

Smash NATO! Defend Cuba/USSR! Down with the Anti-Soviet War Drive!



TL contingent excluded by Stalinist goons at "peace" demonstration in Toronto, October 31. Only the Trotskyists defend the gains of October.

The fanatically anti-Soviet, war-crazed Reagan regime is on a straight-line march to thermonuclear war against the USSR. From El Salvador to Nicaragua to Cuba to Poland—virtually every week brings new provocations in the Cold War offensive aimed at "rolling back" the historic gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Now the U.S. nuclear cowboy president and his sinister Secretary of State General Alexander Haig are threatening military action in the Caribbean.

Trying to head off a public outcry at threats of imminent intervention against Nicaragua, Reagan held a press conference on November 10 at which he declared that the U.S. had no plans to send American ground troops into combat. A week later top presidential aide Edwin Meese III reiterated that a full-scale naval blockade "has not been precluded." When a reporter asked if all this bluster might make Washington look like a paper tiger if not carried out, Meese replied, "I don't think we'll look like a paper tiger."

With Haig calling on the "forces of freedom" in Nicaragua and "especially those in neighboring states" (Salvadoran death squads, the Honduran army and Somozaist mercenaries) to work with the U.S. in "security areas," the Reaganite warhawks' intentions are crystal clear. The threats against (continued on page 12)

New Leftists Meet Cold War II: The Last Gasp of In Struggle!

We reprint below a Trotskyist League leaflet distributed in Toronto and Vancouver at In Struggle! meetings to "debate" the question "Does Socialism Have a Future in Canada?" The TL was excluded in both cities although groups like the Revolutionary Workers League, Socialist Challenge Organization, the International Socialists and assorted others were welcomed. In Struggle! can afford "public debates" with those who share its reformist worldview. On the other hand it attempts to silence the revolutionary politics of the Trotskyist League to which it is utterly incapable of responding.

"...the crisis in In Struggle! is but a manifestation of a more general crisis that is putting into question the very existence of the Marxist-Leninist movement everywhere."

-- Charles Gagnon, "On the Crisis in the Marxist-Leninist Movement"

You said it! This year in the space of two months we saw a spectacular symptom of the collapse of the U.S. "M-L" movement when the two top dogs of American Maoism-Mike Klonsky of the slavishly Pekingloyal Communist Party Marxist-Leninist and Bob



Avakian of the Revolutionary Communist Party-cut and ran. Deeply discredited by China's counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism and demoralized facing the prospect of hard struggle in the Reagan years, American Maoism came to the end of the line.

In Canada the demoralized New Leftists of In Struggle! are exhibiting the same symptoms as Maoists south of the border. For IS!'s impressionistic and weak-willed petty-bourgeois radicals the time has come to throw in the towel. Gone are the heady days of the mid-1970s when, as Gagnon puts it, "we were sure that the revolution was at our doorstep." The social climate in North America has turned dramatically to the right. Reagan's warcrazed regime in the White House threatens to plunge all of humanity into an anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. The renewed Cold War is brought home in the rise of the Klan and Nazis.

The debate raging in In Struggle!, which brings the group's very existence into question, reflects its response to the drying up of the organization's prospects in the dog days of the 1980s. It's really not very trendy to call yourself a "Marxist-Leninist" these days. One can't help but note that IS! suffers a particular lack of political spine, caving in to a typically pale "Canadian" reflection of the anticommunism of Reagan's America.

Lacking both a Bolshevik proletarian program and the revolutionary will to swim against the stream, IS! wants to swim in the stream of leftwing social-democratic popularity. This impulse has found its political expression in the total shedding of any "leftist" mask to its reformist politics and a corresponding recognition of the "contri-

butions" of social democrats like the NDP's Dan Heap whose election was heralded as defying the "right-wing tide." And then there's NATO warmonger Francois Mitterrand who gets honorable mention for being "much more open than Giscard to working people's demands and the need for reform." Now 'in Quebec IS! is giving the trade-union bureaucracy's "Mouvement Socialiste" a "look-see" as a possible "alternative."

It seems all that remains is to get rid of the tiresome old "Marxist-Leninist" baggage. IS! Secretary-General Charles Gagnon's doing what he can on that front:

"At the risk of oversimplifying, the question being posed can be reduced to: is it still relevant to wage the struggle for the proletarian party, a party which is centralized, hierarchical, dominated by intellectuals and where women and manual workers are oppressed? Is it right to fight for a vanguard party...

"Some people would go even further and question the very idea of socialist revolution. Has not the way things have gone in China, the U.S.S.R.

and other countries been basis enough for querying whether there is any point battling for socialism?" +(ibid.)

Gagnon's little treatise has very much a "god that failed" quality. But is isn't Lenin who failed—it's Gagnon. It's Gagnon who built a "party dominated by intellectuals" that oppresses "women and manual workers." IS! has nothing in common with a Leninist vanguard party. Similarly, the "Leninism" (continued on page 6)

From the Sadlowski School of Labor Fakers: Patterson/Taylor Shaft Steel Workers

"You tell us to go back, for what? For nothing. For nickles and dimes like in '69!" After 122 days on the bricks, militant steel workers at Stelco's giant Hilton works in Hamilton were seething mad as Local 1005 president Cec Taylor and fellow "maverick" District 6 director Dave Patterson tried to sell them a stinking bill of goods. "Taylor, he's a sellout.... Patterson, he did the same thing at Inco," said one worker as boos and catcalls echoed through Ivor Wynne Stadium when the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) bureaucrats recommended acceptance that would lay the basis for a long-overdue industrywide contract covering all steel workers" ("Victory to the Steel Workers!", Spartacist Canada No. 50, September). We also warned, however, that the Taylor/Patterson "militant" version of business unionism could not provide the leadership that Stelco workers would need to stand up to the company and win big.

Stelco workers knew the strike would be a test for their new local leadership and for Patterson who took over as district director a month after the strike



November 5, Local 1005 strikers defend picket lines against strikebreaking cops.

of Stelco's latest offer. Angry steel workers burned copies of the agreement. But in the clear absence of a leadership that could lead them to victory, two days later the union membership voted 77 percent to take the deal.

When the 12,500 Local 1005 members and 9,500 Algoma Steel workers walked out at midnight on July 31, the USWA had the profit-gorged steel bosses by the throat. At the beginning of the strike the Trotskyist League pointed out the possibilities: "The Stelco strike is a chance to ignite a major labor battle, centering on Canada's largest steel producers,

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began. Now the results are in. The union was going for a \$3 an hour wage increase over two years—far less than what steel workers need. Taylor brought back \$1.70 over three years, 55 cents over Stelco's original offer! The COLA, which guarantees a 30 percent loss to inflation, is unchanged while pensions remain miserly and unindexed. Furthermore, Stelco plans to indefinitely lay off up to 1,500 workers and 26 Local 1005 members have been left to twist slowly in the wind facing disciplinary action as a result of the strike. These are the "benefits" that "Lunchbucket" Patterson told Stelco workers they would "enjoy" for the next three years.

The strikers were prepared to wage a militant fight, shutting Stelco down tight. But Taylor & Co. rushed to sign an agreement with the company opening picket lines to foremen, security guards and office staff. These labor-fakers sent busloads of Stelco strikers off to join the picket lines at Irwin Toy in Toronto not out of labor solidarity but to divert the energy and militancy with which Stelco workers wanted to defend their own lines.

Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!

From the Introduction to the English Edition

As Lech Walesa struts before the Solidarność conference displaying his Madonna lapel pin and boasting how he could easily have secured 90 percent of the vote, the U.S. imperialists see their revanchist appetites for capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe coming closer and closer to fruition. And the "crisis of proletarian leadership" described by Trotsky nearly a half-century ago is starkly illuminated in the response of those in Poland and abroad who claim the right to lead the working class.

Stalinism has squandered the socialist and internationalist historic legacy of the Polish workers movement, demoralizing the working class in the face of resurgent Pilsudskiite reaction. The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy, having already mortgaged Poland to the German bankers in the futile hope of buying off its own working class, now seems paralyzed by Solidarność' bid to sell the country to the imperialists outright. There has emerged in Poland no socialist opposition worthy of the name. And internationally the fake-lefts see in this mortal danger to socialized property in Poland a chance to earn their stars and stripes as a left cover for the social democrats and the pro-capitalist "labor statesmen" who long ago enlisted as junior partners in imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. In this the virulently anti-Communist chieftains of the American AFL-CIO show themselves not so different from the ruling Stalinist bureaucrats from Moscow to Peking, sellout heads of workers institutions which they are incapable of effectively defending against the class enemy.

Certainly it is not our job to apologize for the Stalinist rulers who have disorganized the Polish economy, capitulated to the church and the smallholding peasantry, lorded it over the working class with bureaucratic privileges which mimic the invidious inequities of capitalist society, alienated the intelligentsia and youth, fostered nationalism

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and every kind of backward ideology, not least anti-Semitism, and turned "Communism" into a curse word. There is a blood line-the blood of revolutionaries from Indochina to Spain-which separates us Trotskyists from Stalinism, that "great organizer of defeats." But it is very much our job to seek to rally the working class in Poland and internationally behind the defense of historically progressive socialized property in Poland, all the more so since the discredited Stalinists manifestly cannot. The call for "communist unity against imperialism through political revolution," first raised by the Spartacist tendency at the time of the Sino-Soviet split, acquires even greater urgency as the Polish crisis underlines the need for revolutionary unity of the Polish and Russian workers to defeat U.S. imperialism's bloody designs for bringing Poland into the "free world" as a club against the USSR, military/industrial powerhouse of the deformed workers states.

This pamphlet documents the Spartacist analysis of the unfolding events in Poland. Beginning in [August 1980], we recognized in the Polish upheavals both an opening for revolutionary agitation and an awesome potential for reactionary mobilization based on the Catholic church, the peasant "free market," a "dissident" movement which looks to the capitalist West to "democratize" Eastern Europe. As Solidarność consolidated around an anti-socialist program culminating in the adoption of the slogan of "free trade unions," one of the war cries of Cold War anti-Communism, we counterposed the call for trade unions independent of bureaucratic control and based on a program of defending socialized property. The demands raised in the articles in this pamphlet-for the strict separation of church and state, for the collectivization of agriculture, for the cancellation of Poland's debt to the imperialist bankers, for the military defense of the USSR against imperialism-constitute the programmatic core of the international vanguard party necessary to the revolutionary defense of the working masses of Poland against imperialism and capitalist restoration through political revolution in the deformed workers states and proletarian revolution throughout the capitalist world.

8 October 1981

Postal Workers Convention Only a Class-Struggle Leadership Can Get LCUC Off its Knees

The Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) held its 39th triennial convention in late October. For militants who attended the convention the main lesson to be drawn is that it will take a class-struggle leadership to get the LCUC off its knees and fighting. National president Robert McGarry opened the convention with a long-winded report alibiing the leadership's record of class collaboration and capitulation to the bosses' government over the past three years. And it is a sordid record of betrayal indeed which includes standing with the government against the Canadian Union of Postal Workers strike this summer and setting up LCUC militants who actively supported the strike for victimization, not to mention railroading through a sellout contract in their own union.

The LCUC tops are among the more shameless promoters of class collaboration-union vice president William Findlay has even made a movie extolling the merits of his alternative to class struggle-"The Other Way." In her response to the president's report Toronto Local 1 militant Audrey Minton pointed out that McGarry & Co. are incapable of defending even the most basic trade-union principles such as picket lines mean don't cross and bosses' hands off the unions. These sellouts have repeatedly bought management disciplines and suspensions of union militants who have refused to cross picket lines. And most recently, they refused to take any action to defend Local 1 chief steward Siman Allalouf whose firing on the eve of the convention was a frontal attack on the whole union. Instead they mandated Findlay to make a deal with management which allowed the boss to dictate who can and who can't participate in union affairs. Allalouf was suspended, forced to resign as chief shop steward and to pledge not to be involved in union affairs for six months. At the convention the only motion calling for any defense of Allalouf, initiated by Local 1 delegates Minton and Gerry Docherty, was killed by a referral.

Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!

Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) president Dennis McDermott, a guest speaker at the convention, sang the praises of Solidarność leader Lech Walesa whom he had invited to tour Canada. Just what is this "union" to which McDermott would have Canadian workers send money, printing presses and other supplies? Solidarity is organizing for bloody capitalist counterrevolution in Poland. Looking to the reactionary Polish pope and the U.S. imperialist-led "free world" for salvation, at its recent congress Solidarność came out with a call for Poland to join the International Monetary Fund (an international banking cartel which among other "achievements" lists starvation in Pinochet's Chile).

At the LCUC convention supporters of the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Challenge Organization stood with McDermott in calling on Canadian labor to back Solidarity. But as Minton argued in her response to McGarry's presidential report, unionists must take a stand in defense of the historic gains of the working class won through the Russian Revolution (continued on page 10)

AFL-CIO Tops: Hands Off Poland!

In opposition to the CLC tops' invitation to Lech Walesa to tour Canada the following motion was raised by Local 1 delegates Audrey Minton and Gerry Docherty at a District 5 caucus meeting.

Whereas: Polish Solidarity has become an instrument in U.S. president Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet Cold War drive aimed at bringing the USSR back into the capitalist sphere and has called on Poland to join the International Monetary Fund—whose economic program for Chile was starvation, unemployment and misery; and

Whereas: Solidarity is collaborating with the anti-communist AFL-CIO bureaucrats who have aided U.S. imperialism in crushing labor unions and overthrowing leftist governments from Chile to Indonesia and who are now deeply involved in the U.S. government's counterrevolutionary schemes in Poland. For example, Walesa invited "AFL-CIO representative" Irving Brown-a notorious CIA operative who for decades has carried out provocations and gangsterist attacks on the European labor movement-to Solidarity's first congress; and Whereas: the AFL-CIO has invited Walesa to attend their upcoming convention and the CLC has followed suit by inviting Walesa to Canada:

Be it Resolved: that this convention condemn the CLC's invitation to Walesa and demand "AFL-CIO/CLC Tops: Hands Off Poland!" and "No Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!"

G. Docherty Local #1 A. Minton Local #1 5

Sub Drive Success!

In this year's Spartacist Canada and Workers Vanguard subscription drive we once again went over the top, with 634 points sold nationally— 132 percent of our 480 point quota! This year's quota was more than double that of the 1980 sub drive, reflecting the Trotskyist League's growth over the past year. Through our comrades' energetic hard work we doubled the subscription base to SC and sold 124 full subscriptions to WV. With all the new readers of our revolutionary press—many of whom purchased their subs at TL class series, forums and other events—we look forward to increased recruitment in the coming year.

This year's individual winner was Vancouver's Orahlea with 65 points. Runners up were Peter S. with 56 points and Larry L. with 38 points, both from Toronto.

We welcome our new readers.

	Points	Quota	ş
Vancouver	318	240	133
Toronto	288	240	120
At Large	28		
TOTAL	634	480	132

In Struggle!...

(continued from page 2)

Gagnon attacks is nothing more than the gross Stalinist/New Left parody peddled as "Marxism-Leninism."

The refrain of the other leading spokesmen in the internal debate is the same petty-bourgeois cynicism and despair. Josée Lamoureux, leader of the "women's revolt," takes her particular brand of feminist anti-Leninism from Sheila Rowbotham's "Beyond the Fragments." Meanwhile the editors of the newspaper yearn for the amorphous New Left. The next congress, they say in their contribution to the "Food for Thought" column, "should adopt a minimal political platform" (emphasis in original) as a basis for unity with "all comrades in the union, feminist, anti-nuclear and other movements"!

With all its current denunciations of "sectarianism" one might get the impression that IS! has been guilty of "ultraleftism" in the past. Hardly. Its politics have always been solidly reformist and characterized by narrow Canadian parochialism. But these days even IS! can't duck the all-important Russian question and that's what has sent it running for political cover.

Anti-Sovietism dominates every aspect of political life. From El Salvador to the Near East to South Africa, the U.S. government backs right-wing butchers in the name of battling allegedly Moscow-inspired "international terrorism." Hoping to strike a blow against the Soviet Union deep in the USSR's own sphere, Reagan and other forces of reaction are egging on Polish Solidarność in its bid for bloody capitalist counterrevolution.

Pro-imperialist anti-Sovietism in the service of its Peking masters was the kiss of death for groups like CPML in the U.S. In Canada the Workers Communist Party seeks to avoid the same fate by downplaying its "China connection." IS! pulled back in the face of China's increasingly counterrevolutionary alliance with the U.S. imperialist warmongers, albeit partially out of sour grapes over losing the Peking franchise to the WCP. Nonetheless, its refusal to recognize that the USSR is a proletarian state (although bureaucratically degenerated) has put it on the same side of the barricades as American imperialism.

There are and can be no neutrals as the Cold War heats up. In Afghanistan IS! is in the camp of the CIA-backed reactionary Islamic "freedom fighters" against the Soviet Red Army. In Poland IS! echoes Ronald Reagan, his labor front men in the "AFL-CIA" and the Catholic church, cheering on Solidarity's counterrevolution. And what about El Salvador? El Salvador has been the front line in Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. You can't really take a side against the murderous U.S.-backed junta without aiding the cause of "Soviet social imperialism."

The October 1917 revolution in Russia is the key to understanding all subsequent political events of the 20th century. Even one "In Struggle! activist in Toronto" noted where IS!'s position on the class character of the Soviet Union leads:

"You should also be careful when you criticize the U.S.S.R. and Cuba as the sources of all evils. It seems to me that 'in the current context of war preparations and the sharpening of contradictions between the imperialist blocs' you should avoid writing articles that fall into the trap of the traditional rightist anti-Sovietism that has been drilled into our heads ever since 1917."

- In Struggle!, 13 October

This is a "trap" In Struggle! can't avoid. Only the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states, and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucrats who undermine defense of those states, offers a revolutionary alternative to pro-imperialist anti-Sovietism. IS! studies "what happened to socialism," studiously avoiding the Stalin/Trotsky debates and the conclusion it would have to draw from them if it were genuinely seeking to make a revolution—only Trotskyism has stood the test of history.

IS! can "peacefully co-exist" with fake-Trotskyists like the Revolutionary Workers League and the Socialist Challenge Organization. Capitulating to the pressures of anti-Sovietism, they have abandoned defense of the Soviet Union, sharing IS!'s positions on Afghanistan, El Salvador, Poland, and its socialdemocratic orientation on the domestic terrain. But In Struggle! can only defend itself against the revolutionary Trotskyism of the Trotskyist League by slanders and exclusionism, accusing us of "sectarianism" for our willingness to swim hard against the stream of prevailing radical/social-democratic opinion.

It is this Bolshevik hardness and programmatic clarity that will see Trotskyists leading the working class and its allies to power when groups like IS! have long been swept into the dustbin of history. The survival of the human species depends on socialist revolution. And socialist revolution depends on the existence of a vanguard party, tested and rooted in the working class, when a revolutionary situation arises. IS! members who want to fight for socialism are in the wrong organization. The international Spartacist tendency has the program that can bring the proletariat to power. Dare to win-join us!

Steel...

(continued from page 3)

By early November the Stelco strikers had had enough and on several occasions defied their leadership's policy of waving people through the lines. On November 12 four strikers were arrested and on November 13 the courts slapped down an injunction limiting pickets to five at each gate. Taylor made some "militant" noises but far from organizing defiance of the injunction, he continued to impose the "injunction" he worked out with management at the beginning of the strike and Stelco personnel passed through the lines freely as before. "It's not a strike now, it's a war," said one steel worker, but just two weeks later Taylor rammed through his sellout deal. At the December 1 meeting one militant denounced Taylor's claim to have fought for the membership:

"The membership was telling you to close the gates the last time you had a meeting over here. And keep it closed. What did you do? You let them open, you let the people go in and out so they can do anything they want in there. That's why we stayed out for so long. You either stay out or you stay in. That's the way there's supposed to be a strike. My kids know better, they laugh in my face."

For Class-Struggle Leadership!

USWA members have seen traitors of the Taylor/ Patterson variety before—phony "militants" who campaign on cheap talk about "reforms" and "union democracy" while kowtowing to the courts and selling out to the bosses at every chance. Taylor and Patterson said they were "committed" to organizing Dofasco—Canada's No. 2 steel producer, right across the street from Stelco—whose 11,500 workers are nonunion. But during the Stelco strike Taylor/Patterson showed they are committed to nothing but stomping on workers' militancy in the service of the bosses. There could have been no better time to pull out Dofasco workers, along with Stelco and Algoma workers, and go for a joint contract that would really answer steel workers' needs.

Former USWA International president I.W. Abelwho signed away American steel workers' right to strike and backed the companies' protectionist campaign against steel workers in other countries-was

Trotskyist League Directory

Toronto

Box 7198 Station A Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X8 (416) 593-4138 Vancouver Box 26 Station A Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8 (604) 681-2422



elected in 1965 on a program of throwing out "tuxedo unionism" and "returning the union to the rank and file." More recently "steel rebel" Ed Sadlowski, who Patterson supported in his 1977 bid for International president, showed that "mavericks" of the Sadlowski/ Patterson/Taylor ilk have nothing to offer steel workers. Sadlowski, former director of USWA Chicago-Gary District 31, brought the bosses' courts and the Labor Department in to "clean up" the union. It is often "reformers" like Sadlowski who do the most to extend direct government control over union affairs. A real class-struggle opposition would fight for the total independence of the union from the strikebreaking capitalist government.

With all his faith in the bosses and none in the power of the working class, "Oilcan Eddie" stumped for racist open-shop Democrat Jimmy Carter in the 1976 U.S. presidential elections. Claiming to oppose Abel's no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement, he nevertheless pledged to enforce it until it expired in 1980.

Although Sadlowski lost the election, his cohorts continued to control District 31 until they were recently turfed out by steel workers sick and tired of eight years of "fightback" talk but no action. District Director Jim Balanoff endorsed a 1980 contract which provides a 3 percent wage increase and a rip-off of the May 1980 cost-of-living increase to pay pension benefits. Over the last five years District 31 lost 20,000 members as more and more plants closed for good while Balanoff sat on his rear. It's no surprise that it took massive membership pressure to force Sadlowski's people to back up militant Keith Anwar, fired by Inland Steel for refusing to cross a picket line of another USWA local at his plant.

Oust the Bureaucrats!

Patterson and Taylor are cut from the same mold, as was the hated Arnold Miller of the mine workers who also presented himself as a reformer before he had to hide out from angry miners during the great U.S. coal strike of 1978. Patterson fared hardly better during the 1978 Inco strike: he was driven into seclusion after attempting to railroad through a sellout contract.

The Stelco strike showed that Patterson/Taylor have no intention of leading a militant fight against the steel and mining bosses. Their aim is to enforce labor peace while preaching that the classcollaborationist NDP in power would grant what the bureaucrats won't fight for on the picket line. But the NDP is just the political expression of the procapitalist sellout trade-union bureaucracy. When it gets the chance, as in B.C. and Manitoba, it brings in anti-labor legislation, breaks strikes and arrests strikers with as much gusto as the Liberals, Conservatives and Socreds.

Taylor and Patterson try to build their own credentials as "militants" by taking potshots at the U.S. labor bureaucrats. And when Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) head Dennis McDermott recently addressed the AFL-CIO convention in New York he bragged about Canada's "labor party." But underlying the rhetoric is a deeply shared commitment to maintaining the capitalist system of exploiting workers for bosses' profits. Both the AFL-CIO and CLC tops support NATO imperialism against the USSR and the other bureaucratically deformed workers (continued on page 11)

SCO: Running Dogs for Solidarność **Counterrevolution!**



New York. September 24: SL/SYL picket Solidarity's office which was housed in the headquarters of "State Department socialist" Albert Shanker's teachers' union.

"The attitude taken toward the Soviet Union throughout all these years has been the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades and degrees of waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressure of the bourgeois world " -James P. Cannon

As the anti-Soviet Cold War has progressively heated up, the fake-Trotskyists of the United Secretariat (USec) have abandoned any pretense of defense of the Soviet Union. Overthrowing the remnants of New Loftism, the European USec sections are openly talking about liquidating into the socialdemocratic parties of Francois Mitterrand, Tony Benn and Helmut Schmidt.

As part of their enlistment in the service of pro-NATO social democracy the European Mandelites have called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who are fighting CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries committed to serfdom, usury, the bride price, the veil and mass illiteracy. Now these fatuous fake-Trotskyists claim that Polish Solidarność-Lech Walesa's "union" for bloody capitalist counterrevolution-is leading a proletarian political revolution!

Under the pressure of anti-Sovietism the centrists of the Mandelite wing of the USec have taken a big

Young Spartacus Photo

step toward becoming ordinary anti-Soviet social democrats. In Canada, former followers of Mandel, today collected in the Socialist Challenge Organization (SCO), have gone the full distance down this road. Since their departure from the reformist Revolutionary Workers League over a year ago these ex-USecers' primary political activity has been to put their meager forces in the service of proimperialist anti-Sovietism.

The SCO's first public pamphlet "Solidarity with Soviet Feminists" was dedicated to building the Canadian tour of Russian feminist Tatyana Mamonovaa rabid anti-communist who attempted to mobilize Soviet soldiers to desert from the Red Army in Afghanistan and spit on their "shameful uniform." From "solidarity" with Mamonova, the SCO has moved to building "solidarity" with Polish Solidarność meetings. For these fake-leftists who shamefully parade under the name of "Trotskyism," support to Solidarność is as instinctive a political reflex as it is for Reagan, Mitterrand and the pope.

Consolidating around a counterrevolutionary pro-gram at its first national congress, Solidarność is the Trojan horse of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive within the degenerated/deformed workers states. Its call for "free elections" is really a call for "Westernstyle democracy," that is, capitalist restoration under

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the guise of a parliamentary government. The political content of Solidarity's provocative call for "free trade unions" in the Soviet bloc was exposed by its invitation to AFL-CIO Cold Warrior Lane Kirkland and CIA "labor" operative Irving Brown to attend its congress. Solidarity's domestic economic policies for "self-management" would lead to immediate mass unemployment, facilitate imperialist economic penetration and greatly strengthen the forces pushing toward capitalist restoration. Its call at the congress for Poland to join the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund, is part of a calculated plan to return capitalism to Poland. A victory for Solidarność would be a victory for Wall Street and the Pentagon, the Common Market and NATO. As Trotskyists who unconditionally defend revolutionary conquests against the threat of capitalist restoration, we say: Stop Solidarity's counterrevolution!

Our communist opposition to Solidarność has provoked cries of outrage from the SCO. First we received a letter from their Montreal bookstore (with two Solidarność buttons enclosed) refusing to stock our press "for the simple and good reason that... you place yourselves politically on the side of Stalinist counterrevolution and of the imperialist offensive [?] particularly as regards the workers of Poland's Solidarność" (our translation). Then on November 7 at a Solidarity support meeting in Vancouver the SCO distributed a leaflet condemning "the position of the self-proclaimed 'Trotskyist' League which has attacked Solidarity as a company union for the CIA and western bankers. In the name of the defence of the Soviet Union they have thrown themselves into the service of Brezhnev and the Red Army."

In the mouths of these fake-Trotskyists, "anti-Stalinism" has become social-democratic anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. Against the Trotskyist League (TL) they take the timeworn Stalinist slander that if you oppose the Kremlin bureaucrats you're "an agent of imperialism" and stand it on its head: if you defend the Soviet Union you're an agent of the Kremlin.

In 1939/40 a petty-bourgeois opposition grew up in the then-Trotskyist American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Under the pressure of anti-Sovietism in the wake of the Stalin/Hitler pact these renegades, led by Max Shachtman, raised arguments similar to those the SCO raises against the TL today. At that time Trotsky himself replied:

"It is one thing to solidarize with Stalin, defend his policy, assume responsibility for it—as does the triply infamous Comintern—it is another thing to explain to the world working class that no matter what crimes Stalin may be guilty of we cannot permit world imperialism to crush the Soviet Union, reestablish capitalism and convert the land of the October Revolution into a colony." —"Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events"

Through years of lies, corruption, economic mismanagement and capitulation to capitalist forces, it is the Stalinists themselves who are responsible for driving the historically socialist Polish proletariat into the arms of counterrevolution. We have no faith in the Kremlin bureaucrats to clean up the mess they created. At the same time we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution.

Trotskyists stand on the side of the October Revolution; the SCO stands on the side of "the nation," the eagle and the cross. The SCO's leaflet equates Reagan and Brezhnev, NATO and the Warsaw Pact. At the same time, it gives vent to Pilsudskiite nationalism, complaining that "the Polish nation was denied its right to existence; in the mistake (later admitted) of the Bolsheviks who sought to spread revolution to Poland by foreign bayonettes in the wake of World War I..."

In April 1920 Poland under Pilsudski launched an unprovoked attack on the Soviet forces in the Ukraine. Pilsudski was seeking to recreate "Greater Poland" by bringing the Ukraine and parts of the Baltic states back under Polish rule. For the Bolsheviks the question of whether to conclude a peace with Pilsudski or to go over to the offensive in a revolutionary war against Poland was a question of revolutionary strategy. Trotsky described the debate in his autobiography My Life:

"A point of view that the war which began as one of defense should be turned into an offensive and revolutionary war began to grow and acquire strength. In principle, of course, I could not possibly have any objection to such a course. The question was simply one of the correlation of forces."

The SCO says "We believe Solidarity and the Polish workers when they say that they are seeking not to overthrow socialism but to extend it." But this is simply to gull the innocent. Anyone who reads the bourgeois press knows that Solidarity deleted every mention of "socialism" from its program; that they named a shipyard after Pilsudski, who became one of the leading right-wing dictators of interwar Europe; that Lech Walesa proclaims the U.S. is his model for "democracy."

The SCO's accusation that we are "Stalinist" comes from some of the same people who used to accuse us of "Stalinophobia" and "third campism"



for our refusal to politically accommodate to the Castro leadership in Cuba and to the Vietnamese Stalinists. Today they slanderously imply that we supported the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. But the Poland of Wojtyla and Walesa is not the Czechoslovakia of the liberal Stalinist Dubcek let alone Hungary where there was a workers uprising moving in the direction of proletarian political revolution. In Poland, Solidarity is mobilizing for counterrevolution. This threat must

LCUC...

(continued from page 5)

and must call to smash Solidarity's counterrevolution in Poland. Against the anti-communist labor bureaucracy the fight to defend the Soviet Union is fundamental to building any serious class-struggle opposition in the unions.

Along with its big brother the AFL-CIO, the CLC is in league with the CIA and Western bankers in fostering counterrevolution in Poland. The AFL-CIO -known in Latin America as the AFL-CIA-has been active in helping to smash workers struggles in the service of U.S. imperialism for decades. The AFL-CIO was instrumental in destroying the Communist Party-led Canadian Seamen's Union with the collusion of the RCMP in the 1940s. One of its more notorious operators, Irving Brown, who has a decadeslong career of provocations and gangsterism against the European labor movement, was invited to attend Solidarity's congress.

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland is ready to pull all stops to send material aid to the "union" the CIA wants to build, Solidarność. But he won't lift a finger to defend American workers in PATCO who went on strike against their government. In a heroic gesture of international solidarity with PATCO, Canadian air traffic controllers refused to handle U.S. flights for 24 hours. LCUC Local 1 passed a motion put forward by Minton calling for strike action to defend controllers victimized for their action and urging solidarity with PATCO. But like their American counterparts, the CLC bureaucrats who cheer on Solidarity's counterrevolution in Poland have done nothing to defend the controllers' union.

Just as the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is a machine to mobilize American workers behind U.S. imperialism and to head off labor militancy, the CLC bureaucracy is a vehicle for pro-NATO anti-Sovietism and counterrevolution in Poland. Canadian labor misleaders may try to pass as more "militant" and "leftwing" than their U.S. counterparts but this merely reflects the existence in Canada of a mass socialdemocratic party, the NDP.

Like the trade-union bureaucrats the social democrats are committed to the maintenance of the exploitative capitalist system. Playing the role of imperialist soft cop, NDP leader Ed Broadbent went to



El Salvador as the representative of the socialdemocratic Socialist International in an attempt to broker a "negotiated settlement" which would mean a bloody defeat for the Salvadoran workers and peasants. In the U.S. Albert Shanker, leader of the Social Democrats, USA and president of the United Federation of Teachers, provided office space in New York for Polish Solidarity's short-lived foreign office.

Would-be oppositionists in the LCUC should take a hard look at the present leadership. McGarry and Findlay started out as militants in the 1960s when they were among the leaders of the wildcats which won postal workers the right to strike. Lacking a revolutionary perspective, these one-time militants today operate as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class in the union. Bureaucrats like those who head up Local 1 may talk a more "militant" line but they share the same program of class-collaborationist business unionism. Reformism can't deliver because capitalism can't deliver. A resolute struggle against capitalism is essential for the trade unions to go forward. Such a struggle means the forging of a vanguard revolutionary socialist (Trotskyist) party to finally abolish capitalism and establish workers rule.

As Trotsky pointed out in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

"Impossible are the independent or semi-independent reformist trade unions. Wholly possible are the revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of capitalism. In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution. In this sense, the program of transitional demands adopted by the last congress of the Fourth International is not only the program for the activity of the party but in its fundamental features it is the program for activity of the trade unions."

The LCUC convention underlined the need for a class-struggle leadership in the union—one committed to a revolutionary program which alone can lead to proletarian victory over the blood-sucking capitalist class. The union needs those who understand the crucial difference between class struggle and labor reformism and who will unflinchingly defend the class line whether it means defending the union against management attacks, organizing to smash fascist terror, standing for the military victory of leftist rebels in El Salvador, or telling the truth about Solidarność and defending the gains of the Russian Revolution. Only such militants will prove capable of leading workers to victory in the class battles ahead.■



CLC Tops Plead With Government 100,000 Rally in Ottawa



In the largest demonstration ever seen in Ottawa 100,000 marched on Parliament Hill on November 21 to "rally against soaring interest rates." Although the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) tops had attempted to rally everyone up to local Chambers of Commerce in what was billed as a "citizens mass rally," the overwhelming bulk of the demonstration was rank-and-file trade unionists.

Thousands of unionists came from across Canada in a massive demonstration of workingclass anger against the bosses' government. But the union ranks were not brought to Ottawa for

SCO...

(continued from page 9)

be crushed at all costs and by any means necessary. The former Mandelites in the SCO have come, a long way from marching under the Vietcong flag and chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh! NLF is gonna win!" Today these anti-Soviet social democrats echo the chorus of the U.S. imperialists—the bloody mass murderers of the Vietnamese workers and peasants heralding Solidarity's counterrevolution.

It is only the international Spartacist tendency which has upheld the program of revolutionary Trotskyism for the unconditional defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states, through socialist revolution in the capitalist countries and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies. Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!

Steel ...

(continued from page 7)

states and hail Solidarity's counterrevolution in Poland.

Sadlowski, Miller, Patterson, Taylor-the fakelefts have hustled for each one. But the only road militant struggle. Just the opposite. The CLC's "interest rates" rally was designed to head off militancy in the name of pressuring capitalist politicians. To unleash the tremendous power and combativity of Canadian labor in a real struggle against the government requires a new leadership of the labor movement. Not one that begs the bosses to "lower interest rates" but one that will lead the working class forward in the struggle for its own government that will *expropriate* the bankers and bosses and establish a socialist planned economy.

forward for steel workers on both sides of the border is the hard fight to forge a class-struggle opposition to all wings of the bureaucracy. An alternative leadership must start from the principle that any call for union democracy is meaningless unless accompanied by the most uncompromising defense of the independence of the unions from the capitalist state. It must address the immediate needs of the workers including a sliding scale of wages and hours to combat inflation and unemployment and union control of hiring and upgrading. Such a leadership would fight for the interests of workers internationally, opposing protectionist schemes that pit workers in different countries against each other and defending the gains workers have made in the states in which capitalism has been overthrown like the Soviet Union and Cuba. It would fight to mobilize the union movement and minorities to smash fascist terror. Defending basic trade-union principles like "picket lines mean don't cross" such a leadership would struggle to build a party that would fight for what workers really need-their own government committed to expropriating the capitalists and putting an end to the capitalist system based on exploitation, oppression and war.

11

Anti-Soviet War Drive...

(continued from page 1)

Nicaragua are aimed at Cuba and the Soviet Union, falsely labeled the "source" of arms for Salvadoran leftist rebels. Reagan/Haig are trying to bring down the petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime installed after the overthrow of the hated U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship. The problem for Yankee imperialism is that the more it tries to "punish" the Sandinistas, the more they are forced to seek help from Cuba and the Soviet Union. With El Salvador in flames and Nicaragua under the Pentagon's guns, Central America is the hottest spot in the anti-Soviet Cold War.

Reagan has been itching to teach the Soviets a "bloody lesson," if only by proxy, in America's "backyard." And his little brothers in Ottawa will certainly be part of the action. As the Pentagon sent a "message" to Cuba in early November, announcing four-week naval exercises in the Caribbean, Canada met with the war ministers of the U.S. and 20 Latin American nations to discuss joint operations against Cuba and Nicaragua.

Euro-"Peace" Marches

The Reagan administration is aiming for nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union. Reagan/Haig fully believe they can bomb the USSR back into the Stone Age and live to tell the story. In this context come their recent and chilling "nuclear gaffes." In October Reagan commented that "limited" nuclear exchanges with the Soviet Union were indeed possible, confirming the fears of millions of Europeans of a nuclear war "limited" to their homelands. On November 4 Haig made a speech, allegedly intended to calm the nervous Europeans down, in which he announced NATO contingency plans "to fire a nuclear weapon for demonstrative purposes to demonstrate to the other side that they are exceeding the limits of toleration in the conventional area."

In late October hundreds of thousands of Europeans took to the streets to "march against the missiles." These were protests not against the anti-Soviet war drive as such, but against a war which sacrifices Europe. Even more than pacifism, the dominant theme was European-centered nationalism with speeches almost as aggressively anti-Soviet as anti-American. The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) intervened into these popular fronts for imperialist détente to draw the class line: "Smash NATO! Defend the Soviet Union! Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" read iSt banners and signs from London to Rome.

The domesticated Stalinists of the Communist Parties took the opportunity to demonstrate once again their subservience to NATO and to "their own" bourgeoisies. In Paris the PCF (French Communist Party) raised a gigantic banner in front of its youth contingent proclaiming, "Neither Pershings Nor SS-20s." And at a 400,000-strong protest in Rome controlled by the Italian Communist Party a manifesto "against all armaments systems in Europe, East and West" was carried to both the U.S. and Soviet embassies.

The iSt attracted considerable attention at the Euro-"peace" marches. With relatively small forces 1,275 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold in London, 260 in Paris and some 400 in Rome. As the only force to stand up against the pro-NATO, anti-"superpowers" theme of the demonstrations and to



Imperialist missiles aimed at the Soviet Union.

defend the Soviet Union, we were singled out for denunciation in the bourgeois press. The message was unambiguous and sinister: the European imperialists are calling on the new "peace" movement to "cleanse" itself of anyone who stands for a Leninist policy of class struggle against imperialist war.

On the eve of the London demonstration the Times (24 October) devoted one third of its article on the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) to the iSt:

"One possible source of trouble is the intended participation of the Spartacist group, which has called for a Soviet invasion of Poland to suppress the Solidarity movement. The Spartacists intend to march under banners saying, 'Smash NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!' and 'Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!' Monsignor Bruce Kent, general secretary of the CND, said yesterday, 'Ours is a peace march and the Spartacists are no part of CND. Indeed they are usually extremely disruptive. We are not capable physically of excluding anyone, but if they come anywhere near a breach of the peace this will be for the police to deal with.' Monsignor Kent said the police had cordoned the Spartacists off from a CND demonstration outside Chatham House earlier this week "

For defending the Soviet Union we are slandered as "disrupters," our position on Poland is distorted-all to build a case for the oh-so-peaceful CND to call the cops on leftists.

Reporting afterwards on the Saturday demonstration, the Sunday Telegraph (25 October) referred, in the same witchhunting tone, to "political splinter groups," in particular "members of the American founded pro-Soviet Spartacist group [which] attached themselves to the column." And as far away as West Germany the conservative Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (26 October) referred to the presence in the London protest of the "group of 'Soviet-Spartacists' founded by Americans."

Down with Détente Illusions!

In Toronto on October 31 a demonstration of 3,000 capped off the UN-sponsored "Week of Disarm-

ament." The Trotskyist League (TL) contingent with its banner reading "Smash NATO! Defend the USSR! Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution! U.S. Hands Off Poland!" was surrounded and excluded from the demonstration by a 50-strong goon squad headed by the Communist Party which controlled the demonstration. Although no retired NATO officers or big-name social democrats graced the speakers platform as in Europe, the theme was the same popular-frontist appeals for imperialist détente. One CPer called on Trudeau and his hawkish anti-Soviet External Affairs Minister Mark MacGuigan to "stop supporting Reagan and give peace a chance." Another called on the Soviet Union to unilaterally disarm "to get the ball rolling on world disarmament"!

The Canadian CP takes special pride in its continued loyalty to the Kremlin as against the Eurocommunist "traitors" across the Atlantic. But such loyalty does not Soviet defensism make. Just the opposite, these unreconstructed Brezhnevites "lovally" peddle the line of their Kremlin masters for "détente" and "disarmament." This policy of sacrificing workers revolutions for the illusion of a deal with imperialism represents a mortal danger to the Soviet Union. And it is the Kremlin Stalinists who bear ultimate responsibility for the counterrevolutionary situation in Poland today. As Trotskyists we understand that the defense of the gains workers have made in the Soviet degenerated workers state and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states requires workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies.

To foster illusions in the "peaceful" and "democratic" Canadian jackal imperialists the CP forcibly excluded from their demonstration the only group which raised the banner of defense of the gains of October and whose slogans pointed the way to the real road to world peace-through class war. And it was no accident that they linked arms with the pro-Peking Workers Communist Party whose virulent anti-Sovietism would do William F. Buckley proudfor this was an explicitly anti-Soviet exclusion. Also included in this unholy political alliance was one particularly despicable little bully-boy from the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League, And at the rally after the march the CP tried to broaden its anti-Soviet alliance even more when honcho Louis Feldhammer turned to the cops for assistance in keeping our banners away from the demonstrators.

At the same time the CP and its "friends" were making sure the TL banner calling to smash NATO and defend the USSR was taken down, the reactionary scum of the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee (CASAC) were holding high their banner "NATO Yes! Moscow No!" CASAC had gathered at City Hall to greet the march with Canadian flags and placards reading "God Wants NATO" and "Free Vietnam." Interestingly, but not surprisingly, at least two CASAC members were spotted wearing Solidarność buttons. These reactionary anti-communists-led by former Western Guard fascist Geza Matrai-would dearly love to see Solidarity's "victory" in Poland: a victory for bloody capitalist counterrevolution.

Defend the Gains of October!

22 28

For the workers of the world the thundering victory of the October Revolution signaled that the working class could reach out and lead society out of the madness of war, out of the maelstrom of imperialist slaughter and out of the doldrums of economic depression. The expropriation of the landlords and "captains of industry" opened the way for a collectivized planned economy, destroying the anarchy of capitalist production. For the international bourgeoisie it was a resounding defeat as one sixth of the world was wrenched from its clutches. The reaction was quick in coming as every major capitalist country sent troops against the new workers state.

While Trotsky's Red Army was victorious, the social and economic devastation of continual war between 1914 and 1920 plunged the country into famine and economic collapse. This collapse, together with the decimation of the revolutionary proletariat in the Civil War, the centuries-long backwardness of a largely peasant country and the USSR's isolation after the failure of the revolutionary wave in capitalist Europe allowed for the crystallization of a bureaucratic caste. The Stalinist bureaucracy usurped the political power of the working class by a political counterrevolution and today continues to sit on top of the gains of October, posing the gravest danger to their defense and extension internationally.

Despite reversals under Stalin and his successors major gains of the 1917 revolution—the socialized property forms and planned economy—were never lost. Today defense of these historic working-class gains is urgently posed.

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

Across Western Europe and in Canada the Communist Parties turn to "their own" bourgeoisies with pleas for "peace." But despite tactical differences, the NATO imperialists all share the same commitment to the preservation of capitalism at all costs and to reconquering the workers states for imperialist exploitation. The Canadian bourgeoisie is not only part of the anti-Soviet NATO alliance but is also firmly tied to a joint air "defense" agreement with the U.S., NORAD. To suggest, as the CP does, that the Canadian bourgeoisie has fundamentally different interests than its American counterparts is to foster the most criminally stupid and dangerous illusions. The main enemy is at home!

Peace and an end to imperialist war will come only with the end of imperialism itself. This can be brought about only through international proletarian revolution led by a reforged Fourth International. Our slogan must be the slogan of Lenin: "arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie."

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Smash Klan Terror! ...

(continued from page 16)

Socialist Challenge Organization, to the pro-Peking Stalinists of the Workers Communist Party to the New Leftists of In Struggle!—has joined in the BCOFR's crusade to try to reform the armed bodies of the class enemy into "anti-fascist" fighters.

It is the most elementary Marxism that the bourgeois state is not neutral but an instrument of class terror. The ruling class will never dispense with the fascists to whom it will appeal as a last line of defense against the labor movement and the oppressed. Look at Greensboro. The Klan/Nazi murderers were escorted by undercover cops and while the fascists got off scot-free, the surviving victims of the attack were charged with conspiracy. In Vancouver not one charge was laid against KKKers found with rifles and a shotgun at the site of their cross burning.

Even as the cops and courts protect the fascists while victimizing the left and anti-Klan demonstrators, the social-democratic BCOFR continues to peddle the dangerous illusion that the capitalist state will stop the Klan/Nazis. It is no accident that the BCOFR appealed to the cops to "protect" its October 17 rally-opening up demonstrators to cop violence and state repression. The bosses' thugs in blue took advantage of the invitation and videotaped the entire rally. Later BCOFR leader Charan Gill complained that the cops hadn't provided enough "protection" (read: hadn't arrested enough of his People's Front rivals).

It is the logical political extension of their "Ban the Klan" strategy that the oh-so-respectable "antiracists" of the BCOFR have no qualms about joining in and readily providing ammunition for the redbaiting campaign against the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)/People's Front (CPC-ML) being carried out by the "liberal" racists and anticommunists of the bourgeois press. Calls for the capitalist government to "Ban the Klan" prepare the ground for anti-left witchhunts. The state does have a use for "anti-extremist" laws-not against the fascists but against the left.

The notorious American Smith Act of 1940 was initially touted as anti-Nazi legislation, but its vic-

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tims were first and foremost the Trotskyists and then the Communist Party. The infamous House Un-American Activities Committee's forerunner, the Dies Committee was touted as a legal weapon against the Klan and FBI's murderous COINTELPRO-a program of deadly repression against the anti-war and militant black movements-was originally billed as a measure to combat KKK/Nazi terror. In California the Deukmeijan Terrorism Bill passed in the state Senate last July was touted as a legal weapon against the Klan and Nazis. But in his 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California" Deukmejian, the California Attorney General, makes clear who the targets are. The report whitewashes the Nazis and the Klan while focusing on the "extremists of the left," wrongfully and viciously slandering our comrades of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League as "terrorists" and a "dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal." Closer to home, when B.C.'s "Civil Rights Protection Act" was brought in (with the assistance of the BCOFR's "Ban the Klan" petition) it was the KKK that threatened to use it -against the BCOFR!

The People's Front "Strategy": Reformism and the Popular Front

CPC-ML is a crazed Stalinist sect with a long and sordid history of gangsterism and thug attacks against the left. To the uninitiated its call for "selfdefense" might appear a militant alternative to the BCOFR's abject reliance on the bourgeois state: at least CPC-ML "really wants to fight the fascists." Hardly. Substituting their own small forces for the power of organized labor CPC-ML calls for the East Indian community to go it alone against the Klan, placing responsibility for their own protection on the powerless victims of fascist terror.

For all its vigorous denunciations of the BCOFR's call on the state to "Ban the Klan," CPC-ML shares the BCOFR's popular-frontist appetite for "anti-fascist unity." Harkening back to the old-time classcollaborationist Stalinist tradition of the "people's front against fascism" in its leaflet for the October 17 rally the People's Front declares: "We call on all democratic and freedom loving people to strengthen their unity in action against racism, against fascist gangsters such as the Ku Klux Klan, and against the war preparations of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism." On this basis Helmut Schmidt could join the People's Front! At the same time CPC-ML's virulent anti-Sovietism in its own small way fuels the war drive against the USSR by the imperialists which has encouraged the growth of fascist terror. The Greensboro killers claimed they were just doing their patriotic duty in the war against communism.

The popular front has been the Stalinists' historical model since the 1935 Congress of the Stalinized Third International blessed alliances with the "democratic" bourgeoisie under Dimitrov's misnamed "United Front Against Fascism." As Trotsky made clear in the Transitional Program:

"'People's Fronts' on the one hand—fascism on the other: these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against proletarian revolution."

Under the banner of the popular front CPs around the world strangled proletarian revolutions, e.g., Spain in the 1930s, and stood with the imperialists against the working class. In North America they supported no-strike pledges, the internment of the Japanese and the A-bombing of Hiroshima!

There is another strategy, one that works-class struggle. It is this strategy of mobilizing the enormous power of labor and minorities to smash fascist terror that is fought for by the Trotskyist League (TL). Our comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S. (SL) have shown how this can be done. When the KKK threatened a "victory march" in Detroit only days after the Greensboro massacre, the SL and class-struggle militants in the United Auto Workers initiated a labor/black protest rally. Through agitation in the auto plants and the black community. they were able to defeat black Democratic mayor Coleman Young's attempts to stop the protest by threatening to arrest anyone who tried to demonstrate against the Klan. Five hundred blacks, unionists and socialists rallied to proclaim "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" in the first mass anti-fascist rally in Detroit in decades. The Klan didn't show their faces.

Last year in San Francisco a labor/minority mobilization of 1,200 organized by the SL-initiated April 19 Committee Against Nazis took place on the very spot the Nazis planned to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday. The rally was endorsed by 35 union officials and nine local unions. Again, the fascists didn't show.

In recent union elections at Ford's giant River Rouge complex in Detroit, Rouge Militant Caucus candidate for vice president of UAW Local 600, Charles DuBois, explained the caucus' view on how to fight the fascists:"...when we, and our program, are running the show, Local 600, not '911,' will be the emergency-line to call whenever the fascists raise their scurvy heads." Such a class-struggle perspective is the only one that can smash Klan/ Nazi terror.

Because the TL fights for the only strategy that can defeat the fascists the BCOFR has attempted to exclude us from its events and has slandered us as "disrupters." They tried it at their October 4 rally where the TL was warned that its 26-strong contingent (almost a quarter of the demonstration) would be physically excluded from participating by BCOFR marshals. Now the BCOFR has taken its anti-TL slander campaign to the press. TL supporters distributing a leaflet to the BCOFR convention on November 14 were "escorted" off the property by marshals. According to the Vancouver Sun (16 November), BCOFR spokesman Tim Stanley said the TL has a history of "disrupting" BCOFR meetings.

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What the BCOFR finds "disruptive" is the TL's call for labor/minority mobilizations to stop the Klan. In Toronto last summer "ban the Klanners" organized in the Riverdale Action Committee Against Racism (RACAR) demonstrated the lengths reformists will go to keep anti-racist sentiment safely channeled within the bounds of dead-end legalism. RACAR gooned for the Klan, forcing the TL to the back of a 1,000-strong demonstration and forming a chain in front of our contingent as the march passed the Klan office to make sure nothing interfered with the hand-ful of hooded thugs in full regalia beiting the demonstrators from their porch.

RACAR is backed by the same left groups as the BCOFR. It's not surprising that fake-Trotskyists, social democrats, Stalinists and New Leftists can peacefully co-exist in these "anti-racist coalitions." They are united by the same reformist worldview whether they are calling on the capitalist state to "Ban the Klan," for "negotiations" with U.S. imperialism and its blood-drenched junta in El Salvador, or backing Solidarity's counterrevolution in Poland. Theirs are the politics that despair of working-class power, looking instead to conciliate the class enemy.

In the fight against the fascists, labor and minorities must rely on their own power. The TL is committed to the struggle to mobilize this power as part of the fight for socialist revolution which alone can get rid of the decaying capitalist system that spawns the KKK/Nazi filth.



Insidiously states that the Trotskyist League in some way "encouraged" a scuffle that broke out at an anti-cutbacks demonstration at the Socred convention, November 21. This sinister and slanderous accusation is a blatant attempt to set the Trotskyist League up for victimization and state repression. It follows an earlier statement distributed by *Leftwords* excluding us from "Trade Union Forum" meetings.

Leftwords lies! And we have witnesses. We demand that Leftwords print an immediate retraction.



BCOFR/CPC-ML: Reformist **Roadblocks to Fighting Fascism**

Mobilize Labor to **Smash Klan Terror!**

VANCOUVER-For the first time in decades the murderous nightriders of the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross here on October 17. These hooded scum should have felt the wrath of thousands upon thousands of unionists, minorities and socialists. The powerful B.C. labor movement-wood, longshore, phone, mining, Teamsters-could have stopped the Klan dead in their

tracks. Instead the fascists just walked away, laughing at the spectacle of two groups of leftists and East Indians-the B.C. Organization to Fight Racism (BCOFR) and the People's Front Against Racist and Fascist Violence-bashing each other up in Memorial Park South.

Fascist violence is on the rise across North America and Western Europe, growing on the fringes of the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive. That the rise in racist and anti-communist terror is the domestic cutting edge of the renewed Cold War was brought home in the cold-blooded KKK/ Nazi massacre of five left and black demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina in November, 1979. The acquittal of the fascists by an all-white jury carried the ominous message that it's "open season" on blacks, labor militants and communists.

The fascists must be stopped! It is a matter of life and death for every unionist, minority and leftist. But both the BCOFR and the People's Front, who are busy duking it out over who will wear the mantle of the "real" leaders of the anti-racist struggle, stand opposed to the mobilization of the labor movement and minorities in powerful actions that could



November 10, 1979: Labor, blacks and socialists in SL- initiated Detroit rally stopped the Klan from marching in the Motor City.

In Ontario the home of Hamilton Communist Party organizer Elizabeth Rowley was set on fire after she received threats from the Klan and, in an open provocation to every minority, leftist and unionist in the city, KKKers in Toronto have twice appeared in full regalia as protesters passed their offices. In B.C. cross burnings were carried out in several smaller communities before the recent incident. Ajit Singh Phunal was shot with a needle carrying the message "Compliments from the KKK" as he walked in broad daylight on a Vancouver street.

stop Klan/Nazi violence. Both disorient, demoralize and debilitate those forces which may be trying to find a road to struggle.

The axis of the BCOFR's "Ban the Klan" strategy is an appeal to the supposedly "neutral" capitalist state to come to the aid of embattled minorities. It is a very old strategy, a very treacherous strategy and one which stands in the way of efforts to actually stop the race terrorists. Virtually the entire fake-left-from the ostensible Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League and their spin-off, the (continued on page 14)