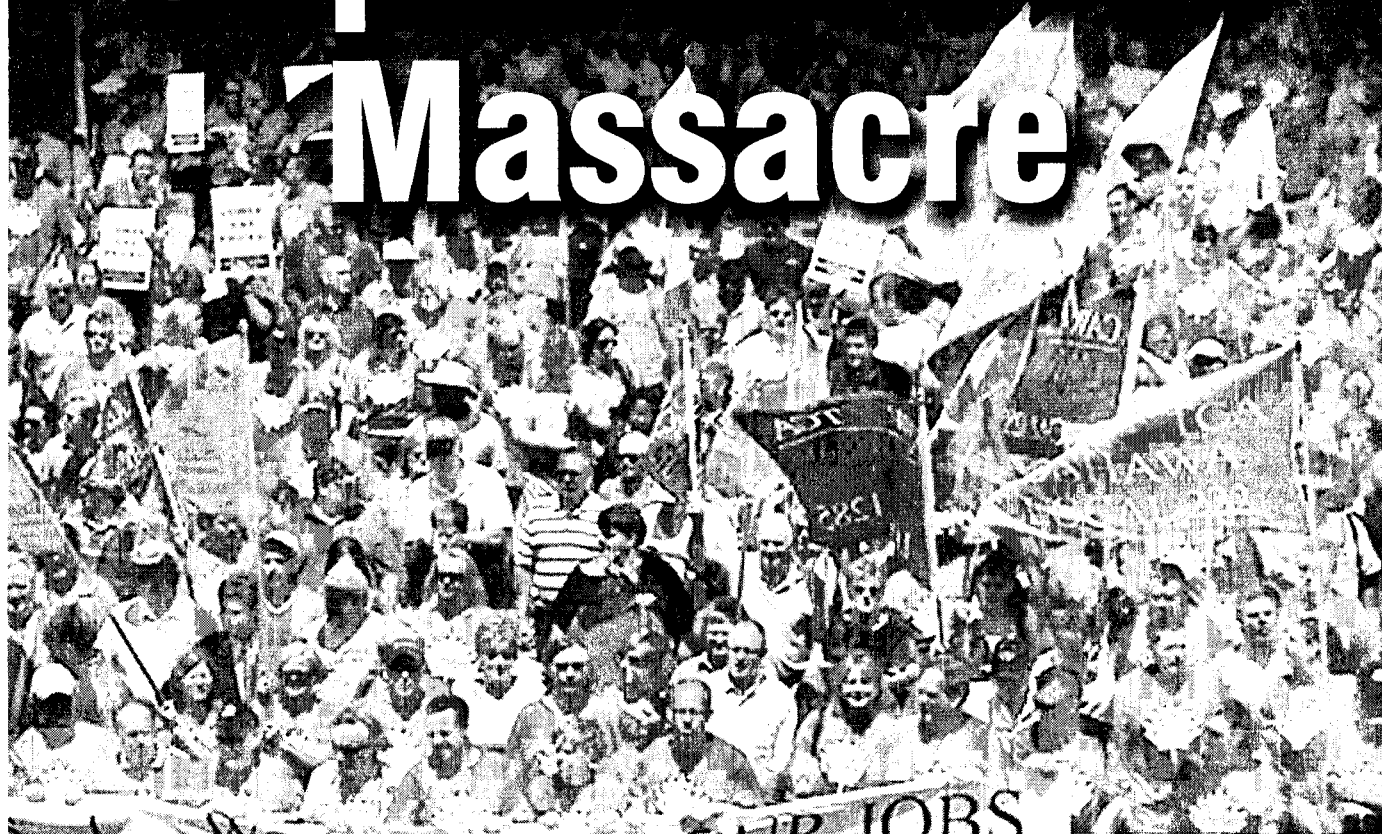


# Capitalist Jobs Massacre



IAMAW Canada

Oshawa: Unionists rally against closure of GM plant, June 12. Auto workers blockaded GM headquarters for twelve days.

## No to Nationalist Protectionism!

Over 1.1 million people officially unemployed; well over a quarter million manufacturing jobs lost since 2002, with 32,000 more gone this July; 112 unionized plants shut down in Ontario alone in the first half of last year. From the East Coast fishery to West Coast forestry and all points in between, the capitalist economic system is once again proving itself the destroyer of people and the enemy of production for human need.

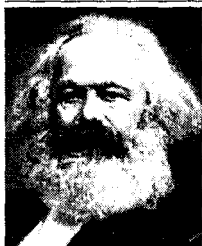
Behind the gallons of ink spilled over sub-prime mortgages, credit default swaps and other financial chicanery lie shattered lives and broken dreams. The destructive irrationality of capitalism is highlighted by the boom-and-bust economic

cycle, driven by the anarchy of the market and intrinsic to this system of production for profit. Internationally, the effects of the latest economic downturn have been devastating, threatening the livelihoods of hundreds of millions of people as prices for basic food and fuel skyrocket. Deepening the impact in North America has been the decades-long *deindustrialization* of the U.S. and its Canadian adjunct, represented in the rusting hulks of steel mills and the shells of auto plants.

The June 3 announcement that General Motors will shutter its Oshawa truck plant, directly throwing 2,600 workers onto the scrap heap and threatening the jobs of three times that many in parts plants, was a calculated punch in the face to the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) union. CAW leaders had

(continued on page 16)

## Union Tops, NDP: Obstacles to Class Struggle



Marx



Lenin



Trotsky

## Social Democracy: Pro-Capitalist Misleaders of the Working Class

*The New Democratic Party and the trade-union bureaucracy together serve as the agents of capital in the labour movement, imbuing the workers with bourgeois ideology, betraying their struggles and obstructing the road to socialist revolution. Marxists struggle to break workers politically from these treacherous misleaders and forge a revolutionary workers party.*

*At the outbreak of World War I on 4 August 1914, the German Social Democracy (like most of the parties in the Second International) passed definitively into the camp of social chauvinism, supporting their "own" bourgeoisie in the inter-imperialist war. Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin insisted on the need for a political break with the Second International and called for a new, revolutionary international. Two years after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, in 1919, the Third (Communist) International was founded. Under Lenin and Trotsky's leadership, it sought to forge vanguard parties to fight for proletarian revolutions worldwide.*

*In his preface to the French and German editions of his 1916 pamphlet Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Lenin explained the material roots of the pro-capitalist labour bureaucracy and the "labour aristocracy," and the role of the parties of the Second International in reconciling the proletariat to bourgeois rule.*

The international split of the whole labour movement is now quite evident (Second and Third Internationals). Armed struggle and civil war between the two trends is now a recognized fact.... What is the economic basis of this historically important world phenomenon?

Precisely the parasitism and decay of capitalism which are the characteristic features of its highest historical stage of development, *i.e.*, imperialism. As has been shown in this

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pamphlet, capitalism has now brought to the front a *handful* (less than one-tenth of the inhabitants of the globe; less than one-fifth, if the most "generous" and liberal calculations were made) of very rich and very powerful states which plunder the whole world simply by "clipping coupons." Capital exports produce an income of eight to ten billion francs per annum, according to pre-war prices and pre-war bourgeois statistics. Now, of course, they produce much more than that.

Obviously, out of such enormous *super-profits* (since they are obtained over and above the profits which capitalists squeeze out of the workers of their "home" country) it is quite *possible to bribe* the labour leaders and the upper stratum of the labour aristocracy. And the capitalists of the "advanced" countries are bribing them; they bribe them in a thousand different ways, direct and indirect, overt and covert.

This stratum of bourgeoisified workers, or the "labour aristocracy," who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their outlook, serves as the principal prop of the Second International, and, in our days, the principal *social* (not military) *prop of the bourgeoisie*. They are the real *agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement*, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class, real channels of reformism and chauvinism. In the civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie they inevitably, and in no small numbers, stand side by side with the bourgeoisie....

Not the slightest progress can be made toward the solution of the practical problems of the Communist movement and of the impending social revolution unless the economic roots of this phenomenon are understood and unless its political and sociological significance is appreciated.

—V.I. Lenin, Preface to the French and German Editions,  
*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*,  
6 July 1920

### Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forums

**Down with Imperialists,  
Dalai Lama Provocations Against China!**

## Defend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution

**For Workers Political Revolution!**

<p><b>Toronto</b></p> <p><b>Saturday, 27 September</b> 7:00 p.m.</p> <p>OISE (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education) Room TBA 252 Bloor Street West (at St. George subway)</p>	<p><b>Vancouver</b></p> <p><b>Saturday, 4 October</b> 2:00 p.m.</p> <p>Multimedia Room, Roundhouse Community Centre 181 Roundhouse Mews Corner of Davie St. and Pacific Blvd.</p>
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For more information, contact the TL/SYC:

**Toronto:** (416) 593-4138

Email: [spartcan@on.aibn.com](mailto:spartcan@on.aibn.com)

**Vancouver:** (604) 687-0353

Email: [trotskyist\\_vancouver@shawcable.com](mailto:trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com)

# Rage Over Racist Cop Killing in Montreal



CTV.ca

Boily/Canadian Press/La Presse

Fredy Villanueva (above at right) killed by cops on August 9. Right: Riot cops occupy Montréal-Nord after protesters marched the next day chanting "Policiers assassins!"

## Defend Immigrants, Minorities! Independence for Quebec!

Montréal-Nord exploded in fury on August 10 over the police killing of 18-year-old Fredy Villanueva, an immigrant from Honduras, and the wounding of two other youths. Fredy, his brother Dany and some friends had been playing dice in a park the previous evening when two cops came up and harassed them. When they grabbed Dany Villanueva, Fredy called out "Let go of my brother!"—and was shot dead. The cops also shot Jeffrey Sagor Metelus and Denis Meas, Fredy's best friend.

The next day more than a hundred angry protesters marched through the area, chanting "Policiers assassins!" That evening, elemental rage spilled over into the torching of cars and breaking of shop windows. An army of 500 cops descended on the scene, arresting at least six. Two nights later, youth in nearby Rivière-des-Prairies stoned police cars, leading to another 12 arrests. Drop all the charges!

Montréal-Nord is one of the poorest areas in Montreal, with many immigrants and second-generation families, especially from Haiti and Latin America. Unemployment is the highest in the city, particularly among black and Latino youth, who face constant "racial profiling" from the cops. The police shootings and repression, accompanied by a vicious media campaign against immigrant youth "gangs," show what the debate over "reasonable accommodation" in Quebec is really about: the cynical manipulation of Quebec's national oppression into a racist crusade to keep other ethnic minorities "in their place."

Anti-immigrant bigotry and police violence are on the rise across Canada. Even as it issues hypocritical "apologies" for past abuses of immigrants from China, India and elsewhere, the federal Tory government has tightened the immigration laws to keep out or deport people from poor and working-class backgrounds. The repressive "war on terror" has been used to demonize whole communities—Muslims, Tamils, Sikhs—and to further strengthen the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state. In B.C., the cops have become notorious for deadly taser attacks, including the killing of Polish immigrant Robert Dziekański at Vancouver airport last fall. In Toronto, black and Filipino youth have been shot dead. Last year the Quebec public security ministry admitted that police had killed 53 people in the province since the start of 2005—an average of 20 a year.

### Mobilize Labour's Power!

Three hundred people gathered for Fredy Villanueva's funeral on August 14. One mourner told the media that the sentiment in Montréal-Nord was "rage, lots of rage.... The whole community is concerned." Seeking to contain the anger, various community leaders have called for a public inquiry into the killing. Such whitewash inquiries, as well as "independent" review boards and the like, have long been used by the rulers to divert discontent into safe channels. They will do absolutely nothing to end police violence or ameliorate the grinding racist reality of capitalist society.

Québec Solidaire (QS) issued a statement on August 11 whose opening sentence declared: "The violence that took place in the streets of Montréal-Nord yesterday evening is unacceptable." Despicably, this nationalist-populist outfit, which is supported by most self-styled left groups in Quebec,

*(continued on page 4)*

## Racist Police Killing...

(continued from page 3)

points the finger of blame not at the cops but at the "rioters"! Wringing its hands over the "social malaise" in areas like Montréal-Nord, QS pleads for an "open dialogue" to "end the climate of distrust and suspicion that reigns between youth and police authorities."

Against such timeworn schemes to "reform" this racist capitalist system, it is necessary to understand that the state—the cops, the courts, the prison system—is an instrument of the rule of the capitalist class, of repression against the working class and all the oppressed. It cannot be reformed to meet the needs of workers and the oppressed. It must be smashed and replaced by workers rule.

The Montreal-area labour movement must take the lead in protesting the racist police killing of Fredy Villanueva. Mass labour-centered protests in the streets could unite the social power of the working class with the anger of oppressed minority youth, showing a way forward for all those under attack by the capitalist ruling class. As we wrote last year:

"The bourgeoisie's attacks on immigrants and ethnic minorities—the most vulnerable and exploited sectors of the working class—are poison to labour's struggle. Muslims and other ethnic minorities make up a growing part of the working class in the Montreal area. This simply underscores that to win against the bosses requires defending the unity and integrity of the working class against racist anti-immigrant demagoguery. An injury to one is an injury to all! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!"

—"Quebec: Labour Must Fight Anti-Muslim Backlash,"  
SC No. 153, Summer 2007

## National Chauvinism and Anti-Immigrant Racism

To unleash labour's social power requires a political struggle within the unions to build a class-struggle leadership, ousting the pro-capitalist labour misleaders who subordinate the interests of working people to those of their exploiters. That means taking head on the fact that the working class in this country is deeply divided along national lines.

In English Canada, the union bureaucracy and its political arm, the social-democratic New Democratic Party, push the lie that the workers have a common interest with the Canadian capitalists. This includes flagrant chauvinism against Quebec, shown for example in the NDP's support to the Clarity Act, anti-democratic legislation that denies Quebec's right to

national self-determination. For their part, the pro-capitalist Québécois union tops push support to their own bourgeois nationalists, represented by the Parti and Bloc Québécois. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste advocates independence for Quebec, seeking to get the national question "off the agenda" and thereby make clear to the workers in both English Canada and Quebec that their "own" capitalists are the enemy, not each other. This is the road to forging fighting anti-capitalist unity among Québécois and English Canadian workers, including their key immigrant/minority components.

The night of anger in Montréal-Nord points to deep tensions bubbling below the surface of this profoundly unjust society, which must be given a *class* axis and expression. Many tens of thousands of non-white youth of immigrant background in Quebec today go to the same schools as white Québécois and speak French with the same accents. But for the capitalists, federalist and sovereignist alike, these youth will always be the "other"—they can never be truly equal.

Justice for Fredy Villanueva and the many other victims of racist police violence will only come when the entire capitalist system is swept away in a socialist revolution. The working class is the social force that has the objective interest and power to overturn this whole system of capitalist exploitation, racism and misery, and build a workers state based on a planned economy. It is necessary to forge a multiracial, binational revolutionary workers party, through breaking workers in English Canada from the chauvinist New Democrats and in Quebec from illusions in the PQ and the other bourgeois nationalists. The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste is fighting to build such a party. As we wrote 13 years ago on the eve of the 1995 Quebec sovereignty referendum:

"Nationalism and chauvinism have been the key strands in the ropes which bind the English-speaking and French-speaking workers to their 'own' capitalist enemies, setting them against each other, and against anyone else who is 'not us.' Thus French-speaking Haitians in Montreal, English-speaking Jamaicans in Toronto, Asians in Vancouver, aboriginal peoples struggling to assert their rights, are all victims of racist abuse and open state terror 'justified' in large part by the vicious logic of nationalism which currently defines and bedevils this country.

"We advocate independence for Quebec to help clear the way for united struggle by the racially integrated working class of the whole continent against the system of exploitation and oppression that threatens the future of all humanity."

—"For Quebec Independence!" SC No. 105, September/October 1995

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## “Students for a Free Tibet”: Campus Counterrevolutionaries

A group called Students for a Free Tibet (SFT) staged a spate of tiny, well-publicized demonstrations around the Beijing Olympics. For whom and for what did they protest?

The short answer: for one of U.S. imperialism’s oldest anti-Communist crusades. Funded by Washington, the drive for a “Free Tibet” amounts to a political lever for the restoration of capitalism to China, including Tibet. Its victory would pose the subjugation of the world’s most populous country to the same imperialist robbers that now run roughshod over the globe. As fighters for social progress and the genuine emancipation of all oppressed peoples—as *Trotskyists*—the Spartacus Youth Clubs oppose the reactionary “Free Tibet” campaign. We stand for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution because it is a workers’ state, albeit bureaucratically deformed, born of a revolution against capitalism.

The 1949 Chinese Revolution liberated the country from imperialism as well as the domestic capitalists and warlords. That laid the basis for enormous advances for the people of Tibet. Secular education, running water and electrical facilities were eventually erected on the ashes of Tibet’s Lamaist theocracy, which was based on forced peasant labour and punishment by floggings, mutilations and amputations. The average life span of Tibetans, which had been 35 years in 1950, rose to 67 in 2001. Infant mortality, an astounding 43 percent in 1950, dramatically decreased to 0.661 percent in 2000.

SFT’s website includes a statement by a Tibet “support group” in Spain which claims that “over 1 million Tibetan’s [sic] were murdered or died at the hands of Chinese officials.” The shamelessness of this Big Lie is exposed by no less than a former director of the “Free Tibet Campaign” in London. He noted in a *New York Times* (22 March) op-ed article that “after scouring the archives in Dharamsala” he found “that there was no evidence” to support the claim raised by his and other “Free Tibet” groups that 1.2 million Tibetans have been killed since the People’s Liberation Army entered Tibet in 1950. Then, the population of ethnic Tibetans was only some 2.8 million. Now, in the People’s Republic of China, ethnic Tibetans number at least 5 million, and over 90 percent of them speak Tibetan. *Beware of Students for a Free Tibet’s lying, anti-Communist campaigns against China!*

SFT executive director Lhadon Tethong as well as other prominent “Free Tibet” organizers such as Freya Putt, Kate Woznow and Sam Price all hail from British Columbia. Everything about their cause—from its movie-star spokesmen to its patronizing glorification of Tibetan feudalism—reeks of the self-righteous hypocrisy of Vancouver yuppies, whose affluent lifestyle fads stand in stark contrast to the real face of the city: the AIDS, poverty, drug addiction and all-sided social devastation that ravage Native people and others



Chiu/Associated Press

**China supporters at San Francisco Olympic torch rally harassed by “Free Tibet” group.**

on the Downtown Eastside.

A feature in the August 23 *Globe and Mail* contrasted what it called Beijing’s “Totalitarian” Olympics to the plans for the Vancouver games in 2010, which the article claims will be done “ethically,” “the Canadian way.” The brazen hypocrisy of the claims to moral superiority made by this country’s rulers is exposed by the diverging fates of Tibetans in China and Natives in Canada. The Chinese Revolution brought the people of Tibet technology, education and the opportunity for advancement. In Canada, the colonial conquerors descended on the Native population bringing disease and campaigns of extermination. Today, the rulers of this advanced imperialist country offer Native people nothing but marginalization, degradation and hollow apologies for some of their predecessors’ crimes. That’s “the Canadian way.”

### “Free Tibet” Means Imperialist Enslavement

Earlier this year, SFT touted the formation of a “Tibetan People’s Uprising Movement” based in Dharamsala, India. “In  
(continued on page 6)

## “Students For a Free Tibet” ...

(continued from page 5)

the spirit of the 1959 Uprising,” this outfit vows to “remove all obstacles to the unconditional return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and his rightful place as leader of the Tibetan people.” What happened in 1959? A rebellion inspired, armed and financed by the CIA originated among ethnic Tibetans in China’s Sichuan province and culminated in a monk/aristocrat-led uprising in Lhasa. This effort—preordained to fail—was cynically launched by the U.S. simply to harass China. Against the imperialist hue and cry over “poor little Tibet,” Trotskyists stood forthrightly for the defense of China.

The uprising was smashed, the Dalai Lama fled to India and the Communist Party of China under Mao Zedong quickly abolished his administration—the “Tibet Local Government”—which had been formed in 1951. Only then did Mao move to abolish the *ulag* (forced peasant labour), slavery and the myriad of mandatory taxes paid to the aristocracy and monasteries. Previously, the monasteries simply appropriated children to replenish the monk population while villages were forced to hand over children for state functions in Lhasa, with boys thus “donated” taken by the monks as consorts. The land, livestock and tools of the aristocrats who fled into exile were distributed to the peasants, as were the land and chattel of the monasteries which had participated in the uprising. For its part, the CIA continued throughout the 1960s to train armed Tibetan counterrevolutionaries. Ten years ago, the Dalai Lama’s administration admitted to having received \$1.7 million a year from the CIA (*New York Times*, 20 October 1998).

On this year’s anniversary of the 1959 rebellion, rioters led by monks, often at the head of teenaged gangs, rampaged in Lhasa’s old Tibetan quarter, burning and destroying shops run by ethnic Chinese and killing at least 13 people. This reactionary rampage was lauded by SFT Campaigns Director Kate Woznow as “the largest protests in Tibet in 50 years” in an article for the website of Vancouver’s “lifestyle and entertainment weekly,” the *Georgia Straight* (15 March). Yet even the anti-Communist mouthpiece of British finance capital, the *Economist*, which had a reporter in Lhasa at the time, described the scene as “an orgy of anti-Chinese rioting” (see “Counter-revolutionary Riots in Tibet,” *SC* No. 157, Summer 2008).

### The CIA Connection

The Tibetan Peoples Uprising Movement, to whom Woznow refers her readers, is backed by “Free Tibet” outfits that openly receive funding from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). Established under the Reagan administration, the NED is well-known as a money-laundering conduit for the CIA. Among those it funds is the International Tibet Support Network, whose “Olympics Coordinator,” the aforementioned Freya Putt, oversaw the provocations in Beijing this summer. SFT was founded in 1994 by another NED-financed outfit, the International Campaign for Tibet. SFT has received financial support from something called the Isdell Foundation, which is linked to a multi-billion dollar financial services company, Aristeia Capital, LLC.

He who pays the piper, calls the tune. SFT and the various “Free Tibet” outfits with which it associates are organically linked to the imperialist ruling class of the United States. Their activities intertwine with the funding and the purposes of the NED—and thus the CIA—at a day-to-day level.

Especially since the counterrevolutionary destruction of

the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, China has been in the cross hairs of the imperialists. The strongest of the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states (Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam are the others), China is now surrounded by a whole system of U.S. military bases. To whip up anti-Communist hysteria, George Bush, Stephen Harper and the other imperialist war criminals lecture the Beijing regime on “human rights” at every opportunity.

The SYCs call to defend China against counterrevolution. At the same time, we politically oppose China’s ruling nationalist, Stalinist bureaucracy, whose ideology of “socialism in one country” means accommodating imperialism on a global scale. The Chinese proletariat must combat nationalism, Han chauvinism (Han comprise over 92 percent of China’s population) and all forms of discrimination against Tibetans, Muslim Uighurs and other ethnic and national minorities. A workers political revolution—based on defending and extending the gains of the 1949 Revolution—is necessary to sweep away the bureaucracy and replace it with the rule of workers and peasant councils committed to the struggle for communism worldwide.

### For North American Socialist Revolution!

Canadian social democrats portray this country as a feel-good, peacekeeping counterweight to U.S. imperialism. In fact, Canadian imperialism, a junior partner to the U.S., has its own long, sordid history of violence and oppression at home and abroad. And the social-democratic NDP, in sync with its imperialist masters, has always promoted anti-Communism and counterrevolution. They were quick to join the anti-China furor around the Tibet riots, issuing a March 14 statement that expressed “deep concern and alarm at the crackdown by the government of China.” A month later, leading NDP politicians were among the “Parliamentary Friends of Tibet” who made a pilgrimage to Ann Arbor, Michigan to pay homage to “His Holiness” the Dalai Lama.

The handful of West Coast youth who are today SFT’s central leaders graduated from the ranks of campus activism to high-publicity careers as willing tools of U.S. imperialism. To the extent that they seek an “au naturel” Tibet where tranquil and simple humans live in “organic” relationships unspoiled by “civilization,” they are simply arrogant, petty-bourgeois reactionaries who uphold a society only decades ago so ravaged by sickness that an estimated 90 percent of the population suffered from venereal disease; a society in which women were shared with their husbands’ male relatives if poor or added to the stables of wives of the rich; a society where life was brutal, harsh and short and where the masses were offered not the least hope for amelioration or any kind of change. And such a society, or one very much like it, necessarily under imperialist domination, would re-emerge if the Lama/aristocrat exiles returned to power in an “independent” Tibet.

The fate of the Tibetan people is inextricably bound up with the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China and socialist revolution in the capitalist countries, not least imperialist Japan and the Indian subcontinent. On this side of the Pacific, our perspective is for workers revolution to sweep away the rulers of U.S. and Canadian imperialism. The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win students and youth to the side of the working class, whose interests lie in the emancipation of all peoples from all forms of oppression and social backwardness. *Join us in the fight for a communist future!* ■

# ***There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!***

## **Free Mumia Now!**

### **Third Circuit Court Turns Down Appeal**

*The following article is adapted from Workers Vanguard (No. 918, 1 August), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.*

On July 22, the judges of the U.S. federal Third Circuit Court of Appeals issued a two-sentence ruling, refusing to hear a petition filed by Mumia Abu-Jamal's attorneys less than a month earlier, on June 27. That petition, which was based on the racist jury-rigging at Mumia's 1982 trial, asked for the full court to review the March 27 decision by a three-judge panel of the court that affirmed Mumia's frame-up conviction and condemned this fighter for black freedom to either life imprisonment or a new sentencing hearing that could reinstate the death sentence. The three-judge panel's decision had upheld a December 2001 ruling by federal District Court judge William Yohn, who overturned Mumia's death sentence while upholding his frame-up conviction. Robert Bryan, Mumia's lead counsel, announced he will be filing a petition for review to the United States Supreme Court, the last legal avenue available to Mumia. The Philadelphia District Attorney's office, which had previously announced that it would be seeking to reinstate the death sentence, recently stated that it is undecided.

A Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth, then an award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" and a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, Mumia was framed up for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. For 26 years, the cops, prosecutors, bourgeois politicians and their media jackals have howled for Mumia's blood because they see in Mumia a voice of defiant opposition to all forms of racist discrimination, the spectre of black revolt.

That the courts would again deny justice to America's foremost class-war prisoner was clear to anyone who wished to see. Court after court has refused to consider the mountain of evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Officer Faulkner. Those same courts have repeatedly discarded their own precedents and rules in favor of special "Mumia rules" to keep this "voice of the voiceless" in prison hell.

Making a mockery of the Supreme Court's 1986 *Batson* decision, which prohibits the exclusion of jurors based on race, the March 27 Third Circuit decision dismissed the overwhelming proof of racist jury-rigging that marked Mumia's 1982 trial, where the prosecution used eleven of its 15 peremptory challenges to get rid of black jurors. Enunciating a new rule—adopted from the prosecution's arguments—the



Partisan Defense Committee

**Toronto united-front protest called by Partisan Defense Committee, April 19. Mumia Abu-Jamal is innocent!**

Third Circuit decision held that Mumia's claim must be rejected because he and his attorneys failed to provide evidence of the racial composition of the entire pool of prospective jurors for the trial. Philadelphia journalist Linn Washington captured the Kafkaesque quality of the court's decision: "That initial rejection, for example, faulted Abu-Jamal's 1982 trial attorney for not following legal standards that the US Supreme Court did not create until 1986—four full years after that trial. That rejection faulted Abu-Jamal's 1995 lawyers for not presenting certain evidence of jury selection discrimination that the '95 hearing judge blocked lawyers from presenting even to the point of briefly jailing one lawyer for objecting to this judge's obstruction" (*CounterPunch*, 26/27 July). Indeed, Judge Albert Sabo quashed a subpoena for the Philadelphia County Commissioner of Jurors and dismissed a motion for discovery of the name, address and race of each member of the jury pool for Mumia's 1982 trial. The lawyer who was jailed was Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, a member of Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999. Along with Jonathan Piper, another attorney associated with the PDC, Wolkenstein resigned when then-lead counsel Leonard Weinglass suppressed Beverly's confession.

Since the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Trotskyist League in Canada—and the SL/U.S. took up Mumia's case in 1987, we have advocated pursuing all possible legal proceedings. At the same time, we have always fought against any illusions in the courts of the capitalist class enemy. We have insisted that the courts could be made to respond only out of fear that executing or imprisoning Mumia for life would exact too high a cost in

*(continued on page 14)*

# ICL's Trotskyism vs. Socialist Action Reformism

The following article is reprinted, in a slightly adapted form, from *Workers Vanguard* No. 917, 4 July.

The Socialist Action (SA) groups in Canada and the U.S. and their Mexican cothinkers, the Liga de Unidad Socialista (LUS), held a public conference in Toronto on May 22-25 under the title, "A World in Revolt—Prospects for Socialism in the 21st Century." Comrades from the Canadian, U.S. and Mexican sections of the International Communist League intervened throughout the conference, which drew upwards of 125 people, counterposing the ICL's authentically Trotskyist program to the class-collaborationist, anti-Communist reformism peddled by SA.

Also in attendance were the Freedom Socialist Party, the Internationalist Group (IG) and (briefly) the Bolshevik Tendency (BT). Their representatives were treated politely as "comrades"; the IG was even dubbed as "very sincere revolutionaries" by one SA speaker. Socialist Action reserved its venom for us, reflecting the fact that we are the only genuine communist opponents to its social-democratic politics.

The two meetings that attracted the greatest interest were those on perspectives for Latin America and on Cuba, a deformed workers state where capitalist rule has been overturned. SA and its cothinkers internationally in the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) have a long history of giving left cover to bourgeois nationalists, with Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez being only the most recent example. In sharp contrast, while we defend the Chávez regime against U.S.-sponsored moves to overthrow him (as in the attempted coup in 2002), the ICL gives no political support to this longtime military strongman, who since winning office in 1998 has ruled over a capitalist state that exists to protect the rule and profit of the bourgeoisie (see "Venezuela: Break with Bourgeois Populism! For Workers Revolution!" *SC* No. 156, Spring 2008).

Chávez has used some of the enormous profits from Ven-



Kaos

**Venezuela: Chávez's troops attack demonstrator from Sanitarios Maracay workers caravan to Caracas demanding nationalization of factory, April 2007.**

ezeuela's oil industry to finance social reforms, and his alliance with Castro's Cuba has won him the enmity of the U.S. rulers. Nonetheless, the Venezuelan bourgeoisie is alive and kicking. Chávez's populist measures serve not to effect but to *deflect* a social revolution, binding the working masses more firmly to the Venezuelan capitalist state. While Marxists defend Chávez's nationalizations against imperialist sanctions, these measures in no way challenge capitalist class rule. A socialist revolution requires the shattering of the capitalist state and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and must have as its starting point the complete political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie.

While prettifying the Chávez regime, pseudo-Trotskyists like SA cheered on the forces of capitalist counterrevolution that in 1989-92 destroyed the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East and Central Europe—states where capitalist rule had been overturned. Today they take a similar stance toward China, championing imperialist-backed forces like the "free Tibet" crowd. The destruction of the USSR—the world's first workers state, the product of the 1917 October Revolution led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky—was a world-historic defeat for working people everywhere, ushering in a reactionary political period dominated by imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism."

The ICL stood for the unconditional military defense of the USSR and the deformed workers states against imperialism and counterrevolution. On the basis of such defense, we fought for workers political revolutions to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies whose rule paved the way for counterrevolution. We take the same stance today toward the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states—China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba. In this we stand with Trotsky who even as he was vilified and hounded into exile by Stalin affirmed the necessity to "remain on the last barricade" in defense of the USSR ("The Class Nature of the Soviet State," October 1933).

## Permanent Revolution vs. Populism in Latin America

The first major session at the Toronto conference was "Prospects for Socialist Revolution in Venezuela and Latin America," with presentations by a member of the LUS and as a featured guest speaker, Celia Hart from Cuba, a professed supporter of both Trotskyism and Cuba's Castro regime. A comrade from the ICL's Canadian section, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, spoke early in the discussion. Attacking SA and the LUS for "giving left cover and political support to non-proletarian populist movements and even governments in Latin America," he continued:

"Forces like Chávez are not a partial solution or a possible road to open up to socialism, but representatives of the *enemy class*: Trotsky's program of permanent revolution centers on proletarian class independence from *all* wings of the capitalists. In 1930 book, *The Permanent Revolution*, he wrote: 'The alliance of these two classes [the proletariat and the peasantry] can be realized in no other way than through an irreconcilable struggle



against the influence of the national-liberal bourgeoisie.' In other words, forces precisely like Chávez, as well as the right-wing neoliberals. History has repeatedly shown that such bourgeois forces are too weak, too tied to imperialism to achieve even the most basic democratic tasks. That requires proletarian revolution."

In its rush to tail hostile class forces, SA thoroughly *perverts* Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. This is captured in a report on the Toronto conference by Canadian SA leader Barry Weisleder in the June issue of *Socialist Action*. Noting the "challenges" now facing the "revolutionary process" in Venezuela, Weisleder writes:

"According to Permanent Revolution, only by radical independent political action of the working class and its allies can genuine sovereignty, agricultural and industrial transformation, and popular democracy be achieved by the nations oppressed by imperialism."

This claptrap about "radical independent political action" guts Trotsky's theory of what distinguishes it from populism or Stalinist "two-stage revolution": the need for workers revolution to smash the bourgeois state! A revolutionary workers state would expropriate the bourgeoisie and the holdings of its imperialist masters, establish a collectivized economy and fight to extend the revolutionary gains to the imperialist heartland as the only road to advance toward socialism.

Speaking from the floor during the session, Weisleder saluted the "Venezuelan revolution" and Chávez's bourgeois-nationalist political vehicle, the United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV). Later on the round, in an implicit polemic with their Canadian comrade, American SA leaders Jeff Mackler and Gerry Foley tried to distance themselves from Chávez, claiming not to support the government or the PSUV.

But whatever criticisms of Chávez (some) SAers may put forward, they do give his regime political support. This was shown in their support to Chávez's referendum late last year, which, as even *Socialist Action* (December 2007) admitted, would have "strengthened the repressive powers of the state." (Both the BT and IG also refused to call for a "no" vote in

this referendum.) Indeed, one of the speakers invited by SA to address the conference was an official representative of the Venezuelan government. Extending a "warm Bolivarian greeting to you all," Consul General Mirna Quero de Peña thanked "the coordinator of this wonderful event Mr. Barry Weisleder, Federal Secretary of the Socialist Action of Canada, for organizing events of this nature that strongly support our Revolutionary Process."

For her part, Celia Hart's stance toward Chávez and his regime is contradictory. On the one hand, she has associated herself with the "Bolivarian Revolution" and has described Venezuela as "advancing slowly toward socialism." On the other hand, she criticized Chávez for "asking for permission to make the revolution," for example through last December's referendum on constitutional reforms. "I've been a bit traumatized by all these referendums," she said at the SA conference. "Every time I hear the word 'referendum' I want to draw my revolver."

Our comrade from TL/LT noted that Celia Hart was correct that you can't "petition to make a revolution"; the answer, however, was "not to look to pressure bourgeois forces to the left." What is necessary is the forging of an independent revolutionary workers party that fights for the overthrow of the bourgeois order. In response to our comrade, Hart elaborated on her attitude to Chávez, saying that she supports him in the same way Trotsky supported Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas in the 1930s. An ICL comrade took this up, pointing out that this analogy speaks *against* political support to the Chávez regime. Trotsky defended Lázaro Cárdenas' nationalization of the Mexican oil industry against imperialist retaliation while calling for proletarian opposition to his regime. Our comrade addressed this further in the question-and-answer session with Hart the next day, pointing out that Lázaro Cárdenas' "role was really to build the party that ruled the country for 70 years, the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party], and to subordinate the workers, their unions, to the state. That is why I was comparing Chávez to Lázaro Cárdenas, and how Trotsky at the time he

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## A Clarification on Celia Hart and Chávez Referendum

In the accompanying article, first published in *Workers Vanguard* No. 917, 4 July, we imply that Celia Hart opposed Hugo Chávez's December 2007 referendum. The article states:

"For her part, Celia Hart's stance toward Chávez and his regime is contradictory. On the one hand, she has associated herself with the 'Bolivarian Revolution' and has described Venezuela as 'advancing slowly toward socialism.' On the other hand, she criticized Chávez for 'asking for permission to make the revolution,' for example through last December's referendum on constitutional reforms. 'I've been a bit traumatized by all these referendums,' she said at the SA conference. 'Every time I hear the word "referendum" I want to draw my revolver.'"

In fact Hart was a strong supporter of a "yes" vote and sought to give it "Trotskyist" coloration. She wrote in "Leon Trotsky Says 'Yes' to Constitutional Reform—Last-Minute Trotsky Announcement Before the Dec. 2 Referendum in Venezuela": "The purpose of this hurried

note is to declare that the Trotskyists of the world, those who deserve to be taken into account, are FOR the 'Yes' vote" (*Labor Standard* [internet edition]; translated from www.aporra.org, 1 December 2007).

Hart expressed skepticism about making a revolution through a bourgeois electoral process and made criticisms of Chávez. But her bottom line was to take Chávez's "Bolivarian Revolution" as good coin—her point was that Chávez should have gone ahead with his "reforms" without any referendum.

Our article "Venezuela: Break with Bourgeois Populism! For Workers Revolution!" (SC No. 156, Spring 2008) noted that while promising some social reforms, the December referendum was centrally aimed at strengthening the repressive powers of the Venezuelan capitalist state. As Trotskyists, i.e., genuine Marxists who fight for proletarian socialist revolution to smash the bourgeois state, we were for a "no" vote on Chávez's referendum.

## Trotskyism...

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lived in Mexico did *not* politically support Lázaro Cárdenas, but the *action*, the nationalizations."

### Proletarian vs. Bourgeois Democracy

Our predecessors in the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were unique in maintaining that Cuba had become a bureaucratically deformed workers state in the summer-fall of 1960. The RT were militant defenders of Cuba against imperialism: at the same time they pointed to the qualitative distinction between the Castro regime and a healthy workers state, such as the Soviet workers state in its early years under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

In Cuba the working class is deprived of political power, which instead rests in the hands of a parasitic bureaucracy that is hostile to proletarian democracy. Like all Stalinist bureaucracies, the regimes of Fidel and now Raúl Castro have been wedded to the nationalist dogma of "building socialism in one country." Further progress toward socialism would require an additional revolution, a *proletarian political revolution* to sweep away the Castro bureaucracy, establishing organs of workers democracy and installing a revolutionary internationalist regime. The RT vigorously combated the false viewpoint that Che Guevara and Castro were "unconscious Trotskyists," peddled by the likes of the SWP leaders,

who sought to obviate the need for a Trotskyist party to provide revolutionary leadership. (See "Trotskyism vs. Castroism—Defend the Cuban Revolution!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 915, 23 May.)

At the session on Cuba, two of the panelists, Celia Hart and *Socialist Action* international editor Gerry Foley, essentially sought to reconcile Trotskyism with political sympathy with Guevara. Hart was largely uncritical of the Cuban regime while Foley offered a few criticisms from a social-democratic vantage point. (The third speaker, Esteban Volkov, mainly recalled the terror meted out by the Stalinists in Mexico against his grandfather, Leon Trotsky.)

Hart sought to repel Foley's criticisms of Cuba for denying "freedom of the press" by citing Trotsky's work *Terrorism and Communism* (1920). In this work and Lenin's *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918)—written while Soviet Russia was besieged by external and internal enemies—the leaders of the October Revolution exposed the anti-Communist machinations of the German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky who, like SA today, made common cause with imperialism in the name of "democracy." As Trotsky argued, the Bolshevik regime had quite justifiably repressed the bourgeois liberals as well as the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries as they became open agents of the White Guards and imperialists who sought to drown the revolution in blood during the Civil War of 1918-20.

As Trotskyists, we understand that defense of the Cuban deformed workers state and its collectivized property relations

## Che Guevara and Repression of Cuban Trotskyists

*We print below, slightly edited for publication, the intervention by comrade Adrian Ortega of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the ICL, at a May 24 session of Socialist Action's educational conference titled "Was Che Guevara a Trotskyist?"*

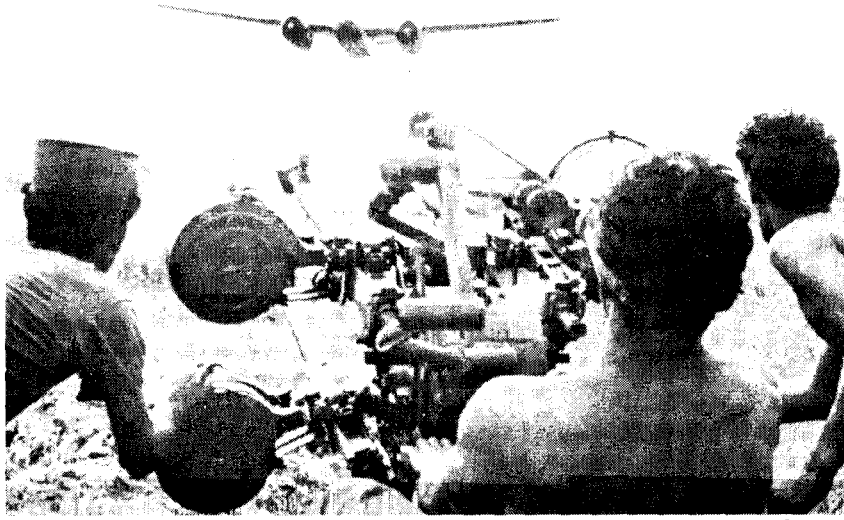
While Che Guevara was a courageous individual, his guerrilla perspective was counterposed to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution at its root. Guevara's policies were an idealist brand of Stalinism, reflecting his attempt to build "socialism" on one island, instead of fighting for the proletarian internationalist extension of the Cuban Revolution. The International Communist League, which I'm a member of, originated in the midst of struggle against those like the United Secretariat [USec], which Socialist Action came from, who praised the leadership of the Cuban Revolution as "unconscious Trotskyists." However, this goes in the face of decades of Castro's policy of selling out revolutions internationally to jockey for diplomatic advantage, helping for instance to persuade the Chilean workers down the so-called "peaceful road" under Allende's Unidad Popular in 1971-73, leading to the bloody Pinochet coup.

We said that Cuba had become a bureaucratically deformed workers state in 1960. For over 45 years, we have stood for the unconditional military defense of Cuba against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. As part of this perspective, we stand against the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba, and for the U.S. to get out of Guantánamo now. However, we have never extended any

political support to the Cuban Stalinist regime. Further progress toward socialism will require a proletarian political revolution to establish a revolutionary internationalist regime based on workers and peasants soviets.

With this perspective, we were unique in defending the Cuban Trotskyist group, the POR, who had actively supported the 1959 Cuban Revolution and who stood for democratically elected workers and peasants councils. The Castro bureaucracy put them in jail more than once by 1963. When Guevara was questioned on the suppression of the Trotskyists by one of our members during a trip to Cuba in 1964, he justified it by saying that the Trotskyists were "not part of the Cuban Revolution." While we defended the POR, the USec and the SWP [Socialist Workers Party] were overt apologists for the repression of the Cuban Trotskyists.

We stand for the right of every organization that defends the Cuban deformed workers state against capitalist restoration to organize and carry out public work. This position is completely different from the call by Socialist Action's French comrades in the LCR, who today call for "free elections," which is nothing but a call to strengthen the forces of counterrevolution on the island. Those who betray the interests of the international proletariat by siding with imperialist counterrevolution—like Socialist Action did from Solidarność in Poland to Yeltsin in the USSR—will betray again in Cuba. We fight for a reforged Fourth International, the international workers party that fights for socialist revolutions around the world. Join us if you are interested in fighting for communism around the world.



Raul Corrales

### Cuban soldiers defeat CIA Bay of Pigs invasion, 1961.

requires repressing the bourgeois class enemy, which aspires to reconquer power. We support measures taken in defense of the Cuban Revolution, including the imprisonment of those “dissidents” who are actively collaborating with U.S. imperialism. But we give no credence to the Cuban bureaucracy’s ability to clean up the counterrevolutionaries. We recognize that the Castro regime’s measures of state repression, including its press laws, are directed against the workers and the left as well as bourgeois opponents (as was evident when the regime smashed the printing plates of Trotsky’s *The Permanent Revolution* in 1961).

We are for *workers democracy*—the working class must exercise its rule through workers councils, elected from among parties that defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution. As a norm, all groupings which do not actively work to overthrow the workers state should have freedom of expression. How to deal with counterrevolutionary groupings must be determined by such particular factors as their nature and following as well as the international situation.

A classic example of anti-working-class repression by the Castro regime was the persecution of the Cuban Trotskyists, the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), affiliated with the international tendency led by Juan Posadas, in the early 1960s. Guevara was in the forefront of the anti-Trotskyist baiting. As underscored by the ICL speaker, a comrade from the Grupo Espartaquista de México (see box), our organization vigorously defended the POR at the time, including denouncing their jailing to Guevara himself. Celia Hart wrongly sought to play down this crime, stating that “Revolutionaries make mistakes. I don’t think it was a really grave error.” Hart asserted that it was Che who got the Trotskyists out of jail. But the POR comrades were only released in exchange for a pledge on their part to disband their organization.

The persecution of Cuban Trotskyists was not an “error”; they were consciously targeted by the Stalinist Castro/Guevara bureaucracy because they were defenders of the Cuban Revolution who fought for workers democracy. As a POR member explained to a *Spartacist* comrade at the time: “We fight in order that state power may pass totally to the masses; in order that communes and soviets—which are the masses’ political organs

of expression—may be organized and function; in order that the masses may intervene and directly participate in all the administrative processes of economic production and distribution, thus preventing bureaucratization. We struggle for self-administration of the masses and not mere obedience of orders imposed from above” (“Freedom for Cuban Trotskyists!” *Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965).

Responding to Hart and implicitly also to our intervention, SA leader Foley claimed that *Terrorism and Communism* was merely an “early book” of Trotsky’s, after which he “reconsidered some things” and made a “self-criticism.” According to Foley, one such “self-criticism” concerned the banning of factions in the Communist Party in early 1921 which, according to Foley, was one of the “mistakes” that “fostered the development of the bureaucracy.” The view that “bureaucratic excesses” in Lenin’s Russia led to Stalinism is a favorite hobbyhorse of social democrats, who thereby seek to discredit communism itself. In fact, the ban on factions—implemented at the time of the counterrevolutionary uprising at the Kronstadt naval base near Petrograd—was an emergency measure taken by the young beleaguered workers state that was always understood by Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders to be temporary.

More to the point, SA’s interest is not a debate over a particular tactic to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat. Rather, Socialist Action and its allies are themselves Kautskyan opponents of working-class rule who support the forces of counterrevolution in the name of “democracy.” The USec’s flagship French section, the LCR, has called for “free elections” in Cuba, code words for “democratic” counterrevolution, for the “electoral” rise to power of capitalist-restorationist forces financed by U.S. imperialism, intent on destroying the workers state and wreaking massive repression, if not a bloodbath, against workers and Communists.

Similarly, in an article titled “What the Upheaval in the Soviet Union Means,” the September 1991 *Socialist Action* declared: “Many stood ready on the barricades, prepared to battle troops and tanks in the cause of democracy and a better life.” Whose barricades? Those of Boris Yeltsin, whose U.S.-backed counter-coup that August opened the floodgates for the destruction of the USSR. While the ICL called on Soviet workers to “Defeat Yeltsin-Bush counterrevolution!” SA unambiguously backed Yeltsin in the name of “democracy.” Not only did SA support Polish Solidarność, the anti-Communist spearhead for counterrevolution in East Europe, it went so far as to adapt the Solidarność logo for the masthead of its newspaper!

### SA on East Germany: “Self-Determination” and Counterrevolution

SA’s assault on Bolshevism in the name of “democracy” took full flower on the last day of the conference in a session featuring Bryan Palmer, author of *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890-1928*, a new biography of the historic leader of American Trotskyism. (See “A Biography of James P. Cannon,” *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 60, Autumn 2007). During the discussion, a TL/LT speaker cited Cannon’s “political  
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## Trotskyism...

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legacy of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union," noting that this "has been trampled on by virtually every self-styled Trotskyist group." She then cited SA's support for the counterrevolutionary annexation of the DDR (East German) deformed workers state by West German imperialism, quoting excerpts from an article in the February 1990 *Socialist Action*. The article states:

"It is therefore essential for revolutionary Marxists to take a position, without any ambiguity, for the right to self-determination and for the reunification of the German nation. No conditions. No preconditions. This is a fundamental democratic right..."

"East Germany is certainly an oppressed country. It is oppressed by the Soviet Union, which denies it the right to self-determination."

Denouncing SA's overt anti-Communism, our comrade added: "You got what you wanted, and the masses got capitalist misery. I want to contrast what the ICL did. We fought tooth and nail in East Germany and in the former Soviet Union against the counterrevolution, to the last barricade. Our fight for proletarian political revolution was predicated on defense of these workers states against capitalist restoration."

SA's Gerry Foley responded: "When the East German people had the right to choose they chose to join Germany, because the split had been imposed by the occupation powers, and their idea was: we're one nation, we should join. Nobody could stop them from doing that. We couldn't have stopped them from doing that; we respect their right to do it." According to SA, the Soviet army that liberated Germany from the Nazi scourge was an "occupation power" just like U.S. imperialism, while the DDR, which received substantial material aid from the USSR, was "oppressed by the Soviet Union"!

The upsurge of the East German masses against bureaucratic rule that began in late 1989 posed pointblank the need for a Leninist-egalitarian party to lead the fight for workers and soldiers councils and proletarian political revolution. This was the program the ICL fought for, and its power was particularly evident in the 250,000-strong demonstration on 3



Spartakist

ICL speaker addresses 250,000-strong January 1990 Berlin demo in defense of East German, Soviet workers states.

**Socialist  
ACTION**

February 1990

It is therefore essential for revolutionary Marxists to take a position, without any ambiguity, for the right to self-determination and for the reunification of the German nation. No conditions. No preconditions.

East Germany is certainly an oppressed country. It is oppressed by the Soviet Union, which denies it the right to self-determination,

### SA supported capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990.

January 1990 against the fascist desecration of a monument honoring the Soviet soldiers in East Berlin's Treptow Park and in defense of the USSR and DDR. We initiated the call for this mobilization, which was taken up by the ruling Stalinist SED-PDS party because it feared how much our program resonated among East Berlin workers and felt compelled to mobilize its base. The ICL's fight for workers political revolution in the DDR combined with socialist revolution in West Germany—the *revolutionary* reunification of Germany—was a direct challenge to the sellout of the DDR to West German imperialism that was in the end carried through by the Moscow and East Berlin Stalinists. SA stood *on the other side*, the side of capitalist counterrevolution.

In elevating the self-determination of nations above defense of the workers state, Foley brazenly falsified the Bolshevik record. "They want to attack us for capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe," he said of the ICL. "If you want to attack us on that, why not attack Lenin and Trotsky? They respected the self-determination of the Finns. They allowed Finland to break off from the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union although it was a bourgeois state."

What are the facts? The course of the October Revolution was directly linked to the Bolsheviks' fortunes in the ensuing Civil War. In a 1922 pamphlet defending the Soviet regime against charges by pro-imperialist social democrats that it had violated the right of national self-determination (in this case in Georgia), Trotsky pointed out that "the 'democracies' of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and even of Poland, owe their existence to the fact that, at the critical moment of their creation, foreign military forces were supporting the bourgeoisie and oppressing the proletariat" ("Social Democracy and the Wars of Intervention in Russia: 1918-1921"). If the revolution did not spread to these countries, it was also due to the weakness of the Red Army, which could not be on all fronts at the same time and was often obliged to withdraw from a secured position in order to concentrate its forces elsewhere. As Trotsky wrote:

"We do not only recognize, but we also give full support to the principle of self-determination, wherever it is directed against feudal, capitalist and imperialist states. But wherever the fiction of self-determination, in the hands of the bourgeoisie, becomes a weapon directed against the proletarian revolution, we have no occasion to treat this fiction differently from the other 'principles' of democracy perverted by capitalism."

# Socialist Action Leader Denounces “Greedy” Teachers

In June, one Barry Weisleder, representing a group of Ontario substitute teachers (but sounding like a Bay Street CEO) made a splash in the media by excoriating teachers who continue to work after retiring. Weisleder, leader of the Socialist Action group, raged that “these teachers are not only flooding the market and keeping out fresh talent; they’re also draining the pension fund while earning money and not contributing to the plan any more.... There’s one word for this, and it’s greed. If your pension isn’t enough, then don’t retire” (*Toronto Star*, 24 June).

Using the capitalist “market” to pit underemployed workers against those struggling to supplement hard-won pensions by picking up extra hours, Weisleder’s diatribe comes straight from the playbook of the two-tier, divide-and-rule tactics the capitalists use to bust unions and destroy workers’ living standards.

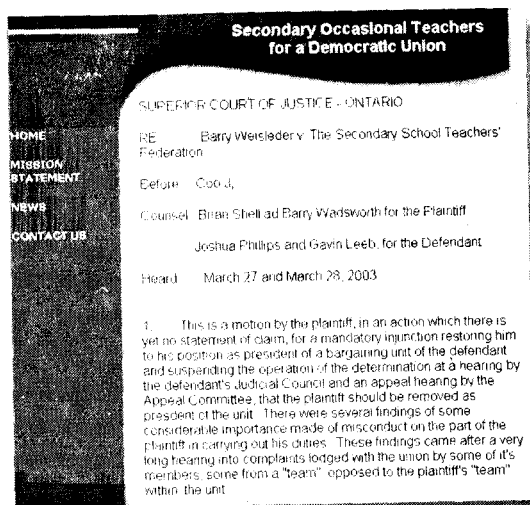
This squeezed-lemon “socialist” is no stranger to class treason. From 2003 to 2006, after he was ousted from his post as president of the substitute teachers bargaining unit in the Ontario Secondary School Teachers’ Federation, Weisleder *dragged the union through the bosses’ courts*, while demanding that his legal costs be paid for by a levy against union members! Calling on the bourgeois courts to intervene in the internal affairs of workers’ organizations only proves that, whatever lying “Marxist” rhetoric he may (infrequently) peddle, Weisleder views the capitalist state as an ally, not the sworn class enemy of the workers.

In 1996, Weisleder and his fellow union bureaucrats in the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU) sought to shove a clawback contract down the throats of their staff workers, organized in the Ontario Public Service Staff Union (OPSSU). Weisleder, then an OPSEU executive board member, tried to muscle his way across an OPSSU picket line. The OPSSU official picket line publication *Walk/Talk* described how pickets “quickly surrounded Barry, shouting such messages as: Where are your principles? This is our work!” (“He talks like a socialist, but he walks kinda funny,” 6 September 1996). There’s one word for this, and it’s scab. Jack London once wrote that the scab is the lowest form of life; a scab who calls himself a socialist is lower still!

SA, in contrast, wields the “principles” of bourgeois democracy against the proletarian revolution.

## For Authentic Trotskyism— Reforge the Fourth International!

Our comrades also took out SA’s work on the “home front,” showing how their anti-Communism abroad flows from fealty to their “own” capitalist rulers. In Canada, this is refracted through support to the social-democratic New Democratic Party; in the U.S. through campaigns for “unity” with a wing of the capitalist Democratic Party. SA National Secretary Jeff Mackler’s presentation in the session titled “U.S. Imperialism in Crisis” focused on promoting a “National Assembly to End the Iraq War and Occupation” in Cleveland in late June. The publicity for this gathering, of which SA is a key animator, calls for a “united mobilization of the anti-



[www.geocities.com/otdu2k/news/injunct.html](http://www.geocities.com/otdu2k/news/injunct.html)

## SA honcho Weisleder dragged union into bosses’ courts.

After the brief but powerful Toronto transit workers strike in April was broken by the Ontario government with the NDP’s full backing, a letter by Weisleder, now in his “NDP Socialist Caucus Co-chair” hat, appeared on the *Toronto Star* website (28 April). Covering up the NDP’s criminal role, Weisleder advised the capitalist powers-that-be: “As for making the TTC an essential service, removal of the right to strike is a fool’s paradise. It would diminish democratic rights for everyone, reward management arrogance and still not guarantee labour peace.”

The quest for “labour peace” perfectly captures the essence of social democracy, which Leon Trotsky described as “the acceptance of reformist oppositional activity within the framework of bourgeois society and an adaptation to its legality—i.e., the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state.”

Scabbing, suing the union, denouncing “greedy” teachers, preaching “labour peace”: the gross anti-working-class antics of SA’s Canadian leader tell you everything you need to know about this group. Worse than remote from the kind of class-struggle leadership needed by workers, they stand exposed as its die-hard opponents. ■

war majority” in the U.S. Mackler proudly recounted that among its endorsers are the Progressive Democrats of America (PDA), a group of self-described “grassroots activists” in the Democratic Party, the other party of the American ruling class. The PDA as well as a local chapter of the capitalist Green Party are both on the “coordinating committee” of the Cleveland assembly. An ICL comrade skewered SA’s overtly class-collaborationist perspective:

“The coalitions Socialist Action helped build in the U.S. are single-issue, cross-class coalitions calling for everyone to unite under the slogan ‘Troops out now.’ That’s a call to unite the working class and oppressed with their own oppressors, members of the capitalist class who for their own reasons oppose the war. You can either look to the working class and oppressed to fight independently of the capitalist class, or you can tailor

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## Trotskyism...

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your demands to be acceptable to 'antiwar' capitalist politicians to help build the 'biggest possible movement'."

Neither Mackler's presentation nor the official call for the Assembly included opposition to the U.S. occupation in Afghanistan. At a later session, one of our comrades noted that this is hardly an accident: the wing of the Democrats that SA is courting wants to get out of Iraq precisely in order to *strengthen* the U.S. military presence elsewhere, including Afghanistan and also East Asia, where their central target is China.

At the antiwar session, Mackler launched a broadside against us, listing a series of political charges ICL comrades had made against SA while trying to mock us for calling for critical support to his electoral campaign for the U.S. Senate in California in 2006: "If you really believe I did all those horrible things, how could you ever endorse such a monster?" Our support to Mackler's campaign was premised on the fact that, standing as an avowed socialist against the capitalist Democratic and Green parties, it drew a crude class line. "At the same time," we noted, "clearly, the reformist, 'Anybody but Bush' content of SA's program is an obstacle to revolution" (WV No. 876, 15 September 2006). Indeed, our principled campaign of critical support to Mackler gives the lie to SA's assertion that we are "sectarian."

Gerry Foley asserted that "Formally, we would agree on all the same principles as the Spartacist League: permanent revolution, class independence, the need to build a revolutionary party." He continued, noting that in fact, "We have nothing in common with them, despite the apparent concordance of the principles. With Che Guevara, we have 90 percent in common with him, although there are certain essential aspects of the Trotskyism which we profess that he didn't understand."

Foley is right that SA and the ICL have little in common, despite SA's occasional lip service to Trotskyism. But his statement that SA has 90 percent in common with Che is false. The ICL has many criticisms of Guevara, but he fought to the end of his life against U.S. imperialism, whereas Mackler, Foley & Co. are rank social democrats who have been sucking up to the U.S. imperialists for decades.

Socialist Action looks back nostalgically on the reformist SWP under Joseph Hansen. According to Foley, "In the 1960s and 1970s, the SWP was tested and it was proven by the test," and it remained a healthy revolutionary party until 1979 when supposedly everything changed under the Jack Barnes clique. In fact, the 1963 expulsion of our predecessors in the Revolutionary Tendency was an organizational handmaiden to the political degeneration that the SWP was already undergoing. Following the November 1963 Kennedy assassination, SWP leader Farrell Dobbs sent a sniveling telegram of condolence to the widow of the imperialist chief who ordered the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba! By the mid-1960s the rapidly rightward-moving SWP had become reformist, definitively burying the last remnants of a class-struggle program in order to achieve a political alliance with bourgeois elements opposing the Vietnam War. Some years later, this popular-frontist alliance was sealed in blood as the SWP unleashed goons to expel members of the Spartacist League and Progressive Labor Party protesting the presence of Democratic senator Vance Hartke at the July 1971 conference of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC—the model for SA's "antiwar movement" today).

The ICL has sought to maintain the thread of Marxist continuity based on the heritage of Cannon and the revolutionary SWP, as we fight to reforge a Fourth International that Trotsky would recognize as his own. We urge youth and workers seeking a revolutionary alternative to examine our record, and join us in our struggles. ■

## Free Mumia Now!...

(continued from page 7)

social and class struggle. The power that can make the courts yield is the power of the multiracial working class, which must be mobilized independently of and in opposition to the capitalist state and its political representatives, whether Democrat, Republican or Green.

This program of class-struggle defense is diametrically opposed to that of the liberals and reformists, who promote dangerous illusions that the courts can provide justice for Mumia. These illusions are codified in the subordination of the demand for Mumia's freedom to the call for a "new trial." This has been promoted for many years by the Workers World Party, International Socialist Organization, Socialist Action (SA), the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal (ICFFMAJ) led by Pam Africa and the San Francisco Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal led by SA honcho Jeff Mackler, and has played a key part in the demobilization of what was once a mass movement. In Canada, groups like SA and the International Socialists, who act as shills for the pro-capitalist social democrats of the NDP, peddle these same illusions in the capitalist "justice" system. Why mobilize on the streets or in the unions if Mumia can get justice from the courts?

While they may have put aside their "new trial" signs for the moment, these groups are no less craven in their reliance on the capitalist state and its political representatives. This can be seen in their efforts during this year's U.S. presidential election, which are aimed at making the Democrats "fight" and win the office of imperialist Commander-in-Chief. While stopping short of outright endorsement of Barack Obama—a proponent of capital punishment who lambasted the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision which prohibited execution for the rape of a child—a number of reformists have sought to pressure his campaign through one stratagem or another. This includes support to Cynthia McKinney, the presidential candidate of the capitalist Green Party. On the eve of the Pennsylvania Democratic primaries and the April 19 demonstration in Philadelphia called by ICFFMAJ, a representative of the New York Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal issued an undated statement titled "No Justice, No Peace" that crassly expressed the logic behind the illusions promoted by reformists such as Workers World: "Both Hillary Rodham Clinton and Barack Obama endorse capital punishment, even though they know the system is imperfect and it doesn't deter violent crime. Let's see where they stand on Mumia Abu-Jamal, who has not had a violent past; in fact, it's quite the opposite, as you already know. It's not too late to force them to do right by Mumia and all the other political



Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969, Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party. U.S. cops, prosecutors, bourgeois politicians howl for Mumia's blood, seeing in him the spectre of black revolt.

prisoners rotting in prison.”

Meanwhile, Workers World has endorsed Cynthia McKinney who has spoken out on behalf of Mumia. To many youth, blacks and others, McKinney is perceived as a radical alternative to Obama. But for all her claims to stand “independent” of the Democrats, McKinney, herself a longtime black Democratic Party politician, issued a statement of congratulations to Obama following Clinton’s concession announcement. The Greens are a shell for the Democrats and McKinney is a *capitalist politician*.

Immediately after the March 27 Third Circuit Court decision, the PDC and its fraternal defense organizations internationally held emergency protests. The PDC also called for international united-front protests under the slogans: “Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!” Protests were held in April in Oakland, London, Toronto, Sydney, Chicago, Los Angeles and Mexico City. These protests brought together individuals and organizations representing diverse political viewpoints—trade unionists, anti-racists, death penalty abolitionists, gay rights activists, leftists and others—united behind the struggle to free Mumia. Central to the united-front protests was the understanding that the fight for Mumia’s freedom must be based on the fact that he is innocent—the victim of a racist political frame-up.

At the April 19 Toronto demonstration, in our speeches and placards the PDC and TL linked the struggle to free Mumia to the need to struggle against the racist capitalist system in this country. Central to this is advocating independence for Quebec and opposing all manner of Anglo chauvinism. We seek to mobilize workers to champion the rights of Natives and immigrants and to wage class struggle at home, including against the bloody imperialist occupation of Afghanistan.

The PDC and its international fraternal defense organizations also organized Class-Struggle Contingents in a number of protests called by other groups. The contingents expressed our understanding that the working class must be mobilized to fight to free Mumia and with no illusions in the “justice” of the capitalist courts. In addition to the united-front slogans, the contingents also marched under the slogans: “There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Mobilize Labour’s

Power—For Mass Protest!” (see “Protests Demand: Free Mumia Now!” *SC* No. 157, Summer 2008).

Our fight to free Mumia is part of our struggle against black oppression, which is rooted in American capitalism. The brutal state repression directed against black militants is intended to terrorize not only fighters for black rights but all those who would struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. The segregation, discrimination, unemployment and corresponding mass imprisonment of black youth form a wedge to keep the working class divided. The struggle against racist oppression and in defense of class-war prisoners like Mumia is part of the struggle for the unity of the multiracial working class against its capitalist class enemy.

The battle for Mumia’s freedom cuts to the core of racist American capitalism and its state. We fight for Mumia’s freedom as part of the struggle for black liberation based on the program of revolutionary integrationism. We fight against every manifestation of racist oppression, a struggle which can be victorious only through the full social, political and economic integration of black people into an egalitarian *socialist* society. Won to a revolutionary program, doubly oppressed black workers will play a leading role in the fight to emancipate the black masses and all working people by sweeping away the entire system of capitalist exploitation. As we underlined in “Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom,” which was adopted at the founding conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. in 1966:

“The struggle of the Black people of this country for freedom, while part of the struggle of the working class as a whole, is more than that struggle. The Negro people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main comprising the most exploited layer of the American working class.... Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution.”

Time is short. Mumia has nearly reached the end of the legal road, and there is no reason to believe he can receive a better outcome before the neo-segregationist U.S. Supreme Court. This underlines the urgent need to mobilize the social power of labour in his defense. *Mumia Abu-Jamal is innocent! Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

## Capitalist Jobs Massacre...

(continued from page 1)

signed a rotten three-year concessionary contract with GM only two weeks before. The bosses' message was loud and clear: we will do whatever we want, whenever we want. Enraged CAW members launched a 12-day blockade of GM's Oshawa headquarters. That an Ontario Superior Court judge found "GM Corp. engaged in almost deceitful business practice" did not stop him from granting GM an injunction to halt the workers' action.

The GM blockade is one of many indications that, facing wage and pension cuts, layoffs and plant closures, workers are prepared to fight back. In March last year CAW workers occupied a suburban Toronto plant of Collins & Aikman, one of North America's biggest auto parts suppliers. A few weeks later the United Steelworkers (USW) staged a similar occupation in Hamilton. In B.C., HEU hospital workers in 2004 and teachers in 2005 struck in defiance of no-strike laws and injunctions. That same year the heavily immigrant workforce at Lakeside Packers waged a bitter strike for a first contract in Brooks, Alberta. And this year in Concord, Ontario the non-unionized workers at Progressive Moulded Products, many of them immigrants with over 20 years in the plant, picketed to demand severance pay. These have been defensive struggles, with workers trying desperately to hold on to what they have, fighting to get money owing to them or simply to be treated as human beings, not animals.

The occupations and blockades have challenged the capitalists' sacred "private property" and the legal system erected to preserve it. "The law is not on our side," a worker at Progressive rightly said, "It's on the side of the people with the money" (*Toronto Star*, 8 July). Yet, while some of these struggles have managed to knock back some of the bosses' most brazen attacks, time and again the workers' interests have been sold out by union leaders who have bowed before the capitalists and their state.

Saddled with such a leadership, the future confronting working people appears bleak. Only 17 percent of workers in private companies in Canada are now unionized. In 2006, strikes (as measured in person days) were at the lowest level in three decades. Demands for givebacks, takeaways and speedup

continue unrelentingly alongside the massacre of jobs, while the banks, mining and oil companies and a whole lot more are raking in billions and billions. The situation cries out for a class-struggle leadership of the unions, prepared to wage the necessary battles against the bosses' one-sided attacks.

### Capitalist Class vs. Working Class

The capitalists are doing what they always and everywhere do: seeking to maximize their profit. The source of that profit, as Karl Marx explained, is essentially the difference between what they pay workers in wages (and benefits) and the greater value produced by the workers. The workers sell their ability to labour to the capitalists, while the capitalists appropriate to themselves the value of what the workers produce. There is thus an *irreconcilable* struggle between the two classes. As long as capitalism exists, the working class will be exploited. As Marx explained in *Value, Price and Profit* (1865), in their defensive struggles working people:

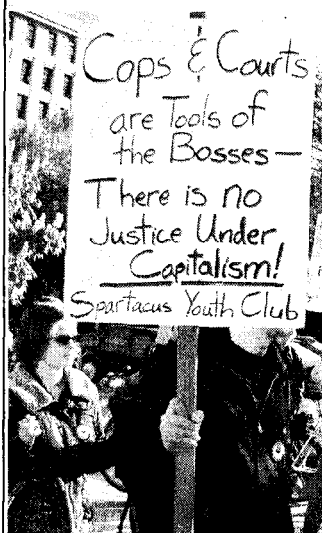
"ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady.... Instead of the *conservative* motto 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!' they ought to inscribe on their banner the *revolutionary* watchword, 'Abolition of the wages system!'"

To achieve this requires the destruction of the capitalist system, the seizure of state power by the working class and the rational reorganization of the world economy to produce for social, human needs instead of private profit. In short, it will take a socialist revolution to replace the rapacious, decaying rule of capital with a society in which those who labour rule.

"Conservative" or "militant," "progressive" or otherwise, the current trade-union leadership *opposes* this perspective, and *defends* the capitalist system. They preach the lie that there is a common interest between the working class and the exploiters. They tell workers that their well-being depends on the bosses making *more* profit—and they tie them ever more firmly to the tiny minority that owns the plants, mines, mills and banks.

The leadership of the auto workers union is a perfect example. Last October CAW president Buzz Hargrove signed

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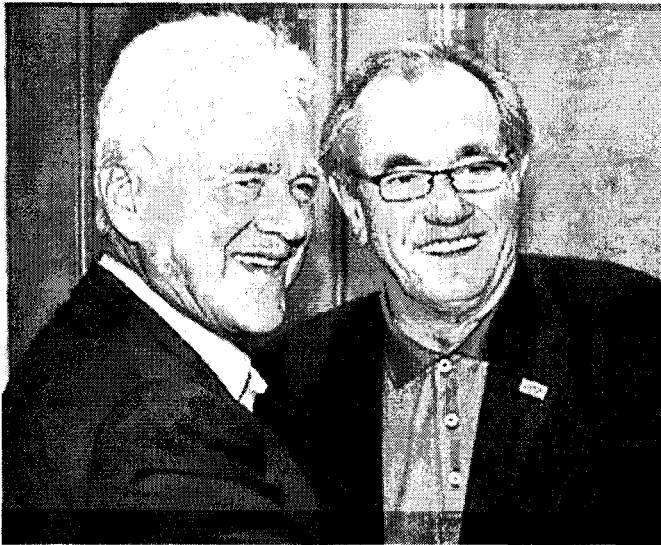
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Gunn/AP Photo/Canadian Press

**CAW president Buzz Hargrove (right) and Magna boss Frank Stronach announce sweetheart deal shafting auto workers, October 2007.**

a “framework of fairness” deal with parts giant Magna International that gave up the right to strike, required binding arbitration and instituted employer-vetted “fairness committees” instead of elected shop stewards and grievance bodies. This sweetheart deal was so outrageous that leading CAW officials denounced it both publicly and inside the union—until, that is, they meekly toed Hargrove’s line and voted for it.

Even hoary ex-New Democratic Party federal leader Ed Broadbent accused Hargrove of “attacking the very foundations of an independent union” and made himself out as a champion of the right to strike (*Globe and Mail*, 30 October 2007). This is truly an act of chutzpah. B.C. NDP leader Carole James denounced the 2005 teachers strike, demanding that they “follow the law.” In Toronto, NDP mayor David Miller railed that transit workers should be “punished” for their 2006 walkout, seeking millions in fines. This April, the NDP backed an Ontario Liberal government bill that broke another Toronto transit strike. From Dave Barrett’s massive strikebreaking in B.C. in the mid 1970s to Bob Rae’s anti-union “Social Contract” in Ontario in the early ’90s, the NDP in power has always ruled on behalf of the bosses. The NDP is, in Marxist terms, a bourgeois workers party. Linked to the unions via the labour bureaucracy, its program is thoroughly pro-imperialist and nationalist. NDP governments are capitalist governments.

### The Labour Lieutenants of Capital

The labour bureaucracy views the world through the lens of their “own” capitalist bosses. This is not a moral failing, but is rooted in material reality. With the emergence more than a century ago of capitalism’s highest and last stage, imperialism, the most powerful capitalists—grouped together in trusts, cartels and monopolies (formal and informal)—were able to extract huge profits including by superexploiting labour in the colonial world. Dispensing mere crumbs from their vast wealth, the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries bribed a small layer of the domestic working class, creating a labour aristocracy. The union bureaucrats and their “political arm”—the social-democratic parties—are the product of this. They truly feel more at home with the magnates of industry

and commerce than with the workers whose interests they supposedly represent.

Take, for example, the Toronto black-tie charity fundraiser honouring the soon-to-retire Hargrove, held the day after GM sued the CAW for \$1.5 million for blockading the company’s headquarters. According to the *Toronto Star* (11 June): “The head table list at the Buzz Hargrove Canadian Tribute Dinner includes Arturo Elias, president of General Motors of Canada, and Troy Clarke, group vice-president of GM North America.” Joining them were Magna boss Frank Stronach and a raft of provincial premiers, current and past.

The union misleaders and their parliamentary cohorts are agents of the bosses in the workers movement—the “labour lieutenants of capital” as American socialist Daniel De Leon so aptly put it. They function as a transmission belt for the ideology of the ruling class, preaching above all the inviolability of the capitalist system. At the same time they seek to give its most brutal excrescences a “human face,” and, when the occasion warrants, push for various reforms in order to channel any struggle against the bourgeois order into necessarily temporary amelioration of its most brutal effects.

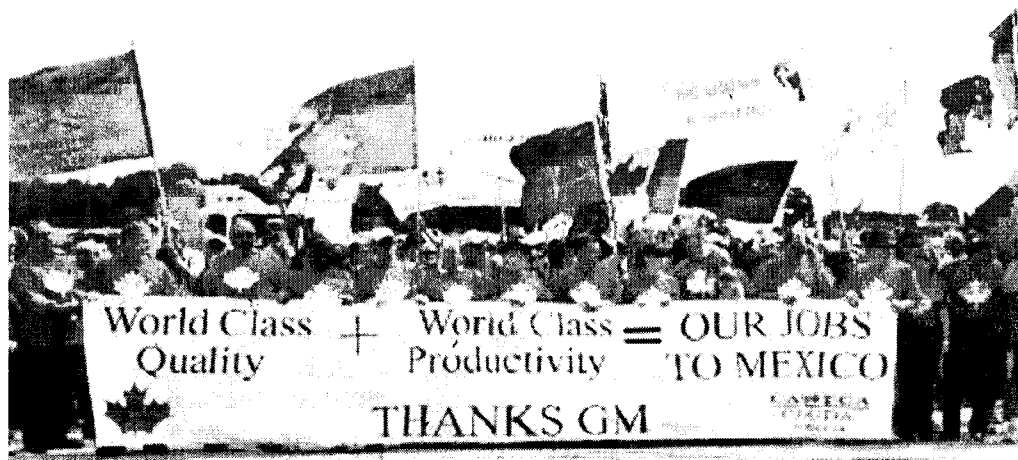
When compelled to lead struggles by the capitalists’ provocations and pressure from the workers, the labour bureaucrats work to direct them onto the shoals of bourgeois parliamentarism. Thus in the mid 1990s, faced with a savage assault from a new Tory provincial regime, and with the NDP discredited after the attacks of the Rae government, the Ontario labour bureaucrats launched a series of one-day local general strikes, the Days of Action. Shutting down cities around the province in defiance of the bosses’ laws, these strikes gave a taste of labour’s immense potential social power. But for the union bureaucracy they were merely a maneuver: once the accumulated anger was blown off and the NDP sufficiently rehabilitated under a new leader, they called off the Days of Action in the name of beating the Tories at the ballot box. While the bulk of the labour bureaucracy resumed their NDP electioneering, the CAW tops went over to the bourgeois Liberals, calculating that the New Democrats’ electoral fortunes looked dim indeed.

### Down with the Poison of Nationalist Protectionism!

Several years before signing on to Magna’s “framework of fairness,” Hargrove joined with Magna co-CEO Don Walker and other auto bosses in forming the Canadian Automotive Partnership Council, a federal government-initiated outfit “to strengthen the Canadian automotive industry in the short and long-term.” Looking out for the interests of the Canadian wing of the auto bosses has been the *raison d’être* of the CAW tops since the very inception of the union. In December 1984, United Auto Workers (UAW) Canadian director Bob White announced, without a membership vote, that he was pulling the then-120,000 Canadian auto workers out of the International to set up his own show north of the 49th parallel. Once the most powerful union in North America, the UAW had been criminally weakened by the misleaders on both sides of the border who kneeled before the bosses’ demands for giveback contracts and watched as the union ranks were decimated by plant closures and massive layoffs.

Playing on his reputation as a supposed “militant,” White told auto workers in Canada (who have the same bosses as auto workers in the U.S.) they would be better off going it

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Official CAW banner, June 12 Oshawa march. Nationalism, protectionism fuel racism, destroy prospects for internationalist class struggle against common capitalist enemy.

## Capitalist Jobs Massacre...

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alone because, he claimed, he stood for “no concessions” as against the givebacks rammed down the U.S. workers’ throats by the UAW leadership. Preaching the virtues of the protectionist Auto Pact, White used the fact that Canadian auto workers cost the bosses \$7-an-hour less than their U.S. brothers and sisters to appeal for more investment in Canadian industry. In other words, he sold Canada as a low-cost place to do business.

Forged in bitter *international* class struggle in the 1930s, the UAW was split by White’s “poor little Canada” nationalism, which deliberately isolated the Canadian locals from the potentially explosive black auto workers in Detroit. The labour-hating *Globe and Mail* proclaimed him “Organized Labor’s Great White Hope.” As we wrote at the time:

“The UAW’s ‘Build Canadian, Buy Canadian, Bargain Canadian’ jingoism appeals directly to the racist British colonial ‘values’ of this rich white man’s land....

“The only winners in the UAW split are the auto bosses. Canadian auto workers are the losers. Now they face the greedy auto companies with **10 percent** of their former potential strength.”

—“Bureaucrats Split UAW,” *SC* No. 63, April 1985

Today the CAW tops push “Made in Canada Matters” chauvinism, telling workers that protectionism is the answer to layoffs, closures and the drive to cut wages and benefits. This is false! Protectionism means joining with the class enemy to help them shore up their profits, profits that come from the labour of working people whether in Canada, the U.S., South Korea, Mexico or elsewhere. We communists are without exception opposed to protectionism in imperialist countries like the U.S. and Canada. But nor are we partisans of “free trade”: we are fully aware that companies which today demand free access to foreign markets do so with the sole purpose of increasing profits. Their mechanism for this is the superexploitation of cheap, largely unorganized labour abroad and often, concomitantly, access to an increased pool of buyers for goods. This “offloading” is not simply corporate policy but is intrinsic to capitalism. Capitalists go where they will make the greatest profits, and they will always try to drive down wages and working conditions.

Protectionist poison is sometimes couched in the language of concern over “cheap labour” in other countries. Yet “cheap labour” also exists in this country—indeed the union move-

ment exists in large part because at one time low-paid workers (notably including immigrants) poured into its ranks. Today the union tops have sought to “protect” their dues base by agreeing to “cheap labour” sellouts as at Magna or in the two-tier contracts at the Big Three.

The CAW’s lead banner on the June 12 march during the Oshawa blockade read: “World Class Quality + World Class Productivity = OUR JOBS TO MEXICO. THANKS GM.” The CAW tops have in their sights not the capitalist masters, but the workers of Mexico. This poison fuels racism against immigrants and other minorities at home, helping to keep the workers divided and incapable of united struggle. Such pro-capitalist protectionism was also the basis of the labour bureaucracy’s opposition to NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), a scheme for shoring up U.S. imperialism against its rivals abroad through an economic Fortress North America. In a joint statement with our Mexican and American comrades issued when NAFTA was introduced in 1991 we declared:

“Far from ‘freeing’ trade internationally, the pact is aimed at setting up a private hunting preserve for the American imperialist bourgeoisie, their Canadian junior partners and their lackeys in the Mexican ruling class....

“There is a burning need for an *internationalist* proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault. The Canadian, U.S. and Mexican sections of the International Communist League are dedicated to building a revolutionary vanguard that can unite the working masses of the continent in common class struggle.”

—“Stop U.S. ‘Free Trade’ Rape of Mexico!” *SC* No. 85, Fall 1991

Underscoring that workers around the world have a common cause and a common battle against the capitalist exploiters, in many cases facing the very same corporations, Mexican workers sent greetings to the CAW during the 2002 battle against scabs at Navistar in Chatham, Ontario: “Today, more than ever, workers—without taking into consideration nationalities—should remain united to confront capital as one.”

Turning its back on workers like these, *People’s Voice* (1-31 July), newspaper of the misnamed Communist Party of Canada (CPC), uncritically reports the CAW’s chauvinist banner in Oshawa. Deeply nationalist, the CPC has long devoted itself not to the cause of the workers but to defending “Canadian independence, jobs and farms” from “foreign” threat. They, the union misleaders and the NDP are in a bloc



Thornhill/Reuters

**Ontario NDP leader Howard Hampton (left). Canadian-nationalist social democrats are agents of bosses in workers movement.**

with those imperialists who demand that the Canadian government provide protection from “unfair competition,” demanding the very same trade practices for which they condemn other governments. Moreover, the supposedly counterposed “wings” of the capitalists, the protectionists and the “free traders,” often turn out to be one and the same. GM for example, squeals for protection against “unfair” Japanese trade practices, only to then appear in Mexico in the garb of a “free market” buccaneer.

It is not a big step from complaining that “they” are stealing “our” jobs to the demonization of “them” as the enemy. In the May edition of CAW Local 222’s *Oshaworker*, a prominent local CAW bureaucrat bragged that on a trip to the U.S. he baited Americans for driving an import:

“I asked, if Afghanistan or Iraq opened dealerships in the U.S. would they buy vehicles from them? They strongly replied negatively (good). I then asked them to look back in history and think of another dark day in America of Pearl Harbour, and why they now buy vehicles from Japan, after all it is the same people who 60 plus years ago tried to destroy you.”

This is open support to the predatory wars of the North American capitalists.

Indeed, in the end, trade wars lead to shooting wars, the ultimate means for rival capitalist states to secure a monopoly of foreign markets and spheres of exploitation. That, writ large, is the essence of imperialist capitalism. Its price has been millions of corpses.

### **Defend China!**

Maple Leaf class-collaborationist nationalism is hardly confined to the CAW. The leaders of the UNITE HERE garment workers have joined with the textile bosses in an ongoing campaign to slash imports from China. The USW campaigns to “Stop Toxic Imports,” again singling out China.

Targeting China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, for protectionist measures is doubly pernicious. The 1949 overthrow of capitalist rule in China, leading to the building of a collectivized economy, represents an immense

gain for the working class internationally. Despite profound bureaucratic deformations, the Chinese Revolution was of historic importance, overthrowing the imperialist-backed Chinese bourgeoisie and laying the basis for an enormous leap in social progress. Just as workers in Canada and throughout the world must defend their unions against the bosses despite the sellout labour leadership, it is the duty of the international working class to defend China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.

The anti-China campaign of the labour brass is the latest example of their anti-Communism, another way in which they identify the workers’ cause with the interests of the exploiters. The current pro-capitalist union bureaucracy was consolidated through the anti-Red purges of the late 1940s and early 1950s in which the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation—predecessor of the NDP—played a key role. In the 1980s, the labour misleaders were avid fans of Polish Solidarność, a reactionary movement masquerading as a trade union that was in the forefront of the drive for capitalist restoration in the Soviet bloc. The B.C. Federation of Labour and NDP organized an anti-Communist picket against a Polish ship, while the Canadian Labour Congress put on its payroll a rabidly reactionary supporter of Solidarność.

Upholding the “national interest” and a “partnership” of labour and capital, the social democracy internationally eagerly embraced and helped—including with CIA funding—the victory of capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The Soviet Union was the product of the 1917 October Revolution, which destroyed capitalist class rule and built the world’s first workers state. Despite the usurping of political power by a nationalist, conservative bureaucracy starting in 1923-24, the USSR remained a workers state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated. Its destruction was a world-historic defeat for the working class, destroying the lives of millions while throwing back workers’ political consciousness around the world. We Trotskyists stood at our posts in defense of the workers states against capitalist counterrevolution. We fought for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinists who undermined that defense by capitulating to the imperialists.

Rallying behind the Canadian rulers, the labour bureaucracy and NDP also uphold “national unity” against the right of the Québécois to independence. In 1972 the CLC tops and the NDP used Canadian nationalism and Anglo chauvinism to isolate and denounce the Quebec general strike—the most deep-going class battle North America had seen in many decades, or has seen since. In the midst of the strike, the CLC denounced “those elements, in any part of Canada, which advocate the destruction of Confederation...as a means of pursuing selfish regional aims” (*Globe and Mail*, 15 May 1972). Federal NDP leader David Lewis even publicly applauded the jailing of the Quebec union leaders.

Once again, English Canadian workers were told to line up behind the bosses. This betrayal helped drive the militant Québécois workers into the arms of their own would-be exploiters, represented by the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois. The result is a working class that is deeply divided along national lines. In English Canada militant workers must oppose Anglo chauvinism down the line and advocate Quebec independence. Only through unstinting opposition to their “own” chauvinist rulers can workers in English Canada assist the Québécois working class in breaking

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## Capitalist Jobs Massacre...

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from nationalism, paving the way for common class struggle against the exploiters.

### The Social-Democratic Syphilitic Chain

For decades, most ostensibly socialist groups in Canada have been firmly within the orbit of the NDP and the social democracy generally. Instead of the necessary struggle to win the most class-conscious workers away from these political agents of the capitalists, the CPC, International Socialists, Socialist Action, Fightback and others *reinforce* the hold of social-democratic ideology, which they fundamentally share.

A prime example is the Fightback group, which falsely claims to stand in the tradition of Trotskyism. If the social democrats see the world through the eyes of the bosses, Fightback peers through the lens of the NDP, proclaiming as the very first item in its program "NDP to power on a socialist program." In a June 4 leaflet addressing GM's shutdown of the Oshawa plant, Fightback politely advises Hargrove & Co., "the CAW should drop their demands for trade restrictions and pick up the demand of nationalizing the auto industry.... Only by taking the entire industry into public ownership can we break the grip of the billionaires on society and guarantee a decent standard of living for the workers."

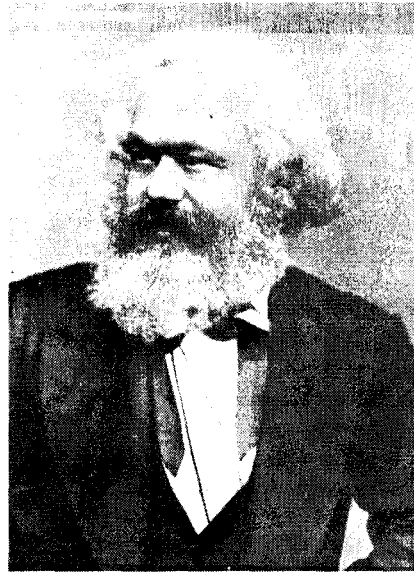
As Leon Trotsky explained in the founding document of the Fourth International, the Transitional Program (1938), the revolutionary Marxist program of *expropriating* the capitalist bloodsuckers is counterposed to "the muddle-headed reformist slogan of 'nationalization.'" Trotsky emphasized the need to "link up the question of expropriation with that of seizure of power by the workers and farmers." Fightback does the opposite, portraying nationalization under capitalism as the road to a rosy future for working people.

Thus during a bitter 2005 strike by phone workers against union-busting, Fightback, calling to "Nationalize Telus!", declared: "Without the hindrance of the profit motive, a nationalized telecommunications company would be able to put quality first. It would be completely illogical to make decisions that hurt the workers or the customers" (*Fightback*, August 2005). As we wrote (SC No. 146, Fall 2005):

"Try telling that to CUPW unionists at Canada Post, or for that matter the HEU, whose members work in public-sector hospitals. The idea that nationalized industry under capitalism can be free of the 'profit motive' and friendly to the workers (and consumers) is a demented social-democratic fantasy. *Fightback* claims to be a 'Marxist Voice of Labour and Youth,' but they are in reality hard-core reformists, as shown by their perennial call to elect NDP governments, which they claim against all evidence can enact a 'socialist program.'"

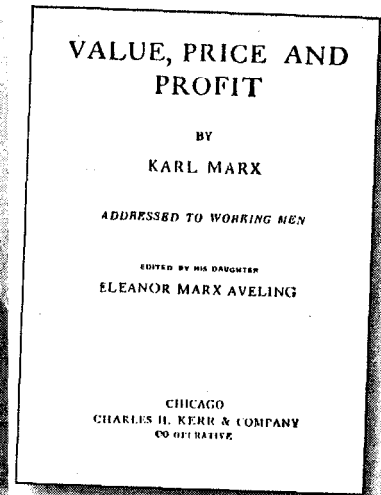
### Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party

In 1914 almost all the European social-democratic parties lined up behind their "own" rulers to preach "defense of the fatherland" against rival imperialist powers in World War I. For this act of betrayal, the great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg declared "social democracy is nothing but a stinking corpse." Less than five years later the German Social Democrats engineered Luxemburg's murder as they moved to crush the heroic Spartakist workers uprising. It was the Bolshevik



Mayall/Progress

**Karl Marx explained basis of capitalist exploitation, irreconcilable class conflict between proletariat and bourgeoisie.**



Party led by V.I. Lenin that pursued proletarian opposition to its own ruling class in the crucible of imperialist war and rallied revolutionaries to *split* with the social-democratic traitors. This intransigent fight for the class independence of the working class from the capitalists and their state was key to the victory of the October Revolution.

Today, too, the fight to forge an internationalist revolutionary workers party requires exposing and combating the social-democratic defenders of capitalist barbarism. It means fighting to win workers away from the flag-waving chauvinism and China-bashing of the labour tops and the NDP. It means demanding full citizenship rights for all immigrants and defeating the racist "war on terror."

A workers party would fight against every manifestation of capitalist oppression—from cop rampages against immigrant and Native youth to attacks on the democratic rights of gays to attempts to deny women's rights to free, safe and legal abortion. Such a workers party would fight within the unions to oust the labour bureaucrats, cohering a class-struggle leadership to organize the unorganized and to fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours to divide the available work among everyone at no loss in pay. We need a massive program of public works to rebuild the crumbling and deadly infrastructure of North America and to ensure the very best housing, health care and educational facilities for all.

The Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste fights to build such a Leninist party. The workers, starting with the most advanced, must become conscious of themselves as a single class whose actions are directed against the entire class of capitalists and their government. The only way to guarantee an end to grinding exploitation and oppression is by expropriating the capitalist class through socialist revolution. As Trotsky emphasized in the Transitional Program:

"If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery." ■

## Quake...

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momentum as it was clear that the rescue efforts of the PLA in Aba Prefecture, which governs 13 counties including Wenchuan, the quake's epicenter, were devoted to everyone, including Tibetans and members of the Qiang ethnic group. We oppose the "Free Tibet" movement and its recent protests as reactionary, anti-Communist and counterrevolutionary. While opposing the Chinese bureaucracy's Han chauvinism, we recognize that Tibet has qualitatively benefited from the technological progress made possible by its inclusion in the Chinese workers state.

Speaking of the Chinese government's response to the quake, the London *Financial Times* (6 June) admitted: "With its centralized power structure and ability to mobilise resources, the autocratic government excels at disaster relief operations." In fact, this is because China is a workers state with a collectivized economy, not because it's "autocratic." A comparison to the devastating Cyclone Nargis that hit Myanmar (Burma) early in May, leaving some 84,500 dead, proves this. Today, some 55,000 are still missing, as Myanmar's military dictatorship left bodies to rot for weeks.

In China, the quake region is known as "the front," and the whole country is mobilized to participate in relief efforts. The *Financial Times* outlined China's rebuilding plans: over one million prefabricated houses will be built in three months for the earthquake survivors. Food and shelter will be provided for five million homeless people, and whole flattened towns and cities will be rebuilt or relocated. Hundreds of state-owned factories have been commandeered to produce the houses, and big state companies like Baosteel have been ordered to increase output of materials needed.

Contrast this to the U.S. capitalist rulers' racist, anti-working-class treatment of the victims of Hurricane Katrina. Almost three years ago in New Orleans, water from broken levees poured into the city for two days before any significant action was taken to stem the tide, while tens of thousands of poor and black people were trapped. The government—including the city and state Democratic Party administrations as well as the Republicans in the White House—blamed the victims, demonizing an entire popula-

tion, brought in the National Guard to intimidate people trying to help themselves, and dispersed the city's occupants to the four winds. As much as a third of New Orleans' population is still gone, while hard-hit St. Bernard Parish has less than half its people back. To this day, the levees have not been adequately rebuilt.

Across North America, systematic deindustrialization and lack of investment have resulted in a rotting infrastructure: bridges collapse in the U.S. Midwest and suburban Montreal, cranes topple and kill workers in New York City and Vancouver, and again levees are bursting all along the Mississippi and its swollen tributaries. In the San Francisco earthquake of 1989 damage was largely man-made—the collapse of the upper deck of the Nimitz Freeway's Cypress Viaduct, for example, which crushed dozens of people, was due to unreinforced columns popping out at poorly designed joints. And they knew in advance that such designs were unsafe. The first reaction of government authorities and cops was racist assaults on those trying to help the victims. Blacks and skilled workers were shoved aside, and in Oakland the cops pulled guns on rescuers and accused them of looting!

### The Stalinist Bureaucracy and the Collapsed Schools

Writing for Hong Kong's English-language *South China Morning Post* (26 May), one author noted the contrast between the money lavished on grooming Beijing for the Olympics with the situation in the countryside: "On the one hand, the hugely expensive and strange-looking National Theatre and the CCTV building represent the ultimate examples of the government's extravagance and wasteful spending. On the other, the rubble of the collapsed schools should serve as the most damning indictment of the government's inadequate spending on education." Fashionable architect Rem Koolhaas's soaring CCTV building is certainly a marvel of steel and glass engineering, and in a nation which today produces more steel and cement than any other country, those who commission such a work know how to build a simple country schoolhouse to safety standards. But they didn't.

The Chinese workers state emerged from the 1949 Revolution, which was led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), a party based predominantly on the peasantry. Since 1949, China has been ruled by a parasitic and nationalist bureaucratic caste committed to "peaceful co-existence" with world imperialism and the Stalinist dogma of building "socialism in one country"—i.e., opposition to international socialist revolution. Hostile to proletarian political power and acting as a transmission belt for bourgeois ideology into the workers state, this bureaucracy nonetheless derives its privileges from the collectivized economy of the workers state. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky stated of the Stalinist bureaucracy that usurped political power from the proletariat in the USSR: "It continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat" (*The Revolution Betrayed*, 1937).

The contradictions of Chinese society are shown by the very existence of those schools that collapsed. In the late 1980s and 1990s, the central government ordered that all children be provided with nine years of compulsory education—a good thing, especially in the poor and peasant areas of China. One of the gains of

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Fukada/NY Times

**Local Communist Party leader in Mianzhu begs enraged parents of earthquake victims to stop their protest. The parents continued.**

## Quake...

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the 1949 Revolution was massive advances in literacy, which today stands at nearly 91 percent, compared to 61 percent in India. However, the building of the schools in the 1980s and '90s was in part to enable children to support their aged parents, as the old guarantee of the "iron rice bowl," or a job for life for workers, was being shattered. And in Stalinist bureaucratic fashion, the orders went down with no regard as to how they would be carried out, with many rotten buildings the result. And so, many parents lost their children.

"This is not a natural disaster," said a father whose nine-year-old son died at Xinjian Primary School in Dujiangyan. His son's school was reduced to rubble while another school, for the children of the elite, was in such good condition it was being used as a refugee center. Crumbling bricks, the lack of reinforcing steel rods (rebar), unsupported hollow concrete slab flooring, concrete with too much sand—all well-known safety issues—were pointed to by many as causes of the collapse of buildings. That many children's lives could have been saved was demonstrated by the exceptional case of Sangzao Middle School, whose principal ran regular earthquake drills and, more importantly, successfully lobbied local officials to get enough money to widen and insert iron rods into the pillars of his school, to improve balconies and fix pipes. When the earthquake hit, all 2,323 students at his school got out alive.

On June 1, Children's Day in China, parents at a Xinjian protest wore T-shirts demanding, "Severely punish the corrupted elements in the 'tofu dregs' buildings" (made of useless materials like the dregs left after making tofu). While the central government in Beijing has tried to place responsibility on local officials because of its policy of "decentralization," the Sichuan government denies any responsibility for the collapse of shoddy school buildings, laying all the blame on the natural disaster. But from the top down, government officials knew the dangers; China is laced with fault lines and this particular area has a history of major catastrophic quakes. While poor schools collapsed, many elite schools survived the quake, and the military and nuclear installations in the region appear to have been undamaged.

Police attempts to intimidate grieving parents are reprehensible. The parents' demands for full and honest answers as to why their children died are just. But the underlying problems will not be solved by punishing individual corrupt elements, especially via the government's policy of regularly executing a few scapegoats for various disasters. We oppose the barbaric death penalty on principle, in China as in capitalist societies. What is necessary is a whole new kind of government to replace the privileged Stalinist bureaucratic caste. As Trotsky put it in *The Revolution Betrayed*, "It is not a

question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy." Everything from military questions to international aid, including to revolutionary struggles abroad, and domestic economic policies can only be resolved effectively when those who labour decide.

Following the massive earthquake that hit then-Soviet Armenia in December 1988, we cited the power of the Soviet collectivized economy, while also noting that shoddy construction and corruption, due to the Stalinist bureaucracy, contributed to building failures. We wrote in "Bureaucratic Mismanagement Undermines Soviet Planning: Armenian Earthquake Disaster" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 471, 17 February 1989) on the broad question of how to manage society for human needs:

"To reach an intelligent resolution requires drawing technical specialists, residents of the region, the fishermen, the agricultural workers, into a wide-ranging debate resulting in a democratic decision. And if the decision doesn't work, constant monitoring by the producers themselves will spot imminent dangers and contribute to modifications *before* a disaster occurs. That is the essence of soviet democracy—and it will take a proletarian political revolution, ousting the bureaucracy, to get it."

Only through the overthrow of capitalist class rule internationally, particularly in the imperialist centers of North America, West Europe and Japan, can the all-round modernization of China be achieved as part of a socialist Asia. To go forward to a society in which everyone is well-housed, in which food lines disappear, in which a socialist future is genuinely assured, requires an international division of labour based on worldwide socialist planning. It is to provide the necessary leadership for the proletariat in these struggles that the International Communist League seeks to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International—the world party of socialist revolution.

### Reformists Oppose Proletarian Dictatorship

The reaction of the reformist left to the Chinese earthquake reveals their hostility to the need for world socialist revolution to create a communist society based on material plenty for all. Whether anti-Communist or pro-Stalinist, they are *all* deeply committed to sucking up to the capitalist order. In the U.S., this is chiefly via the bourgeois Democratic Party, and in Canada via the social-democratic NDP, which is in the forefront of China-bashing.

The newspaper of the reformist, pro-Stalinist U.S. Workers World Party focused almost exclusively on the rescue efforts, as did its split-off, the Party for Socialism and Liberation, and both of them completely disappeared the protests by the grieving parents. *Workers World* (15 June) white-washed any central governmental responsibility for the collapsed buildings, claiming "building codes in effect did not anticipate a quake of this enormous magnitude" and soothingly saying, "a government commission has been set up" to investigate.

Weighing in from another reformist direction, the eccentric, Maoist U.S. Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP—linked to the PCR in Quebec) wrote in "The Capitalist Ground Shaken by the Earthquake in China" (*Revolution*, 1 June) that "since the reactionary coup led by Deng Xiaoping after Mao Tse-tung's death in 1976, China has been a *capitalist* country, dependent on and subordinate to global imperialism. And some stark things about the exploitative and oppressive nature of capitalist China have been revealed in the aftermath of this

### Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

Toronto: .....	Box 7198, Station A Toronto ON M5W 1X8 (416) 593-4138 spartcan@on.aibn.com
Vancouver: .....	Box 2717, Main PO. Vancouver BC V6B 3X2 (604) 687-0353 trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com
ICL Website: .....	www.icl-fi.org

## Correction on Tibet

The article "Counterrevolutionary Riots in Tibet" in *SC* No. 157 (Summer 2008) states:

"During the misnamed 'Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' that began in the mid 1960s, in which Mao mobilized millions of student youth to buttress his position in an intra-bureaucratic factional feud, Mao subjected the Tibetans to fierce Great Han chauvinism. Tibetan language and native dress were proscribed. Much of what had been at the core of Tibetan culture was simply smashed up and destroyed, although with the beneficial side effect of driving monks into actual labour."

This passage feeds into a widespread distortion promoted by the Dalai Lama camp and the imperialists that during the Cultural Revolution Mao mobilized Han student youth to "smash up and destroy" much of what had been at the core of Tibetan culture. But it was mostly Tibetan youth who destroyed many Buddhist relics and palaces. Wang Lixiong, in his very thoughtful article, "Reflections on Tibet" (*New Left Review*, March-April 2002), points out:

"The truth is that, because of poor transportation and the huge distances involved, only a limited number of Han Red Guards actually reached Tibet. Even if some of them did par-

ticipate in pulling down the temples, their action could only have been symbolic. Hundreds of shrines were scattered in villages, pastures and on rugged mountainsides: no one would have been capable of destroying them without the participation of the local people. Furthermore, most of the Red Guards who did reach the TAR [Tibet Autonomous Region] were Tibetan students, returning from universities elsewhere....

"Surely these actions are evidence that, once they realized they could control their own fate, the Tibetan peasantry, in an unequivocally liberating gesture, cast off the spectre of the afterlife that had hung over them for so long and forcefully asserted that they would rather be men in this life than souls in the next."

The Cultural Revolution inflicted tremendous human and economic damage on Tibet, as it did everywhere in the People's Republic of China. It was, in fact, anti-culture, including that of Han Chinese as well as Western art and music. At the same time, there was indeed Han chauvinism. The Tibetan language and native dress—as was the case with all minority nationalities—were attacked during the Cultural Revolution.

devastating earthquake." This false line is a justification for their opposition to defending China against counterrevolutionaries who want to overthrow the workers state—as their references to China's "reactionary regime" and "brutal repression in Tibet" and the Olympic torch protests make clear.

It also hides the fact that when an even more devastating earthquake occurred in Tangshan in July 1976, while Mao was still alive, the bureaucracy's response was so bad that it is still recalled with great bitterness in China today: international aid was refused and attempts were made to cover up the scale of the disaster, in which at least 240,000 died, in a country then far more backward and still suffering from the disruptions of the Maoist bureaucratic faction's "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

Contrary to the RCP's myths, the world's most populous country did not turn capitalist overnight with the death of one man. The economic autarky of Mao and the "market reforms" of Deng are in fact two sides of the same coin. While economic penetration by the imperialists has enormously strengthened the forces for internal counterrevolution, capitalists in China are still prevented from organizing themselves politically and vying for power. The core sectors of the industrial economy remain collectivized and the banking system remains effectively state-owned. Meanwhile, economic development has created a new, huge proletariat, drawing in many former peasants to the cities. There have been widespread worker protests against layoffs from state-owned enterprises, unpaid wages, pensions and benefits, and similar abuses, while the countryside is rife with angry protests by peasants, frequently involving violent clashes with the police. The multiple explosive social tensions of Chinese society will at some point shatter the political structure of the ruling bureaucratic caste. And when that happens, China's fate will be starkly posed: either proletarian political revolution to open the road to socialism, or a return to capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation.

China and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states of Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba wrenched their societies out of the grip of capitalism. As part of our struggle to defend and extend the gains of these societies, we fight for workers political revolution in the deformed workers states and for international socialist revolution to sweep away the bloody capitalist-imperialist system, putting control of the earth's resources in the hands of the international proletariat. *For Unconditional Military Defense of China! For Workers Political Revolution!*

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 917, 4 July

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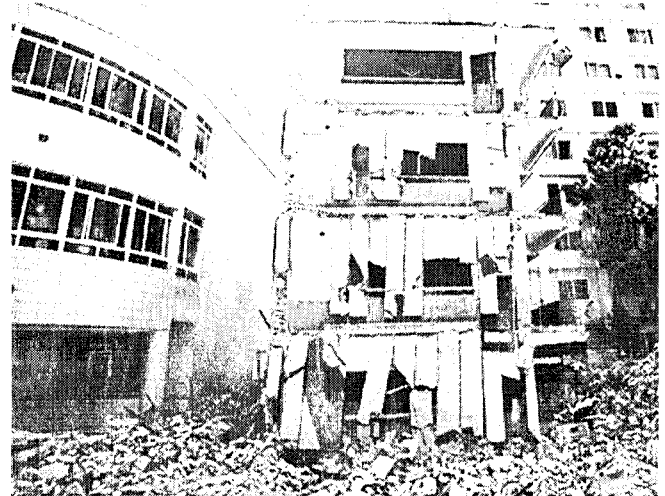
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# The Sichuan Quake

## Contradictions of the Chinese Bureaucratically Deformed Workers State



Corbis



Du Bin/NY Times

**Left: People's Liberation Army troops enter devastated city of Beichuan in Sichuan Province, part of mass mobilization of soldiers and resources in relief effort following May 12 earthquake. Right: Primary school in Dujiangyan was destroyed because of shoddy construction, while surrounding buildings for the elite were barely damaged.**

The earthquake that hit China's Sichuan Province on May 12 was a huge natural disaster, leaving some 80,000 dead or missing, including up to 10,000 children killed by collapsing schools, and up to five million people homeless. The quake occurred in the fault region where the Indian and Eurasian tectonic plates collide, forcing up the Himalaya Mountains and causing periodic earthquakes from Afghanistan to China. It was an "extreme earthquake," as one seismologist put it, registering 8.0 on the Richter scale according to the Chinese Seismological Bureau. This is over 32 times stronger in terms of energy released and ten times stronger in terms of ground-shaking than the 1989 San Francisco-Oakland earthquake. The Sichuan quake's shallow epicenter caused severe side-to-side shaking, the worst kind of quake impact for even well-built structures.

The massive relief efforts by China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the gigantic amounts of rebuilding aid by the state-owned economic sector have impressed the entire world, showing the power of the collectivized economy. At the same time, the agony and fury of parents over the shod-

dily built schools that collapsed and crushed thousands of children expose the deep contradictions of China today, a workers state bureaucratically deformed by the rule of a Stalinist caste. Its neglect and indifference to well-known construction standards in Sichuan, a mountainous region in southwestern China, are responsible for the deaths of many poor workers and peasants. The situation cries out for *centralized planning under workers democracy*, a government of workers and peasants councils. This requires sweeping away the Stalinist bureaucracy through working-class political revolution, which must be based on the unconditional military defense of the Chinese workers state against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution.

### **China's Disaster Relief: Power of Collectivized Economy**

Attempts by the reactionary Falun Gong to claim the earthquake was punishment to the Chinese Communist Party backfired. The CIA-inspired "Free Tibet" crowd, too, lost

*(continued on page 21)*

**For Unconditional Military Defense of China!  
For Workers Political Revolution!**