

Labor Must Fight Ottawa's Racist Dragnet!



Hansen/CP



Left: Maher Arar, with wife Monia Mazigh. Canada/U.S. rulers conspired to have him jailed, tortured in Syria. Top: Trotskyist League calls to defend immigrants on April 2002 Toronto protest. SC photo

For the capitalist rulers everywhere, the "war on terror" is the pretext to ramp up the powers of state repression. In the name of this "war," Afghanistan and Iraq were laid waste by the U.S. imperialists and their allies. Now both countries are under the bloody boot of imperialist occupation. Since September 11, 2001 the U.S. rulers have detained over 5,000 immigrants from mainly Muslim countries and have blitzkrieged civil liberties, enacting the Patriot Act and a host of other repressive laws.

Marching in lockstep, the Canadian government is shredding civil rights in openly racist witchhunts, Star Chamber trials and police-state disappearances. In the first instance, the targets are people from Arab and Muslim countries. Multiple frameups by the government have collapsed under the weight of their own lies, but they have served the central

purpose of this "war": the drive to regiment and intimidate the whole population. The government's message: "This is what we can do. Resistance is futile."

The "Project Thread" Frameup

In carefully planned raids in the pre-dawn of August 14, "anti-terrorism" cops from the RCMP and Immigration Canada swept down on the Toronto area homes of 19 students, most of them from Pakistan. Guns drawn, they kicked in doors, dragged people from their beds and hauled off vanloads of personal belongings as "evidence." Two more were arrested later. Meet "Project Thread," brainchild of the shadowy post-9/11 "Public Security and Anti-Terrorism Unit." The lurid tales of Al Qaeda sleeper cells, "suspicious"

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"War on Terror" = War on Immigrants, Workers

Racist Witchhunt in France

Schoolgirls Expelled for Islamic Headscarf

We print below a leaflet issued by the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*, section of the *International Communist League*, on October 9.

In Canada, as in France, the right of Muslim girls to wear the Islamic headscarf in school has come under attack. Sixteen-year-old Irène Waseem, who started wearing the headscarf this summer, was prevented from attending her Montreal high school on September 2, the first day of classes. Collège Charlemagne, a private Catholic school, used the pretext of its stringent dress code for this racist exclusion. An anti-Muslim uproar had similarly erupted in 1994-95 when two other girls were expelled from high schools in Montreal. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste says: *Reinstate Irène! Down with the anti-Muslim witchhunt!*

On September 24, two sisters at a high school in Aubervilliers, a Paris suburb, were expelled for wearing the Islamic headscarf, pending a permanent decision by the disciplinary committee which will take place tomorrow. These expulsions come as a national debate is taking place. A government commission (the Stasi Commission) has been set up to study the possibility of banning the Islamic headscarf at school. President Chirac and Prime Minister Raffarin cynically pretend to be interested in the fate of young Muslim girls. No way! They feel so concerned that they are deporting hundreds of Muslims, anarchists and others daily by charter flights! The government is so determined to fight Islamic fundamentalists that in late August they deported Nasr Eddine Bourrached, a spokesman for *sans-papiers* [undocumented immigrants] in Perpignan, to his probable death at the hands of Algerian Islamic fundamentalists! The government is so worried about the fate of Muslims that they fuel the lie that every Muslim is a potential terrorist with Vigipirate, a campaign of daily racist terror. The Ligue Trotskyste de France says: *Down with Vigipirate! No to the deportation charter flights! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No to the racist expulsions of girls wearing the headscarf! For Alma and Lila to be reinstated at school!*

Right-wing politicians are not the only ones fighting for the racist expulsion of girls who wear the Islamic headscarf




AP

Lila and Alma Levy, students expelled from high school for wearing headscarves, targets of French government anti-Muslim witchhunt.

at school. Lutte Ouvrière (LO) [a left group that claims to be Trotskyist] spearheaded the campaign for Lila and Alma's expulsions in Aubervilliers. According to *Le Monde* (9 October), "Teachers who are members of Lutte Ouvrière have argued since the beginning of the school year for immediate sanctions." Whatever their intentions, LO is campaigning for the same thing as the government. LO hails the teachers who fought for Alma and Lila's expulsion: "Well, we approve of the teachers who had the courage to defend that position and we hope that there will be many more in this country. Furthermore, teachers should not need an excuse, should not have to rely on a law. Their vocation as teachers and their conscience should be enough" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 26 September). In other words, LO calls for teachers to do the job themselves of expelling girls wearing the headscarf, in the middle of a hysterical campaign in France to do just that.

LO is not alone in its campaign to expel the schoolgirls. The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire [LCR, whose Quebec cothinkers are Gauche Socialiste] has some internal differences, but at the Aubervilliers high school they differ with LO only on a nuance: the LCR seeks to "avoid as much as possible deprivation of education and expulsion" but "we do not want to exclude the possibility of sanctions if dialogue is not possible" (*Le Monde*, 9 October). The LCR member continued: "The problem is that those two students go much further.... They pursue a logic of activism." An LCR teacher even denounced the JCR (Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, youth organization of the LCR) because the JCR has the correct position of opposing the racist expulsions (*Le Monde*, 9 October). Nevertheless, the JCR is "politically

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Anglo-Chauvinist Provocations on the Rise Independence for Quebec!

With the Parti Québécois out of office and a hard-line federalist government in place in Quebec City, the Canadian rulers are gloating that the Quebec national question has been “solved.” “Mission accomplished,” bragged Jean Chrétien as he prepared to hand the federal Liberal Party reins to Paul Martin: “The country is more united than ever.” Far from it. The polls show support for sovereignty in Quebec back up to 47 percent, and such sentiments will surely rise further in the face of new chauvinist provocations from English Canada and savage austerity attacks by the Quebec Liberal government.

Encouraged by the new provincial regime of Jean Charest, anglophones in bourgeois Westmount and the middle-class suburbs on Montreal’s West Island are agitating to withdraw from the largely francophone city and re-establish separate, privileged enclaves. Electronics giant Sony created an uproar in Quebec by marketing a video game whose object was to shoot down “terrorists” from a “Quebec Liberation Front” attacking Toronto malls and subways.

One of Chrétien’s parting insults—renaming Dorval Airport in Montreal after his mentor Pierre Trudeau—has also provoked widespread opposition. Trudeau is despised in much of Quebec for invoking the War Measures Act in October 1970. Using the excuse of two kidnappings by the Front de Libération du Québec, he sent the army to occupy Montreal, suspending civil liberties and jailing hundreds of nationalists, leftists and labor leaders.

Recent revelations that the federal government was again ready to send troops to Quebec in 1995 if the Yes side won the sovereignty referendum underscore how the forcible retention of Quebec in a “united” country is a cornerstone of capitalist Canada. As revolutionary internationalists and fighters against all aspects of oppression, we Trotskyists advocate independence for Quebec. This is a crucial component of our fight to make the working class conscious of the need to sweep away the rule of the exploiters through a socialist revolution.

Quebec is a distinct nation with its own language, culture and increasingly separate development. The subjugation of the Québécois at the hands of Canada’s Anglo rulers has sharply divided the working class on national lines, deeply undermining the prospects for proletarian struggle. In English Canada, the workers are imbued with the reactionary “pro-Canada” patriotism pushed by the NDP and the trade-union bureaucracy, among others. In turn, this poisonous anti-Quebec bigotry has driven the historically more militant Québécois working class into the arms of the bourgeois-nationalist PQ and Bloc Québécois. Meanwhile, immigrants and Native people are caught in the national-chauvinist crossfire, targeted by racist reaction on all sides. Quebec independence would remove a major obstacle to proletarian



Canadian military occupied Montreal in 1970.

CP

class consciousness, laying a basis for workers in both nations to see that their “own” capitalist exploiters are the enemy, not each other.

Ottawa’s Military Plans Against Quebec

The rulers in Ottawa also declared a “death of separatism” after the PQ lost the elections in 1985. At that time, support for even a watered-down “sovereignty-association” had plummeted to 15 percent. But only a few years later, angered by the Anglo-chauvinist bigotry that swept the country against the Meech Lake Accord’s simple assertion that Quebec was a “distinct society,” hundreds of thousands of Québécois were marching in the streets with fleur-de-lys flags. By 1995, Canada was on the brink of breaking apart, as the sovereignty referendum failed by a single percentage point.

A new book by Lawrence Martin, *Iron Man: The Defiant Reign of Jean Chrétien*, describes the panic that swept the federal Liberal cabinet as they realized they might lose the referendum. While Chrétien prepared a speech declaring that a winning referendum would merely be a “consultative exercise,” the government worked out contingency plans to send in the army “to protect federal property.” The book quotes then defense minister David Collenette: “I was in a tough position.... There were things that went on that we had to prepare for that I don’t even want to talk about.”

Chrétien, of course, denies it all. “C’est de la bullshit,” he told reporters. But as Chantal Hébert noted in her *Globe and Mail* column (24 October):

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Exchange with NEFAC Open City Anarchists

Trotskyism vs. Anarchism

on the State and Revolution

The following exchange is reprinted from the Young Spartacus pages of Workers Vanguard No. 811, 10 October.

2 July 2003

To Workers Vanguard:

In your May 9, 2003 issue you have a discussion of our leaflet *Anarchists Against the War*, which was produced for the February 15 antiwar demonstrations. We are the Open City Anarchist Collective of NEFAC (North-eastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists) in New York City. You accuse us of Pressure Politics in Militant Clothing. This is our response.

Taking your last argument first, you say that the workers movement needs to be organized and led, specifically by your type of party. NEFAC is part of the tendency within international anarchism which believes that anarchists should build an organization around a revolutionary program. This is called Platformism. We are a democratic federation of collectives. We are working to increase our unity in action on the basis of programmatic and theoretical agreement and collective responsibility of each to all. We believe that such a revolutionary organization should work inside broader, mass, organizations to fight for a working class anarchist program. Our aim, however, is not to become the new rulers but to call on workers to form mass organizations (federation of councils) to replace the state (which is what should have been done in the Spanish Revolution of the thirties). This was explained in our leaflet.

What we are against is a centralized, bureaucratic, topdown party machine, whose form prefigures a new centralized, bureaucratic, state. Following Lenin and Trotsky, your aim is to create a centralized party which will rule a centralized state which will manage a centralized economy. The result must be, and has been, monstrous state-capitalisms, economically inefficient in the extreme, which have murdered tens of millions of workers and peasants.

You seek to defend the former Soviet Union by pointing out the suffering which has fallen on its people since its collapse. That suffering is real, but why did it collapse? Was it overthrown by a US invasion or a CIA plot? No, while Western pressure was continuous, Russian state capitalism collapsed from its own, internal, weaknesses, its decades of economic stagnation and decay. It was the Stalinist state cap-



G. P. Goldshtein

May 1920: Lenin in Moscow addressing Red Army troops leaving for Polish front. Defending Soviet workers state required organizing and fighting for world socialist revolution.

italism of the Soviet Union which has resulted in the present stage of mass misery. To return to that system, as you wish, would be no solution.

You charge that we are merely for pressure politics, as in our participation in the Feb. 15 antiwar demonstration. As you say, revolutionaries cannot work out a common program with nonrevolutionaries against war. But, of course, we did no such thing. After all, our only agreement with the liberal and Stalinist leadership of the demonstration was a negative one, that we were against the war, and, following this, that we were for a demonstration against the war. This is not exactly a common program against war. It was a temporary, limited, and practical de facto agreement for one day. What we did, in New York City, was to organize a Red-and-Black contingent of pro-working class anarchists which marched within the labor contingent. We put out the leaflet you cite, which denounced the Democrats and the union bureaucrats, called for revolution against capitalism and the state, explained what anarchism was, and advocated increased class struggle and unrest by the military ranks. To call this a common program with liberals is bizarre.

What did the Spartacists do which was different from what we did? According to your statement, you also organized contingents to march in the demonstrations, under your slogans. By building a part of the demonstrations (your so-called Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents) you were building the demonstration. You urged people to participate in the demonstration by joining your contingent. Whatever you were doing in your sectarian heads, in material reality (in your actual behavior) you were participating in and building the antiwar demonstrations in a de facto coalition with everyone else who was marching—while raising your own program. This was the right thing to do, and is what we did also.

We wrote, "To limit their wars, we must put pressure on these states. To end their wars, we must end all states." You call this a "two-stage program" and fly off into never-never land by saying that this means "an appeal to the good conscience of the capitalists." Actually it says the exact opposite: the only way to win even limited reforms is to build a militant mass movement from below which threatens the capitalists with revolution. In fact, the memory of the anti-Vietnam war movement (combined with the Vietnamese struggle) had limited the ability of the US to wage war due to what they call the Vietnam Syndrome (popular hatred of war). This was, they hope, finally eroded by September 11. Your criticism sounds like you do not think that it is possible to win even temporary and limited reforms, which of course is not what you believe.

Our leaflet said, "We hope the US is defeated in its aggression." You agree with this and try to counterpose it to the NEFAC slogan, "No War Between Nations, No Peace Between Classes!" Actually there is no contradiction between support for the workers and peasants of Iraq fighting against the US capitalists and a class struggle, anti-nationalist, position (granted that slogans cannot express all the complexities of a political analysis). We called for the defeat of the US (which implies the victory of the Iraqis), but did not use the explicit slogan of Victory to Iraq. As an immediate slogan, this would not have made much sense when the mass of Iraqis hated Hussein's dictatorship, for good reasons, and did not want to fight for it. The Kurds in the north were actually fight-

ing on the side of the US (unfortunately) and the Shiites in the south were holding off largely because they feared that the US would not overthrow Hussein, as it had not in 1991. (But now that Saddam Hussein is gone, we can expect increased conflict between the Iraqi workers and peasants and the US state.) In any case, our primary job in the US was to make crystal clear our opposition to US imperialism—which NEFAC has done.

—Open City Anarchist Collective of NEFAC-NYC

Young Spartacus replies:

We welcome the opportunity to continue the exchange with the Open City Anarchist Collective because it has provoked broader interest among anarchists and at its heart is the question: what methods will lead to the abolition of the state and creation of an egalitarian, classless society?

Anarchists view revolution as a transcendent act that in one stroke does away with all the material inequalities and cultural rubbish inherited from the past. Marxists understand that a classless society cannot be willed into being; it has to be prepared through eliminating material scarcity. We fight to mobilize the working class—the revolutionary class created by capitalism—to smash the bourgeois state, with the recognition that workers revolution will only open the road to a classless society; it cannot in and of itself achieve it. That's why we seek to replace bourgeois class rule with workers rule, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The socialist revolution wrests industry, banks, transportation, etc. from the bourgeoisie and places them in the hands of society as a whole. Through eliminating the anarchy of production for profit, economic planning under a workers state will raise the level of productive forces and eliminate the basis for social inequality. This must be the joint enterprise of the world proletariat and is the only way to eliminate the state and create a society based on "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." We advocate a state that is different from any previous state in history in that it is an instrument of the toiling masses and, from its inception, begins to wither away.

All modern experience shows that it is fatuous to expect the
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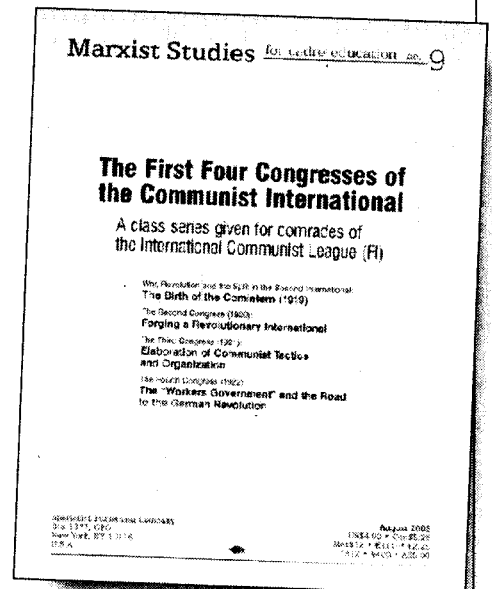
Just Out! Marxist Studies No. 9

This volume of *Marxist Studies*, a series of bulletins for the education of Marxist cadres, contains the transcripts of four classes given in 1998-99 throughout the International Communist League dealing with the first four (1919-1922) Congresses of the Communist International. Also included are the list of related readings and a general chronology (1912-1924) of relevant events.

Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, the first four Comintern Congresses addressed the tasks facing the newly formed Communist parties and codified the lessons of the October 1917 Revolution. The decisions of the Congresses provide precious material for those seeking to carry forward the international working-class perspectives of Marxism and fight for new October Revolutions.

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Anarchism...

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capitalist class and its partisans—be they reformist, liberal or reactionary—to give up their tremendous power and wealth without a bitter fight. For the bourgeoisie, expropriation signals the loss of its “right” to extort profit, interest and rent through the blood and sweat of working people. The working class needs its own state to defeat the inevitable attempts at counter-revolution and to effect the economic transformation of society. As the revolutionary Marxist Rosa Luxemburg observed:

“It is impossible to imagine that a transformation as formidable as the passage from capitalist society to socialist society can be realized in one happy act.... The socialist transformation supposes a long and stubborn struggle, in the course of which, it is quite probable, the proletariat will be repulsed more than once.”

— Rosa Luxemburg, *Reform or Revolution* (1900)

Open City’s letter drips with hostility to the Soviet degenerated workers state. It is inconsequential for the anarchists that the destruction of the world’s first workers state was a historic disaster for working people all over the world, not least for the suffering masses in Russia and the other former Soviet republics. The world is now a far more dangerous place; no longer challenged by Soviet military might, the U.S. imperialists run roughshod over semicolonial peoples from the Balkans to the Persian Gulf.

Open City sees in the Soviet Union only a “centralized, bureaucratic, state” and “monstrous state-capitalism.” In this, Open City follows in the footsteps of the late, nominally Trotskyist (but actually New Leftist) Revolutionary Socialist League, some of whose former members are now in Open City. From Karl Kautsky in Lenin’s time to the reformist International Socialist Organization today, “theories” of state capitalism have proven to be vehicles for a fraudulent neutrality behind which lurks the appetite to support one’s “own” bourgeoisie in its crusade against the workers states.

Decentralization: Recipe for Disaster

Open City condemns the “centralized, bureaucratic, state” and sneers at the Bolshevik party as a “centralized, bureaucratic, topdown party machine.” They see “centralism” as an evil in itself, irrespective of the class forces involved. This is an old debate between Marxism and anarchism which has gone under the rubric of different terms in different periods: authority vs. autonomy, leadership vs. spontaneity, centralism vs. federalism.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who first coined the term “anarchy” in 1840, envisaged a society of more or less equal small-scale property owners, reflecting the views of the artisan layer which was then being ruined by large-scale industrial capitalism. Anarchists believe that communist society can be based on inherent human goodwill (see Spartacist pamphlet, *Marxism vs. Anarchism*). But as Marx noted in his classic polemic, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847): “Proudhon does not know that all history is nothing but a continuous transformation of human nature.” A socialist transformation becomes possible only with the emergence of an industrial economy, originally a product of capitalist development. In order for the proletariat in power to eliminate scarcity, centralism is essential, as Friedrich Engels explained in his polemic against anarchism, “On Authority” (1873):

“On examining the economic, industrial and agricultural condi-

tions which form the basis of present-day bourgeois society, we find that they tend more and more to replace isolated action by combined action of individuals. Modern industry with its big factories and mills, where hundreds of workers supervise complicated machines driven by steam, has superseded the small workshops of the separate producers; the carriages and wagons of the highways have been substituted by railway trains.... Everywhere combined action, the complication of processes dependent upon each other, displaces independent action by individuals. But whoever mentions combined action speaks of organisation; now, is it possible to have organisation without authority?...

“Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel.”

In its original leaflet, “Anarchists Against the War,” Open City advocates replacing capitalism with “networks of self-governing worker and consumer cooperatives.” But such “networks” are utterly incapable of running a modern world economy, which is much more complex and integrated than when Engels was writing. Who is going to coordinate, control and make decisions about the power grid, water supply, telecommunications, air transport, etc.? Anarchists should contemplate the recent power failure in the northeastern U.S., which occurred because the bourgeoisie’s irrational campaign to privatize public utilities means that there is no central authority in charge of the power grid. Open City’s program is utopian, i.e., incapable of being realized. But if it were, the absence of centralized planning would in all likelihood trigger the collapse of the world economy and a reversion of human civilization to pre-capitalist forms of exploitation. At best, competition between various cooperatives would eventually lead to the reintroduction of the capitalist mode of production.

Open City does not subscribe to the revolting views of the Primitivist anarchists. But the Primitivists at least have the courage of their convictions and take the shared anarchist prejudice against “centralism” to its logical conclusion. Their program to abolish all technology and “authoritarian” civilization means a return to a hunting and gathering society and could only be achieved by the death of most human beings on the planet.

Many youth in recent years have sought to fight the glaring inequalities of the imperialist world order by protesting “globalization.” Some of these youth identify themselves as anarchists. But the anarchist economic program of decentralization can only perpetuate the division between the imperialist countries and the neocolonial Third World. Only centralized planning on an international scale, based on global exchange terms favorable to underdeveloped nations, can narrow and eventually overcome the divide that separates rural Peru from the Upper East Side of Manhattan.

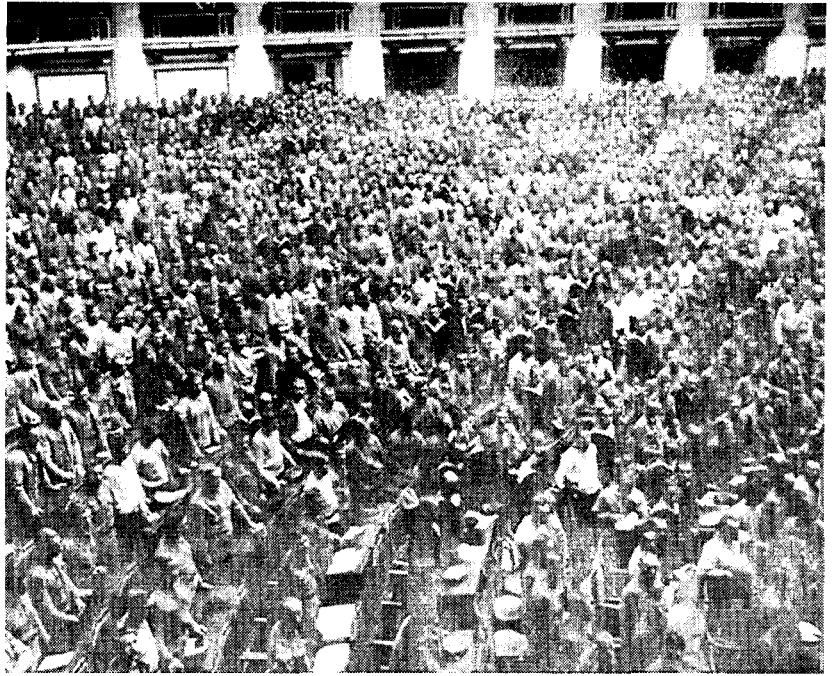
While anarchists cling to the dogma of “decentralization,” Marxists do not fetishize “centralism” for its own sake. As Engels noted in “On Authority”:

“It is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good. Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society. If the autonomists confined themselves to saying that the social organisation of the future would restrict authority solely to the limits within which the conditions of production render it inevitable, we could understand each other; but they are blind to all facts that make the thing necessary and they passionately fight the word.”



no credit

Right: Petrograd soviet of workers deputies.
Above: 1921 Bolshevik poster reads: "Long live the Communist councils!"



no credit

Lenin on Soviet Power

The Russian working class took power in October 1917 through soviets or "councils," which organized the oppressed masses to govern in their own name. Against vague anarchist notions of "federation" and decentralized collectives, soviets as organs of proletarian class rule translate the will of the proletariat directly into economic and social policy.

As Lenin writes in his work *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918):

"The Soviets are the direct organization of the working and exploited people themselves, which *helps* them to organize and

administer their own state in every possible way. And in this it is the vanguard of the working and exploited people, the urban proletariat, that enjoys the advantage of being best united by the large enterprises; it is easier for it than for all others to elect and exercise control over those elected. The Soviet form of organization automatically *helps* to unite all the working and exploited people around their vanguard, the proletariat....

"Proletarian democracy is a *million times* more democratic than any bourgeois democracy; Soviet power is a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic."

In the end, the real issue is not the degree of centralization but which class holds state power.

The Degeneration of the Russian Revolution

The 1917 Russian Revolution took Marxism out of the realm of theory and gave it flesh and blood. The experience of October won many anarchists to its banner. The dictatorship of the proletariat in practice proved vital to the consolidation of the social revolution. In mid 1918, the counterrevolutionary White armies, supported, armed and financed by the imperialist powers, launched a savage Civil War against the fledgling workers state. There were anarchists who actively fought in the Red Army to defeat the forces of reaction. One such was Vladimir Shatov, who nevertheless remained an anarchist throughout the Civil War. According to Emma Goldman:

"The Russian experience had taught him [Shatov] that we anarchists had been the romanticists of revolution, forgetful of the cost it would entail, the frightful price the enemies of the Revolution would exact, the fiendish methods they would resort to in order to destroy its gains. One cannot fight fire and sword with only logic and justice of one's ideal. The counter-revolutionists had combined to isolate and starve Russia, and the blockade was taking a frightful toll of human life. The [imperialist] intervention and the destruction in its wake, the

numerous White attacks, costing oceans of blood, the hordes of [White military chiefs] Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich; their pogroms, bestial revenge, and the general havoc wrought had imposed on the Revolution a warfare that its most far-sighted exponents had never dreamed about."

—quoted in Paul Avrich, *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution* (1973)

Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders viewed the Russian victory as the opening chapter in the international workers revolution. The only way the workers state could survive in the economically backward old tsarist empire was through the extension of the revolution, especially to the advanced capitalist countries. By the end of the Civil War, Russia was exhausted and devastated. Famine and pestilence claimed millions of victims. Agricultural output had dropped precipitously. Industry and transport were in shambles. Many of the militant, class-conscious proletariat had sacrificed their lives in defense of their state. The lengthy isolation of Soviet Russia, its material privation and the devastation of the Civil War gave rise to the bureaucratic layer headed by Stalin.

The genuine Bolsheviks—led by Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition—waged a life-and-death struggle against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, which usurped political power and began to consolidate its position of privilege atop the

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Anarchism...

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workers state in early 1924. While the Left Opposition fought to maintain the revolutionary internationalist program that had animated the early years of the revolution, the Stalinists proclaimed their dogma of "socialism in one country." For its part, anarchism shares common ground with Stalinism. Open City's "networks of self-governing worker and consumer cooperatives" sounds a lot like socialism in one region to us.

Stalin's political counterrevolution was only accomplished by the destruction of the Leninist vanguard. By 1939, Stalin and his narrow clique were left at the head of a party membership of some 1.5 million, a full 70 percent of which had joined after 1929. The only human continuity with Lenin and Trotsky's party was Stalin and his cohorts. Open City must ignore these facts to assert that the "centralized, bureaucratic, topdown party machine" supposedly created by Lenin was the cause of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. Stalinism was not the product of Bolshevism but rather its political negation.

The Class Nature of the Soviet Union

The consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union was not a *social* counterrevolution, but a *political* one—the socialized and collectivized property forms remained. The Soviet Union uniquely did not suffer the tremendous fall-off in industrial production suffered by the capitalist world during the Great Depression; instead the Soviet economy expanded significantly. The USSR's rapid economic development established as *historical fact* the superiority of a centralized, planned economy. Although the Soviet economy was terribly mismanaged by the bureaucracy and the Soviet Union lost over 20 million people and a great deal of its industrial base in defeating Hitler in WWII, the Soviet Union was the only country in the 20th century to build itself up from a largely peasant, agrarian economy to an advanced industrial power. It provided full employment, housing and free health care and education for its entire population, made possible only because capitalism was overturned.

Trotskyists unconditionally militarily defended the Soviet Union against the forces of capitalist restoration, whether imperialist armies or internal counterrevolution, and today

defend the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea and China. Our call for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and establish a regime of democratically elected workers councils constitutes the most effective defense of these states and is part of the strategy of world revolution against imperialism. The International Communist League (of which the Spartacist League is the U.S. section) fought to mobilize the East German and Soviet proletariats against the capitalist counterrevolutions that destroyed these workers states between 1989 and 1992.

Trotsky made an analogy between the Soviet Union under Stalin and a highly bureaucratized trade union. Unlike some anarchists, Open City does not equate the mass organizations of the working class with the bureaucratic misleaders. It advocates that revolutionaries work within the trade unions and defend them against bourgeois repression. Yet in the case of the Soviet Union, it insists that there was nothing to defend. It is in the crucible of class struggle that misleaders are exposed and revolutionaries acquire the confidence of the working masses; to abstain, to not defend gains already won, is to cede the field to the class traitors and make new conquests impossible.

With the USSR isolated from the world economy and hampered by bureaucratic mismanagement and inefficiency, the productivity of labor within the Soviet Union did not surpass that of modern imperialist capitalism. The relentless military pressure of U.S. imperialism also took its toll. The collapse of the Soviet bureaucracy is graphic confirmation of Trotsky's understanding: the bureaucracy was not a ruling class but a bureaucratic excrescence resting on the planned, collectivized economy.

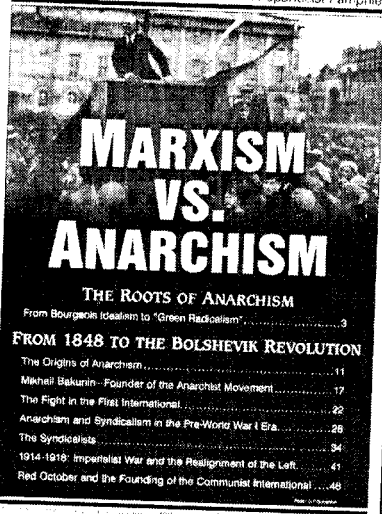
Open City does not and cannot explain why the Soviet bureaucracy collapsed. What ruling class in history has exited the historical stage without a fight? Capitalism does not collapse of its own internal contradictions—even Open City recognizes that "an organization around a revolutionary program" is required to overthrow it. Why should "state capitalism" be any different?

Open City admits that the collapse of the USSR has brought untold misery to post-Soviet Russia. Implicit in its position is that there are two fundamentally different kinds of capitalisms, one more beneficial to working people than the other. Is this what the members of Open City actually believe?

Platformism and Program

Open City identifies not with the anarchists who fought to defend the Russian Revolution but with those who actively sided against it. The "Platformist" trend in anarchism (which also calls itself anarcho-communist and libertarian communist) takes its name from the *Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists*, issued in Paris in 1926. Associated with the newspaper *Dielo Truda*, the *Platform* was signed by Nestor Makhno and four other émigré anarchists. Makhno had led a peasant army in the Ukraine in 1918-21. It initially worked with the Soviet Red Army during the Civil War but later polarized as its anti-Bolshevik core attacked the workers' Red Army and carried out anti-Semitic pogroms (a documented fact denied by most anarchists today—see "An Exchange on Nestor Makhno: Peasant 'Anarchism,' Pogroms and the Russian Revolution," *WV* No. 656, 22 November 1996). Peter Arshinov (a cosigner of the *Platform*) and the anarchist historian Voline joined Makhno's forces. But as Arshinov (in *History of the Makhnovist Movement, 1918-1921*) and Voline (in

A Spartacist Pamphlet



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Application to Join the SYC: From Anarchism to Trotskyism

The following application to the Toronto SYC, submitted in June of this year, was edited slightly for publication.

My name is Vince B. I have been more or less involved in radical politics for about four years or so and was an anarchist for just over three years. However recently I have abandoned my former "anti-authoritarian" idealism and have become in agreement and adherent to revolutionary proletarian internationalism as embodied in Leninism, dialectic materialism and of course the application of such things in action and propaganda.

The main factors of this change were firstly the anarchist movement's reaction (or lack of) to imperialist war in Afghanistan and Iraq. While still an anarchist at the time I became very interested in, and in agreement with much of the TL/SYC propaganda and program. This anarchist position on the war was really just a manifestation (although a crucial one nonetheless) of anarchism as an idealistic, indi-

vidualistic, petty-bourgeois ideology completely incapable of becoming anything else than perpetual self-protest and liberal moralism. Secondly another very crucial factor was the historical failure of anarchism especially in the Russian revolution with every anarchist in Russia at the time either joining the Bolsheviks or siding more or less with reactionary forces (the Kronstadt "uprising", Makhno, etc.). The more I grew to understand the failure of anarchism and even more importantly the more I read about and understood the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and of communism, the more I found myself drawn to the revolutionary Marxist politics of the Spartacus Youth Club, and the Trotskyist League.

As a young, still learning, Leninist I understand the need for active propagandizing and organization as well as the inevitable hard work and discipline integral to that cause. I agree with the SYC 10-point program. I look forward to being an active, developing member. ■

The Unknown Revolution) both recount, very few other anarchists followed them. The partisan army led by Makhno was composed overwhelmingly of Ukrainian smallholding peasants, who were motivated not by anarchist theory, but by their own material interests as petty proprietors.

The *Platform* represented in the first instance an attempt to come to terms with the fact that the Bolsheviks, not the anarchists, had the support of the toiling masses and had led the Russian Revolution. Makhno's forces had consisted of wealthier peasants and smallholders and had no base in the Ukrainian working class or in the cities. This, along with the anarchist lack of collective organization, Makhno recognized in hindsight was a crucial weakness:

"It was during the Russian revolution of 1917 that the need for a general organisation was felt most deeply and most urgently. It was during this revolution that the libertarian movement showed the greatest decree [sic] of sectionalism and confusion. The absence of a general organisation led many active anarchist militants into the ranks of the Bolsheviks. This absence is also the cause of many other present day militants remaining passive."

— *Organisational Platform of Libertarian Communism*,
reprinted by Workers Solidarity Movement (2001)

The *Platform* advocates that anarchists participate in the mass organizations of the working class and that they organize themselves into a "General Union of Anarchists" based on "precise positions: theoretical, tactical and organisational." The Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC), to which Open City belongs, is based on a set of "principles" broad enough to encompass different, and even counterposed, political programs. Open City claims there is no contradiction between the NEFAC slogan "No War Between Nations, No Peace Between Classes!" and Open City's statement that "we hope the U.S. is defeated in its aggression [against Iraq]." But the first represents their program of neutrality in the conflict between U.S. imperialism and neocolonial Iraq, and the second clearly takes a side. Who has the final say on the organization's program?

Open City calls NEFAC a "democratic federation of collectives." A federated organization by its nature gives rise to amorphous ruling cliques not subject to any definite political accountability. Open City follows the *Platform* in criticizing

classical anarchism for lacking any provision for the political accountability of its membership and calls for an organization based on the "collective responsibility of each to all." This is only so much verbiage in the absence of real programmatic agreement and leadership bodies.

Class Collaboration and the Antiwar Movement

As Open City acknowledges, war can only be eliminated by abolishing capitalism. The brokers of the antiwar coalitions perpetuate the illusion that war can be stopped by pressuring the capitalist state or the United Nations for "peace." The entire purpose of limiting the program of these coalitions to "stop the war" or other pacifist slogans is to not go beyond the framework of bourgeois politics. Thus, Democratic Party "doves" like Barbara Lee and Jesse Jackson have spoken from coalition platforms. These politicians hold a place should the ruling class decide it necessary to co-opt growing social discontent.

In its original leaflet, Open City glowed about the Iraq antiwar movement:

"Along with established left groups and peace organizations, the new movement includes neighborhood and church groups. It includes working people, as well as a growing representation from within organized labor. It includes Black and Latino groups and women's organizations...."

"A large movement is necessary, including a wide range of viewpoints and methods, operating in a democratic and pluralistic fashion."

Open City thought it necessary to be a part of an antiwar "movement" that was based on a bourgeois program and includes bourgeois politicians. This, simply put, is class collaboration, even though Open City looks to act as left-anarchist critics within this "movement."

In its current letter, Open City wants to disappear what it originally advocated. Now it insists that it did nothing different than the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs by building contingents in big antiwar demonstrations. We built our contingents around the demands: *All U.S. troops out of the Near East now! Down with U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq! For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers!* We appealed to the working class and explained that opposition

(continued on page 10)

Anarchism...

(continued from page 9)

to the war had to be based on political opposition to, and independence from, the "antiwar" Democratic Party liberals and the left-reformist organizers behind the coalitions. We sought to polarize the antiwar movement along class lines and to address militant youth and others who were genuinely looking for answers as to how to fight imperialist war. Open City sought to build the "movement," whose leaders made sure it was nothing other than an obstacle to mobilizing the working class in its own struggle against the war.

Open City says that "the only way to win even limited reforms is to build a militant mass movement from below which threatens the capitalists with revolution," citing the Vietnam antiwar movement. *But the Vietnam antiwar movement did not threaten capitalism.* While many youth who protested the war identified with the Vietnamese social revolution, the reformist misleaders like the Socialist Workers Party [today the U.S. co-thinkers of Canada's Communist League] were able to contain protest within the fold of Democratic Party liberalism and student-based protest politics. They built coalitions based on the single issue of opposition to the war and including bourgeois politicians. As a result, U.S. imperialism was able to recover fairly quickly from its humiliating defeat *on the battlefield* in Vietnam.

The SL intervened into the Vietnam antiwar protests to win a section to revolutionary working-class politics. We fought for the international proletariat to take a side with the Vietnamese social revolution, raising the slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" This slogan was aimed not only against the imperialists but also against the Vietnamese and other Stalinists, whose advocacy of "peaceful coexistence" threatened to betray the social revolution in favor of a negotiated deal. We agitated for labor strikes against the war, which by 1970 had become a real possibility.

The social discontent that pervaded U.S. society at the time spilled over into the U.S. Army in Vietnam, contributing to the decision by the American imperialists to cut their losses and withdraw. Open City gives equal weight to the antiwar movement and "the Vietnamese struggle." This belittles the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam, who inflicted a humiliating military defeat on the U.S. in the course of fighting for a social revolution against capitalist exploitation and imperialist depredation. The defeat of U.S. imperialism on the battlefield was made possible only because the Vietnamese Stalinists already held state power in the North of the country, had a centralized military command structure, received military hardware and aid from the Soviet Union (though not enough) and had the implied protection of the Soviet nuclear shield. The Vietnamese victory is a powerful example of the benefits of a centralized workers state, even one that is bureaucratically deformed.

For a Revolutionary Vanguard Party!

Unlike the bourgeoisie, which had significant economic resources within society before it took state power, the only weapons the proletariat has are its organization and consciousness. For these weapons to be wielded, it is essential that the most conscious and self-sacrificing workers combine with declassed intellectuals and organize themselves into a party. The revolutionary proletarian party expresses in its program the long-term interests of the working class and fights

for them, in constant battle against agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement. Unlike the trade unions, the economic defense organizations of the working class which demand the greatest possible unity, the vanguard party must be based on a revolutionary program and the selection and testing of dedicated militants.

If the history of proletarian struggle in the 20th century has proved anything, it is that the indispensable condition for victorious proletarian revolution is the existence of a revolutionary vanguard party. One of the best examples is the Spanish Civil War, the most promising proletarian revolutionary opportunity in Europe in the 1930s. Spain is one of the few countries where anarchism did have a historic mass base, and Open City says nothing about the National Confederation of Labor (CNT), which was led by the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI). These anarchists played a despicable role, acting every bit like any reformist social democrat sitting atop a mass workers organization.

Open City argues that the workers in Spain did not form "mass organizations (federation of councils) to replace the state." But there did exist factory councils and peasant councils linked to anarchist-organized workers militias. Spreading these committees and consolidating them into an embryonic proletarian state to fight for power was the central task for proletarian revolution. There was no revolutionary party to undertake this task.

The CNT-FAI leaders joined with the bourgeois liberals and Stalinists in a capitalist Popular Front government. They told the workers not to fight for their own state but instead to defend the "democratic" capitalist Republican state against Franco's fascistic forces. The Workers Party of Marxist Unification, the POUM (often mis-identified as Trotskyist), also signed on to the Popular Front. The genuine Trotskyist forces, who formed blocs at times with the left-anarchist Friends of Durruti, were initially too small and then destroyed by the victory of the right-wing Republican and Stalinist forces in Barcelona in 1937.

The leaders of the CNT-FAI were crucial to demobilizing and disarming the proletariat, paving the way for Franco's victory. Yet NEFAC has carried CNT-FAI banners in Boston antiwar demonstrations. Open City may not agree with their Boston comrades on this practice. But they are in the same organization with them.

On one level, the entry of the CNT-FAI into the bourgeois government may appear to be a gross violation of anarchist principles. But such idealist "principles" explode at that moment when social contradictions arrive at the point of war or revolution. As then-Trotskyist Felix Morrow noted in his history of the Spanish Civil War:

"Class collaboration, indeed, lies concealed in the heart of anarchist philosophy. It is hidden, during periods of reaction, by anarchist hatred of capitalist oppression. But, in a revolutionary period of dual power, it must come to the surface. For then the capitalist smilingly offers to share in building the new world. And the anarchist, being opposed to 'all dictatorships,' including dictatorship of the proletariat, will require of the capitalist merely that he throw off the capitalist outlook, to which he agrees, naturally, the better to prepare the crushing of the workers."

—*Revolution & Counterrevolution in Spain* (1938)

In the end, anarchism is no guide even on the elementary question of telling the difference between revolution and counterrevolution. The exploited and oppressed of the world need a Marxist-led workers revolution as the first step toward an egalitarian socialist society. ■

France...

(continued from page 2)

subordinate” to the LCR, and the JCR is preparing to campaign in the spring for the electoral slate—and thus for the politics—of the LO/LCR. Whether it is done by Raffarin’s racist laws or by teachers who are members of LO and LCR, the result for these schoolgirls is the same: “Get out!”

We defend Alma, Lila and all girls who wear the headscarf against the reactionary bourgeois state and against the teachers and others who seek to expel them. At the same time, as communists, we oppose the Islamic headscarf and the veil which represent a reactionary social program of confining women to the family, the home and a position of subservience (see “Women and Immigration in France,” *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 57, Winter 2002-2003). Our opposition to the veil and the headscarf is also part of the reason that we oppose the expulsions. These expulsions can only lead to even greater isolation and oppression for these young women. Their religious beliefs can only be reinforced if they are cut off from public education. We defend secularism and the separation of church and state, but the principle of secularism is deformed by the racist, anti-worker and anti-woman French state when used to attack young Muslims wearing the headscarf. Secularism is based on the idea that the state should not interfere with people’s personal beliefs. Alma and Lila’s father, a lawyer for the MRAP [an anti-racist group associated with the French Communist Party], aptly evoked the hypocrisy of this campaign when he referred to the “aya-tollahs of secularism who have abandoned common sense” (*Le Monde*, 25 September). This man, who opposes the veil and has fought against the expulsion of his daughters, correctly denounced the “double punishment” that risks being inflicted upon them: “the one which they wear on their heads and the one which would deprive them of the humanity that school provides” (*L’Humanité*, 9 October).

LO does not defend the schoolgirls’ expulsion on the basis of secularism but rather primarily on the basis of “defending women.” LO claims that it is necessary to expel girls wearing the headscarf for their own good: “The question is not the ‘right’ of some girls to wear the veil, but the right of thousands

of young girls and young women to rely on the banning of the veil to stand up against the reactionary constraints that their social milieu tries to impose on them” (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 19 September). LO claims that it is possible to turn schools into havens of progressivism. That in no way resolves the oppression of women who are forced to put the veil back on as soon as they leave school. Furthermore, LO’s campaign to expel girls from school reinforces the racist segregation which is one of the sources of oppression for these girls.

Confined to the ghettos, youth of immigrant origin in France are denied jobs and a decent future; so they seek an identity in religion. This is the case of Alma and Lila in Aubervilliers. Their father is a Jewish atheist, their mother is from Kabylia [a Berber-speaking region in Algeria], and these sisters do not regularly attend the mosque. This is far from being an exception. In the absence of any perspectives and given the hopelessness in capitalist society, youth are increasingly turning toward Islam. These young women seek refuge in religion as a “heart in a heartless world” (as Karl Marx put it), as an illusory consolation in the great beyond for the very real suffering down here. Contrary to LO and the LCR, who want to make people believe that Alma and Lila pursue a “logic of activism” for Islamic fundamentalism, the reality in France is that many of these girls wear the headscarf in reaction to racist segregation in this society. Islam is a religion of the oppressed and of the ghetto. Even Alma and Lila insist that they “would never wear the veil in a country in which it is obligatory” (*Libération*, 22 September).

LO argues that some left groups “call for the ‘right’ of young Muslim women to wear the veil at school. Sometimes they add the argument that, in the absence of that right, they will not have access to culture and to the knowledge acquired in school. This is actually a concession to reactionary pressure” (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 19 September). The real reactionary pressure in France comes from the bourgeoisie (which, furthermore, uses the imams and pushes them forward in order to control the ghettos), not from young girls wearing the headscarf! LO falsely suggests that those who oppose the racist expulsions necessarily accept the veil. There are in fact groups that do not believe that the veil is a

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1981: Ligue Trotskyste de France protest in defense of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against Islamic reaction.



Le Bolchéviek

France...

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symbol of oppression. For example, Socialisme Par en Bas [Socialism from Below—SPEB, affiliated with the British Socialist Workers Party and Canadian International Socialists] says: “The Islamic headscarf represents, above all, a symbol of resistance to religious and racist oppression” (*Islamisme et Révolution*). However—as opposed to the SPEB, LO and the LCR—we in the LTF have always fought fiercely against the veil and Islamic reaction, and we continue to do so. In Afghanistan one can see most clearly who really wanted to fight against the oppression of veiled women.

The only time in centuries that Afghan women were not forced to wear the suffocating *burka* was in the 1980s. That was because in 1979 the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan at the request of the government—a petty-bourgeois, modernizing regime that sought to lower the bride price. Under the protection of the Red Army, Afghan women were trained as nurses, teachers and soldiers. This

was just the opposite of what the French colonial capitalists did in Algeria, because the Soviet Union was a workers state. Despite the political domination by a parasitic Stalinist caste, the social basis of the USSR was the expropriation of the capitalists and the collectivization of the economy; this was incompatible with the medieval enslavement of women under the *burka*. Lined up against the USSR and the Afghan government were the anti-woman *mujahedin*, those who today once again have the upper hand. The U.S. and French imperialists supported and armed these reactionary fundamentalists, from Massoud to the Taliban and bin Laden, who wanted to force women back into the veil and kill as many Soviet soldiers as possible.

At the time, LO condemned the Soviet intervention, saying that Afghanistan was like Vietnam. They wrongly equated the rape of Vietnam by the French—followed by the American—imperialists with the progressive intervention of the Red Army in Afghanistan (*Lutte de Classe*, 7 July 1980). As for the LCR, they wrote in 1988 that the fall of the Afghan government “would in any case represent a lesser evil than the perpetuation of the Soviet entanglement in Afghanistan” (*Inprecor*, 11 April 1988). We, on the other hand, declared: “Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the gains of October 1917 to the Afghan peoples!” And we fought against the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989. The fruit of this betrayal by the Soviets in Afghanistan is the horror that exists there today. Those who now shed crocodile tears for the fate of Afghan women and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the world do not want to admit it, but at bottom the cause is the fall of the Soviet Union. In the 1980s, LO and the LCR refused to oppose the worst Islamic scum in Afghanistan, and today they complain about Islamic fundamentalists in France! But these two positions are linked in a very concrete way: then, as today, they sided with their own French bourgeoisie.

In order to liberate women, not only from the veil but from every form of oppression, it is necessary to fight for workers revolution which is the only way to do away with the material basis for oppression. To achieve that, it is necessary to build a revolutionary workers party. Such a party would fight in the interests of all workers and thus against racist terror and the oppression of women. That is the party we seek to build. For women’s liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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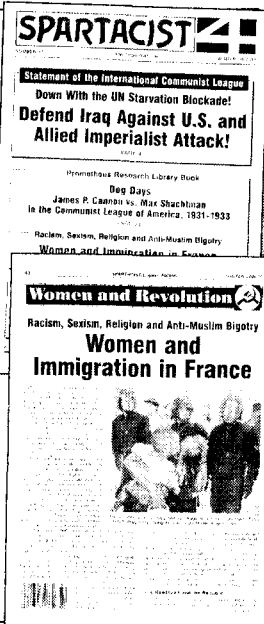
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Quebec...

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“For anyone who followed the federal scene in those tense 1995 days, the surprise would be that the issue of using troops to deal with civil strife after a Yes vote did not come up....

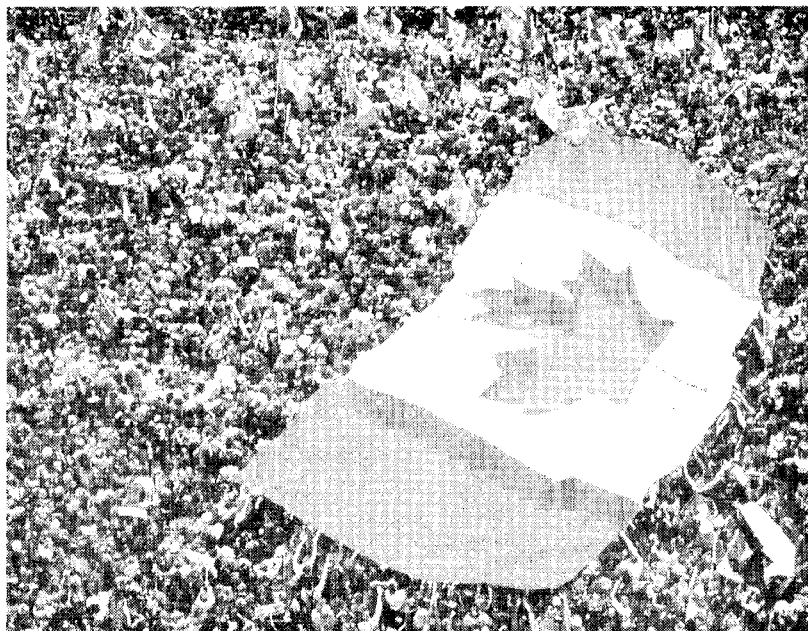
“Based on rhetoric alone, the chances of violent federalist reprisals against sovereignists seemed more plausible than the reverse.”

Ottawa’s repeated moves and threats to use military force against national and social struggle in Quebec testify to the violent, chauvinist reality behind Canada’s “tolerant, peace-loving” image. The army was sent to Quebec to “restore order” amid nationalist anti-conscription protests during World War I. Less than two years after Trudeau sent the troops in 1970, several dozen top Canadian military leaders met secretly at a Montreal hotel on 18-19 April 1972 to discuss plans for a more sustained invasion and occupation of Quebec. Also present were senior British military officers, who described their experiences in the army occupation of Northern Ireland.

This high-level plan for a military crackdown, “Exercise Neat Pitch,” came amid major social turmoil and working-class radicalization in Quebec. Hundreds of thousands of public-sector workers were embroiled in the first of two general strikes that swept the province that spring. The second, which included the industrial private sector, saw strikers seize whole towns in the most deep-going proletarian struggle this country has ever seen. The story of “Neat Pitch,” still largely suppressed in the English Canadian media, only came to light thanks to one of the few francophone officers present, Captain Jean-René-Marcel Sauvé, who became so troubled that he leaked a copy to an aide to Jacques Parizeau (*Presse Canadienne*, 5 April 2002).

Faced with a wall of hostility from English Canada—NDP leader David Lewis openly supported the jailing of Quebec labor leaders—the aspirations of the Quebec working class were channeled into the bourgeois-nationalist PQ. Then, following the 1976 election of the first PQ government, Trudeau again threatened to “use the sword” against any moves toward independence. And while the details of Ottawa’s military preparations in 1995 remain shrouded in mystery, the months leading up to the referendum saw several military provocations. On August 26, a convoy of hundreds of military vehicles was sent across Quebec. The same month, the secretive “anti-terrorist” Joint Task Force 2 conducted an exercise in an east-end Montreal suburb. Residents of Anjou were awakened in the middle of the night as soldiers descended in Twin Huey helicopters and fired ear-splitting stun grenades.

As support for sovereignty surged in the late days of the referendum campaign, the government in Ottawa and top business circles added economic blackmail to the mix. Paul Martin raved that a million jobs would be lost if the Yes side won. Chrétien warned the elderly that they would lose their pensions in a sovereign Quebec. Capitalist magnates like Laurent Beaudoin of Bombardier threatened to shift operations out of Quebec in the event of independence. In the final days before the vote, the Canadian rulers worked with top business leaders to organize a massive flag-waving



Maclean's

Chauvinist “Canadian unity” rally in Montreal, November 1995.

“unity” rally in Montreal. Employees were encouraged to take time off (with pay) to attend, while Air Canada and Via Rail slashed fares to Montreal by 90 percent and phone companies offered free long-distance calls to build this chauvinist “We love Canada” event.

Quebec and the Left

We called for a Yes vote in the 1995 referendum, headlining our leaflet “Break the Grip of National Chauvinism—Independence for Quebec!” (*SC No. 106*, November/December 1995). Our principled stance was in sharp contrast to “leftists” who placed themselves in the camp of Anglo chauvinism. The NDP, of course, was front and center in the “pro-Canada” campaign. The Communist Party similarly campaigned for a No vote, issuing an “urgent appeal for a united Canada.”

Bringing up the rear was the tiny anti-Spartacist sect called the “International Bolshevik Tendency” (IBT), whose leaflet (issued only in English) also called on Quebec workers to vote No to independence. So outrageous was the IBT’s stand that their only Quebec member, as he quit, denounced the group’s “de facto bloc with the Canadian bourgeoisie.” The IBT was even invited by federalist organizers to attend the chauvinist “Canadian unity” rally in Montreal on the eve of the referendum! As their ex-member noted, “To be fair, you quite properly rejected the invitation, but it shouldn’t have been made in the first place. The issue this raises is how the

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Quebec...

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IBT's propaganda effort was perceived by the 'Canadian Unity' business lobby. You were viewed as standing on the 'right side' of the political divide." (For more details, see "'Bolshhevik Tendency' Opposes Quebec Independence," *SC* No. 108, March/April 1996.)

In the wake of the narrow referendum defeat, popular agitation for independence receded, as the PQ concentrated on managing capitalist Quebec on the backs of working people and the poor. Chrétien took the opportunity to push through the Clarity Act, legislation that effectively denies Quebec's democratic right to self-determination. The New Democrats again underlined their adherence to the chauvinist Canadian status quo by supporting Chrétien's anti-Quebec edict.

Today, some elements in the youthful activist milieu, notably among the anarchists, dismiss the Quebec national question as an irrelevancy, or merely a trap set by the PQ and Bloc to lull workers and the oppressed. This could not be more false. The national oppression of the Québécois within the Canadian state cannot be wished away: English Canadian chauvinism and the Quebec nationalism it engenders are constantly used by the bourgeois rulers to tie the workers to the class enemy, undermining the class struggle.

Take the struggles now brewing in Quebec against the Charest government's austerity onslaught on welfare, social services and union jobs. Quebec union leaders are vowing to "mount the barricades" against Charest's "declaration of war." Working-class struggle mobilizing Quebec's poor, unemployed and minorities is indeed urgently needed. But the labor tops' main goal is to channel the anger accumulating at the base of Quebec society into revived illusions in the PQ—the same party that attacked workers' jobs and livelihoods as well as social programs like health care while in office.

The PQ government's attacks provoked widespread opposition, notably the hugely popular 1999 nurses strike. But now, in opposition, the péquistes and their labor lieutenants can again play the card of "national solidarity" against Eng-



Radical America

Demonstration of public sector workers, April 1972. Quebec general strike that spring was most deep-going class struggle in Canadian history.

lish Canada and federalist politicians like Charest. PQ leader Bernard Landry cynically gloats, "We are no longer in a position to create dissatisfaction, and the Liberals are," adding: "At the end of the present cycle we will make Quebec an independent nation" (*Globe and Mail*, 21 June).

Bourgeois labor haters like the PQ and Bloc use the all-too-real provocations of the English Canadian rulers to tie the workers to their coattails. As forthright opponents of Anglo bigotry and champions of Quebec independence in English Canada, we Trotskyists can with clean hands explain to the Québécois workers why nationalism is an obstacle to the struggle to emancipate working people and the oppressed.

Our proletarian internationalist stance is in sharp contrast to the "left" nationalist groupings—Union des Forces Progressistes (UFP), D'Abord Solidaires, etc.—who peddle illusions about the "progressive" nature of Quebec nationalism and act as pressure groups on the PQ and its allies in the labor bureaucracy. The UFP in particular aspires only to be a Québécois version of the NDP, another social-democratic obstacle to anti-capitalist class consciousness and struggle.

The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fights to forge a revolutionary vanguard party which takes up the cause of all the oppressed. While supporting Quebec independence, we also fight to mobilize labor's power on behalf of Native people and immigrants, who today face stepped-up racist attacks from the capitalist rulers, anglophone and francophone alike. This notably includes Quebec's large Arab and Muslim population, who are particular targets of the rulers' reactionary "war on terror." Stop the deportations of Algerian, Palestinian and other refugees! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The "united Canada" upheld by the English Canadian labor bureaucracy and especially the NDP can only mean continued national oppression of the Québécois people and a dampening of class struggle. We fight for the only perspective that can weld together the struggles of working people—English Canadian, Québécois; immigrant, Native—against the brutal and bloody capitalist system that oppresses us all. Down with Anglo chauvinism! Break with bourgeois nationalism! For Quebec independence! Forward to North American socialist revolution! ■

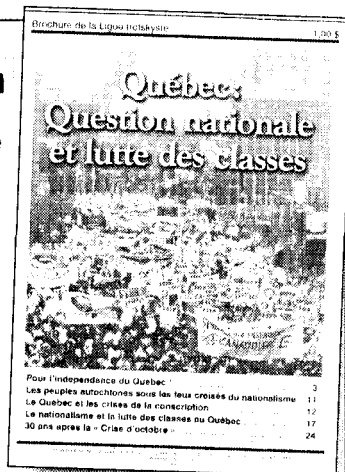
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Racist Dragnet...

(continued from page 1)

radioactive material and “threats” to the CN Tower and Pickering nuclear power plant made headlines from New York to Lahore. They were meant to sow panic, and a pliant Canadian press obliged, eagerly retailing “parallels” between the students and the September 11 hijackers and claims that the men were bin Laden agents.

It was a pack of lies, and no claim was too preposterous. A government document said the men “have connections to the Punjab province in Pakistan that is noted for Sunni extremism.” Right—they and about 34 million other people! A student pilot was targeted for using a flight path over the Pickering nuclear power plant—a routine training route. Some were accused of studying “in what can only be called a dilatory manner” and having “a minimal standard of living” in sparsely furnished apartments. By these lights, most Ontario students would be behind bars! Others were said to know people “that have access” to entirely legal nuclear gauges commonly used in construction.

The men were jailed in the maximum security Maplehurst prison, some for over three months. Racist prison screws incited violence, branding them as “terrorists” and taunting them as “Taliban.” One man was beaten by a prisoner. That the frameup unraveled spectacularly is cold comfort for its victims, whose lives it has shattered. Ten have been deported back to Pakistan for minor alleged immigration violations. One, Muhammad Waheed, vividly captured what this means: “I am feeling so much fear for my return to Pakistan. Even though I wasn’t convicted, I have a reputation of being a terrorist.” On arriving in Pakistan, three of the students were interrogated for 16 hours. Released on bail, they face travel restrictions and state surveillance. Others, fearing persecution in Pakistan, have claimed refugee status here. Charged with exactly nothing, they were only released after paying \$10,000-15,000 bonds. We demand full refugee and residency status in Canada for these people who were so egregiously tormented by the Canadian state!

Citizenship Rights Shredded

To be branded “terrorist” is to find yourself on an international hit list, thrust into a shadowy secret world where you have neither rights nor recourse. Consider the terrifying case of 33-year-old Maher Arar, a Canadian citizen of Syrian origin. The FBI seized Arar, a software engineer, at New York’s Kennedy airport on September 26, 2002 while he was returning to Canada from a family trip to Tunisia. The FBI interrogated him, deprived him of food and sleep for 28 hours and barred him from contacting a lawyer or family for six days.

Two weeks later, Arar was wakened at 3 a.m., shackled and stripsearched, then told he would be deported to Syria. Tarrred as an “Al Qaeda activist,” Arar was imprisoned in a filthy coffin-like cell for ten months. He was finally freed in early October this year thanks mainly to the heroic efforts of his wife, Monia Mazigh. In a statement made a few weeks after his return to Canada, Arar described his ordeal:

“My cell had no light.... There was a vent in the ceiling, and cats and rats lived up there. The cats would urinate through the vent into my cell. Living in this dark, dirty grave was psychological torture.”

He told of repeated torture, beatings with shredded electrical cables for up to 18 hours at a time and being forced to sign a



Project Threadbare

Toronto, September 27: Fahim Kayani, one of the victims of racist Project Thread, speaks at rally outside Immigrant and Refugee Board.

false confession that he had gone to Afghanistan for “training.”

The Canadian government proclaimed its hands were clean, a bald-faced lie. They set this entire atrocity in motion. If not for the dossier of information provided by Canadian security services that got him put on the U.S. “Viper” watch list, Arar’s transit through the U.S. last year might have been as uneventful as his many other recent trips there—his U.S. work permit had even been renewed post-9/11. But this time he was pulled over. “They were consulting a report,” said Arar, “and the information they had was so private, I thought this must be from Canada.” Arar recounted his shock when FBI agents pulled out a 1997 lease for his family’s Ottawa apartment, which had been witnessed by an acquaintance, Abdullah Almaki. Almaki and another Syrian-born Canadian citizen, Arwad Al-Bouchi, are held without charges in a Syrian jail. Like Arar, they have been tortured.

Arar’s ordeal and Project Thread have cast light on some of the other targets of the “war on terror.” Five men of Arab descent—Hassan Almrei, Mohamed Mahjoub, Mahmoud Jabbalah, Mohamed Harket and Adil Charkaoui—are being held in Canadian jails without charge. Jabbalah and Almrei have been in solitary confinement for over two years. Almrei staged a 39-day hunger strike in protest against the isolation and bitter cold of his cell. They are being held on the basis of the sinister “security certificate” which allows the state to jail and deport non-citizens without charge while the evidence against them is kept secret. We demand immediate freedom for all those detained. Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

But if the government gets its way, Canadian citizenship will provide little protection against a state vendetta. As with the case of U.S. citizen Jose Padilla (see article, page 19), detained now for two years without charge, the state has sent a chilling message: your purported “citizenship rights” mean nothing. A new citizenship act, Bill C-18, would allow the government to revoke the citizenship of naturalized citizens if they decide that the person has “demonstrated a flagrant and serious disregard of the principles and values underlying a free and democratic society.”

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Racist Dragnet...

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Arar's case is so blatant that the raving bigots of the far-right Alliance, who a year ago bayed for Arar's blood, are now denouncing the government for "complicity" with the U.S. In fact, as Jim Stanford, an economist with the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) pointed out, it was the Alliance that "led the charge for Canada to crack down on immigrants, root out suspected terrorists, and cooperate closely with the Americans on security matters—in short, to do exactly the things that led to Mr. Arar's arrest, expulsion, and torture" (*Globe and Mail*, 10 November).

But the ruling Liberals didn't need any help from the Alliance. Since 9/11 they have introduced a raft of new laws attacking immigrants and further strangling civil rights. Working with the FBI and Scotland Yard, the RCMP maintains a database of the names, addresses, passport numbers and nationalities of men from 16 Near Eastern countries arriving in Canada from anywhere in the world. Dozens of Near Eastern and Islamic groups have been declared "terrorist." Ominously, leftist organizations such as the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Columbian FARC and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine have also been outlawed.

Mobilize the Social Power of Labor!

Starting with those who have fewest rights—immigrants and refugees—the bourgeoisie aims to regiment and repress everyone through fear, not least fear of the state itself. And working people and their organizations are the ultimate targets. Shot through with racism, the terror scare is meant to divide the working class, poisoning effective resistance to the ongoing destruction of jobs and livelihoods. This was driven home sharply in 2002 when the government whipped



Bull/Toronto Star

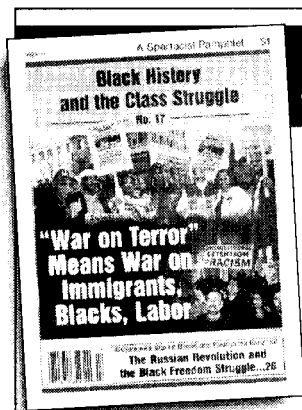
Striking department store workers in suburban Toronto, August 2002. Immigrants form a key part of the multiracial Canadian working class.

up hysteria about how the ports of Vancouver, Halifax and Montreal were supposed hotbeds of crime and open doors to terrorist attacks, calling for union-busting "security checks" of unionized longshoremen.

The government's ability to carry out its repressive agenda is heavily conditioned by the extent of social protest and opposition, especially by the organized working class. Among those taking up the defense of the victims of Project Thread is the Canadian Labour Congress, representing millions of workers. The coalition organized to defend the 21 students and others jailed on bogus "terror" allegations, Project Threadbare, has been endorsed by many other unions as well as immigrant organizations. The NDP social democrats have also spoken out against the state terror scare.

Yet this coats a poison pill, for whenever the NDP gets a whiff of governmental power, they *enforce the racist capitalist order*. In 1999 when two boatloads of Chinese migrants arrived on Vancouver Island, the ruling B.C. NDP fueled a racist "yellow peril" outcry, demanding Ottawa increase coastal military patrols and calling for the detention of refugee claimants on arrival. In Ontario in the mid-1990s, the Bob Rae NDP government withdrew medical coverage for refugees, a blatant act of racism. Today, the federal NDP denounces the Liberal government's sweeping new security law, Bill C-17, as a draconian attack on civil liberties. Yet in an October 9 press release they also complain that it doesn't go far enough, saying it "fails to provide a comprehensive plan of action for national security"!

At a September 21 Project Threadbare rally in Toronto, a Trotskyist League speaker called for the broadest possible struggle in defense of the detained students. Our comrade pointed out that the heavily immigrant working class, whose labor makes society run, uniquely has the power to strike a blow against the "war on terror." Yet the NDP and the pro-capitalist trade union bureaucracy are obstacles to mobilizing the necessary working-class struggle. Pointing to the NDP's support for the Canadian occupying troops in Afghanistan, she also exposed Ontario NDP deputy leader Marilyn Churley, a featured rally speaker, for refusing to repudiate the Rae government's attacks on refugees. The chair tried to cut her off, but her remarks, ending with our



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Protest Racist "Project Thread"!

We print below an October 2 Partisan Defense Committee letter to Project Threadbare, the coalition organized to defend 21 men, mainly from Pakistan, who were viciously arrested and detained in August amid a sinister "terror" scare. While the frame-up has been exposed as a racist sham, the Canadian rulers are vindictively deporting many of these young men to Pakistan.

Dear Friends:

We strongly protest the chilling and arbitrary detention of 21 Pakistani men in mid-August by the RCMP and Immigration Canada under the racist "Project Thread." We have enclosed \$150 to assist in their defense against the government's vendetta.

The PDC joins you in condemning this assault on civil liberties and immigrant rights. We want to see the broadest possible forces mobilized to defend the victims of "Project Thread" and all those detained and targeted by the Canadian state in its racist "war on terror." It is in the vital interest of the organized labor movement to flex its social power and demand: Down with the anti-immigrant witch-hunt! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants and refugees!

The case of these 21 men is a chilling reminder that the capitalist state is the instrument for the repression of the population, targeting first its most vulnerable segments, but ultimately taking aim at the entire working class. These innocent men, most of them dragged out of bed in Gestapo-style pre-dawn raids across Toronto on August

14, were slandered as a "security threat" and thrown in jail without charges. Released into the general prison population and branded as "terrorists," they were consciously made targets of violence by other inmates. Some were beaten in the Maplehurst prison. While the immigration authorities have now dropped the "security" allegations, many of the victims could possibly be deported back to Pakistan, which would surely endanger them. For many, their personal lives have already been shattered.

The "terrorist" hysteria whipped up against Arabs and Muslims is but one of the tools in the arsenal of racist repression wielded by the rulers of this so-called "democratic country" to divide workers and the oppressed, and weaken their ability to fight back. "Racial profiling" by the brutally racist cops is also a daily reality for black people in Toronto and Natives in B.C. and elsewhere. In Quebec, dozens of Algerian refugees still face deportation back to possible death. A labor leadership worth its salt would fight these daily attacks with the greatest force. Nationalism and illusions in "Canada the good" as somehow a more benevolent and just power (promoted heavily by the NDP) are obstacles to this perspective.

Once again, we join with you in calling for the release of all remaining detainees and the end of all proceedings against them.

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League.

fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party to lead the struggle against the capitalist system that breeds this "war on terror," won wide applause from the audience.

The NDP and their left hangers-on, like the International Socialists, cynically used this rally to hustle votes for the New Democrats in the October provincial election. Also endorsing the rally was the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP), which has organized numerous militant actions on behalf of immigrants and the homeless. Many OCAP and other direct-action militants hate the pro-capitalist NDP and don't want to be voting cattle for them. Opposing the dead end of electoralism, OCAP declares, "the more you vote for change the more things stay as they are." Yet in the rally, and in their two main web postings on the elections, OCAP made no criticism of the NDP.

OCAP combats specific attacks by the capitalists, but they do not have a program to make the proletariat conscious of the need to sweep away the *entire* capitalist system, the only way to end homelessness and poverty. To weld all the urgently needed defensive struggles behind the power of labor requires building a revolutionary workers party. That, in turn, means systematic political combat against the pro-capitalist NDP and union misleaders.

No Illusions in the Canadian Capitalist State!

Much of the popular outrage about the Arar case and the "Project Thread" dragnet has been channelled into calls for a "public inquiry." On his way out of office, Jean Chrétien

arrogantly dismissed such calls, shifting blame for the Arar scandal to the U.S. In fact, the RCMP's public complaints committee is already "looking into it," guaranteeing buckets of whitewash. Be they blatantly rigged "inquiries" by the cops themselves, or do-nothing "public inquiries" organized by the bosses' parliament, the purpose is the same: to refurbish the image of "Canada the good" and mask the class nature of the capitalist state.

Intensified anti-immigrant racism and police terror flow from the very purpose of the state apparatus: protecting private property and the flow of profit by suppressing any serious opposition. The state—at its core, the cops, courts, prisons and army—cannot be reformed or pressured into being more "humane." It must be overthrown through workers revolution. The secret trials, disappearances and deportations are not aberrations of an otherwise tolerant and peace-loving government, but acts of a violently racist *system* of exploitation and oppression. From sending troops to Afghanistan to brutal repression of immigrants to attacks on the working class at home, the Canadian ruling class is an eager player in the imperialist "war on terror."

Widespread anger over the state's atrocities against immigrants has not translated into the kind of class struggle needed to puncture the "war on terror." At bottom this flows from the program pushed by the NDP and union bureaucrats, that there is a common "national interest" between the exploiters and the exploited. For example, in the wake of

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Workers Vanguard

Oakland, California, February 2002: Labor-centered mobilization against repressive anti-“terror” laws.

Racist Dragnet...

(continued from page 17)

September 11, CAW leader Buzz Hargrove agreed to waive no-layoff clauses in the contract with Air Canada, declaring “We’re in a crisis situation here.”

During the war on Iraq, hundreds of thousands were marching in protests across the country. But these huge demonstrations were dominated by the perspective, pushed by the NDP and union bureaucrats, of pressuring the Canadian government to “say no to war.” Once the Liberal government did just that, the union tops saluted Chrétien. Meanwhile, left groups like the International Socialists and Communist Party pushed “unity”—in practice, unity with the capitalists—and actively policed the demonstrations against anarchist youth and others who challenged the dead end of nationalism and class collaboration. In fact, the Canadian government aided the war in every way, providing ships, intelligence and logistical support. Today two thousand Canadian troops are helping shore up the brutal, colonial occupation of Afghanistan. *All U.S./Canadian/UN troops out of Afghanistan, Iraq and the Near East!*

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs actively took a side in defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism and exposed the reality behind Canada’s “antiwar” stance. At countless meetings and demonstrations, we argued that the struggle against imperialist war must be a struggle against the capitalist system that breeds it. We linked the Iraq war to burning questions like defense of the Palestinians against Zionist terror and defense of all those targeted for state repression at home. We warned that the strategy of pressuring imperialism to be “peaceful” would fail, paving the way for demoralization and defeat. Those who pushed the myth that the Canadian government is or could be an ally of the oppressed in fact helped *cripple* the defense of immigrants

and refugees targeted by the “war on terror.”

It is a self-serving myth that Canada is a welcoming haven for immigrants. Under capitalism, immigration policy is about controlling the supply of labor. When there is a need for labor, the capitalists import it from abroad. When the demand for labor shrinks, the rulers deliberately step up their anti-immigrant racism precisely in order to divide the working class and poison its struggles. The fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants is central to building working-class unity against attacks of the capitalist bosses.

Today, immigrants from Asia, the Near East and elsewhere are a strategic component of the Canadian labor movement. Often their experiences in mass, militant workers struggles in their countries of origin can be a boon to workers struggles here. In its own interests and those of all the oppressed, the labor movement must defend immigrant rights!

A revolutionary workers party would fight in the unions against the nationalism pushed by the union tops, which fuels anti-immigrant racism as well as chauvinism against the Québécois. It would lead mass drives to organize the unorganized, throwing the weight of the workers movement behind some of the most marginalized and exploited immigrant communities, forced into low-paid, back-breaking jobs. It would fight for union-run hiring halls and training programs aimed specifically at recruiting immigrants and young women. Most importantly, it would throw the fighting power of labor behind the victims of state repression.

In February 2002 in Oakland, California, our comrades in the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labour Black League for Social Defense initiated a united-front demonstration of 300 centered on the powerful longshore union, in defense of immigrants and in opposition to the repressive Maritime Security and Patriot acts. This action showed, on a small scale, the kind of revolutionary party we of the Trotskyist League fight to build. *Down with the racist “war on terror”! For a multiracial workers party to fight for socialist revolution! ■*

Jose Padilla Case

Marxists Oppose U.S. Government Attack on Citizenship Rights

On July 29, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee submitted to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief on behalf of Jose Padilla. An American citizen, Padilla was arrested on 8 May 2002 at Chicago's O'Hare airport and held as a "material witness" for a month before the Bush administration declared him an "enemy combatant" and shipped him off to a military brig in South Carolina. He remains there today without access to legal counsel, without charges being filed, without any prospect of a hearing or trial to challenge the accusations against him. The brief warns, "The Government seeks to institutionalize in the American justice system the arbitrary deprivation of rights that are the hallmarks of right-wing dictatorships propped up around the world by U.S. imperialism." The government is asserting its right to *disappear citizens*.

The Marxist SL and the PDC, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the SL, filed the brief because we are tenacious defenders of our legality and of those democratic rights won through bourgeois revolutions and revolutionary wars—the parliamentary partisans in the English Civil War, the U.S. Revolutionary War, the French Revolution and the American Civil War.

This legal brief is critical reading for defenders of immigrant rights, workers, fighters for black freedom and radical youth and all who seek to oppose the current all-sided attack on democratic rights. Using September 11 as a pretext, the government rounded up some 1,200 immigrants from Islamic countries, and enacted the Patriot Act and a panoply of executive orders under which the government's secret police have vastly expanded authority to tap your phone, search your home, scour your financial records, interrogate your librarian and place you under arrest without probable cause that a crime has been committed. And they're pushing for even greater repressive powers. The brief traces the evolution of the democratic rights under attack today and describes the history of government lies and slander to justify its wars abroad and repression at home, including pinning the "terrorist" label on leftist political opponents.

Centrally under attack in this case is the right of citizenship emerging from the defeat of the slavocracy in the Amer-

ican Civil War. The brief devotes an entire section to the development of citizenship rights in the U.S.—the cumulative product of not only the American Revolution, but the Civil War and social struggles of the 19th and 20th centuries. It points out, "No aspect of citizenship is more fundamental than the rights accorded by the First Amendment," and traces how the government has consistently scrapped First Amendment protections in times of war or for "national security" in the face of revolutionary upheaval abroad or class struggle at home. In every case the courts dutifully tagged along.

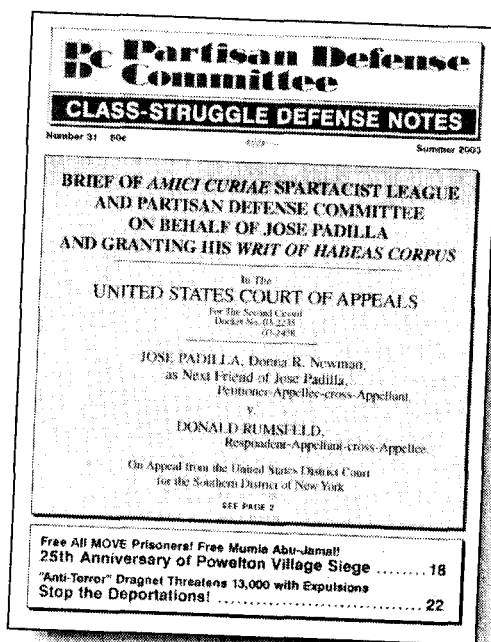
The government's "justification" for the denial of constitutional protections for Padilla and the repressive measures implemented after September 11 is the putative "war against terrorism." Piercing this pretext, the brief states, "There is no war by any military definition. There is no shooting war and no battle between state powers. The 'war against terrorism' is a fiction, a political construct, not a military reality.... It is no more a 'war' in a military sense than 'war against cancer,' 'war against obesity' or a 'war against immorality.' Like the 'war against communism' and the 'war against drugs,' this 'war' is a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population."

A consistent tool of government repression is to declare political opponents of government policy

"terrorists," defining them as "outlaws" of civil society and providing the state with a license to suspend democratic rights, criminalize political activity and ultimately to engage in legalized murder. As we note, "It was the fate of the Black Panther Party (BPP) to be deemed a 'terrorist' organization and 'the greatest threat to internal security' by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and it was subjected to a Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) campaign of harassment, surveillance and prosecution; government agents killed some 38 members of the BPP."

The administration's evisceration of constitutional rights has been largely supported by the Democrats, whose main political bone to pick with Bush & Co. as the presidential campaign heats up is that the administration hasn't done enough for "homeland security." The brief cites the statement

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Brooklyn, New York 2002 protest against secret detention of immigrants, part of U.S. government's domestic "war on terror." Witchhunt of Near Eastern and South Asian immigrants is spearhead of attacks on democratic rights of entire population.

Jaffer/Snaps India

Jose Padilla...

(continued from page 19)

issued by the SL the day after the World Trade Center attack, which declared: "The ruling parties—Democrats and Republicans—are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule."

The "war on terror" has served as the pretext for U.S. imperialism's bombing of Afghanistan and bloody occupation of Iraq and for a war against the population at home. The domestic targets of this war, in the first instance, are immigrants particularly from Islamic/Arab countries, and ultimately minorities, blacks, labor and all perceived opponents of the government's policies. The government's objective is to smear, chill, inhibit, criminalize and penalize dissenting opinion and political action in opposition to government policy as threats to national security and support for terrorism. This was brought home with a vengeance on April 7 at the Port of Oakland, when, acting on "intelligence" in an anti-terrorism "advisory," riot-equipped police opened fire on legal observers, longshoremen, port truckers and antiwar protesters with wooden bullets and concussion grenades.

As the SL and PDC have stressed since the onset of the "war on terror," what the U.S. capitalist rulers get away with will largely depend on the level of social and class struggle in this society. It is in the urgent interests of the integrated labor movement to mobilize in defense of immigrant rights and the democratic rights of the entire population.

We reprint below the Summary which appears at the opening of the SL/PDC brief.

* * *

The issue in this case is whether the President has the authority, as Commander in Chief, to declare a United States citizen, detained in the United States outside a battlefield, an "enemy combatant" in the "war against terrorism" and indefinitely imprison him without bringing charges, holding a hearing, or allowing representation by counsel. Stripped of legalese, what the President asserts is nothing less than the right to disappear citizens.

The Executive has imposed martial law on Jose Padilla, a citizen, on the pretext of an alleged "war on terrorism" which is in fact not a military conflict but a political agenda. This is an unprecedented assertion of imperial powers by the President. The District Court's deference to the President's determination of Padilla's status as an enemy combatant relegates to the President the role of sole arbiter of the exercise and applicability of democratic, constitutional rights. This is consonant with the rationale of a police state.

The treatment of Padilla is intended as both the precursor and legal justification for application of Executive unilateral prerogatives on a broader scale, denying due process protections in criminal prosecutions, immigration proceedings and civil challenges to government policy. It is a frontal assault on the very concepts of due process and citizenship itself. Padilla is being forcibly expatriated, confined to a civil death. The imperial Presidency's objective is nullification of First Amendment rights and a qualitative diminution of all democratic rights. The target of the Executive is any and all perceived opponents of government policy, as evidenced most starkly by the secretly drafted legislation, the *Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003* (Patriot II), which would allow the Executive unchallengeable authority to strip citizenship from Americans who "provide material support" to an organization which at some time may be deemed "terrorist" by the U.S. government. Patriot II victims would be locked away indefinitely in military prison without any legal process.

The case of Jose Padilla tests the very existence of the fundamental rights of due process—liberty of the individual from the arbitrary, discriminatory power of the state—and the freedoms protected by the First Amendment. It poses the evisceration of the rights and privileges of citizenship embodied in the first ten Amendments to the Constitution and secured on the battlefield of the Civil War and in class and social struggle over the past hundred and more years. If the imperial President is upheld, Padilla's detention threatens to become the Dred Scott case of our time, a declaration that "Citizens have no rights that the government is bound to respect."

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 808, 29 August

North Korea...

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entered the South in conjunction with the social uprisings there, intending to reunify the country. During the 1950-53 Korean War, the American imperialists together with their Canadian, British and other allies slaughtered some three and a half million Koreans, charring the country with oceans of napalm and reducing the peninsula to rubble.

After the armistice—a peace treaty has never been signed—the South was ruled by the former capitalist collaborators with the Japanese occupation under a series of outright dictatorships that extended into the 1980s. These regimes were propped up by tens of thousands of U.S. troops, a presence that remains in place to this day. These troops have been repeatedly used to back up the suppression of working-class militancy and social uprisings in the South and are a signal of U.S. imperialism's intent to reverse its defeat in the North. *All U.S. troops and bases out of South Korea!*

From 1950 until now, North Korea has faced unremitting hostile intentions and actions by U.S. imperialism, in part because its very existence is a reminder of Washington's military failure in its drive to "roll back communism," i.e., to achieve the historic "mission" of overthrowing the gains of the October Revolution in Russia. Those gains, although deformed by bureaucratic caste rule, had spread throughout Soviet-occupied areas of East Europe after World War II; and in Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam and Cuba, peasant-based social revolutions led to the creation of deformed workers states. The Korean peninsula has always been seen by the U.S. as a highway on which to launch a military attack to overthrow the 1949 Chinese Revolution, as witnessed by General Douglas MacArthur's oft-expressed wish during the Korean War to attack Chinese Manchuria.

Our unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state, ruled through primogeniture by Kim Il Sung's son, Kim Jong Il, at the head of the Stalinist bureaucracy, is, at base, a defense of the overturn and expropriation of capitalism. As part of the defense of these historic gains, we fight for workers political revolution to overthrow the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies whose opposition to international socialist revolution and futile attempts to appease imperialism undermine the gains of these revolutions. To abandon defense of the workers states is to abandon the historic purpose of proletarian revolution. That purpose and, thus, the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states in China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea form the cornerstone of the program of the ICL, as they must for any who stand for world socialist revolution.

It is to be noted that several pseudo-socialist organizations, in this country most prominently the International Socialists, base their origins on a refusal to defend North Korea and China against U.S./British/Canadian imperialism during the Korean War—i.e., these groups are, in their origins, based on a betrayal of proletarian revolution. In contrast, our forebears of the then-

Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party forthrightly called for the defense of North Korea and China against their "own" ruling class during the Korean War.

Bush and Democrats on Warpath

To justify its threats against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the U.S. has invoked Pyongyang's stated intent to develop, produce and, most recently, test nuclear weapons. This justification is a smoke screen. From the get-go, North Korea was included by Bush as a main component of the "axis of evil" supposedly threatening the planet, while North Korea, China and Cuba are among the seven countries targeted for a potential nuclear first strike as outlined in the Pentagon's "Nuclear Posture Review."

The Bush administration's drive against North Korea is a continuation of the Cold War policies instituted by Democratic president Harry Truman, whose administration considered nuking the North during the Korean War. That consideration was set aside in recognition of the capacity of the Soviet Union to respond in kind. With the destruction of the USSR, Bush is quite capable of revisiting that decision. It is notable that almost every current aspiring Democratic presidential candidate in the U.S. has accused Bush of neglecting the "North Korea threat." In February, liberal California Congresswoman Barbara Lee, a darling of reformist antiwar leftists, demanded of Secretary of State Colin Powell: "What will it take for the Administration to focus as much attention on North Korea, which has demonstrated its nuclear and missile capabilities, as it is focusing on Iraq?"

In fact, Bush has been no slacker. As frankly stated by John R. Bolton, U.S. undersecretary of state for arms control and international security, in testimony before Congress this summer, the goal of the Bush administration's naval "interdiction" and "seizure" provocations is to develop "new means to disrupt the proliferation trade at sea, in the air, and on land" (*New York Times*, 18 August). More concisely, the destruction of the North Korean deformed workers state is the goal of these efforts.

Bolton is a super hawk, provided by the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), a neoconservative think tank, to justify America *über alles* policies. Currently this ghoul is on a short

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Vitali S. Latov

North Korean capital of Pyongyang devastated by U.S. bombing during 1950-53 Korean War.

North Korea...

(continued from page 21)

leash as the Bush administration's most recent pretense is to be open to negotiations with Pyongyang, e.g., at the Beijing talks. The world-conquering aspirations of U.S. imperialism are in part currently mitigated by the fact that its ground forces are bogged down in the bloody occupation of Iraq.

The *New York Times* (3 September) reported an interview with Bolton last year in which he was asked to account for seeming U.S. policy inconsistencies in dealing with North Korea. Bolton "strode over to a bookshelf, pulled off a volume and slapped it on the table. It was called 'The End of North Korea,' by an American Enterprise Institute colleague. 'That,' he said, 'is our policy.'" The bible of U.S. imperialism as translated by the AEI intellectual lackeys has several books—The End of the USSR, The End of China, The End of Cuba, etc.

In pursuit of their own imperialist aims, Korea's former Japanese overlords have also been on an offensive to bring North Korea to its knees and to pursue their regional military ambitions. Seizing on North Korean missile and nuclear capacity as a pretext, Tokyo has allocated \$1.2 billion to begin building a "missile defense system" that would threaten both the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states, while a number of leading government figures openly talk of acquiring a nuclear arsenal. The Japanese coast guard is joining the U.S. and Australia in the upcoming "Pacific Protector" exercises in the Coral Sea. Days before the Beijing talks, Japanese authorities at the port of Niigata-Nishi seized the North Korean ferry *Mangyongbong-92*, which ethnic Koreans heavily rely on. In Japan, the anti-North Korea offensive has taken the form of a chauvinist frenzy against ethnic Koreans and their schools and organizations, including over 300 bombing and other attacks and threats. This chauvinist hysteria was particularly whipped up following recent revelations of bizarre and indefensible abductions of Japanese nationals by the Pyongyang regime in the 1970s and '80s. As our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan have repeatedly stressed, defense of North Korea and of the Korean minority in Japan go hand in hand.

Beijing Stalinists' Treachery

North Korea's current plight—malnutrition, the absence of access to critical resources and the decay of its industry—is the direct product of the 1991-92 capitalist counterrevolution, led by Boris Yeltsin and Bush Sr., in the USSR, which had been the North's main economic partner. For a quarter century after the Korean War, the North prospered in contrast to the imperialist-dominated South. In fact, as the London *Guardian* (11 March) reports, "During the 1970s North Korea was the 20th-richest country in the world."

The North Korean bureaucracy's current policy—to use the threat of nuclear armaments to demand U.S. assistance and a peace treaty "guaranteeing" that the American imperialists foreswear any hostile intervention—is simply militant-sounding begging. If codified, such a deal would be substantially less valuable than a deed to the Brooklyn Bridge. Such a deal would entail the return of international "nuclear inspectors" to North Korea, whose only purpose would be to ensure that the country is incapable of defending itself against an American attack—just as the UN inspectors did in Iraq.

As we wrote in "Defend North Korea!" (*Workers Vanguard*

No. 784, 12 July 2002), "The international working class must defend the right of the deformed workers states to have nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the imperialist war criminals. Had the Soviet Union not possessed a nuclear arsenal capable of deterring U.S. imperialism, there would have been no Cuban Revolution, no Vietnamese Revolution, and China and Korea would be irradiated rubble." A big reason that the U.S. felt it could just roll over Iraq was that that small capitalist country did not have any nuclear weapons, which are about the only real measure of sovereignty in today's world.

The only guarantee for the survival and extension of the gains of social revolution lies in the victory of proletarian revolution in the advanced industrial societies and ultimately on a worldwide scale. It is this perspective that is opposed by the respective nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies that rule the workers states, as this perspective threatens their parasitic caste rule. Thus, these castes seek deals with the imperialists to assure their continued existence; that is, they seek "socialist paradises" within an imperialist heaven.

Witness the People's Republic of China. Until recently, the ruling caste in Beijing has usually recognized that U.S. imperialism's bellicosity toward North Korea was a threat to its own continued existence. Nearly a million People's Liberation Army soldiers played a decisive role in the defeat of the U.S. in the Korean War, which China entered when it correctly perceived that it was itself threatened. But for Mao's regime—as for all Stalinist bureaucracies—international solidarity was always subordinate to its own narrow nationalist interests. The ruling Stalinist bureaucracies justify such nationalist policies by falsely claiming that they are building "socialism" in their own respective countries.


By the late 1960s, for example, the differences between the Moscow and Beijing bureaucracies had escalated to the point of military clashes along the border. The relative weakness of China had earlier led the Beijing bureaucracy to strike a more militant posture vis-à-vis U.S. imperialism than Moscow. However, by the early 1970s Beijing had struck an alliance with U.S. imperialism in opposition to what it was then casting as its main enemy, the purportedly "social imperialist" USSR.

Over the past 25 years, the Beijing bureaucracy's conciliation of imperialism has gone hand in hand with the policy of capitalist "market reforms" within China itself. This has led to increasing penetration of China by the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie and foreign imperialists. This development has

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Spartacist Japan

Vancouver, February 15: TL placard at protest against Iraq war. Right: Spartacist Group Japan placard reads: "For the Revolutionary Reunification of Korea! For a Socialist Federation of Asia!"

simultaneously undermined the stratified sectors of the economy and increasingly drawn layers of the bureaucracy, in hand with outright capitalist elements on the mainland, into the nexus of imperialist economic obligations.

No small factor in Beijing's treacherous offer to broker the disarmament of North Korea is the growing trade between mainland China and the South Korean capital. In March, China, which provides North Korea with upwards of half its imported grain and enough fuel oil to provide one-third of its energy needs, cut off fuel oil supplies for three days in response to a North Korean missile test. Beijing's willingness to betray its North Korean counterparts is a danger to the Chinese deformed workers state itself, which remains the main strategic target of U.S. imperialist ambitions. The Chinese government has itself felt obliged to condemn Washington's bellicosity toward North Korea.

As Leon Trotsky pointed out in his brilliant analysis of the degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), the Stalinist caste is the main internal obstacle to defending the gains of social revolution, necessitating the overthrow of the bureaucracy by proletarian political revolution. In China, workers in the hundreds of thousands, as well as masses of impoverished peasants thrown off the land by the dismantling of collectivized agriculture, have protested the erosion of the gains of the 1949 Revolution. The regime's policies are simultaneously creating an epicenter for capitalist restoration and preparing the ground for an enormous explosion of proletarian outrage. The urgent task facing the Chinese working class is to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead such social explosions toward a proletarian political revolution.

Successful political revolution in China—establishing the rule of workers and peasants soviets committed to defending and extending the collectivized economy—would offer the North Korean workers a way out of imperialist encirclement and isolation. Conversely, a counterrevolutionary overturn in North Korea would not only mean even greater poverty and immiseration in that country but would be a dagger aimed at the gains of the Chinese Revolution, putting the forces of

capitalist restoration on the border of China's heartland of nationalized industry.

The prospect for socialism on the Korean peninsula lies with linking the North Korean proletariat with the working class of the South. These workers are currently involved in widespread class battles against the economic depredations stemming from the 1997-98 financial crisis, which are all the more intensified since, with the destruction of the USSR, South Korea has lost its favored status as a U.S. asset on the front lines of the Cold War. When South Korea's rulers pleaded for assistance from Washington and Tokyo in 1997, they had the door slammed in their faces. Indeed, the door to the imperialists' elite club was slammed shut by the 1890s and not since reopened.

The Pyongyang bureaucracy has long promoted "peaceful" reunification with the capitalist South, seeking to unite with nationalist forces in South Korea unhappy with American overlordship. For their part, sections of the *chaebol* conglomerates that dominate South Korean capitalism are looking to reunify Korea on the basis of capitalist wage slavery, as exemplified by Seoul's "Sunshine Policy" toward the North. Korean nationalism, promoted by both the North Korean bureaucracy and the South Korean left, serves to tie the powerful South Korean proletariat to its own ruling class. We fight for the *revolutionary* reunification of Korea, through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North.

The defense of social revolutions in China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba requires the forging of an international Trotskyist party that recognizes and intransigently fights to defend and extend the existing gains against imperialist or domestically-inspired capitalist counterrevolution. This defense is inseparable from the fight for socialist revolutions in the advanced industrial societies, importantly for Asia in the industrial powerhouse of Japan, and in the U.S. belly of the imperialist beast. The ICL directs all its resources and efforts to forging the international proletarian vanguard party needed to carry out this task.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 809, 12 September



U.S. Hands Off North Korea!

AP

U.S. troop exercises in South Korea. U.S. military presence is dagger aimed at North Korean and Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers states.

In recent months, the U.S. imperialists have been escalating their threats and provocations against North Korea. The “multilateral” talks held in Beijing in late summer were nothing but a diplomatic front for disarming North Korea. North Korean vessels have already been interdicted and sequestered on the high seas over the past year by Japan, Australia and Taiwan. In September, the U.S. led joint naval exercises in the Coral Sea as the first coordinated action of a “Proliferation Security Initiative” that threatens a full-scale naval blockade of North Korea, which would be an *act of war*.

The International Communist League, including its Canadian section the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, stands for the *unconditional military defense of North Korea* against imperialism, including its right to develop and possess nuclear weapons—the more the better.

Just over 50 years ago, in July of 1953, the U.S. signed the truce with North Korea that froze the division of the peninsula into two societies that differed in fundamental

ways. After a particularly vicious, 40-year-long Japanese colonial occupation fronted by Korean collaborators, gigantic social upheavals swept the Korean peninsula following World War II. In the North, where the uprisings were abetted by the presence of the armed forces of the USSR, industry was expropriated and the land-owning *rentiers* who dominated the peasantry were smashed as a class. In the absence of the working class contending for power under the leadership of a revolutionary Trotskyist party, the insurgent masses came to be led by the peasant-guerrilla forces of Kim Il Sung, who had fought against the Japanese during the war and contributed tens of thousands of fighters to aid Mao Zedong’s People’s Liberation Army (PLA) in the Chinese Revolution that triumphed in 1949.

In 1950, the U.S., which already had troops in the south of the peninsula, launched a war under the aegis of the United Nations against Kim Il Sung’s Northern army after it had

(continued on page 21)

Defend North Korea's Right to Nuclear Weapons!