

Defend Social Programs, Education Labor: Smash Liberal Austerity Cuts!



Boris Spremo/Toronto Star

Union demonstration against unemployment, Liberal social-service cutbacks, Toronto, May 1994.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Fourteen months ago, Canadian Labour Congress president Bob White greeted the election of Jean Chrétien's Liberals as a defeat for the "corporate agenda." That the head of organized labor would celebrate the election of a party which simply represents the other face of corporate (i.e., capitalist) rule, is testimony to the sellout, class-collaborationist policies of the union bureaucrats which hamstringing the power of the labor movement. Nonetheless many workers were taken in by Chrétien's cynical "commitments" to "protect" medicare and "create jobs," particularly in Ontario where the unions have been the target of the NDP's anti-labor Social Contract. But as we noted at the time, "the fact is that the corporate rulers got what they wanted...—a strong government, without the stench of corruption and scandal that plagued the long-ruling Tories,

to implement their reactionary program" ("Corporate Canada Hires Jean Chrétien," *SC* No. 94, November/December 1993).

Now the Liberals are bringing down the austerity ax with a vengeance. In the name of "deficit reduction" and "global competitiveness," they plan to cut an unprecedented \$7.5 billion from social service spending. Among the "reforms" announced by Human Resources minister Lloyd Axworthy are:

- With the official jobless rate still in double figures, unemployment insurance payments will be cut off for hundreds of thousands. Meanwhile poverty-level welfare payments will be reduced even further.
- Seasonal workers like fishermen and construction workers, or anyone laid off three times in five years, will lose 60 percent of their UI benefits.
- Education cuts will double college tuition within two years, while many post-secondary programs, perhaps whole

(continued on page 13)

For Mass Mobilizations to Defend the Clinics!

Defend Abortion Rights!

In Vancouver on November 19, five hundred people rallied in a drenching downpour to protest the shooting of gynecologist Dr. Garson Romalis. But the feminist/social-democratic rally organizers of the B.C. Coalition for Abortion Clinics offered no way forward in the struggle to defend abortion rights, as was shown graphically when a gang of anti-abortion bigots marched up as the protest drew to a close. "Pro-choice" marshals not only tolerated this provocation, they tried to restrain outraged demonstrators—and then promptly disappeared. The Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Club, who mobilized the only organized contingent on the protest, gathered a crowd of nearly 100, chanting: "Anti-abortion bigots: Hitler would have loved you!" and "Anti-abortion bigots, KKK—Labor, minorities will sweep you away!" Addressing the protesters, SYC spokesman Arthur Llewellyn emphasized the need for mass mobilizations to defend the clinics as opposed to reliance on the capitalist government.

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the TL and SYC.

"Right-to-Life" Bigots = Anti-Abortion Terrorists

Dr. Garson Romalis, a popular and dedicated physician who provides abortion services, lies in hospital, shot as he sat at his breakfast table by a sniper on November 8. We must answer this attempted assassination with mass, militant mobilizations, drawing in all defenders of women's rights and seeking in particular to mobilize the social power of the integrated labor movement. The anti-abortion bigots must be made to understand that the workers and oppressed are determined to, and will, stop them.

Dr. Romalis is the latest victim of a wave of anti-abortion terror across North America. There have been literally hundreds of reported incidents of murder, attempted murder, vandalism, arson, bombing, assault and battery, death threats and stalkings. In May 1992 a firebomb destroyed Dr. Henry Morgentaler's Toronto clinic. In March 1993 Dr. David Gunn was murdered in Pensacola, Florida. Months later Dr. George

Tiller barely survived a shooting as he left his abortion clinic in Wichita, Kansas. Then in July of this year Dr. John Britton and his volunteer escort James Barrett were brutally murdered outside the Pensacola Ladies Center. In the weeks after the conviction of Paul Hill for those murders, anti-abortion terrorists have tried to bomb and burn down clinics all along the West Coast.

While Operation Rescue and more "mainstream" anti-abortion groups hypocritically "explore" these attacks, they provide cover for the mad-dog killers in their midst. Anti-abortion fanatic Gordon Watson of Campaign Life Canada told CBC Radio, "There is a civil war of values underway and it's going to turn into a shooting war."

The coldblooded murder attacks cry out for justice and vengeance. The assaults on abortion clinics, the terrorization of patients, must be stopped. What's necessary is that supporters of abortion rights mobilize in force to defend the clinics, sweeping away the "right-to-life" mobs whenever they appear.

But the "pro-choice" and feminist organizations (like the B.C. Coalition for Abortion Clinics) oppose this. Instead of bringing to bear the immense outrage over the shooting of Dr. Romalis, they delayed and delayed, eventually announcing a demonstration—but not until November 19 and far from any of the abortion clinics.

One of the themes for the protest is "remobilize the movement." But BCCAC et al. have been the ones responsible for demobilizing militant defense of abortion rights. Why? Because they look instead to the cops and courts as defenders of women's rights. They push for anti-picketing injunctions, more gun controls and the like. This strategy is futile, dangerous and ultimately suicidal. So-called "bubble laws" that declare "no-go zones" have been used against *defenders* of abortion clinics, leading to their arrest, for example, in San Jose. Gun control denies doctors and others the ability to defend themselves while leaving weapons in the hands of fascists and anti-abortion terrorists who can always get them.

The feminists think they have friends in high places because the social democrats of the NDP govern Ontario and B.C. while the Clintons occupy the U.S. White House. So the "pro-choice" groups are concerned above all not to "alienate" the powers that be. In the U.S. they've called the cops on militant clinic defenders who refuse to sign "loyalty oaths" to the police!

In Canada, ever since abortion was struck from the Criminal Code (through the long, heroic struggle of Auschwitz survivor Dr. Morgentaler) the "pro-choicers" mostly folded up their



Canapress

Dr. Garson Romalis.

SPARTACIST CANADA



Newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste
Canadian section of the International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

EDITORIAL BOARD: John Masters (Editor), Peter Stegner (Managing Editor), Russell Stoker (Production Manager), Jane Clancy, Charles Galarneau, Miriam McDonald, Oliver Stephens.

CIRCULATION MANAGER: R. Nassir
BUSINESS MANAGER: M. McPherson

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Printed in a union shop by union labor.

Published six times a year by:

Spartacist Canada Publishing Association,
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6

Return postage guaranteed Publications Mail Reg. No. 8161 ISSN: 0229-5415
January/February 1995 Date of issue: January 1995

(continued on page 13)

Stop the Surrender! Shut Down MacBlo!

Labor Showdown in Port Alberni

For the last three months the eyes of militant unionists have been on the battle of Port Alberni, where forestry giant MacMillan Bloedel is on an all-out union-busting crusade against the building trades unions. Mass pickets of up to 1,000 workers have repeatedly stopped the scabs, giving a taste of labor power. But now the social-democratic labor bureaucrats are *sabotaging* this crucial struggle, bowing before strikebreaking laws and demobilizing the pickets in favor of a toothless "consumer boycott."

MacBlo, the biggest of the profit-bloated forestry conglomerates which are the mainstay of the B.C. economy, broke a 45-year closed-shop agreement last summer by bringing in scab subcontractors for the construction work on its Nexgen mill project. Heavy industrial construction is the remaining bastion of the building trades unions, which as recently as ten years ago did 80 percent of all construction work in B.C. Now they do less than 20 percent. And everybody knows that MacBlo's next targets are the pulp and woodworkers unions. Twenty thousand job losses are threatened in the pulp industry alone by 1997.

Far from taking MacBlo's union-busting lying down, building trades workers and others were eager to fight back. Angry unionists from across B.C. flooded into Port Alberni and set up well-organized and *effective* pickets which stopped the scabs (who are in a company-created "union," dubbed a "rat union" by picketers). In late October, a thousand-strong picket shut down the scab site for two days. When scabs tried to disembark from the Vancouver Island ferry, workers threw up a picket line and stopped them there. On November 10, Communications, Energy and Paperworkers (CEP) members, whose contract had expired, struck the existing MacBlo mill by the Nexgen site. Marching out to the cheers of construction unionists, the 850 pulp workers immediately swelled the lines while the scabs were squirreled out under police protection.

Then on November 24, a 300-strong picket drove a scab "security" squad out of town amid a hail of fists, boots and snowballs. The strikebreakers, protected by the RCMP, were trying to serve an anti-picketing injunction issued by the B.C. Labour Relations Board. But the company thugs who had charged and spat at picketers ended up sprawled in the mud, the pages of their injunction scattered by the wind. And when they fled the island by ferry later that day, some found their tires slashed. Unionists and their wives have taken nearly 100 arrests for "illegal" picket activity. Even *advocacy* of picket lines has brought outrageous charges of contempt of court. *B.C. labor must demand: Drop the charges now!*

In union halls, lunchrooms and bars the talk is all about the showdown in Port Alberni. Workers in mill towns up and down Vancouver Island have mobilized in solidarity. Others have traveled hundreds of miles, from as far away as the Alberta

border, to join the pickets. What's needed to win is to *extend the strike*, shutting down all MacBlo facilities province-wide.

This must include strike action by the powerful IWA-C woodworkers union, with its many South Asian members in the Lower Mainland and elsewhere. To win its battles, labor must wage a hard fight against the racism and anti-immigrant hysteria which the bosses whip up to divide and paralyze



Ian McKain/Times-Colonist

Port Alberni pulp workers strike in support of building trades unions, November 10.

workers' struggle. The dozen union contingents (including from the IWA-C) that mobilized to stop the fascists on a 3,000-strong Vancouver anti-racist protest in January 1993 are an example of how labor can champion the cause of all the oppressed.

Labor Tops Derail the Struggle

But instead of leading a fight to defeat MacBlo, the union misleaders are derailing this struggle. CEP Local 592 president Doug Lesire called the November 24 routing of the scabs a "black eye" for Port Alberni. B.C. Federation of Labour president Ken Georgetti loudly condemned picket line "violence," echoing the anti-union media. On November 29, Georgetti got the annual B.C. Fed convention to adopt a losing consumer boycott of MacBlo products, explicitly counterposing this to mass pickets and other militant labor tactics. Then a week later, on December 7, the labor tops caved in to a scabherding B.C. Supreme Court "enforcement order" and let the "rats" in across the picket line.

In obedience to the court order—which limits pickets to 15, who are not to so much as utter a peep at the scabs—the mass pickets have been replaced by a token, tiny handful. The well-organized picket camp, with its communal kitchen and large heated tent capable of feeding and sheltering hundreds of

(continued on page 4)

Port Alberni...

(continued from page 3)

strikers, has been dismantled. Way down the road, where it can do little good, is a new "labor unity" camp. Reg Nordman, vice-president of the scab construction company, gloated, "Their heart seems to have been knocked out of them to do anything about it at the moment."

Running up the white flag of surrender, the CEP's Lesire moaned, "We're very disappointed with what's going on here,



SC photo

Strikers' "rat trap" for scabs outside Nexgen compound on Vancouver Island.

but I don't know of anybody, at any time, that has ever turned around and taken on the Supreme Court or the law of this land, and won. And we're sure in hell not going to try" (*Vancouver Sun*, 8 December).

Labor has never won anything without a struggle. There wouldn't even be unions if, time and again, militants hadn't faced down cops and scabs in defiance of "the law." The laws are made and enforced for the bosses, to protect their profits and their property. The labor bureaucrats, together with their friends in the NDP provincial government, act as agents for the bosses in enforcing "labor peace." Preaching the sanctity of the bosses' laws against the exercise of labor's power is the road to certain defeat.

For Class Struggle, Not "Unity" with MacBlo!

In the first nine months of 1994, MacMillan Bloedel showed a profit of \$120 million, more than double their \$48 million take for the same period in 1993. In a drive to be competitive on the world market, the forestry bosses are seeking to further jack up the rate of exploitation of workers through use of cheaper non-union labor, longer workdays and intensified workloads. So they've slashed tens of thousands of forestry jobs through "rationalization." Yet for at least the last year, leaders of the wood and pulp unions have portrayed the anti-labor lumber barons as the workers' "allies" in the fight to save jobs. Last spring, with the bosses' encouragement and blessing, the labor tops mobilized thousands of unionists for mas-

sive joint company/union protests against the provincial NDP's Commission on Land Use and the Environment (CORE) report, which limits logging on Vancouver Island and elsewhere.

The forestry bosses' posture of "saving jobs" is downright obscene. Moreover, MacBlo and the others could care less about the environment, because there's no profit in it—they would clearcut every inch of the province if they could get away with it. Rational environmental management is inconceivable outside of a socialist planned economy under a workers government. But the petty-bourgeois environmentalists are also supremely indifferent to the threatened livelihoods of forestry workers and their families.

MacBlo turned to the courts and cops and had hundreds of Clayoquot Sound protesters arrested and dragged through mass trials. The labor tops washed their hands of this, but it was clear that the NDP government was out to quash *any* social struggle in B.C. And now the same courts and cops, the heart of the capitalist state, are arresting unionists who dare to stand up against MacBlo. In a bitter irony, the union bureaucrats have finally found a "higher unity" with the likes of Greenpeace: preaching dead-end consumer boycotts of MacBlo forest products.

Instead of mobilizing labor's power in class struggle, the union bureaucrats want working people to look to and rely on the NDP social democrats. They turned the B.C. Fed convention into a rally to re-elect the Harcourt government, conveniently ignoring the New Democrats' strikebreaking against teachers and other workers. Moreover, the cops and courts are enforcing *the NDP's labor code* against the Port Alberni strikers.

While based in large part on the unions, the NDP is a pro-capitalist party which runs B.C. on behalf of MacBlo and the other robber barons. In 1975, the last time the New Democrats were in office, they passed the most sweeping strikebreaking law in B.C. history against 60,000 wood/pulp workers, Teamsters and retail clerks. The memory of this betrayal is very much alive in Port Alberni, where many pulp workers tore up their NDP membership cards in anger back in '75. Far from being "neutral," as some strikers complain, today's NDP government is again administering capitalism for the bosses and against the workers. B.C.'s union movement has historically been among the most militant in North America, but labor's power has been shackled by and to the pro-capitalist New Democrats. We address ourselves to the most class-conscious elements to split the NDP and win its working-class base to the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership.

The Port Alberni battle is at a crucial juncture. With the labor misleaders enforcing the bosses' rules, it is essential to take matters out of their hands—and fast. A good start would be to elect a strike committee to rebuild the mass pickets and extend the strike throughout MacBlo, understanding that the only "illegal" strike is one that loses. What's needed is a leadership that can stand rock-solid in the face of cop, court and scab attacks; a leadership that fights against the bosses' divide-and-rule racism by taking up the cause of immigrants and other minorities; a leadership which understands that the NDP is not "our" government but a tool and agency of the bosses.

This is the perspective that Trotskyist League supporters have emphasized on the picket lines and at solidarity rallies, part of the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party which can lead the fight for workers power. Stop the surrender—Oust the treacherous labor bureaucrats! *Victory to the Port Alberni strikers!* ■

Young Spartacus

Students: Ally with the Working Class **Fight Axworthy's Cuts!** **Fight Capitalism!**

On November 16, 15,000 students from as far away as New Brunswick rode buses to Parliament Hill to protest the Liberal government's slashing of funds for post-secondary education. Ottawa is aiming for a "rapid and complete phase-out" of the \$2.6 billion in transfer payments for higher education to the provinces, which would hike tuition by at least \$2,000 a year.

Québécois, English Canadian and immigrant youth joined forces in this massive protest against the cuts. When Human Resources minister Lloyd Axworthy tried to address the students, he was pelted with eggs, pop cans and Kraft Dinner. Now a countrywide student strike has been called by the Canadian Federation of Students for January 25, with rallies in Ottawa and other cities. The Spartacus Youth Clubs say: *All out on January 25!*

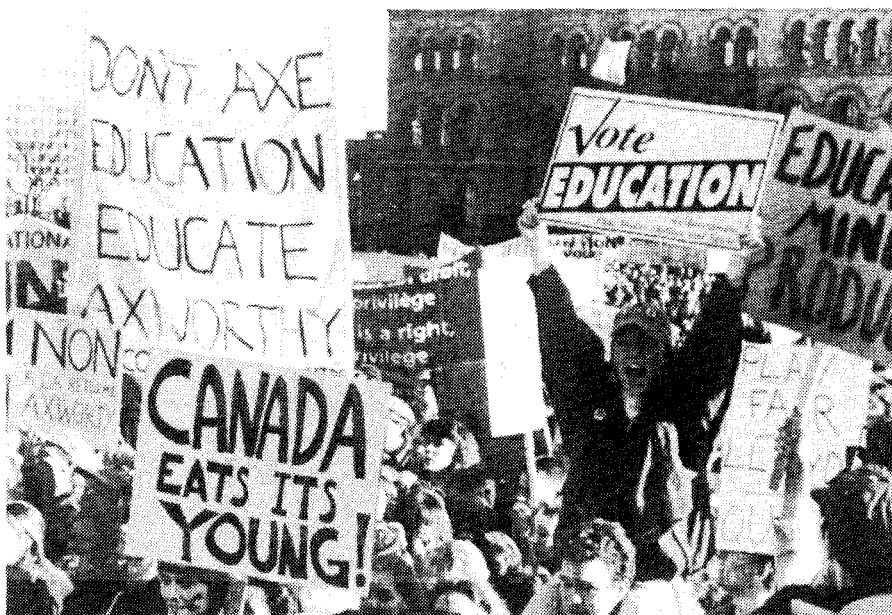
The barrage of "food" looked good on Axworthy, but throwing Kraft Dinner won't defeat the cuts. The rulers of this country are waging a full-scale attack against working people and the poor, and they're making no exception in the education system. As in the rest of the "free market" capitalist world, the bosses are slashing jobs and social services to boost their profits. They don't need educated working-class and minority youth—there aren't any jobs for them. What they do need is to train the next generation of rulers. And that's what the universities are really all about under capitalism. That's why, from coast to coast, whole university departments are being turned directly over to the corporations and why senior university officials sit on innumerable corporate boards of directors.

We say education should be a right, not a privilege for the rich: *No tuition, open admissions, free education for all! For student/teacher/worker control of the campuses!*

It's a good thing there's going to be a student "day of action" against the cuts. But these capitalist austerity attacks can't be stopped with appeals to one or another section of the ruling class, or through pressure on the government to "do the right thing." At the November 16 protest, while Axworthy was jeered, Bloc Québécois MP Antoine Dubé and even Tory chief Jean Charest were welcomed on the platform and applauded. Ruling social democrats like Ontario NDP education minister

David Cooke also hypocritically "oppose" these particular Liberal cuts—to cover up their own crimes.

But the slashing of social services was *started* by the Mulroney/Charest Tories. Back then, Lucien Bouchard and other current Bloc MPs sat on the government benches. In Ontario,



Fred Chartrand/Canapress

November 16 student protest on Parliament Hill. Labor movement has the power to smash Liberal attacks on education, social services.

B.C. and Saskatchewan, NDP governments have carried out equally savage austerity attacks. We warn that the alliance of any and all "anti-Liberals" is a trap for student militants, a set-up for defeat. *Capitalist politicians have no place in these student protests! And no faith in the NDP social democrats who rule for the bosses!*

The Liberal social service cuts go hand in hand with anti-immigrant racism and national chauvinism. Those who accept the framework of capitalist production-for-profit, begging for a bigger piece of a shrinking pie, end up buying the rest of the oppressive "logic" of the system. Thus when the University of British Columbia proposed to raise the number of foreign students, UBC student president Bill Dobie disgustingly *opposed* this. "I don't think we should bring more students on to the campus," Dobie sneered, "unless there is a significant improvement for the students who are already here"

(continued on page 7)

Fascist Attack in Toronto High School

On the morning of November 17, business teacher Mahendra Gupta was pushed down a concrete staircase at Humber-side Collegiate in Toronto's west end. The two thugs who attacked the South Asian teacher, leaving him unconscious, are still "unknown." But Humber-side, a heavily integrated school, is notorious for its violent racist bootboys who sport "white power" T-shirts and "joke" about hanging blacks and other minorities. Fascists have distributed their racist propaganda at the school unmolested. And shortly before the assault, Gupta was one of eight staff members (including five teachers) who received anonymous hate letters threatening to "take care of non-white teachers and push them out." It's clear that the near-fatal attack on Mahendra Gupta was a fascist hit.

What the fascist psychos did to Mahendra Gupta is no isolated event. Over the last couple of years there has been a bloody string of such attacks on minorities in the Toronto area. This is what the fascists have in store for all of us who don't fit their twisted idea of white "civilization." The Hitlerites and their skinhead thugs think they can raise their ugly heads unopposed because the capitalist powers-that-be have set the stage with their war on immigrants and other minorities. The Liberal government's anti-immigrant Bill C-44, together with the never-ending series of police killings of black people in the Toronto area, most recently Albert Moses, reinforce the racist hysteria whipped up by the ruling class and their media.

In response to the vicious attack on Gupta, 300 people came out to a meeting at the high school on November 28. The school's solution was to implement some anti-racist education programs, and to ban fascist "signs and symbols," including articles of clothing (like Doc Martens with red or white laces) which are distinguishing symbols of the Nazi skinheads.

But measures like these aren't what will stop the fascists. As

one student noted, "the racists will just wear different-colored laces." Moreover, looking to the school administration to investigate or silence "extremists" is a dangerous policy. It can and will be used to go after gay teachers and youth, leftists and others who undermine capitalist society's "core values" of Family, God and Straight (married) Sex. For example, in December a supporter of the International Socialists was expelled from his Guelph high school for "consistent opposition to authority" and conduct "injurious to the morals of the school." His crime? Leading a student protest against university tuition hikes!

Fascists aren't simply misguided individuals with messed-up ideas. They carry out their "ideas" with terrorism, and their genocidal violence is conditioned by the consummately violent, racist capitalist society we live in. We of the Spartacus Youth Club are for "educating" these fascist punks, all right. The Nazi pigs should be driven out of the schools and off the streets by mass action involving students, teachers, parents and all the intended victims of fascist terror, centered on the power of the racially integrated working class.

The working class is the force in society with the social power and historic interest to stop fascist terror for good. From Washington, D.C. to Springfield, Illinois to Vancouver our comrades have built labor/minority mobilizations to stop the fascists. These mobilizations were infused with a perspective which looks to the power of labor, not the bosses' cops, courts or governments or the school administrations.

This fall at the University of California in Berkeley, the SYC organized a militant united-front protest of hundreds against the sinister David Irving, a Nazi apologist who hides his fascist brownshirt under academic robes. As demonstrators entered the Nazi rally site, the Hitlerites were sent scurrying, their swastikas—symbol of Nazi genocide—and other fascist regalia strewn on the floor.

To mobilize against the fascist danger it is critical to know who are our friends, and who are our enemies. And enemy number one is the capitalist state, the cops and courts. It was the government's own secret police, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), that *helped create* the Toronto-based fascist Heritage Front. Using the services of CSIS operative Grant Bristow, the Heritage Front went on Nazi recruitment drives across the country. Bristow targeted anti-fascist activists for terror and harassment, orchestrating a campaign of death threats and menacing phone calls.

When the story first broke last fall, we noted that the secret police were "just doing their job": "The state isn't some 'neutral' arbiter; its very purpose is to enforce the rule of the handful of filthy rich, racist parasites who run this country, the capitalist ruling class" (SC No. 99, September/October 1994). Now the CSIS "watchdogs" of the Security Intelligence Review Committee have released their report on CSIS' fascist activities. Worse than a whitewash, the report outrageously *praises* Bristow and his CSIS "handler," saying "They deserve our thanks"!!!

The capitalist rulers of this country can't provide a future for our generation. All they offer us is racism, war and poverty, while their system is a breeding ground for fascist skinhead violence. We need a revolutionary workers party which will defend all the oppressed and fight for a socialist revolution to put an end to fascist terror once and for all! ■

Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Events

Vancouver

SYC Class Series:

Introduction to Communism

Alternate Tuesdays beginning 17 January, 7:00 p.m.
Rm. 213, Student Union Building, UBC

Class 1: What is Communism?

For more information/readings: (604) 687-0353

Toronto

SYC Public Meeting:

Fight the Cuts! Fight Capitalism!

Lessons of the 1988 Quebec Student Strike: A Participant's Account

Wednesday 18 January, 7:00 p.m.
International Student Centre
33 St. George St., U of T

Trotskyist League Forum:

From Europe to Canada:

Fight the Cuts! Fight Capitalism!

- Italy, France: Workers, Youth Revolt Against Bosses' Attacks

Saturday 28 January, 7:30 p.m.
St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor St. West (west of Spadina)

For more information: (416) 593-4138

Fight Capitalism!...

(continued from page 5)

(Vancouver Province, 25 February 1994).

Such racist crap is death to any kind of effective struggle! We in the SYCs are proud that last January at York University in Toronto we initiated the first demonstration against the Ontario NDP's elimination of health services for foreign students. We protested under the slogans: "Defend refugees, visa students and foreign workers! Free, quality health care for all!"

Students—Ally with Labor!

To ax Axworthy's cuts, it's going to take much more than student protests and demonstrations, no matter how militant. When push comes to shove, students don't wield much social power. Quebec students launched an "unlimited general strike" in 1988, but they were defeated as the cops brutally busted student picket lines on campuses and disbanded sit-ins in government offices. The power to take on the capitalists and win resides in the working class, which builds the cars, refines the steel, drives the buses. That's the one force in society that can bring the capitalist system to a halt, and the bosses' profits with it.

In the fall of 1993, Air France workers struck and took the runways, forcing the French government to scrap its plans to lay off 5,000 airline employees. In the wake of this victory, hundreds of thousands of students took to the streets against a plan to implement a special sub-minimum wage for youth. The right-wing Balladur government, reeling from its defeat at the hands of the Air France workers, had to back off (for a while).

But in Europe, as in North America, the working class is held back by a leadership that will not challenge capitalist rule. Without a sustained fight against the system that spawns the bosses' endless attacks, we'll be back where we started, or worse. What's necessary is to fight for a new, *revolutionary* leadership, one that fights to get rid of capitalism lock, stock and barrel.

That's decidedly not the perspective of the International Socialists (I.S.), who are offering themselves to students as radical and militant leaders against the cutbacks. Students ought to ask themselves: if the I.S. is really for a "socialist alternative," why do they everywhere and always say "vote

NDP"? Why are they even today campaigning to re-elect the hated "Social Contract" Bob Rae government in Ontario? The reason is that the I.S. believes socialist revolution is (at best) a nice idea for the far-off future—which is to say, never. But right now, it's the "politics of the possible"—and all they think is "possible" today is patching up capitalism.

This reformist perspective has led the I.S. into some curious



Pascal Pavani/AFP

In 1994, French students protest sub-minimum wage after Air France workers' victory over government.

acts of "solidarity," such as traipsing across campus workers picket lines at U of T and UBC over the past few years. And from Day One of their existence, the I.S. has aligned itself with the big-time social democrats and signed up for every anti-Communist imperialist crusade. These days they glorify the counterrevolutionary *gusanos* (worms) who want to destroy the gains of the anti-capitalist Cuban Revolution. Get the full story on these poseurs: check out our "I.S. Truth Kit."

The Spartacus Youth Clubs don't think the fight for socialist revolution is "impractical." In fact, it's the only program that makes any sense at all under this irrational system, where even the simple proposition that education should be a right for all runs smack up against profit-driven capitalism.

The Russian Bolshevik leaders Nikolai Bukharin and Yevgeny Preobrazhensky pointed out in their *ABC of Communism* that, in capitalist society, the education system "inspires the coming generation of workers with devotion and respect for the capitalist regime," and "creates from the young of the ruling classes 'cultured' controllers of the working population." In contrast, after the Russian Revolution of 1917 the Bolsheviks implemented an education system which sought to dissolve the monopoly on knowledge held by a wealthy minority and aimed instead to put science and culture at the service of society as a whole.

The capitalists need to keep the working class and poor in intellectual, as well as material, poverty in order to herd them into more exploitation and wars. We've only got one way out of this dead end: a fight for social revolution. The SYCs are a training ground for future communist militants in an internationalist revolutionary party.

All out January 25! Smash the cuts—Fight capitalism! Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

International Socialists Truth Kit

A Trotskyist League packet including articles from *Spartacist Canada*, *Workers Vanguard* and *Workers Hammer*

Polemics with the Cliff Tendency

- An Anti-Marxist Flinch—The Theory of "State Capitalism"
- The Struggle Against Fascism
- "State Department Socialists" in League with Imperialism
- For Open Political Debate—Down with Stalin-Style Thuggery and Cowardly Exclusionism

Price \$1

Order from/pay to: Spartacist Canada Publishing, Box 6867 Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6

Army Out of East Timor! Imperialism: Hands Off!

Indonesia in Turmoil

Down with Suharto— Workers to Power!

The following article is adapted from Australasian Spartacist, No. 154 (Spring 1994), newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia.

* * *

Last November 13, demonstrators battled police in Dili, the capital of East Timor, in protests against a brutal 20-year occupation by Indonesia. East Timorese students occupied the grounds of the U.S. embassy in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, 2,400 kilometers away. These clashes took place on the eve of the imperialist Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) conference, hosted by Indonesian strongman Suharto and attended by the leaders of 18 Pacific Rim countries, including prime minister Jean Chrétien as part of his much-hyped trade mission to Asia.

Especially in the wake of the Suharto regime's murderous military crackdown against student demonstrators in East Timor last July, the spectre of the 1991 Dili massacre has been raised once again. In 1991, Indonesian troops fired on 3,000 marchers in Dili, killing over 100. Jakarta's nearly two decades of war against the East Timorese resistance movement—along with famine, disease and forced "Indonesianization" resettlement schemes—has resulted in a death toll in excess of 200,000, *one third* of the island's population.

Between 13 and 15 Indonesian battalions are now engaged in a renewed offensive to wipe out resistance in East Timor. Jakarta's latest moves come at a time of increasing social turmoil within Indonesia itself, especially widespread strike action by the working class. What is needed is protest action centered on the increasingly combative Indonesian proletariat and backed by their class brothers and sisters in Australia and internationally: *Indonesian troops get out of East Timor! Imperialist powers: hands off!* Such class-based solidarity action can only be forged in opposition to the Australian imperialist ruling class and its Labor Party lackeys as well as its allies in Jakarta.

It was Washington and the Australian Labor government of Gough Whitlam who gave the nod to Suharto's annexation of East Timor in 1975. This coincided with the decisive defeat of U.S. and Australian imperialism on the battlefields of Vietnam. For the Pentagon and Canberra the petty-bourgeois Timorese nationalist Fretilin were communists about to launch a mini-Cuba on the doorstep of White Australia imperialism. As John Pilger wrote in the London *Guardian Weekend* (12 February 1994):

"Western governments knew in advance details of virtually every move made by Indonesia. The CIA and other US agencies intercepted Indonesia's military and intelligence communications at a top secret base run by the Australian Defence Signals Directorate (DSD) near Darwin."

"Kissinger and President Ford arrived in Jakarta on Decem-

ber 5, 1975, on a visit which a State Department official described to reporters as 'the big wink,'" Pilger continues. "Two days later, as Air Force One climbed out of Indonesian airspace, the bloodbath in East Timor began."

The renewed bloodshed by Indonesian troops in East Timor has sparked something of a bourgeois "debate" over Austra-



Jeff Widener/AP

Protest in Dili against Indonesian occupation of East Timor, November 1994.

lia's relationship with the Indonesian regime. But the broader imperialist strategic interest in "stability" in the archipelago is key to Canberra's policies. That "stability" was secured by the 1965 massacre of over half a million Communists, workers and peasants in the bloodthirsty beheading of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the largest Communist Party outside the Sino-Soviet bloc.

1965 was also the year in which the U.S. massively escalated its dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The containment and isolation of China, as well as stemming the tide of peasant-based revolutions which threatened to sweep Asia, was a central aim of the Washington imperialists. To that end, the Indonesian massacre was key. A death list of thousands of names was compiled by the CIA, turned over to the Indonesian army and "checked off" once they had been killed. Aided and abetted not only by the CIA but by the Australian secret service, ASIS, this massacre was an historic defeat for the Asian toiling masses. Its way was prepared by the PKI's policy of subordinating the struggle of the workers and peasants to a class-collaborationist alliance with the "democratic" bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno.

The post-1965 "stability" underpins the lucrative business and trade between Australia and Indonesia, now second to Papua New Guinea as the largest recipient of Australian "aid" and its tenth largest export market. The spectre of mass upsurge following the inevitable departure of the aging Suharto

from the scene conditions the (sometimes varying) diplomatic policies pursued by Canberra and its Washington big brother, including over the butchery carried out by Jakarta's generals in East Timor.

In East Timor, tribal subsistence agriculture exists side by side with the major mining, petrochemical, and timber operations and plantations run by the imperialist multinationals and their Indonesian compradors. For the Australian Laborite left, the scenario is that small East Timor will be "liberated" from the Indonesian yoke under the auspices of "democratic" Australian imperialism. East Timor would thus achieve independence over a prolonged period of peaceful capitalist development. At bottom, this serves only to alibi the jackal imperialist designs of the Australian bourgeoisie.

Concretely, what is posed is a fight by the working masses of Indonesia and their allies in the region for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of Indonesian troops and for the military defense of Fretilin in their struggle against Jakarta's occupation. The fight against the oppression of the myriad peoples within the archipelago—and thus the brutal occupation of East Timor—is a crucial component to any successful revolutionary struggle by the Indonesian workers and peasants. Prey to neo-colonial domination, East Timor's genuine emancipation requires breaking the grip of imperialism through proletarian revolution from Canberra to Jakarta, from Tokyo to Manila, and will be realized in the framework of a socialist federation of the region.

Rumblings in the New World Disorder...

The unravelling of the post-World War II anti-Soviet alliance following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state has laid bare the permanent rivalry between the various imperialist powers. Southeast Asia is a cockpit of these heightened rivalries, especially the savage economic competition between the United States and Japan. The U.S. seeks to prevent Japan's consolidation of its trade bloc, a new East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere.

Washington has used a combination of small-arms sales sanctions against Indonesia over the East Timor question, and pressure on Suharto's regime to make some concessions to workers' demands for the minimum wage, in an effort to quash burgeoning militancy. But at least as important is the fact that its rival, Japan, invests heavily in—and reaps the profits from—superexploited labor in the automotive, electronics and textile industries. Similarly, the U.S. threat to withdraw tariff privileges from Indonesian exports over "international labor standards" reflects not only a *protectionist* policy in the narrow sense, but is aimed at Tokyo's substantial vested interests. And they are substantial: the massive foreign investment in Indonesia is led by the Japanese.

For their part the Australian imperialists, in the drive to "enmesh with Asia" (i.e., to further exploit the labor, resources and markets of the region), are caught in the crossfire between their major trading partner, Japan, and their U.S. ally. Since World War II, they've been junior partners of the latter. Australian Labor prime minister Keating has signed up as U.S. president Clinton's ally in order "to launch another assault on international trade barriers using the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) forum as a springboard" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 September 1994):



Economist

Indonesia's Suharto (far right) hosts APEC conference in Jakarta.

"Key government officials and politicians in the US and Australia would like to see a united APEC—whose 18 members comprise half the world's wealth—use its potential economic weight to force the Europeans into the next round of trade liberalizing talks."

Keating was sent to Tokyo to talk up Clinton's bid for a cease-fire in hostilities between the major APEC players (including China, Japan, the U.S. and Canada) in order to go after the Europeans.

Jean Chrétien's posture toward Asia during his November trade junket was less fraught with contradictions than Keating's. Through NAFTA—a protectionist fortress against both Japan and Europe—the Canadian imperialists are fully committed to anti-Japanese economic warfare on the Pacific Rim under U.S. leadership. The \$9 billion worth of contracts signed by Chrétien and his minivan entourage of provincial premiers and millionaire businessmen are an attempt to snatch some scraps from the jaws of the Japanese dragon.

At the APEC conference in Jakarta, Chrétien spoke on behalf of such Canadian-based multinationals as Inco. With one hand, Inco has devastated Sudbury, Ontario with "cyclical" mine closures and layoffs; with the other it has ground fabulous wealth out of its Indonesian nickel operations, based on the intense superexploitation of local labor. After seeing the November 13 Dili protests on television, Chrétien reportedly muttered to Suharto that he was "disturbed" by the "violence," while accepting the dictator's explanation that it was all the fault of East Timorese "agitators." What disturbs Chrétien is any threat to Indonesia's capitalist "stability," so necessary to the unhampered extraction of profits by Inco and other Canadian oil and mining interests.

...and Indonesia Powderkeg

As they maneuver among themselves, the imperialist powers are nervously aware that the post-1965 "New Order" Indonesia could well become a flash point of massive social struggle, throwing one hell of a wrench into the New World Disorder. The corrupt, rigid, bonapartist Suharto regime sits atop a cauldron of seething and widespread discontent. The working class has been engaged in strikes and other struggles on a scale not seen since 1965. In the face of official repression of all but

(continued on page 10)

Indonesia in Turmoil...

(continued from page 9)

the state-run SPSI "trade union," outright murder of and terror against labor organizers, and large-scale army operations aimed at quashing strikes and demonstrations, the explosion of militancy has been dramatic.

A rapid expansion of Indonesia's industrial working class accompanied the growth of particularly the export-based manufacturing industry, based on poverty-level wage rates significantly lower than those of Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea, Hong Kong, Thailand or even the Philippines. A 1990 census indicated that approximately 8.2 million people work in manufacturing compared to 3.5 million in 1980; some 20 million workers now reside in urban centers such as the so-called JABOTABEK region (Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Berkasih). The proletariat is not only much stronger in numbers, but younger and better educated.

As the number of strikes has escalated, so has the degree of military intervention. A statement released by the Surabaya office of the Legal Aid Institute on East Java reported that of "the 59 strikes which took place there in 1991, intervention by the military occurred in as many as 61% of cases. The following year this increased to 73%" (*Inside Indonesia*, September 1993).

Opposition to the brutal suppression of labor struggles has become a workers' rallying cry over the widely publicized case of the martyred Marsinah. A 25-year-old factory worker from East Java, Marsinah was savagely beaten, raped and murdered five days after she and other workers had gone on strike in May 1993 over wages and union rights.

Strikers demanded the wristwatch company PT Catur Putra Surya accept a minimum wage equivalent to \$1.50 per day, the dissolution of the official state-sponsored SPSI and the right to form an independent union. After demands on wages were accepted (and trade-union rights rejected), work resumed and 16 workers received a summons to report to the local military headquarters. Thirteen responded. They were forced to sign letters of resignation, including admission of attending illegal meetings, and an apology to the company:

"Marsinah, not one of the 13 who had submitted forced letters of resignation, sought out her fellow activists following the end of her shift on the same day. Obtaining a copy of the agreement signed between management and workers of 4 May, she finally set out alone at 9.30 at night on May 5 to find an evening meal. These were her last known movements."

Subsequently, forced confessions to the murder were extracted by the military. According to a report by the Legal Aid Foundation issued in March 1994 (*Weekend Australian*, 16-17 April 1994) techniques used on the accused included: "detainees having cables attached to their ears and genitals and electric shocks being administered; toes being placed under the leg of a chair upon which the investigator would sit; being forced to mop the floor with the tongue...." The prosecution's "case" is that Marsinah was killed in her boss's house, but it is widely believed that she died under interrogation at the local military intelligence post in Sidoarjo.

Marsinah's death is an example of the hideous oppression and superexploitation of women workers in Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim country. Women comprise a majority of the workforce in the prison-like manufacturing factories. Concrete walls, barbed wire and "ex"-military guards surround the huge factory complexes in Tangerang. Workers are housed within the compound, three or four to a cell, and are not allowed to leave without permission. In the countryside, conditions are even worse: some 80 percent of pregnant women and children under five years of age are undernourished.

As in the Russian Revolution of 1917, women are and will be in the forefront of the fight against the chains of capitalist and semi-feudal enslavement. Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote of the Muslim women in the Soviet East in 1924:

"...the Eastern woman who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, that she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak will at once feel herself lacking any



Donny Metri/Reuter

June 1994: Troops attack anti-censorship protesters in Jakarta.

sort of religious buttress.... And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution and for the ideas of communism than the awakened woman worker."

—"Perspectives and Tasks in the East," 1924

In April of last year, thousands of workers in Medan, northern Sumatra, struck over wages and conditions as well as in protest over the authorities' suspected killing of Rusli, a rubber factory worker whose body was found in a river following a demonstration the month before which was broken up by riot police. Strikes shut down the city. The mass outpouring may have been the largest in the country since 1965. Workers took to the streets in their thousands. The military, with tanks standing by, was called out. Shops owned by Indonesian Chinese were looted and a Chinese chemical factory owner was beaten to death.

The bourgeois press seized on stories of "anti-Chinese rioting" and Mughtar Pakpahan, leader of the banned SBSI (Indonesia Workers Welfare Union) was arrested months later for, among other charges, inciting anti-Chinese violence in Medan. But an article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* ("A Class

Act," 16 June 1994) noted:

"Certainly the Medan riots targeted ethnic Chinese. But to explain them exclusively in terms of race is to miss the fact that in sharp contrast to most anti-Chinese riots of the past, these targeted only businessmen and their property. Other ethnic Chinese appear to have been left alone."

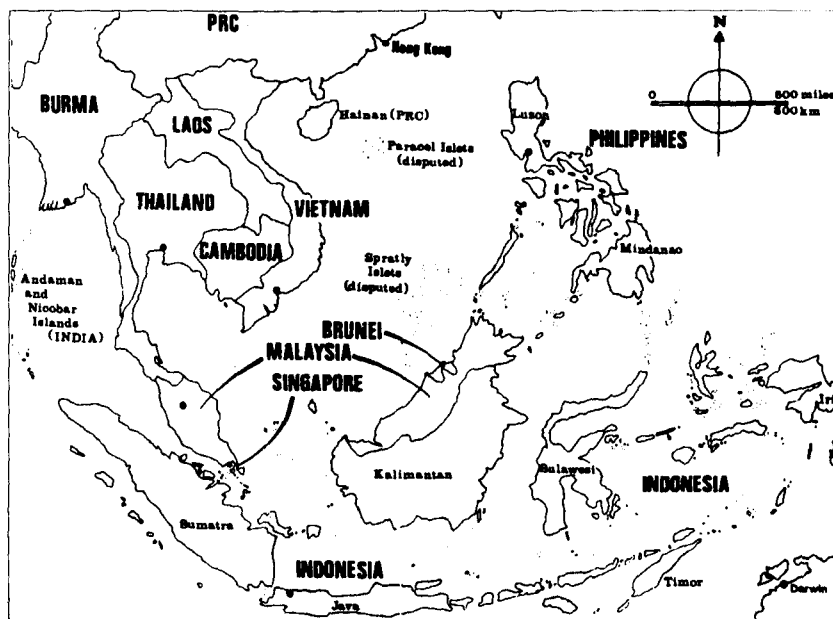
In imitation of the imperialists' "divide and conquer" tactics, the Suharto government of the generals certainly manipulates ethnic/religious divisions among the population. The late, attenuated and incomplete character of Indonesian national consolidation is a legacy of colonial rule. The only social force capable of cutting across these divisions on the road to shattering the rule of the Indonesian comprador capitalists and landlords is the multi-ethnic Indonesian proletariat. In the absence of a proletarian solution, communalist slaughter of the working people could be another outcome of "destabilization" in the Indonesian powderkeg.

The ethnic Chinese component of the Indonesian bourgeoisie is estimated to control some three-quarters of Indonesian private capital, although the ethnic Chinese population as a whole constitutes a minority of six million, some 2-3 percent of the population. Official discrimination against this minority has been pervasive. Large numbers of Chinese were massacred in Java and Sumatra during the 1965-66 bloodbath against the pro-Beijing PKI. Chinese organizations affiliated with Beijing were proscribed and all Chinese language schools closed down.

Since the re-establishment of relations between Beijing and Jakarta in 1990, and as trade and tourism links with Chinese-speaking countries have expanded, Jakarta has been compelled to make some small concessions. Only in August this year did the regime announce it would ease the existing ban on the teaching of Chinese and publication of tourist material in the language.

Throughout Southeast Asia there are significant Chinese minorities, predominantly concentrated in urban, commercial and trading communities. The wealthy elite of this stratum have often been intertwined with the venal, bonapartist regimes in the region (e.g., in the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand). At the same time, important sections of the proletariat are also comprised of Chinese workers, for instance in Singapore. Anti-Chinese communalism has and will victimize the more plebeian Chinese masses, serving only the interests of the oppressors and their imperialist masters, the same who today seek to reverse the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution and return the multi-millioned masses to untrammelled exploitation and deprivation. Every manifestation of anti-Chinese chauvinism must be fought down the line by class-conscious workers throughout Indonesia!

For the workers and oppressed of the Indonesian archipelago the situation cries out for the revolutionary overthrow not simply of the corrupt, repressive regime of the generals, but of all the local capitalists and landlords who in turn serve imperialism. This is the historic mission of the proletariat, leading the land-hungry toiling masses of the countryside, the women, the restive youth, the multitude of religious and ethnic minorities. Such a class solution will avenge the bloody 1965 defeat and



Adapted from Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter

provide an immense impulse to revolutionary struggle throughout Asia.

This is the perspective of the *permanent revolution*, confirmed by the October Revolution of 1917 which brought the workers to state power in backward Russia, itself a prisonhouse of oppressed peoples emerging from the chains of the tsarist autocracy. In the epoch of capitalism's decay, the native bourgeoisies of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, beholden to and junior partners of the imperialists, are incapable of carrying out the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

In particular, these tasks include agrarian revolution to abolish the feudal-derived servitude of the peasantry, national emancipation and freedom from bonapartist/military repression. In order to complete the democratic tasks the proletariat in power, led by its communist party, will expropriate the bourgeoisie and large landowners and establish workers state rule, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Enter the Popular Front

It is not only the rising wave of proletarian struggle within Indonesia which threatens Suharto's "stability." International investors and elements of the local bourgeoisie are fed up with the "hidden business costs" of rampant corruption. Sections of the growing middle class have been clamoring for a loosening of the draconian and expensive military rule. Student protesters have taken to the streets against the Suharto regime's "excesses."

With foreign investors jittery, the imperialists concerned over Indonesia's long-term "stability" and bourgeois circles increasingly disaffected, a new popular-frontist (i.e., class-collaborationist) formation is in the making. Liberal bourgeois opponents of the present regime now seek to harness workers' struggles in a fight for "democracy" (for them) and to head off revolutionary explosions threatening the rule of capital. Hence the formation in May 1994 of the People's Democratic Union (PRD—*Persatuan Rakyat Demokratik*), a lashup including the liberal Indonesian Legal Aid Institute and the SBSI's leader Pakpahan among others.

(continued on page 12)

Indonesia in Turmoil...

(continued from page 11)

The PRD is explicit: "And even the demands for democracy by the middle class will not succeed unless supported by other classes, and especially the working class, which is the most oppressed class under capitalism in the New Order... Long live democracy!" To this "most oppressed class" the PRD offers not emancipation from the capitalist system and imperialist domination but a repeat of the disastrous policies which led to the 1965 slaughter.

On East Timor, the PRD does not demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Indonesian troops, but declares: "Support the peaceful resolution of the East Timor problem (without military intervention) recognizing the human rights and democratic rights of the East Timorese nation." The PRD declaration calls for the application of a progressive tax on the conglomerates and giant capital and "the distribution of these economic assets to cooperatives, and small and medium business." As for the land question, the PRD is outright national-chauvinist, calling to "Protect the products of the people's agriculture and *ban imports* of agricultural produce" (emphasis ours).

The PRD's call to "return supremacy to civilians with a review...of all aspects of the 'security approach'" is a pitch to disaffected, "democratic"-minded officers in the blood-drenched Indonesian military. As SBSI leader Pakpahan put it: "My struggle is to build a strong civil society through a strong trade union.... Only a strong trade union can balance the domination of the military" (*Financial Times*, 24 June 1994). As the armed bodies of men serving as the repressive force for the rule of capital, the Indonesian military cannot be "reformed" or "balanced" out of its class function. Workers revolution is necessary to smash the existing state apparatus.

Would-be revolutionists in Indonesia need only look next door to the Philippines and Cory Aquino's replacement of the butcher Marcos in the name of "democracy" in 1986. There, too, the imperialists foresaw the sunset of their old puppet regime. When popular hatred for Marcos' corrupt and brutal

rule threatened to get totally out of hand, as hundreds of thousands took to the streets of Manila, Washington engineered the rebellion by top military leaders and removed Marcos at the crucial moment.

At the time, many "leftists" hailed Aquino's ascension to office as a victory for "people's power." But Aquino's "February revolution" in 1986 achieved neither democracy nor agrarian reform (much less revolution), and talk of national emancipation was a hoax. U.S. bases at Subic Bay and Clark Air Force Base remained until the U.S. decided to dismantle them. Payment of immense foreign debt continued to be extracted from the Filipino workers and peasants. Death-squad terror against Communist insurgents went apace.

From Chiang Kai-shek's China in the 1920s to Allende's Chile in the 1970s, the call for "democracy now, socialism later" has led to bloody defeat. Many a Third World nationalist regime, tied by a million threads to imperialism, has sought to protect its left flank by bringing leftists into a "democratic" coalition, only to set them up for a massacre on the morrow. The 1965 slaughter was the bloody tab for the PKI's participation in the Sukarno regime.

Future revolutionary developments in Indonesia could, at the behest of and only in collaboration with stronger powers, invite direct military intervention by the Australian jackal imperialists (including under the cover of "liberating" East Timor). There is precedent for that, too: in the late 1950s, revolts in the outer islands, centered on Sumatra and Celebes (Sulawesi), were backed by the CIA and British intelligence in efforts to destabilize the Sukarno regime (and the growing influence of the PKI). As the Spartacist League of Australia wrote in *Australasian Spartacist* No. 109 (Summer 1984/85): "Any Australian war against Indonesia would be reactionary and revolutionists would fight for the defeat of Australian imperialism, using these reverses to facilitate its overthrow."

The missing ingredient in Indonesia today is an authentic communist, internationalist vanguard party of the working class. On the model of the Bolshevik experience, such a party would act as a tribune of the whole people while fighting to expropriate the bourgeoisie and landowners, thereby laying the material basis for the emancipation of the women, the peasants and the downtrodden ethnic minorities. It would oppose in principle and in action any popular-front alliance subordinating the workers to their "liberal" bourgeois enemies.

Against the chauvinist and neocolonial designs of the Australian Labor Party government, the Spartacist League of Australia fights for a revolutionary *internationalist* party dedicated to the destruction of capitalism "at home" and throughout East Asia, not least within the industrial powerhouse of Japan. Integral to this is the unconditional military defense of the Chinese, North Korean and Vietnamese deformed workers states. While resisting imperialist and internal counterrevolution, communists struggle for workers political revolution against the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies which sit atop and undermine the defense of those states.

It will be workers rule throughout the region that will put an end to imperialist designs to reverse the gains of the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions and the North Korean workers state, and to further subject the peoples of Asia to superexploitation and immiseration. Forward to a workers and peasants government in Indonesia! Forward to a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! Forward to a reborn Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

SPARTACIST CANADA

Marxist newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

- \$15/joint *Spartacist Canada/Workers Vanguard* subscription
- \$3/6 issues of *Spartacist Canada* (overseas airmail \$8)
- \$14/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard*, biweekly newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.
- \$5/5 issues of *Le Bolchévique* (includes French-language *Spartacist*)

SC and WV subscriptions include English-language *Spartacist*, *Women and Revolution*.
WV subscriptions also include *Black History and the Class Struggle*

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ Province _____

Postal Code _____ Phone (____) _____

Order from/pay to: Spartacist Canada Publishing,
Box 6867 Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6

SC101

Anti-Abortion Terrorists...

(continued from page 2)

tents. They place all their faith in capitalist "law and order." But the anti-abortion bigots have stepped up their attacks, including in Vancouver and throughout B.C. That they have been unopposed has only fueled their murderous intentions. Meanwhile, thousands and thousands of women are still denied access. Others, especially Native women undergoing abortions in the Northwest Territories, have been subjected to sadistic tortures at the hands of anti-abortion "doctors." Abortion must be available free and on demand, part of genuinely high quality health care for all!

The oppression of women is rooted in the institution of the family, economic unit and guardian of capitalist private property. The very governments the feminists call upon to "protect" abortion rights are the same governments that are closing down hospitals and starving the medical system for funds, notably including those of the NDP, ruling on behalf of the capitalist bosses. The cops they call upon are the same cops that shoot and beat blacks, Asians and Native people. The injunctions and laws they plead for are used against the left and workers movement. The whole damn system has got to go!



SC photo

Vancouver, Nov. 19: TL protests anti-abortion terror.

We urgently need to build a revolutionary workers party to fight for socialist revolution which alone can lay the basis for women's liberation—and send the anti-abortion terrorists packing once and for all. ■

Liberal Cuts...

(continued from page 1)

universities, will be shut down (see article on page 5).

- Thousands more jobs will be lost in health care, while waiting lists for cancer treatment and essential surgery get even longer. In Alberta, Ralph Klein's deranged Tories have already slashed medical spending 18 percent, while the Saskatchewan NDP has closed more than 50 hospitals, many of them vital rural facilities.

The bosses' onslaught is being carried out by all the governing parties at every level of government, the NDP provincial regimes very much included. From workers a paycheck away from financial disaster, to immigrants and refugees facing Ottawa's new racist entry quotas, many people are looking for a way to resist, to at least hold the line against the capitalists' attacks. To defeat the Liberal/NDP/Tory cutback cartel, to



SC photo

Mass student anti-cuts rally in Ottawa, November 16.

defend UI, welfare, medicare and education, we need widespread social struggle centered on the organized working class. But this is inextricably tied to the fight to build a new, revolutionary leadership of labor and the oppressed.

Capitalists Decree End of the "Welfare State"

The Liberal austerity attacks are part of a no-holds-barred, *international* capitalist offensive aimed at destroying the "welfare state." Following World War II, many imperialist ruling classes had to concede social reforms in order to pacify a restive working class. In parts of Europe, notably Italy, workers greeted the end of war with revolutionary upheavals. While popular unrest in Canada never reached such a level, here too unemployment insurance was first instituted to piece off discontent among hundreds of thousands of demobilized soldiers who returned home to mass unemployment.

While the capitalists conceded a few reforms to contain class struggle at home, international trade agreements like GATT helped to shore up a U.S.-dominated imperialist alliance against the Soviet Union. The very existence of the USSR, despite the massive deformities of Stalinism, acted as a counterweight to untrammelled imperialist attacks on the workers and oppressed of the world. But now the Soviet degenerated workers state has collapsed, as a result of unremitting imperialist pressure combined with decades of betrayal by the Stalinist misrulers. And with this counterrevolution, the postwar world has come unglued. The capitalist thieves are falling out with each other, intensifying competition for markets and creating regional trade blocs such as NAFTA and the European Union.

From West Europe to North America to Japan, the ruling classes are tightening the screws on the workers and oppressed in order to compete against their imperialist rivals. To this end, they increasingly view social programs like medicare and unemployment insurance as unnecessary and unprofitable overhead expenses. The mirage of a supposedly "humane" capitalism is out the window. It's a sign of the times that hardline
(continued on page 14)

Liberal Cuts...

(continued from page 13)

reactionaries like Preston Manning's Reform Party have moved from the far-right fringe into the mainstream of Canadian politics. And the NDP social democrats ruling in Ontario, Saskatchewan and B.C. have abandoned even their vague talk of social reform in order to act as "fiscally responsible" enforcers of capitalist austerity.

As the bosses take aim at social programs, they are trying to deflect popular anger through divide-and-rule racism and national chauvinism. Politicians in English Canada and Quebec urge the workers to rally behind their "own" capitalists, whipping up an orgy of national hostility. Ever tighter restrictions on immigration are intended to scapegoat black and Asian minorities for capitalism's blind alley, while shutting the door tighter on refugees fleeing the chaos and bloodshed imperialism has created internationally. A fabricated surge in "immigrant crime" is being used as an excuse for police crackdowns on black and Asian neighborhoods, while stringent gun control laws (including a proposal for compulsory registration of all firearms) aim to ensure the capitalist state's monopoly of violence against a defenseless population.

It is possible to fight back and win against the bosses' attacks. Organized workers—men and women, Québécois, English Canadian and immigrant—have their hands on the factories and transport that keep the bosses' profits flowing. That can translate into enormous social power...if it's used.

But unleashing labor's power requires a fight against the gang of sellouts who run the union movement. Throughout the Mulroney years, the CLC bureaucrats' rallying cries were "Kick out the Tories!" and "Vote NDP!" From *People's Voice* to *Socialist Worker* and more, the reformist left sang exactly the same tune. Like White & Co., they've now got what they asked for—and working people are paying the price.

The labor tops play by the bosses' rules, venting every explosion of anger into paper resolutions, occasional lunchtime rallies and, above all, votes for the NDP. In Quebec, the union misleaders channel worker resistance to poverty and unemployment straight into the arms of the labor-hating nationalists of the Parti and Bloc Québécois. Everywhere, the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats act as a prop for the oppressive status quo.

Despite its federal electoral reverses, in most of English Canada the NDP maintains its stranglehold on labor through the agency of the union tops. Even in Ontario, where Bob Rae's union-busting Social Contract impelled thousands of disgusted unionists to quit the party, the bureaucrats are shepherding the ranks back to the social-democratic fold. After thousands of layoffs under the NDP government, Power Workers president Jon Murphy now tells the remaining 14,000 workers at Ontario Hydro that "we can't get ourselves tied up in knots in frustration and anger over the social contract even if we are opposed to it."

For Revolutionary Leadership

Labor must ditch this losing game and fight back with the class-struggle methods that built the unions in the first place—mass protests, strikes, factory occupations against layoffs and closures. It must take the lead in social struggle, rallying students, minorities, pensioners, the unemployed, all the victims of this bankrupt system, to throw back the bosses' assault on social programs. The key is the fight for a new, anti-capitalist leadership. A *revolutionary workers party* must be built through



AP

Italian workers protest right-wing Berlusconi regime.

breaking the most militant layers of the working class from the pro-capitalist NDP traitors.

Putting an end to unemployment, to racist terror, to the threat of imperialist war, requires a struggle for working-class power. Capitalism cannot be reformed, lobbied, legislated into providing a decent job, living wage and life for working people. It is necessary to smash the profit system, root and branch!

Against the bosses' attempts to set worker against worker, labor must take up the cause of all the oppressed, demanding full citizenship rights for immigrants, and defending Quebec's right to self-determination. At the same time, workers in Quebec must break with the bourgeois-nationalist Bloc and PQ. For united class struggle against the bosses!

We need a class-wide fight for jobs for all, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and a sliding scale of wages. A massive program of public works could create hundreds of thousands of jobs, and fix up the increasingly decrepit infrastructure of the cities, airports and highways. But the capitalist rulers have no intention of implementing such elementary measures. The only way to stop today's global onslaught against the workers and oppressed is the overthrow of the entire anarchic system of capitalism and the inauguration of a socialized planned economy under a workers government.

Out of today's defensive struggles against the cutbacks and other austerity measures, we can begin to build the necessary leadership. A revolutionary workers party would promote the united international struggle of the workers and their allies, linking up with our class brothers and sisters in the U.S., Mexico and beyond in the fight for socialist revolution. From Europe to Asia to North America—Smash the bosses' austerity attacks! ■

Contact the Trotskyist League/ Ligue trotskyste

Montréal:.....C.P. Les Atriums, B.P. 32066,
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Toronto:.....Box 7198, Station A,
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8,
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver:.....Box 2717, Main P.O.,
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2,
(604) 687-0353

Free Roger Warren!

On December 15, the first-degree murder trial of CAW unionist Roger Warren was recessed for the holidays. Warren is being railroaded for the "murder" of nine scabs. The strikebreakers died in an underground explosion at Royal Oak's Giant gold mine in Yellowknife during the bitter 1992-93 strike by Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers Local 4, now CAW Local 2304. Warren, a 50-year-old miner with a debilitating heart condition, is accused of sneaking into the heavily guarded mine compound, walking two miles underground, and rigging 35 kilograms of explosives to be exploded by a passing ore carrier. (For fuller background to Warren's case, see SC No. 99, September/October 1994.)

Before the dust from the blast had even settled, Royal Oak's RCMP praetorian guard declared it a case of murder and came after the union. Royal Oak chairman Peggy Witte, a notorious union buster, broke off negotiations until an arrest was made. Four hundred miners, their families and supporters were interrogated. As Warren himself explained, "The full force of the state was coming down on us" (*Militant*, 19 December).

Six hours into his twelfth "interview" with an RCMP interrogation specialist, Warren "confessed" to setting a bomb. This taped "confession," plus a solitary bootprint, are the whole of the prosecution's case. (The bootprint resembled one made by Warren's boots, but it was size 11. Warren wears size 10.) On the witness stand, Warren retracted his statement to the cops. He explained that he had hoped his "confession" would take the pressure off his fellow strikers and unblock the negotiations.

The cops and company want to make an example of



Miner Roger Warren under arrest in Yellowknife. CP

Roger Warren. They are railroadng him as a warning to anyone who would challenge the "right" of the capitalists to unrestrained exploitation and brutalization of working people. What is happening to Warren illuminates the role of the cops and courts as the armed and dangerous enforcers of capitalist "order."

Roger Warren is a hero of labor struggle. He must not be allowed to become a martyr. The whole labor movement must demand his freedom! We urge our readers to contribute to Roger Warren's defense. Make checks out to "The Warren Fund" and send them c/o CAW Local 2304, P.O. Box 1628, Yellowknife NT X1X 2P2. ■

Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

Casey's veto of a bill to compel executions. The bill's sponsor, Rep. Michael McGeehan, said that he was "specifically interested in [Jamal's] case. We're going to see him die." The override fell two votes short in the state senate, but Casey himself expedited the state's murder mill, signing more death warrants than the four previous governors combined.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has drawn support from around the world. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions or sent letters to the governor demanding Jamal not be executed. Unions representing millions of workers internationally—including the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the Metro Toronto Labour Council and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers in Vancouver, Section 10 of the Mexican teachers union SNTE, as well as unions in Britain and Australia—have taken up Jamal's cause.

At a 3 June 1994 New York City speak-out sponsored by the Committee to Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee, Jamal's lead attorney Leonard Weinglass told the crowd, "If Mumia would get a new trial tomorrow, we're confident on the basis of what we've developed thus far, that we could win his case." This is a race against time. Jamal's fight against the racist death penalty will not be won by legal action alone. It will take a campaign of mass protest and publicity. Five years ago an international

campaign of demonstrations and rallies, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S., mobilized hundreds of Jamal's supporters and drew impressive press coverage. Now more than ever, Jamal's supporters have to stand together, to work together and to fight together to save his life.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a non-sectarian, class-struggle legal and social defense organization which takes up cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste. Our fight for the abolition of the racist death penalty and to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, is an inseparable part of our struggle for black social equality in a socialist North America. We seek to reintroduce into the workers movement the tradition of united front defense, under the old watchword of the Industrial Workers of the World, "An injury to one is an injury to all!"

Jamal's lawyers will be filing papers for a new trial early this year. Get your union, school or community organization involved in the fight to save his life. Contact the PDC in Toronto at (416) 593-4138 or in Vancouver at (604) 687-0353 to obtain petitions and campaign materials, or to arrange a showing of the PDC video "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal."

Donations to the campaign to save Jamal are urgently needed. In Canada, send your contributions payable to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal") to: PDC, Box 314, Stn. B, Toronto ON M5T 2W1. ■



USA: Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a courageous fighter for black liberation, is facing death by lethal injection at the hands of the racist U.S. "justice" system. He has spent 12 years as a death-row political prisoner at Huntingdon penitentiary in Pennsylvania. Jamal has been in the cross hairs of Philadelphia's killer cops since the late '60s, when he was a spokesman for the Black

"I come to you from the land of the dead, with the vibration of life. This place is a place where the living are entombed by law, a law with an accent on force, a law with an absence of justice, a law that protects the outlaws of wealth and power, yet which spits on the poor and powerless. I speak from one of the largest and fastest-growing black communities in central Pennsylvania—death row."

Panther Party. In 1981 he was framed in the death of a Philadelphia cop and rushed onto the state's conveyor belt of legal murder. Tried before the judge who has condemned more men to death than any other in the U.S., and denied nearly all his rights at his trial, Jamal received the death penalty explicitly for his political views and his Panther background.

Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die! His case is what the death penalty in America is all about—terrorization of minority populations, part and parcel of extralegal terror by the fascist Ku Klux Klan and summary executions by the cops on the streets. While black people comprise about only 12 percent of the U.S. population, they make up nearly half the more than 2,800 people on death row. And during last November's midterm elections, from Texas to New York, pushing the racist death penalty was the ticket of entry into governors' mansions and Congressional seats around the country.

This drive to step up legal lynchings is pushed by both president Clinton's yuppie Democrats and the resurgent Republicans. In Pennsylvania, where an execution has not been carried out in 32 years, Steven Duffey was scheduled to die on December 6. The execution has been temporarily stayed, but he and 170 others remain on the executioner's list. The state's new Republican governor, Tom Ridge, is a strident supporter of the death penalty. Especially now, following the racist right-wing Republican electoral sweep, only a massive outpouring of protest worldwide can save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Voice of the Voiceless

Jamal is a renowned journalist, known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his radio broadcasts exposing the brutality and injustices of racist American capitalism. He used his eloquence in support of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, a longtime



Jennifer Beach

target of the Philly cops. On Mother's Day, 1985, MOVE's commune was besieged and bombed from the air by the police. In that horrific massacre, eleven people, including five children, were incinerated or shot down in a hail of police bullets as they tried to flee their burning home.

At the time of his arrest in 1981, Jamal was president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. From behind prison bars, Jamal continues to speak out for the oppressed in columns printed in newspapers across the U.S., including *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. The campaign to make Jamal's radio broadcasts and articles from death row known to the public is an important weapon in the fight to save his life.

This struggle took an ominous turn last summer when the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) waged a nationwide campaign to force Jamal's execution. The FOP successfully pressured National Public Radio to cancel the scheduled broadcast of Jamal's commentaries. The urgency of the campaign to save Jamal was magnified when the Pennsylvania legislature attempted to override then governor Robert

(continued on page 15)