

Down With U.S. and Canadian Imperialism!

Defend Iraq!

Shawn M. Kent

U.S. and Canadian warships patrol Arabian Sea, January 2002. Washington and its imperialist allies are preparing a bloodbath against Iraq.

MARCH 8—On February 15 many millions around the globe protested the looming imperialist slaughter of the Iraqi people. In Europe and North America, Japan, South Africa and Australia, the International Communist League's (ICL) sections stood out for our proletarian, revolutionary internationalism. In this terribly unequal war waged by the most powerful and predatory imperialist state on the planet, we Trotskyists stand for the military defense of Iraq, while giving not a shred of political support to the regime of Saddam Hussein, butcher of Communists and Kurds.

In Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste's call to defend Iraq and for class struggle against the racist Canadian rulers offered an alternative to the predominant "No to war" pacifism and the bankrupt program of beseeching the Canadian ruling class to "stand up" to the U.S. As our ICL statement "Defend Iraq Against U.S. and Allied Imperialist Attack!" (reprinted in SC No. 135, Winter 2002/2003) declared:

"The colossal military advantage of the United States against neocolonial Iraq—a country which has already been bled white through 12 years of UN sanctions which have killed more than 1.5 million civilians—underscores the importance of *class struggle* in the imperialist centers as the chief means to

give content to the call to defend Iraq. Every strike, every labor mobilization against war plans, every mass protest against attacks on workers and minorities, every struggle against domestic repression and against attacks on civil liberties represents a dent in the imperialist war drive."

We pointed, for example, to the actions of Scottish railway drivers who refused to transport munitions to a NATO weapons depot. More recently in Italy, transport unions, together with antiwar activists, blocked the railway line being used to transport military equipment to Camp Darby, a huge NATO ammunition depot and logistic base. In Australia, the CFMEU construction union has announced that Sydney building workers will walk off the job at the outbreak
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Interimperialist Rivalries Heat Up

Countdown to Desert Slaughter.....page 4

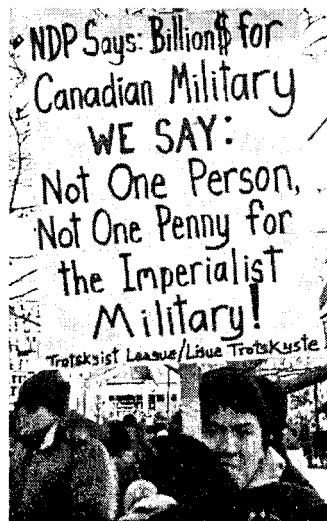
Not a Person, Not a Penny For the Canadian Military!

Reformist left groups like the International Socialists (I.S.) and Socialist Action are trying to sell the NDP as a "party of peace." What a fraud! Twelve years ago the NDP demanded the UN sanctions against Iraq which have killed 1.5 million people. Today, while caviling at U.S. militarism, the NDP supports the imperialist drive to disarm Iraq, saying "The inspections process is working and needs more resources and time" ("No War on Iraq," NDP web site). Far from opposing Canadian militarism, they demand *more* spending on the armed forces. The New Democrats want imperialist aggression cloaked in the mantle of UN "peacekeeping" and they want more money for it.

Last year the NDP joined the right-wing Canadian Alliance and Tories to demand a *\$1 billion a year* increase to military spending. During his campaign for party leader, Jack Layton called for a "fourth brigade group...specifically for UN rapid deployment."

Then there's Joe Comartin, whose campaign for NDP leader was eagerly backed by the I.S. Along with the extra billion in military spending, Comartin was for a budget increase to CSIS, the sinister spies that infiltrate, disrupt and set up leftists and immigrants for government repression. Calling for big pay hikes for soldiers, Comartin said, "the true objective of Canada's defence, military and peacekeeping efforts is to protect people, not profits." A call for better pay for the armed forces, the racist torturers and murderers of Somalis in 1992-93, is a call for a stronger army with better morale and fighting capacity that can wage more effective war on the oppressed at home and abroad. Since when did any imperialist military protect anything but its capitalist masters' profits?!

While acting as eager PR agents for the NDP's bogus "antiwar" posture, the I.S. sometimes bleats, "Not a penny for war." Yet when it counts, the I.S. too gives voice to the patriotic chorus backing Canadian troops. In October 2001, they actually joined a flag-waving Halifax rally to send Canadian troops to war on Afghanistan chanting, "If you



SC photo



Willy Römer

TL placard on Toronto antiwar demonstration. Right, German Marxist leader Karl Liebknecht agitated against imperialist military during World War I.

hate war, you're not alone! We love our troops, so keep them home!" (*Socialist Worker*, 24 October 2001).

Then there's Socialist Action, central founders and uncritical backers of the NDP's Socialist Caucus. Their leadership candidate Bev Meslo declared that "The Canadian Armed Forces' primary function should be rescue and recovery, domestic missions, and the Forces' budget should be trimmed in accordance with that mandate." "Domestic missions"?! Like when troops were sent to suppress national and social struggles in Quebec, arresting hundreds of leftists and trade unionists in 1970? Or when they were unleashed against Native militants at Oka in 1990 and Gustafsen Lake in 1995—in the latter case by the B.C. NDP government?

The reformist left fosters the worst illusions in the capitalist state, described by Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin as "a special machine for the suppression of one class by another, and, what is more, of the majority by the minority." The army and the police are the armed fist of this capitalist state, the entire purpose of which is to uphold the rule of a handful of rich parasites through the most ferocious violence against working people and the oppressed at home and abroad.

The slogan we have repeatedly raised on antiwar protests—"Not a person, not a penny for the Canadian military!"—powerfully expresses our Marxist understanding that the armed forces cannot be used as an instrument on behalf of the oppressed, but are the weapon of our class enemy. Our goal is a thoroughgoing socialist revolution which will sweep away the entire repressive apparatus of the capitalist state, creating the workers state that is necessary to constructing a socialist future free of violence and war. ■

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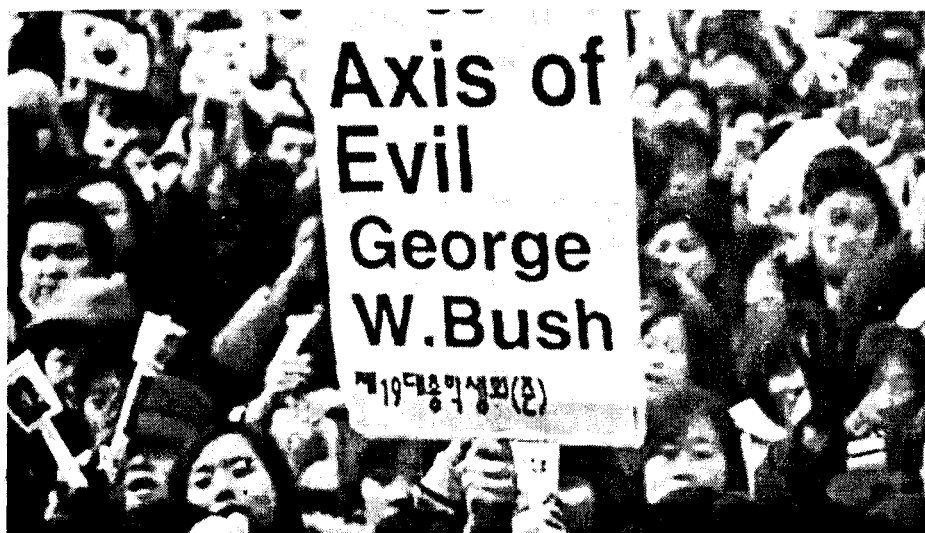
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Mass Protests in South Korea—U.S. Troops Out!

U.S. Imperialism Hands Off North Korea!



Reuters



Nordell/JB Pictures

Mass protest in Seoul targets U.S. war moves, opposes presence of nearly 40,000 U.S. troops in South Korea.

The following article was first published in Workers Vanguard No. 795, 17 January. It has been slightly abridged and adapted for publication in SC.

* * *

In the face of Washington's diktats, as revolutionary Marxists we call on the international proletariat to stand for the unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialism. This crucially includes the right of North Korea to develop nuclear weapons to defend itself against the American nuclear cowboys. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, which removed a vital military counterweight to U.S. imperialism, America's rulers feel free from all constraints to strut around like the unchallenged masters of the world. Had the former Soviet Union not possessed its nuclear arsenal, the U.S. imperialists could very well have turned countries like North Korea and China—countries where capitalist rule has been overthrown—into irradiated rubble.

Last year, Bush declared that North Korea was part of an "axis of evil," and a few months later the Pentagon published a "Nuclear Posture Review" that openly targets that country along with China, Iraq and others for a potential nuclear first strike. It was patently clear that North Korea was next on U.S. imperialism's hit list after Iraq. After the Pyongyang regime pulled out of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, demanding that Washington resume suspended shipments of fuel oil and begin talks on a "non-aggression" treaty, the London *Financial Times* (12 January)

quoted a South Korean official who aptly noted: "North Korea is clearly signalling that it wants the US to address these issues now before an Iraqi war starts. The North realises that if the US succeeds in Iraq, it could confront a more aggressive US."

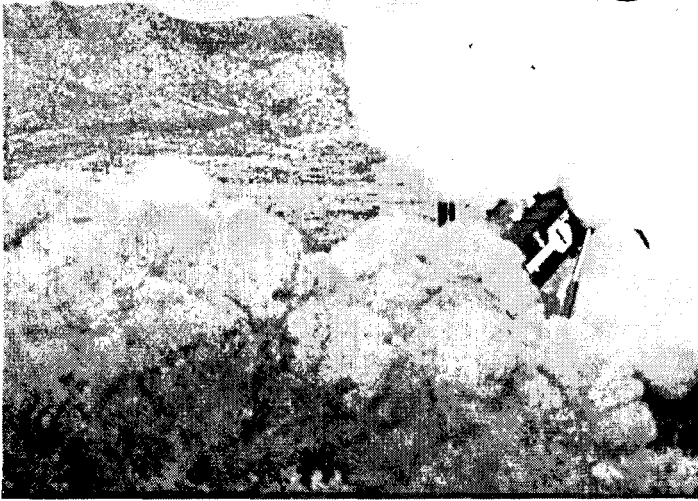
While massing some 250,000 troops for war against Iraq, the Bush administration has repeatedly stated its intention of pursuing "peaceful diplomacy" with North Korea, which has kicked out arms inspectors and openly proclaims its right to develop nuclear weaponry. But more recently Washington has stepped up its provocative spy plane patrols off the North Korean coast. In yet another escalation, the U.S. has now dispatched two dozen B-1 and B-52 bombers to the region.

The North Korean deformed workers state emerged following the liberation of the northern half of the Korean peninsula from 35 years of Japanese colonialism. Following World War II, Korea was partitioned between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north and the Republic of Korea in the south, a capitalist police state under American military occupation. Before the outbreak of the 1950-53 Korean War, the South was swept by massive peasant revolts, and when North Korean forces moved in to reunify the country in 1950, they were greeted as liberators. In a failed attempt to destroy North Korea as well as the 1949 Chinese Revolution, U.S. imperialism and its allies, including Canada, devastated the peninsula in the Korean War. **More than three million people** were killed and whole cities obliterated, including Pyongyang.

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Defend North Korea's Right to Nuclear Weapons!

Interimperialist Rivalries Heat Up Countdown to Desert Slaughter



Raytheon

Millions Protest Around the World

The article below is abridged and adapted from *Workers Vanguard* (No. 798, 28 February), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

* * *

As many as 12 million people took to the streets around the world on February 15 and 16 to protest the impending war against Iraq. Millions marched in every major capital of West Europe—London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Madrid—and in U.S. cities as well. Public opinion polls show that a large majority of West Europeans view the present government of the United States as the greatest danger to world peace. In pursuing their own imperialist aims, the rulers of France and Germany are now appealing to this pacifistic sentiment and anti-American nationalism.

Predictably, the Bush White House has responded to all this with the arrogance born of overwhelming military superiority. The Pentagon budget is greater than the combined total military spending of all other major states in the world. Hence the French and German leaders are forced to confront the U.S. only at the diplomatic level and then fairly cautiously. In the councils of NATO, they made a big show of opposing a U.S. move for additional weapons for Turkey, a member state, and then relented after a few weeks. Now France has joined in the hue and cry over Iraq's supposedly illegal al-Samoud 2 missile arsenal—which have a range of barely 100 miles—with a government spokesman vigorously denying any “particular leniency with regard to Iraq” (Reuters, 23 February). With over 200,000 U.S. and British troops poised to invade and occupy the country, the imperi-



Workers Vanguard

Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent initiated by Spartacist League/U.S. at February 16 antiwar protest in San Francisco.

alists vindictively demand that Iraq destroy what defensive weapons it has.

This would be a predatory and imperialist war on the part of the U.S. and its allies but a just and defensive war on the part of Iraq. Military defense of Iraq does not mean any political support to the bloody and oppressive Saddam Hussein regime. Particularly given the overwhelming military superiority of U.S. imperialism, the chief means of defending Iraq lies in class struggle against the imperialist rulers in the U.S. and Europe. At the same time, the working class and oppressed peoples the world over must defend the struggles of the Iraqi people against the American invaders.

For 12 years, the self-proclaimed “world’s only superpower” has waged a one-sided war against this small, semi-colonial Near Eastern country. The 1991 Desert Slaughter campaign was accompanied by economic sanctions, both “legitimized” by UN resolutions, which have resulted in the deaths of a million and a half Iraqis from malnutrition and disease.

The “disarmament” of a relatively industrialized Third World country like Iraq means not only the slaughter of tens



Le Bolchévik

Paris, February 15: French Trotskyists' banner calls to defend Iraq against imperialist attack.

or hundreds of thousands of people but the continued devastation of industry and infrastructure. Chlorine for water purification and pumps for irrigation and sewage are among the wide range of items deemed by Washington to have military use and thus banned by the UN starvation blockade. As Dilip Hiro notes in his book *Iraq: In the Eye of the Storm* (2002): "Due to the broken-down pumps, the sewage spills over into rivers, the source of drinking water. And that leads to such illnesses as typhoid and dysentery, which reached epidemic proportions in 1997." Also banned as "dual use" items are seeds, pesticide, fertilizer and spare parts for farm machinery—even textbooks, writing paper and medical vaccines, the latter because they contain trace amounts of a potential chemical weapon.

Now Bush Jr. is intent on finishing the job begun by his father and continued by his Democratic successor Bill Clinton. Why? The usual answer, especially on the left, is that the U.S. wants to get control of Iraq's oil fields, which contain the second-largest petroleum reserves in the world after Saudi Arabia. "No Blood for Oil!" is a main slogan of the antiwar protests. But the U.S. could buy every barrel of oil produced by Iraq for a fraction of the projected cost—from \$50 to \$200 billion—of an invasion and occupation. The men who run Wall Street and Washington *want Iraqi blood* no less than they want Iraqi oil. They want to send a message, especially to their main imperialist rivals, that they have the military power and the will to use it regardless of what the rest of the world says or does. ***Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade! All U.S./UN troops out of the Near East and Persian Gulf region!***

Rifts in the Western "Alliance"

The recent political fireworks and mutual recriminations over Iraq signal deeply rooted and long-developing tensions between American imperialism and its main European capitalist rivals and erstwhile anti-Soviet Cold War allies. From the White House and Congress to TV and radio talk shows, the American ruling class is whipping up popular hostility especially toward France. Prominent politicians, Democrats

as well as Republicans, are calling for punitive measures against French and German imports. Pentagon generals are talking about reducing U.S. troops stationed in Germany and transferring them to the now-friendlier climes of East Europe and the Balkans. The right-wing *New York Post* ran a doctored photo of the UN Security Council on its front page depicting the French and German delegates as weasels.

In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (14 February), French ambassador Jean-David Levitte commented: "Reading the papers from both sides of the Atlantic, I sometimes wonder whether the impending war is not between France and the United States." In a sense, the impending U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq is directed at France or, more generally, at America's rivals in Europe and also Japan.

The massive outpouring of antiwar protest across Europe expressed the well-founded hatred and fear of American militarism among the working people, fear that the Pentagon's arsenal of death and destruction will be used not only against Third World countries like Iraq but at some point against Europe. That fear was heightened by the Pentagon's release last year of the "Nuclear Posture Review," which explic-

itly allows for a "pre-emptive" American nuclear attack and lists seven possible targets, including (for the first time) non-nuclear countries like Iraq. But if popular opposition to American militarism is not directed toward *proletarian internationalism*, it will inevitably be directed toward strengthening the military power and global role of one's "own" capitalist state.

Thus a recent editorial in *Le Monde*, the premier mouthpiece of the French bourgeoisie, called for the European Union (EU) to "enlarge our defense policy which today is nationally limited" and an earlier piece even chastised Germany for being too pacifist. If today the German imperialists clothe themselves in more pacifistic garb than their American counterparts, it does not mean that they are inherently more "peaceful." It simply reflects the fact that at the present moment they lack the military means to challenge their American rivals. The European sections of the International Communist League intervened in the February 15 protests linking the defense of Iraq against the American-led attack with total opposition to the militarism of the European bourgeois states. This sharply distinguished us from an entire spectrum of self-styled "socialists" throughout Europe, where the mass antiwar protests against "Bush's war" are being channeled in the national-chauvinist direction of getting one's "own" rulers to stand up to American imperialism.

The rift between the United States and the major European capitalist states revealed by the Iraq crisis points toward the division of the capitalist world into rival imperialist blocs. As we wrote five years ago in the ICL "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

"Increasingly mutually hostile imperialist powers and rival blocs must oppress the peoples of the former colonial world and those still under the yoke of colonial peonage, impoverish the world's masses, engage in continual wars for the maintenance and redivision of the world markets in order to prop up the falling rate of profit, and attempt to smash the revolutionary

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Young Spartacus

Marxists vs. Pro-NDP Reformists at Antiwar Conference

Join the Revolutionary Fight Against Imperialist War!

From January 30 to February 2, over 500 students and leftists gathered at the University of Toronto for a Canada-wide antiwar conference called by the Students Against Sanctions and War on Iraq (SASWI). In plenary sessions, workshops, corridor debates and at our literature table, the Spartacus Youth Clubs, including members from New York and Vancouver, argued for the defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism and its second-rate allies like Canada. We warned antiwar activists that whatever towering mountain of petitions and resolutions arrives in Ottawa or Washington, war can only be stopped in one way. The working class must rip power out of the hands of the capitalists, whose economic system necessitates wage slavery and foreign conquest.

Our positions brought us head-to-head with the pacifist and social-democratic organizers of the conference, in particular the International Socialists (I.S.). Somewhat beside themselves, the I.S. abandoned their normal strategy of slandering us as "irrelevant, crazed sectarians," and actually tried to defend their reformist politics. In one workshop, three leading members of their national organization felt compelled to denounce a high school SYC'er after he quoted Marxist Isaac Deutscher to the effect that he would give a thousand student demonstrations for one solid dock strike against the Vietnam War!

Throughout the conference, the I.S. argued that we need a "broad and inclusive" antiwar movement to mobilize the greatest number of people possible, whatever their political beliefs; that the back-bench squabbling in the Liberal caucus shows that we can pressure this government to stay out of the war; that people are not ready for Marxism, but must be won to socialist politics "one step at a time." Classic! According to these reformists, when we fight to forefront questions that go beyond what is acceptable to liberal paci-



Young Spartacus

SYC contingent at Toronto March 5 student antiwar demo. Struggle against war means defense of Iraq and opposition to Canadian imperialists, oppressors of Québécois, immigrants, Natives.

fists, like exposing the UN as a fig-leaf for imperialism or the right of the North Korean deformed workers state to develop and test nuclear weapons, we are creating divisions in the antiwar movement. And they're right. The SYC seeks to win students and young workers to a program of revolutionary struggle *against* the system that causes war and *split* the antiwar movement away from those who would channel it back into the dead end of lobbying the Liberal—or any other—government.

A "broad and inclusive" movement is the reformist left's code word for a movement built by and around the NDP. This means an "antiwar movement" that upholds capitalism and creates illusions in the "progressive" credentials of the UN and Canadian imperialism. Such was crystal clear from the speech of "left" NDP MP Svend Robinson at the conference's Thursday night opening session. The New Democrats hope to capitalize on the war against Iraq to roll back the stone from the tomb of post-Bob Rae stagnation and irrelevancy. Robinson gave a fiery recruitment pitch for his party, which he described as the only unambiguously antiwar party in Canada, and to his credit denounced UN sanctions and spoke in defense of the Palestinians. Playing the card of Canadian nationalism, he asked "Who knows what side Canada will take in this war?" (many audience members

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Leninist Opposition to Imperialist War

Lessons of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement

We print below, abridged and edited for publication, a presentation given by Oliver Stephens of the Trotskyist League Central Committee to Spartacus Youth Club gatherings in Toronto and Vancouver last November.

* * *

In college a professor made us read a book about the origins of World War I which detailed a series of diplomatic missions, accidents, coincidences, miscommunications and the like. It concluded that World War I, a slaughter of tens of millions, occurred because “such things happen.”

If you agree that wars in this era are essentially miscalculations by otherwise rational leaders who can be persuaded to adopt a different policy—or who can be replaced by similar political leaders who will adopt a different policy—then it is logical to seek to build a movement to pressure such leaders to adopt such a policy. For example, you might want to sign a petition found on the International Socialists (I.S.) Web site titled “Stop the Attacks on Iraq” in which “we the undersigned...pledge...to let our local politicians know that we will not accept any new war carried out in our names.” You might also find yourself agreeing that, in the words of a *Socialist Worker* (23 October 2002) editorial, “We want everyone on the streets who say ‘no’ to war, regardless of their other views.” Like the viciously anti-worker, anti-immigrant, anti-woman conservative president of France, Chirac, for example?

If, on the other hand, you agree with us Marxists that modern society is fundamentally divided into two classes—a tiny minority which owns the means of creating wealth, and the overwhelming majority who survive by selling their ability to work to that tiny minority—then your understanding of how to fight against imperialist war will be very different. You will understand that war is not an aberration but an inevitable outgrowth of the capitalist system in the epoch of its decay—the imperialist epoch—in which the great powers vie with each other for domination of the world’s markets, materials and labor, now peacefully, now violently. You will understand that war concentrates the everyday killing of millions by starvation, thirst, curable disease. And you will thus realize that the fight to end war can only be achieved by a successful fight to overturn the capitalist/imperialist system root and branch through the establishment of the rule of the working class.

If that is your understanding, then you will want to do everything in your power to bring to the working class the consciousness that capitalism must be overthrown, taking



Young Spartacus

Spartacists at Oakland demonstration in 1975 with banner “All Indochina Must Go Communist!”

advantage of every setback, every defeat of one’s “own” imperialist rulers to advance the day of proletarian revolution. In other words, you will continue to pursue a program of class struggle *against* the bosses in wartime as well as in times of “peace.”

This difference in understanding and program is hardly abstract. It was revealed in 1991 during the first imperialist war against Iraq, when groups like the I.S. tried to exclude and drown out TL contingents which called to defend Iraq against imperialist attack and even when we chanted “Defend the Palestinians!” Things the I.S. claimed to agree with! But they couldn’t bear to have these slogans raised. Why? Because it might alienate those with whom they were seeking to build a “broad” unified antiwar movement—i.e., forces of the class enemy and their agents who defend capitalism, disagreeing with the war on Iraq only on a tactical basis.

In hopes of a justification of their class collaboration, groups like the I.S. invoke their version of “lessons” of the Vietnam antiwar movement. For example, an I.S. leaflet for a 30 October meeting declares “We Can STOP This War!” with the title “Vietnam: When US Imperialism was Defeated.” It claims: “Massive mobilizations against the Vietnam War brought it to an end.”

Crudely, this is a crock. The Vietnam War ended when the Vietnamese workers and peasants *drove out* the U.S. imperialists and their allies. Fighting for a social revolution, the people of Vietnam battled for 30 years, first defeating the French and then the U.S. Smashing into the presidential compound in Saigon on April 30, 1975 the Viet Cong/

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Le Minh Truong/American War Photo Project



Liberation News Service

At left, Hoa Tu village, My Xuen district, 1973. Woman guerrilla from a fighting unit in the Mekong Delta. Black GI in Vietnam. Sign reads: "U.S. Negro Armymen! You are committing the same ignominious crimes in South Vietnam that the KKK clique is perpetrating against your family at home."

Vietnam...

(continued from page 7)

National Liberation Front (NLF) and North Vietnamese troops handed the U.S. war machine a stunning defeat. All the world's workers and toilers owe the Vietnamese a great debt. We say, "Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for imperialism!"

Class Struggle vs. Class Collaboration

Like many people of my generation, the Vietnam War shaped my political experiences. I was an active participant in the antiwar movement while in high school and then in university in the U.S. What I experienced and learned was crucial to my eventually deciding to join the youth organization of the Spartacists, having come to reject the politics of other organizations that claimed to be Marxist after carefully considering them.

The early opposition to the war was essentially patriotic pacifism: "The U.S. is sullyng itself by engaging in an immoral war." This is what the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) wanted to appeal to in 1965 when it organized the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee. In the name of building the widest, broadest movement, the SWP insisted there be only one liberal, ambiguous slogan: "Stop the War in Vietnam Now." They were out to pressure—and hopefully bloc with—elements in the Democratic Party.

We intervened at an early meeting of this Committee, just as we intervene at antiwar coalition meetings today. We said: "The slogan 'Stop the War in Vietnam Now' can mean many things to many people.... [W]e are not simply for stopping the war, but rather *for* the victory of the social revolution that is taking place in Vietnam."

—quoted in *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965

We emphasized, "Only a combination of social forces whose consciousness and militancy pose a greater threat to the world hegemony of U.S. imperialism than military defeat in Vietnam can force a halt to the war." We split from the Committee.

At the Committee's demonstration leading SWPers carried signs reading "Support Our Boys, Bring Them Home Now." Well, "our boys" were the Vietnamese workers and peasants! We demanded: "Unconditional Immediate With-

drawal of All U.S. Forces from Vietnam! Victory for the Vietnamese Revolution! No Negotiations! Vietnam, Watts: Same Struggle, Same Fight." The last point was very important. There had been a huge explosion over racist police terror against black people in Watts, part of Los Angeles. The struggle for black freedom is strategic to the American workers revolution. But the SWP wasn't going to have any such "divisive" questions threaten the "unity" they wanted.

The SWP initially was not very successful in attracting any leading bourgeois figures—the Democrats were fairly united in prosecuting the war against the Vietnamese. They had to content themselves with working with lesser representatives of the capitalist order: liberal preachers and the like. But two significant events changed the political situation.

In late 1965-66 the Indonesian army, aided and abetted by the CIA, unleashed a horrific mass slaughter that killed over one million members of the Indonesian Communist Party, women and ethnic Chinese people. The Indonesian CP, the PKI, was at that time the largest Communist Party outside of the workers states, with millions of members. I urge that you read "Lessons of Indonesia 1965" in *Spartacist* No. 55 (Autumn 1999) for a fuller account of these events.

For a certain section of the American ruling class, the crushing of the PKI made less necessary the crushing of the Vietnamese—Communism in Asia had suffered a big defeat and fear of dominos falling throughout the region was reduced. The question of how much blood and treasure to expend on the war against the Vietnamese became an issue.

This was brought to a head in early 1968 when the Vietnamese forces launched the heroic Tet Offensive, coordinated uprisings across the South that showed the Vietnamese revolutionaries were determined to fight to the end. The uprisings were militarily defeated, but a whole section of the American rulers began to realize that the U.S. was *losing* the war. So there emerged a "defeatist" wing of the bourgeoisie who wanted to cut the U.S. losses. They started appearing at demonstrations saying the war was a "mistake," pushing "butter not guns" rhetoric.

The imperialist "doves" were enemies of the labor movement, and their presence was directly counterposed to building a class-struggle antiwar movement, based necessarily on the understanding that the "partnership" of labor and capital

is a lie. We fought for “antiwar Fridays,” for labor strikes against the war. As we wrote in a July 1971 *Spartacist* supplement: “No amount of student strikes and weekend peace crawls can force U.S. imperialism to end the Indochinese war. But a strike by U.S. workers in solidarity with the Indochinese working people could compel the capitalists to face an enemy even more potent than the Vietnamese Revolution—a powerful, organized and conscious working class in struggle for its own class interests in the very citadel of imperialism.”

There were a series of hard-fought strikes around this time, including a 1970 national postal workers strike in defiance of the government. In April-May 1970, 20,000 Teamsters in Ohio went out on a wildcat strike, defying the official union leadership. So-called “friends of labor” and “friends of the peace movement” like Democratic senators and mayors as well as Teamster national leaders joined together with the trucking owners in calling on right-wing Republican Governor Rhodes to mobilize the National Guard to break the strike. It was from this strikebreaking detail that 400 Guardsmen were sent to Kent State, where they killed four student war protesters. Workers engaged in class battles thus saw some of their bitterest enemies in the leadership of the antiwar movement: strikebreaking politicians and the labor lieutenants of capital they hated, who headed their own unions.

The SWP talked of labor as an antiwar “constituency,” along with students, community groups, churches, etc. I heard the same thing a couple weeks ago when a prominent I.S. supporter spoke at an Iraq antiwar meeting about getting all kinds of groups on board: “unionists for peace,” “lawyers for peace,” etc. But the working class is not just some “interest group,” co-equal in importance with pastors and politicians. It is the only social force with the material interest and power to bring down the capitalist system. The Polish Marxist Isaac Deutscher noted in an address to antiwar students in Berkeley, California in the mid-1960s, that he would trade all the marches and protests for one dock workers strike. Indeed, in Australia there *was* such a strike, as workers refused to load a ship carrying military goods to Australian troops in Vietnam.

The working class must go from simply being the raw



Howard Ruffner

May 4, 1970: Ohio National Guard advances on student antiwar protest at Kent State University. Massacre of four students sparked nationwide wave of campus strikes.

material of capitalist exploitation—a class *in* itself—to being the conscious factor in shaping history—a class *for* itself. Revolutionaries must utilize every social struggle to make the working class aware of the class nature of society and the necessity to overthrow the capitalist system. This is particularly crucial in times of war, when the rulers and their lackeys work overtime to whip up national chauvinism. The necessary instrument is a revolutionary internationalist party which brings to the working class a conscious understanding of its historical role.

The SWP in the early 1970s and groups like the I.S. today are political obstacles to that task. To their demands for mass, broad-based mobilizations, we ask: unite *which* people, on the basis of *what* program, in *what* kind of mass action? As Trotsky wrote in 1932, “Whoever attempts to put all the programs, all the parties, all the flags into one package in the name of pacifism, that is, of a superficial struggle against war in words, performs the greatest service for imperialism.”

Unity With Imperialist “Doves,” Attacks on the Reds

By the time of the July 1971 National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) conference in New York, many radical youth were getting fed up. Despite endless peace crawls, the war was obviously escalating, not stopping. Some turned to actions like the May Day Tribe’s attempt to shut down Washington, D.C. by occupying the streets. But their politics were not really any different than a mass peace march which more or less did the same thing. The result was a certain quiescence in antiwar activity.

Nevertheless, the SWP thought it was now ready to break into the big time. NPAC was endorsed by Democratic senators and labor bureaucrats, and the SWP was determined to show its allies that it was respectable and no threat to them. This was accomplished through a vicious physical attack on the reds.

The SWP had lined up keynote speakers including Democratic senator Vance Hartke and Victor Reuther, the CIA’s man in the labor movement in Europe who personified the linkup between the union bureaucracy, the Democratic Party and anti-Communism. When Hartke got up, the SL along with Progressive Labor/Students for a Democratic Society (PL/SDS) shouted him down. Then Victor Reuther got up. The SL chanted “Labor strikes against the war” about ten times and then sat down. PL/SDS went on a bit longer.

I was there at Hunter College that day as a reporter for a listener-sponsored radio station. I happened to be standing next to where PL/SDS were. In front of me were two guys—I heard the bigger one say to his buddy, “Let’s get those bastards outta here.” He then reached down and grabbed a Pler around the neck and started to drag him into the aisle. As PLers rose to defend their comrade, scores of goons, by what looked like pre-arrangement, descended on PL and the Spartacist contingent, viciously punching, kicking and scratching. The goons pushed someone through a plate glass door, pulled out hunks of hair, beat and kicked people on the ground. And I remember hearing in the background Reuther cheering on the goons, screeching up on the stage that those under attack were “the real enemies of peace.” I learned later that the chief thug was SWP leader Fred Halstead. The goons were SWPers and CPers—united, whatever their other

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Vietnam...

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differences might be, in proving to the bourgeoisie that they could "handle" the reds. Sitting on their hands that day were the International Socialists.

The next day the SL had a picket line, carrying signs such as "Better Red than Fred," along with our banner "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" This was the first time I had run into the SL and I came away with a subscription to the youth newspaper and a leaflet, "Pop Front Sealed in Blood!" It read in part:

"Many of those who attended last night's session will have come away appalled at the conduct of the SWP, but for the wrong reasons. Let us make this clear: we are not appealing to you in the name of 'non-violence,' for we believe not in the 'law and order' pacifism which shields a murderous social system, but in *class struggle* and *socialist revolution*. Our concern is not with free speech in the abstract but *with free speech within the socialist movement*—for the purpose of openly and clearly exposing and defeating the sellout politics of groups like the SWP."

Following the NPAC conference, the left-right polarization grew. While the peace crawls drew more and more pure liberals, many radical youth were becoming attracted to Maoism—rightly rejecting the reformist CP and wrongly viewing the SWP as representing Trotskyism. Many openly solidarized with the Communist forces in Vietnam, chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF is gonna win!" This was certainly a subjective step to the left, but embracing Stalinism was no answer.

At every step, it was only the Trotskyist Spartacist League that fought for a revolutionary Marxist program. Our call "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" was a direct repudiation of the anti-communist pacifists and those who wanted to bury the social revolution going on in Vietnam. We carried signs reading "Soviet nuclear shield must cover China, North Vietnam," noting bitterly that the USSR gave more modern military aid to capitalist Egypt than to the Vietnamese, while China put obstacles in the way of even that aid being delivered. By 1972, Nixon and Mao clinked champagne glasses as the U.S. escalated its bombing of North Vietnam. We stood



U.S.A.F.

U.S. Air Force's B-52s Christmas 1972, 19-30 December bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, Vietnam.

for Communist unity from Moscow to Beijing through proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinists.

I.S. Reformism in Action: From Vietnam to Iraq

There is a strong stench of hypocrisy in the I.S. talking today about lessons of the Vietnam antiwar movement. The fact is that the I.S. group in the U.S. was initially "neutral" in this war! This followed directly from their anti-Communism. The I.S. got its start in Britain when Tony Cliff was expelled from the Trotskyists because he refused to defend North Korea and China against U.S. imperialist attack—which, by the way, was done under a UN "peacekeeping" resolution.

As a justification for their craven embrace of anti-Sovietism, which was aimed at currying favor within the British Labour Party, the Cliffites developed the ludicrous theory that the USSR was "state capitalist." They acknowledged that a victory of North Korea and China against the U.S. would mean the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists in South Korea. But, said the Cliffites, it would also be an expansion of "Stalinist totalitarianism"—and that's more important. So they refused to side against the U.S. who, after all, are supposed to be democratic. Initially, this was also their line around Vietnam: they were "neutral" between the U.S. and "Stalinism." Being consummate opportunists, they realized about 1968 that this line wasn't exactly winning them friends among radical youth, so they adopted the liberal line that it was just a matter of "self-determination" for the Vietnamese. No, it was a matter of *social revolution* against imperialism.

Today's looming war on Iraq is of course very different. Iraq is not a country like China, Vietnam, North Korea or Cuba where capitalism has been overthrown. The Iraqi rulers, creatures themselves of imperialism, are enemies of the working people. Nevertheless we have a side with such small, dependent countries against imperialism. As Trotsky wrote:

"The struggle for the self-determination of nations, for all people, for all those who are oppressed and who strive for independence, is one of the most important aspects of the struggle against war. Whoever directly or indirectly supports the system of colonization and protectorates, the domination of British capital in India, the domination of Japan in Korea or in Manchuria, of France in Indochina or in Africa, whoever does not fight against colonial enslavement, whoever does not sup-

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port the uprisings of the oppressed nations and their independence...is, despite good intentions or bad, a lackey, an apologist, an agent of the imperialists, of the slaveholders, of the militarists, and helps them to prepare new wars in pursuit of their old aims or new."

—“Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam,” July 1932

Only Workers Revolution Can End Imperialist War!

The rulers of Canada, a second-rate imperialist power sharing a rather long border with the U.S., have often found it useful to have a division of labor with their senior partners: the U.S. does the killing and Canada serves as nice-guy, neutral, peacekeeping, mediator frontman, hoping to come in afterwards and pick the bones clean. The U.S. rulers have found this arrangement useful too, as the Canadians have been able to go where direct U.S. intervention is problematic.

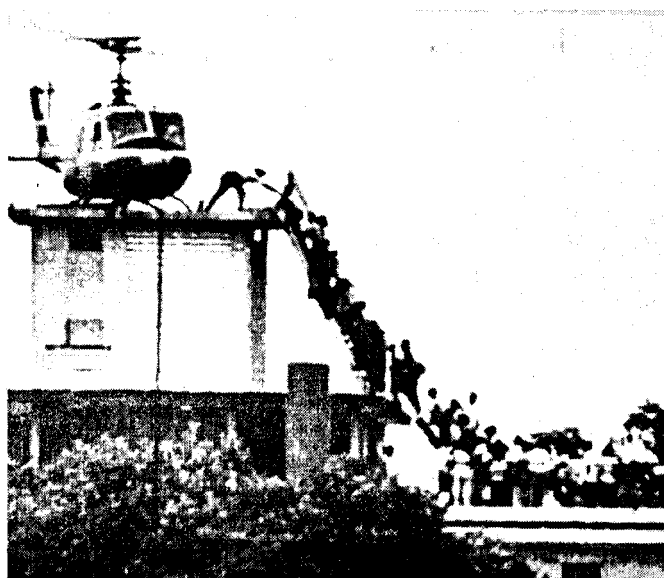
The Vietnam War was one such example. Canada muttered its disagreement with some U.S. actions and welcomed draft dodgers. More rational U.S. thinkers found this useful too, as it meant a bunch of radicals purged themselves from the military which was being ripped apart internally—a third of the soldiers on hard drugs, hundreds of mutinies, refusals of orders and attempts to kill their officers. “Fragging” it was called. Told they were going to fight against “Communist totalitarianism,” soldiers found themselves ordered to burn hamlets to the ground, murder women and children and torture peasant Viet Cong “suspects.” Black soldiers, massively overrepresented in the infantry, in particular responded to Vietnamese propaganda which pointed out that at home black people were subject to segregation and lynch mob/KKK terror.

We opposed individual draft resistance, saying “You will go!” We noted that the vast majority of black and working-class conscripts couldn’t run off to Canada. The place for antiwar activists who were drafted was in the army, side by side with their generation. You couldn’t split the army along class lines unless you were in it. Spartacist supporters published *G.I. Voice*, a newsletter directed at antiwar soldiers.

While the Liberals and NDP made noises about U.S. policy in Vietnam, Canadian businesses were literally making a killing supplying the U.S. army, Canadian “neutral” observers served as target spotters for U.S. bombers in North Vietnam. Meanwhile the antiwar movement in Canada was begging to “End Canadian complicity,” i.e., appealing to the Canadian rulers to keep their hands clean. The antiwar movement in Canada was therefore no less class-collaborationist than in the U.S.—both sought to pressure their “own” rulers, not to organize a class-struggle fight against them.

The NDP plays a particularly useful role in this. Like all social-democratic parties they are defenders of the capitalist system. As Trotsky noted in 1932:

“The most influential pacifist force is the Social Democracy. In a period of peace it’s not stingy with cheap tirades against war. But it remains tied to ‘national defense.’... The imperialists know in advance that the pacifism of the Social Democracy at the first roar of the cannon will be transformed into the most servile patriotism and become the most important reserve for militarism. That is why a most intransigent struggle against pacifism, unmasking its treacherous character, is the very first step on the road toward a revolutionary struggle against war.”



UPI
April 1975: Americans and South Vietnamese lackeys attempt to flee as Vietnamese Communists liberate Saigon.

In its newspapers, the I.S. has occasional mild criticisms of the NDP while simultaneously covering up for them. Telling the bitter truth about your “antiwar allies” is just not on. They thus help foster the most deadly illusions in the Canadian social democracy and through them in the Canadian rulers.

More interesting is a layer of young activists, typically anarchists, who are disgusted with the parliamentarist, NDP-loyal “left.” Most anarchists, however, *equate* the U.S. imperialist behemoth with Iraq, declaring a plague on both your houses. They can talk about “class war” all they want, but the precondition of genuine class consciousness is defending the oppressed against their oppressors! In refusing to defend Iraq against imperialist attack these folks actually open the door to supporting the imperialists. For example, the Australia-based Love & Rage group, who proclaim they are for class war, supported the Australian imperialists’ occupation of East Timor.

The war on Iraq is part and parcel of the same capitalist system that wages war on the working and poor people at home. There *will* be war, there *will* be homelessness, there *will* be starvation as long as capitalism exists. The key question for every struggle is: How does it advance the consciousness of the working class, how does it advance the understanding that the only road forward is proletarian socialist revolution? This is what shapes our intervention in today’s antiwar movement. It is why we organized a Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent in Toronto and Vancouver around the demands: For class struggle against the U.S./Canadian capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade!

In an address to student radicals during the Vietnam War, Isaac Deutscher said: “Your only salvation is in carrying back the idea of socialism to the working class and coming back with the working class to storm—to storm, yes, to storm, the bastions of capitalism.” The sections of the International Communist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs are dedicated to building the revolutionary internationalist parties that can lead the working class to victory and send the capitalist system of war, racism and starvation into the dustbin of history. ■

Antiwar Conference...

(continued from page 6)

shouted "WE know!") and assailed the hypocrisy of the U.S.

Hypocrisy!?! As one of our members reminded the audience during the discussion, it was the NDP that **demand**ed sanctions against Iraq in 1991 and called for imperialist armies of occupation in the Balkans and Afghanistan. This "unambiguously" antiwar party is on record for **increasing** the military budget. Marxists say not one penny, not one man for the Canadian military! The express intention of the NDP and their fake-socialist allies is to keep outrage against the impending mass slaughter of Iraqis from going beyond the bounds of electoral politics and "respectable" business-as-usual protest. Frequently quoting "Svend," with lavish affection, I.S. members refused to criticize the NDP when confronted by us in workshops. Instead, they defended their repeated votes for the NDP in federal and provincial elections by lamely protesting that it is better than nothing. We say: break with the pro-imperialist NDP! Fight for a revolutionary workers party!

The workshops on Friday and Saturday were packed, and provided a forum for the debates and questions current in the antiwar movement. Topics ranged from "Fighting anti-Arab racism" and "Axis of Evil II: what next after Iraq?" to "Faith groups against the war." Tellingly, the conference schedule repeatedly invoked **American** imperialism, and the one workshop on "Canadian business: profiting on war and repression" was actually a talk on the U.S. chemical weapons industry, to the annoyance of those who went to discuss Canada's crimes in places like Somalia, Kenya, Colombia, and the Sudan.

We did run into a few hard-line NDPers, but not many. Students often listened to our criticisms of the NDP, but worried about "alienating" opponents of this war in so desperate a situation. Few believed that the UN can or will stop the war on Iraq, or supported sanctions, but many thought that weapons inspections were necessary, and perhaps that a reformed United Nations could provide an alternative to American unilateralism. Against these pacifist illusions, we motivated the importance of opposition to the Canadian ruling class. We brought up wars where workers and the oppressed have a side against U.S. and Canadian imperialism, under the UN's blue flag or not, like Vietnam and Korea. We explained why Trotskyists hailed the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan, which defended women's rights and social progress against the CIA-backed Islamic reaction.

By far the largest and most raucous workshop was given by anarchist Jaggi Singh and a speaker from the U.S. antiwar coalition ANSWER on "diversity of tactics." Singh spoke about his recent experiences in Israel, where he was arrested and beaten for a courageous trip to the West Bank made in solidarity with the Palestinians. But the main point of his talk was a defense of the mutual compatibility of pacifist protest and direct action, invoking a mural in Philadelphia of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X that reads "I have a dream...by any means neces-

sary." His message was clear: we can all work together.

But it was not well received. Speakers from ANSWER and Ritch Whyman from the I.S. attacked him openly, disgustingly implying that his direct action strategy was setting up Arab youth for attack, and criticizing a break away march of three thousand at the last San Francisco protest which descended on the downtown INS (immigration) office. Afterwards they continued to argue in the hall. We joined in, stating that the real issue was ANSWER's desire to protect its capitalist Democratic Party allies and not alienate "good willed" liberals, something that Singh and those who simply advocate more militant tactics can't counter politically because they share the program of "building the movement."

In the last session, the conference organizers put forward a motion supporting the "Pan-Canadian Student Strike and Day of Action" on March 5. But they went out of their way to hamstring this action by pushing undiluted Canadian nationalism. In a leaflet passed out at York University and U of T, SASWI limits itself to denouncing a "U.S. attack on Iraq" and then gives as its **first** reason for opposing war that it would "Endanger the lives of Canadian servicemen and women." But Canadian soldiers will be helping to **butcher** Iraqis! Marxists take a side: with the oppressed against their murdering exploiters.

On March 5, we joined picket lines at York University that resulted in the cancellation of numerous classes—until the cops came and shut them down, arresting at least three protesters. Thousands of students around the world, from Bangladesh to Montreal, walked out of class; in Toronto, the SYC built a contingent in a protest of over 700. But no single-issue movement, whether based on thousands singing the anthems of an undead hippie icon begging the capitalists to "imagine" a peaceful world, or on militant direct action, can stop this war. The SYC looks to the example of the Russian Revolution, which tore the oppressed and exploited of Russia out of the First World War by smashing capitalist rule. If you burn with hatred for the capitalist rulers of this country, if you despise the sheepish hypocrisy of begging them to "bring peace," if you want to shatter the chains of wage slavery, then join us in our struggle. Those who labor must rule! ■

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE/SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB EVENTS

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

For Quebec Independence! 19 March
Build a Revolutionary Workers Party! 2 April

6:30 p.m., Wednesdays, Room 1088, Sidney Smith
 100 St. George St., University of Toronto

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Defend Iraq! Down With U.S./Canadian Imperialism!

7:00 p.m., Saturday, 29 March, Room 2211, OISE
 252 Bloor Street West (above St. George Station)

For more info, call (416) 593-4138 or email spartean@on.aibn.com

Trotskyist League Forum

Defend Iraq Against U.S./Canadian Imperialism!
Iraq: Women's Liberation and the Fight for Socialist Revolution

3:00 p.m., Saturday, 15 March, Britannia Community Centre,
 1661 Napier Street (off Commercial Drive)

For more info, call (604) 687-0353 or email TLIT@look.ca

Toronto

Vancouver

Italian Workers Block Arms Shipments

Vicenza, Italy, February 21: Trade unionists and antiwar activists block a train shipping military equipment for the U.S. war against Iraq. Defying threats of state repression, dock workers in Livorno, site of a NATO logistics depot, announced that they would not load war materiel. Other Italian unions have announced strikes against the war.

In appealing for defense of Iraq against imperialist attack, we have stressed that above all this means working-class struggle against the capitalist warmongers at home. In mobilizing its power in political strike action against the war, the Italian transport workers, as well as Scottish train drivers who carried out a similar action, have shown the way forward for workers in the U.S., Canada and elsewhere in the world.



Corrado Pedon/Infophoto

Countdown...

(continued from page 5)

struggle of the workers wherever it breaks out. In its final frenzied effort to maintain its class rule, the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to plunge humanity into nuclear holocaust or dictatorial oppression of unprecedented ferocity."

America vs. Europe in the Post-Soviet World

NATO was formed in 1949 under tight American control as a military alliance with the West European capitalist states against the Soviet Union, which in defeating the Nazi German Wehrmacht had emerged from World War II as a military-industrial power second only to the United States. A few years later the U.S. formed a military alliance with Japan against the USSR, the People's Republic of China and North Korea in the Far East. With the destruction of the Soviet Union through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the fundamental economic conflicts of interest among the major imperialist states, which had been somewhat constrained by the Cold War alliances, had to come to the fore.

With the demise of the Soviet Union, the primary purpose of NATO for American imperialism has been to prevent European, centrally German, economic strength from being translated into an independent military force. Thus during the 1990s, the Clinton White House consistently sabotaged any independent EU policy—especially at the military level—toward the fratricidal wars in the Balkans ignited by capitalist counterrevolution and the resulting breakup of Yugoslavia. Nonetheless, France and Germany (and Canada) not only supported but actively participated in the U.S./NATO attack on Bosnian Serbs in 1995 and the air war against Serbia in 1999. And Russia joined in the subsequent occupation of Kosovo under the NATO structure, with an American general in overall command.

This time around, however, Paris, Berlin and Moscow are taking a different line. The neo-Gaullist regime of Jacques Chirac in France has put itself forward as the main spokes-

man for anti-American bourgeois nationalism in Europe. But that role does not correspond to the actual balance of economic and military forces in Europe. France's exalted diplomatic status as one of five permanent members of the UN Security Council, with the right to veto American-supported resolutions, is a carryover from the early years of the Cold War. Despite its small nuclear arsenal—the *force de frappe*—France is a second-level imperialist state.

Germany is the dominant economic power in Europe. And then there's Russia waiting in the wings. Capitalist counterrevolution has led to a catastrophic economic and social decline unprecedented in the history of any modern, industrialized country. Nonetheless, Russia's new capitalist rulers inherited from the USSR a powerful nuclear arsenal and strong conventional armed forces. An alliance between Germany's economic and technological resources and Russia's military potential would create a formidable challenge to American global dominance.

For the moment, however, France is trying to act as spoiler to the U.S. at the diplomatic level. This is not, in fact, something new. France played the maverick in the Western alliance during the Cold War, too. Since the regime of Charles de Gaulle in the 1960s, French ruling circles have flaunted their "independence" from Washington without, however, seriously opposing American strategic interests.

Taking advantage of the close ties between the U.S. and Zionist Israel, de Gaulle and his successors reoriented French policy in the Near East toward "radical" Arab nationalist states like the Ba'athist regimes in Syria and especially Iraq. While the latter mainly depended on Soviet military aid and diplomatic support, the Iraqi regime also cultivated good relations with France and vice versa. In the 1970s, the state-owned Iraq Company for Oil Operations agreed to provide France with almost a quarter of its total output. In turn, France became a major weapons supplier to the Iraqi military. Jean-Pierre Chevènement, the defense minister in the Socialist government of François Mitterrand in the 1980s, was a founder at

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Countdown...

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the time of the Iraqi-French Friendship Association.

During the diplomatic run-up to the 1991 Gulf War, Mitterrand played "soft cop" to Bush Sr.'s America. For example, he proposed a UN resolution "linking" the withdrawal of the Iraqi army from Kuwait (which is part of the American oil empire in the Arabian peninsula) with Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian Occupied Territories. In the 1990s, France along with Russia pressed for a relaxation of the economic sanctions against Iraq but was rebuffed by the Clinton White House. So they have continued to participate in the starvation blockade of Iraq.

The Iraq Crisis and the New World Disorder

Why then the sudden and massive explosion in West Europe of opposition to a U.S. military takeover of Iraq? The usual answer is a simple one: George W. Bush. Certainly, this extreme right-wing administration in Washington, with its "America über alles" ideology, has aggravated tensions with its European "allies" and inflamed European public opinion. There is real hatred for the racist warmonger in the White House among the working people of Europe, just as there is among workers, blacks and Latinos in the U.S.

But popular hatred of war has nothing to do with the reasons that the French Gaullists and German Social Democratic leaders are now balking at a U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq. The current rift in the Western "alliance" is in part conditioned by the world economic downturn precipitated by the Wall Street crash. When the early 1990s U.S. boom went bust, many European financiers and industrialists took a bath as the S&P 500 and NASDAQ indices went south. To make matters worse, the Bush administration has resorted to trade protectionism, for example, on imports of steel.

The U.S. move to take over Iraq has brought to a head an array of accumulated grievances in French and German ruling circles—trade policy, the Anglo-American cartel's control of the world oil market, the flaunting of U.S. power around the world from Afghanistan to the Philippines. The Bush gang has responded by seeking to undermine

French/German leadership of the European Union. In late January, Secretary of State Colin Powell lined up the governments of Britain, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Portugal, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to issue a pro-war and pro-American statement in no less an authoritative organ than the *Wall Street Journal*.

Powell's ploy exposed and deepened the division in Europe between East and West. The new capitalist rulers of the countries of the former Soviet bloc (e.g., Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic) have joined the EU or applied for membership with the expectation of being generously subsidized by the far wealthier West European countries, centrally Germany. But now they are being offered the opportunity to play off Washington against Paris and Berlin for perhaps even greater economic rewards. French president Chirac was so incensed that the new and aspiring EU members in East Europe supported the American position on Iraq that he lashed out: "It is not well brought-up behavior.... They missed a good opportunity to shut up."

Underlying Chirac's tirade are a couple of basic truths. First, France, even in concert with Germany, lacks the economic resources, much less military power, to check American influence even in France's own backyard. Second, there is no such thing as "Europe" in a political sense. The EU is a bloc of bourgeois national states whose rulers pursue their own conflicting interests, often knifing one another in the back. In fact, the only policies these West European capitalist regimes were collaborating in prior to the Iraq crisis were police-state measures against immigrants and intensified attacks on the union movement and social programs.

Chirac and German Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder are now acting more or less in tandem in opposing an immediate invasion of Iraq. However, the overall policies of France and Germany in the Near East are quite different, to a degree even counterposed. Orienting toward the Arab nationalist regimes, French ruling circles profess (however hypocritically) sympathy for the Palestinian cause. Moreover, France has a large Arab population, mainly from its former North African colonies, who are fervent supporters of the Palestinian resistance to the murderous Israeli occupation. Germany, on the other hand, has been a major provider of economic aid to Israel, second only to the U.S. Hence the effect of an American invasion of Iraq on Israel/Palestine would likely disrupt the current Paris/Berlin bloc vis-à-vis the U.S.

The Zionist rulers are looking forward to the American attack on Iraq as an opportunity to completely crush the Palestinian resistance, possibly by driving the Palestinian population into the surrounding Arab states. While Washington openly backs its Israeli junior partners in their bloody repression of the Palestinians, it currently postures as a defender of the Kurdish national minority in Iraq. But nowhere is the cynicism of U.S. imperialism's proclamations of "liberating" the Iraqi people clearer than in the horse trading over the Kurds. In order to secure Turkey as a platform for an American invasion into northern Iraq, the U.S. is giving the Ankara regime billions of dollars and license for its army, notorious for its war of annihilation in Turkish Kurdistan, to occupy Kurdish areas of Iraq. The imperialists are dead set against any expression of Kurdish national self-determination.

Only within a socialist federation of the Near East can the national rights of all the main peoples of the region be achieved, from the Palestinians to the Kurdish population,

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which is divided among Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey. The realization of a *socialist republic of united Kurdistan* requires the proletarian overthrow of all four of those bourgeois states.

For Unconditional Military Defense of China and North Korea!

The impending U.S. invasion of Iraq is to be carried out in the name of the “global war on terror” declared by the U.S. rulers following the criminal 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center by Islamic fundamentalists. Osama bin Laden’s Al Qaeda network and its Afghan *mujahedin* supporters were originally *organized, armed and financed by the CIA* to fight the Soviet Army in Afghanistan in the 1980s. In 1989, the “liberal” Stalinist regime of Mikhail Gorbachev withdrew the last Soviet forces from Afghanistan in order to appease American imperialism. The retreat of Soviet power in Central Asia was quickly followed by the capitalist counter-revolution which swept across East Europe and then destroyed the USSR itself.

In the aftermath, Washington seized on “Islamic terrorism” as a new external enemy against which to rally the population. For their part, the Afghan-based Islamic fundamentalist terrorists turned on their former American paymasters. The U.S. rulers justified the invasion of Afghanistan in late 2001 as a war of vengeance. It also served a broader strategic purpose by introducing U.S. military forces into Central Asian countries bordering both Russia and China.

Iraq, of course, had nothing whatsoever to do with the 9/11 attack. The Arab nationalist regime in Baghdad and Islamic fundamentalist groups like Al Qaeda are mortal enemies. Recall that Saddam Hussein was a Soviet client while Osama bin Laden was a CIA asset during Cold War II.

The Bush gang has made it clear that after the takeover of Iraq its next target will be North Korea. Standing behind North Korea, geographically and politically, is China, by far the most powerful of the remaining states where capitalism has been overthrown (the others being North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba). Having succeeded in their decades-long goal of destroying the Soviet Union, the American imperialists view the continued existence of the People’s Republic of China as a very large piece of unfinished business. Their goal: to reverse the 1949 Chinese Revolution in order to subjugate and exploit China. Their strategy: to combine

external military pressure with internal capitalist penetration facilitated by the “market reforms” of the venal Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy.

We stand for the defense of the Chinese and North Korean bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist attack from without and capitalist counterrevolution from within. Especially in the present context, that means supporting the right of North Korea to develop nuclear weapons along with the delivery system necessary to make them an effective deterrent to the Pentagon war machine (see page 3).

Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home!

The huge turnouts worldwide for the February 15 antiwar protests demonstrate the depth of international opposition to a new Desert Slaughter. It is particularly important that millions in the U.S. protested against the war. In New York City, despite a court order banning protesters from marching and with the city turned into a virtual police occupation zone under the Bush administration’s “terrorism” alert, hundreds of thousands defiantly came out to show their opposition. It could not be clearer that the multiracial working people of the U.S. and the semicolonial masses of Iraq have a common enemy in the war-crazed, labor-hating gang in the White House and the U.S. capitalist class it represents.

From San Francisco to London and Paris, the banners of our revolutionary internationalist contingents called for mobilizing the working class in struggle against their imperialist rulers at home. As well, in the U.S., our call to break with the Democrats, the other capitalist party of war and racism, attracted many protesters. Antiwar youth, labor militants and fighters for black and immigrant rights must understand that any genuine opposition to imperialist war must be based on class struggle and political protest independent of all the parties and agencies of capitalist class rule. The ICL’s interventions have exposed the pretensions of those who look to such forces and point out that to mount genuine class-struggle opposition to this war requires a program of uncompromising proletarian independence from one’s “own” capitalist rulers. Only international workers revolution can end imperialist war. The ICL is dedicated to forging the world party of socialist revolution that can eradicate the scourge of capitalist imperialism around the globe. ■

Defend Iraq!...

(continued from page 1)

of war. Leaders of five major unions in Britain have also warned of possible industrial action when war breaks out.

But to mount a genuine class-struggle opposition to this imperialist war requires a program of uncompromising proletarian independence from one’s “own” capitalist rulers. And such is decidedly not the policy of even those trade-union leaders who are now calling for labor action. Rather, their invocations of proletarian struggle are aimed simply at effecting a parliamentary “regime change” in their own countries, keeping the working class chained to the rule of the capitalist exploiters in its social-democratic face.

The antiwar protests in Canada have been heavily endorsed by the unions, and in some cases—notably in Quebec—there has been significant union participation. But far from mobilizing labor’s social power against the war, the

union misleaders manipulate antiwar sentiment with the aim of reinforcing illusions in the Canadian capitalist rulers. Thus the Canadian Labour Congress calls on the Chrétien government to “intervene as a third party on the side of peace.” Throughout English Canada the protests have provided a platform for the NDP to posture as an “antiwar” party—even as the New Democrats ostentatiously back the imperialist drive to disarm Iraq through the UN and paint Canadian imperialism as a force for peace.

Opposing this social-democratic shell game, TL contingents on the antiwar protests have pointed to the real record of Canadian imperialism, Washington’s bloody junior partner in wars from Iraq in 1991 to Serbia in 1999 and more recently Afghanistan. We call for defense of immigrants and refugees against the Canadian rulers’ intensified racist crackdown. We explain that there can be no “peaceful” capitalist order here or anywhere else. Capitalism is based on the

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Defend Iraq!...

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extraction of profit through the exploitation of the workers who produce society's wealth. War is a concentrated expression of this, as competing capitalist powers scramble to steal natural resources and carve out new markets and new sources of cheap labor, extending their superexploitation to whole countries and peoples.

We have also drawn a sharp class line with our call for the unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state, including its right to nuclear weapons. This too cuts against the pacifism and class collaborationism of the protest organizers. The leftists who now head various "antiwar" coalitions made their own contribution to the emergence of U.S. imperialism as the world's unrivaled military power through their support to the forces of capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the former Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states. Although bureaucratically degenerated and undermined by Stalinist misrule, the Soviet Union possessed military might that held the ambitions of U.S. imperialism in check. Now the American rulers see nothing in the way of their riding roughshod over the entire planet.

Antiwar youth have repeatedly heard the claim that "We can stop this war" through ever bigger and broader protests appealing to the capitalist rulers. But Washington's reply to these massive worldwide protests—intensified war preparations—is making some antiwar activists question this perspective. To those seeking a road to effective struggle against the imperialist juggernaut, we explain that to end war once and for all, the capitalist system that breeds it must be swept away through a series of revolutions leading to the establishment of a planned, egalitarian socialist economy on a world scale.

Canadian Imperialists Mobilize for War

Chrétien prevaricates about the degree of Canada's involvement, preferring that the UN give its blessing to the devastation of Iraq. But the Canadian rulers *are* backing this war. Canada is so utterly integrated militarily and economically with the U.S., via NORAD and NAFTA, that, one way or another, this is beyond doubt.

Canada already has 1,000 troops in the region, and 3,000 more are poised to go to Afghanistan. Canadian warships are in the Arabian Sea while Aurora maritime patrol aircraft are attached to U.S. carrier groups, all part of the war on Afghanistan. Directly involved in planning the assault on Iraq, Canadian officers connected to the U.S. Central Command are in Qatar. Meanwhile, the Canadian capitalist vultures plan to join the postwar pillage of Iraq, using technical expertise as their calling card for "running" Iraq's oilfields.

Canada's foreign policy differs from the U.S. not from any moral superiority, but because it has massively less weight to throw around. Acting as an appendage of U.S. capitalism, Canada plays a useful role in providing the cover of "peacekeepers" for the brutal depredations of U.S. imperialism. Behind the "nice guy" mask are troops like those of the Canadian Airborne Regiment who systematically tor-



Kevin Smith

Steelworkers and other trade unionists at Toronto February 15 protest. Union misleaders channel antiwar anger into NDP and futile appeals to UN.

tered and killed Somali teenagers during their "peacekeeping" murder mission in the mid-1990s.

Canadian military contractors will supply the guidance systems for many of the bombs that will kill thousands of Iraqis. Corporate giants like Bombardier and SNC-Lavalin produce military hardware including aircraft, launchers, bombs and other explosives, most of which is sold to the U.S. As for "weapons of mass destruction," according to John Bryden, author of *Deadly Allies: Canada's Secret War 1937-1947*, "Canada was ahead of everybody in the development of biological and chemical weapons" (*Vancouver Sun*, 26 November 2002). In World War II Canada tested the effects of mustard gas on 2,500 of its own soldiers. Many later died from the agonizing effects of these grisly "experiments." Bryden also recounts that in World War II Canada mass-produced anthrax bombs, the first country to do so. Until at least the late 1960s and perhaps later, Canada had huge stockpiles of nerve gases and other deadly toxins.

While pretending their hands were clean, the Canadian capitalists sold a million dollars of weaponry a day to the U.S. during the Vietnam War. Canada developed the defoliant Agent Orange, which caused massive disease, birth defects and death among the Vietnamese. Yet some "leftists" still tout Canada, as journalist Judy Rebick did in a crass appeal to the Canadian rulers to oppose the U.S.-led war on Iraq, for playing "an important role in opposing the U.S. adventure in Vietnam" (*Toronto Star*, 11 November 2002)!

NDP: Pro-Imperialist Wolves in Antiwar Sheep's Clothing

The NDP social democrats and their "socialist" allies running the antiwar protests are accomplices in pushing the pernicious lie that Canada is a benevolent counterweight to Washington. "Step up to the plate and help prevent war" cried ex-NDP leader Alexa McDonough to Chrétien last summer. "Just say 'no', Jean," echoed the International Socialists (I.S.), "Don't let Chrétien back this war." Amid their pleas for "peace now," these reformists cover up the NDP's true role as the "left" face of imperialism.

The NDP has supported virtually every war and imperialist adventure the Canadian capitalist class has embarked on. Fully backing the imperialist slaughter of World War II, the

NDP's predecessor, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), *called for* the internment of 22,000 Japanese Canadians, a racist atrocity. In the early 1950s, the CCF and its allies in the union bureaucracy sabotaged class struggle in order to aid the U.S., British and Canadian imperialists in their war to crush the "red menace" in North Korea. In August 1950, just after the war began, 130,000 railroad workers struck. At the time the largest strike in Canadian history, it sent the bosses into a frenzy, not least because the trains were needed to move troops. But the CCF, having called for troops to be sent to Korea, endorsed the government's strikebreaking back-to-work bill while the union bureaucracy lamented "the slowing down of the war effort directed against the communists in North Korea" (quoted in Charles Lipton, *The Trade Union Movement of Canada 1827-1959*, [1967]).

In the 1991 Gulf War, NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin declared her party's support for Canadian troops in the Gulf and the NDP supported the sanctions that have since brought the deaths of 1.5 million Iraqis. Nor did the NDP really oppose the war against Afghanistan. They were all for sending in troops; they only wanted the UN, that "flag of convenience" for the imperialist order, to run it.

More recently, urging that the UN weapons inspectors (a gang of imperialist spies) continue, NDP MPs voted for a parliamentary motion that the government send troops to Iraq "only after the United Nations Security Council has passed a resolution explicitly authorizing a military intervention in Iraq." At the February 15 Toronto protest, when new leader Jack Layton was asked about the Liberals' plan to send 3,000 troops to Afghanistan, he said, "If it's genuine peacekeeping work and the military has the resources then it's possible it could be a useful thing." This is an army of occupation, "useful" only for tightening the imperialists' grip on the region. Canadian troops out of Afghanistan, the Near East and Persian Gulf now!

Fake Left Pushes NDP and Pacifist Con Job

To struggle against capitalist war and degradation, the workers need a revolutionary party, not a bunch of fake leftists who tie them to the class enemy. As V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, wrote during World War I in *Socialism and War*:

"Today *unity* with the opportunists *actually* means subordinating the working class to their 'own' national bourgeoisie, and an alliance with the latter for the purpose of oppressing other nations and of fighting for dominant-nation privileges; it means *splitting* the revolutionary proletariat of all countries."

Lenin emphasized that a decisive split from the opportunists was the *precondition* for the proletariat to further its own class interests and fight for its own class rule.

Today's "socialist" organizers of the antiwar coalitions, notably the I.S., pursue exactly the kind of "unity" that Lenin so sharply condemned. They puff up the NDP's "antiwar" credentials and hide its crimes, building platforms for NDP honchos like Layton, McDonough and Svend Robinson. Far from looking to proletarian struggle against the various national capitalist rulers, the I.S. looks to the rulers of Canada and West Europe to stand up to the U.S.

Enthusing that the NDP "has shifted left," *Socialist Worker* (19 February) lauds Layton's speech to the February 15 demonstration in Toronto. A sidebar uncritically quotes the NDP leader saying that the antiwar protests will "stiffen the backbone of the French and the Germans." More backbone

for the German bourgeoisie of Auschwitz? Or the French imperialists who drowned Algeria in blood? In the same chauvinist vein, the I.S.'s British comrades signed a call "To All Citizens of Europe and to All Their Representatives" which stated, "We call on all the European heads of state to publicly stand against this war, whether it has UN backing or not, and to demand that George Bush abandon his war plans." Far from advancing a struggle for "peace," these phony leftists promote the resurgent nationalism and chauvinism in Europe that paves the way for a future interimperialist war.

Meanwhile in Canada, the I.S. claims that Chrétien is "feeling the pressure of the massive anti-war sentiment," citing a speech in Chicago in which he supposedly "lectured the United States about the dangers of a unilateral war." "Hold Chrétien's feet to the anti-war fire," says *Socialist Worker*, seeking to keep up the pressure on the Chrétien government. To promote capitalist Canada—the oppressor of the Québécois, Native people and immigrants—as a potential ally against a U.S. war is precisely what Lenin described as social chauvinism: "socialist" in word, chauvinist in deed.

Anarchists and Imperialist War

Standing to the left of NDP-loyal outfits like the I.S. are a series of anarchist and other "direct action" organizations. A recent leaflet by Anti-Authoritarian Anti-War Toronto headlined "Class Struggle Against the Work/War Machine!" sharply attacks the local CSW/TCASWI antiwar coalitions, in which the I.S. plays a leading role:

"Far from opposing the political, social and economic structures that create war (i.e. capitalism), TCASWI advocates the reactionary/pacifist position that capitalist society can exist without war in other words with capitalist peace...."

"CSW/TCASWI's role has been to pacify and paralyze autonomous working class opposition by channeling it into activity that legitimizes the existence of capital, the state and therefore war."

All true. Yet this same leaflet denounces the TL's call to militarily defend Iraq against imperialism while giving no political support whatever to the vicious Saddam Hussein regime. "What is the difference between 'military defense' and 'political support'?" it asks, continuing:

"Well of course there is none.... [I]f war is politics by other means, then 'military defense' is nothing more than 'political support' by other means. The 'leftist' defensist theory is nothing more than a thinly veiled call to support a worker-murdering capitalist war machine."

The distinction between military defense and political support—whether of workers' organizations in the capitalists' gunights, or of whole peoples and countries being trampled by imperialism—is crucial for advancing the interests of the proletariat and oppressed. Thus we stand with the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty against the state's vicious attacks, despite our political disagreements. We defend workers' unions and strike pickets against scab, boss and state attack while struggling politically against the pro-capitalist labor misleaders. The reason is simple: a defeat for OCAP or a busted union is an attack on all who would defy the capitalist rulers, while their victories will advance the class struggle.

Similarly, the crushing of neocolonial Iraq at the hands of the U.S. and its allies would strengthen the imperialists and embolden them to further rampage and bloody conquest. Thus it would be a devastating blow to the struggles of the working

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people of Iraq and throughout the neocolonial world against both the ravages of imperialism and the domestic capitalist rulers, who are tied to and subordinated to the imperialists.

The anarchists' equation between military defense of a weak neocolonial country and political support to its rulers mirrors the imperialists' lie that opposition to their war means support to Saddam Hussein. We stand with the Iraqi people against their bloody rulers who, with Washington's complicity, slaughtered Iraqi Communists and waged a hideously brutal war against the oppressed Kurdish people. Indeed, until he invaded Kuwait in 1990, the imperialists were silent on Hussein's many crimes. A revolutionary party in Iraq would agitate for a revolutionary war to defend the country from imperialism. It would seek to give leadership to the resistance of the Iraqi people against the entire Iraqi ruling class, both the ruling Ba'athists and the exile gang the CIA is nurturing.

The anarchist leaflet concludes with the slogan, "No War Between Nations! No Peace Between Classes!" raised as well by the North Eastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC) in Montreal and Quebec City. This may sound radical, but it is an excuse for neutralism and a confession of impotence in the face of imperialist onslaught. Its logic is ultimately chauvinist. All nations are not equal. Some wear the imperialist boot; others, subjugated by imperialism, are trampled by it. Would these anarchists have been neutral in conflicts between the British Empire and its Indian colony? Between the bloody French imperialists and Algeria?

And what of the Palestinian struggle against Zionist state terror, on which their statement is conspicuously silent? Some elements in NEFAC, saying "anarchism spits on all nationalism," denounce the call to defend the Palestinians and oppose the elementary struggle for their self-determination (see Ryan McCarthy, "Anarchists and Palestine: Class Struggle or Popular Front?" A-Infos News Service). This statement cites the very real betrayals of the nationalist leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to justify refusal to take a stand with the oppressed Palestinians against their oppressors. So those who may have better impulses than to buy into Arab bourgeois nationalism end up standing on the sidelines at the

very moment when the survival of the Palestinian people is at stake, with the Zionist butchers poised to use the imminent onset of the Americans' Iraq war as the signal to drive the multiply oppressed Palestinian masses out of "Greater Israel."

We Trotskyists militarily defend the Palestinian people against Zionist terror while giving no quarter politically to the bourgeois Arab regimes, the secular-nationalist PLO or the Islamic fundamentalists who have come to the fore as the bankruptcy of the PLO has been demonstrated. At the antiwar protests, the TL has proudly carried our banner proclaiming: **Defend the Palestinian People! No U.S./Canadian/UN Intervention! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!**

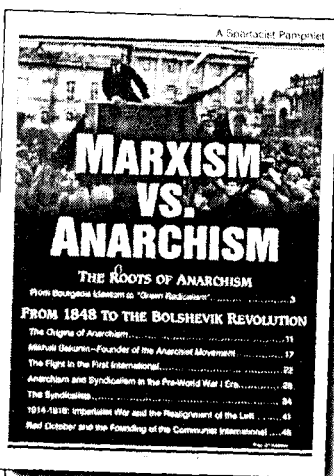
The Spanish Revolution of the 1930s powerfully illustrates the political bankruptcy of anarchism, both on the distinction between military and political support and on the defense of peoples oppressed by imperialism. The Trotskyists joined with the Republican forces in fighting the right-wing Francoists, while giving no support to the "democratic" capitalist government. Throughout, the Trotskyists fought for the **independent** mobilization of the proletariat necessary to the program of socialist revolution against the Spanish bourgeoisie. In contrast, the false leaders of the working class—including the large and influential anarchist CNT/FAI—politically subordinated the workers to the capitalist Republican forces. In late 1936, leaders of the CNT committed **class treason** by joining the capitalist government. Refusing to fight for proletarian power, they thus doomed the revolution, leading to the victory of Franco.

The anarchists' failure to champion the subjugated people of Spanish Morocco against their colonial overlords was particularly treacherous. The Republican government, of which the anarchist CNT was a part, refused to grant independence to Morocco. Far from opposing this, anarchist spokesmen echoed crude nationalist and patriotic sentiments against the Moroccan people. An uncompromising campaign for Morocco's independence would have undermined a base for the Francoists and struck a blow against the French and British colonialists as well. As it was, this chauvinist loyalty to the imperialist oppressor contributed to the defeat of the revolution.

The putative leftist elements among today's anarchists, lacking a program that expresses the independent interests of the working class, end up standing aloof when the biggest imperialists on the planet rain death and destruction on the working people of the "Third World." Our call to defend Iraq against imperialism is aimed above all at the working class here at home, seeking to rally it in class struggle against the imperialist warmongers. As the revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained in the founding document of the Fourth International in 1938, "Giving aid in a just and progressive war, the revolutionary proletariat wins the sympathy of the workers in the colonies"; at the same time, this strengthens its ability to struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist masters.

For Proletarian Revolutionary Internationalism!

Anarchist indifference to national oppression also plays out in Canada in the opposition of groups like NEFAC to Quebec independence. The working class of this country is deeply split along national lines, the result of more than two centuries of subjugation of the francophone Québécois by the dominant Anglo ruling class. This has long served to undermine proletarian struggle against capitalism. In their own way, the February 15 antiwar demonstrations reflected this deep national divide. While the protests in English



Comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism. Later articles cover the impact of World War I, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

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SC photo

Vancouver, February 15: TL/SYC offered revolutionary alternative to pro-capitalist NDP's pacifist con game.

Canada were awash in Maple Leaf flags, the *fleurdelysé* was everywhere at the huge, heavily trade-union demonstration in Montreal. In sharp contrast to the anarchists (and the rest of the left), the TL has prominently featured our call for Quebec independence on antiwar protests. This is crucial for cutting against the dominant Anglo chauvinism and more generally for getting the national question off the agenda, thereby clearing the road for class struggle against both the English Canadian and Québécois bourgeoisies.

Our fight for class struggle against the rulers in this country aims at cutting through the "Canada the good" nationalism of the capitalists, bringing to the workers the understanding that they uniquely have the social power to defeat the system of imperialism through workers revolution. This perspective requires a sharp break with the social-democratic NDP and union misleaders. Far from a partial step toward socialism, they are an *obstacle* which keeps workers shackled to their own exploiters.

It is the working class—men and women, immigrant and native-born, English Canadian and Québécois—that makes the wheels of this society turn. The capitalists' "war on terror" has massively increased the powers of state repression

against immigrants and refugees. In the not-so-long term, this is all aimed at the working class and its organizations. Already new "security" regulations target port workers for stepped up surveillance and union-busting repression. It is in the direct interest of the working class, with its large and strategic immigrant component, to oppose the rampage of the capitalist rulers down the line, from the war on Iraq to the war on workers and immigrants at home.

There is much anger among working people, both against the incessant attacks on jobs and social programs and against the looming war. At a 2,000-strong union protest against health care cuts in Vancouver on March 1, members of the heavily immigrant Hospital Employees Union eagerly bought our press which prominently featured an article on workers struggles against the war in Italy. The impact of labor's collective social power mobilized in strike action in political opposition to this war would be immense. Such opposition to imperialism based on an anti-capitalist perspective would profoundly alter the political landscape in favor of working people and the oppressed.

Reformist leftists like the I.S. make much of their role in building the broad "unity" of the antiwar movement. But as James Burnham, a leader of the Workers Party, then the American Trotskyist organization, argued in his 1936 pamphlet "War and the Workers":

"To suppose, therefore, that revolutionists can work out a common 'program against the war' with non-revolutionists is a fatal illusion. Any organization based upon such a program is not only powerless to prevent war; in practice it acts to promote war, both because it serves in its own way to uphold the system that breeds war, and because it diverts the attention of its members from the real fight against war. There is only *one* program against war: the program *for* revolution—the program of the revolutionary party of the workers."

If today's upsurge of opposition to war is not to be squandered in an "antiwar" movement that at best upholds the racist imperialist status quo, it must be directed against the capitalist exploiters. Our aim is to build a revolutionary workers party that will fuse working-class opposition to war with the simmering discontent over the capitalists' incessant attacks on workers, immigrants and all the oppressed. As the rivalries between the imperialist powers intensify with terrifying rapidity, future full-scale wars are presaged that will encompass all the imperialist powers, posing the spectre of a nuclear holocaust. Only world socialist revolution can save human beings from such barbarism. ■

Defend North Korea...

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Following Chinese military intervention, the war ended in a stalemate at the 38th parallel, and ever since the U.S. has maintained a massive military presence in the South, while North Korea has been subjected to decades of imperialist military encirclement and a starvation embargo.

Despite the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, the overthrow of capitalism in the North was a historic defeat for imperialism and a victory for the working people of Asia and the world. The existence of a planned, collectivized economy brought real advances to the working people of North Korea. Until the mid 1970s, North Korea's planned economy significantly outperformed the South, creating a

modern industrial infrastructure. At the same time, the situation of a nation bifurcated by a "demilitarized zone" packed with more weaponry per square meter than any place on earth severely distorted the economy in the North. Particularly in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, which provided the vast bulk of military and technological aid to North Korea, the situation became dire. In 1992, China cut off shipments of cheap oil to the North as a concession to obtain diplomatic and economic relations with South Korea. Starting in 1995, the country was hit by natural disasters producing a famine of historic proportions.

The disastrous situation in the North has been compounded by the extreme form of economic autarky pushed by the North Korean bureaucracy under the rubric of *Juche*

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Defend North Korea...

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(self-reliance). The political outlook of the bureaucracy was and is rooted in the Stalinist lie that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—can be built in one or even half a country. This anti-working-class, nationalist dogma undermines defense of what remains of the collectivized economy and is counterposed to any perspective for international socialist revolution, and particularly to a struggle for workers revolution in the South.

Today, North Korea is ruled by a particularly cultish, nepotistic and bizarre Stalinist regime centered on “Dear Leader” Kim Jong Il. The only road forward for the beleaguered working masses of the North is through the perspective of international socialist revolution. Capitalist counterrevolution can only bring even more extreme hardship and misery to the people of North Korea. Anyone who doubts that can cast a glance at the devastating statistics of life in post-Soviet Russia. By every measure of human progress—infant mortality, life expectancy, income, literacy—the diverse peoples of the former Soviet Union have been brutally hurled back. And given the present economic and industrial backwardness of North Korea, the effects of capitalist restoration there could only be far worse. What is desperately needed is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the struggle for the *revolutionary reunification of Korea*—for socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats in the North. The fight for revolutionary reunification must be linked to the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China and the extension of proletarian power to Japan, the industrial heartland of Asia.

A central aim of America’s rulers remains the restoration of capitalism in those countries where it was overthrown—mainly China but also North Korea as well as Vietnam and Cuba. For its part, China’s ruling bureaucracy has repeatedly emphasized agreement with the imperialists’ demands for a “non-nuclear Korean peninsula,” and has sought to lean on the Pyongyang regime to “moderate” its policies. Such criminal appeasement, denying North Korea the right to defend itself by acquiring nuclear weapons, simply emboldens the rapacious U.S. imperialists in their drive to foment counterrevolution in China itself.

Washington rants about “weapons of mass destruction,” but it was the U.S. imperialists who actually used nuclear bombs against the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. In today’s world, where the nuclear madmen in Washington declare their “right” to carry out “pre-emptive” strikes against anyone at any time, the only measure of real sovereignty left is possession of nukes. Indeed, we regret that North Korea’s current facilities for nuclear development are exceedingly modest.

South Korea: Mass Protests Against U.S. Troops

Increased American belligerence toward North Korea comes in the context of unprecedented mass demonstrations in South Korea against the presence of 37,000 American troops in that country. The protests were touched off after soldiers driving an American armored personnel carrier killed two schoolgirls during a training exercise last summer, then escalated when a U.S. military court acquitted the soldiers. Hundreds of thousands gathered in Seoul and other cities in early December for the largest anti-American demonstrations in the country’s history.

The wave of protests formed the backdrop to that month’s presidential elections, which were won by Roh Moo Hyun, who beat the U.S.-backed candidate by pledging to renegotiate South Korea’s military pact with the U.S.

The substantial U.S. military presence in South Korea is not only a dagger aimed at the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states but an assertion of American interests in the region against potential rivals in Asia, chiefly Japan. It also serves as a warning to South Korea’s combative union movement, threatening to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order.

During the Cold War, the U.S. as well as Japan aided in the rapid economic growth of South Korea as an anti-Communist bulwark against North Korea, China and the Soviet Union. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the interests of the U.S. in the peninsula have shifted. Counterrevolution in North Korea remains one of its goals, but a stronger South Korean bourgeoisie is not. When South Korea’s rulers pleaded for assistance from Washington and Tokyo during the 1997 Asian financial crisis, 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.

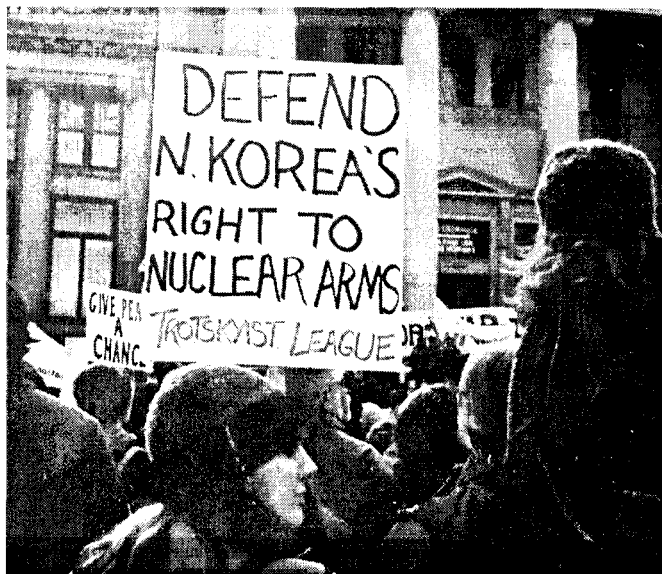
According to press reports, the recent wave of demonstrations in South Korea has been accompanied by a growing sympathy for the North. A *New York Times* (28 December 2002) article quoted one protester saying, “If North Korea would be threatened by the United States with nuclear weapons, North Korea can also have them.” But it is vital to distinguish between solidarity with North Korea on a class basis—defense of the deformed workers state against South Korea and the U.S. and Japanese imperialist powers—and solidarity on the basis of Korean *nationalism*.

Much of the radical student movement in South Korea has supported the North Korean regime as the most consistent purveyor of Korean nationalism against the U.S. and Japanese imperialists. However, nationalist ideology serves to tie the potentially powerful South Korean proletariat to its own ruling class, buttressing the latter’s aspirations for a united *capitalist* Korea.

The combativity of the working class has been demonstrated repeatedly, not least in the enormous struggles of the 1970s and ’80s which broke the stranglehold of the CIA-sponsored, corporatist Korean Federation of Trade Unions and gave rise to independent unions, now grouped in the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU). These struggles also helped put an end to open military rule in the late 1980s. But the KCTU leadership has increasingly sought to channel the militancy of the workers into support for political representatives of the rapacious South Korean bourgeoisie.

U.S. imperialist belligerence toward North Korea nearly capsized the “Sunshine Policy” of South Korean president Kim Dae Jung, whose attempts at “engaging” Pyongyang were aimed at undermining the deformed workers state through capitalist economic penetration. But Roh won the presidential election vowing to continue Kim’s policy.

For their part, the North Korean Stalinists have long called for “peaceful reunification” with the South. This is a recipe for reunification on the basis of capitalist wage slavery and the annexation of the North by the *chaebol*, the giant conglomerates that dominate South Korean capitalism. In an attempt to attract capital investment from South Korea and



SC photo

Trotskyist League calls for military defense of North Korea on February 15 antiwar protest in Vancouver.

elsewhere, the Pyongyang regime is now promoting the construction of two large free-trade zones and has made other moves toward Chinese-style "market reforms." Despite continuing severe food shortages, rationing was abolished and housing rents and utility charges have been introduced. Meanwhile, Pyongyang's pleas for the U.S., Japan and other imperialist powers to adopt policies of "non-aggression" foster dangerous illusions that these imperialists can be appeased.

Democratic Labor Party: Left Cover for Korean Nationalism

During the recent South Korean elections, various left groups in South Korea and abroad touted Kwon Young Kil's new Democratic Labor Party (DLP) as an alternative to both the traditional right wing and bourgeois liberals like Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun. In the 1997 elections, Kwon, a former KCTU leader, ran for president under the rubric "People's Victory 21." This was a class-collaborationist lash-up with various liberal groups that promoted nationalist opposition to "foreign interference" and similar rhetoric seeking to deflect class anger away from the domestic exploiters. This time, Kwon won 3.9 percent of the vote as the DLP's presidential candidate. While the DLP is based in large part on the KCTU union federation, Kwon from the outset defined it as a "party of progressives" which sought to create a "coalition of liberal forces" with groups such as the Green Party (*Joong Ang Ilbo*, 29 June 2002).

Echoing the reformist verbiage traditionally associated with West European social-democratic parties, the DLP's fundamental role is to act as a pressure group on the "liberal" wing of the South Korean bourgeoisie. Thus, Kwon saluted former president Kim Dae Jung's "Sunshine Policy," saying: "He achieved historic feats such as reducing military tension on the Korean peninsula and setting the foundation for a peace regime between the two Koreas." The DLP also cosigned a June 2002 "Solidarity Message for Peace from Korean Peace Groups" which stated that "North Korea's nuclear and missile development must be settled to build [a] peaceful Korean Peninsula." Such calls for disarmament of the North and "peaceful relations" ultimately reflect the

interests of South Korea's *chaebol* bourgeoisie and its drive for capitalist reunification.

The International Socialists of South Korea (ISSK), affiliated to the late Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and the International Socialists in Canada, supported Kwon's 1997 candidacy and has more recently liquidated its forces into the DLP. An article on the South Korean elections in the 11 January British *Socialist Worker* (which is entirely uncritical of Roh) states: "The division of the Korean peninsula into two states is a relic of the Cold War." And the Cliffites would like nothing more than to get rid of that "relic" through "democratic" counterrevolution.

In fact, the origins of the Cliffite tendency lie in its refusal to defend the North Korean workers state against the counterrevolutionary invasion by U.S., British, Canadian and other imperialist troops in 1950-53, for which it was rightly expelled from the Trotskyist movement. Under the rubric "Neither Washington nor Moscow," the Cliffites went on to embrace every conceivable CIA-backed anti-Soviet force, from Lech Walesa's *Solidarność* in Poland to the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* who fought the Red Army in Afghanistan to the Yeltsin-led counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself.

In South Korea, the Cliffites have long gone out of their way to make clear that they share the *chaebol* bourgeoisie's hatred for the North Korean deformed workers state. The ISSK demonstrated this in 1993 even as their own comrades were dragged off to prison under the National Security Law (see "Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class War Prisoners!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 574, 23 April 1993). They assured the deeply anti-Communist regime that ISSK leader Choi "had not broken the National Security Law by reading banned literature from the North or belonging to a foreign organization. On the contrary, he had published books critical of regimes like North Korea" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], February 1993).

Striking a much more left posture is the British Workers Power (WP) group. While also presenting support for the DLP as a "positive development," WP calls "for the immediate withdrawal of the USA's troops and for scrapping all military treaties with it," and states that "revolutionaries should stand for the unconditional defence of North Korea. This includes its right to possess nuclear reactors and to develop nuclear weapons, if it can" (*Workers Power Global*, 22 December 2002). This principled defensist position on North Korea stands in sharp contrast to WP's refusal to defend China, whose fate is of even greater significance for the international proletariat. WP declared "Capitalist Restoration Triumphs in China" (*Workers Power*, November 2000). Despite massive inroads by overseas Chinese and imperialist capital, encouraged by the venal Stalinist bureaucracy, China remains a deformed workers state based on a collectivized economy. It must be defended against capitalist counterrevolution.

In fact, far from having a principled Trotskyist position in regard to the deformed and degenerated workers states, WP has a history of sashaying back and forth across the class line depending on the prevailing political climate and its own political appetites. With widespread popular opposition among South Korean workers and youth to the American military presence and significant sympathy for the North, WP today calls for defense of North Korea. At the time of the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan in 1979, WP took a step to the left, breaking with its Cliffite origins and

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Defend North Korea...

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acknowledging that the Soviet Union was a degenerated workers state. But in the end what was definitive for WP was the anti-Soviet political climate at home. Thus, WP simultaneously joined with the Cliffites and other social-democratic apologists for imperialism in denouncing the Soviet military intervention. By the time of Yeltsin's pro-imperialist power grab in August 1991, WP *boasted* that one of its supporters stood on the barricades of counterrevolution outside Yeltsin's headquarters in Moscow.

Well to the right of WP's current stance on Korea is an Internet statement by the International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT) titled "South Korean Presidential Election: Vote for the DLP!! Oust Its Reformist Leadership!!" (18 December 2002). The IBT was formed two decades ago by a handful of defectors from the Spartacist tendency who couldn't stomach our hard Soviet-defensist line at the height of Ronald Reagan's Cold War II. In its lengthy treatise, the IBT nowhere calls for U.S. troops to get out of South Korea or for the right of North Korea to possess nuclear weapons!

The IBT admits that the DLP's stand for "reunification of the fatherland" would mean capitalist reunification. But this doesn't stop the IBT from giving "critical support" to a party that advocates capitalist counterrevolution. The IBT has a *pro forma* paragraph saying that reunification of Korea under capitalism "would be a defeat for the proletariat internationally" and noting that "the working class should defend North Korea against the designs of the South Korean and international bourgeoisies to plunder the deformed workers' state." At the same time, the IBT waxed eloquent about the supposed virtues of the South Korean rulers' "Sunshine Policy": "The realization of the 'Sunshine policy' would have removed a major justification for the 37,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea. It would have brought about economic advantage to the North Korean regime and closer relationships between it and South Korea, Russia, Japan, China and EU member nations." Seven pages later, the IBT laconically concedes that such policies "aim to exploit Pyongyang's endemic difficulties with the object of capitalist reunification."

However, even its warnings against capitalist reunification are motivated solely by the effect it would have on workers in the capitalist South: "Workers in the South would suffer higher unemployment and suppression of wages, while at the same time bearing the social costs of capitalist reconstruction of the North." It speaks to the IBT's sneering indifference to the fate of the workers state itself that it says not a word about the devastating impact counterrevolution would have on the already impoverished North Korean working masses.

Reforge the Fourth International!

The common hostility of U.S. and Japanese imperialism to the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states does not moderate interimperialist rivalry but on the contrary serves as an arena for its intensification, as they jockey over who would get the spoils in the event of capitalist restoration. The fact that Tokyo is currently seeking to counter Washington's bellicosity toward North Korea with attempts to broker a "normalization" of relations does not mean that the Japanese bourgeoisie's approach is in any way "peaceful." This was underlined when the Japanese coast guard one year ago sank a North Korean ship in Chinese



Spartacist Japan

December 2002 Tokyo protest against U.S. troops in Korea. Spartacist Group Japan sign on left reads: "Smash counterrevolutionary alliance between Japanese and American imperialism through workers revolution!"

waters. While certainly not excluding military confrontation, Tokyo is today concentrating on economic penetration of North Korea. Japan is North Korea's second-largest trading partner, and Japanese capitalists are increasingly entrusting production to North Korean plants, where labor costs are low and the quality of work is high.

Revolutionaries in Japan have a special duty to defend the North Korean deformed workers state and to oppose growing Japanese militarism and the bourgeoisie's persecution of Japan's ethnic Korean minority. On December 31, our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan (SGJ) joined with other Japanese and Korean leftists at a Tokyo demonstration against the U.S. troops in South Korea. Our comrades raised placards calling for U.S. troops out of South Korea, for the right of China and North Korea to have nuclear weapons, for the unconditional military defense of China and North Korea against Japanese imperialism, and for citizenship rights for Koreans, Chinese and all foreign workers in Japan.

Fundamentally, the defense of those states where capitalism has been overthrown requires the extension of proletarian rule to the advanced capitalist countries. Yet it is this perspective that is not only alien but anathema to the nationalist bureaucratic castes that rule in North Korea and China. The Stalinist bureaucrats in Pyongyang and Beijing fear that socialist revolution in South Korea and Japan would quickly inspire proletarian political revolutions that would result in their forced evacuation from their positions of privilege and power. Likewise, a political revolution in China or North Korea would have an enormous impact on South Korea and Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia.

What is needed above all is the forging of internationalist proletarian parties around the world. Our comrades of the SGJ are committed to the struggle to forge a Leninist vanguard party to lead the fight for proletarian revolution in Japan. The Trotskyist League of Canada joins with our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. in the fight to build revolutionary workers parties—part of a reformed Fourth International—that can lead the multiracial proletariat in socialist revolution to sweep away North American imperialism, the most dangerous force on the planet. **U.S. troops out of South Korea now!** ■

Drop All Charges Against OCAP Three!

Three organizers with the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) are being dragged through the courts on charges which could lead to jail terms of up to five years. Defense of the OCAP Three is of crucial importance for all leftists, the labor movement and defenders of democratic rights.

The charges stem from a June 2000 march on the Queen's Park Ontario Legislature, which saw riot cops set on the 1,500 protesters with horses, pepper spray and batons. One eyewitness report described how "police repeatedly charged the crowd and indiscriminately brutalized people.... In the melee, dozens of protesters were injured. Broken bones, bruises and scratches were common; a doctor told one woman who suffered a concussion that the bike helmet she had been wearing saved her life."

In the aftermath, hundreds of charges were laid against 45 demonstrators. Three-quarters have since been withdrawn or dismissed, but the state is continuing its vendetta against OCAP activists John Clarke, charged with counselling to participate in a riot and counselling to assault police, as well as Gaetan Héroux and Stefan Pilipa, charged with participation in a riot. Their trial, now underway, is expected to last several months.

As a January 2003 OCAP statement noted, "the reaction of the authorities on June 15 raises the strongest suspicion of deliberate provocation" by the government and police. An article in Toronto's *eye* magazine revealed how the cops had OCAP under sustained surveillance even before the Queen's

Park protest, including routine infiltration of meetings and harassment of OCAP supporters and their families. Crown prosecutors have called OCAP members "a cancer that needs to be removed," while police chief Julian Fantino denounced the march on Queen's Park as "domestic terrorism" and characterized OCAP's activities as "organized crime at its finest."

Especially amid the post-9/11 "war on terrorism" and attendant stepped-up state repression, these are deadly threats. They target not only OCAP but all left-wing activists, union militants and others who would take a stand against the capitalist system of poverty, racism and war. OCAP has been singled out for repression precisely because its militant protests on behalf of the poor and homeless cut against the grain of the toothless, pro-NDP lobbying and electoralism which are the stock in trade of so much of the left.

The Trotskyist League has joined with OCAP in numerous protests over the years, including a January 12 rally of some 500 people in defense of Clarke, Héroux and Pilipa on the eve of their trial. Our legal and social defense organization, the Partisan Defense Committee, has donated to the legal defense of the OCAP Three, and we urge our readers to do the same. Make checks payable to OCAP and mail to 517 College St., Suite 234, Toronto ON M6G 4A2. Send protest letters on OCAP's behalf to: Norm Sterling, Attorney General, Government of Ontario, 720 Bay St., Toronto ON M5G 2K1. **Hands off OCAP! Drop all the charges now!** ■

Algerian Refugees...

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the government's attacks on the foreign-born. However, the flag-waving Canadian nationalism of the union tops and NDP fuels chauvinist prejudices among the working class, and is an obstacle to mobilizing labor's power in defense of immigrants. The fight for immigrant rights is thus linked to the fight for a new leadership of the labor movement that will champion the cause of workers and the oppressed worldwide.

We reprint below a January 2 protest letter sent by the Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League, to federal and Quebec immigration ministers Denis Coderre and Rémy Trudel. For more information about the campaign to defend Algerian refugees, contact the Comité d'action des sans-statut at (514) 996-3819 or cassdz@hotmail.com.

* * *

We protest in the strongest terms the threat of deportation hanging over more than 1,000 non-status Algerians in this country, chiefly in Quebec. In announcing an end to the moratorium on deportations to Algeria last April, the federal government claimed the situation there was stable and Algerian exiles would no longer be at risk if they returned. Yet the bloody conflict between the military-backed regime and Islamic forces, which has claimed at least 150,000 lives the past decade, is far from over. In mid-October, to cite just one grisly example, 21 Algerians including a three-month-old baby were massacred in the province of Chief. Only days before ending the moratorium the federal government itself issued a travel advisory, which is still in effect, warning

Canadians to defer travel to Algeria due to the ongoing turmoil. Yet while telling Canadian citizens to keep away, the government is sending Algerian exiles back to possible torture and death!

At least 32 Algerians have already been deported. In October, Mourad Bourouisa and Yakout Seddiki held off their imminent removal by obtaining sanctuary in a Montreal church. As a result of widespread outrage surrounding their case, your governments announced a deal putting most deportations on hold for three months, during which Algerians denied refugee status could apply for permanent residence without leaving the country. But hundreds still face possible deportation as the three month period expires later this month.

As one non-status Algerian put it: "We are the political hostages of an economic decision made between Canadian and Algerian business elites." The moratorium on deportations was ended just after a visit to Algiers by Jean Chrétien; a few weeks later the Montreal engineering firm SNC-Lavalin announced a multimillion dollar contract with the Algerian government's Department of Water Resources. More broadly, these threatened mass deportations come in the context of the so-called "war on terrorism," which targets immigrants and other minorities, particularly from Arab and Muslim countries, for repression including arbitrary detention as well as deportation. These attacks on the most vulnerable are part of a ruling-class offensive which threatens the rights of all working people.

As part of our struggle against the attacks on civil liberties and for full citizenship rights for everyone in this country, we demand: Stop all deportations to Algeria! Status for all Algerians in Canada now! ■

Stop Deportations of Algerian Refugees!



Naon/La Presse



Comité d'action des sans-statut

Algerian refugees protest in Montreal. Left: Mourad Boutouisa and Yakout Seddiki (shown with their son) staved off deportation by seeking refuge in a Montreal church.

Labor Must Defend Immigrants!

Every month, two or three bodies surface from the Niagara River which separates Buffalo, New York from Fort Erie, Ontario, one of the main entry points for refugees seeking to come to Canada via the U.S. Now the new "safe third country" agreement between Ottawa and Washington means tens of thousands more refugees will be turned back at the border. "I'm expecting a lot more people being smuggled into Canada, and more bodies turning up on these shores," a U.S. Border Patrol agent told the *Toronto Star* (7 December).

In the aftermath of September 11, the Canadian ruling class has orchestrated a racist furor against non-white immigrants, especially Muslims and Arabs. Detentions of those who do get into the country have massively increased. All this comes in the context of moves toward a repressive "North American security perimeter," which have been stepped up amid the preparations for war on Iraq. Especially in time of war, the Canadian rulers have not hesitated to round up or bar the door to entire populations. Witness Ottawa's refusal to admit Jewish

refugees from Hitler's Germany on the eve of World War II, or the racist detention of tens of thousands of Japanese Canadians during the war itself.

While immediately targeting refugees and immigrants, the current attacks are ultimately aimed at the working class as a whole. Ottawa's proposals for a national ID card with biometric identifiers will dramatically increase surveillance and potential repression against the entire population. It is in the direct and immediate interest of the working class, with its crucial immigrant component, to mobilize against the growing police-state measures and attacks on the foreign-born.

Among those caught up in the capitalists' repressive dragnet are more than 1,000 non-status Algerians, mostly in Montreal. January 30 marked the end of a temporary stay of deportation for these refugees, part of a deal between the Canadian and Quebec governments following courageous protests by the Algerians themselves and their supporters last October. Groups like the Montreal-based No One Is Illegal and the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty have organized actions in defense of these refugees, including appeals to airport and airline staff to not carry out deportation orders. In Vancouver, activists from the Fire This Time group joined with other refugee advocates to rescue an Iranian woman who was about to be deported from the airport.

A number of unions have gone on record in opposition to

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