The fall of Anastasio Somoza's blood-drenched Nicaraguan dynasty in July 1979 represented the first serious defeat for U.S. imperialism in Latin America since the Cuban revolutionary army annihilated the CIA-organized gusanos at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. It took 18 months of bitter struggle, including two insurrections totaling eleven weeks of the bloodiest fighting, before they drove out the hyenas of Managua. Almost 50,000 died out of a population of 2.3 million, and today the cities are in ruins; the surviving population on the brink of starvation. "National reconstruction" is now the watchword of the victorious Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). But on what foundations? With their program for a "government of unity of all anti-Somoza forces" the Sandinista leaders hope to limit the revolution to the replacement of a rapacious family dictatorship by a reformed, "popular-democratic" government (continued on page 10)
Black Nationalism: New Fad for International Socialists

"All whites are racist. I mean I know that I am." With this candid admission as her platform, a member of the International Socialists (IS) got herself elected to the group's national "organizing committee" at its annual convention in September. Her remarks set the tone for a lunch-hour workshop on "anti-racism"—the latest fad for the crevasses of the IS. Of course this crew of left social democrats is so cynical that even its white liberal guilt is probably phoney. But the IS leadership does know how to grovel: benefit of any revolutionary principle or program the IS bows and acquiesces before whichever sector of the oppressed it currently believes might up its membership figures.

From gays to women; from workerism to sexual liberationism, the IS is always ready to adopt a new orientation, run with it for a while, and then drop it. Nevertheless, IS spares no effort to ingratiate itself with the milieu of the moment. Thus, the September issue of Workers Action prints, without comment, a letter from the 'black Caucus, International Socialist.' The letter accuses "white comrades" of "apologizing for racist White Canada." Even the hardened hacks of IS who yesterday penned libidinous tracts celebrating "sexual liberation," must find this one a little hard to swallow.

The only thing consistent about IS, as the new black members will find, is its constant search for a new gimmick. Just as the IS's turn to gay liberationism was a product of the massive gay mobilizations against Anita Bryant of 1977, the IS's latest turn is fuelled by the mobilizations against the racist police murder of Albert Johnson. But once the issue has died down a little, theickle IS will be off in hot pursuit of its next chance to "get rich quick." One ISer who had obviously been through a few of the "new turns" before advised an observer at the convention not to worry too much about the "anti-racism" campaign, because by next year everyone will be tired of it.

The Canadian IS is only a small-time imitator of its British meffor—Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP). But the record of the British SWP's anti-racist activity is not one to be emulated. The SWP's main vehicle for this work has been the Anti-Nazi League (ANL), a popular-frontist coalition of clerics, various bourgeois politicians and ostensible revolutionaries. In September 1978 the ANL attracted some 80,000 people to a giant "Anti-Nazi" carnival on one side of London and then marched them in the opposite direction from the immigrant community in the East End where 2,000 fascists were marching under police protection, opposed by only 1,000 leftists and local residents. Tony Cliff alluded this scabbing by explaining that if the SWP had called for a march to the East End, between twenty and forty thousand militants would have responded. But that if this had happened "the result would have been..." the "dissolving of the ANL."!

CCL(M-L) Makes "Great Leap Forward"... Changes Name

"We have at last made the great qualitative step that we had set ourselves, the formation of the general staff of the Canadian working class, the proletarian vanguard which will lead us towards our goal of socialism and the liberation of the workers and all of the oppressed." Tim Buck? Hardial Bains? Phil Taylor? No, this time it is Roger Rashid who is styling himself as "Canada's Lenin" and announcing that yet another cabal of Stalinist betrayers and malleaders have proclaimed themselves to be the party of the Canadian working class.

At the time of its formation less than four years ago the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) (CCL[M-L]) stated: "It is out of the question today to pass immediately to the creation of a real Marxist-Leninist party..." (Statement of Political Agreement for the creation of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist)). However in the world of Mao-think things that are "out of the question" today can quickly become tomorrow's unquestionable norm, as the career of Liu Shao-chi's close comrade in arms, Deng Xiaoping demonstrated. Accordingly CCL[M-L]'s false modesty of 1975 has disappeared and the "Workers Communist Party" (WCP) has been launched with a round of bombastic self-promotion reminiscent of Hardial Bains' Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist).

With the death of Mao and the purge of the "Gang of Four" CCL[M-L] proved itself to be the most servile follower of the Chinese bureaucracy by immediately reprinting the charges against Mao's wife and the rest of the leadership of his faction, Deng's faction rewarded CCL[M-L] for its servility with the official franchise—which left Rashid's erstwhile competitors to fight over the rights to a place in the glorious sun of Albanian "socialism." Those Mauists who refused to "rally" to CCL[M-L] were written off as so many revisionists, social fascists (continued on page 12)
On September 11, the "critical" ex-Maoists of In Struggle! (ISI) called a demonstration against the bloodsoaked Chilean junta in front of the Toronto offices of Noranda Mines, a company with extensive holdings in Chile. The ISI demonstrators joined by an equal number of Trotskyist League (TL) members and supporters. The TL slogans: "Smash Pinochet Through Workers Revolution!" and "No to Class Collaboration! Workers to Power in Chile!"—drew home the crucial lessons of the Chilean tragedy: that popular front alliances with the bourgeoisie can only lead to bloody defeats for the working class.

Six years have passed since the September 11 coup in Santiago that toppled the popular front Unidad Popular government of Salvador Allende and installed the bloody dictatorship of Pinochet and his generals. But the muddleheaded Stalinists of ISI have learned nothing from the bitter defeat of the Chilean proletariat. In its theoretical journal, Proletarian Unity, ISI condemns the French and Italian communist parties' class-collaborationist policy of "anti-fascist unity" with the bourgeoisie in the post World War II period. But this facade of Leninist orthodoxy was dropped at the moment of defeat. The ISI London Office underlined in blood the crucial lesson: that the Stalinist strategy of all-class unity (or "popular unity" as Allende called it) is a roadblock to socialist revolution. In its press ISI rails against the Montreal Association of Chileans (which is closely associated with the Communist Party of Chile):

"Aiming to reinforce their line of capitulation and collaboration in the anti-fascist struggle, the revisionists within the Association of Chileans chose to invite Quebec's minister of immigration who apparently spoke in favour of the 'Chilean path towards socialism.'"

—In Struggle!, 19 September

But this is just sour grapes—for the Communist Party (CP) and ISI follow the same path of "unity" with the "good" bosses against Pinochet. The only difference is that unlike the CP, ISI doesn't have enough clout to entice any bourgeois politicians to share its "anti-fascist unity" platform. One of ISI's main slogans on the Toronto demonstration, "Boycott Chilean Goods," was copied straight from the CP's book of liberal Stalinist moralism. We support trade-union boycotts of limited duration (such as the one week boycott of Chile last September called by the CLC) or in response to a particular outrage. But Marxists oppose unlimited trade boycotts of countries of odious political regimes. Not only are such consumer boycotts usually ineffectual but even if they succeed their effect is to further impoverish the working masses, increase unemployment and dampen the combativity of the proletariat. Moreover a boycott of Chile by the imperialist countries, which dominate world trade, would only occur in the context of generalized trade war—the precursor to inter-imperialist world war. Here again ISI shares the social-chauvinist tradition of Tim Buck and the "people's front" Stalinists of the 1930's who appealed to the "democratic" imperialists to boycott Germany and Italy prior to World War II. To ISI's liberal moralism the TL contingent counterposed the call for a labor boycott.

(continued from page 13)
RWL: Do You Still Cheer for Khomeini?

The following leaflet was distributed to an RWL meeting on October 14 in Toronto:

At tonight's meeting Farhad Nouri, a member of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS), sister organization of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), will speak on "Repression in Iran." There's plenty to say about the savage repression in Khomeini's "Islamic Republic": the execution of strikers, leftists, homosexuals, adulterers, and others accused of "crimes against god"; the stoning of unveiled women, the suppression of all opposition parties and press. The slaughter of hundreds of Kurds is only the most recent and one of the more dramatic repressive measures of the Shiite theocracy as they consolidate their rule. The RWL's Iranian co-thinkers in the HKS have not escaped Khomeini's terror either--12 HKSers have been sentenced to death.

What Nouri won't say is that the HKS, the RWL, and their international co-thinkers in the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" helped pave the way for the victory of Islamic reaction in Iran by their uncritical enthusiasm over Ayatollah Khomeini. Only last March, Cindy Jaquith of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party heralded the "victory in Iran" at RWL forums in Vancouver and Toronto. In Toronto Jaquith was joined in celebrating the dawn of Islamic reaction by an Iranian "Marxist-Leninist" who defended the execution of homosexuals in Iran!

Only the international Spartacist tendency told the truth about the ayatollahs. We were unique in warning that a victory of Khomeini would mean a regime just as reactionary as the bloody shah's. When we raised the slogan "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution in Iran!" the RWL whined that we were simply "mouthing the propaganda of the imperialists." Along with the rest of the left, the RWL covered up or denied at every stage the reactionary character of Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalism.

In the time-honored fashion of betrayers, the RWL and its friends in the USec are now trying to cover their tracks by evoking liberal pity over the threat of execution hanging over the arrested HKSers in Ahwaz. Yes, the HKS supporters must be freed, as must the Arab oil workers, Kurdish militants, Fedayeen supporters and all other victims of reactionary Islamic terror. But this will not get you off the hook, comrades--for the plight of the Iranian left was prepared by the criminal opportunism of groups like the United Secretariat. You wanted Khomeini; now you've got him.

BOWING TO THE EXECUTIONER

Even as they face the threat of a firing squad, the HKS and USec continue to bow before the executioners. In an "Open Letter from Imprisoned Women
TL Forums on Iran

The Trotskyist League (TL), recently concluded a successful series of forums on the crucial lessons of the "Iranian revolution." At the forums (held at York University, University of Toronto and the McMaster campus in Hamilton) TL spokes­man Tom Riley emphasized the unique position of the international Spartacist tendency (ISTS) which alone on the left warned the workers movement of the impending reactionary terror of an Islamic government. Riley stressed that the attitude adopted toward the mullah-led revolt against the Shah provided an acid test for the self-proclaimed revolutionary left. While every other tendency on the left helped pave the way for Islamic reaction through their capitulation to Khomeini, only the Trotskyist League (held at York International Student Centre) TL Forums on Iran presented a demonstration of the political bankruptcy of the "international solidarity" with the Shah. This criminal behavior cannot be buried beneath a few half-hearted criticisms and cries for "international solidarity" with the US-backed Persian chauvinist who sought to ride to popularity on the coattails of Islamic reaction.

Celebrate The Russian Revolution

TL Trotskyist League Presents Eisenstein's Classic Film:

Ten Days that Shook the World

Cumberland Hall, International Student Centre
Friday, November 2, 7:30 pm.
Letter: Ex-PLer Denounces CPL Mullah Lovers

The following letter was sent to SC by G. Gibbs, a former member of Progressive Labor (PL), the former American mentor of the Canadian Party of Labour (CPL). Gibbs left PL at about the same time that CPL severed relations with its long-time big brother. Letters from Gibbs appeared in the 12 April and 24 May issues of the Worker with some critical hints of CPL's support to Khomeini. At that time Gibbs accepted CPL's contention that "now is not the time for a split with Khomeini."

Dear Editor:

Sept. 12, 1979
Minneapolis

It was only a few months ago that the pages of the Canadian Party of Labour's Worker were filled with enthusiastic praise for the Iranian "revolution." Story after story pounded out the theme that U.S. imperialism had lost a friend in the Near East and the Palestiniana had gained a great ally. CPL spoke French and lived in Montreal, they would expect from CPL.

But times change. U.S. military advisors are now working with Khomeini's government. Time magazine ran a long story on Islam's "revival" with the clear message that although Islam is bad, communism is worse. Now even the Soviet Union, whose Tudeh Party had followed the Islamic Republic down the line, has attacked the Islamic reaction. But where is CPL? The last remark in the Worker about Khomeini was that he was the great "leader" of the revolution. CPL threw in some vague hints about the "masses overthrowing those who stand in their way," which is about as clear-sighted as you can expect from CPL.

Now that the "evil" liquor and music are outlawed, women without chadors beaten in the streets, beaches segregated by sex, homosexuals and prostitutes executed, laws against divorce passed and property rights against women strengthened, CPL has maintained a conspiracy of silence. Quite an auspicious start for CPL's badly-named "Women's Commission," of course to the pro-Stalin party, these acts are all very "revolutionary" and opposed to "petit-bourgeois decadence."

Pictures of Khomeini were even carried in CPL's May Day parade in Toronto. This great day of proletarian internationalism was defiled by the presence of pictures of the butcher of the Kurds, of the Turkomen and other national minorities--the great Persian chauvinist and feudal bigot Khomeini. This is quite interesting from a party that won its spurs in upholding the right of Quebec to self-determination. It seems that if only the Kurds spoke French and lived in Montreal, they would also deserve the right to self-determination. But since they stand opposed to that "great ally" of Palestine, they are dispensable.

Only last week we were greeted with AP wire photos showing the execution of some Kurdish rebels by firing squad. And CPL is still enthusing over the Iranian "revolution." This butchery of the Kurds is the "Iranian revolution." What is the response of these erstwhile upholders of proletarian internationalism? Do they accuse Khomeini of being a feudal Trudeau at least? Not a word. Instead they scold the "sectarians" for spreading bad rumours about Iran and smearing the name of the revolution. What traitors!

Why this silence in Canada? They claim the greatest enemy of the Iranian people is imperialism, so they have to give "critical support" to Khomeini. It is the mullahs who are now the main social prop of imperialism and capitalism in Iran. It is only through their overthrow that the real guarantee of the future in Iran, the proletariat, can take the main stage of the revolution.

It is CPL's prostration before Joseph Stalin which allows them to make such an error. Indeed, even in 1917 Stalin was calling for support to Kerensky's bourgeois regime in Russia, until Lenin intervened and called for its overthrow. CPL has done Stalin one better by supporting a feudalist. CPL is incapable of leading a revolution. May all of their words about "proletarian internationalism" turn to dust in their mouths, as they certainly have done in Iran.

G. Gibbs
UAW: Mobilize Mass Pickets at Butcher Strike!

Since July 5 forty workers on strike against Butcher Engineering, a small auto parts supplier in Brampton, Ontario, have been fighting an uphill battle against the company, cops, and scabs. The key issue in the strike is the attempt to wrest union security from this strikebreaking firm. Although the plant was organized by United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1285 more than two years ago Butcher workers have no compulsory dues checkoff and continue to work for wages that are half the union scale at the Big Three auto companies.

Prior to the strike company owner Chris Butcher, refused to accept a compulsory dues checkoff and waged a campaign to get workers to quit the union so they wouldn’t have to pay union dues. More than half the workforce accepted this union-busting offer. The only other perk he offered was free lunches during the strike—seems the price of scabs is cheap these days.

The Butcher strike recalls the bitter strike against Fleck Manufacturing Company last year. For five months the Fieck workers, predominantly women, battled an army of scabs and strikebreaking cops to win their first UAW contract and a compulsory dues checkoff. But at the time of the Fieck strike, Dennis McDermott, then the head of the Canadian UAW, was campaigning for the presidency of the Canadian Labour Congress. In a grandstanding gesture designed to build his “tough guy” image, McDermott, called on the UAW to organize mass pickets to support the Fieck strikers. Soon after McDermott was elected the strike support was dropped and the Fieck workers abandoned. In the end they returned to work for wages just above the legal minimum.

This year the UAW top has, even made a pretense of support to the Butcher workers. Hoping to railroad through the auto sellout engineered by International president Doug Fraser and his Canadian lieutenant Bob White, the bureaucrats are determined to keep auto workers off any picket lines. Nonetheless, Butcher pickets managed to shut down the Chrysler plant in Windsor for three shifts. The Ford parts center in Bramalea where scab goods are still being delivered was closed down for a day when Ford workers refused to cross picket lines set up by Butcher strikers. In response Ford appealed for and was granted an extension of the injunction against UAW picketing at its plants which was enforced during the Fieck strike.

The Butcher strikers face great odds, UAW militants must demand that the thousands of auto workers in Southern Ontario be mobilized in daily mass pickets to shut down Butcher’s plant. Already UAW members from the Bramalea Ford parts center and Ford Oakville have reinforced the Butcher picket lines. On October 3, seventy picketers, including a contingent from Local 707 (Ford Oakville) blocked the driveway at Butcher with concrete curbstones and skirmished with scabherding cops for three hours. In the battle to reopen the driveway the police thugs sent two picketers to the hospital and arrested four others, including three union officers from Local 707.

The UAW must come to the defense of the embattled Butcher strikers and demand that all the charges against the arrested picketers be dropped. With the powerful backing of the rest of the UAW the Butcher workers can turn the tide on these vicious strikebreaking assaults. Teamsters are refusing to cross the picket lines. But scab products are still being moved out of the plant and delivered to several auto plants in Southern Ontario and the U.S. Teamsters and auto workers must refuse to handle scab products from Butcher.

The auto bosses are trying to use the slump in the auto industry to launch a full scale attack on the auto workers union. Along with this massive assault on jobs, living standards and working conditions the auto bosses now have an anti-picketing injunction. The bureaucrats have done nothing to challenge this strikebreaking injunction.

Powerful united action by all auto workers would make court injunctions nothing more than worthless pieces of paper and pave the way for victory for the Butcher strikers. The leadership of the Butcher strike is limiting its demands to a compulsory dues check off. But backed by the tremendous economic muscle of the UAW the Butcher workers can win real union security through a closed shop. Throw out the scabs! It is shameful that the Butcher workers and others at small auto parts plants organized by the UAW work for less than union scale. A victory at Butcher could point the way forward to bringing the thousands of workers slaving in small sweatshops into the UAW with full Big Three wages and benefits!

FOR MASS PICKETS TO SHUT DOWN BUTCHER! HOT CARGO SCAB BUTCHER PARTS! VICTORY TO THE BUTCHER STRIKE!

Young Spartacus
Monthly Newspaper of the Spartacist Youth League, Youth Section of the Spartacist League
$2 • 9 ISSUES
Make checks payable to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 823, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013
Racist Murder in Toronto

Jail the Killer Cops!

On August 26 Albert Johnson, a 35-year-old Jamaican immigrant, was murdered in his own home by two Toronto cops. Johnson was the latest victim of an accelerating trend toward "cop justice" in which the function of judge, jury and executioner are carried out by trigger-happy "law enforcers." In the past year Toronto police have gunned down eight men. The unadulterated racism behind the Johnson killing is so gross that the setting could have been the American Deep South 30 years ago. For three months before he was killed Johnson was the target of a systematic campaign of racist harassment and assault by Toronto cops. Last May, cops "busted" into Johnson's home, smashed his front door window and then attempted to drag him through the shattered glass. Johnson, who was finally taken from his house in shackles, spent 11 days in the hospital recovering from lacerations. While he was recuperating he was approached by cops who offered him a "deal." They wouldn't press charges if Johnson would agree to forget everything. When Johnson refused he was charged with assaulting a police officer! Following this incident the cops pursued their racist vendetta against Johnson with a vengeance. He was arrested on charges of everything from reading a bible out loud to possessing a dangerous weapon—a six-inch stick! In many cases the charges were so ridiculous that they were tossed out of court. But this did not stop the cops. Bromley Armstrong, an officer with the Ontario Human Rights Commission, revealed that between the May assault and the murder in August his office had accumulated a thick file of complaints of police harassment from Johnson.

Johnson was systematically chased from the streets by cops sneering racist epithets such as "nigger" and "black bastard." Then on a quiet Sunday afternoon, three police cruisers screeched to a stop in a laneway at the rear of the Johnson home. After breaking down the fence gate and busting through the back door the cops attacked Johnson, beating him over the head with billy clubs. When Johnson's wife Lemonica intervened, pleading with the cops to stop, Johnson fled upstairs. According to the cop's story Johnson came back down the stairs swinging "what appeared to be an axe." In truth Johnson was carrying a lawn edger! The cops claim that Johnson "threatened" their lives. But Johnson's seven-year-old daughter, who witnessed the killing, tells a different story:

"They hit him and blood coming down his head. He went upstairs and the cops told him to come down. They came up to get him and told him to kneel down and when he kneeled down they shot him."

--Globe and Mail, 27 August

The cold-blooded racist murder of Albert Johnson provoked a cry of outrage, in particular from Toronto's black community. On September 1, 2,000 demonstrators chanting "murderers" and "we want revenge" marched for seven hours through downtown Toronto in protest against the Johnson killing. Close to 400 people attended the funeral and on 11 September, 500 more attended a benefit concert for the Johnson family.

The "Action Committee Against Racism," a Stalinist-dominated front group cohabited by the Canadian Party of Labour, the Workers Communist Party and others, called a demonstration for October 14. But when a contingent of TL supporters arrived at the rallying site they were met by a gang of Stalinist goons who refused to permit them to join the demonstration. Spokesmen for these thugs asserted that the TL was being excluded because our slogans (which included "The Cops can't be Reformed!," "Smash Racial Oppression through Workers Revolution" and "Jail the Killer Cops!") went beyond the "minimum," i.e., reformist, program of the coalition.

A gang from the fascist Nationalist Party tried to picket the demonstration. Supporters of Hardial Bains' Albanophile Communist Party of Canada....
(Marxist-Leninist) denounced these accusers and shredded their racist placards. As was to be expected the fascists were protected by their friends in blue but what is scandalous is that many of the demon- 

strators' marshall joined with the police to hold 

black leftists seeking to attack the fascists! Jim 

Down, a sometimes militant-possessing alternate 

committee man at General Motors' Scarborough 

van plant, as well as Nelson Calder, a supporter 

of the reformist International Socialists were among 

the fascists' protectors. Unfortunately eight of the 

anti-fascists were arrested by the police. The 

Trotskyist League calls for their immediate release 

and for the dropping of all charges against them. 

We reprint below the leaflet distributed by the 

Trotskyist League to the October 14 demonstration: 

* * * 

Executed without arrest, trial or conviction! 

Guilty until proven innocent! Albert Johnson was 

the victim of "cop justice!" The killer cops who 
gunned down Johnson in his own home must be 
brught to justice for their crime. Over the past 

year Toronto's trigger-happy cops have killed eight 

men. This escalation of cop attacks must be 

stopped! Each time the cops get away with an 

other of these stormtrooper executions, it frees 

their hand for more assaults on blacks, working 

people and all the oppressed. 

Under increasing public pressure against the 

marauding cops the Toronto Police Commission 

has attempted to whitewash the Johnson murder 
through its supposed "independent" investigation, 

After appointing a "Professor" to "inves­ ti­ gate" between the cops and Toronto's minorities 

Police Chief Harold Adamson called in his "col­ 

leagues" of the Ontario Provincial Police to 

investigate the Johnson killing. Predictably the 

OPP investigation was nothing more than a cover­ up, 

deny ing any evidence of racism and com­ 

pletely dismissing the eyewitness account of the 
cop murder by Johnson's seven-year-old daughter, 

Coleen. 

But even the OPP was unable to completely 
cover the tracks of the two Toronto cops who 
murdered Johnson, William Inglis and Walter 

Carnelli. Inglis and Carnelli have been accused 

with manslaughter. But this is only a sop to try 

to diffuse the massive public outrage at the John­ 

son killing. Inglis and Carnelli have been sus­ 
pended from work with their defenseless blacks to 

smashing strikes the cops defend the interests of the bosses. On the UAW picket lines at Boucher Engineering in Brampton the cops arrest the strikers and not the scabs. No amount of civilian control can change the role of the police in racist capitalist society. 

Liberals and reformists are trying to channel 

the popular outcry over the recent escalation of 

random cop terror into a campaign for a tooth­ 

less civilian review board and judicial inquiries 

to police killings. Everyone from Toronto mayor 

John Sewell to the leadership of the Ontario Fed-

eration of Labour is now calling for "police 

reform" and more police "accountability." Sewell 

has also recommended that the police force be 

opened up to more ethnic minorities. But this is 

not the answer to cop killings. 

The motto of the Toronto police is "To Serve and Protect." But the main purpose of the cops is not to protect the population but to maintain the racist status quo. From gunning down defenseless blacks to smashing strikes the cops defend the interests of the bosses. On the UAW picket lines at Boucher Engineering in Brampton the cops arrest the strikers and not the scabs. No amount of civilian control can change the role of the police in racist capitalist society. 

Nor will adding more cops from racial minori­ ties change anything. When repression is the 

most efficient way to smash "disorder" or "main­ 

tain peace," then black fingers will pull the 

triggers just as easily as white. In Rhodesia the 

(continued on page 13)
Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

capitalist regime. As proof of the "generosity of the Nicaraguan Revolution," they have refused to execute any of the National Guard criminals who tortured at random and rained high-explosive bombs on their own cities. While expropriating the property of the tyrant and his underlings, the new rulers have vowed to protect the holdings of other capitalists.

The array of forces in post-Somoza Nicaragua has the potential for an explosive confrontation—within the unstable ruling coalition of three FSLN factions and their bourgeois partners; between the government and the working masses or between a sector of the radical-Jacobin FSLN and reactionary sectors of the domestic bourgeoisie. This highly charged situation poses an acid test for revolutionists. For while the overwhelming majority of the left to one degree or another is tailing after the popular Sandinistas, the task of Trotskyists, who fight on the program of permanent revolution, is to remain the party of intransigent working-class opposition. Those who proclaim that proletarian-socialist revolution can come about peacefully in Nicaragua by nudging the present bonapartist regime gradually to the left could well be the first victims of their own illusions.

The FSLN has already initiated a wave of anti-working-class repression. One of the first acts of the new regime has been to attempt to disarm the "popular militias"—the working-class militants and urban slum dwellers who fought key battles in the streets of the capital and other cities. According to the Economist, 6,000 of these men had their guns taken away by the new regime (26 September). The FSLN's commitment to protect the property of the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie is also evident around land reform. While its scope is sweeping, affecting as much as 80 percent of the arable land of Nicaragua, it is limited to estates belonging to Somoza and his henchmen. This was justified by Agrarian Reform Minister Jaime Wheelock with the argument, "We must keep solidarity with those members of the private sector who supported the ouster of Somoza" (New York Times, 5 August). A few days later FSLN officials clashed with a Maoist labor group organizing land seizures near the city of León.

EXPULSION OF THE SIMON BOLIVAR BRIGADE

The new regime has also moved to prevent the class struggle from "becoming more acute" by expelling several dozen foreign leftists. Most of these have been self-proclaimed Trotskyists associated with the "Simon Bolivar Brigade." The Bolivar Brigades were expelled after they organized a demonstration of 3,000 Managua factory workers. According to the Washington Post (21 August) banners at the August 15 demonstration carried the slogans, "The Revolution is in the hands of the bourgeoisie" and "Power to the proletariat." For this they were charged with being "counterrevolutionaries" and "foreign provocateurs."
It is not reported whether Blanco/Camejo/Sheppard/Beauchais et al. received thirty pieces of silver, although they clearly hope to cash in on their perfidy by becoming the authorized cheer-leaders for the FSLN. In order to discharge their responsibilities as the self-appointed defenders of a government which includes a number of capitalist ministers and which is committed to safeguarding the properties of the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie," the USec revisionists denounce anyone who attempts to mobilize the working masses around demands which go beyond the democratic program of the Sandinista leadership:

"Since the fall of the Somoza dictatorship the brigade and number of other left organizations, including Maoists, have attempted... to outflank the Sandinistas on the left. Their tactic was to try to expose the Sandinista leadership as not being revolutionary enough."

-Socialist Voice, 12 September

According to the October 8 issue of Intercontinental Press "These groups thus fall into the bourgeois game of trying to divide the masses from the FSLN." Using similar arguments the Mensheviks accused Lenin of playing into the hands of the bourgeois Provisional Government in 1917.

The SWP and the RWL have made the call for "aid" from the North American imperialists a key element of their propaganda. "Ottawa should be sending massive aid with no strings attached: its goal should be to aid the Nicaraguan people, not to blackmail them into concessions to imperialism," advised the RWL's Political Committee in its August 30 statement. In appearance a utopian/Kautskyist call on the imperialist leopard to change its spots, in reality it is an appeal for a bloc with the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie to prevent socialist revolution in Latin America. It is no accident that the RWL/SWP's call for massive "aid" to Nicaragua is presently the line of the American State Department which is telling Congress that the U. S. does not provide aid Nicaragua may well "go Communist."

Even if an appeal for aid is limited to labor-organizations, Marxists seek to use such aid to strengthen the hand of the proletariat. During the Spanish civil war Trotsky categorically rejected proposals that such aid go to the Popular Front government: "We will defend the idea that the trade unions should collect money not for the government but for the Spanish trade unions..." (Answers to Questions on the Spanish Situation, 1937). But the RWL congratulates the CLC bureaucrats for providing aid to Nicaragua as a means to pressure the government into giving its aid:

"While the CLC will continue to rely on labor for further funds, Harker [director of CLC International Affairs Department] said, both the labor movement and the church organizations are pressing the federal government to provide aid."

-Socialist Voice, 1 October

The U. S. imperialists and their Canadian junior partners are not in the business of dispensing aid to alleviate human suffering. Behind "humanitarian" dollars there is always politics. Aid to rebuild what—a capitalist or collectivized economy? The principal 'aid' which the Nicaraguan working people urgently need is the leadership of a communist vanguard with a program of permanent revolution, going beyond the bourgeois-democratic program of the FSLN to mobilize the forces for proletarian revolution. And they won't get it from opportunists like the RWL and SWP who support the Sandinistas against the left and call on the

(continued on next page)
Nicaragua...

(continued from page 11)

liberal imperialists to hold back the revolution.

MORENOITE CHARLATANS AND ADVENTURERS

So what about the Simon Bolivar Brigade and its parent, Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction of the USec? Moreno's factional enemies in the USec are charging that "The brigade as such never entered combat" (Intercontinental Press, 17 September).

It appears that for the most part Moreno's brigade, despite its bombastic propaganda, sat out the fighting in Costa Rica. So the heroic gun-in-hand guerrilla image the Brigade leaders would like to assume is certainly undeserved. Politically the Morenoites called for "a Sandinista government."

They got their Sandinista government and—guess what—they got expelled from the country. But then that's what often happens when you tailor after Bonapartism.

Nahuel Moreno's record is that of a huckster who has put on the garb of virtually every popular trend in the Latin American left—Peronism, Castroism, Maoism and now Sandinism. He is also notorious for underhanded financial swindles and for his ultrareformist program in his home base, Argentina. In 1973 Moreno joined a popular front Group of Eight together with the Argentinean CP and the leading bourgeois parties in pledging support to the bonapartist government of Juan Peron (see Workers Vanguard Nos. 23 and 49). Today Moreno is a gung-ho guerrillist but in 1974 his organization in Argentina denounced the Castrite PRI/ERP (then affiliated with the USec) as the "mirror image" of "the terrorists of the AAA and other organizations of the ultraright" (Intercontinental Press, 28 October 1974).

Moreno's financial skullduggery is legendary in the Latin American left. The most sensationalist case concerns allegations that he failed to deliver promised funds to Hugo Blanco's operation in Peru in 1962, and his role in the disappearance of several thousand dollars taken in a bank expropriation by the Tupac Amaru group and destined for Blanco. Moreno's erstwhile partner in the leadership of the reformist Leninist Trotskyist Faction of the USec, former SWP leader Joseph Hansen, noted in 1977 that these charges had never been answered. But before that for years all wings of the USec had jappily co-existed in the same international with this snake-oil salesman. They have dirty hands.

WORKERS TO POWER!

FOR A TROTSKYIST PARTY!

The masses of Nicaragua cannot and do not want to live in the old way. But to produce a socialist revolution the radicalized masses must be politically led and organized by a revolutionary vanguard party, centrally based on the proletariat, and with an international perspective. In the absence of such a Leninist (Trotskyist) party, Nicaragua can at best result only in another Cuba, in a deformed social revolution in which the working class is saddled with a narrowly nationalist, parasitic and oppressive bureaucracy. But the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) sees no need for a Leninist vanguard—because its entire perspective is to pressure the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas into making Nicaragua "another Cuba."

The immediate task facing a revolutionary party in Nicaragua is to oppose the efforts of the Sandinistas/bourgeois junta to restore a capitalist state.

An urgent demand a revolutionary party in Nicaragua must raise is that the toiling masses keep their arms, and that workers militias be established independently of the Sandinistas/bourgeois regime. Above all, Trotskyists must agitate for a government excluding the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie committed to the expropriation of the big landowners and the capitalists based on the democratic organs of the working class and its peasant allies. Such a revolutionary struggle obviously cannot be confined to Nicaragua alone, but must strive for a Socialist United States of Latin America.

(Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 240, 28 Sept.)

WCP(M-L)... (continued from page 2)

and counterrevolutionaries while Rashi & Co. announced that they had accomplished the "main tasks" for the formation of their new "communist" party.

Amongst all the hyperbole, grandiose pretensions and outright lies, one claim in the Forge's coverage of the founding convention of the WCP rings true: every resolution was adopted unanimously, "in a spirit of unity." But it is a unity forged through groveling acceptance of China's alliance with any murderous tyrant or imperialist warmonger, from the former shah of Iran and Mobutu Sese Seko to Helmut Schmidt and Jimmy Carter, on the basis of virulent Cold War anti-Sovietism. (And any would-be oppositionist has the fate of Lin Piao and the Gang of Four to give him pause.) The "main task" of CCL(M-L) as it struggled to form the WCP was to transform hundreds of youth, many of whom no doubt cut their political teeth in the movement against U.S. imperialism's bloody counterrevolutionary war in Vietnam, into cynical sycophants of the Chinese bureaucracy willing to cheer the invasion of the Vietnamese deformed workers state by the People's Liberation Army in tacit alliance with the U.S.

The working class does not need another "party" of treacherous Stalinist thugs dedicated to repeating the history of defeats prepared by Stalin, Mao and their successors. As Trotsky once remarked, Stalinism is the appendix of the workers movement. And Rashi & Co., whatever appellation they give themselves—are a particularly repugnant strain.
The presence of the TL contingent on the demonstration was a source of obvious discomfort for IS! In Struggle! unsuccessfully attempted to get the TL to take down a placard reading "No More Popular Fronts! For a Trotskyist Party in Chile!" The TL politely, but firmly declined this offer of political censorship and appointed an IS! representative with the elementary principles of workers democracy.

Still smarting from its political exposure at the demonstration, on September 28 IS! used physical intimidation to remove two TL women comrades from a publicly advertised meeting on Chile, unable to defend its treacherous class collaboration IS! tries to escape revolutionary criticism by cowardly physical exclusions. But the job of revolutionaries who wish to show solidarity with the Chilean working people is to tell the truth and draw the leasons of the 1973 defeat in order to prepare for the decisive battles ahead. And the truth is that only along the road of permanent revolution, through the establishment of working-class rule supported by the peasantry can the exploited and oppressed sweep away, once and for all, the Pinochets and their henchmen.

Cops Off Campus!

Seventy-five Toronto cops are enrolled in a "Law Enforcement Administration" course at the University of Toronto. The Trotskyist League opposes all such police studies programs which are only intended to train a more sophisticated breed of armed thugs for the capitalist class, Cops Off Campus!

Demonstrate!
Tuesday, Oct. 30, 1:00-2:00 p.m.
Simcoé Hall, U of T
Chrysler...

(workers must demand that the company open its financial records to committees of elected union members. If it cannot afford to operate its plants, Chrysler should be nationalized without compensation."

This reflexive response--demanding the expropriation without compensation of an industrial giant pleading bankruptcy--was an attempt to give immediacy to the socialist program for the expropriation of all industry under a workers government. But it is inappropriate in this case. The reformist practice of nationalizing only the least efficient capitalist operations is the exact opposite of socialist expropriation. Socialist economic planning is based on appropriating the capitalist the most advanced means of production. Chrysler is not Inco, with its wealth and resources, or Bell, with its monopoly of indispensable communications technology, but an antiquated relic which has been gutted by rapacious parasitic stockholders.

The focus of the RC article was the demand for sit-down strikes against the layoffs, as opposed to reliance on government intervention. The utopian/reformist character of the demand to nationalize Chrysler is best summed up by the pseudo-Trotkist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL):

"A nationalized auto company could be run in the interests of auto workers and the community at large. It could be run to provide good vehicles at an affordable price at the same time as providing a decent living wage and working conditions to its employees."--Socialist Voice, 10 September

The reality of countries where the bankrupt social-democratic program of piecemeal nationalizations has been realized is starkly different than the RWL's rosy vision: one need only look at Britain. Successive Labour governments have nationalized falling firms, for example, the big auto manufacturer, Leyland. In doing so they give the bankrupt capitalists more money than they could otherwise get from liquidating their assets. The nationalized industrial cripples are then run in competition with more efficient private firms. In order to compete they resort, even more than private capitalists, to wage restraint, speedup, layoffs, etc. The utter failure of this miserable social-democratic system is obvious not only to Wall Street but to Detroit auto workers as well.

The qualified AFL-CIO bureaucrats do not usually call for nationalizations. Historically, government takeovers in the U.S. are associated with strikebreaking. The UAW tops, however, have an atrophied but real social-democratic tradition. In 1945 Walter Reuther proposed a reformist scheme for converting the U.S. economy from a war footing to a "peace economy" which combined the RWL's populist utopianism with a jingoistic tribute to American militarism:

"We have but to mobilize for peace the resources--fullness and technical know-how which put the B-29 in the skies over Tokyo and sent the atomic bomb crashing into Hiroshima--and we can wipe out the slums and substandard housing, both rural and urban, which sap the health and dignity of millions of American families."


Of course this "reconversion" was never completely made and for the last 35 years Chrysler's military production has remained its most profitable sector. The ultimate capitalist answer to "protecting" Chrysler jobs is another Hiroshima which would resolve both the problems of "abundance" and competition.

When necessary, the generation which came to power in the UAW with Reuther can recall their grand social-democratic schemes. The Fraser bureaucracy proposes that the Carter administration buy 30 percent of Chrysler's stock and demand a few seats on the board of directors for union representatives. As their membership base is eroded and ground down by the relentless pounding of a declining imperialist power, sections of the trade-union bureaucracy are even flirting with reconstituting the ghost of an independent labor-social democratic alliance. The RWL's co-thinkers in the American Socialist Workers Party hope to fill the void as social-democratic advisors to the trade-union bureaucracy as they throw a generation of youth recruited to petty-bourgeois faddism into factories. Thus it is not surprising to find the SWP and the RWL standing slightly to Fraser's left and calling for the nationalization of Chrysler and even without compensation.

The RWL's whole strategy is to elect a New Democratic Party "workers government" to buy out Chrysler. Calling on the workers to seize Chrysler's assets is counterposed to the RWL's reformist approach to nationalizations and their practice in the unions of tailing the NDP bureaucrats. A British Labour Party style takeover of Chrysler can only lead to greater emiseration of the working class as a whole. The demand for sit-down strikes, factory occupations and setting the corporate assets of the tenth largest U.S. imperialist firm points in the direction of a genuine workers government to expropriate the entire capitalist class.

Trotskist League Directory

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Winnipeg: (204) 569-7214
Box 3952 Station B, Winnipeg, Man.
White Flag Over Solidarity House
UAW Contract Sellout

A few minutes after the midnight strike deadline on October 3 the leadership of the Canadian section of the United Auto Workers (UAW) signed a sweetheart contract with General Motors. In the wake of that followed GM's 33,000 Canadian workers grudgingly ratified what many of them considered to be the worst agreement ever negotiated in auto. There was widespread, although short-lived, opposition to the rotten deal—which was virtually identical to the "pace setter" agreed to three weeks earlier in the U.S. In Oshawa workers jumped the gun on the official strike deadline by four hours. At the Scarborough van plant night-shift workers wildcatted the night after the agreement was signed. And in Ste Thérèse, Quebec, pickets closed the plant for two days.

The North American automobile industry is in crisis. Tens of thousands of UAW members have been laid off indefinitely. While General Motors and Ford project more massive job cuts, Chrysler workers fear losing all of their jobs as the smallest of the Big Three teeters on the edge of bankruptcy. Under the new contract GM retains the right to schedule compulsory overtime. The demand for job protection through a shorter work week at no loss in pay was abandoned in favor of a few more paid personal holidays (PPPH). But the PPPH scheme amounts to little more than a tool in the hands of the company to regulate absenteeism.

Not only did the cowardly UAW tops abandon the central issue of job protection; they didn't even win any new money in the settlement. The traditional "annual improvement factor" of a miserly three percent wage increase was retained. The union's present inadequate cost-of-living allowance (COLA) formula—which offsets only about a third of the effects of inflation—will remain unaltered until 1982. An inflation continues to explode upwards, auto workers can expect to lose several thousand dollars in real spending power over the life of the contract. COLA on pensions, which UAW international head Doug Fraser touted as the union's top priority in 1979, was junked when GM claimed it was "too costly and unpredictable." Instead retirees will receive meager three-times-yearly benefit adjustments—to be paid for by deducting an eventual total of 14 cents an hour from the COLA of employed auto workers!

The UAW brass' whole strategy of "pattern bargaining" (whereby only one of the Big Three is targeted for possible strike action) is a boon to the auto moguls. It means that on the average each of the three corporations is threatened with strike action only once a decade. More importantly, the tremendous potential power in the hands of the auto workers is dissipated because the bureaucrats forfeit the economic clout of an all-out strike in an industry which is at the heart of the entire North American economy. (This year the union sellouts carried their treachery one step further and announced that even in the event of a strike only selected GM plants would be affected!) The UAW misleaders further sabotage the possibility of effective strike action by setting separate strike deadlines in the U.S. and Canada. Thus practically every contract year finds Canadian and American UAW members scrambling on each other's strikes.

The tentative agreement signed with Ford in the U.S. parallels the GM settlement. But the worst lies in store for the Chrysler workers who have already suffered 37,000 indefinite layoffs in the past several months, and who face the prospect of Chrysler going under altogether. Far from proposing to fight the wholesale attack on Chrysler workers however the UAW leadership has promised to give the No. 3 automaker "special consideration"—exempting it from any strike action and agreeing to negotiate a substandard contract for Chrysler workers.

The pro-company policies of the UAW bureaucracy spell defeat for the historically militant auto workers. Chrysler workers must respond to the wholesale liquidation of their jobs with militant sitdowns and the seizure of Chrysler's assets. UAW militants must fight to rip up the sellout of '79 and launch an industry-wide strike throughout North America to win a shorter work week and a big pay boost linked to a full COLA for both employed workers and retirees. And in hand with the need for a fight against the auto bosses is the necessity to throw out Fraser, Bob White (the Canadian Director of the UAW) and their ilk. They must be replaced by a class-conscious militant leadership whose demands are based on the needs of the membership and not tailored to the sacred profit margins of the Big Three.
No Bailouts for the Bosses

Chrysler Workers: Take it - it's Yours

The possible collapse of the smallest of the Big Three automakers has prompted the growth of a "Save Chrysler" lobby to back the company's plea for a billion-dollar government bail-out. Suddenly even the bourgeois press is weeping crocodile tears over the mass layoffs that have hit Chrysler. This is pure hypocrisy. Thousands of workers can be thrown out on the streets without evoking such pangs of "social conscience" from the pundits of the capitalist press. But this time it is one of the giants of the automobile industry, the heart of North American capitalism, that is hurting. The Toronto Star summed up the sudden concern over the fate of Chrysler:

"When companies of such size and importance get into difficulties, governments and consumers snap to attention. "While smaller ones can be permitted to fade away giants cannot." --August 3

It is not the plight of thousands of Chrysler workers thrown out of work that is the matter of "public concern," but protecting Chrysler's profits and shielding North American capitalism from foreign competition. As every "Save Chrysler" editorial notes, if the No. 3 automaker goes down the tubes it will open the market up for more German and Japanese cars.

Solidarity House, equally concerned with the company's profits, has thrown its lot in with Chrysler's plea for a government bailout and promised a substandard contract. But it is not the task of auto workers to keep Chrysler in business but to defend their jobs and living conditions. Any government handout will be strictly for the benefit of Chrysler shareholders. If Carter and Clark do decide to shell out to keep the ailing auto company afloat, more plants and workers will be scrapped in the name of "financial responsibility." Chrysler workers must be mobilized to defend their jobs. Not government handouts but militant sit-down strikes and factory occupations! If Chrysler is broke, the auto workers should seize the company's assets. The money from the sale of the assets belongs to the workforce—not one cent to the shareholders and banks! Such a militant attack on the bosses' private property rights could be the key to breaking the bureaucrats' stranglehold on the union and unlocking the power and militancy of the UAW in an industry-wide fight for jobs, decent wages and better living conditions.

WHY NOT NATIONALIZE CHRYSLER?

The August-September issue of Spartacist Canada urged:

"It is crucial that the UAW revive its historic weapon of the sit-down strike... "Instead of meekly petitioning Joe Clark or Jimmy, Carter for handouts for Chrysler, auto