

Chauvinism, Anti-Communism and the WTO Protests

Defend China Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution!



Giase/Seattle Post-Intelligencer



Morris/Far Eastern Economic Review

Labor tops pushed anti-Communism at Seattle WTO protest with signs reading "People First Not China First." Right, Taiwanese-owned electronics factory in Guangdong, part of massive capitalist incursions in China.

The following article is based on presentations by Spartacist Canada editor John Masters at Trotskyist League forums in Vancouver and Toronto in late January. It has been edited and slightly expanded for publication.

* * *

I want to start with a tale of two demonstrations. Last October 23, nearly 10,000 people mobilized in New York City to stop the fascist Ku Klux Klan. This powerful protest, centered on the racially integrated labor movement, brought

out thousands of black and Latino workers, student youth, immigrant and women's organizations. They filled several city blocks in lower Manhattan, drowning out the attempted rally by a handful of Klansmen, who fled barely halfway into their scheduled event. Then thousands of anti-Klan protesters—city workers, transit workers, students, leftists—took to the streets shouting "We stopped the Klan!"

This was a huge victory that galvanized the working people of New York, the center of American and world capitalism,

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Dosanjh's B.C. NDP Enforces Racist Capitalism

VANCOUVER—In late February, a B.C. NDP provincial convention chose Ujjal Dosanjh as the new party leader. Dosanjh thus became the first Asian-born premier in Canadian history, prompting hopes among many immigrants that the atmosphere of aggressive racism in the province may now get better. As one Indo-Canadian delegate exclaimed, "A new chapter in history is being written today and we are very proud of it" (*Vancouver Sun*, 21 February). At the same time, Dosanjh is the fourth premier in five years floated by the scandal-ridden B.C. New Democrats. Nearly a decade of NDP austerity cuts to health care and education, and a public sector wage freeze, have combined with the virtual collapse of Asia-oriented resource industries to shake the belief of many working people that the party is, if not their friend, at least the lesser evil. The NDP's attacks on workers, Native people, immigrants and the poor flow from the needs of a decaying economic system based on private profit. A new party leader won't change that, certainly not Ujjal Dosanjh.

As attorney general, Dosanjh sent the RCMP and Canadian army to smash a Native protest at Gustafsen Lake, then railroaded the militants through the courts. A Sikh immigrant himself, he has demanded that Ottawa detain all refugee claimants upon their arrival in the country. Today, hundreds of the Chinese migrants who arrived on the coast last summer languish in B.C. detention camps and prisons, while Immigration officers prowl Vancouver's impoverished Downtown Eastside to hunt down "illegals." And now Dosanjh is backing calls for armed police patrols in the city's Skytrain public transit system, where the cops have particularly targeted Hondurans in a racist "war on drugs."

This police repression is today being wielded chiefly against refugees and "illegals," but ultimately its target is the integrated working class, with its strategic immigrant component. The NDP's anti-immigrant drive is a wedge against workers unity, as the bosses manipulate racism and chauvinism to divide and rule. Any working-class leadership worth its salt would demand freedom for the Chinese migrants and an end to the cop round-ups and deportations, emblazoning on its banner: **Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!**

There is an increased mood of combativity among the B.C. working class, sick of bearing the brunt of NDP auster-

ity. Teamster truckers, most of them Sikhs, waged a month-long strike last summer that disrupted the economically vital port of Vancouver. School support staff and other public sector workers have struck against the NDP's wage freeze. Mobilizing this sentiment into powerful and successful struggle requires an anti-capitalist leadership of the labor movement which understands that the interests of the working class are diametrically opposed to those of the owners of industry and commerce—and which therefore bases itself on the policy of the class struggle.

The current crop of sellout union bureaucrats are decidedly not such a leadership. For years, they have held social struggle in check on behalf of "their" NDP government. And they directly fuel racism by pushing "Canada first" protectionism. Following the chauvinist protests against the World Trade Organization in Seattle, the B.C. labor tops have organized flag-waving anti-WTO rallies together with the bourgeois Council of Canadians. These rallies have featured prominently the slogan "Canadian jobs for Canadian workers." This call serves to line workers up behind their "own" exploiters against their class brothers and sisters abroad and, by extension, against immigrant workers at home.

The NDP is a bourgeois workers party—linked to the working class through the trade union bureaucracy, but with a thoroughly pro-capitalist program and leadership. The NDP government is a **capitalist** government, ruling on behalf of the profiteers of industry, trade and commerce. In and out of power, the New Democrats and labor bureaucrats act as a conduit for bourgeois ideology—e.g., Canadian nationalism and anti-immigrant racism—into the working class. Thus the NDP vies with the Reform Party in anti-Quebec bigotry. They fully endorse the federal Liberals' "Clarity Bill," which would effectively outlaw the oppressed Québecois nation's right to self-determination. Fighting unstintingly against Anglo chauvinism, we Trotskyists advocate

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Protest Mass Arrests of Mexican Students!

At dawn on the morning of February 6, an army of thousands of the notoriously brutal Mexican federal police stormed the Mexico City campus of the National Autonomous University (UNAM), the largest university in the Western Hemisphere. The cops arrested up to 700 student strikers and their supporters. Parents and strike supporters put their bodies on the line to block the buses hauling students away to dangerous police custody, but were overwhelmed by military force. That evening, a demonstration of 20,000 people, including contingents of campus workers and other unionists, marched through the city, demanding unconditional freedom for the arrested students. Internationally, sections of the International Communist League organized emergency protests. Here in Canada, the Spartacus Youth Clubs joined pickets of Mexican consulates and held campus speakouts to protest this bloody state crackdown. Unions including the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and the Toronto district of the OSSTF teachers union have issued statements in defense of the UNAM students.

The ten-month long UNAM strike, provoked by the administration's attempt to purge poor and working-class youth from higher education through tuition hikes, grew into a wider social struggle and spread across the country. On February 19, the villagers of Francisco Madero, in the state of Hidalgo, erupted in just outrage against riot police. Dramatically seizing 68 cops who had violently raided a teachers college occupied by student strikers, the villagers disarmed the cops, stripped them to their underwear and marched them five kilometers into the town square!

The federal Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) government's crackdown at UNAM is an attempt to behead upcoming broader political struggles. Meanwhile, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) seeks to turn the PRI's unpopular attack on the UNAM strike into a victory in the upcoming elections. But the PRD, which controls the Mexico City government, has also sent riot cops to viciously attack the UNAM strike. The increase in brutal state repression, from the campus to the Zapatistas and peasants in Chiapas, is part of the intensification of the exploitation of the Mexican working class and oppressed by the Mexican bourgeoisie, in line with the dictates of its imperialist masters through the International Monetary Fund and NAFTA.

Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) and Juventud Espartaquista (JE) have actively participated in the UNAM strike from the beginning, helping occupy buildings and defending picket lines against strike-breakers. In strike meetings and in our propaganda, our comrades insisted on the need to extend the strike beyond the walls of the university, so that the struggle for free education could be taken up by the industrial working class. As we wrote in a 6 February ICL statement:

"The government has bloodied and repressed the students because they think they can get away with it. The student strike has held out for many months and the students have fought valiantly. But student protest on its own is insufficient. To go beyond verbal protest and change society, students and all those seeking social justice must be anchored in the social and economic realities of the country and must mobilize the tremendous social power of the proletariat against the Mexican rulers and their imperialist overlords."

The urgent demands and needs of Mexico's impoverished workers and peasants—for agrarian revolution, education, health care, etc.—cannot be fulfilled by the corrupt and



SC photo

Spartakist

ICL sections initiated, joined protests internationally after cop attacks on Mexican students. Above: Toronto, Berlin protests.

venal Mexican capitalist class, beholden to U.S. imperialism. Even the most minimal reforms demand the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. The Trotskyists of the GEM/JE fight to build a Leninist vanguard party that can lead the workers, standing at the head of all the oppressed, to power in order to smash the capitalist system of oppression and open the way to proletarian revolution throughout the Americas. ■

As we go to press, up to two hundred student strikers still languish in jail. Many of the arrested students—some facing long sentences on serious, trumped-up charges—cannot make the exorbitant bail demanded by the government. Reports indicate that many prisoners are ill and are being denied medical attention, and that there have been incidents of torture. It is our revolutionary internationalist duty to raise funds to help get them out of Mexico's dungeons. Every dollar you send could make a difference! Send contributions, earmarked "UNAM strikers," to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON M5T 2W1.

U of T Teaching Assistants Strike Sabotaged ***SYC Joins Picket Lines, Fake Left Organizes Scabbing***

Campuses in Quebec, Ontario, B.C. and elsewhere have been hit by worker and student protests against austerity attacks by the federal and provincial governments and university administrations. For three weeks in January, more than two thousand teaching assistants struck the elite and filthy rich University of Toronto, demanding better wages, a tuition waiver and increased benefits. B.C. campuses saw several weeks of rotating strikes by campus workers. And on February 2, tens of thousands of students protested across the country against high tuition fees, which have more than doubled in several provinces over the last ten years. The Spartacus Youth Clubs intervened in these struggles, fighting to win students and workers to our class-struggle perspective. On the February 2 demonstrations, SYC members also mass distributed a leaflet in defense of the UNAM strikers in Mexico.

Later in February, during a “youth summit” sponsored by the Parti Québécois government, thousands of youth protested in Quebec City against Lucien Bouchard’s austerity measures and were met with riot police attacks. In Montreal, UQAM university students struck in solidarity with the protesters.

At U of T, SYC comrades walked the picket lines with the striking TAs, emphasizing that in order to win, they needed the active solidarity of campus workers and students, aiming to shut down the campus. But instead, the university kept functioning with little disruption. The national leadership of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE)—the TAs’ own union—ordered other CUPE-organized campus workers to work behind the TAs’ lines, and student leaders like student council president Matt Lerner denounced the strike! The TAs’ local leadership itself encouraged students to attend classes, if only they’d walk the lines for a few minutes. As a result of all this, the TAs ended their strike on January 31 with almost nothing gained.

At the root of these losing, divisive strategies is the reformist, pro-capitalist politics of the Canadian labor bureaucracy and its “political arm,” the NDP. The NDP is what Marxists call a bourgeois workers party—linked to the working class through the bureaucratic leaders of the trade unions, but thoroughly committed to upholding racist capitalism. Speakers for the NDP graced several U of T TA strike rallies, trying to prop up their party’s abysmal popularity ratings. But when it is in power, the NDP imposes the same austerity and repression as the Tories and Liberals. The Trotskyist SYC calls to *break* with the NDP and to build a revolutionary workers party.

As the SYC said in a widely-distributed 14 January leaflet titled “Victory to U of T Strikers!”: “Capitalism can’t be reformed—it must be overthrown by workers revolution. The Spartacus Youth Clubs fight to win students and young workers to a lifetime of partisanship for the struggles of the working class. Key to this is actively championing the cause



SC photo

SYC puts forward class-struggle perspective at January 7 University of Toronto strike support rally.

of all those who are oppressed by capitalism: youth and women, immigrants, gays, Native people, the Québécois.” Throughout these struggles, we raised our call for Quebec independence in order to fight Anglo chauvinism and clear the road for successful class struggle in both English Canada and Quebec.

Addressing the January 7 TA strike support rally, an SYC speaker stated: “If you hate the racism, exploitation and war which are endemic of this capitalist system, you belong on the picket lines, because that’s where the power to do something about it is.” Emphasizing how capitalism means the oppression of the many by the few, she concluded: “The only way to end this is to get rid of the profit system and the exploitation and oppression it entails. Key to that is building a revolutionary workers party that fights for all the oppressed. To students who want an end to the endless cut-backs we say: Victory to the campus workers! Join the pickets! Shut it down to win!”

During the strike, the International Socialists (I.S.) sponsored “strike support” actions that included crossing the TAs’ picket lines, i.e. scabbing. As the SYC denounced these scab “socialists,” the I.S. went into a frenzy, culminating in a racist, male-chauvinist attack on an SYC member and U of T trade unionist by I.S. honcho Ritch Whyman. We

reprint below a January 30 open letter to U of T TAs and strike supporters by the SYC denouncing this bigoted outburst.

Condemn International Socialist's Racist, Anti-Woman Provocation!

On January 21 at a rally of striking U of T teaching assistants at Simcoe Hall, Spartacus Youth Club supporter Stephanie Cheddie was the target of an ugly anti-communist tirade. The perpetrator was one Ritch Whyman, a leading member of the International Socialists (I.S.), who denounced Cheddie to a rally marshal as a "Nazi" and screamed profanities in her face. Not satisfied with slander and male-chauvinist bullying, Whyman then yelled at Cheddie, who is a non-white daughter of Guyanese immigrants, "Why don't you go back to where you came from!"

Such racist, male-chauvinist abuse has no place on picket lines, at strike rallies or anywhere else! Stephanie Cheddie is well known as a strike supporter, not only as a member of the SYC but as a member of CUPE Local 3907 (Graduate Assistants), where she played a key role in her union's decision to respect TA picket lines. We call on TAs, strike supporters and all who oppose racism and sexism to vigorously protest Ritch Whyman's outrageous attack.

What drove Whyman berserk was Cheddie's denunciation of the International Socialists' longstanding policy of crossing picket lines, i.e., scabbing. At a "strike support meeting" on January 14, in direct response to SYC interventions calling to shut down U of T, Whyman openly advocated crossing the TA picket lines en masse at Sid Smith to "organize solidarity." The I.S. did exactly that five days later. In contrast, from the beginning of the strike, the SYC has joined TA picket lines and called on other students to do the same. Picket lines are the fundamental battle lines of the workers' class struggle against the capitalist rulers: that's why we fight for the elementary principle that picket lines mean don't cross.

This has not been the perspective of the TA union leadership, who have bent over backwards to maintain "business as usual," refusing even to call for a boycott of classes by undergraduates, or for other campus workers to respect their picket lines. That recipe for defeat has been backed by all manner of self-styled "leftists," who loudly oppose our Trotskyist insistence on the need for a class-struggle policy to win this important strike. Most frenzied of all have been the pro-NDP social democrats of Whyman's I.S., whose anti-communism is truly bred in the bone.

Scratch a social democrat like Ritch Whyman hard enough with a revolutionary program of class struggle and he oozes racism, misogyny and anti-immigrant chauvinism. Why? Because the reformist I.S. takes its lead from the NDP and union bureaucracy, who fundamentally share the "values" of the capitalist ruling class. The pro-imperialist social democracy is the transmission belt for all manner of reactionary bourgeois ideology into the workers movement. The social democrats are the enemy of anti-capitalist class struggle, committed as they are to the maintenance of the necessarily racist, anti-woman profit system. NDP speakers Rosario Marchese and Howard Hampton have regularly graced the platform at strike rallies, hypocritically pledging their support. While I.S. members have literally acted as

cheerleaders for them, a 14 January SYC leaflet pointed out: "As attorney-general in Bob Rae's NDP government, Hampton *jailed* striking postal workers for defending their picket lines. It was the 1990-95 NDP regime that paved the road to Mike Harris through austerity attacks like the union-busting Social Contract and the racist attempt to eliminate health care for refugees and foreign students."

Whyman's gross outburst therefore accurately reflected the politics of the eternally NDP-loyal I.S., refracted through his own particular personal pathology. For years, the I.S. championed all manner of reactionary, anti-Communist outfits which aimed at the destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. Among their heroes were the Vatican-inspired anti-abortion bigots of Polish Solidarność, and the murderous CIA-backed Afghan religious fanatics who fought the Soviet army and murdered schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read.

The same politics played out at the 1998 International Women's Day fair in Toronto, when the fair's feminist organizers authorized a booth staffed by propagandists for the anti-woman Iranian regime. The I.S. defended these mouthpieces for Islamic fundamentalism—who lauded the practice of stoning women to death for "adultery"—after they were confronted by outraged Iranian and Kurdish women supporters of the Worker-Communist Party of Iran (WPI). The SYC is proud to have participated in the WPI-led action, which drove the mullah-lovers from the fair. In revolting contrast, the I.S. denounced the protesters as "racists" and "violent," ugly slanders which amounted to an invitation to the racist capitalist state to send the Iranian leftist refugees "back where they came from."

Once again, the I.S. has taken its place on the wrong side of the class line, crossing picket lines at U of T and embracing some of the worst excrescences of bourgeois society—like Ritch Whyman, a walking negation of proletarian morality. Students and campus workers who want to fight against the oppressive capitalist system epitomized by the wealthy and arrogant Bob Prichard [U of T president] must reject with disgust any "socialist" organization that harbors a creep like Whyman in its leadership. They should look instead to the SYC for a revolutionary proletarian-internationalist program to sweep away capitalism and its manifold injustices. Down with I.S. anti-communist slanders and scabberding! Picket lines mean don't cross! ■

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE FORUMS

Vancouver

The Fight Against Capitalism in Racist North America

7:00 p.m., Friday, April 7

Britannia Community Centre, Room L4,
1661 Napier St. (off Commercial Drive)
Phone (604) 687-0353 for more information.

Toronto

The Fight Against Capitalism in Racist North America

7:30 p.m., Saturday, April 15

Trinity St. Paul's Centre,
427 Bloor St. W. (west of Spadina station)
Phone (416) 593-4138 for more information.

Spartacus Youth Club Class

Building a Party of the Bolshevik Type

7:00 p.m., Thursday, April 6

International Student Centre, U of T
33 St. George St. (just north of College).

Austria: Down With Racist Demagogue Haider!

We publish below an edited translation of a leaflet issued on February 18 by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League. The SpAD distributed this leaflet the next day at a protest of nearly 300,000 people in Vienna against Jörg Haider's openly racist Freedom Party (FPÖ). Following the FPÖ's entry into a coalition government with the People's Party (ÖVP) earlier that month, mass protests have taken place not only in Austria but throughout West Europe. The presence of the FPÖ in the government poses a sinister threat to the Austrian working class, immigrants and other minorities. At the same time, the political thrust of these protests is to restore to power the Socialist Party (SPÖ) which long administered the racist, capitalist Austrian state. As for the SPÖ's posture of representing a bulwark against Haider, the social-democratic ex-chancellor of Austria, Viktor Klima, recently declared that "he would not categorically exclude in the future forming a coalition" with the FPÖ if that's what it takes to get back in power (*L'Humanité*, 26 January).

As the leaflet details, various reformist and centrist groups have seized on opposition to the FPÖ in order to fall in behind the social-democratic rulers of their own imperialist countries, just as they backed their own rulers in the U.S.-led imperialist war of domination against Serbia last year. While Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party (represented in Canada by the International Socialists) calls for support to the European Union (EU) in order to tail the Blair Labour government, its German sister group, Linksruck, explicitly backs German imperialism and the government of Social Democratic (SPD) chancellor Schröder. In a leaflet distributed at a February 19 protest in Berlin, Linksruck argued: "Because Haider is a fascist, he must be isolated—thus Schröder is totally right to threaten Austria with sanctions.... The blockade of the European Union is strengthening the resistance movement against this racist and anti-social government."

This is unabashed support to the aim of the European imperialist powers, with Germany at the head, to cohere the EU as a military and political force following the creation of a unified currency under the terms of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. Following the Balkans War, Germany and the other EU states moved rapidly to establish a unified European military force as a counterweight to the U.S.-dominated NATO

alliance. Now, as the *New York Times* (20 February) notes, anti-Haider statements by German and French leaders "reflected a growing determination to turn a union that was long essentially a trade bloc into an ever closer political



February 19, Vienna: 300,000 protest Haider's racist FPÖ. West European social democrats have seized on FPÖ's entry into Austrian government in drive to strengthen European Union imperialist bloc.

community with some aspects of a federal state." In imposing sanctions against the FPÖ's entry into the Austrian government, German imperialism and its partners are asserting a precedent to dictate policy to other EU member states.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (11 February) quoted in the leaflet gives a hint of how the Social Democrats' "anti-fascist" rhetoric is used to further the ambitions of German imperialism:

"The Holocaust and 'never again' are becoming the code words for the founding myth of a European nation.... Germany has participated in a war for the first time since 1945, led by a left government. The reason given was to stifle a new fascism in the Balkans.... In connection with the European left, he [Schröder] works toward the Europeanization of the Holocaust. This eases the burden on the Germans, especially when they, together with their European partners, kick the Austrians in the shin."

While ordering the first German expeditionary force into the Balkans since Hitler's Wehrmacht, at home the Schröder regime which cynically intones "never again" is perpetrating racist terror and deportations against Turks, Kurds and other "non-Germans." Indeed, the same EU governments which now

**Beware European Union Social Democrats—
Forge Multiethnic Revolutionary Workers Parties!**

hypocritically denounce the FPÖ for its pronounced anti-immigrant racism joined less than three years ago in implementing the Schengen accord aimed at keeping Slavic and dark-skinned immigrants out of racist "Fortress Europe."

As rivalries among the major imperialist powers—the U.S., Germany and Japan—intensify, we Marxists, proletarian internationalists, stand in steadfast opposition to our "own" imperialist rulers and declare: "The main enemy is at home!"

* * *

Many leftists and workers are taking to the streets to demonstrate against Haider and the FPÖ, an extremely racist and reactionary party. Haider and his cronies demonstrate their fascistic views, for example celebrating the "orderly employment policy" of the Nazis. Now, with the FPÖ in the government, the SPÖ is trying to portray itself as the defender of "democracy," while for decades itself carrying out racist state terror against immigrants and refugees and actively preparing the way for the FPÖ. One only has to think of the brutal murder of refugee Marcus Omofuma in April 1999 by the SPÖ cops and the massive deportations, often to certain death. Encouraged by this SPÖ-led racist state terror, in the mid-1990s Austrian Nazis began a wave of terror against immigrants, refugees, Roma and Sinti [Gypsies] and leftists.

The capitalist governments of Europe, most of which are led by social democrats, imposed a hypocritical bilateral boycott against the ÖVP/FPÖ government of Austria at the ministerial level. At the same time, Nazis were marching through the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, protected by the cops of the SPD/Green government. These governments are pursuing the same racist policies against immigrants, refugees and Roma and Sinti that the FPÖ intends to carry out. In an article on February 2, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* put its finger on it: "If it were a question only of this, the EU would have to keep an eye on German minister of the interior Otto Schily." The current deportations of 180,000 Balkan refugees will be continued and intensified by the SPD/Green government and also the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism]-supported state governments—in cooperation with the "boycotted" FPÖ ministers.

For almost 50 years without interruption, the racist SPÖ has administered Austrian imperialism—the other successor state to the Third Reich—with which it is indissolubly bound. SPÖ president Adolf Schärf ran his 1957 election campaign on the slogan, "People who were once for Adolf are voting Adolf again this year." Today this SPÖ, behind the scenes, is leading the demonstrations against the ÖVP/FPÖ government, for their capitalist Austria. The vanguard for the SPÖ in this are the "leftist" and pseudo-Trotskyist groups such as the Communist Party of Austria, ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt [ASt], the [Cliffite] Linkswende and the newly formed Socialist Left Party (SLP), formerly the SOV [affiliated to the Committee for a Workers International of Peter Taaffe], all of whom want to make the SPÖ-led ÖGB [Austrian Trade Union Federation] fight for the continuation of class collaboration in an SPÖ-administered capitalism. That means the interests of the workers are subordinated to those of the capitalist exploiters.

In contrast we fight to bring down racist capitalism. For this, what is needed is a class-struggle leadership of the trade unions and the building of a new revolutionary workers party, which mobilizes the proletariat independently and in its own class interests. The social democratic trade-union

bureaucracy, which the entire fake left supports, is a barrier to this. While the fake lefts want to tie youth and workers again to the social democracy, we fight to split the working-class base from these bourgeois workers parties.

The truth is that the social democrats see rightists such as Haider as a threat to European economic unity, which the European capitalist rulers know is necessary for the EU to compete successfully as an imperialist trade bloc against Japan and especially the United States. This is the reason for the sharp reactions especially of Belgium and France—which face strong fascist, extreme rightist, anti-Europe movements in their own countries—dangerous diplomatic sanctions which can lead to war.

The SPD's Bundestag [parliamentary] deputy fraction head, SPD "leftist" Gernot Erler, hit the nail on the head: "In terms of foreign policy, it will be 'serious' if Haider tries to block the eastward expansion of the EU" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 27 January). An Austria dominated by Haider could block the expansion of the EU to eastern and southern Europe, which was one of the main reasons for the Balkan War led by the governing Social Democrats. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* commented on 11 February: "The anti-Haider action was born at the Stockholm Holocaust Conference. It was conceived in the Balkan War. From then on the lefts—above all the Germans—carried their Europe under their hearts, no matter where it beats." And Tony Cliff's fake-left Socialist Workers Party, British parent organization of Linkswende, appealed to their imperialism: "There should be no cooperation with the Freedom Party. We are supporting the European Union's position" ([London] *Times*, 3 February).

Meanwhile the social democrats all over Europe are using their campaign against Haider to wrap themselves in the flag of "anti-fascist" patriotism and to build chauvinist mobilizations in order to distract from their own attacks on the living standards of the masses. For instance, at a February 5 demonstration in Berlin, social-democratic leftists like Linksruck and the [anarchoid] Autonomes chanted, "Austria, Shut Up!" in front of the Austrian embassy and "U.S.A. Genocide Center!" in front of the U.S. embassy, while they strolled through the government district of the Fourth Reich without saying a word against German imperialism. And throughout Europe, the fake Trotskyists, who all supported the election of the social democrats, marched in lockstep with them, drums beating, just like in the war against Yugoslavia last summer. So Workers Power, British fraternal group of the ASt, which called to "Vote Labour" in the elections, demanded "Independence for Kosovo" and supported the UCK [Kosovo Liberation Army], a transparent cover for their support for the goals of their own British imperialism in the war against Yugoslavia. Now these social-chauvinists write about the FPÖ/ÖVP coalition: "The new coalition will launch massive attacks on workers' rights and huge cuts in public spending. First in line, of course, will be Austria's migrant workers and refugees." They disappear Tony Blair's Labour government at the precise time when its campaign against refugees is fueling deadly attacks.

The German-dominated EU is an unstable conglomerate of the European capitalists which is directed against the workers of Europe, non-European immigrants and the main international competitors of German imperialism, the U.S.A. and Japan. Because capitalism is organized on the basis of

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Austria...

(continued from page 7)

independent nation-states—which is the real cause of the repeated imperialist wars to redivide the world and also the real reason for the war in the Balkans last year—the perspective of a progressive European state, as preached by [French Socialist prime minister] Jospin and Schröder, is nothing other than a lying reactionary utopia. Imperialism, marked by the domination of finance capital, is the epoch of wars and revolutions. With the world already divided up among the major capitalist powers, war is ultimately their only means to redivide markets and spheres of influence. As proletarian internationalists we demand: **Down with racist fortress Europe! Down with the treaties of Maastricht and Schengen! For the United Socialist States of Europe!**

Social-democratic regimes and popular fronts (a capitalist government in the form of a coalition between bourgeois parties and workers parties, where the workers' interests are subordinated to the interests of the capitalist ruling class) have been brought into power since the counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union with the explicit aim of destroying the "social welfare state." The capitalist rulers no longer feel obliged to guarantee workers in the West a higher living standard in order to compete with the social gains of the planned economies of the East European deformed workers states that emerged from the victory of the Red Army in the Second World War. After the last election, the ÖVP decided that the Austrian Social Democracy hadn't given them enough concessions and opted for the FPÖ.

In all the European countries, bourgeois nationalism is leading to a sharp increase in racism against the dark-skinned and East European immigrant populations of Europe. They are confronted with mass deportations and state as well as fascist violence. Immigrants, who as "guest workers" are no longer needed to do the low-paid dirty work, are being thrown out, while [immigrant] youth of the second generation are treated with contempt by the rulers. Without a job and without a future, they are feared by the ruling class as socially explosive. Throughout Europe, capitalist regimes governed by supposed "socialists" turn their cops loose to terrorize these youth.

Racist oppression is inseparably linked to capitalist exploitation. While the bourgeoisie is trying to drive up the rate of exploitation, the immigrants are not only victims of deportations, but are also used as a convenient scapegoat for unemployment and impoverishment. Racism against immigrants is the battering ram for attacks on the whole working class. The working class and minorities must advance their interests together, or they will be beaten back separately. The workers movement must **fight for full citizenship rights for**

all immigrants and refugees.

The immigrant sections of the working class in West Europe are not just victims, but an important component of the forces that are capable of smashing this racist capitalist system. But the mobilization of the power of the integrated working class demands a political struggle against the social-democratic leaderships in the workers movement, which serve as a transmission belt to channel racist poison into the working class. **For a revolutionary, multiethnic workers party!**

Haider and his followers are seen as kindred spirits by fascist types all over Europe: Le Pen in France, the NPD in Germany and the Lega Nord and Alleanza Nazionale in Italy. Haider's FPÖ is purely an electoral machine and does not correspond to what Marxists understand by fascism. Reactionary views alone do not define fascism. A number of Margaret Thatcher's advisers thought Britain should have allied itself with Germany against the Soviet Union in World War II and otherwise had fascist views. As Trotsky explained in "Whither France":

"Finance capital is obliged to create special armed bands, trained to fight the workers.... The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery."

In a situation in which there are no fascist mobilizations in the streets and the main question is the participation of the FPÖ in the government, the slogans "Stop Haider," "Strike Now" can only be a call for extraparliamentary action for a new parliamentary coalition, that is, a "more militant" call to replace the FPÖ with the SPÖ.

That is how, in 1994, the conservative Berlusconi government in Italy was brought down by a general strike and replaced with a capitalist popular-front government, which continued and intensified racist state terror and attacks on the working class. Now in Austria, the fake left is cynically urging on the working class, doing the donkey work of pulling the parliamentary ambitions of the social democracy out of the mud. "Strike now!" says the SLP, ASt calls for a general strike and Linkswende says: "That is our perspective—the Berlusconi solution."

Imperialism is not a bad policy, as the fake-Trotskyist groups want us to believe, but the highest stage of capitalism, which is based on the private ownership of the means of production by the few who exploit the proletariat and oppress the majority of the population. That is why it necessarily generates war, racism and misery. The fascists are the extreme expression of the interests of the bourgeoisie and are their reserve army against the proletariat. Therefore the fight against fascism must be linked to the fight to topple the capitalist system of exploitation.

We stand for workers revolution from New York to London and Paris to Berlin and Vienna. The social democrats and their leftist hangers-on stand in the way. If the fascists are the last reserve of capitalism in extremis, the social democrats (including ex-Stalinists and associated remnants) with their politics of class collaboration are the next to last reserve, a safety valve for imperialism. Only the destruction of capitalism through workers revolution and the construction of the **United Socialist States of Europe** as part of a worldwide socialist society can lay the basis for a development of the productive forces which will truly benefit mankind. **For the reforging of the Fourth International! For new October Revolutions worldwide! Join us! ■**

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“Terror” Scare...

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foreign-born Communists and labor radicals was a key weapon of the capitalist class in its war against the union movement.

And while immigrants and refugees are in the government's direct field of fire, they aren't the only ones in the files of the repressive state and its secret police. During the Cold War against the Soviet Union, the RCMP maintained a list of over 1,000 “subversives” to be arrested in the event of a “national emergency.” A 1969 RCMP memo detailed the plans to throw hundreds of men and women into federal prisons, separating mothers from their children. Prisoners on “Punishment Diet Number One” were to be fed “water as required and one pound of bread per day” (*National Post*, 24

January). A year later, the Trudeau Liberal government ordered the military occupation of Quebec under the War Measures Act. Hundreds of leftists, unionists and Quebec nationalists were rounded up and held incommunicado, without any charges laid.

Anti-immigrant racism, anti-Communism and anti-Quebec chauvinism go hand in hand with union busting in this country, and always have. These are the means that the ruling class relies on to undermine proletarian unity against capital and to sap the working class of its potential strength. It is in the vital interest of the whole labor movement to come to the defense of refugees and immigrants. Organized labor must fight to smash the anti-immigrant laws, which are a dagger aimed at the unions' throat. **Down with Ottawa's racist “terrorism” scare! Full citizenship rights for immigrants and refugees!** ■

B.C. NDP...

(continued from page 2)

independence for Quebec to help clear the way for united struggle by the working class against capitalism.

As the union bureaucrats work overtime to keep workers within the NDP fold, they have the assistance of the reformist left. The platform of the self-styled “Socialist Caucus” of the B.C. NDP, initiated by supporters of the Freedom Socialist Party and Socialist Action, goes so far as to “welcome private investment” (so long as the workers involved are unionized). Pandering to the NDP leaders' “law and order” campaign, it calls to “end crime and the conditions that foster it” and pledges to “build a progressive judicial and rehabilitation system.” Not surprisingly, a March 1 caucus statement calls on party members to “rally around Ujjal Dosanjh's government” and “unite behind our new leader.”

The International Socialists (I.S.) occasionally claim to be for a “socialist alternative” to the NDP, but they always and everywhere call to elect the New Democrats, no matter what. Disappointed in the candidates on offer for party leader, several months ago the I.S. put forward federal NDP MP Svend Robinson as the ideal choice. They praised Robinson as “the most vocal and principled left-wing NDPer in the country” and claimed that “if Svend runs, his campaign would put left-wing politics back on the agenda” (*Socialist Worker*, 29 September 1999). This was only a few months after Robinson fully backed NATO's terror war on Serbia, demanding that the federal government send an imperialist occupation force to Kosovo and later East Timor. And during the last federal election, Robinson won the endorsement of the Canadian Police Association, which praised his “attitude to criminal justice and police issues”!

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

When Ujjal Dosanjh became NDP leader an Indo-Canadian delegate noted that, “When the *Komagata Maru* came, our people were sent back.” In 1914, several hundred Sikhs aboard the freighter *Komagata Maru* arrived in Vancouver harbor in an attempt to break the Canadian government's immigration color bar, but were forced to return to India after the navy threatened to sink their ship. Indeed, the government's official color bar was only lifted in 1967.

In the intervening three decades, the Canadian working



Leidenfrost/Vancouver Province

1994 woodworkers strike in Vancouver. B.C. labor now has strategic immigrant component.

class has become decisively multiracial. In B.C., hundreds of thousands of immigrant workers and their children, especially Asians, have integrated into the labor movement where they form a strategic core. Thus necessarily, labor and immigrant rights must go forward together or they will fall back separately. To fight against anti-working class austerity, or to organize the working class against racist state attacks, requires first of all a political struggle against the labor bureaucracy, which ties the workers to the capitalist system, via the NDP, through poisonous racism and chauvinism.

Reformists like the Socialist Caucus and I.S. call to “return the NDP to its roots.” In reality, the roots of the NDP lie in the superprofits of Canadian imperialism, from which the labor bureaucrats and social democrats materially benefit. That is why they enthusiastically promote the interests of their own bourgeoisie. In sharp contrast to those who push illusions in the “reformability” of capitalism—or of the NDP—we Marxists seek to *split* the NDP, breaking the working class base politically from the pro-capitalist tops in the struggle for a revolutionary leadership. To mobilize the multiracial working class at the head of all the oppressed against racist capitalism, the Trotskyist League fights to build an internationalist, multiracial revolutionary party to lead the fight for socialist revolution. ■

China...

(continued from page 1)

in a way not seen for decades. The October 23 labor/black mobilization was directly *opposed* and *counterposed* to the capitalist rulers: to the Republican city mayor, who has run roughshod over workers and the poor, and to the Democratic Party establishment, including its black component, who defended the Klan's "right" to foment race terror and tried to organize a pathetic counterdemonstration for "tolerance." The New York labor/black mobilization was initiated, centrally organized and led by the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, American section of the International Communist League. October 23 in New York City saw black and red together in struggle, giving a palpable sense of labor's potential power, under revolutionary leadership, to sweep away the whole system of racist capitalism.

Now let's fast forward a few weeks, to Seattle on November 30, when upwards of 40,000 people came out to protest a meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO). This protest drew a wildly diverse crowd, ranging from eco-radicals to anarchoid youth, spokesmen for the Mexican Zapatista peasant-guerrilla movement and even right-wing supporters of U.S. Reform Party presidential candidate Pat Buchanan. But it was politically and organizationally dominated by the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO American labor bureaucracy, with the backing of the Canadian Labour Congress tops, who mobilized busloads of protesters to go to Seattle. While the labor bureaucrats led a giant march to the Convention Center, other demonstrators linked arms, sat in the street, broke a few Starbucks windows and managed to delay the opening of the WTO conference. The cops fired tear gas and arrested hundreds, while the mayor declared a state of emergency.

Today various reformist left groups are hailing, even mythologizing, the Seattle mobilization. The Communist Party of Canada said that "people power" stopped the WTO (*People's Voice*, 1 January). Socialist Action called the protests "entirely positive and highly significant" (*Socialist Action* [U.S.], December 1999). And the International Socialists (I.S.) spoke of "a victory against capitalism" which is "radicalizing millions of students and workers

around the world" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 December 1999).

Far from being a "victory against capitalism," the Seattle demonstrations were, as our U.S. comrades predicted in a November 4 Political Bureau motion, "a circus...dominated by national chauvinism, racist protectionism and counterrevolutionary attacks on the Chinese deformed workers state." As Marxists who oppose above all the predations of our "own" capitalist class, we did not join or even sell our newspaper at this event, whose political thrust ran directly counter to the internationalist interests of the working class. While defending the arrested protesters and denouncing the ominous measure of calling out the U.S. National Guard, we wrote: "At bottom, the protests were nothing more than a grotesque nationalist festival which held up 'democratic' American imperialism, the most rapacious exploiter of labor on the planet, as the model for the world" ("AFL-CIO Tops Push Anti-Communism, Protectionist Poison," *Workers Vanguard* No. 725, 10 December 1999).

Rather than saying that the enemy of the working class is the ruling class of Washington and Wall Street, and their junior partners of Ottawa and Bay Street, the Seattle protests blamed so-called "global capitalism" and Third World sweatshops for the attacks on labor in North America. One banner concisely captured it: "Clinton, Say No to the WTO." In response, the U.S. president said he "sided with the cause of many of the peaceful demonstrators" (*New York Times*, 2 December 1999). While the October 23 anti-Klan mobilization in New York was directed *against* the capitalist rulers—and in particular against the Democratic Party—the demonstrations in Seattle were *in support* of this same Democratic Party of racism, war and exploitation, and were shot through with strident calls for a more belligerent U.S. imperialism.

What was evident in Seattle, both in the AFL-CIO protest and in the collapse of the WTO talks, is the sharp escalation of rivalries among the imperialist powers in recent years. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the competing capitalist powers are no longer bound by a U.S.-led anti-Soviet consensus, and their respective and conflicting national interests have come to the fore. They are engaged in a ruthless struggle to improve their relative competitive position by increasing the rate of exploitation of their domestic working class, by plundering the colonial and semicolonial world and by seizing markets at the expense of their rivals. The emergence of rival trade blocs dominated by the U.S., Germany and Japan points ultimately to new wars to redivide markets and spheres of exploitation—and the golden fleece, they hope, is a China which has been returned to untrammelled imperialist exploitation through capitalist counterrevolution.


The aim of the labor bureaucrats in Seattle was to further the interests of their own imperialist rulers. Front and center in all this was anti-Communist hostility to China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state which, despite enormous capitalist inroads in the past 20 years, is based on the collectivized economy ushered in by the 1949 Chinese Revolution that smashed capitalist class rule and marked a historic defeat for imperialism. The Seattle protests were marked by foam-flecked speeches promoting the CIA's "free Tibet" crusade and by the dumping of Chinese steel into the waters of Puget Sound. As proletarian internationalists fighting to build a world party of socialist revolution, we call for unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolu-

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tion, and we are unalterably opposed to the pro-imperialist chauvinism which permeated the Seattle protest.

Defeat Capitalist Counterrevolution in China!

The immediate backdrop to the protest was the deal worked out weeks earlier between the Clinton administration and the Stalinist regime in Beijing for China's entry into the WTO. The Liberal government in Ottawa signed a similar agreement with Beijing around the same time. We warn that China's entry into the WTO would be a mortal danger to the remaining gains of the 1949 Revolution. It would pose a frontal assault on what is left of the state monopoly of foreign trade, allowing foreign firms to own up to 50 percent of strategic economic sectors such as telecommunications and slashing tariffs protecting state-owned industry and agriculture, leading to millions more unemployed.

These measures, which follow on the Chinese Communist Party's 1997 decision to sell off most state-owned industry, are part of the Beijing regime's years-long march toward a full-scale market economy. The Chinese Revolution was a world-historic event, destroying the rule of the rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie and replacing it with a centrally planned, collectivized economy which lifted the workers and peasants out of entrenched poverty and degradation. A nation which had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation. However, that social revolution was deformed from its inception, with political power held not by the proletariat but by a nationalist bureaucracy centered on Mao Zedong's peasant-based Communist Party/People's Liberation Army hierarchy.

Today, Mao's heirs are leading the country toward capitalist restoration. But to carry out that aim would require first and foremost smashing the resistance of the powerful and combative Chinese proletariat. As we wrote in "China: WTO Entry Means Imperialist Plunder" (SC No. 123, Winter 1999/2000), "*What is urgently posed is struggle by the Chinese proletariat to defend the already greatly attenuated gains of the 1949 Revolution.*" For nearly a decade now, China has experienced an unprecedented level of strikes and other labor protests, as desperate working people struggle to maintain their jobs and livelihoods in the face of the bureaucracy's dismantling of the planned economy. What is necessary is the forging of an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party which can direct the spontaneous, localized protests and strikes toward a proletarian political revolution which ousts the Stalinist regime—replacing it with a government of democratically elected workers, soldiers and peasants councils—and fights for socialist revolution throughout the region, particularly in the industrial powerhouse of Japan.

Our opposition to the WTO deal is premised on *defense* of the gains of the Chinese Revolution. The AFL-CIO labor tops, in concert with liberal Democrats and right-wing Republicans, denounce the WTO deal in order to push a *more bellicose* line for U.S. imperialism. In a statement issued just before the Seattle protests, AFL-CIO president John Sweeney railed that "the fevered rush to admit China to the WTO is a grave mistake" and criticized the White House for "prostrating itself in pursuit of a trade deal with a rogue nation." Sweeney continued, "The agreement reached this weekend would deal away our democratic principles and most cherished values and we will fight it."

This is an anti-Communist *war cry* by the labor lieu-



Burke/Life

People's Liberation Army enters Beijing during 1949 Chinese Revolution.

tenants of Wall Street. And it wasn't just rhetoric for press releases. In Seattle, trade-union placards demanding "People First Not China First" mingled with banners like one screaming "For the Basic Human Rights in Vietnam—Kill the Red Evil." From the podium, Teamsters union president Jimmy Hoffa, Jr. railed against "slave labor" in China and Vietnam. Shortly before the protest, Hoffa had saluted incipient clerical-fascist Pat Buchanan as "the only candidate that is speaking out about the issues of world trade, of China and the fact that China is...almost a rogue state that is threatening Taiwan, that is persecuting people in Tibet, that is persecuting Christians." Hoffa's anti-Communist tirades were outdone only by the United Steelworkers (USWA) bureaucracy, which organized an obscene "Seattle W-Tea-O Party" where Chinese and other foreign-made steel was dumped into Puget Sound. One of the I-beams the demonstrators took to the docks read "American steel = American strength."

The fact that so-called leftists could promote, proudly join and retrospectively hail an event like the Seattle WTO protests gives the true measure of their pretensions to Marxism. "American strength" means the exploitation and brutal oppression of working people and minorities, at home and abroad. The interests of the working class are unalterably opposed to those of the American imperialist ruling class and its Canadian junior partners. They are completely opposed to the anti-Communism of the labor bureaucracy, which openly calls to return capitalist exploitation to countries like China and Vietnam where it was abolished through revolution.

Today the U.S. and Canadian governments are pursuing a policy of "engagement" with the Beijing regime, aiming to encourage it further along the road of capitalist restoration while steadily increasing the economic penetration of China by North American corporations. This is in no way counterposed to a more belligerent stance toward China; rather these policies are complementary and share a common aim: capitalist counterrevolution. The greater the imperialist economic penetration of China, the more this will buttress calls for military intervention in the event of a working-class upheaval, as

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China...

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the North American rulers and their labor lieutenants call to "protect our economic interests." The American labor bureaucracy, known throughout the Third World as the "AFL-CIA," is notorious for its role in helping to smash militant and Communist-led unions and setting up "labor" fronts for U.S. imperialism. The CLC tops and the NDP joined them in openly working to foment capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. Today these labor bureaucrats and social democrats are lining up behind their own ruling class in the drive to bring full-scale imperialist exploitation back to China.

Down With National Chauvinism!

In the aftermath of the WTO protests, the U.S. International Socialist Organization (ISO, co-thinkers of the Canadian I.S.) published an article in their *Socialist Worker* (7 January) which lauded the call for a "new internationalism" by sections of the American union bureaucracy. The ISO cited an article in *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2000) by Jay Mazur, president of the UNITE garment workers union, which is notorious for its "Made in America" and "Made in Canada" protectionist campaigns. But the I.S. and ISO aren't the only pseudo-socialists to claim that the Seattle protests marked a turn to "internationalism" on the part of the labor tops. The fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), represented in this country by Gauche Socialiste and Socialist Action, saluted what it called an "international dynamic" (*International Viewpoint*, January 2000), while its Japanese affiliate claimed that the "AFL-CIO leadership has changed due to working-class animation...based on international grass-roots solidarity" (*Kakehashi*, 1 January).

A supposed example of the labor bureaucracy's "new internationalism" is the campaign against sweatshops, which was highlighted in Seattle and has been prominent on university campuses. The grinding superexploitation of largely female workforces in factories in Third World countries generates billions in profits for American, Canadian and other imperialist corporations. But the operational conclusion of the "anti-sweatshop" campaign pushed by the AFL-CIO and CLC tops is a call to ban imports from countries like Pak-

istan and Indonesia, which would mean shutting down factories there and driving the workers into utter destitution. Meanwhile the UNITE bureaucracy, which is in the forefront of the campaign against *overseas* sweatshops, does nothing to fight pervasive *domestic* sweatshop conditions in the U.S. and Canadian garment industry.

The protectionist chauvinism of the pro-capitalist labor tops was on full display in Seattle. One Teamster banner read, "Keep the Borders Closed to Unsafe NAFTA Trucks," alluding to the union bureaucracy's racist crusade against implementing a provision of the 1994 NAFTA "free trade" deal allowing Mexican truckers to operate on U.S. and Canadian highways. This campaign directly feeds the anti-immigrant hysteria being whipped up by the capitalist rulers. In Canada, this has mainly been directed against immigrants from China and other Asian countries, while in the U.S. the bourgeoisie is militarizing the border with Mexico and carrying out roundups of immigrant workers in order to bust union organizing drives.

We demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants, and fight for the internationalist class unity of the working people throughout the hemisphere and beyond. It is from that standpoint that we oppose NAFTA, which has meant impoverishment for millions of working people in Mexico. Against the pro-imperialist chauvinism of the union tops, we declared in a 1991 joint statement of the Canadian, American and Mexican sections of the ICL against the then-impending NAFTA deal: "Stop U.S. 'free trade' rape of Mexico!"

Imperialism and Social Chauvinism

To be sure, not every protester went to Seattle with the explicit intention of being rallied for chauvinism and anti-Communism—though that is in fact what happened. For many youth who joined the protests, the central issue was "globalization": the idea that the WTO, like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), is some kind of all-powerful global agency through which a handful of "transnational" corporations rule the world. Thus a statement by a coalition of student and environmental groups, including the Canadian Federation of Students and Council of Canadians, decried the WTO as "so mighty, it could make the next vote you cast for government meaningless." It went on: "Measures considered as impediments to free trade include subsidies provided by governments to help local or national business survive." So according to these people we should oppose the WTO because...it threatens *Canadian* corporations.

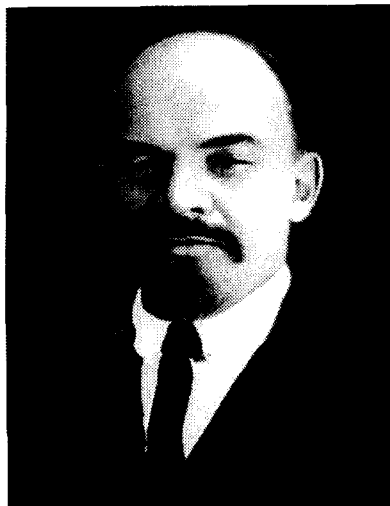
The idea that today's world is governed by bodies like the WTO and IMF which trample on the "sovereignty" of the most rapacious and powerful imperialist countries is both reactionary and absurd. In his book *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, V.I. Lenin, the leader of the Russian workers revolution of 1917, explained that by the beginning of the 20th century, world capitalism was dominated by industrial monopolies and big banks who are represented by different imperialist states whose interests are in sharp conflict. These conflicting interests constantly lead to trade wars, and ultimately shooting wars.

In this seminal book, Lenin showed how the material basis for the opportunism and chauvinism of the labor bureaucracy lies in the fact that high monopoly profits make it possible for the imperialist rulers to "bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie." Lenin

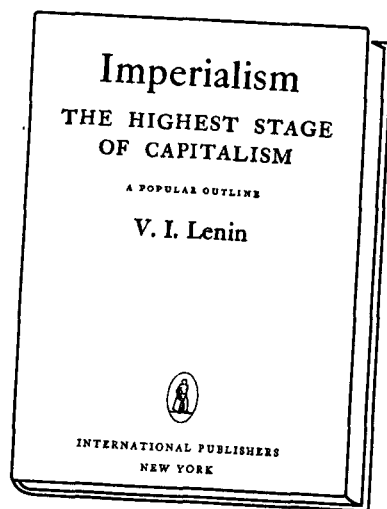


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Labor bureaucrats called to "Stand up for our Canada" during chauvinist anti-NAFTA protests.



W. Plier



Imperial War Museum, London

Written amid the slaughter of World War I, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin's 1916 pamphlet explained how imperialism breeds war and exposed role of social-chauvinist labor misleaders as servants for capitalism.

noted how "The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this urge. And so," he concluded, "there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism."

The burgeoning social-chauvinism of today's opportunist left is no less evident in the face of intensifying interimperialist antagonisms. The French USec group, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), complains that "democratic sovereignty is put into question by the WTO" (*Rouge*, 18 November 1999). This is an open defense of the "democratic" French imperialist state, fully in keeping with the LCR's role as a "left" prop for the capitalist popular-front government centered on the Socialist and Communist Parties. Of late, the LCR has been cheering peasant protests led by one José Bové against McDonald's, calling to defend French agriculture against American "cultural imperialism." Bové himself was a prominent player in the Seattle protest, where he stood in front of a McDonald's handing out Roquefort cheese!

Down With Canadian Imperialism!

Now I want to talk about the particular role of the Canadian labor tops and their political allies, the NDP. "Left" nationalist mythology to the contrary, Canada is a rapacious imperialist power with major financial and industrial interests around the world. These range from Canadian banks gouging the peoples of the Caribbean to Inco's nickel and copper operations brutally exploiting the workers of Chile and Indonesia.

However Canada is only an imperialist power of the third rank, standing in the shadow of the vastly more powerful American colossus to the south. Having little scope or desire for independent maneuver, the Canadian bourgeoisie acts as a loyal junior partner of U.S. imperialism. American and Canadian capital have long been closely intertwined, and this has accelerated in the decade since the U.S.-Canada "free trade" pact. Ontario, where most industry is concentrated, now has much more trade with the U.S. than with the rest of Canada combined. So when the U.S. bourgeoisie, joined by its labor lieutenants, mobilizes for trade war, you can be sure that the Canadian bourgeoisie, with *its* labor lieutenants, is at their side—including in Seattle.

Anti-Americanism—sometimes dressed up as "anti-American imperialism" by the reformist left—is dirt cheap,

and serves as a cover for supporting, openly or covertly, the interests of the Canadian ruling class. For Marxists in this country, the "main enemy" is at home: the bourgeoisie of Ottawa and Bay Street. As in the U.S., nationalism is the glue used by the Canadian labor bureaucrats to tie the workers to the interests of their "own" capitalist rulers. It's often dressed up as defense of "Canadian sovereignty" or "Canadian values" against foreign competitors.

Here's a typical example from a pre-Seattle statement by CLC vice-president Hassan Yussuff: "The government needs to come clean on its negotiating position heading into these talks. It can't keep going to the WTO and trading away its power to protect Canadian industry and society." There it is again in black and white: workers should protest the WTO in order to defend Canada's "democratic" government and "protect Canadian industry." What about protecting workers and the poor *against* the Canadian corporations and the government that serves them? What about denouncing "our" government for its brutal oppression of Native people, its attacks on immigrants and its anti-democratic outrages against the Québécois?

Rather than wage class struggle against the enemy class, the Canadian labor tops work hand in hand with it in pursuit of the so-called "national interest." Such Maple Leaf chauvinism directly undermines the workers' struggle against capital. Take the leaders of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW), who posture as the "militant" wing of the union leadership. A few years ago, Boeing threatened to cut thousands of aerospace jobs, including from their factories in Winnipeg, Toronto and Arnprior, Ontario. What was the response of the CAW leadership? Did they organize strikes or plant occupations against Boeing's threatened jobs massacre? No: union president Buzz Hargrove got on a plane to Seattle together with Ontario's Tory premier Mike Harris and the federal industry minister to jointly beg Boeing to "save Canadian jobs." Meanwhile the CAW lobbied the government in Ottawa to buy planes from Boeing instead of its European competitor, Airbus Industrie.

When the WTO recently handed down a ruling against the Auto Pact, insisting that the North American auto market be opened up to foreign corporations, the CAW bureaucrats joined with the Big Three North American auto companies in

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a campaign to “defend the Auto Pact” against Japanese and also Korean imports. While dressed up as a defense of “Canadian jobs,” this has more than a whiff of “yellow peril” racism about it. Such protectionist poison has lethal consequences. Back in the early 1980s, when the auto union bureaucrats were waging a similar protectionist campaign against Japanese imports, a Chinese-American, Vincent Chin, was murdered in Detroit by white racists including a laid-off Chrysler foreman—because he “looked Japanese.”

In the lead-up to Seattle, the CLC bureaucracy organized a cross-Canada “caravan” which stopped in cities from the Maritimes to Vancouver before crossing the border for the protests. They kept a journal on their web site, and here’s a typical posting, from Vernon, B.C.:

“Environmental controls will be gone if the WTO has its way. The most dangerous issue of all will be that there will be no restrictions on the export of raw logs. They will send this work to countries with low wages such as Mexico where workers earn \$22 a week or to Viet Nam where workers earn 7 cents an hour.”

The call to “save Canadian jobs” from being “exported” to Asia or Mexico aims to line up working people behind their “own” Canadian exploiters. The union bureaucracy’s allies in the social-democratic NDP are in the forefront of this. The most poisonous way the NDP and union bureaucrats tie the working class to the interests of capitalism is through their chauvinism against Quebec. Today, for example, the NDP openly supports Ottawa’s new legislation which aims to all but outlaw Quebec’s right to self-determination. Such Anglo-chauvinist, Maple Leaf flag-waving in turn drives the Quebec workers deeper into the arms of their own bourgeois nationalists.

The forcible subjugation of Quebec in an English-dominated Canada has divided the working class of this country and undermined its struggles against capitalism. That’s why we advocate independence for Quebec, to get this question off the agenda and make clear to the workers of both English Canada and Quebec that their enemies are their own respective capitalist rulers, not each other.

Now let’s be crystal clear: when the labor bureaucrats and social democrats talk about “defending the national interest,” they are ultimately talking about war. This is not hyperbole: in 1914, 1939 and countless smaller wars this century, the pro-capitalist misleaders of labor have been the key instrument used by the ruling class to mobilize the mass of the population to fight and die in wars.

Here in Canada support for military engagements is often dressed up as “peacekeeping” for “human rights.” From Korea to Vietnam to the Middle East, this has always been a lie, as the Canadian troops acted as gendarmes on behalf of their American senior partners. But in the last few years there has been an especially concerted propaganda barrage to mobilize the population to support “human rights” imperialist intervention from Iraq to the Balkans to East Timor. And the social democrats and labor tops are front and center in all this—*especially* the supposed “left wingers.”

Take NDP MP Svend Robinson, who is lionized by fake socialists like the I.S. and Socialist Action as a potential leader of a “revitalized” NDP. Robinson was calling for armed imperialist intervention against Serbia and in East

Timor even before the Liberal government did! Or what about the “left” union bureaucrats? The CAW’s Hargrove was among the first to demand imperialist ground troops be sent into Kosovo—under UN auspices, naturally. And leaders of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) demanded that Canada take the lead in sending a UN imperialist occupation force to East Timor. When the labor bureaucrats in Australia mobilized tens of thousands of workers and youth to demand imperialist “peacekeepers in” to East Timor, CUPW leaders picketed the Indonesian embassy in Ottawa with signs reading “Go, Aussies, go.” Meanwhile the reformist left either openly supported sending imperialist troops—like the Communist Party; or demanded imperialist sanctions—like the New Socialist Group; or flatly refused to call for Canadian and all imperialist troops out—like the I.S.

In contrast to these drummer boys for imperialism, we Trotskyists proclaimed in an April 1999 ICL statement: “Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution—Defend Serbia!” (reprinted in *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 55, Autumn 1999). Today we call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S./Canadian/NATO/UN troops from the Balkans and an end to all imperialist economic sanctions against Serbia. Likewise, we oppose the Australian-led “humanitarian” occupation of East Timor.

Fake Lefts Push Imperialist Anti-China Crusade

The ferocious anti-Communism of the union bureaucracy and the NDP social democrats draws in its wake all manner of self-proclaimed “revolutionaries.” Thus, many of the pseudo-socialists who marched with the anti-Communist labor bureaucrats in Seattle last November joined with these same union tops in egging on the counterrevolutions which destroyed the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe a decade ago. Today they line up behind the imperialist crusade for capitalist counterrevolution in China.

There’s a major article on Seattle in *Socialist Review* (January 2000), journal of the British parent group of the Canadian I.S. The word “China” doesn’t appear. The dumping of Chinese steel into Puget Sound? Never happened. The banners against the “red evil”? Must have been somewhere else. But the article does show the iron link between national chauvinism and anti-Communism, which the I.S. has long embraced. It says the protests in Seattle should be celebrated because they were a direct continuation of...the capitalist counterrevolutions in the Soviet Union and East Europe! According to *Socialist Review*:

“The Battle of Seattle and the fall of the Stalinist states are connected by more than a coincidence of dates.... Once it seemed that only in Eastern Europe would societies be cracked open by the forces of international economic competition colliding with the national state.”

These societies were “cracked open” by imperialist-engendered *counterrevolution*, with devastating results for working people, women and minorities throughout the region.

The I.S. and its British mentor Tony Cliff have been animated by anti-Communist hatred for the degenerated and deformed workers states since the inception of Cliff’s political tendency, when he and his followers refused to defend China and North Korea against the U.S., British and Canadian imperialists in the 1950-53 Korean War. When Boris Yeltsin’s August 1991 coup opened the floodgates for counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the Cliffites exulted: “Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have

every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991). When U.S. warships plied the Taiwan Strait in 1996 in a provocation against Beijing, the Cliffites aimed their guns in the same direction as the Pentagon—against the Chinese workers state—proclaiming: "We would oppose any Chinese invasion of Taiwan as an act of imperialist aggression" (*Socialist Review*, April 1996).

It is indicative of how far to the right the fake left has moved under the impact of the bourgeoisie's "death of communism" triumphalism that the thoroughly reformist American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its Canadian affiliate, the Communist League (CL), could posture as left critics of the Seattle protest. The SWP and CL denounced the anti-China fervor and the "Buy American, America First, defend-our-sovereignty politics of the protest leaders" (*Militant*, 13 December 1999). They call to "stop economic and military pressure against China" and claim to stand in defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against counterrevolution.

But when it came to capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the SWP and CL hailed Yeltsin's imperialist-backed power grab against a pathetic "coup" attempt by a handful of former lieutenants of then-Soviet president Gorbachev, proclaiming: "Soviet Workers Win Giant Victory by Defeating Coup" (*Militant*, 6 September 1991). In any case, these quirky reformists barely seem to know what world they're living in. To this day, the *Militant* (6 December 1999) blithely asserts that "World capitalism has suffered a historic defeat in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union" and that "It was imperialism which lost the Cold War"!

The so-called International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT), formed by renegades who defected from our party during the Cold War of the 1980s, stood way to the right of the reformist SWP/CL on the Seattle protest. In a January 3 diatribe titled "WTO Protests in Seattle and Anti-KKK Protests in New York City: Spartacist League Rationalizes Its Sectarianism and Political Isolation," the IBT denounces our principled opposition to joining the chauvinist, anti-Communist mobilization in Seattle (while finding evidence of our "political isolation" in the mass labor/black mobilization we initiated and led against the KKK in New York City!).

The IBT ludicrously characterizes the anti-WTO demonstrations as "populist internationalism with reformist illusions," and claims that they "were not, in any case, centered on China's WTO membership." They simply refuse to mention the "free Tibet" crusaders, the anti-Communist speeches, the dumping of Chinese steel. Here is the totality of what the IBT has to say about the USWA steel-dumping rally: "At the Steelworkers' rally, the largest banner was carried by the IWW [Industrial Workers of the World] reading 'Capitalism Cannot be Reformed'."

The IBT singles out for particular praise the leadership of the ILWU longshore union, which staged a stop-work action at the U.S. West Coast ports in support of the protests. But this was only "America first" chauvinism with a "militant" twist. The ILWU tops organized a contingent in Seattle under the slogan "Fair Trade not Free Trade," and in his speech at the protest, ILWU president Brian McWilliams repeatedly denounced the WTO's "takeover of the world economy" while not once mentioning, let alone opposing, the *American* capitalist ruling class. This is nothing new for the ILWU bureaucracy. McWilliams regularly boasts of the ILWU's support to the boycott of Japanese shipping in the



SC photo

TL fights for proletarian revolutionary opposition to Canadian bourgeoisie on June 1999 Toronto protest.

late 1930s which was a direct prelude to the 1941-45 war between the U.S. and Japan.

Just as they served as labor auxiliaries for the imperialist rulers in earlier wars, today the union misleaders, who long ago separated themselves from their working-class base, seek to line workers up behind their "own" bourgeoisie in the face of a new intensification of competition among the imperialist powers. And the opportunist "socialists" act as drum majors, overtly joining or acquiescing to these campaigns for economic nationalism and to bring back capitalist exploitation in China.

Our opposition to the chauvinist mobilization in Seattle was an expression of our revolutionary, internationalist and proletarian program. Upholding the class interests of the proletariat requires drawing a sharp line between Marxism and social chauvinism, against what Lenin called "the real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class."

In today's post-Soviet world of heightened interimperialist rivalry, the road of the labor bureaucracy leads inexorably toward World War III. This only underlines the urgency of the fight for the political independence of the unions from the capitalist class enemy and the forging of a class-struggle leadership of labor. Here in Canada, this means a fight to break the working class from the pro-capitalist NDP social democrats. In the U.S., it means a fight to break the workers from the grip of the bourgeois Democratic Party. In both countries, it means the forging of a genuine workers party based on the theory and practice of the class struggle: a party whose purpose is to give conscious leadership to the struggle of the workers, not only to improve their present conditions, but to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery and imperialist war through socialist revolution. This must be an *international* fight. Our watchword is not the chauvinist call to "defend Canadian values" or "uphold American interests," but the words which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels inscribed on their banner more than 150 years ago: "Workers of the world, unite!" ■

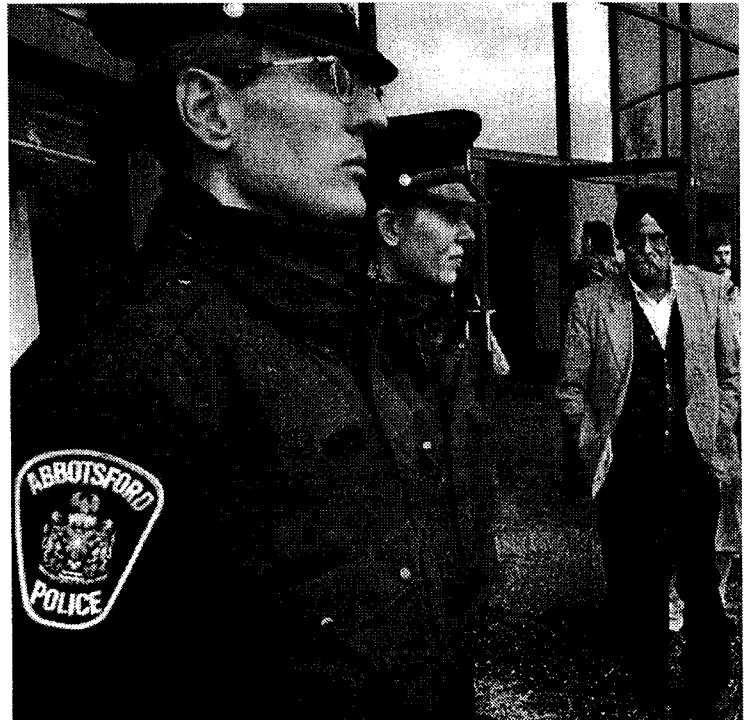
Down With Ottawa's Racist "Terrorism" Scare!

The federal government has moved to boost the repressive powers of its notoriously racist border cops and its CSIS secret police. On the heels of last year's Y2K "terrorism" scare, whole communities of refugees and immigrants stand accused of harboring and supporting "terrorists." Tamils in Toronto, Algerians in Montreal—as well as Sikhs, Kurds, Iranians, Irish Republicans—face new "security" measures designed to tighten border controls and make deportations even easier. Meanwhile, the government is retooling its machinery of state repression for domestic use against the working class and oppressed.

The immediate pretext for Ottawa's moves is the arrest of Ahmed Ressay last December. An Algerian living in Montreal, Ressay was stopped by U.S. border guards as he tried to enter Washington state from B.C., driving a vehicle allegedly packed with explosives and timing devices. After another Algerian and a Canadian woman "linked" to Ressay were seized in Vermont, CSIS joined the FBI to declare that Canada was the destination of choice for "terrorists" who used Canadian residence as a "safe haven, a means to raise funds, to plan or support overseas activities or as a way to obtain Canadian travel documents" (*Toronto Star*, 13 January). "With perhaps the single exception of the United States," a CSIS report warned darkly, "there are more international terrorist groups active here than any other country in the world."

The Liberals' moves intensify the bourgeois state's campaign of deportations against immigrants and refugees, which saw as many as 5,000 thrown out of the country last year alone. Paul Martin's latest budget contains more than half a billion dollars in new funding to beef up border controls to prevent "illegal" immigration, while an immigration department note on the budget emphasizes the "need to address new and emerging threats, including those from terrorism, to the security of Canada and its neighbours." This is coupled with promises of substantial new funding for the CSIS spy service.

At the same time, Ottawa is planning to introduce a law which bans fundraising for "terrorist groups" by non-citizens, seeking to use tax laws to criminalize political activities nominally protected under the Charter of Rights. All it will take is a nod from CSIS and the agreement of two government ministers to set off closed-door Star Chamber hearings aimed at stripping "suspect" organizations of their charitable status. Moreover, the state's definition of a "terrorist group" casts a broad net. In the deportation hearing of an Iranian woman member of the bourgeois-nationalist Mujahedeen Khalq, the Crown argued that membership in any organization engaged in *any* violent action against *any* state power constitutes terrorism. Not only would this mean



Battistoni/Vancouver Sun

Capitalist state's "terrorism" scare against Sikhs, other immigrants threatens rights of all workers.

deportation for Iranian opponents of the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Teheran, it would have outlawed bourgeois revolutionaries like Oliver Cromwell and Thomas Jefferson and even anti-apartheid leaders like Nelson Mandela!

And in January, in a sinister reversal of policy, the Federal Court of Appeals upheld the right of the state to deport "terrorists" to countries where they face torture and death. This lethal judgment came in the case of an alleged fundraiser for the Tamil Tigers, a nationalist army fighting the murderous Sinhala-chauvinist regime in Sri Lanka. The august justices decided that "although the deportation violates the Charter rights of Manickavasagam Suresh, such an expulsion is justified in a free and democratic society" (*Globe and Mail*, 20 January)! We demand: **Free Suresh! No deportations to death!**

Like all immigration laws under capitalism, Ottawa's new regulations are necessarily racist, and a threat not only to their immediate victims, but to the integrated, heavily immigrant working class as a whole. As immigrant workers increasingly come to the fore in important class battles in this country, the weapon of deportation will be used to remove immigrant worker-militants. This is exactly what happened in the 1920s and '30s, when mass expulsions of

(continued on page 9)