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AFTER OCTOBER 14, WHAT? FOR CLASS STRUGGLE NOT CLASS **COLLABORATION!**

Ever since Canadian Labour Congress president Joe Morris announced the October 14 day of protest last August, the bourgeois media have been intensifying their anti-labor propaganda barrage. The one-day general strike is played up as "selfish," "undemocratic" and "illegal," while the CLC leadership is portrayed as a pack of "irresponsible militants" out to storm the Winter Palace.

Yet even as the gutter press churns out its antiunion invective for mass consumption, Prime

Minister Trudeau can comment favorably on the CLC's much-vaunted Manifesto and its proposals for shackling the unions to the bourgeois state through tripartite government-business-labor boards.

Trudeau and his cronies in the upper echelons of the Canadian capitalist class well recognize that --occasional, for-the-record "militancy" notwithstanding--the union bureaucracy remains their (continued on page 2)

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chief agent within the workers movement for maintaining "labor peace" and the dominance of bourgeois ideology. Joe Morris did not call the October 14 general strike because of a sudden conversion to class-struggle politics. Compelled to take some action by the groundswell of rank-and-file discontent over government wage controls and austerity cutbacks, the CLC tops have taken a leaf from the playbook of their European confrères, who call one-day walkouts with an almost clockwork regularity in order to let the membership blow off some steam.

A document from the August CLC executive summit frankly set forth the real intentions behind October 14: "Labor's power to conduct a successful national strike is also the kind of naked power which government respects" (quoted in Toronto Star. 25 September). Morris and Co. are seeking to use the day of protest as nothing more than a muscle-flexing display aimed at increasing their bargaining power in the upcoming sellout negotiations with the federal government over the Manifesto.

But, nomenclature and intention aside, a general strike remains a general strike. As a country-wide, explicitly political walkout, the October 14 action is an important occasion for the entire North American labor movement. For the first time ever in either the United States or Canada, organized labor is seeking to strike an entire country, and the bourgeoisie is understandably upset.

REARGUARD ACTION FROM THE NDP

After some initial hesitancy, Ed Broadbent and the federal New Democratic Party finally threw (continued on page 6)



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LCUC Militants Call For General Strike

The following resolution was introduced at a meeting of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada. Local 1 (Toronto) on September 16 for presentation to this November's Ontario Federation of Labour annual convention:

"Whereas, the October 14 day of protest and other similar actions are not in themselves sufficient for the labor movement to smash Trudeau's wage controls;

"Therefore be it resolved that the Ontario Federation of Labour call upon the Canadian Labour Congress and the other leading labor bodies of this country to convene a delegated congress of the entire labor movement for the purpose of launching a cross-Canada general strike, which will stay out until the controls are smashed;

"And be it further resolved that co-ordination of such a strike be democratically organized on the basis of elected national and regional strike committees."

According to unionists in attendance at the meeting, the resolution failed in a standing vote, with 21 of the 56 members who voted supporting it despite the opposition of the local executive. The resolution was moved by militant shop steward Bob McBurney, who included the text in a leaflet distributed at the meeting as a programmatic basis to run for OFL convention delegate.

Despite the wide support received for the motion, another reputed "militant" in the local, chief steward Jim Turnbull, blocked with the bureaucrats in order to help defeat it. Executive board member Turnbull, whose activities have been favorably reported in the press of the Maoist Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), failed to explain to the workers at the meeting the reason for his opposition to such militant class-struggle action.

Turnbull also stood as a candidate for an OFL delegateship, issuing no programmatic statement. He failed in his bid, finishing last on the first ballot. McBurney--whose election platform called for a class-struggle opposition to oust the bureaucrats, conditional opposition to the NDP because of its recent history of coalitionism with bourgeois parties, and for a workers party to fight for a workers government-fared much better than his opportunist opponent, and was elected on the third ballot.

AUTOMATION THREATENS POSTAL WORKERS

Strike to Smash MAPP Attacks!

In the late 1960's, Post Office management in the United States began implementing a modest automation plan to "rationalize" postal operations By the end of 1974, more than 28,000 jobs had been eliminated.

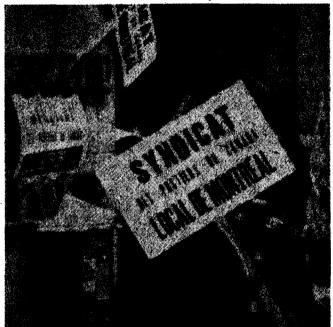
Today, postal management in Canada is putting the finishing touches on the implementation of its automation scheme--reputedly the most advanced in the world. When the MAPP (Major Area Postal Plants) plan was first announced more than five years ago, the leadership of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) announced that it had a plan to fight it:

"In order to make this [fight] more effective, we are not going to be able to advertise our intentions so that he [the employer] may have the opportunity to study and plan his opposition. This responsibility should remain in the hands of the leadership and must clearly be a top priority mandate."

Years later, this "plan" remains a secret-to the rank-and-file postal workers. MAPP has arrived in full force in Toronto, and with it a concerted government offensive to smash the once-militant postal unions. Speed-up, closed-circuit television surveillance, work measurement, harassment and firings have come with the new automated postal plants. A full one-third of the Toronto inside workforce is non-union "term" labor. In several garages more than 25 percent of the drivers are without permanent jobs. Thousands in Toronto and Montreal face permanent layoffs when MAPP is fully operational. Yes, the "responsibility [for this situation] should remain in the hands of the leadership."

National leaders of CUPW and the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) have done nothing to prepare postal workers for today's union-busting offensive. Management has unilaterally announced that it intends to ignore the terms of its last contract with CUPW, which require advance notification and discussion on impending technological change. CUPW vice-president Jean-Claude Parrot's response has been mumbled threats of unspecified 'job actions.' The idea of a strike has been specifically rejected.

But militant national strike action is the only hope postal workers have to smash MAPP's at-



POSTAL WORKERS ON STRIKE IN MONTREAL DURING LAST FALL'S NATIONAL CUPW WALKOUT

tacks on the unions, working conditions, seniority rights and jobs. A joint strike of all the postal unions must demand that automation be made to serve the workers, through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and an end to work measurement, harassment and speed-up. All postal workers, including terms and casuals, must be brought into one merged industrial union and a closed shop and a union hiring hall instituted. Fawning supplications to the government's courts and anti-labor Public Service Staff Relations Board (PSSRB) will win the CUPW and LCUC rank and file nothing but more betrayals, the postal unions must take up the demand for the abolition of the PSSRB and all anti-labor legislation.

The postal union bureaucracies are currently talking big about their support to the October 14 day of protest. Yet at the same time they have no intention of leading a strike to protect the hardwon gains of their unions' membership--and possibly even the unions' very existence. The fight for a national strike to smash the MAPP attacks must be a component part of the struggle to build a new class-struggle leadership to oust the sell-out labor skates.

UPI

SCAB "REVOLUTIONARIES" CROSS PICKET LINES AT S.F.U.

For working-class militants, the principle of the picket line is simple. It means "don't cross." Only through a century of militant struggle, much of it supported by picket lines, has labor been able to win many of the gains it has today-gains which the bourgeoisie is always eager to destroy. The refusal to cross picket lines-even the bastardizations fostered by sellout trade-union leaderships known as "informational pickets"--is a matter of simple pro-labor consciousness, deeply engrained in the collective memory of the working class.

But according to members of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) at Simon Fraser University near Vancouver, there
are times when a picket line is not a picket line.
Ever since maintenance-trade workers at SFU
seeking parity with their counterparts at other
British Columbia universities struck the campus
on September 8, RMG members have been blithely crossing the picket lines set up at the campus
entrance in order to attend classes and use campus facilities.

Trotskyist League members at SFU have been active in building support for the strike by marching with the union pickets and distributing leaflets. One faculty supporter of the TL--the only teacher at the university to respect the lines--has been laid off for the semester with loss of pay. TL supporters have not only refused to cross, but their regular presence on the lines has been warmly received by the union ranks. While the union leadership is encouraging students, faculty and most campus workers to cross the lines and "overload the facilities," the attitude of the membership toward this suicidal, defeatist position is quite different.

Some picketers think the union is being "too soft" on the university; others say they would like to see faculty and students stay out, but are reluctant to "tell them what to do," preferring to "leave it to their conscience." The feeling of many in the union rank and file was summarized in the remark of one picketer to a TL supporter: "I wouldn't cross a picket line no matter who asked me to."

Untroubled by pangs of conscience, however, members of the RMG daily waltz across the lines and encourage other students to do the same. The elementary pro-working-class consciousness involved in respecting the picket has been expressed at SFU by cafeteria workers, bus drivers, truckers, postal workers, clerical workers and many others who have refused to cross the lines. The strikers, most of them supporting families, are sacrificing their pay for the duration of the strike. Yet those who have the gall to call themselves the

"Revolutionary" "Marxist" Group are afraid to sacrifice even a few course credits in an education which will doubtless only train them to make more elaborate excuses for opportunism.

It is easy for a university administration to sit out a lengthy strike as long as classes continue. Minor services can be (as they are at SFU) performed by scabs, or they can simply be suspended for the duration of the strike. Only shutting down the university can constitute a real blow against the administration.

Of course, campus workers, students and teachers lack social weight-as the university is not central to the production processes of capitalism, even a complete shutdown cannot affect the ruling class to the extent of, for example, strikes in the auto or maritime industries. But this simple fact is used by the RMG and its strike "support" committee as an argument in favor of crossing picket lines--as a "left" cover for strikebreaking!

Recognition of the secondary role of the university leads to precisely the opposite conclusion from that drawn by the RMG. Students must ally with the struggles of the working class, both on and off campus, and not merely verbally but in action. Universities serve the ruling class by training the future administrative and technical personnel necessary to maintain capitalist production and bourgeois ideology. By themselves students wield no real social power, whereas the working class by virtue of its centrality to capitalist production has the social muscle to beat back the bosses' attacks and, if won to a party with a revolutionary program, to overthrow the capitalist system.

The RMG's notion of strike "support" is not to get students to respect and join the workers' picket lines. Instead they encourage students to scab. Once on the struck university campus, the RMG urges them to write letters to the Board of Health protesting unsanitary conditions (i. e., some toilets are locked), and to "blame the administration" for assorted inconveniences of the strike. Such infantile, sub-reformist "protest" has nothing in common with proletarian solidarity, much less with revolutionary Marxism.

In contrast, throughout its energentic strikesupport work, the TL has pointed toward the only winning strategy: for everyone on campus--students, teachers and all campus workers--to honor the picket lines and shut down the university. The most effective way to ensure the success of campus strike struggles is for all campus employees to be organized into one university-wide union with a single contract expiration date, and for campus strikes to be extended to other sectors of the organized labor movement.

For a United~Front **Defense of Leonard Peltier**

American Indian Movement (AIM) militant Leonard Peltier remains in solitary confinement at Vancouver's Oakalla prison while the U.S. government seeks his extradition to South Dakota. If returned to the U.S. Peltier faces a frame-up murder charge in connection with the June 1975 shooting deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge reservation. The government/FBI vendetta against Peltier is only one episode in the continuing story of intimidation, victimization and assassination of Indian militants and Pine Ridge residents that has followed the 1973 confrontation on the reservation at Wounded Knee.

Since that time, there has been a virtual armed occupation of Pine Ridge by police, military and government authorities. Over 6,000 written complaints of violations of civil rights have been made by the residents and 50 violent deaths (murders or mysterious "accidents") have occurred since the occupation. Across the U.S., 280 AIM members have died in the three years since Wounded Knee. With a "legal" lynch mob awaiting him in South Dakota, Peltier has requested political asylum in Canada. All possible pressure must be brought to bear to prevent Peltier's extradition to the U.S., where he has no chance of receiving a fair trial-if he lives to face trial at all.

The vicious persecution of AIM by the American government has symbolic significance as well as devastating consequences for the Indian population. It is meant as a general warning that the capitalist state will tolerate no resistance to its authority. Successful government repression of AIM represents a threat to all left and working-class organizations.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee has undermined its ability to mobilize left and workers organizations in Peltier's defense. At a September 25 demonstration in Toronto which attracted about 150 people, groups other than AIM were not permitted to carry their own placards, sell their press or distribute other literature. This ultra-sectarian regulation was "enforced" by a large team of Indian marshals, with the support of "white leftists" from the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and Bolshevik Union (BU). In the context of the massive government witchhunt against AIM, such antidemocratic goon tactics discredit the defense and open the demonstration to provocation and police intervention.

At the first meeting to plan the demonstration on August 31 Trotskyist League members proposed that it be organized as a united-front effort, enlisting the support of all groups who support asylum for Peltier and guaranteeing to each the freedom to put forward its particular viewpoint on the



INDIAN MILITANTS DURING THE 1974 OCCUPATION OF ANICINABE PARK, KENORA.

case. This proposal was unanimously rejected by the meeting, which included members of the fake-Trotskyist RMG.

Addressing the demonstration itself, AIM spokesman Vern Harper thanked the various left groups present--the RMG, BU and Canadian Communist League(M-L)--for liquidating their independent political presence and for "respecting" AIM's right to lead the Indians' "own" struggle, that is, to cut them off from political ideas other than those of AIM. But Harper and the other AIM speakers who addressed the rally were unable to formulate a plan to build the Peltier defense or to point the way forward in the struggle against the special oppression of Indian peoples in North America. The broad mobilization of the left and labor movement required to save Peltier cannot be built if only groups willing to give open or tacit support to the politics of AIM are permitted to participate in the defense efforts. Indian militants can only be defended against victimization by an alliance with the This alliance can only be workers movement. forged through the repudiation of sectarian and divisive tactics such as political gag-rules.

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their weight behind the day of protest. Broadbent's recent barnstorming cross-country tour to drum up support for October 14 is part of an attempt to curry renewed favor with the CLC brass, who have been distancing themselves somewhat from the punchless and stagnating social-democratic parliamentarians of late, in order to pursue an "independent" political approach to the government. The NDP's new-found "support" for mass action by the working class is every bit as phoney as crusty Joe Morris's masquerade of militancy. While Morris tucks the corporatist Manifesto under his arm and waddles off to confer with the Cabinet, Broadbent looks only toward a different form of class collaboration: another chance to "make minority government work" by entering into a coalitionist arrangement with one or another bourgeois party along the lines of the 1972-74 Liberal-NDP "corridor coalition."

Noting the discord between the CLC and NDP piecards, the junior social democrats of the League for Socialist Action (LSA) can only bemoan the lack of "unity" and call for building the ultrareformist NDP. The LSA's chief criticism of the Manifesto is not its class-collaborationist program, but the fact that it tends to weaken organized labor's sole reliance on the NDP as its "political arm." In contrast, revolutionaries reject both false "alternatives" posed by the reformist labor incumbents and their fellow travellers. Neither support to the strikebreaking NDP and its coalitionist maneuvers, nor support to the CLC bureaucracy and its Manifesto can show the way forward for the Canadian working class.

FOR A GENERAL STRIKE TO SMASH THE CONTROLS!

Last spring, growing rank-and-file opposition to collaboration with the Trudeau regime forced the CLC leadership to temporarily break off formal working relations and withdraw from the government's Canada Labor Relations Council and Economic Council of Canada. The motion mandating the executive to call a one-day general strike which was passed at the last CLC convention was a carefully orchestrated maneuver designed to make the bureaucrats' renewed approach to Trudeau --the Manifesto--more palatable.

Rather than being a prelude to further anti-controls strike action, October 14 is intended--if Morris and Co. have their way--as a final "militant" fling to assuage the anger of combative unionists before the curtain is lowered on labor's active resistance to the controls. In future, Morris hopes to express the CLC's opposition to wage controls (or at least the present "inequitable" ones) behind the oak-panelled doors of the Cabinet

meeting room, rather than outside on the lawns of Parliament Hill.

Those leftists—like the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group—who "explain" the CLC's hesitancy in calling even a one-day walkout by saying that it "has been unclear about how to wage the fight" (undated RMG leaflet) ignore the fact that Morris is very "clear" about his strategy. In no sense has there been a "positive turn" on the part of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. The CLC remains committed to turning the militant struggle against wage controls back into the safe channels of class-collaborationist legalism—be it through the Manifesto or a renewed reliance on the NDP.

The need for a full general strike which will stay out until the controls are smashed is every bit as urgent as it was last October. The leadership for such a general strike can never come from the hidebound bureaucrats who run the labor movement today, but neither can such a strike simply be organized over the heads of the incumbent union tops, given the absence of a powerful alternative class-struggle leadership. Militants must fight for a general strike to be co-ordinated by an elected national strike committee issuing from a congress of the entire labor movement, in order to forestall the inevitable attempts of the bureaucrats to sell the struggle short.

FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT

Responding to the jeers of several hundred demonstrating unionists in Saint John, New Brunswick, during his recent Maritime tour, Trudeau rhetorically challenged the union brass to show how it would control inflation if the Liberal wage controls were thrown out. That is precisely the question which the reformist labor officialdom cannot answer. The reason the labor bureaucrats are unable to provide adequate leadership against wage controls is that they must seek in advance to limit the struggle to the boundaries of capitalist rule.

Economic anarchy, with attendant unemployment and inflation, is structurally inherent in the capitalist system. All the tinkering in the world with tripartism and a slightly-more-responsive NDP government can never change this fundamental fact of capitalist society. The presentation of such false solutions by the present and would-be misleaders of the working class can only lead to further defeats.

The key task for militants on and after October 14 is to take up the struggle for a new class-struggle leadership of the labor movement--one which will not cower before the altar of bourgeois respectability but will fight for a workers party and a workers government. Only such a government can establish the rationally-planned economy which will lay the basis for the future socialist society.

Rosie Douglas calls for "Unity" with Dominican Dictator

Patrick John's tyrannical plantation regime on the tiny Carribean island of Dominica has found a new apologist: black activist and reputed "Marxist-Leninist" Rosie Douglas. Douglas, long-time darling of the Canadian ostensibly Trotskyist left, which opportunistically took his "revolutionary" posturings for good coin, was deported from Canada last April after a lengthy defense campaign. Following the assertion of his defense committee that "if he returns to his native Dominica his life will certainly be in danger" (leaflet, "The Facts of the Rosie Douglas Case"), the Canadian government "permitted" Douglas to "emigrate" to Jamaica, rather than completing the official deportation proceedings.

Yet Douglas has chosen to return to Dominica on his own accord, and recently completed a speaking tour of the island, where he is "educating" the workers, farmers and "progressive people" about the need for "national unity." His "contribution" to the struggles in Dominica is graphically spelled out in an interview printed in the 26 August issue

of The Islander:

"... to seek and encourage the greatest level of national democratic unity that we can achieve at this time. That is to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in the country from the youth, the unemployeds, working class, small farmers, estate workers, middle businessmen, the professional strata, the armed forces, the police and the military, the churches..."

This "anti-imperialist fighter" calls for "unity" with the very police and military which carry out Premier Patrick John's political repression against leftists like Desmond Trotter, who today rots in a Dominican prison, serving a life sentence on trumped-up charges.

John and his plantation bosses! "Labour" Party rule the island's 72,000 inhabitants with an iron fist. Seeking increased revenue from American tourists. John recently passed a series of laws in the name of "public safety" which ban strikes and "subversive literature" and give citizens the "legal right to shoot dead on sight suspected radicals" (Manchester Guardian Weekly, 12 April 1975). This despot's "solution" to 50 percent unemployment and skyrocketing inflation is to launch a vicious assault on all oppositionists, from the proland-reform, religious-cultist "Dreads" to what John terms "pseudo-intellectuals" and "agents of

international Communism." The victimization of Black Power activist Desmond Trotter, a leader of the nationalist Movement for a New Dominica (see Workers Vanguard, 2 and 23 April) is only one example of the regime's tinpot tyranny in defense of capitalist rule.

Yet Douglas invites John and his Labour Party to "enter the united front for independence and progress," preaching that "this magnanimous approach can soothe the present wounds which divide our people against themselves"! Douglas even leaves open the possibility of joining the venal and corrupt Dominican government, saying:

"Should the Labour Party or any other party commit themselves to scientific socialism and move gradually to becoming part of the world socialist system, I would not hesitate to embrace them as comrades."

-- The Islander, ibid.

"Anti-imperialist" and even "scientific socialist" rhetoric is cheap for the petty bureaucrats who manage the impoverished islands of the Carribean under the shadow of American and Canadian economic domination. But illusions in the "progressive" capacity of the Patrick Johns, Michael Manleys and Eric Williamses can offer no perspective for the oppressed masses of urban workers and plantation laborers. Only a socialist revolution led by the proletariat and its vanguard party—which would sweep aside the small-time despots and the plantation bosses and banana kings they serve—can open the road to further development in a socialist federation of the Carribean.

Rosie Douglas's program for "national reconciliation" and "unity" with autocrats like Patrick John is only a consistent application of his pettybourgeois pan-Carribean nationalism -- a program which, despite occasional touches of "Leninist" coloration, he has always upheld. While fighting his deportation from Canada, the Trotskyist League coupled unconditional defense of Douglas against the Canadian state with revolutionary criticism of his bankrupt, class-collaborationist politics. In contrast, fake "revolutionaries" like the Revolutionary Marxist Group claimed that Douglas had developed his politics "from a black nationalist to a Marxist-Leninist perspective" (Old Mole, December 1974), and uncritically hailed his every utterance. Today, with Douglas's real political colors showing clearly, the Old Mole is understandably silent.

TRADE UNION TACTICS and the TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

Spouting militant rhetoric about the need for a general strike, a former police "union" head and present Canadian Union of Public Employees national organization director issued a challenge to incumbent Canadian Labour Congress president Joe Morris at last May's CLC convention. J. F. (Lofty) MacMillan--a union bureaucrat of long standing and strong supporter of the New Democratic Party--claimed that his election bid was part of a struggle to give a new, militant direction to the Canadian labor movement.

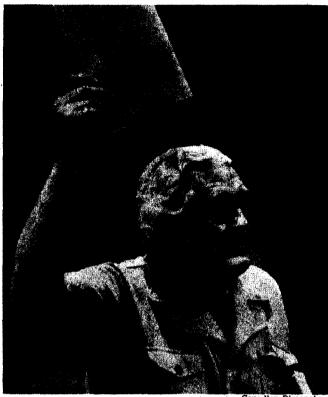
Last month in Las Vegas, Nevada, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) District 31 Director Ed Sadlowski prepared his challenge to the incumbent bureaucracy of I. W. Abel at the biennial USWA convention. Following in the footsteps of Arnold Miller's "Miners for Democracy." which wrested control of the United Mine Workers leadership from the Tony Boyle machine several years ago through judicious use of the U.S. courts and Labor Department, Sadlowski's "Steelworkers Fight Back" has vowed to provide a new "active



MINNEAPOLIS 1934: STRÍKING WORKERS BATTLE POLICE DURING THE TROTSKYIST-LED GENERAL STRIKE.

and democratic" leadership for the large and powerful Steelworkers union.

MacMillan and Sadlowski have at least two things in common. First, both are labor bureaucrats with a sordid record of betrayals, whose "democratic" and "militant" pretentions are nothing more than a cheap peg on which to hang bureaucratic aspirations for higher office. And second, both have received fulsome praise and support



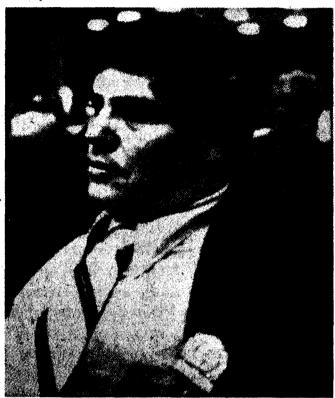
LOFTY MacMILLAN

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from various ostensibly revolutionary organizations which claim to support a new, class-struggle leadership for the labor movement. CLC convention delegates supporting the views of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and League for Socialist Action (LSA) (Canadian supporters of the revisionist United Secretariat) both embraced MacMillan's bureaucratic opposition to Morris; the RMG termed the ex-cop's candidacy "relatively progressive" (Old Mole, June 1976). And the American United Secretariat supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are presently acting as unofficial publicity agents for Sadlowski, hailing his campaign as "a fight that deserves the support of all unionists" (pamphlet, "The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel").

The struggle to oust the incumbent bureaucrats by building a class-struggle leadership is the central issue facing trade unionists today. But in contrast to opportunists like the RMG, LSA and SWP, authentic Trotskyists do not simply enthuse over any militant-talking opposition to the present labor fakers. Nor do they uncritically cheer the formation of programless "rank-and-file" com-

mittees based on simple trade union militancy (as advocated by the ultra-economist International Socialists [IS] and Canadian Party of Labour [CPL]). On the contrary, the authority of the revolutionary party and the nucleus of the future class-struggle leadership cannot be built by championing sellout out-bureaucrats and glorifying the spontaneous militancy that arises in the class, but only by the most intransigent defense of the revolutionary



ED SADLOWSKI

Village Voice

program.

In accord with the heritage of communist trade union work, the Trotskyist League aims to build a genuine class-struggle leadership in the union movement, centered on the construction of caucuses based on the Transitional Program. This approach distinguishes the TL from all the forms of petty-bourgeois workerism and militant economism which are currently rampant on the Canadian left. The caucus is simultaneously an oppositional force aimed at defeating the bureaucracy and a vehicle for winning workers to the program of the vanguard party.

CAN THERE BE A PARTIAL TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM?

In 1938 Trotsky concretized the Transitional Program in the founding document of the Fourth International, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International." He wrote that:

"It is necessary to help the masses in the pro-

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Spartacist Tendency Holds European Summer Camp

The third European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was held in late August. Planned primarily as a week of educational sessions, the camp also included a national conference of the Ligue Trotskyste de France and a joint conference of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) and Österreichische Bolshewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL). The attendance of 85 comrades conducting political work in 11 countries testified to the substantial extension of the work of the iSt.

The opening educational session dealt with the French Trotskyist movement of the 1930's, with particular reference to the antecedents of the present-day OCI of P. Lambert. Noting that the OCI still possesses an appreciable number of cadres from the historic French Trotskyist movement-part of the basis for its claim to "continuity"--iSt secretary J. Sharpe stressed that virtually all of these were drawn from the rightist Molinier/Frank wing.

In the bitter disputes which racked the French movement in the 1930's, two key questions can be discerned: Molinier/Frank's conception of a fakemass press and their call for "revolutionary action groups" as centrist umbrella formations. The OCI's perennial penchant for a newspaper which presents itself as the press of some sort of loose grouping of militant workers, rather than as the organ of a party, is a direct descendant of these Molinierist deviations.

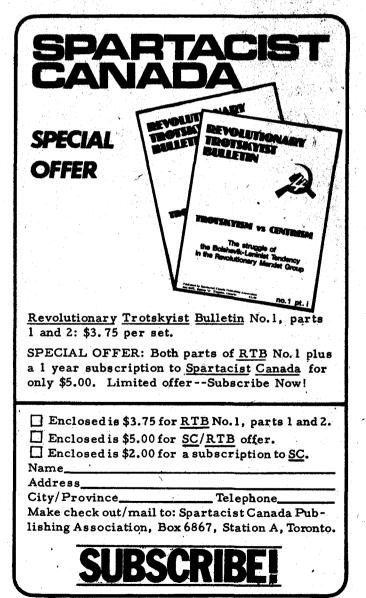
The present political physiognomy of the OCI, following its sharply accelerated rightward motion in the 1973-74 period, can be characterized as the result of the dissociation of the Molinierist and orthodox politics which had coexisted in this tendency since the post-World War II reconstitution of the French movement and the struggle against Pabloist revisionism in the early 1950's. The initial break with Pablo took shape over the narrow question of the attitude toward French Stalinism and the tactic of entrism in the French Communist Party and CGT. The issues became generalized only in 1953 by the fundamentally principled opposition of the French majority to the Pabloists' capitulation to Stalinism over the East Berlin workers' uprising in June and the French general strike in August.

Another highlight of the camp was the presentation on critical support, the united-front tactic and the workers government slogan. Comrade F. Krüger discussed unclarities and opportunist formulations regarding the workers government which emerged

at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, and illuminated the connections between this discussion—which must be assimilated critically as part of our history—and the disputes between the various wings of the German Communist Party in 1922-23.

The presentation on "Marxism and the National Question, 1848-1914" examined the evolution of Marx's position toward oppressed nationalities, concluding with a discussion of the controversy over the national question within the ostensibly Marxist movement in the period preceding World War I and the conflicting views put forward by the Kautskyans, Austro-Marxists, Luxemburgists and Leninists (see Workers Vanguard Nos. 123 and 125). A presentation on the national question today centered on Ireland and Cyprus.

The session on the origins of European Pabloism focused on the crystallization of rightist oppositions within the Fourth International following World War II. The discussion emphasized the inexperience and discrientation of the orthodox Trotskyists who sought



to reassert the revolutionary will of the Fourth International in the face of the doubtism and defeatism of the right-wing oppositions. The critical weaknesses and deformations of the post-war Trotskyist movement became decisive only in the early 1950's, when the majority of the Fourth International caved in to the liquidationist conclusions of Pablo's "theory" that the "objective" pressures of a "new world reality" would compel Stalinism to play an essentially revolutionary role.

A spokesman for the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile, which has fraternal relations with the iSt, presented the history of

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the OTR, which coalesced as a left opposition within a Chilean sympathizing group of the United Secretariat (USec) around 1970. The OTR initially upheld the central necessity of "irregular warfare" based on the working class, which the speaker characterized as a more workerist version of the Guevarism of the USec majority. At the time of its expulsion from the fused USec sympathizing section in late 1972, the OTR still had not reached a full understanding of the need for an independent Trotskyist party, as demonstrated by its substituting the journals of trade unions in which it played a leadership role for an independent party press.

The OTR's strength, which enabled it to reject the intrigues and maneuvers of the USec and also of the French OCI, was its commitment to defend the workers' interests against the popular-front Allende government. Until it came in contact with the iSt, the OTR thought it was the only group in the world which had opposed the class collaborationism of the centrists and the reformist workers parties in Chile, whose prostration before the bourgeoisie paved the way for the bloody coup of September 1973.

The final session of the camp was devoted to



TORONTO: "Stalinism vs. Trotskyism," every other Tuesday evening. For more information, call 366-4107.

VANCOUVER: "Basic Marxism," every other Wednesday evening. For more information, call 291-8993.

"Problems of the Fourth International." Comrade J. Robertson recalled the failure of SWP head James Cannon's 1939 trip to Paris, where both the leaders of the sterile, sectarian official section and sundry capitulationist elements outside it seemed to be united only in casually dismissing the leader of the strongest section of the FI.

Cannon's experience in France, the speaker noted, certainly contributed to the "insular bias" of the leadership of the American section. He also criticized the SWP's earlier international representatives, such as Max Shachtman, who behaved like "a bunch of troublemaking radical tourists" rather than functioning as disciplined representatives of a leading collective.

While noting that hindsight is cheap, Comrade Robertson criticized the SWP leadership for too passively accepting the obstacles to intervention in Europe by Americans during World War II and in the post-war period. In contrast to the European comrades, the American section uniquely maintained a continuity of experienced leadership. The characteristic weakness of cadres who have been schooled in only one historic period, he noted, is precisely the impressionism epitomized by Pablo.

The educational sessions, conferences and numerous smaller commissions held at the European summer camp reflected the continuing development of the iSt in Europe from "outposts of Spartacism" into living sections. This process has involved an increasing assimilation of the need to professionalize the technical skills of the sections. One speaker underlined the importance of developing an adequate technical apparatus and financial base, noting that the iSt, as a small international propaganda organization, preserves its cohesiveness and collectivity in part through judicious use of "the jet aircraft, the long-distance telephone and the xerox machine."

As the USec and its revisionist similars tirelessly replay the maneuverist scenario of unclear splits and scotch-tape fusions, the international Spartacist tendency goes forward in its struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International through the construction of a disciplined international tendency based on the firm programmatic foundations of authentic Trotskyism.

(First printed in Workers Vanguard, 17 September)

T. U. Tactics ...

(continued from page 9)

cess of daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of transitional demands, stemming from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."

The program corresponds to the objective necessity for socialist revolution in the epoch of capitalist decay, and aims to develop the workers' understanding by taking their concrete felt needs (opposition to wage controls, for higher wages, better working conditions, and an end to unemployment) and formulating an alternative which leads directly to an attack on the capitalist system (e.g., sliding scale of wages and hours, expropriation of industry without compensation, workers control of production, factory committees) linked explicitly to the struggle for proletarian power and the destruction of the capitalist state (e.g., workers militias, soviets, workers government).

The Transitional Program transcends the partial and sectional concerns of the working class through demands which unite the workers around their historic class interests. Demands such as the sliding scale of wages and hours to eliminate unemployment at the capitalists' expense, organization of the unorganized and unemployed by the union movement and the struggle against all forms of national, racial and sexual oppression are essential to overcome the pitting of sections of the class against one another and to unify them in the struggle against capital. In Canada, demands for equal language rights and Quebec's right to self-determination are of particular importance.

The Transitional Program embodies the most urgent needs of the proletariat as an international class. The division of workers along national lines—abetted by the union bureaucracy which seeks to make the proletariat of a particular country the junior partner of its "own" bourgeoisie—must be transcended through demands for industrial organization across national boundaries. Given the present heightened inter-imperialist economic rival-ry, the demands for opposition to chauvinist economic protectionism and for concrete acts of international class solidarity are crucial.

Various opportunists, like the RMG and IS, attempt to bowdlerize the Transitional Program into "relevant" and "ultimatistic" elements. This is a gross capitulation to the class as it is and to bourgeois ideology which, carried by the labor bureaucracy, dominates the class and blocks the development of revolutionary consciousness. As Lenin insisted, the massive spontaneous outbursts of proletarian militancy can by themselves lead only to trade union consciousness. Socialist conscious-

ness requires an intersection with the revolutionary vanguard through its cadre and program.

Thus to pick and choose among the elements of the Transitional Program is to destroy its very purpose--the attempt to link the felt needs of the workers to the struggle for power. To abjure crucial aspects of the Transitional Program as "too advanced" simply reinstates the old social-democratic minimum/maximum program, reveals the appetite for reformism, and inevitably constitutes an adaptation to parochialism and national chauvinism.

In particular situations, certain demands of the Transitional Program acquire special urgency and immediacy, enabling communists to involve and lead masses of workers in struggle around a specific issue. Even while fighting for particular demands communists always seek to link such demands to the strategic task of the conquest of power by the proletariat. There is no demand which retains an automatically revolutionary thrust in isolation from the program for proletarian power as a whole, as demonstrated by the nakedly reformist content of CPL's endless "30 for 40" campaigns.

MANEUVERS AND MANEUVERISM

The initial work and campaigns of the caucus demonstrate in an exemplary fashion the program which the labor movement as a whole must adopt. As the caucus grows and becomes a real factor in the life of the union, this process necessarily involves tactical maneuvers, such as united fronts with other forces in the union, the possibility of short-term entries into other formations, etc.

But as Lenin pointed out, the ability to maneuver requires a foundation of granite hardness. Unlike those who justify opportunism by arguing that a hard independent stance will come "later" ("when we are stronger," "when the workers are more open," "when they have been radicalized"), the TL recognizes that principled maneuvers can only be undertaken successfully from a position of some independent strength. To bloc with or enter opportunist or bureaucratic formations before the programmatic lines are sharply drawn in the minds of the workers is merely to hand those who look to the caucus for leadership to the betrayers.

HOW DOES A CAUCUS MOBILIZE THE RANKS?

The process of building real programmatically-based caucuses in the union movement depends on a constant interaction between disciplined communist cadres in the unions and the militant ranks. The caucus both propagandizes around its full program and seeks to provide leadership in particular workers' struggles, demonstrating in action that only the Transitional Program can consistently uphold the felt needs of the workers and

safeguard gains already won in struggle. Winning the advanced workers in a particular union situation to acceptance of the Transitional Program and the leadership offered by the caucus inevitably involves the ability to mobilize less advanced sections of the ranks around the caucus in particular situations.

As the caucus develops a hard following of supporters committed to its full program, it also becomes a factor among workers who do not fully understand or accept its program or its goals but will, to a greater or lesser extent, follow its lead in particular struggles. Especially in the context of a corrupt and ossified conservative union bureaucracy, even a small caucus of class-struggle militants can find itself frequently thrust into a position of leadership when the sellout policies of the union tops create a temporary vacuum of authority.

During last year's International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) strike in Vancouver, a small core of class-struggle cadre might have been able to provide real leadership to the militant longshoremen who had rejected the Communist Party-supported bureaucrats' contract in order to remain on strike. A class-struggle opposition could have utilized this enormous opportunity to educate a large number of workers as to the nature of the bureaucracy whose leadership they had empirically rejected.

Similarly, it was as a direct result of the prominent role played by class-struggle oppositionists around specific issues such as company blacklisting and a boycott of cargo bound for Chile, that Bob Mandel of the ILWU Militant Caucus in the Sar Francisco Bay Area was elected to the General Executive Board of the union's Local 6. Such militants who, through struggling for the caucus program, win authority as courageous, farsighted and principled fighters in particular campaigns or job actions, become recognized leaders among their fellow workers, many of whom still do not accept the full caucus program.

VANGUARD PARTY NEEDED

Militant proletarian leaders must be firmly grounded in the theory and history of the Marxist movement and linked as disciplined members to the revolutionary vanguard party, whose analysis and program embody the interests of the international working class and the experience of previous generations of working class fighters. Unlike the syndicalists and petty-bourgeois workerists who exalt the class as it is above the party, the TL wants communists in the trade unions, not trade unionists in the party.

An organization which does not persistently struggle, within the limitations of its forces, to begin and deepen its intervention into the struggles of the oppressed and exploited is not a revolutionary organization. But neither the vanguard's colonization of what Trotsky referred to as "your

petty-bourgeois boys and girls" into the organizations of the working class, nor the recruitment of working class militants and youth, is more than a precondition. Until they are tested in living struggle, until they have learned to fight for the program under the constant pressures of concrete work, they are neither recognized union militants nor proven communists. It is the responsibility of the party to guide and direct the work of its trade union comrades and to assimiliate their experiences as an integral part of its own worldview.

CRITICAL SUPPORT--

"LIKE A ROPE SUPPORTS A HANGING MAN"

It is hardly to be expected that a revolutionary organization claiming to stand on the Transitional Program should proclaim an intention to initiate caucuses based on a minimum program—a fundamentally defective program which limits the struggle in advance to reformism! This does not preclude a critical participation in partial formations thrown up in the course of the struggle. But participation in or critical support to such formations is designed to promote the utmost clarity and facilitate the struggle to uphold the revolutionary program, and must not be a left cover for what is essentially unprincipled support and opportunist tailing.

In union elections the TL insists that, as the condition for critical support, there must be a clear, qualitative programmatic difference between the contenders, and not merely the attempt of an outbureaucrat to play the good guy. Communists cannot lend their weight to cynical attempts by aspiring bureaucrats to rope in the workers when the programs of the "oppositionists" and incumbents are virtually identical. There is no qualitative difference, for example, between challengers Mac-Millan and Sadlowski and incumbents Morris and Abel--each is every bit as prepared to sell out the membership as the other.

The Leninist tactic of critical support is an application of the tactic of the united front. The masses will desert their established leaderships not because of an abstract call to follow the communists, but rather by recognizing in the course of the united front that only the communists fight for the avowed common aim. The purpose of the united front is to regroup the workers around the leadership of the vanguard, not to refurbish the bankrupt reformists' authority.

If a union office-seeker seriously campaigns on the basis of a program which, whatever its reformist limitations, offers the working class a real gain on even one decisive issue, revolutionaires can legitimately proclaim their support for that plank and offer the candidate critical support, even as they seek to demonstrate that only their full program can win and safeguard this gain. For instance, the principle of industrial rather than craft unionism in the rise of the CIO in the U.S. was in itself grounds for critical support in particular

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instances. In the recent period a position in opposition to all forms of bourgeois coalitionism and for independent working class political action-by. for example, calling for an end to financial and electoral support to the New Democratic Party unless it repudiates the class-collaborationist strategy of the 1972-74 "corridor coalition" with the Liberals--might also be an acceptable minimum condition for critical support.

While calling for critical support, the caucus warns that the aspiring bureaucrat will betray his promises once in office. When the workers' own experience reveals to them the real character of the new bureaucrat, the class-struggle oppositionists stand forth as the only force which is truly committed to this struggle and can regroup the

workers around their program.

The purpose of the tactic of critical support to programmatically defective or incomplete formations within the union movement is to sharpen the contradictions between the militant base and the reformist leadership, between the formally supportable programmatic element and the careerist appetite. But when there is no contradiction to expose--as in the case of the MacMillans and Sadlowskis, who offer merely a more "democratic" or "active" version of exactly the same program as the incumbents -- "critical support" is nothing more than a left cover.

TRADE UNION INDEPENDENCE

Trotsky considered the intervention of the state the key question facing the unions. In his pamphlet "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," Trotsky begins his consideration of revolutionary policy in the unions by stating categorically that "There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of the modern trade union organizations in the entire world; it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power. "

Trotsky went on to point to the increasing difficulty of work in the unions, for example in fascist countries and in what he termed "totalitarian and semi-totalitarian" unions. It was precisely in the context of the discussion of the increasing restrictions on trade union democracy that he wrote:

"It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses not only against the bourgeoisie but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime. The primary slogan for this struggle is: Complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the

capitalist state. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristo-

"The second slogan is: trade union democracy. This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state." (our emphasis)

Communists call for the complete independence of the trade unions from the capitalist state, for the abolition of the arbitration and conciliation systems and of any devices (such as government supervision of union elections in the Quebec construction trades) for state intervention in union affairs. Any call for union democracy is meaningless unless accompanied by the most intransigent defense of the independence of the unions. Thus the utterly bankrupt reformist nature of the Communist Party's call for "democracy" is revealed by its support to the CLC's Manifesto, a document which explicitly seeks to tie the unions to the capitalist state. And we do not think that Trotsky would have minced words in dealing with those professed "Trotskvists" of the RMG. LSA and IS who preach support to formations like that of Sadlowski, which use the pretext of "democracy" as an excuse for inviting the capitalist government's Labor Department to intervene in union affairs!

The assumption of power by the likes of Sadlowski and MacMillan would not represent in any sense a gain for the working class. If the current generation of militant workers invests its commitment and aspirations in installing new but equally treacherous bureaucrats in office, then their spontaneous militancy will be diverted once more through the lack of an alternative leadership.

The Trotskyist League is committed to the construction of an authentic class-struggle leadership in the trade unions as part of the struggle to build the vanguard party, Canadian section of the reborn Fourth International.

(Adapted from articles in Workers Vanguard, 25 May 1973, and Australasian Spartacist, June 1974)

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE **Directory**

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Peltier...

(continued from page 5)

North American Indian pseudo-nationalist organizations like AIM and the Warrior Societies have never been able to formulate a strategy for Indians that goes beyond symbolic protests (the occupations of Wounded Knee and Anicinabe Park) and utopian separation schemes (a "native nation" in the Northwest Territories). The tactic of occupations has proven powerless to secure the jobs. housing, educational and health facilities which the Indians so desperately need. Occupations are nothing more than acts of desperation on the part of an oppressed minority which sees no way out of its intolerable position in capitalist society. The publicity which such actions attract comes at the price of demoralization, victimization and death. Marxists attempt to dissuade Indian militants from embarking on such a suicidal course, while defending Indian militants against all state repression and reprisals.

Marxists defend the democratic right of the Indian peoples to retain the land they are living on and using. Moreover, a workers state would grant regional autonomy where there are significant concentrations of Indian populations. However to countenance the false idea that the dispersed and pauperized Indian population constitutes a nation possessing the material prerequisites to form a separate state power with its own political economy would be to pave the way for defeat. Pettybourgeois careerists and honest, misled militants who project the utopian solution of self-determination or "community control" for the dispossessed Indian peoples only play into the hands of bourgeois politicians who hope to maintain racial and cultural antagonisms in their efforts to prevent unity of all the oppressed.

Our program is to fight for the full voluntary integration of indian peoples into the production process as the only way out of poverty and lumpenization. Class struggle militants in the trade unions would fight to bring Indian people into the labor movement by raising demands for more jobs a shorter workweek at no loss in pay), an end to discrimination in hiring and firing, union-controld programs to restuit minorities to previously clusive job categories, skill-upgrading courses and the organization of the unorganized. Only the struction of capitalism through proletarian revtion and the inauguration of the era of socialist relopment can insure the all-sided integration indian peoples into society on the basis of full ality and meet the special needs created by g years of injustice and oppression.

The American authorities (with the obvious comicity of their Canadian class fellows) are out to istroy AIM and the militant Indian movement in uch the same way as they moved against the lack Panthers several years ago. Just prior to the scheduled hearing of Peltier's appeal in Vancouver the bourgeois press gave prominent play to the just-released six-month-old testimony of one Douglas Durham, an FBI fink who infiltrated AIM. Slanderous front-page headlines in Toronto's Sunday Sun (19 September) proclaimed the discovery of a border gun-running network and the article claimed that AIM has links with the Communist Party, Palestine Liberation Organization, Irish Republican Army and the Chinese embassy! Such accusations are only a transparent pretext for even more escalated harassment and frame-ups of Indian militants.

ASYLUM FOR LEONARD PELTIER--STOP THE PERSECUTION OF AIM!

Telegrams and letters demanding political asylum for Peltier should be sent to Francis Fox, Minister of Justice, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ont. Financial contributions to help defray costs of the defense campaign may be sent to Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, c/o Vancouver Indian Center, 1855 Vine St., Vancouver, B. C.

Chile...

(continued from page 16)

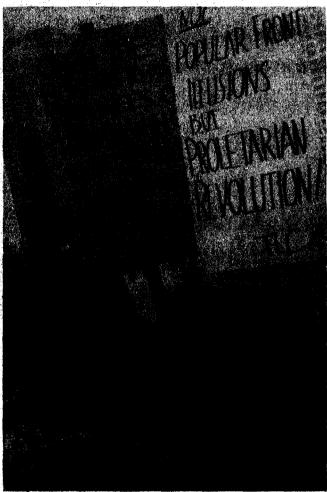
that the junta's infamous secret police, the DINA, operate with impunity out of the embassy.

In response to this cold-blooded murder, close to 100 protesters held a demonstration outside the American consulate here this afternoon. Members of the Trotskyist League, Revolutionary Marxist Group, Latin American Working Group and supporters of several Chitean organizations marched for close to an hour and heard speeches from the various groups, as well as from a New Democratic Party MPP.

The TL spokesman referred to Letelier's efforts on behalf of the victims of Pinochet's barbarous regime, pointing in particular to his support of the international campaign to save the life of miners' leader Mario Munoz. At a time when Munoz was little known outside his homeland and many Stalinists and liberals were reluctant to defend him from the Argentine junta, Letelier sent a letter detailing Munoz' activities in defense of the working class and pledging the support of the Socialist Party for efforts to save him.

Now Orlando Letelier has joined tens of thousands of his murdered comrades, victims of the bloody junta and martyrs to the Chilean proletariat. While the various Stalinists and social democrats seek only to recreate the Popular Unity alliance which disarmed the working class and led it to defeat, the Trotskyist League stands unequivocably for the independence of the working class in its struggle against the Pinochet dictatorship. Only proletarian revolution to smash capitalist class rule in Chile can avenge the murder of Orlando Letelier!

Demonstrations Protest Chile Terror



TL CONTINGENT, TORONTO, 28 SEPTEMBER



TL CONTINGENT, VANCOUVER, 11 SEPTEMBER

VANCOUVER, 11 September -- About 100 people marched through downtown Vancouver today, the third anniversary of the bloody Pinochet coup in Santiago, in a demonstration of solidarity with the ravaged Chilean proletariat. While most of the demonstrating organizations refused to raise any criticisms of the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende, the spirited Trotskyist League contingent of about a dozen chanted slogans and carried banners putting forward the Marxist opposition to popular frontism.

On the march, members of the Canada-Chile Support Group at first tried to intimidate and muscle out the comrade leading the TL contingent's chants, then tried to drown them out after the TL aggressively defended its right to participate in the march with its own propaganda. The Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) participated in this sectarian behavior and conspicuously refused to chant TL slogans, including the call, "Down with the junta, workers to power!"

At the rally the same goons tried, again unsuccessfully, to dissuade the chairman from allowing the Trotskyist League any speaking time, arguing that the TL had no right to speak since it refused to endorse the sponsoring coalition's popular-front politics. As a compromise, the TL was placed last, following announcements, and the chairman "introduced" the speaker by remarking, "if you want to stay to hear the TL, you can." But despite these attempts to disperse the crowd. most stayed to listen.

The TL spokesman expressed solidarity with the Chilean workers and peasants and drew the lesson of the tragic bloodbath of 1973: a coalition government with the bourgeoisie means defeat for the oppressed. He also spoke of the declaration of fraternal relations between the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile and the international Spartacist tendency. The speaker concluded with a chant, taken up by many in the audience: "Smash the bloody junta, for workers revolution!"

TORONTO, 28 September -- On the morning of September 21, the bloody hand of Pinochet's junta and its supporters reached into the United States to claim another victim. Orlando Letelier, a former minister of foreign affairs and ambassador to the U.S. under the Allende government and an influential opponent of the Chilean generals' repression. was assassinated when a bomb blew apart his automobile near the Chilean embassy in Washington, D. C. Chilean exiles in the U.S. know well (continued on page 15)