maintain an ICL representative in Brazil for many months to pursue an agreed-upon agenda for common work. This centered on the need to publish a party propaganda organ, to extend our presence to a major metropolitan center, and to seek to win recruits from the younger generation, including in the steel industry where LM has earned authority.

In the months prior to the IEC meeting, LM was centrally involved in an amorphous and unprincipled lash-up, *Municipários em Luta* (MEL), which had recently won the leadership of the municipal workers union in Volta Redonda. At the January IEC meeting, the ICL first learned that this union includes police! For the past six months, our relations with the LM/LQB have been dominated by the interrelated issues of fighting to oust the cops from the union and of breaking the LM group from its ingrained practice of unprincipled combinationism in the unions. Despite a formal advocacy of the class independence of the workers, LM combined with non-Marxist and even sinister elements and braintrustered the MEL slate without ever mentioning in their election propaganda the question of removing the cops from the municipal workers union. Moreover, this election program, which sounded quite left-wing, was so sparsely distributed that a majority of the cops in the union voted for the MEL slate!

While LM opposed the bloc between Lula's PT and various bourgeois politicians, a "union" between workers and cops is actually a purer form of popular front than that which exists at the parliamentary level: the mass organization

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Luta Metalúrgica

Luta Metalúrgica initiated united-front protest for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Volta Redonda, August 1995.



# Pabloism of the Second Mobilization

## A Shamefaced Defection from Trotskyism

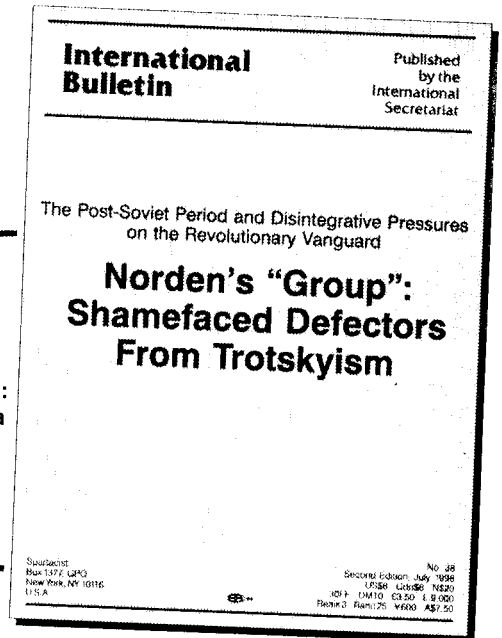
Jan Norden, who for 23 years was the editor of *Workers Vanguard*, was expelled from the Spartacist League/U.S. by a meeting of the Political Bureau on June 8 for willful violation of the most fundamental condition of membership in a Leninist party: that the party has a monopoly over the public political activity of its members. Marjorie Stamberg, a longtime member of the WV Editorial Board, was also expelled for refusing to accept the democratic-centralist discipline of the revolutionary party.

Norden, who had until recently been a member of the International Executive Committee and International Secretariat of the International Communist League, as well as of the SL/U.S. Central Committee and Political Bureau, had for some time evidently taken a large proportion of his political activity underground. For some eight months, he had stopped asking the party for reimbursement for bills incurred in discharging his political responsibilities from his home by phone, or through fax and computer equipment that had been supplied by the organization. At the same time, he continued to submit bills for all other material he felt he needed for whatever political work he was doing.

Of course, this doesn't explain much. The anarchist Bakunin was expelled from the First International for financial chicanery. But that tells one very little about the differences between Marxism and anarchism. In Norden's case, his organizational pathology reflected a shamefaced political defection from the program of revolutionary Trotskyism, not fought or argued forthrightly as such, but rather expressed in an increasingly desperate search for, and accommodation to,

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social forces other than the proletariat and vehicles other than a Leninist vanguard party to advance the cause of the struggle for human emancipation. After a long and exhaustive internal struggle, Norden's revisionist course had been so thoroughly exposed that, despite his years of authority in the party, in the end he left with only his longtime political collaborator and personal companion, Stamberg, and his protégé Negrete.

Trotsky noted in *The Lessons of October* (1924) that sudden changes in the world situation always provoke disorientation  
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Where Norden's appetites wandered: to geriatric remnants of former East German Stalinist bureaucracy now in social-democratic Party of Democratic Socialism, and to Castro's Cuba.

## Shamefaced Defection...

(continued from page 17)

and confusion within the revolutionary party, especially within its leadership. The period from 1989 to 1992 was marked by profound changes and historic defeats for the working class internationally as capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe and the Soviet Union. Buying into the imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism," the left generally is rapidly repudiating even any pretense of Leninism, seeking "regroupment" in larger reformist formations together with social democrats and ex-Stalinists. Our small revolutionary international is hardly immune to the disintegrative pressures of this period of post-Soviet reaction. But unlike our centrist and reformist opponents, who wallow in their opportunism while glibly denying any internal problems, we strive to be candid in assessing the tasks and difficulties facing us and are unique in bringing this before the international working class and the left.

This is because unlike other self-proclaimed Trotskyists, who have long forsaken the goal of international proletarian revolution, we fight for a new October Revolution. But the disproportion between this purpose and the current political consciousness of the working class, youth and the left internationally is great. Today, even most subjective leftists view as rather esoteric the idea that a proletarian revolution, like that successfully pursued by Lenin's Bolshevik Party in Russia in 1917, is the key to the liberation of mankind. This is due in no small measure to the crimes of the Stalinists, and the Social Democrats before them, who made a mockery of the program and ideals of revolutionary Marxism.

As we wrote in a "Perspectives and Tasks Memorandum" adopted at a meeting of our International Executive Committee (IEC) last January and reprinted in a recently published *International Bulletin* ("Norden's 'Group': Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism"): "Failure to recognize the period we are in and the necessary relationship of our small revolutionary vanguard to the proletariat, and the absence of the Soviet Union as an active and defining factor in politics, have led to disorientation and appetite to follow alien political

programs and forces."

An early manifestation of the liquidationist pressures on the ICL in this period was the 1994 minority faction in our Canadian section of Y. Rad and Marie Hayes, who frantically cast about the world for forces other than the proletariat to lead "the struggle." This included glorifying various ex-Stalinist formations, like the Russian nationalist, fascist-infested "red-brown coalition"; looking to the murderous Algerian military regime to combat Islamic fundamentalism (while simultaneously retrospectively saluting Khomeini's mullahs as the "ally" of the Iranian workers in 1979); and calling for support to the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress in the 1994 South African elections.

Rad/Hayes' overt proclivity toward unsavory nationalist formations rapidly led them out of our international. Though not as extreme, the pressures of the period have also been manifested in fights over the relevance and purpose of a revolutionary Leninist vanguard in virtually every section of the ICL. These fights have been essential not only as a political corrective but in sharpening our revolutionary program for intervention into those struggles that are erupting and that will break out in the future against the ruthless offensive being waged by the capitalist rulers internationally. But for Norden the disproportion between what we strive for and the current consciousness of the working class had become a yawning, unbridgeable abyss.

He and Stamberg evidenced a deepening pessimism about the ability of our party and its revolutionary program to have any impact in the "New World Order," expressed in their ever more frequent broadsides against the ICL's supposed "abstract" or "passive" propagandism. This was matched by an increasingly hostile alienation from the party leadership, in which Norden had been no mere ornament. Stamberg, an alternate member of the SL/U.S. Central Committee, long preceded him in an increasingly frenzied alienation. She was the Spartacist candidate for mayor in the 1985 New York City elections—and it would have been hard to find a better one. But for some time now, she had bridled against a perceived leaden "bureaucracy" that stood in the way of her often "rad-lib" appetites. Over the last year or so, it became increasingly evident that she had essentially quit, at least in her head, as she shed various areas of political and organizational responsibility.

### The Pathology of Impressionism

Norden had always had strong tendencies toward impressionism and vicarious adventurism, animated by an often-fatuous optimism about the capacity of forces very distant from Trotskyism, or from the proletariat for that matter, to "struggle" in some successful measure against the depredations of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Within the framework of a political collective, these appetites could not only be curtailed but could also provide for a healthy tension in determining political line and intervention. At the same time, there were occasions when that balance tipped over, introducing distortions in our propaganda.

From the question of the survival of Sandinista Nicaragua against U.S. imperialism in the 1980s, to the capacities of the army of Saddam Hussein's Iraq to inflict serious damage against



Rebours/AP

"Highway of death," horrid scene of U.S. military's one-sided slaughter of Iraqi soldiers withdrawing from Kuwait, 1991. Norden downplayed deadly power of U.S. imperialism.

the imperialists during the Persian Gulf War, Norden always stood at the extreme end of a tendency to impressionistically overdraw (and often fantastically so) the military factor. Correspondingly, this meant conjuring up an anticipated flood of anti-imperialist struggle while seriously downplaying the crucial and related factors of political consciousness and material economic reality. As Trotsky noted, impressionism on military matters can lead either to the idealistic view that revolutionary fervor will make up for any military handicap or conversely can fuel a rightist impulse that any struggle is hopeless. On the latter score, early on in his time in the party, Norden viewed the 1973 Indochina "peace accords" as the end of the war against U.S. imperialism by the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

The defects in *WV*'s coverage of the Gulf War were particularly addressed in a document by comrade Ralf Eades, of the Spartacist League/Britain, titled "Cold War Impressionism, *Workers Vanguard* and the 'Gulf War'." Noting the overblown statements in *WV* articles on Iraq's military might and its ability to inflict serious damage on the forces of U.S. imperialism, Eades asked: "Would it have been a capitulation to 'smoke and mirrors' imperialist propaganda to wake the workers of the world to the revolutionary defence of Iraq, to halt, derail, smash by class-struggle means the crushing one-sided slaughter being *prepared* before our disbelieving eyes?"

Norden's lightminded attitude toward the military might of U.S. imperialism was reflected in the ironic tone of a front-page article on a U.S. missile attack on Baghdad in *WV* No. 579 (2 July 1993). Comrades' criticism of this article, and of the way the paper was managed, was "met with a furiously defensive, turf-conscious, hypersensitive, arrogant, cliquish, anti-Leninist response" ("The Post-Soviet World: Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League/U.S.," *Spartacist* No. 51, Autumn 1994). This outburst was an expression of Norden's stated position in favor of "one-man rule" over the party press (and over any aspects of our international work in which he was personally involved).

In practice this meant creating a parallel apparatus, centered on *Workers Vanguard*, to that of the central party administration. Norden's personal power ambitions meant that he was constantly chafing against the Bolshevik practice that the press is subordinated to the party leadership collective. These issues came to a head in a sharp fight at a Political Bureau meeting in September 1993. The PB passed a motion noting that the Editorial Board "was beginning to act in a self-conscious and independent fashion." Nevertheless, as long as Norden accepted the discipline of the party and the corrective measures ensuing from internal political struggles, he remained as editor of *Workers Vanguard*.

Norden also had a Stalinoid bent particularly vis-à-vis Castro's Cuba which was expressed, perhaps most grotesquely, in initial attempts to alibi the Stalinist show trial and execution of General Ochoa on charges of international drug dealing. Ochoa had fought with Castro against the Batista dictatorship and led the Cuban troops in Angola against the forces backed by the U.S. and South Africa. Norden was finally persuaded that the Ochoa trial was a classic Stalinist purge. But in the article "Stalinist Show Trial in Cuba—The Execution of General Ochoa" (*WV* No. 500, 20 April 1990), Norden insisted on "disproving" Washington's claims that the Havana regime was involved in the drug trade by upholding Castro's integrity: "For Castro to lie about this would be to invite an



Cuban general Ochoa, executed by Castro regime after Stalinist show trial in 1989.

Beibtreu/Sygma

invasion."

Of course, the White House's drug charges against Castro were part and parcel of U.S. imperialism's relentless drive to crush the Cuban Revolution. But to assert, as Norden did, that Castro couldn't lie about this was a statement of blind faith in the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy. This was fought out, resulting in a clarification in *WV* No. 501 (4 May 1990). But even in the face of the bitter reality that Cuba's isolation following the collapse of the Soviet Union had led to a devastating erosion of the gains of the revolution and growing impoverishment and inequality, Norden's infatuation with Castro's Cuba did not abate.

Reporting on Cuba to an August 1993 meeting of our International Secretariat, just after Castro had made an enormous concession to the forces of capitalist restoration by introducing the dollar into the Cuban economy, Norden and Stamberg echoed the Stalinoid cheerleaders in North America who proclaim that "The Cuban Revolution is going to make it." Stamberg enthused that "the regime has a lot of authority...most people want to fight, they are clear, they are class conscious." In fact, as another comrade later replied, "They are *not* class conscious. It's populist consciousness; it's exactly the consciousness that the Stalinists have instilled." While calling for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against U.S. imperialism, Marxists understand that the Cuban Revolution can only be "saved" by fighting for workers revolution throughout the Americas and proletarian political revolution against the nationalist Castro bureaucracy.

With the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990, quantity turned into quality. Norden's attraction to Castro's Cuba was paralleled by his fascination with the East German deformed workers state of Erich Honecker. When the DDR went down, presaging the subsequent collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state, Norden began to become politically unhinged.

### From Impressionism to Revisionism

With the collapse of the Honecker regime and the fall of the Berlin Wall, the DDR was engulfed in a developing political revolution. The impulses of the East German masses were directed not toward capitalist reunification but rather to building what they considered to be a decent socialist society on the foundations of the DDR's nationalized economy. This produced an exceptionally open situation for Trotskyist

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## Shamefaced Defection...

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intervention. The ICL undertook the biggest sustained mobilization in the history of our tendency, drawing upon the personnel and other resources of all sections.

We published and circulated tens of thousands of copies of a daily newssheet, *Arbeiterpressekorespondenz* (*Arprekorr*, Workers Press Correspondence), centrally fighting to forge a Leninist-egalitarian party to establish a government of workers councils (soviets) in the DDR as a springboard to a unified German workers state based on a perspective of a Socialist United States of Europe. We later learned that our call for workers and soldiers councils had been widely discussed within units of the East German National People's Army (NVA), leading to the formation of incipient soldiers committees particularly in the northeast. Our political impact was shown when 250,000 turned out for the 3 January 1990 united-front demonstration, to which the SED had acquiesced, in East Berlin's Treptow Park to protest the fascist desecration of a memorial to Red Army soldiers who died liberating Germany from the Nazis. Spartakist spokesmen addressed the crowd from the platform, denouncing the ruling Stalinist SED bureaucracy and advancing a program of proletarian internationalism. The spectre of organized working-class resistance to capitalist reunification manifested at Treptow alarmed the West German imperialists and their Social Democratic frontmen, who turned up the heat in their campaign to stampede the DDR into reunification.

The Stalinists in the Kremlin and in the DDR gave the green light for capitalist restoration in East Germany. Two months later, the parties of West German imperialism swept the March 1990 East German elections and the DDR deformed workers state was swallowed up in a reunified capitalist Fourth Reich. The document of the Second International Conference of the ICL in 1992 noted:

"As Treptow later showed, from the beginning we were in a political struggle with the abdicating Stalinist regime over the future of the DDR. While we were calling for a government of workers councils, the Stalinists were consciously

acting to prevent a workers insurrection by demobilizing all army units that had formed soldiers councils as a result of our early propaganda. Although shaped by the disproportion of forces, there was in fact a contest between the ICL program of political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution."

Norden was centrally involved in our intervention in Germany, both in editing many issues of *Arprekorr* and in the political deliberations of our international leadership. But he could not face the reality of capitalist *Anschluss*. Unable to accept the verdict of history—that mass resistance does not follow in the wake of historic defeats—Norden began to look around for a "fightback" on the terrain of the ex-DDR. This perspective was predicated on looking for a split among the Stalinist remnants of the old DDR regime, now grouped in the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), who would supposedly lead such a fight.

To prepare for future struggles, through building the necessary proletarian internationalist leadership, the most conscious workers in the former DDR needed to acquire a political understanding of Stalinism and the collapse of the East German deformed workers state. Such a Trotskyist analysis was cogently put forward in documents by Joseph Seymour ("On the Collapse of Stalinist Rule in East Europe") and Albert St. John ("For Marxist Clarity and a Forward Perspective") which were published in English-language *Spartacist* No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91. But these documents did not appear in a German-language edition of *Spartacist* until 1994! Instead, taking advantage of his German language capacity and his role in the International Secretariat, Norden urged on our German section, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), a policy of endless economist sorties into the working class of the former DDR, launching a campaign in 1991 to agitate for mass strikes. This posture of imminent "mass resistance" negated the critical factor of *consciousness* which only a Leninist vanguard could introduce.

Norden's ignorant and anti-Trotskyist perspective, that working-class struggle would lead a wing of the PDS to split and "fight" against the ravages of capitalist counterrevolution, had a disorienting impact on the SpAD, which itself could not face the grim reality of the destruction of the DDR. When his fantasy of economist "fightback" didn't work out (which must have been devastating for Norden, given his skewed, ahistorical expectations), Norden turned his attention to a perspective of recruiting "anti-fascist youth" through yet another "get rich quick" scheme.

The increasingly murderous fascist attacks on immigrants in Germany which came in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution provoked a significant radicalization of youth who sought to stop the Nazi terrorists. Exemplary united-front actions against the fascists, demonstrating in action our revolutionary program based on the centrality of mobilizing the social power of the working class, was surely one means to win the best of these leftist youth to Trotskyism. But Norden and Stenberg's idea of "anti-fascist actions" was all photo-op and little political content, as was seen the one time



International Communist League intervened to offer revolutionary leadership in East Germany, 1989-90. Spartakist banner at December 1989 anti-fascist demonstration in East Berlin reads: "For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg! For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party!"

Spartakist



Collapse of Honecker regime in November 1989 ushered in incipient proletarian political revolution, as demonstrators in Berlin demanded: "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges!"

it was implemented, in an entirely tokenistic defense of an immigrant hostel in Berlin in which no damage was done to the fascists and out of which not one youth was recruited.

Continuing to flail about in his desperate search for a split in the PDS, Norden then came to see the main chance to "clean up" through an opportunist orientation to the geriatric remnants of the former East German Stalinist regime in the Communist Platform (KPF), the supposed "left wing" of the PDS. Excited by the increased vote for the PDS in the November 1994 German elections and opinion polls showing widespread "socialist" sentiment among the population of the ex-DDR, Norden argued for a "regroupment" perspective toward the Communist Platform, conceived as a rearguard action to make up for the recruits we didn't get in 1989-90.

If one were seeking to recruit workers or youth mistakenly attracted to the PDS milieu as a perceived alternative to the West German Social Democrats, that would mean unmasking and combatting the KPF/PDS as a political prop for Social Democracy. Instead Norden pushed the vacuous idea that these Stalinist has-beens retained "attachments" to the former East German deformed workers state—which they had sold out! This was precisely what the PDS purveyed—playing upon the desperation of the East German working people and their nostalgia for the "good old days"—in order to build up its own social-democratic parliamentary base.

Norden's opportunist appetites soon emerged in a flagrant public expression in a January 1995 presentation at Berlin's Humboldt University aimed at the KPF. This speech was a case study in centrism worthy of the late Joseph Hansen, who wielded his able pen to cloak the revisionist degeneration of the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party with reams of "orthodox" formulations. While invoking the program of Trotskyism, Norden presented a liquidationist view which denied the ICL's role as the conscious revolutionary vanguard, repeatedly intoning that in Germany in 1989-90 "the key element was missing, the revolutionary leadership." He disappeared the central purpose and intent of the ICL's intervention: to organize for a political revolution against the Stalinist regime, which had bureaucratically undermined the DDR deformed workers state and was now preparing to sell it off to the West German imperialists. A workers insurrection to replace the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy with genuine proletarian internationalist rule was key to stopping capitalist counterrevolution.

Instead, Norden reduced our own revolutionary interven-

tion to a litany of ineffective tactics, while "reaching out" to the sclerotic remnants of the former ruling bureaucracy as misguided colleagues who had a "grudging respect" for our efforts in 1989-90—which were aimed at sweeping away their Stalinist regime! According to Norden, the "SED tops" had simply been "paralyzed" at the time and not one of them "could even conceive" of a proletarian political revolution. In fact, the SED tops could not only "conceive" of a political revolution, but did everything in their power to suppress one, because they would have been its targets. Far from being paralyzed, these Stalinists took conscious, active steps to prevent a workers insurrection.

### Centrist Politics, Bureaucratic Practices

After more than six months of internal party discussion and struggle that definitively exposed Norden's revisionist course, which if left unchecked would have destroyed us as a revolutionary Marxist tendency, Norden's opportunist policies were decisively defeated at the January 1996 International Executive Committee meeting. Norden, and Stamberg, completely rejected this decision of the highest leading body of the ICL between international conferences. They declared that any and all criticisms of the "regroupment" orientation to the KPF and Norden's Humboldt speech were completely false. At the same time, Norden arrogantly denied all responsibility for nearly destroying our German section with the concomitant bureaucratic practices he pushed to realize his perspective.

James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, noted that there is always a consonance between the politics of centrism and anti-Leninist organizational practices. In Germany, Norden's opportunist pursuit of the geriatric Stalinist remnants in the KPF was complemented by a vicious witch-hunt denouncing any comrades perceived as an obstacle to his orientation as a "comfortable social-democratic" layer opposed to "youth recruitment"! Comrades who criticized an article in *Spartakist* directed toward the PDS, in which Norden had grotesquely and gratuitously inserted that the Red Army forces who liberated Germany from the Nazis had "Stalin as commander in chief," were condemned for "capitulating" to the anti-Communism of the Fourth Reich and the popular-front left.

As comrade Albert St. John, who launched the fight against Norden's centrist liquidationism, said in his remarks to Norden at an SpAD conference immediately following the IEC

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## Shamefaced Defection...

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meeting:

"Your denial of any political or organizational wrongdoing and your arrogant and defiant refusal to accept any responsibility for the consequences of your actions indicates to me that you are no longer being motivated by the program in practice of Trotskyism. Or perhaps more accurately there is a very deep contradiction between your alien political appetites and your formal adherence to the party's program. Now there is a real danger, if you don't try to pull back, that your currently strong centrist impulses will become dominant and thus resolve that contradiction negatively."

Trotsky emphasized in "The Mistakes of the Communist League on the Trade Union Question" (January 1931):

"...the revolutionary policy of Marxism rests upon the conception of the *party* as the vanguard of the proletariat. "Whatever may be the sources and political causes of opportunistic mistakes and deviations, they are always reduced ideologically to an erroneous understanding of the revolutionary party, of its relation to other proletarian organizations and to the class as a whole."

Norden's accommodation to alien political forces externally and his increasingly visceral opposition to the party "regime" internally were manifestations of a rejection of the need for a Leninist vanguard party. This correspondingly reflected a demoralization in the capacity of the working class to act as a "class for itself," i.e., to become conscious of its social position and power to overthrow the entire system of capitalist exploitation and to become the new ruling class in an egalitarian society.

In place of the Leninist party needed to bring revolutionary consciousness to the proletariat, Norden increasingly came to objectify certain political formations and layers—particularly in the former DDR and Latin America—as somehow inherently susceptible to revolutionary politics. In the case of the Communist Platform, Norden saw elements of communist consciousness where none existed. On the Latin American terrain, Norden invested our fraternal relations with Luta Metalúrgica (LM)—in which he and his understudy Negrete, then a leading member of our Mexican section, initially had a central hand—with a level of political sophistication and broad agreement with the program of revolutionary Trotskyism that simply did not exist.

To defend his own "infallibility" regarding our early dealings with LM, Norden generated a revisionist methodology justifying the sort of rotten-bloc "international relations" pursued by centrist outfits like the British Workers Power group and its "League for a Revolutionary Communist International," in which high-sounding agreements on paper mask all manner of programmatic disagreements in practice. At the same time, Norden and Negrete argued for conciliating LM's non-Bolshevik organizational practices, implying a different conception of the party question for Latin America. Political struggle for genuine programmatic clarity and agreement with LM brought this to the fore.

Negrete in particular tried to alibi a centrist conciliation of LM's practices with the patronizing, anti-Leninist argument that these reflected "cultural differences." This invocation of Latin American exceptionalism represented an adaptation to the nationalism and "caudil-

loism" which politically characterize the Latin American left. In the course of a political struggle within the Grupo Esparquista de México, it came out that these features also characterized Negrete's regime in our Mexican section. The section was deliberately kept isolated from the vital struggles and debates within our international and every attempt to introduce Bolshevik norms of functioning were resisted by Negrete, who worked to maintain the section as his own personal fiefdom in which he was the unchallenged "all-knowing" leader.

When this situation came to a head and was fought out, Norden and Stamberg rallied to the defense of Negrete, arrogantly declaring that the members of our Mexican section were either liars or dupes who had been lined up by the "International." In return, Negrete attached himself to Norden and Stamberg, like a piece of lint on a pair of serge pants. Toward the end, Negrete fancied himself the modern-day equivalent of a member of Trotsky's Left Opposition being led away to a Siberian gulag. His (typically) long-winded proclamation in defense of Norden and Stamberg's refusal to abide by democratic centralism concluded with the grandiose exhortation, "Down with frame-ups and witchhunting methods! For the communism of Lenin and Trotsky, long live the ICL!" But then Negrete was always, as one comrade quipped, something of a "legend in his own mind."

### Disintegrative Pressures on the Revolutionary Vanguard

The ICL is a voluntary organization. But, impelled by his own alien political appetites, Norden increasingly came to see the party and its leadership as some kind of bureaucratic prison with himself as the victim of wanton regime tyranny. The party hadn't changed, nor had Norden particularly. What had changed was the world. As Joseph Scymour, a member of the WV Editorial Board, wrote in a letter to Norden, with whom he had worked closely for over two decades:

"I am very concerned about your increasing alienation from the rest of the leadership. Your political personality has not changed fundamentally over the years though you do seem to have become more impatient for organizational successes, especially where you are personally involved in the work. What has changed fundamentally is the world in which we live and function. And therein lies the crux of the problem... I believe you do not accept that, beginning in the late 1970s, there has occurred a *historic retrogression* in the political consciousness of the working class and left internationally.



Le Bolchevik

Pabloites of the first mobilization: Ernest Mandel (left) and mentor Michel Pablo.



V.K. Bulla

**Presidium of the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1920. Our party stands on democratic-centralist practices of Lenin's Bolsheviks.**

This development both conditioned the counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc and has been reinforced by it."

As belligerent and frankly bizarre as Y. Rad's factional struggle became (which included Rad's belief in mental telepathy!) at least he forthrightly put forward his political views. Not Norden. He used squid tactics, spilling ink in hundreds of pages of documents that were as obfuscating as they were turgid. Since the beginning of 1995 alone, at least 392 pages of internal material were written by Norden and Stamberg and circulated to all sections and locals of the ICL. Although he had fundamental differences with the program and perspectives of our international, his documents were a study in centrist evasion.

Norden obviously believed the leadership of our international was increasingly going off the political rails. But rather than declaring a faction to fight against this and for a different political perspective and a corresponding new leadership, Norden and Stamberg engaged in cliquist guerrilla warfare against the decisions of the party. Operating on the perception that the party press was his personal fiefdom—"WV c'est moi," to paraphrase Louis XIV—"His Editorship" (as Stamberg came to refer to Norden's position) rejected the Leninist understanding that the majority determined the line.

It is said that colleagues of Eduard Bernstein in the German Social Democracy advised him not to put his disagreements with, and rejection of, Marxism in writing. Instead they argued that he avoid a political struggle and simply act on his disagreements. But Bernstein was, evidently, an honest revisionist who committed to paper his reformist view that the "movement was everything" and the "goal" of socialist revolution "nothing." Norden was the opposite. He acted upon and tried to implement the substance of his political differences, which were increasingly antithetical to the program and purpose of the ICL, but would not openly argue for a different program or perspectives.

When caught out he would simply deny everything. But he knew he was operating on the basis of a different set of politics, as evidenced by the fact that he increasingly attempted to operate in secrecy, outside of the scrutiny of the party and its leadership. When asked to submit his phone

bills, a common practice among leading cadre of our organization and something Norden had done routinely for at least the last decade, Norden defiantly and categorically refused.

Charges were brought by the International Secretariat against Norden and Stamberg "for violation of the party's discipline of democratic centralism, specifically [their] defiant and categorical denial of a fundamental condition of membership, that the party has a monopoly over the public political activity (i.e. not personal activity) of its members." Norden and Stamberg refused to attend the party trial which had been called to allow them to defend themselves against these charges, dismissing the party's democratic procedures as a bureaucratic "frame-up" and denouncing the request for their phone bills as a demonic ruse to persecute other comrades. As the PB motion expelling Norden and Stamberg noted:

"In fact, either Norden and Stamberg have nothing to hide because their calls are all to comrades (who whatever their sympathies or antipathies for the politics of Norden and Stamberg have the right to discuss their views with *any* member of the party), in which case Norden and Stamberg's refusal to submit their phone bills (at considerable financial cost to themselves) is a dim provocation designed to engineer their own expulsion; or they have been in contact with political formations outside the organization."

We are still left wondering what game Norden and Stamberg were playing. As to where they are going, the possibilities are wide open so long as the minimum norm of being anti-Marxist is met. In this regard, we have the excellent example of Y. Rad. He left our organization screaming against the supposed "Stalinophobia" displayed in our opposition to the revolting Russian "red-brown coalition" and in our refusal to support the Serbian nationalist forces in the all-sided fratricide in ex-Yugoslavia. A few months after quitting, Rad had made a 180 degree turnaround, denouncing us as "the best defenders of counter-revolutionary Stalinism." Rad retrospectively took up the defense of Solidarność counter-revolution in Poland, of Yeltsin's 1991 imperialist-backed countercoup in Moscow, and of the Bosnian Muslims against the Serbs!

### **Pabloism of the Second Mobilization**

Years ago, Norden was won over from a quasi-syndicalist, New Leftist position to the Spartacist League. He devoted the best decades of his life to working 16 hours a day for the Marxist socialist movement, struggling to expound revolutionary Trotskyism around the globe, particularly through *Workers Vanguard*, the flagship paper of our international. An early expression of Norden's alienation from the party was his increasingly self-conscious view that WV was his fiefdom, and corresponding resistance to party intervention and criticism of the paper. Under the impact of the historic defeat represented by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, and his increasing rejection of democratic centralism, Norden's episodic impressionism (which always had a centrist bent) became chronic and acute.

Impressionists are prone to wild and quick reversals. A case study is that of Michel Pablo, an adventurer who emerged

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## Shamefaced Defection...

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after World War II as the leader of the decimated forces of Trotsky's Fourth International and whose impressionism liquidated the political program and purpose of Trotsky's International. In the 1950s, following the creation of deformed workers states in East Europe, Pablo predicted "centuries of deformed workers states" and pursued a "deep entrism" liquidation into the Stalinist and social-democratic parties. In the 1960s, Pablo's heirs in Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) chased after petty-bourgeois guerrillaism and championed "student power." At their 1972 World Congress, the USec rediscovered the working class, writing: "After May 1968 and, more generally, after the revival of workers' struggles throughout Europe, an irreversible turn has taken place in this milieu everywhere in the world." The irreversible was quickly reversed as Mandel & Co. embraced the cause of anti-Soviet social democracy in the 1980s. By the 1990s, Mandel was speaking of the "crisis of credibility" of socialism, and the USec was debating simply throwing in the towel and liquidating their organization outright.

Norden's liquidationist course was a Pabloism of the second mobilization: denial of reality, suppression of the Trotskyist program, vicarious political adventurism and adaptation to alien political pressures, and liquidation of the Trotskyist vanguard as the necessary subjective factor in history. He was given plenty of opportunity to reverse his course. But he rejected any attempt at a political corrective as a mindless bureaucratic abuse simply aimed at "destroying his authority," an authority which he correspondingly invested with papal proportions of infallibility.

### It Is Desperately Necessary to Fight!

We fight to complete the task begun by Lenin and Trotsky when they led the working class to victory in Russia in 1917—to pursue the class struggle to a victorious conclusion, with state power embodied in workers councils around the world. In a period conditioned by the colossal defeats for the international proletariat signified by capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and across East Europe, this puts our small forces in a conjuncturally fragile situation.

## Luta Metalúrgica...

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purportedly for defense of the workers' class interests is directly tied to the armed bodies for the defense of capital. The most dangerous form of popular front, especially common in neocolonial countries, is that between the leaders of the workers movement and "progressive" commanders of the armed forces. The outcome has been measured in rivers of blood, from the Chinese Communist Party's bloc with the Guomindang (Kuomintang) in the mid-1920s, to the Indonesian Communist Party's bloc with Sukarno and the Muslim generals in the mid-1960s, to the agreement between Allende's Unidad Popular and "patriotic" generals like Pinochet in Chile in 1970-73. In microcosm, a similar bloc exists in the Volta Redonda municipal workers union.

In a February 23 letter to LM, we noted: "The fight for removal of the cops from the unions is the equivalent of the

Across West Europe, the working class has fought back in some of the largest and most militant battles in years, yet for the first time since the Paris Commune, the masses of workers in struggle do not identify their immediate felt needs with the ideals of socialism or the program of proletarian revolution. In the U.S., where the political consciousness of the working class has long been retarded by a ruling class which has effectively fomented first religious and then raw racial hatred as a fundamental prop for capitalist exploitation, the labor movement has been fractured and driven back by two decades of surrender by the trade-union bureaucracy before a massive anti-labor offensive. Many youth who consider themselves to be "radical" are imbued with liberal-democratic idealism which finds its expression in vaguely anarchist sentiments or variants of "green" radicalism.

Failure to recognize the period we are in and the necessary relationship of our small revolutionary vanguard to the proletariat has generated disorientation, demoralization and appetites to look elsewhere for the "answer." In this context internal political struggle is inevitable, and desperately necessary, to keep our party on the rails. As Trotsky observed in his 1937 article "Stalinism and Bolshevism":

"Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current...it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly purchased experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy 'sectarian.' Actually it is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide."

As the recent strike waves in France and Italy and the anti-racist mobilizations throughout West Europe demonstrate, there is a new generation of fighters, both in the working class and among radical youth, to be won to the program of international socialist revolution. The fights to reorient and steel our forces in the face of a "New World Order" are aimed at intersecting new social struggles as they erupt and winning the best elements to the program of communism.

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard No. 648, 5 July*

call for no vote to Lula: it is the concrete expression of the Marxist principle of the independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state." Furthermore, we warned that LM's stated position on the black question is undermined by and stands in contradiction to its actual current practices:

"Among the political issues that draw Luta Metalúrgica and the ICL together is our emphasis on and fight for a proletarian-centered strategy to smash racial oppression. Comrades, consider what this means in concrete terms. If tomorrow the need were posed for the municipal workers union to take the lead in organizing labor/black defense, such a mobilization would be obstructed, vitiated or made impossible by the presence in the unions of the forces which carry out racist massacres like those of Candelária, Vigário Geral and Carandirú, who massacre peasants in Rondônia."

Just a few weeks after we sent this letter, military police carried out a massacre of peasants in El Dorado dos Carajás (see *WV No. 644, 26 April*). At the same time, cops in the municipal workers union were exposed in the bourgeois press



for their continued participation in death squads responsible for the murder of street children.

The urgent issue of ousting the cops from the labor movement came to a head when the state itself threw down the gauntlet through an ominous raid on the March 13 municipal workers union meeting by the notorious military police. In defense of our fraternal comrades and of the union, and based on our principled stand for the independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state, the ICL mobilized its resources for an international campaign of solidarity. Organized by the Partisan Defense Committee, this campaign drew the support of labor unions and militants from South Africa to Tokyo to demand that the cops keep their hands off LM and the union itself. Since the battle was brought to LM, they have waged a principled and difficult struggle against the police presence in the union.

However, in the crucible of this campaign, our political differences were sharply revealed even as we made a united stand with LM against state repression. Despite abstract agreement with the need to forge a Trotskyist nucleus in Brazil, LM subordinated necessary party work—such as publishing a newspaper to openly make their case to the workers and expose the witchhunters—to preserving their control of the union from the top through the unelected position of “union adviser.”

Yet the MEL slate included the chief witchhunter himself, one Arthur Bonizetti Fernandes, who has made himself the spokesman for the cops. Scandalously, this pro-cop provocateur is working under the direction of an ostensible Trotskyist group, the Liga Bolchevique Internacional (an affiliate of the Argentine PBCI)! In a joint leaflet issued by the ICL and LM/LQB (reprinted in *Espartaco* No. 8, Spring-Summer 1996) we wrote: “This is a dirty matter: a recent letter (1 March 1996) from the Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI) to Arthur (coup-plotter against MEL) instructs him to attack Luta Metalúrgica and the ICL because we defend blacks and homosexuals.... The fake-leftists like Arthur and the LBI spit on blacks and women and embrace the repressive forces of the state.”

Fraternal relations were at an impasse over the two most fundamental issues for revolutionary Marxists: the state and the party question. In another letter to LM on June 11, we wrote:

“The job of Marxists is to have a program that conceptually opens the road to a working-class revolution. Luta Metalúrgica, in its program and treatment of the state and its armed bodies of men threw up roadblocks to this program of working-class revolution, sowing confusion among the workers by running for the leadership of a union with cops in it and without specifically and forcefully addressing this crucial question in the union election campaign. The point is not to feel miserable about this, or annoyed with us for insisting on the question. The point is to do something about it....

“A solid core of genuine Bolsheviks must be forged in a clear political struggle for the political independence of the workers movement from the bourgeois state, even if the risk is losing influence at the top of this union at this time. Continued delay in subordinating the question of principle to the quotidian struggle for influence in the union’s leader-

ship can only lead to continued provocations by the police, the political forces who run the police and the ‘leftists’ who do their bidding. More importantly, the struggle for Marxist clarity and revolutionary political consciousness will be set back. The trustworthy base for revolutionary Marxists is to be found, and fought for, at the *base* of the union—among the actual workers.”

### Trade Union Consciousness vs. Revolutionary Consciousness

Leninist work in the trade unions is directed *at the base*, to programmatically win the most advanced workers to an understanding of their class interests—embodied in the revolutionary program—and to building the revolutionary leadership that is needed to fight for those interests against the exploiters and fake-left misleaders. The famous “21 Conditions” for admission into the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky were aimed precisely at separating genuine communists from reformists and centrists by insisting on the fight to *implement* a communist program, not to merely express abstract agreement with such a program while violating it in practice. Similarly, the entire thrust of the Organizational Resolution of the Communist International was to direct and organize communist cells in the unions, not to engage in maneuvers and unprincipled blocs at the top.

A negative example is seen in the practice of the Stalinized American Communist Party (CP) which let its powerful base in the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) in the late 1930s dissipate. Pursuing its popular-frontist strategy of “left-center coalitions,” the CP focused on maneuvers for positions of influence with pro-Democratic Party bureaucrats at the top of the unions. Having frittered away a substantial amount of their working-class support, they were then largely destroyed by the McCarthyite witchhunt in the late 1940s and early ‘50s which followed the promulgation of the Marshall Plan, the Truman government’s anti-Soviet assertion of U.S. imperialist domination in West Europe. Even some of these Stalinists came to publicly regret their neglect of their base.

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Poor peasants gunned down by military police in northern Brazilian state of Pará in April. Cops are the murderous fist of the capitalist state.

## Luta Metalúrgica...

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A base of support for a revolutionary party in the trade unions cannot be built and maintained simply through trade-union militancy. A central aspect of Leninism is the understanding that socialist consciousness is not a linear extension of the economic struggle between workers and employers at the point of production. Advanced workers must be won to the program and perspective of leading all sections of the exploited and oppressed in overthrowing the bourgeois order and reconstructing society on a just and egalitarian basis. As Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?*, polemicizing against the Economist trend which glorified the day-to-day struggles of the workers:

"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This idea cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity....

"Consequently, *however much we may try to 'lend the economic struggle a political character,' we shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers (to the level of Social-Democratic political consciousness) by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for that framework is too narrow....*

"Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers *only from without*, that is, only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships of *all* classes and strata to the state and the government, the sphere of the interrelations between *all* classes. For that reason, the reply to the question as to what must be done to bring political knowledge to the workers cannot be merely the answer with which, in the majority of cases, the practical workers, especially those inclined towards Economism, mostly content themselves, namely: 'To go among the workers.' To bring political knowledge to the *workers* the Social-Democrats must *go among all classes of the population*; they must dispatch units of their army *in all directions*."

LM's stubborn trade-union narrowness is a *travesty* of Leninism. A fraction of communist workers in the trade unions cannot substitute itself for the party and its propaganda. The Communist International outlined important political reasons for a division of labor between union and party formations. While fighting for leadership within the unions, communists seek to build the strongest possible unity of the working class against the capitalist exploiters. The task of the communist vanguard, however, is to sharpen the differences between competing political tendencies in order to bring the workers to communist consciousness and assemble the cadre, through splits and regroupments, in a Leninist party whose purpose is to lead the workers to state power. As one ICL comrade summed up in a discussion with Luta Metalúrgica, "Profintern = Unity;

Comintern = Split." (The Profintern was the Red International of Labor Unions associated with the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.)

Instead, LM partakes of the opportunist practices of the Brazilian fake "left" where each contender typically measures its strength by the number of unions it controls. Thus political program is blunted in the service of trade-union opportunism, and the unity of the union as a class defense organization is compromised by sectarian maneuvers in which the workforce is divided into competing union formations controlled by different political parties. As Trotsky wrote in "Communism and Syndicalism" (October 1929), "The question of the relationships between the party, which represents the proletariat as it should be, and the trade unions, which represent the proletariat as it is, is the most fundamental question of revolutionary Marxism."

LM carries with it the baggage of its experience in centrist politics and trade-union maneuvers. Through the period of fraternal relations, LM encountered something in the ICL which their prior political experience could not have prepared them for. For the ICL, a political program is not socialist camouflage or an abstraction to be belied in practice, but a guide to communist intervention in all spheres of life.

### For Revolutionary Regroupment, Not Centrist Conciliationism!

The dissolution of fraternal relations with Luta Metalúrgica is also a political consequence of the defection of our former comrades Norden and Negrete (see article page 17). Unfortunately for LM, it was these very comrades who for a long period of time served as the ICL's links to LM. As fraternal relations moved forward through patient pursuit of political debates and common work on the ground led by comrades who better represented the ICL, Norden and Negrete capitulated to LM's former posture and attempted to blunt the ICL's



Workers Vanguard

**New York labor/black mobilization initiated by Partisan Defense Committee to defend Mumia Abu-Jamal, August 1995. Communists seek to win workers to revolutionary program in opposition to pro-capitalist labor tops.**

intervention at crucial junctures.

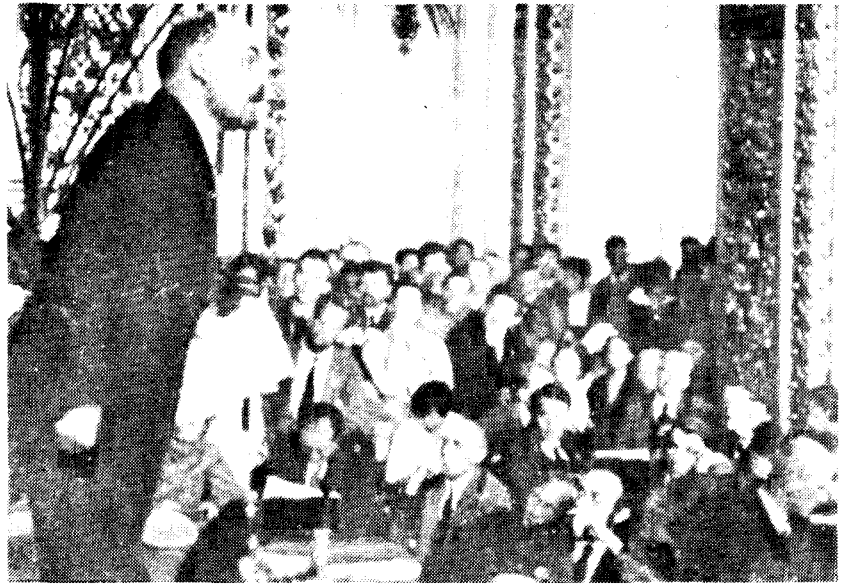
But the real harm done to LM by Norden and Negrete came right from the inception of fraternal relations. Our international tendency has been built through splits and fusions with other leftward moving formations. That is why we emulate Lenin's Bolsheviks in devoting so much attention to polemics as we seek to win over those subjectively revolutionary militants who are in or around our fake-Trotskyist competitors. Substantive programmatic agreement tested in practice through exemplary interventions and involvement in mass struggles, vigorous internal debate, rigorous cadre education: these are the methods of Bolshevik party building.

In contrast, with Norden and Negrete at the helm of our party work in Latin America, the approach to Luta Metalúrgica had more in common with oily bourgeois diplomats than Leninist internationalists. Both egomaniacs and facile pens, Negrete and Norden each later acknowledged that they personally wrote the Declaration of Fraternal Relations themselves! This document presumed and portrayed a broad, deep and synthetic programmatic agreement that simply did not exist. Moreover, fraternal relations was clearly viewed not as a substantive process to achieve a real transformation and the crystallization of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, but rather as "press release Trotskyism" for external consumption. The declaration was immediately released into print before the International Executive Committee had even discussed it or voted on it!

Our relations with LM in this regard contrasted sharply with our relations with the Japanese Rekken group. A 1986 agreement establishing fraternal relations was a modest document focused on the party question which included certain concrete tasks such as translating into Japanese selected fundamental documents of our tendency. This document was only made public a year later (see *Spartacist* [English Edition] No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88) after a period of testing demonstrated that the agreement was real.

The methods of Negrete and Norden have more in common with our centrist opponents like Workers Power, whose "international" is built with the same phony methods. Lofty statements are written for public consumption and to create an umbrella of "orthodoxy" to shield the very alien political practices carried out on the ground. Moreover, Norden's ability to spin out voluminous statements in multiple languages from a remote international center while ignoring the real problems (disgustingly patronized by Negrete as "cultural differences") gave Luta Metalúrgica the false notion that the ICL was a federated combination, not a genuinely democratic-centralist international tendency. The ICL is not dominated by big sections with the smaller ones reduced to the status of mere onlookers, nor is the work of any one section its own national property. Rather, our internationally determined priorities are keenly followed and discussed by the cadre throughout the tendency.

Rather than recruit LM to Trotskyism, Norden and Negrete hoped to reel in LM as a showcase Latin American section whose "base" in the unions they could brag about in international propaganda. Unfortunately for the comrades of Luta Metalúrgica, their adventure with Negrete and Norden came



A.I. Solovyov

**Lenin addressing Third Congress of Communist International, 1921. Only under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party can the working class overthrow the capitalist system.**

late in the stage of Norden's degenerative Pabloite disease. A motion voted by the International Secretariat at its 11 May meeting noted in part, "Norden and Negrete's attempt to blunt the necessary sharp political fights with LQB/LM in Brazil manifests the same centrist appetites exposed in Norden's conciliation of the German KPF. Norden and Negrete's false fight against 'syndicalism' in the LQB/LM was designed to alibi LM's trade-union opportunism which was most egregiously revealed in the elementary question of opposition to the encroachments of the bourgeois state on the labor movement." A study of fraternal relations with LM prior to the January IEC meeting is a textbook case in how *not* to build a communist international.

Normally on the road to a healthy fusion, the groups that are fusing let down their guard and become more candid and generally open as their common political purpose begins to render their separate organizational structures increasingly redundant. Negrete and Norden kept LM isolated from internal discussions within the ICL, conveniently and especially regarding the fights with Norden over Germany. In an attempt to advance candid discussions and spur LM to adopt Bolshevik organizational norms, which were wholly lacking, we proposed an exchange of internal minutes of our leading party bodies. But the nascent process of internal differentiation within the group, combined with the political opposition of the individuals who were previously their main links to the ICL, and the growing conflict between LM's professed aims and its actual work, inculcated an organizationally protective reflex. The exchange of internal documentation was refused by LM, and they drew a hard line on maintaining their opportunist course in the unions.

As a group consisting mainly of advanced workers and political autodidacts which was primarily defined by empirical opposition to the popular front on its own national terrain, and as former leaders of mass workers' organizations at the local level, it was difficult for LM subjectively and conceptually to transform themselves into a propaganda group. In the best-case scenario, it would take a substantial time to assimilate

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## Luta Metalúrgica...

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our methods of work as a Trotskyist fighting propaganda group. But we were very prepared to try, including allocating our limited cadre and financial resources to work in Brazil. It was our sense that this group had the *potential* to forge a vanguard cadre of communist workers, something seen only a few times before in the history of the Trotskyist movement, as with the Belgian miners or Minneapolis Teamsters in the 1930s. As we wrote to LM in March:

"Lenin's Bolshevik Party was built through the fusion of 'declassed' intellectuals and the most advanced layers of the proletariat. The practice of the various centrist organizations in Brazil, and not only there, is the antithesis of Leninism. There are two-tiered parties in which a layer of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, posturing as the 'great thinkers,' lord it over the working-class members. This is simply a reflection of their opportunist politics which seek not to advance the consciousness of the proletariat but rather cater to backwardness and the influence of their 'own' bourgeoisie. The comrades of LM represent the vanguard elements of the proletariat. *You comrades* must become the nucleus of a Trotskyist party in Brazil. We wish to assist this political transformation."

### Political Program is Primary

This is a reactionary political period but one nonetheless presenting opportunities for communist intervention and growth of our party which are, however, spread unevenly around the world. Brazil is among the places where there is a lot of ferment among the workers, and among the students, and our commitment to a class-struggle fight against racial oppression and to build a party as a Leninist tribune of the people has enormous appeal. Still, it is a period where the collapse of the Soviet Union has brought the identification of the workers' class interests with the ideals of socialism to a nadir on the world stage. Rather uniquely on the left, the ICL swims against the stream and insists on the validity of revolutionary Marxism as a program for struggle today.

Indicative of the flawed character of the Declaration of Fraternal Relations was its failure to even mention *permanent revolution*. Yet this is a key question for Marxists in Latin America! Without a conception of the centrality of the proletariat and the need for a Leninist vanguard to bring the workers to state power as the liberators of all the oppressed in society, the workers will be condemned to repeated cycles of "anti-imperialist united fronts"—i.e., popular-frontist blocs with their own bourgeoisie (surely camouflaged with lots of rhetoric against Yankee imperialism)—and to military coups and unbridled police-state terror.

Regarding the primacy of a correct political program, the ICL noted in its June 11 letter to Luta Metalúrgica:

"The ICL too has had to recognize and remove roadblocks we too created and which would have blocked the road to working-class revolution if we had not recognized our errors. A good and very recent example is the fight with and in our Canadian section to advocate independence for Quebec. If the forces within our organization had failed to block the comrades capitulating to Anglo-chauvinism within our Canadian section, then we would have had to forge a new party to lead the proletarian socialist revolution in Quebec and English-speaking Canada. Instead, very sharp internal debate, organized cadre education, and extensive discussion won the Canadian comrades over to the program that is

*essential* for a Marxist perspective in Canada today....

"The Bolshevik party too encountered many roadblocks, including within the party itself, and Lenin's writings are filled with urgent polemics to remove the obstacles to revolution which often turned up right in the Bolshevik Party Central Committee. To return to the point that the job of revolutionary Marxists is to have a program that conceptually opens the road to a working-class revolution, it is interesting to note that the Bolsheviks barely made it to the October 1917 Revolution. The Bolsheviks stumbled into the February 1917 revolution with a program which was inadequate for October. Specifically, the Bolsheviks' concept of the coming Russian Revolution was the errant theory of two-class rule expressed in their program for a 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.'

"The party, led by Lenin and aided by the more radical Petrograd committee, semi-empirically overcame the limitations of this 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' because their political appetite was clearly for proletarian power and that's what they fought for despite the theoretical ambiguity. But in fact the Bolsheviks never adopted Trotsky's correct and essential theory of permanent revolution. This theoretical failure, and the failure to explicitly repudiate the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry,' then became a conduit for the forces later posturing as the Bolshevik 'old guard' (e.g., Stalin) to attack Trotsky, the theory of permanent revolution, and the revolutionary internationalist premises and implications of the Bolshevik Revolution itself. Some fifty years later, and after the ultimate capitulation to imperialism by the Stalinist bureaucracy in giving up proletarian state power, one can bitterly appreciate what a very large roadblock this programmatic error had become over time."

We do not have Lenin and Trotsky, but we have their experience to assimilate, particularly as a methodology.

We will of course continue to defend LM and its supporters against attacks by the bourgeois state and pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. We remain open to common work with this group. We will also continue working to build a Trotskyist organization in Brazil, the nucleus of a revolutionary proletarian party in this strategically important Latin American country. We hope that militants of the LM/LQB will reconsider and reject their present centrist course and on that basis will find their way into the ranks of the ICL.

—Reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 648, 5 July

### Black History and the Class Struggle No. 13

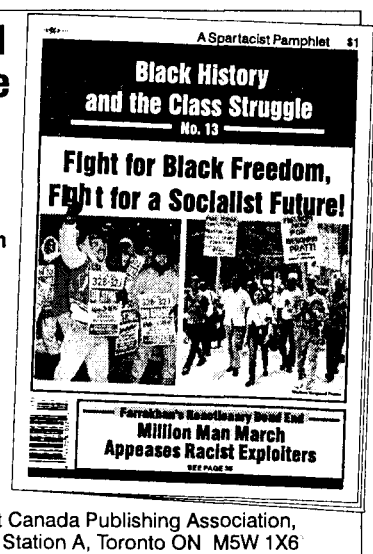
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## Racist Ruling Class...

(continued from page 1)

relentless program of austerity attacks. Now the *Washington Post* (14 July) lauds Liberal prime minister Jean Chrétien for slashing the budget "with more success than nearly any other Western leader."

This capitalist "success" story, which has brought record profits for the banks and big business, is based on an enormously increased rate of exploitation of the working class. It has been brought about through the wholesale destruction of social programs and other sharp inroads into the conditions of life for the poorest and most vulnerable.

The impact of this onslaught is particularly stark in Ontario under the Tory regime of Mike Harris. According to Statistics Canada, one in five children countrywide, and a staggering 81 percent of young children born to single mothers, already live in poverty. Yet more than half of Metro Toronto's programs to aid women and pre-schoolers, including up to 100 childcare programs, are being axed. With two-thirds of welfare families in Ontario already paying more in rent than their shelter allowance, the government is lifting rent controls and doubling the rents in Toronto's 33,000 subsidized units, leaving thousands with the same "choice" Anna Wiersma faced.

Medical care is being torn to shreds. In Toronto alone, fifteen hospitals are on the Tories' closure hit-list. Thousands of nurses and other health care workers, mostly women, are losing their jobs. Psychiatric and special-care facilities are being shuttered, their patients dumped on the streets. For many this will be a literal death sentence come winter. This devastation of the health system comes even as diseases of poverty run rampant. Tuberculosis, a curable disease which was once nearly eradicated in North America, is spreading rapidly, especially among impoverished immigrants and Native people. One-third of the thousands of homeless people in Toronto who use shelters (and a quarter of the shelter staff) are already infected. Meanwhile the prevalence of HIV has grown sharply among women, even as the federal government

slashes funding for AIDS research.

The Chrétien Liberals have cut UI so deep that fewer than half of laid-off workers now qualify for benefits, for which they have paid premiums all their working lives. In the 1930s, the unemployed were forced into work camps. Today, hundreds of thousands of unemployed men and women face the prospect of "workfare." They are to be placed at the disposal of municipalities and "charities" to replace laid-off workers. First you lose your job, then you're cut off UI, then you're forced to do what you used to get paid for, for free.

In going after the most vulnerable sectors of society, the capitalist rulers target *all* working people. The aim is to sharply drive down wages and bust the unions. South of the border in New York City, where workfare has long been instituted, 17,000 unionized city jobs have been slashed over the past few years, with welfare recipients now forced to do the same work at a fraction of the cost.

Mass unemployment and savage attacks on the poor reflect the iron logic of a decaying economic system based on private profit. The ruling class seeks to scapegoat the poor and oppressed for the depredations of the bankrupt capitalist system. Axing welfare has almost nothing to do with "saving tax dollars." In railing against "welfare scroungers," whipping up racism against immigrants, fomenting chauvinism against the oppressed nation of Quebec, and telling working women to go back in the home "where they belong," the capitalists aim to pit different sections of the oppressed against each other in a fight over a few crumbs from their table.

They calculate that they can get away with the present frontal assault on the poor in the absence of widescale social struggle by organized labor. The *maximum* response of the trade-union bureaucrats to these attacks has been a few protests and some for-the-record statements. Meanwhile their "political arm," the NDP, has itself *implemented* the austerity offensive, from Bob Rae's union-busting Social Contract in Ontario, to the B.C. NDP's institution of workfare for youth under the guise of "job training."

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## NDP Retreads...

(continued from page 3)

a "left-wing" Labour government could bring socialism! (See the Spartacist pamphlet *Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State.*)

Gung-ho for the bureaucrats' carefully choreographed "Days of Action," the maximum program of these groups is to push the OFL for more of the same. If the bureaucrats hold a one-day strike, they call for it to be "indefinite"; if it's city-wide, they say it should be province-wide. And they've made clear in advance they agree with the OFL's goal of electing a new NDP government. So far are these outfits from posing any challenge to the OFL/NDP hierarchy that John Clarke, a prominent supporter of Labour Militant, has been invited to grace the official speakers platform at several of the "Days of Action." Speaking for the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty, Clarke has helped to cover the bureaucrats' left flank with barrages of "militant" rhetoric against the Harris cuts.

In contrast, in our interventions on picket lines and at the "Days of Action" and other protests, we Trotskyists have

consistently warned against the betrayals of the OFL labor tops. While the bureaucrats engineered the defeat of the OP-SEU strikers, leaving them to stand alone in their pivotal battle against Harris, we called for mass pickets to shut down government operations and spread the strike throughout the public sector and beyond. As we wrote, such a serious struggle by labor "could draw into action broad layers of the poor and oppressed who depend on the services public-sector workers provide."

That's the kind of social power that can turn back the Tory onslaught. But unleashing it requires a class-struggle union leadership willing and able to take on the bosses and their state. As we emphasized then:

"It is necessary to build a new, internationalist, revolutionary leadership of the working class, one which understands that bankrupt capitalism cannot be reformed but must be overthrown. Instead of the present gang of union bureaucrats and parliamentary sellouts beholden to the bosses, we need a genuine workers party, based on the revolutionary perspective of Marxism and committed to establishing a workers government through anti-capitalist struggle."

—"Labor Showdown in Ontario",

SC No. 108, March/April 1996 ■

## Racist Ruling Class...

(continued from page 29)

A labor movement worth its salt would fight to organize the unorganized (including the unemployed), demanding a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to spread the available work around, union-run minority hiring and upgrading programs, a massive public works program at union wages, free 24-hour childcare, welfare payments at a living rate—for a start. But that requires a leadership prepared to bring the social power of the working class to bear against the entire profit-based capitalist system. It is necessary to build a revolutionary workers party which takes up the cause of all the oppressed.

### Capitalists Savage Women, Minorities

Working-class women, caught in the crossfire between the jobs massacre and sweeping social-service cuts, are paying an especially high price for this vicious capitalist onslaught. The real jobless rate for Canadian women right now is estimated at over 20 percent. The government's own statistics admit that women who do have full-time jobs make only 70 percent as much as men—and that the gap is widening. A majority of the 85,000 public-sector workers whose jobs have disappeared so far this decade are women. The same holds true for the 150,000 additional jobs set to go in health care, education and social services.

The capitalist rulers and their ideologues have launched a reactionary and hypocritical "family values" crusade to manipulate anxieties and vulnerability and instill social conformity. At the same time, their war on labor and the poor, including the eradication of even the previous woefully inadequate day-care system, is destroying working-class families. Stay on social assistance, and you could lose not just your home, but your kids. Leave the kids with a neighbor while you work, and you're denounced as a "bad parent."

Immigrant and other minority women, who face vicious racism from all sides, are hit hardest of all. This was shown in the recent strike by hotel workers at Toronto's Harbour Castle Westin, a large number of whom are minority women. The bosses enlisted an army of scabs to try and break their union, aiming to eliminate all seniority and to replace the already

poverty-level wages for housekeeping staff with a piece-work rate based on the number of rooms cleaned. The Ontario Federation of Labour bureaucrats put in a grandstanding appearance on the picket lines, vowing "solidarity" but delivering nothing as the scabbing continued unabated for eight weeks. Finally the 600 unionists returned to work in early August, forced to swallow a rotten contract including speed-up, a wage freeze and concessions on benefits and work hours.

And this is what is in store for *unionized* workers. Thousands of other immigrant women are superexploited in underground "home work" networks, doing piece-work or toiling for sub-starvation wages. In Quebec, it is estimated that 26,000 of the 36,000 women workers in the garment industry work in their homes, and have absolutely no job security.

The government and media aim to "divide and rule" the working people by inciting racism against minorities, whom they scapegoat for supposedly "stealing Canadian jobs." Racist laws aimed at keeping out desperate refugees and would-be immigrants from the "Third World" are being made ever tighter. Now Ottawa is threatening to deny citizenship rights even to the Canadian-born children of refugees. At the same time, the massive education cuts will impact heavily on immigrant youth, as understaffed schools are forced to cancel vital programs like English-language instruction.

In a recent grotesque example of state-sponsored racism, *Maclean's* magazine (5 August) featured a front-page "exposé" about how "lax" immigration controls allowed 10,000 Tamil "terrorists" into the country, where they are supposedly wreaking criminal havoc in suburban neighborhoods. Such sinister fairy tales aim to target an entire community for racist abuse and mass deportations. Labor must fight the anti-immigrant hysteria down the line, demanding full citizenship rights for anyone who has made it into this country!

### "Lean and Mean" Capitalist Exploitation

The social programs which are now being ripped apart were introduced by the ruling class beginning in the 1940s in order to quell social unrest through ameliorating some of the more devastating effects of capitalist exploitation. But now the Canadian ruling class, like its counterparts abroad, has declared the "end of the welfare state." And their devastating assault on social programs and public-sector jobs comes hard on the heels of the capitalist depression of the early 1990s which, intensified by the effects of the U.S./Canada free-trade deal and NAFTA, killed off hundreds of thousands of industrial jobs.

In the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the imperialist rulers feel they no longer need even a façade of social justice to hold up as a "democratic" capitalist alternative to Communism. At the same time, they are no longer bound together by an anti-Soviet consensus dominated by the United States. So capitalist governments everywhere want to dispense with the overhead costs of social welfare programs, as they gear up for heightened interimperialist competition. This is what stands behind the drive for "lean and mean" capitalism, and the all-sided assault on wages, working conditions and social programs.

As recently as a decade ago, the Tories, Liberals and NDP alike used to boast about Canada's "social safety net," claiming it showed this was a "fair and caring" society. Yet today, gutting welfare, unemployment insurance and health care is

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## B.C. NDP Targets Youth

VANCOUVER—Quoting U.S. president Bill Clinton, NDP premier Glen Clark has vowed to “end welfare as we know it.” In America, this means a war on blacks, immigrants and all the poor, as the government destroys social programs that have been in place since the 1930s. In B.C., the NDP is eliminating welfare for youth, tying a reduced benefits check to mandatory entry into “training programs” or “work experience.”

This is workfare social-democratic style. The “Youth Works” scheme comes cloaked in cynical rhetoric about job training and “breaking the cycle of dependency.” But with official youth unemployment at 18 percent and one in six B.C. youth on social assistance, it’s just one part of the NDP’s war on the poor. Last December, they (illegally) imposed a cruel and racist residency rule requiring refugees, and impoverished job seekers from other provinces, to somehow survive three months before qualifying for welfare benefits. The waiting period for refugees was since rescinded, but a host of degrading regulations

remain in place.

Running point for vicious anti-Québécois chauvinism, and hoping to set employed, unionized workers against refugees, welfare recipients and Natives, the NDP is consciously pushing the hot buttons of social reaction. Yet while it is in the *direct interest* of the labor movement to smash the NDP’s war on welfare, the B.C. union bureaucrats have not lifted a finger.

Playing on widespread fears about unemployment, the labor tops keep marshalling the workers to support the very right-wing social democrats of the NDP, helping to narrowly re-elect them in May by invoking fear of what a Liberal government would do. But that hasn’t stopped the NDP’s widespread cuts in social services.

We urgently need our own multiracial, revolutionary workers party—forged in struggle to oust the racist, sellout labor bureaucrats and New Democrats—to weld together labor’s fight with the struggles of all the oppressed against this whole rotting system. ■

the order of the day for capitalist governments of all stripes—the NDP very much included.

In marginalizing layer after layer of the oppressed through their social-service cutbacks, the ruling class seeks to isolate the organized labor movement from millions of potential allies. They aim to pit workers who still have jobs against the unemployed by humiliating the poor and painting them as the authors of their own misfortune. This, not “preventing fraud,” is the purpose of plans like Toronto’s scheme to “fingerscan” welfare recipients, as if it were a crime to be out of work. The bosses are driving to reinforce labor discipline, and a workforce fearful of “ending up like them” is expected to accept just about anything.

Labor can only defend itself against today’s sweeping attacks by waging *anti-capitalist struggle in defense of all the oppressed*. But, refusing even to defend the narrow economic interests of their own members, the trade-union bureaucrats pay lip-service at best to the poor, women and minorities. Indeed, the union misleaders have themselves fanned the flames of anti-immigrant racism, responding to the intensified interimperialist competition with the poison of protectionism.

Promoting the dangerous lie that the interests of workers in Canada can be defended at the expense of workers abroad, the union tops blame working people in the U.S., Mexico and Asia for the hemorrhaging of jobs. By waving the Maple Leaf flag, they rally Canadian workers around their “own” ruling class and thereby derail any real struggle against it. In a similar vein, the social democrats and labor tops foment bigotry against the French-speaking nation of Quebec, thus poisoning the prospects for common class struggle by Québécois and English Canadian workers against a common capitalist enemy.

The bosses are emboldened by the abject failure of the labor misleaders to lead a struggle in defense of the oppressed. But this is key to rebuilding a fighting labor movement in this country. Class unity against the capitalist rulers, who are waging their attacks in every corner of the country, can only be achieved if the workers movement in English Canada stands foursquare against Anglo chauvinism. Inde-

pendence for Quebec! Labor must take up the defense of black and Asian minorities, who now make up a significant and increasing proportion of the labor movement, from black transit workers in Toronto to South Asian lumber workers in B.C.

At the same time, from the federal public-sector strike of 1991 to this year’s Ontario OPSEU strike, women workers have increasingly come to the fore in labor’s class battles. Doubly bound by capitalist exploitation and women’s oppression, which is rooted in the institution of the family, women workers have always shown great capacity for political struggle. Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, emphasized how the most exploited layers of the working class, notably women workers, can and must be a motor force for socialist revolution. In the founding program of the Fourth International, established in irreconcilable opposition to the social democrats and the Stalinists, Trotsky declared over 50 years ago:

“Opportunist organizations by their very nature concentrate their chief attention on the top layers of the working class and therefore ignore both the youth and the woman worker. The decay of capitalism, however, deals its heaviest blows to the woman as a wage earner and as a housewife. The sections of the Fourth International should seek bases of support among the most exploited layers of the working class, consequently among the women workers. Here they will find inexhaustible stores of devotion, selflessness, and readiness to sacrifice.”

The fight to win jobs, housing, education, decent health and childcare for all will take the mobilization of the working class, leading behind it the oppressed masses, in a revolutionary struggle against the whole system of capitalist exploitation. This requires a political struggle against the trade-union misleaders, who police the unions on behalf of the capitalist bosses and, together with the NDP social democrats, tie the workers to the existing system. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party that champions all the oppressed, a party which fights to sweep away this system of racism, poverty and women’s oppression, replacing it with an egalitarian socialist society. ■

**Capitalism = No Jobs, No Hope, No Future**

# Behind the Quebec City Youth Riot



Canapress



CP

Riot cops attack youth in Quebec City on June 23-24, night of the Fête Nationale. Above, police witchhunter displays seized copy of *Démanarchie* as "proof" of anarchist "conspiracy" to organize riots. Hands off *Démanarchie* and Food Not Bombs!

On the night of June 23-24, more than 3,000 young people converged on the Old City of Quebec following the annual Fête Nationale holiday concert on the Plains of Abraham. A riot broke out, and by the time it ended at 4 a.m., shops and hotels, the National Assembly building and the nearby statue of 17th century explorer Louis Joliet had been damaged. Hundreds of baton-swinging riot cops attacked the crowd with tear gas and water cannon, rounding up nearly 100 young people. Those who couldn't make \$1,000 bail were held in jail for days.

In the aftermath, the cops and media whipped up wild allegations against a small Quebec anarchist group, claiming it had "organized" the riot. The fingo man for this witchhunt was one Alain Dufour, spokesman for the dubious "World Anti-Fascist League" (WAL), a Montreal outfit which has long collaborated with the police against left-wing activists. Dufour and the WAL raved that "the pillage of Quebec City was organized by an anarchist collective called *Démanarchie*."

The cops, who originally claimed fascist skinheads had stirred up the crowd, quickly changed their story. In both Quebec City and Montreal, they raided homes of *Démanarchie* supporters and others, seizing computers, mailing lists and personal documents.

Three Quebec City activists from Food Not Bombs (an anti-poverty group which works with *Démanarchie*) were thrown in jail, allegedly for possession of a few marijuana plants. The cops trumpeted the arrests at a press conference, holding up seized copies of *Démanarchie* as "proof" that they had unearthed a "conspiracy" to organize riots. Yet none of the arrested leftists was even in Quebec City the night of the riot! At their trial, the prosecutor underscored the political nature of the state's vendetta, declaring: "They distribute literature which incites to criminal acts.... I request a jail sentence by reason of their way of life."

Convictions for pot possession normally bring only a small

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