

After Israel-PLO "Peace" Accords Zionist Killers Rampage Against Palestinians



"Peace process" in action: fascistic settlers, Israeli army attack Palestinians in Hebron.

erome Delay/AF

DECEMBER 10—The bitter fruit of the September 13 "peace" agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is being harvested in the blood of the Palestinian people. In recent weeks, Israeli troops and fascistic "settlers" in the Occupied Territories have escalated a terror campaign aimed at murdering grassroots Palestinian leaders and terrorizing the population as a whole. Day after day, heavily armed settlers rampage through Palestinian communities, burning down Arab homes and schools, stoning cars and firing into crowds of unarmed Palestinian civilians. The Israeli army stands guard over these terrorist pogroms, while shooting down Palestinians who defend themselves.

From the moment it was announced, we condemned the socalled "Gaza-Jericho first" deal made by PLO leader Yasir Arafat with the Zionist "Labor" government of Yitzhak Rabin as an ignominious betrayal. While supposedly granting the PLO control over these two areas as a step toward autonomy throughout the Occupied Territories, in fact the PLO would act as enforcers of the Zionist occupation and place its "seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 583, 10 September). The recent settler/army actions represent an attempt to wreck this agreement *from the right*, through a bloodthirsty fascistic revolt carried out in collusion with at least sections of the Zionist political establishment. However, all wings of the Israeli ruling class are committed to the suppression of Palestinian national rights. We demand: *All* Israeli troops and settlers out of *all* (continued on page 10)

Bc Partisan Defense Committee

Support Rolls in for Vancouver Anti-Fascists

As SC readers know, on 6 May 1993, 60 unionists, blacks, Asians, Jews, gays, youth and socialists mobilized successfully against a Vancouver meeting of the white-supremacist "Canadian League of Rights." During the protest, demonstrators had to defend themselves against repeated Nazi provocations. Three months later, six anti-fascists—five of them trade unionists were arrested and charged with "assault" at the behest of infamous racist and anti-Semite Jud Cyllorn, who admits arming himself with an iron bar on May 6.

Thanks to this demonstration, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Trotskyist League, the fascists' meeting was a bust and they got the message: Vancouver is a labor and minority town, not a Nazi town. The action struck a real chord in the area. Following extensive TV coverage, demonstrators were warmly greeted at work and on the street.

Defenders of those charged have been busy mobilizing support for the demand: "Drop the Charges Against the May 6th Anti-Fascist Protesters!" Their hard work is paying off. Union locals and other organizations and individuals continue to demonstrate their support with endorsements, letters of protest and much-needed financial contributions.

Two of the defendants are members of CUPE 391 in Vancouver. At its December 1 general meeting, Local 391 voted to back the defense campaign, and has sent a protest letter to B.C.'s NDP attorney general, Colin Gablemann. Many Local 391 unionists have made generous donations from their own hard-earned paychecks, and local members intend to mobilize to make sure the courtroom is packed with trade unionists and other anti-fascists should the case come to trial.

Another of the Six is a member of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. The CUPW Vancouver local has issued its own leaflet urging its members to get behind the campaign. CUPW members are making sure that leaflet, and the PDC statement,



gets around the plants and stations. After a recent local meeting, a group of members stayed to view news footage of the demonstration and discuss the campaign with the PDC.

PDC supporters distributed defense material at the recent B.C. Federation of

Labour convention. Several delegates endorsed the call to "Drop the Charges," including from Canadian Auto Workers Local 3020 and the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers. A CUPW-sponsored resolution calling to drop the charges got deep-sixed by the upper echelons of the B.C. Fed bureaucracy. One ranking Fed official gave the political game away when he told a concerned unionist that defending the six means going up against the NDP's attorney general—which is exactly what the B.C. Fed tops *don't* want to do. Nevertheless, a CUPW delegate who argued for the resolution to be brought to the floor got warm applause from many.

From Toronto, the Black Action Defense Committee has



Active union backing is key to defense of Vancover Six.

backed the defense campaign, as did a number of delegates to the Ontario Federation of Labour convention, where the PDC set up a literature table. Local 3 of the Canadian Union of Educational Workers at York University has sent a letter of support along with a generous contribution to the defense fund.

Making sure this anti-labor frame-up is spiked is a matter of real urgency for the multiracial workers movement of B.C., and for all the other intended victims of the fascists. Get behind the campaign now! Contact the PDC at one of the addresses below. We'll send you leaflets and other campaign information. PDC spokesmen can address your union local, school or community group. Mark May 30 on your calendar—that's when the trial is scheduled to start. Mobilize to pack the courtroom and send a powerful message: labor and minorities won't tolerate seeing their own railroaded by the bosses' racist courts and cops!

We need your support to help beat back these charges. Raise motions of solidarity, demanding "Drop the Charges," in your union local, community or student group or other organization. Send protest statements to: Attorney General Colin Gabelmann, Parliament Buildings, Victoria BC, V8V 1X4; fax number (604) 387-6411. Send copies together with urgently needed financial donations—for legal fees, publicity, phone bills and much more—payable to the Partisan Defense Committee, earmarked "Anti-Fascist Defense," to the PDC at: Box 4932, Main P.O., Vancouver BC, V6B 4A6, or Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON, M5T 2W1.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party! Labor Revolt Against NDP

The unprecedentedly vicious attacks on workers and the poor by the New Democratic Party provincial governments, especially in Ontario, have left wide sections of the labor movement reeling. The federal NDP got its worst ever electoral drubbing last October, as thousands of unionists and even longtime party activists "sat this one out" while other workers voted en masse for the Liberals or the right-wing Reform Party. Rank-and-file revolts have led to a swathe of local union disaffiliations from the Ontario NDP. And now the anger from below has produced a split in the top union bureaucracy over future relations with the party.

In mid-November, delegates to the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) national convention in Vancouver threw out their leadership's call to reaffirm support for the NDP. In pell-mell retreat, the CUPE brass came back two days later with a change in policy, pledging that "we are not beholden to any political party." A week later, delegates to the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) convention in Toronto voted overwhelmingly to cut ties with the provincial NDP and refuse it any support in the next election. A motion from a public-sector delegate calling for labol to run its own candidates against Bob Rae's government got about a third of the votes, while a minority of hard NDP loyalists centered on the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) staged a walkout. Two days later, union demonstrators furious with the NDP's wage-slashing Social Contract broke through a police barricade outside the Ontario legislature and tried to storm the building.

The union bureaucracy, which formed the NDP back in 1961 together with the remnants of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, has long trumpeted the party as "labor's political arm." Just as the union brass sell out strikes, defending the bosses' profits and "competitiveness," so the NDP carries out the dictates of capital in the political/governmental sphere. From day one, it has been one of the most wretchedly rightwing social-democratic parties in the world. Wherever New Democrats have governed provincially they have attacked workers and the poor just like the Tories and Liberals.

Three years ago, the NDP swept into office in three provinces as part of a continuing wave of populist hostility to the "powers that be." In Ontario, Bob Rae & Co. campaigned on various promises of social reform. But Canada's corporate bosses, like the other imperialist ruling classes around the world, are on an all-out offensive aimed at dismantling social programs and driving back decades of working-class gains. So the New Democrats pushed "reform" under a bus and snapped to attention to act as lieutenants for the capitalist onslaught. Now they are widely, and correctly, seen by working people as just another gang of cynical politicians ruling for the Bay Street fat cats.

Break with the NDP!

Faced with a wholesale collapse in support for their party, the labor bureaucrats are embroiled in bitter internecine warfare. One week after the split at the OFL convention, the B.C. Federation of Labour chiefs put a clamp on all criticism and reaffirmed support for the NDP at their annual gathering. At one level, all this is simply a falling out among pro-capitalist labor thieves. Neither the NDP's newfound critics atop the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW), CUPE and other publicsector unions, nor the party loyalists around USWA and the B.C. Fed want anything to do with the kind of hard *class struggle* that is necessary to defeat the NDP/corporate attacks. While the bosses wage all-out class war against labor, last year the



Ont. Hydro workers denounce NDP austerity last March.

number of strikes in Canada was the lowest on record since World War II! Faced with the Ontario NDP's union-busting Social Contract, provincial CUPE leader Sid Ryan and his mates swore resistance and even warned of a general strike. But in the end they rolled over without organizing a single minute of strike action.

The labor bureaucrats' demobilization of union struggle has bred bitterness and anger, which is today being channeled in many different directions. These run the gamut, from the racism and anti-Québécois chauvinism of Reform, to bourgeois nationalism in Quebec, to increasing sentiments for a "new labor party," particularly in Ontario. There is also danger that the workers' sense of betrayal by the parliamentarist NDP could lead to a rejection of the need for independent working-class political action altogether, steering militant trade unionists into the dead end of "bread and butter" economism or reformist syndicalism.

At the same time, the widespread opposition to the NDP's attacks and calls for breaking with the sellout social democrats afford an opening for revolutionary intervention. To workers fed up with the unending cycle of capitalist onslaught and NDP betrayal, we say: Yes, break with the NDP—and fight to build (continued on page 4)

Labor Revolt...

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a genuine workers party on a consistent class-struggle program! Such a party would take up the cause of all the oppressed, defending the rights of women, immigrants and Native people. In sharp contrast to the Anglo-chauvinist New Democrats, it would uphold Quebec's right to self-determination and promote binational workers unity against the bosses. It would reject the flag-waving protectionism of the NDP and labor tops and counterpose joint class struggle with workers south of the border and beyond, fighting for a socialist North America. It would act not as a reformist electoral machine but as a fighting internationalist party of the working class, pointing to socialist revolution as the only answer to capitalist poverty, oppression and war.

This is the last thing the thoroughly pro-capitalist labor misleaders have in mind. The "alternative" now being pushed by the CUPE and CAW chiefs is to promote cross-class coalitions



CLC chief Bob White (left) with Bob Rae in 1992. Oust the sellout labor bureaucrats!

like the nationalist Action Canada Network, and to build pressure groups like the bourgeois-feminist National Action Committee on the Status of Women. Meanwhile the labor brass are working behind the scenes to revive the NDP through a change in leadership. Former longtime Windsor MP Steven Langdon, their current favorite, recently repeated his call for Bob Rae to resign as Ontario party leader to "permit the rebuilding of a modern but caring social democratic party." (Rae told him to get stuffed.) And Canadian Labour Congress president Bob White is holding out an olive branch to the new federal Liberal government, with which he hopes to have "a much different relationship than we have had in the past." The fight to defeat the onslaught of the bosses and their governments necessarily means political struggle to oust these sellout labor mislcaders and reforge the unions as instruments of class struggle.

Left Fakers and the NDP

When the Ontario NDP was elected in late 1990, we warned what was to come, writing that: "Any serious fight against growing unemployment, homelessness and poverty in Canada's industrial heartland will necessarily require a fight *against* the pro-capitalist NDP government" ("Ont. NDP Pledges to Rule for Bay Street," *SC* No. 82, January/February 1991). In contrast, a host of self-proclaimed "socialists" saluted Bob Rae's win. Typical was *Socialist Worker* (October 1990), paper of the International Socialists (I.S.), which insisted that the "first instinct of every socialist" should be to "celebrate" the NDP victory.

Today these fakers still cover for the New Democrats. The OFL convention saw the I.S. line up to the right even of a large section of the union bureaucracy, hawking papers with the slogan, "Why unions *shouldn't* break from the NDP!" The November 1993 *Socialist Worker* argues that "The key issue for trade union militants is not to disaffiliate from the NDP, but to increase the pressure of an independent working class voice on the NDP government"—as if the authors of the Social Contract would take a moment's notice of such "pressure."

The I.S.' chief argument for sticking with the New Democrats is identical to that of the bureaucrats who led the pro-Rac walkout from the OFL convention. Breaking with the NDP, they say, would "strengthen the right wing," especially the viscerally anti-union Reform Party. This is the worst kind of

> defeatist "lesser evil" politics, of a piece with the I.S.' scandalous support to Mulroney's failed constitutional package in October 1992. Defeating the bosses' attacks and throwing back Reform's reaction requires *class struggle*, not warmed-over pro-capitalist social democracy and support to the status quo. At a time when wide sections of working people are in open revolt against the New Democrats, with many open to the idea of building a workers party which will truly fight for working-class interests, the I.S. is way out in right field.

> Socialist Challenge (SC), adherents of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, issued a leaflet for the OFL convention which announced that the NDP is on its "death bed" and raised the call for a "new labour party" based on a "socialist programme." This might seem like a left turn for these perennial NDP supporters. But no: two days after speechifying against the hated Bob Rae, SC spokesman (and public-sector union bureaucrat) Barry Weisleder joined other OFL delegates in a standing ovation for federal party leader Audrey McLaughlin.

The September 1993 *Socialist Challenge* clarified just what their "new party" talk is all about: "The fight for a democratic socialist party, based on progressive labour and activists from oppressed groups against the NDP's right-wing social democratic leadership will be the only way the party can salvage credibility after the Harcourt-Romanow-Rae fiasco." So SC is just keeping its options open. They want to "salvage credibility" for the New Democrats, but as a last resort they're ready to go for a new social-democratic ("democratic socialist") labor party.

This is manifestly *not* what the working class needs. Canadian capitalism is in profound crisis, with even bourgeois pundits admitting official unemployment will stay in double-digit figures throughout the '90s. The federal Liberals are preparing to go even further than the Tories in attacking social programs and workers' rights in the name of "fighting the deficit." And from B.C. to Ontario the NDP has shown to millions that, far from being part of the solution, they are enemies of the just struggles of workers and the oppressed. In this conjuncture of widespread hatred for the New Democrats, we underline, again, that the only road forward is the fight for a new and very different party of the working class, one which will stop at nothing short of socialist revolution. ■

Victory Sparks Class Struggle in Europe Air France Strikers Win

For nearly two weeks last October, a strike of Air France ground crews against threatened layoffs and wage cuts threw Paris airports into chaos and ended up in a workers victory on the battlefield. The struggle electrified the French working class as the bourgeoisie reacted in fear of the working-class militancy. When on October 25 the new right-wing French government

of Edouard Balladur backed down, spokesmen for the interests of capital throughout the world responded with dismay. The New York Times lectured that "Mr. Balladur has no stomach for conflict at a time when he judges France to be ripe for a social explosion of the sort that rocked the country a quarter-century ago."

Confronted by the government's obscene demands for layoffs and pay cuts of up to 20 percent, the workers

fought back. They marched to the airports, blockaded runways, and several times succeeded in stopping planes from taking off. The strikers exchanged blow for blow with the riot police, who fired tear gas and water cannon at them. The workers occupied the terminals. Le Monde, the leading French bourgeois daily, admitted: "The strikers are the total masters of the place." Inspired by their courage and militancy, other workers sought to join the strike. In a humiliating retreat, the government which only four days earlier had described its demands as "irrevocable" was forced to scrap its "restructuring" scheme and shove out the airline's top executive officer, the "socialist" Bernard Attali.

The British Financial Times (1 November) summed up the impact of the victory: "Workers across Europe appear to have taken strength from the spectacular victory of Air France employees.... In Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain and France, employers are facing increasing militancy as they demand job

cuts and flexibility."

After a decade of union-busting, mass layoffs, pay cuts-the product of what one American trade union faker called a "onesided class war"-finally our side has won something. What a breath of fresh air the Air France strike was to hundreds of thousands of class-conscious European workers! The workers

"The government is not afraid of the Air France strikers, what it fears is that everybody may take to the streets and say 'Enough!' " -striking Air France worker "This is not a strike but a revolt." -French minister of transport **Bernard Bosson**

showed that strikes can win and class struggle pays off.

What the Air France strikers won, they gained through hard class struggle, not by one-day "protest" actions, lobbying parliament, or by electing a social-democratic or popular-front government. The workers need to generalize that politically. The union misleaderships, who at all times during the Air France battle sought to dampen the militancy of the strikers,

are tied in with reformist political parties-the Communist Party, Socialist Party and their "far left" camp followers-that want to channel working-class discontent into a new version of a class-collaborationist popular front with the open class enemy. What is urgently needed is a revolutionary workers party that will fight all the way for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers rule.

The stage was set when the management of the national airline announced a "restructuring" plan entailing 4,000 layoffs to gear up for privatization and intensified competition when "European skies are liberated" on 1 January 1997. Starting with a "day of action" by workers in the public sector on October 12, the mechanics and freight workers of Air France decided not to return to work the next morning, thus beginning a militant strike that crippled air traffic throughout France.

Air France was losing over \$10 million a day, while (continued on page 6)

Financial Times

backing down rightwing government.

workers played hardball and won.

Striking Air France

Air France...

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(continued from page 5)

foreign carriers were threatening to sue the Paris airport authorities to recover the costs of postponing and diverting their own flights to France. But it was not just these monetary losses that caused the government to buckle. It was fear of the strike spreading, especially to other public sector workers facing layoffs and cutbacks. Just a few days before the Air France walkout, 35,000 railway workers demonstrated in Paris. And during the strike, 10,000 teachers marched through the French capital in an anti-government protest.

Unemployment in France is now approaching 12 percent, the *highest level since World War II*. Paris sociologist Olivier Duhamel, after conducting a survey showing 70 percent of the population in favor of the strike, observed: "Everyone is afraid of unemployment and salary cuts so they have taken a kind of vicarious pleasure in the Air France protests."

Sensing it was sitting on a social volcano, the Mitterrand-Balladur government moved to end the strike as quickly as possible. But the reformist union leaderships, instead of following up this victory, are *squandering* the advantage won from the government. Under pressure of the airport workers for a common struggle, the bureaucrats had to call for a "day of action" on October 26, in which several thousand workers participated, including Air France flight personnel and employees of Air Inter (the other nationalized French airline company), as well as workers from the state-owned railways, the Chausson car and bus manufacturer and the SFP nationalized television production company.

October 26 could have been the springboard for other and even bigger class battles. But the cowardly reformist union "leaders" did everything they could to limit the mobilization, taking workers for a ride around the airports. At mass assemblies at Roissy and Orly that day the strikers voted to stay out but the reformist union misleaders called for the workers to return to the job. Militant strikers are furious at the bureaucrats, because they have been forced to return to work without guarantees against job cuts or amnesty for arrested workers.

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Although the Air France strikers were able to force the government to abandon the Attali plan, they could not go over to the offensive. In the coming months Air France management will surely seek to pull the union tops into negotiations to continue the "restructuring" in a less directly confrontational way. Everyone knows the struggle is not over.

Spectre of May '68 Haunts French Bourgeoisie

Just as the U.S. Rangers getting killed in Somalia evokes in the American ruling class unhappy memories of its humiliating defeat in Vietnam, so the Air France strike evokes the haunting spirit of May '68 in France. The minister of transport, Bosson, justifying the withdrawal of Attali's plan, explained that "It was a movement unheard of since May 68" (*Libération*, 27 October). *Le Monde* described the beginning of the October 26 action by baggage workers at Roissy: "...the playing of the *Internationale* by loudspeaker put the marchers into form. Like lightning, unionists or not, they stopped in their tracks and took up the chorus, their collars turned up and fists in the air. 'It's like 68!', a CFDT [union] leader whispered under his breath."

Twenty-five years ago, that spontaneously spreading worker/student revolt brought France to the brink of revolution and led to the toppling of Charles de Gaulle's semi-bonapartist regime. Only the outright betrayal by the then powerful pro-Moscow Stalinist party saved bourgeois rule in France, preventing the working class from moving to take power from the bourgeoisie in an important country at the center of NATO Europe. Even so, May '68 had powerful reverberations around the world, especially in West Europe. The following year came Italy's "Hot Autumn" as workers seized their factories and battled police and company goons.

Today conditions from the Baltic to the Mediterranean are ripe for new May '68s and "hot autumns." Everywhere, the capitalist ruling classes, involved in a genuine trade war to redistribute the markets in a context of deep economic crisis, wage the same attacks against their working classes, in the wake of the collapse of the deformed workers states in the East: dismantling of the "welfare state" concessions granted after World War II, imposing wage freezes and wage cuts, job cuts and layoffs, and widespread privatizations in the public sector.

However, the proletariat remains saddled with a reformist leadership which keeps it bound and tied politically to the class enemy. In France the current round of attacks on workers by Balladur/Mitterrand was preceded by over a decade of austerity enforced by a popular-front government which was politically supported by almost the entire French left. In 1981 the bourgeoisic agreed to hand over the reins of state to Mitterrand, candidate of a class-collaborationist alliance extending from a section of the Gaullist movement to the Communist Party and assorted fake Trotskyists. The bourgeoisie saw in Mitterrand a NATO "socialist" who would carry out a capitalist "shock treatment" at home. Mass disenchantment with Mitterrand led to a substantial victory for the right wing at the polls in 1992.

Feeding off the economic deterioration, as well as the racist anti-immigrant campaigns implemented under Mitterrand's "socialist" administration of capitalism, the fascists of Le Pen's National Front have also grown markedly. The firebombing of hostels housing asylum-seekers goes hand in hand with government moves to expel "illegal" immigrants. But while some backward sections of workers have been attracted to the fascists, there are many more who would combat the racist scum.

The immigrant workers are a central reservoir of militancy within the French proletariat, and during the Air France battle

January/February 1994

For Class War, Not Trade War!

As they gear up for an era of heightened interimperialist competition, the capitalists on three continents are seeking to squeeze enhanced profits out of the workers through speedup, wage-gouging and ruthless cuts in social services. The capitalist world is coalescing into rival imperialist trade blocs. The German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc. are moving, just as Wall Street and its Canadian junior partners have done with NAFTA, to consolidate their hinterlands as an exclusive market, source of raw materials, and cheap labor.

The working class has the power to turn the capitalists' trade war into a class war against all the exploiters. This was dramatically underscored by the upsurge of class struggle that ripped across Europe late last year:

• Belgium: A one day general strike on November 26 completely shut down industry, transportation and even shops. Workers marched with red flags to protest a three-year freeze on real wages and massive cuts in social security decreed by the Christian Democrat/Socialist government. The international airport at Brussels was shut down by pickets who put up flaming barricades on the access roads.

• Spain: On November 25, hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated across Spain against "Socialist" prime minister Felipe González' proposed labor law "reform" which would make it easier to fire workers at a time when unemployment is almost 23 percent. The workers' demonstrations, supported by students and community organizations, were called by the Socialist Party-led General Workers Union and the Workers Commissions as a dry run for a general strike.

• France: One month after the victory at Air France, coal miners of the Lorraine region in northeast France struck on December 1 against threatened layoffs, waging pitched battles with police. Armed with ax handles, the miners overran police lines (47 cops were injured), overturned police cars, burned buildings and smashed up a local office of the minister of industry.

What is clearly posed is international class struggle against the capitalists' reactionary attacks. But reformist misleaders have sidetracked labor protests into the dead end of protectionism. The miners in Lorraine burned imported coal on

it was an integrated working class that demonstrated its strength on the streets. Immigrant women, many of whom work as lowpaid cleaners for subcontractors at the airports, have waged militant strikes in the recent period, and at Orly they were on strike at the same time as the Air France ground crews. And it's worth noting that many pilots have refused to carry out the government's orders to deport "illegal" immigrants, who are kept at notorious airport "holding camps" (set up by a "leftist" government) prior to being expelled.

Throughout Europe, a new generation of young radicals has come to the fore in militant protests against the fascists and against the "respectable," official racist policies. On October 16 more than 50,000 anti-fascist demonstrators—overwhelmingly young and leftist—turned out in London. They ran smack into the riot cops protecting the fascists. The demonstrators were beaten back. In France the infamous CRS riot cops were set upon the Air France strikers. But in this case the government had to retreat, facing the raw power of the working class. Had the cops in London been confronted with thousands of



Labor tops' chauvinist anti-NAFTA campaign scapegoats Mexican workers for Canadian capitalist decline.

the docks. German miners—many of them Turkish immigrants—have repeatedly demonstrated against imported coal. Similarly in Canada, the Canadian Labour Congress bureaucrats have pitched opposition to NAFTA in terms of protectionist tirades against Mexican workers "taking Canadian jobs." (In fact, what "free trade" poses is the rape of the Mexican economy by the far more powerful U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie and its Canadian jackals.) This nationalist poison is a deadly obstacle to effective workingclass struggle.

Under capitalism, rivalries among imperialist powers are ultimately settled by war, for the international extension of production is in contradiction with the outmoded nationstate. As mounting trade war and interimperialist rivalry point toward shooting wars, it is desperately necessary for the world proletariat—above all in the belly of the North American imperialist beast—to overthrow the capitalist system. This is the task of a Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution. ■

organized trade unionists, they would not have acted with such impunity. It is necessary to weld the social strength of the proletariat to the militancy of anti-fascist youth and minorities.

Above all, what is necessary is the construction of an internationalist revolutionary workers party, part of a reforged Fourth International. Such a party would be a party of intransigent class struggle. It would ruthlessly expose the treachery of the reformists—the social democrats and other sellout artists—who fritter away the fighting strength of the working class in classcollaborationist alliances with the bourgeoisie, in lying claims that the proletariat can win anything real through parliament or by seeking to pressure the capitalist state. It would unleash the courage and militancy of the working class—powerfully displayed by the Air France strikers—in the struggle for socialist revolution, which will finally put an end to the decaying capitalist system of unemployment, poverty, racism, fascism and imperialist war.

—Adapted from Workers Hammer No. 138, November/December 1993 7

FSP Liberals: Still Liars

Three issues ago we answered some violence-baiting slanders published by the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party, who had echoed the capitalist media's denunciations of the Trotskyists, unionists, minority youth and others who came out determined to stop the fascists in Vancouver on January 22 last year (see "FSP: Big Lies from Little Liberals," *SC* No. 92, Summer 1993). Vancouver FSPer Marcel Hatch has responded by circulating a five-page "Open Letter" dated September 10.

The FSP begins by complaining that "It is ludicrous to charge that we 'violence-baited' the Trotskyist League (TL) and 'stood with the cops' because we opposed your attempts to start a totally unnecessary ruckus at a spontaneous protest following the rally." Much of their "Open Letter" is then given over to...further violence-baiting of the TL.

Hatch states that the "TL advocated busting through the police lines" on January 22. This is a lie which he proceeds to embellish, ranting that we are "machos" with "testosterone politics" and a "lust for confrontations with the cops." This vicious portrait of bloodthirsty, deranged communists is an



22 January 1993: militant protesters routed Nazi thugs who tried to stage "secret meeting" at Vancouver hotel.

open invitation to capitalist state repression. When the bourgeois press published similar tirades following the demonstration, we immediately denounced these in a January 28 letter:

"Let's get it straight. What happened on January 22 was that trade unionists, minorities, socialists, gays and other antifascist fighters stopped the Nazis of 'Canadian Liberty Net' and their degenerate skinhead punks from staging their planned provocation in downtown Vancouver.... "Your attempts to smear those who stopped the Nazis as

"Your attempts to smear those who stopped the Nazis as 'violent' only serve to encourage yet more violent attacks by the fascists on the people of Vancouver and to give free license to the cops who are now trying to throw the book at two anti-fascist protesters."

Whose interest does Hatch's sinister garbage serve? Not that of the young militants arrested on January 22, whom the FSP refuses to defend. And certainly not that of the TL supporters and others (whose defense the FSP claims to endorse) who face trumped-up assault charges in the aftermath of our successful 6 May 1993 anti-fascist mobilization. Marcel Hatch's slanders against the TL read like a brief for the prosecution. The Trotskyist League and the Partisan Defense Committee distributed tens of thousands of leaflets calling for a massive, disciplined display of labor/minority power to stop the Nazis on January 22. Contingents from a whole series of Vancouverarea unions mobilized in response. What gores the FSP's ox is that we exposed *their* role—as "socialist" auxiliaries to the police. After 3,000 anti-racists occupied the intended site of the Nazi rally that evening, 500 protesters marched to a nearby hotel when word came that the Nazis were holed up there. Having driven off a handful of skinhead thugs nearby, protesters moved to the front of the hotel where a small line of cops blocked the entrance. There the FSP and their allies *stood with the cops* and pushed back angry and determined anti-fascist youth who wanted to teach the Nazis in the hotel a well-deserved lesson.

The FSP "Open Letter" does not dispute or deny these facts. "What we did," Hatch writes, "was *disagree with TL over the strategy and tactics* for building a movement to counter white supremacists. That doesn't make us liberals or liars." Actually, it makes them both. Their strategy is "radical" liberalism, and in the service of these politics they lie about the Trotskyists who have the strategy to stop the fascists—through mobilizing the power of organized labor at the head of all the oppressed.

The "Open Letter" claims to "agree in principle" with our call to mobilize labor power against the fascist threat. But in practice the FSP's politics are the very opposite of united *class* struggle. Hatch writes:

"But while united fronts must have a workingclass [sic] leadership which brings together all the targets of fascism, including organized labour, they can not be comprised solely of the white male aristocracy of labour. Women, people of colour and lesbians and gays comprise the *vast majority* of labour and are the first targets of fascism. They must be in the leadership of united front efforts if we are to defeat the new Hitlerites. This is why FSP and RW [Radical Women—an FSP front group] supported the Coalition United to Fight Oppression (CUFO) call to build a Rainbow Contingent at the January 22 rally in Vancouver."

The FSP begins by conflating the *organized* labor movement and a "white male aristocracy of labour." To do so is simply to white out the thousands and thousands of South and East Asians, men and women, who form a strategic core of the unionized proletariat in the B.C. Lower Mainland. It is these workers who form the living link between the social power of the unions and the oppressed masses of their communities. In building for January 22 at the mills, on the docks, at the postal stations, we met many who helped us reach their friends and relatives in the temples and community centers, on the campuses, at gay bars and clubs.

The FSP portrays organized labor as (at best) another oppressed "sector," and styled their Rainbow Contingent after the "rainbow coalition" pushed by Jesse Jackson of the capitalist U.S. Democratic Party. Under the guise of following the leadership of "women, people of colour, lesbians and gays," in practice the FSP's line is a guilty liberal version of the sectoralist "solidarity" so common on the left.

Their patronizing view that oppressed minorities "can't be wrong" has led them off in some very anti-working-class directions. For example, in the mid-1980s the FSP embraced the contra-allied, CIA-bankrolled leaders of the Miskito Indians in armed revolt against the petty-bourgeois radical Sandinista *(continued on page 12)*

Legion Racists Target Sikhs

VANCOUVER—On November 11, the Newton branch of the Royal Canadian Legion, located in suburban Surrey, carried out a deliberate racist provocation. The Legion publicly invited Sikh veterans to take part in Remembrance Day events. But when six Sikh veterans, men in their sixties and older bedecked with medals, arrived at the Legion Hall as part of the official parade they were physically stopped at the front door. They were pulled aside, cornered and humiliated as Legion officials

Across the country decent people (and various politicians) voiced their outrage over this gross racist act. But not the newly elected Surrey North Reform Party MP, Margaret Bridgman. She rushed to defend the Legion, declaring, "The Legion is doing the right thing to enforce the policy." With an MP giving the green light, racist yahoos swamped radio call-in shows and local newspapers with anti-Şikh venom. There have been threats to bomb one newspaper, and death threats have been sent to at least one reporter's home. The editor of one Surrey paper told *SC* that they were inundated with hate mail whenever they ran a picture of a Sikh on the front page.

One of the fastest growing areas in the country, Surrey and the surrounding region have become a hotbed of racist attacks. In the past half decade, Surrey's South Asian population has grown to 25,000 from 5,000. These immigrants and their families are routinely assaulted both physically and verbally on the streets. In early December two houses just five blocks from the Newton Legion were defaced with swastikas and "Kill the Hindus." On November 14 in nearby Clearbrook, a referee refused to let 17-year-old Steve Dhaliwal play in a soccer game because of his turban, calling it "dangerous headgear." And on Remembrance Day the youngsters of the Filipino Canadian Drum and Bugle Corps were thrown out of an official march in nearby Richmond by racist officials.

That these were not some isolated actions by a handful, but a product of Canada's racist rulers' anti-immigrant hysteria was underscored in Quebec recently. In the first week of December Longueuil municipal court judge Richard Alary expelled Wafaa Moussiyne, a Muslim woman, from the court because she refused to remove her headscarf. Sounding exactly like the head of the Newton Legion, the judge declaimed, "There are rules of practice stating that you shouldn't wear anything on your head while you're in court." Moussiyne's headscarf was a form of the *hidjeb*, the stifling veil which is an instrument of the oppression of Muslim women. But *hidjeb* is also a declaration of religious faith. The state has no business interfering in the religious practices of individuals, which are a private matter. The judge's ban was an act of racism, pure and simple.

While B.C. government officials have criticized the Legion ban, the NDP government has helped to fuel anti-immigrant racism. The NDP decided no charges were to be brought against the cops who brutally beat Chinese worker Zhang Feng Hua in February 1992, giving police the all-clear for continued violence against Asians and other minorities. This official state racism has sowed a fertile field for the Reform Party to reap in the recent federal election. And crawling out from deep in that field have come the Ku Klux Klan and other fascists who in recent years have become bolder and bolder.



Indian troops advance during bloody 1944 Italian campaign. British imperialists used colonial soldiers for cannon fodder—now racist Surrey Legion bans Sikh veterans.

Racist filth coming from the mouths of Legionnaires is nothing new. Two years ago the White Rock Legion, in south Surrey, made national headlines with its "no headgear" anti-Sikh ban. Then there's the president of a Cornwall, Ontario, Legion who recently spat out that Sikh veterans should "go back to their country." So much for "comrades in arms."

But then, Remembrance Day itself "celebrates" the death agony of the British Empire in two interimperialist world wars. Like the workingmen of Europe and North America, the colonial soldiers who were thrown into those bloody slaughters "resolved" the conflict of their rulers in rivers of blood. Afterwards, Sikhs and other dark-skinned "British subjects" were repaid with renewed colonial oppression and racist immigration bans in England and her Dominions. Institutions such as the Royal Canadian Legion, loyal to the British monarchy and its long-dead white man's empire, are necessarily bastions of reaction. But we communists oppose racist segregation and discrimination wherever it rears its head, including in the Legion (and within the RCMP who for years also barred Sikhs).

Thousands of IWA-Canada woodworkers, including many Sikhs and other South Asians, work along the South Arm of the Fraser River. The Canadian Auto Workers and other unions whose members include many women workers from East and South Asia have their headquarters in New Westminster, just across the river from Surrey. The integrated working class of B.C.'s Lower Mainland must take up the cause of the foreignborn, minorities and all the oppressed, on the way to tossing the entire racist ruling class into the dustbin of history. ■

Zionist Killers...

(continued from page 1)

of the Occupied Territories, now!

Only days before the once-promised December 13 deadline for implementation of the accord, Israel flooded the Occupied Territories with massive troop reinforcements. And on December 9, the anniversary of the Palestinian Intifada revolt, fascist settlers murdered three Palestinian laborers near Hebron. The "peace" deal was brokered by the U.S. in an attempt to impose an imperialist Pax Americana on the Near East. As a result of the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, Washington has sponsored a number of "peace" deals as part of a U.S.-dominated "New World Order," including between the Salvadoran guerrillas and America's death squad client state and a bogus "power sharing" agreement between the ANC and the apartheid regime in South Africa. But as the photo-op of Rabin shaking hands with Arafat on the White House lawn is eclipsed by scenes of crazed Zionist zealots and soldiers shooting Arabs in the back, U.S. president Clinton is trying to distance himself from the increasingly bloody "peace process."

Israel barely waited for the ink to dry on the sham accord before resuming—and stepping up—its murderous manhunt of Palestinian activists. In late September, an army raid in the West Bank grabbed PLO "Black Panther" commander Ahmed Awad Ikmail and five others. Days later, troops in the Gaza Strip blasted rocket-propelled grenades at a headquarters of Hamas, which opposes the accord, killing two members of the Islamic fundamentalist group and arresting 16. Army officials claimed "their activities were specifically aimed at smashing Hamas gunmen and not at PLO factions which support the peace process" (London *Independent*, 4 October). But army death squads have also been going after activists in Arafat's Fatah group.

In late November, troops gunned down the 18-year-old son of a leading Fatah activist in the West Bank town of Ramallah. Several days later, on November 28, an army undercover unit posing as Arab vegetable vendors assassinated 23-year-old Ahmed Abu ar-Reesh and 21-year-old Farid Imtair, members of the youth group Fatah Hawks, as they stood outside the former's house in Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip. Shortly before his murder, ar-Reesh had turned his gun in to Israeli authorities as part of an amnesty program for supporters of the accord. This cold-blooded execution was such a blatant and deliberate provocation that army chief of staff Ehud Barak was compelled to issue an unprecedented apology. But the killing continues unchecked.

Just in the month after the signing of the accord, some two dozen Palestinians were killed by Israeli soldiers. Two weeks ago, Israeli television cameras captured the horrific scene of a young Palestinian being executed with a bullet through the head, as troops fired directly into Gaza crowds protesting an earlier murder of a Hamas activist. Moreover, three leading Fatah officials in the Occupied Territories have been assassinated in the last three months in mysterious circumstances, killings which Hamas and other anti-Fatah Palestinian groups have explicitly condemned. Particularly given Israel's past campaigns targeting PLO officials for wholesale execution, and the recent exposure of an Israeli spy in the PLO's inner council, the long arm of the Mossad secret service is certainly not to be excluded.

Meanwhile, hard-core racist settlers have been terrorizing Palestinian towns and villages throughout the Occupied Territories. For six weeks now, fascistic gangs have blockaded highways with burning tires and stoned cars with Arab license plates. The West Bank town of Hebron has become the scene of a virtually uninterrupted Zionist pogrom, as settler mobs marauded through the streets with clubs swinging and guns blazing, shattering windows of homes and shops, shooting one Palestinian through the head. In village after village, Arab homes, greenhouses, refugee camps and classrooms have been attacked and set ablaze by crazed Israeli fascists. Meanwhile, the army has begun openly recruiting settlers into the armed Civil Guard auxiliary, while Rabin's cabinet is split over whether to endorse a newly formed settler militia.

The army high command made no secret of its dissatisfaction with the Rabin-Arafat deal. One in five reservists say they will disobey orders to evacuate the territories or ask to be relieved from duty. The army's current behavior brings to mind the socalled "Lavon affair" of the 1950s, when military intelligence agents around longtime "Labor" Zionist leader David Ben-Gurion carried out unauthorized raids against Egypt in order to sabotage secret peace talks between then prime minister Levi Eshkol and Egyptian president Nasser. Lavon was forced to resign as "defense" minister—despite his insistence that the



Jericho-Gaza "peace" deal, which PLO head Yasir Arafat (left) signed with Zionist butcher Yitzhak Rabin (far right), is a betrayal of the Palestinian masses.

January/February 1994

attacks had been carried out without his instructions—paving the way for Ben-Gurion's return.

The Zionist "ultras" are up in arms over the prospect of even the most cosmetic concessions to the PLO, particularly the proposed creation of a lightly armed Palestinian police force. Settler spokesman Aharon Domb rants: "Any armed Arab policeman is a terrorist as far as we're concerned, and if we run into him on a highway, I'll open fire." These threats are echoed in the halls of the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, by the head of the Molodet party, which stands for the forcible expulsion of the Palestinians. Ultrarightist former military commander Ariel Sharon has called on the settlers to fight any government attempt to remove them.



Palestinians in Gaza protest in outrage over murder of Hamas leader by Israeli troops.

The aim of the proposed Palestinian force is not to police

the violently anti-Arab settlers, but to protect them. PLO negotiator Nabil Shaath made this explicit on the CBS news program 60 Minutes (5 November). When asked if "a Palestinian policeman, perhaps a former member of the Intifada, is going to arrest his Palestinian brother to protect an Israeli settler," Shaath replied "yes." The new police force, which is to include a 3,000-strong secret intelligence force to track down Palestinian "terrorists," is being hand-picked by Arafat loyalists in Tunis to weed out potential "troublemakers." The man chosen to be police commander in Gaza served for nearly 30 years as a cop for the Israeli occupiers, until forced to resign by the Intifada uprising six years ago.

Through its capitulation to the Israeli regime, the pettybourgeois nationalist PLO has encouraged the current wave of Zionist-fascist outrages. Not only have Arafat & Co. backtracked on their previous position for a minimal Palestinian statelet in the Occupied Territories, they have repudiated even the call for getting rid of the militarized settlements. As fascist terror besets the Palestinian people, PLO spokesman Faisal al-Husseini issues impotent appeals for "an international force to serve as a buffer between us and the settlers" (*New York Times*, 9 November). When Palestinian militants fired at a car carrying a leader of the fascistic Gush Emunim movement last month, Arafat quickly caved in to demands by Rabin and U.S. president Clinton that he denounce "violence" against settlers—with not a hint of condemnation of the rampant Zionist terror being inflicted on the Palestinian people.

Initial, albeit skeptical, support for Arafat's plan among the Palestinian masses in the Occupied Territories has steadily evaporated as its true content becomes clear. In the first electoral test of support for the agreement, in student elections at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank, an anti-accord political bloc of the fundamentalist Hamas and the self-styled "Marxists" of the Popular Front (PFLP) and Democratic Front (DFLP) defeated a pro-Fatah slate. Even within Fatah, particularly among the young Hawks, there is widespread disgruntlement with Arafat and the accord. Mcanwhile, what passes for a left in Israel marches in lockstep behind Rabin. The Meretz bloc in the Israeli cabinet sees the accord as the culmination of its years of Zionist "dove" appeals for "peace now." Meretz spokesman Yossi Sarid sympathizes with "the sorrow of the settlers" and haughtily dismisses Arafat's apology as "not enough." His colleague Shulamit Aloni insists that Arafat call on the Palestinian people as a whole to condemn "terror."

The Stalinists of the Israeli Hadash parliamentary bloc (whose base is almost exclusively Arab) and the Palestinian People's (formerly Communist) Party in the Occupied Territories fulsomely support the treacherous Israel-PLO accord. While Hadash leader Tawfiq Zayyad begs the government to disarm settlers "using weapons other than in self-defense"(!), People's Party head Ghazan el-Khateeb denounces Hamas for "sabotaging the peace process" (People's Weekly World, 6 November). It is precisely this kind of liberal Stalinist pablum which fosters the growth of Islamic fundamentalists like Hamas, who seek to enslave Palestinian women behind the stultifying veil. In fact, Hamas quickly arrived at a "live and let live" agreement with Fatah, but we defend them and other opponents of the accord like the PFLP and DFLP against Zionist repression when they undertake actions against armed Israeli occupation forces, whether in or out of uniform.

The fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel, in its consistent support for Palestinian nationalism, has gone from enthusing over indiscriminate anti-Jewish terror in the early '70s to now cozying up to this conqueror's "peace." For international consumption, USec leader Salah Jaber makes a passing reference to the accord as a "Zionist diktat" (International Viewpoint, October 1993). But in an "Open letter to a friend from Peace Now," Israeli USec leader Michel Warschawsky, lamely criticizing the PLO deal as being "far from satisfying," waxes poetic about the "vision of Israeli-Palestinian co-existence" and the "unconditional joy of peace." This self-styled "Trotskyist" vows his commitment "to bring (continued on page 12)

Zionist Killers...

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about the full implementation of the Oslo agreement, in hopes that the new arrangement will prepare the ground for a true peace between Israel and Palestine" (*News From Within*, 5 October). Meanwhile, the quirky ex-Trotskyist American Socialist Workers Party, together with its Canadian branch office the Communist League, supported the accord outright!

The wretched Rabin-Arafat deal is not even the smallest step toward peace in the Near East, much less anything approaching the national emancipation of the Palestinian people. As we wrote at the time of its announcement, the "Gaza-Jericho first" agreement amounts to little more than "community control' over a couple of impoverished slums." As Israeli and PLO negotiators quibble over the size of the proposed Jericho bantustan (ranging from 10 to 150 square miles), what is emerging is a plan for a series of disconnected, isolated Palestinian "cantons" (in reality, ghettos) in the Occupied Territories, a proposal openly pushed by Sharon (including in private meetings with Rabin). In fact, the essence of this scheme was laid out in the "Allon plan" proposed by "Labor" immediately after the conquest of the territories in 1967.

The ever-expanding Jerusalem metropolitan area already consists of much of the central third of the West Bank. Newly elected Likud mayor Olmert vows to go on "creating facts on the ground," the Zionist euphemism for expropriating Arab land. The Rabin government has just approved a further extension of the limits of Jerusalem—consolidating existing

FSP Liberals...

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government of Nicaragua. So far as we know, no other selfprofessed left-wing organization took such a scandalously proimperialist position.

To be fair, there are a few "white male" leaders who have won the FSP's approval. Lech Walesa and Boris Yeltsin come to mind. Last November, at their first and only Vancouver forum (entitled "Women in East Europe Say NO to Sexism & Capitalism") their speaker shamelessly reiterated the FSP's support for Walesa's Polish Solidarność movement. The antiabortion, anti-Semitic zealots of Solidarność are the architects of the capitalist counterrevolution that has brought such misery and destitution to Polish working people, especially women. Similarly, in the name of "anti-Stalinism," the FSP embraced Boris Yeltsin's 1991 power grab in Moscow. The destruction of the Soviet workers state carried out by Yeltsin on behalf of imperialism has placed women, gays, Jews and dark-skinned people from the Caucasus in the crosshairs of murderous nationalism, religious obscurantism and fascist terror.

"TL has to learn the lessons of history," writes Hatch. He claims our counterposition of mass labor-centered action to *stop* the fascists to the FSP's Rainbow diversion "was reminiscent of what the German Communist Party in the 1930s did when they characterized the social democrats as 'social fascists' who were more dangerous than Hitler's thugs...." This is stupid. We don't call the FSP "social fascists"; we do say that their liberal politics are an obstacle to successful anti-fascist mobilization.

Hatch talks about the need for a "united front," citing as an example the FSP's "working relationship" with the B.C. Organi-

settlements as far east as Jericho and south to Hebron into a new "housing development"—which would effectively split the Palestinian population of the West Bank in two. Meanwhile the Israelis insist on maintaining control over a three-mile strip bordering the Jordan River and a "hill line" to the east of Jericho, as well as roads connecting the numerous West Bank settlements.

The national and social liberation of the oppressed Palestinian masses requires the destruction of the Zionist garrison-state (as well as the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan) through socialist revolution, in which the Hebrew-speaking workers must necessarily play a central role. While demonstrating considerable economic militancy, as in a recent takeover of Tel Aviv airport by El Al strikers, the Hebrew workers must be broken from the stranglehold of Zionist ideology and won to the defense of Palestinian national rights if they are to successfully combat their own exploiters.

Only joint class struggle by all the workers of the region, standing at the head of the peasants and myriad oppressed nationalities, can lead to a progressive, just and equitable resolution to the conflicting national claims of the numerous peoples of the Near East, assuring the right of selfdetermination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples. The key lies in forging an internationalist Trotskyist vanguard party, in which Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews will be comrades in struggle against the Zionist capitalist exploiters and oppressors.

---Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 590, 17 December 1993

zation to Fight Racism (BCOFR) on January 22. But it was only *after* our call for mass labor-centered action to stop the fascists began to strike a chord among the working class that the labor bureaucrats and social democrats revived the long-moribund BCOFR in order to *head off* a mobilization of labor/minority power. Preaching reliance on the capitalist state and its police, the BCOFR built an impotent "Anti-Racism Rally" which was designed to lull the crowd with love-thy-neighbor speechifying. We fought to politically expose these sellouts, who had no intention of stopping Nazis. In contrast, the FSP's Rainbow Contingent explicitly endorsed the do-nothing BCOFR gabfest.

The FSP's call for a "broad movement to counter fascism" has nothing to do with genuine united-front *action*. For them, a "united front" means pursuit of class-collaborationist appetites, based on a shared reformist program. This is what Hatch means when he describes a united front as a "permanent, multiissue, anti-capitalist movement." For communists, a united front is a temporary formation which enables fighting unity of the politically diverse working class and oppressed for specific actions. That is what Lenin meant by "march separately, strike together." On January 22, the FSP politically marched with the reformist BCOFR, thereby clearly signaling in advance that it had no intention of striking at all.

From Warsaw to Moscow, the FSP's anti-working-class program has led them to support the very forces who have fueled the fascists' growth. This same program led them into a scandalous bloc with the police against anti-fascist youth last January 22. And it leads them to slander the Trotskyists who fight to mobilize the working class to stop the Nazis—and to build a party which, acting as a tribune of the oppressed, can lead the working class in a socialist revolution to stamp out fascist terror for good.

AIDS, Blood and Capitalism...

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dangers of Factor VIII. The president of Hemophilia Ontario estimates that as many as 30 percent of hemophiliacs could have avoided infection by using the less risky cryoprecipitate if they had been warned. This product uses the blood of seven or eight donors while the Factor VIII coagulant is made up of blood from as many as 20,000 donors.

In September 1984 the British medical journal *Lancet* published a study proving that heat-treatment of blood could kill HIV. That same month U.S. companies began selling heattreated blood products. Yet three months later, on 10 December 1984, Canadian authorities decided to delay until "between May and July" of 1985 the use of heat-treated blood products for hemophiliacs who needed transfusions of coagulant Factor VIII or Factor IX for survival.

On 30 October 1984, the national director of the Canadian Red Cross (which has a virtual monopoly on domestic blood supplies) said "plasma already in the pipeline" would produce eight million units of blood products. He made no suggestion that non-heat-treated blood be recalled. Later that year, the Red Cross bought 40 million units of heat-treated coagulation products, which they were to distribute "selectively." Yet in April 1985, the Red Cross' Dr. D.H. Taylor wrote to blood distribution centers: "The majority of hemophilia patients should continue to receive non-heat-treated coagulation products until July 1." This while the Red Cross had a full *threemonth supply* of heat-treated products.

On 2 March 1985 the U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved a procedure to screen for the presence of HIV in blood. In Canada, however, a similar procedure was not implemented for another eight months, during which hundreds of people contracted HIV from transfusions and blood products. As late as November 1987, Canadian blood agencies were still distributing contaminated blood.

In the fall of 1993 it was revealed that the Canadian Red Cross had distributed blood products imported from Germany that "might" have been contaminated. Some of the 400 patients who may have received these products have yet to be located. Ottawa pronounced these latest suspect blood products "safe" in November. But the victims of Canada's HIV-contaminated blood supply can only feel bitter skepticism about such pronouncements. The various medical and government agencies continue their scramble to cover up, obfuscate and otherwise escape from their culpability, but there's no escaping the hard fact that the blood supply in Canada has been anything but safe

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for well over a decade.

Those responsible for the Canadian blood supply knowingly put potentially deadly blood products into circulation. It would be satisfying to see those responsible doing some hard jail time, but it isn't likely. Public outrage prompted the previous Tory government to call a toothless "Commission of Inquiry." Its head, Judge Horace Krever, made it clear that nobody will get blamed for anything. "This is not a witchhunt," he promised



Ron Bull/Toronto Star

Health-care and other public sector workers protest Ontario NDP cutbacks. Free, quality health care for all!

(*Toronto Star*, 23 November 1993). In any event, by the time the Commission reaches conclusions, next September at the earliest, few of the victims may still be alive.

One can gauge the extent of the incriminating records that remain hidden by the fact that victims and their families will only get compensation if they sign a waiver protecting the culprits from legal action. This cynical move is intended to silence people who, their backs against the wall, afraid they and their families will be left penniless, might see no other way but to accept. But a lot of victims of the HIV-tainted blood scandal are not taking the miserable \$30,000 a year deal (plus four years at \$20,000 per annum for surviving spouses) which the provinces have cooked up. There are more than 120 lawsuits pending, and a class action suit was announced in early December.

Capitalism and Health Care

The Canadian Hemophilia Society's David Page summed it up: "Economic considerations were allowed to take precedence over public health considerations in the making of blood policy" (*Globe and Mail*, 6 November 1992). The reason the government, Red Cross and other officials did not use safe blood is *not* that none was available. Rather, they just wanted to save money, and that meant killing people. Even today, when the possibility of getting AIDS from a transfusion is far from obviated (as the recent scandal in Germany makes clear), the Canadian Blood Agency refuses to distribute two new generations of Factor VIII, needed by hemophiliacs and critical for those with (continued on page 14)

AIDS, Blood and Capitalism...

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AIDS because they contain no impurities. The Agency just doesn't want to spend the money that implementing this distribution could cost.

The tainted blood scandal crystallizes what the "free market" system means for public health. This applies not only to countries like the United States which lack socialized medicine of any kind, but also to nationalized health care under capitalism, as in Canada. Here too, the capitalist bottom line is what matters. With limited, and now decreasing, funding for medicare, more and more people are unable to get life-saving surgery in time, because there isn't enough money in the budget.

In Canada, the state itself was a key player in the distribution of the killer blood. This graphically counters the reformist illusion that capitalism, if supplemented by universal government management of public welfare, can become more "equitable." Moreover, under capitalism, reforms like universal medicare can and will be overturned at the earliest opportunity.

Throughout the post-WWII period, the imperialist powers were compelled to deal with the existence of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state which had, moreover, greatly increased its authority among European workers through its victory over Nazi Germany. Especially in West Europe, the bourgeoisie felt they had to concede the "welfare state" in order to pacify the working masses.

In the wake of counterrevolution in the USSR and East Europe, the bourgeoisie has announced the end of the "welfare state." All the euphemisms for a supposedly reformed capitalism ("social welfare state" in Germany, Sweden's "third way," etc.) are out the window. Federal Liberal cabinet minister Marcel Massé has mooted a 20 percent cut in health spending over the next few years. The NDP provincial governments in Ontario, B.C. and Saskatchewan are slashing health care left and right, targeting the most vulnerable sectors of society, especially immigrants and other minorities, as a first step toward scrapping "universal" medicare altogether. In Ontario, they are already set to eliminate all health benefits for refugees and foreign students (see box, facing page).

Many AIDS patients have had to quit their jobs and go on welfare in order to qualify for Ontario's free drug plan. Now, barbarically, the NDP government has started forcing these desperately ill people to surrender their life insurance policies to qualify for welfare (a \$100,000 policy might get you \$3,000 cash) creating a huge cash windfall for the insurance companies! And the New Democrats are planning to impose "user fees" on cancer and AIDS patients, who must come up with \$2,000 before the government starts providing drug coverage.

The Agony of AIDS

A truly just and rational society would put all possible resources into measures to combat the spread of HIV infection, to ensure humane care of the sick and to find a cure. But under capitalism, everything connected with public health is infused with the prejudices of class, race and sex. In the case of AIDS, from the very start the intersection of disease and sex called forth every hatred and prejudice in this sick society. Initially, gay sex and "the gay lifestyle" were blamed for AIDS, and a climate of violent homophobia surrounds the disease to this day. A racist furor was whipped up against Haitian immigrants in Canada and the U.S., who were accused of transmitting the disease.

In other circumstances, the capitalist rulers have responded quite differently to public-health emergencies. AIDS activist Larry Kramer in *Reports from the Holocaust* (1989) writes bitterly that in the Tylenol scare of the early 1980s the U.S. government spent \$10 million in just two weeks. When Legionnaire's disease broke out in 1976, American public-health agencies went all out to find the cause, and did—fast. There were no probes of the "legionnaire's lifestyle"—the all-male bonding rituals, the fact that the typical victim had been drunk at least 60 times in the previous 12 months. By contrast, in the early years of the AIDS epidemic funding for research was almost non-existent. Today, with millions infected, it remains criminally inadequate.

The medical industry will not invest in AIDS research for the simple reason that it doesn't pay. AZT is available—at an astronomical price—only because supplying this life-prolonging drug *does* pay. Burroughs Wellcome, the pharmaceutical company that produced the drug, raked in millions by charging \$10,000 a year. The same principle—the profit margin—applies for other AIDS drugs. One of the last acts of the Mulroney Tories was to grant the drug companies 20-year patents for their products, thus preventing the development and marketing of much cheaper generic drugs.

We communists call for free, quality health care for all, billions for AIDS care and research, and the allocation of socially necessary resources to find a cure for this devastating disease. We demand free distribution of condoms, including in the schools, the decriminalization of drugs, distribution of clean



Protest Ont. NDP Attacks on Refugees, Foreign Students!

DECEMBER 20—The provincial NDP government is set to eliminate all Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP) benefits for "temporary residents." Some 167,000 "noncitizens"—including refugees, foreign-born workers and 20,000 international students—will now have no medical coverage at all. Under current regulations, without an OHIP number they can't even apply for private insurance. *This is a racist outrage!*

According to the York University student newspaper, *Excalibur* (3 November 1993), a health ministry spokesman decried the old OHIP policy as "too generous" and stated "we must decide what the priorities are." Ever since they took office three years ago the Ontario NDP, vulgar lackeys of Bay Street, have been implementing the anti-worker "priorities" of Canada's rulers. Their OHIP "reforms" openly spell out capitalism's racist logic, targeting immigrants and refugees whose rights they see as an unnecessary overhead expense. Such attacks against the most vulnerable are only a first step toward broader measures against all working people and the oppressed. The imperialist Canadian ruling class intends to dismantle vital social programs altogether, from medicare to workers compensation, welfare and UIC.

In Ottawa the feds have already slammed the door on refugees, sending back thousands to destitution and death. Superexploited "temporary" workers, like Filipina women brought in as nannies for the families of the bourgeoisie, are virtual slaves, working for a pittance that is often never paid. As for visa students, they already pay *four times* the usurious tuition fees charged Canadian youth. Added to travel costs and the near impossibility of getting work, the social democrats' vicious health care cuts will help to exclude from higher education any youth from the Third World except the sons and daughters of the rich and powerful.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs demand full citizenship rights

needles, and an accurate, universal education campaign to combat the superstition and bigotry which still surround AIDS. Yet many of these elementary measures engender the greatest hostility from the ruling class, which uses AIDS as a club to impose bourgeois sexual "morals" against homosexuality and "promiscuity."

Instead of decent medical care, those afflicted with this disease are routinely humiliated and witchhunted, isolated and driven from their homes and jobs, impoverished and destroyed long before they ever die. Since the HIV antibody test was discovered, the International Communist League has opposed all attempts of any government to introduce forced testing—for anybody. One way or another, the state will lay its hands on such information and use it as a weapon. In Vancouver, for example, the police have tried surreptitiously to get prisoners tested, and until recently had photographs of "AIDS suspects" pinned up on the walls of their headquarters. We are for *free, anonymous and voluntary* AIDS testing for anyone who wants it, something which is only available in two provinces, Ontario and Quebec.



SYC joins protest against NDP attacks at National Student Day demonstration in Toronto last October.

for foreign-born workers and their families! We believe that the working class must lead the fight to defend all the oppressed, and we fight for a socialist revolution that can guarantee a decent life for every human being on earth. The NDP government is going after refugees and visa students because they think nobody will rise to defend the rights of the foreign-born. Prove them wrong! The Toronto Spartacus Youth Club is organizing a protest action against the NDP's racist OHIP onslaught at York University on Wednesday, January 19. We call on students, workers and anti-racist organizations to join us at 12:00 noon sharp outside Vari Hall. Defend refugees, visa students and foreign workers! Free, quality health care for all!

As our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany wrote in *Spartakist* No. 108 (November-December 1993) around the tainted blood scandal there: "This inhuman social system cannot be patched up to give it a 'human face'.... Quality health care is within the realm of possibility, but not in the framework of the capitalist system which cannot even give its citizens the necessities of life, although the productive capacity and the technology exist to feed the hungry on the whole planet. What is necessary is the reorganization of society on a socialist basis to place knowledge and technology in the service of all."

We fight to mobilize the working class in struggle against the worldwide capitalist onslaught on social programs, jobs and working conditions. The fight against AIDS cries out for international socialist revolution. Working-class rule will establish the basis for further significant scientific and cultural progress, and end once and for all the plight of those billions around the globe who find themselves on the receiving end of the "New World Order." When the workers are in charge of this planet, the only limits on human health will be scientific—and these will be constantly enlarged by thoughtful, energetic research.

A DECEMBER AND A DECEMB

SPARTACIST CANADA



AIDS is a lethal disease for which no cure has been discovered. It is a horrific pandemic. At least 15 million people worldwide are infected with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) which causes AIDS, 80 percent of them in the Third World. AIDS is depopulating entire areas of East Africa and is exploding in Asia. In North America and elsewhere in the advanced industrial world it first appeared among homosexuals. Now it is spreading like wildfire among racial minorities in the impoverished inner cities. AIDS is already the leading cause of early death among men in Toronto and Vancouver, and the disease is rampant on the barren, destitute Native reserves.

This medical catastrophe has been compounded by vicious bigotry and oppression against victims of the disease. HIV is transmitted sexually, through blood, semen or vaginal secretions, or through exchange of contaminated needles by intravenous drug users. AIDS victims are targeted by the greedy capitalist class as sexual "deviants" or drug-addicted "parasites" who, in their eyes, deserve to die. Thus every approach to this terrible disease—research, prevention, medical care, education —has been treated with criminal neglect.

This has been brutally underscored in the recent wave of tainted blood scandals. In country after country, governments, pharmaceutical companies, blood suppliers and the Red Cross have knowingly distributed HIV-infected blood. Caring only for their financial bottom line, capitalist ghouls in France, Germany, Canada and elsewhere refused to take elementary measures to ensure the safety of vital blood products. This is premeditated murder.

It is estimated that 35-40,000 Canadians carry HIV. More than 1,200—including 800 hemophiliacs, three-quarters of the total number in the country—were infected because they received tainted transfusions and blood products. Some 40

percent of these people were infected in a crucial period in 1985 because the Canadian Red Cross *continued to supply potentially deadly, untested blood products even though a safe alternative was readily available*. Federal and provincial government officials on the Canadian Blood Committee approved this decision, deciding to delay mandatory testing of blood for HIV until November of that year because such testing would have cost about \$5 million. (The same year, Ottawa spent 1, 700 times that amount on the military alone.)

Kirk Condyles/Impact Visuals

Chronology of Mass Murder

By 1982 there was accumulating evidence that AIDS could be transmitted through transfusions of infected blood. AIDS was first reported in Canada in February of that year. In July, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control warned that the Factor VIII clotting agent used by hemophiliacs might be a threat. In August, Health and Welfare Canada's Bureau of Biologics warned the Red Cross of a "theoretical risk" that an unknown transmissible agent present in blood products might be responsible for AIDS. Yet over and over again, Canadian blood officials flatly declared that there was no proof linking AIDS to Canada's blood supply, and took no action.

Although the virus had not yet been discovered, from 1982 screening AIDS from the blood supply was not impossible because it was known that most AIDS victims carried hepatitis antibodies. Thus screening for hepatitis B could have at least significantly reduced, though not eliminated, the transmission of AIDS through transfusion. But even this elementary measure was not implemented. By 1983, about half of all hemophiliacs were infected, but still they were not told of the known *(continued on page 13)*