

Ontario NDP Tails Tories

RMG, LSA Tail NDP and Each Other

TORONTO, May 28--One-and-a-half million workers are unemployed across the country. The rate of inflation continues to push up toward double figures, while working people's wages are slashed by wage controls. Government spending cutbacks threaten thousands more layoffs, more hospital closures and deteriorating education facilities. The federal government--backed by English-Canadian provincial premiers and the bourgeois media--is continuing its chauvinist campaign against Quebec's right to self-determination.

Yet during the current Ontario provincial election campaign, New Democratic Party leader Stephen Lewis has not come to the defense of working class interests on a single one of these issues. Instead he has:

- praised Conservative Premier William Davis' chauvinist "national unity" campaign;
- refused to fight against Trudeau's wage controls, demanding only that Davis' Tories establish a provincial "Anti-Inflation Board";
- repudiated official party policy by denying any intention to undertake significant nationalizations;
- denied that the NDP in power would give any special consideration to the demands of the trade union movement.

Lewis summed up his party's program in a recent interview:

"Mr. Lewis said an NDP government would spend no more than the present government, would not employ more civil servants, would not cater in the least to trade unions and would be 'extremely limited in its commitment to public ownership.'"

--Globe and Mail, 12 May

He went on to assure his interviewer that "we have always understood that this is a mixed economy. We know that the private sector will always be dominant."

"HER MAJESTY'S LOYAL OPPOSITION"

"Mister" Lewis has caught the scent of political power. With the precipitous decline of the provincial Liberal Party under Stuart Smith, Lewis is striving to shore up the NDP's image of "respectability" in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, in order to complete

its ascension to second-party status.

As leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the last Legislature, Lewis led his gang of social democrats in voting confidence in the minority Conservative government. Following the September 1975 elections (which gave the NDP the balance of power in the Legislature), Lewis vowed to approach the Tories "in good faith" and promised that the anti-labor Davis regime "can last as long as the government meets the needs of the people of Ontario" (Toronto Star, 19 September 1975).

Just as the federal NDP had propped up Trudeau's minority government from 1972 to 1974, so the On-

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Gordon Sedawie/Vancouver Province

PELTIER SUPPORTERS PROTEST EXCLUSION FROM EXTRADITION HEARINGS IN VANCOUVER LAST YEAR.

The Frame-up of Leonard Peltier

**STOP THE WITCHHUNT
AGAINST AIM! 2**

The Frame-up of Leonard Peltier

STOP THE WITCHHUNT AGAINST AIM!

VANCOUVER, May 24--As we go to press, Leonard Peltier remains in jail in Fargo, North Dakota, awaiting sentencing on June 1 for the 1975 shooting deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Sioux Indian reservation. American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Peltier faces possible life imprisonment. He is the latest victim of the FBI's campaign to smash AIM by railroading its leadership to jail on trumped-up charges.

Peltier's trial was a frame-up from start to finish. It was marked throughout by blatant manipulation of evidence and legal procedures by the judge and the prosecution. AIM supporters were not allowed to attend the trial, which was held in a closed courtroom before an all-white jury. Several former government witnesses recanted their previous statements against Peltier, claiming that they were made under FBI pressure and threats.

Among those to repudiate earlier statements was the prosecution's planned chief witness, Myrtle Poor Bear. Peltier's extradition from Canada to the U. S. late last year was based mainly on three affidavits signed by Poor Bear. But before the trial Poor Bear stated that the affidavits were all false. She claimed that she was terrorized by FBI agents into signing the first, and deceived into signing the others by being told that they were orders for her release from protective custody.

According to Donna Tindall, Peltier's adopted sister, who spoke on the case in Vancouver on May 8, Poor Bear claims that she was not permitted to read the documents, and that they were signed in her house with no witnesses present. Nonetheless, U. S. District Court Judge Paul Benson ruled Poor Bear's new testimony invalid in Peltier's pre-trial hearings in North Dakota and the testimony was not heard in court.

All told, Benson overruled 80 percent of the defense evidence, including statements by many witnesses that FBI agents had intimidated them into making false statements and proof of FBI falsification of documents. The majority of defense witnesses were never called, as the judge ruled that only evidence concerning the actual day of the shooting would be admitted.

Ten defense requests for new proceedings on grounds of mistrial were denied and the defense

case was limited to seven days while the prosecution got three weeks. All prosecution evidence was circumstantial; no witnesses to the shooting were produced. Nevertheless the jury found Peltier guilty.

Last year two other AIM members, Dino Butler and Bob Robideau, were also tried for the same shooting. The government's case collapsed as prosecution witnesses testified that they had been bribed, and Peltier's co-defendants were acquitted. However the prosecution witnesses' earlier perjured testimony was admitted in Peltier's trial, as was testimony from two current prisoners who, since they agreed to testify, have had charges dropped or sentences reduced--in one case, four rape charges; in the other, two counts of child murder.

THE GOVERNMENT VENDETTA AGAINST AIM

AIM is not, and does not claim to be, a revolutionary organization. According to AIM leader John Trudell:

"The justification they [the FBI] use to go after us is that we're revolutionaries. But our perspective is that we are not a revolutionary group. . . . We are trying to say we have a right to our land and our own value system within their system which is all around us."

--The Indian Voice, April 1977

AIM's utopian separatist strategy cannot lead to the liberation of the extremely impoverished and oppressed Indian peoples, ghettoized on reservations throughout North America. Nonetheless AIM's attempt to struggle against the brutal oppression directed by capitalism against the Indian peoples has provoked the FBI to launch a murderous reactionary offensive against its leaders.

The FBI vendetta goes back to 1973, when Dennis Banks, a founder of AIM, led a demonstration in Custer, South Dakota, to protest the imminent acquittal of white youths who had abducted, tortured and killed an Indian youth. The protest grew into what Banks called a police riot, as a result of which Banks faced fifteen years in brutally racist jails on charges of riot and assault. He failed to appear for sentencing, was arrested in California in January 1976 and is still fighting extradition. Other phony charges against Banks--some stemming from the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973, others accusing him of illegal arms transport--have been dropped.

"SELECTIVE" INVESTIGATIONS

While the FBI has ruthlessly pursued Leonard Peltier and Dennis Banks, it has been conspicuously slow to investigate a related case: the murder of
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Bureaucrats Prepare Sellout; Ranks Ready to Fight

For a National Postal Strike!

As 1977 is a contract year for postal workers, the usual barrage of anti-union propaganda has begun in the bourgeois press. Postal management has taken to issuing statements that if the Post Office suffers another strike, it will go under. Service is rapidly deteriorating due to mismanagement of new facilities, and competition for parcel post delivery business is squeezing out the Post Office. The Post Office's multi-million dollar mechanization scheme known as MAPP, supposedly the fastest in the world, was launched to regain its competitive position through speed-up, job-loss, increased surveillance, harassment and deterioration of working conditions.

The contract of one of the postal unions, the Public Service Alliance of Canada (General Labour and Trades) (PSAC[GLT])--consisting of postal mechanics and some clerical staff) has already expired. With the contracts of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) set to expire on June 30, the stage is set for another battle.

Even before contract expiration postal union members are demonstrating increasing opposition to the speed-up campaign and management's policy to "save" the Post Office by busting the unions. In Sydney, Nova Scotia, LCUC members struck in February to protest overloading of mails. In Windsor, LCUC struck again over the overloading issue. In Ottawa during March, CUPW members sat down to protest increased use of part-timers, used by management to erode the strength of the bargaining unit.

In Fredericton, New Brunswick, LCUC members struck in response to the firing of a senior union member for delivering the mail non-stop, rather than returning for the required lunch break. The Fredericton strike prompted the entire Atlantic area to walk out in support, with CUPW workers voting to respect the picket lines, thereby reaffirming the strength which built the postal unions. Although the fired worker was threatened with disciplinary action, postal management was forced to rescind the firing.

In Vancouver on May 5, CUPW members on the day shift held a sitdown in the cafeteria, triggered by the threatened disciplining of a union executive member. They demanded an immediate annual shift bid, immediate resolution of grievances arising from working conditions in the mechanized section, an end to the harassment of union representatives and officials, and an end to threatened disciplinary measures against the executive member.

While the ranks are showing their combativity, postal union leaders are greasing the skids for the biggest sellout in the history of the Post Office. LCUC national president Robert McGarry has wholeheartedly embraced class-collaborationism through his participation in the government's new "Inter-group Development" approach to resolving union-management disputes. This scheme (which supposed-

ly will reduce the adversary nature of "labor relations") is really aimed at co-opting the union into accepting management's increased productivity schemes in exchange for a few pennies and minor improvements in working conditions. Already, management and the union tops have negotiated a "householder" deal to introduce incentive pay into the letter carriers section for the more efficient distribution of magazines and advertising supplements. The idea, promoted by McGarry as a way to save jobs, only spells doom for postal workers who will be forced to accept speed-up pushed at them by their own union leaders.

In the meantime, CUPW leaders Joe Davidson and Jean-Claude Parrot are reportedly reserving their participation in McGarry-style deals with management until the dispute over technological change is resolved. The solution originally sought by militant-posturing Davidson and Parrot was the implementation of Article 29 of the present CUPW contract, which calls for nothing more than a 120-day warning period and compulsory arbitration of disputes arising out of the introduction of technological change. Heralded as the "victory" of the 1975 national CUPW strike, Article 29 is merely a convenient sidestep to the Public Service Staff Relations Act (PSSRA), which prohibits real negotiations over technological change and severely limits the right to strike.

However in recent months, under pressure from the militant CUPW ranks, Davidson and Parrot have dropped all mention of Article 29. Striking a more "militant" stance in this round of contract negotiations the CUPW tops have demanded that the union have veto power over the introduction of automation. But in the same breath they propose that the anti-labor PSSRA be given more authority, demanding that the PSSRA have the power to "restore the situation as it existed prior to the introduction

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TORONTO LCUC MEMBERS WALK OFF THE JOB DURING 1975 PSAC[GLT] STRIKE.

Post Office...

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of the technological change."

This is entirely consistent with the CUPW bureaucracy's reliance on the bosses' government and its anti-labor agencies to defend its interests. In a recent jurisdictional dispute with the LCUC, these labor fakers went so far as to appeal to the PSSRA for an injunction. For all Davidson's and Parrot's demagogic bluster about "unity" their reliance on the bosses' agencies to resolve intra-union disputes opens the door to state intervention into the union and serves to further divide the postal unions.

While CUPW leaders use the PSSRA for their own ends, the government has proposed new amendments to this anti-working class legislation to include further limitations on the right to strike, increased fines for illegal walkouts and the right to pass strikebreaking legislation without the recall of Parliament. As the federal government hints that it may maintain wage controls on the public sector, even if they are withdrawn from the private sector, the postal unions are being set up as the whipping boy for all government workers. If postal workers are decisively defeated all public service workers will be affected.

The responsibility for defeat will rest squarely on the bureaucrats' shoulders. The very fact that the postal unions remain divided on craft lines, and that this division is exacerbated by the squabbling union leadership, bodes ill for the upcoming struggles. The speed-up and loss of jobs can only be defeated by a joint struggle of all postal unions.

A motion calling for just such a strike was put forward in the large LCUC Local 1 in Toronto by union militants Bob McBurney and Larry Boyes several months ago. Their motion called for a delegated joint national conference, joint negotiating

and strike committees, no scabbing and the adoption of such contract demands as a closed shop (including the unionization of term and casual employees), a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, full COLA and a hefty pay hike--all in one joint contract which would lay the basis for a merged union. As we reported in SC No. 12 (January), the motion was sabotaged by the local bureaucrats.

No doubt the fake support for the October 14 "Day of Protest" mouthed by postal union leaders will be used against the ranks--who failed to fully support the national leaderships--as a cover for accepting a contract well within the Anti-Inflation Board guidelines. In the tradition of business unionism the bureaucrats cite anti-labor legislation as a cover for their sell-out, self-serving policies. Neither McGarry's maneuvers with management nor Davidson's fake "opposition" will gain anything for postal workers. The bureaucrats must be ousted and replaced by a class-struggle leadership dedicated to the destruction of capitalism, not its reinforcement. ■

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WITCHHUNT AGAINST AIM ...

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30-year-old Anna Mae Aquash, another prominent AIM leader and organizer. Aquash had been hunted by the FBI in connection with the same 1975 shooting for which Butler and Robideau were acquitted and Leonard Peltier convicted.

This shooting unleashed a major FBI offensive against Pine Ridge, including a small army of 175 heavily-armed SWAT-trained agents, helicopters and tracking dogs. In February 1976, Aquash's body was found in a deserted corner of the reserve. Although the official FBI autopsy ruled that she had died of exposure, a second investigation located the bullet that had been shot into her head by a handgun at point-blank range. Some AIM leaders have accused the FBI of responsibility for Aquash's death, which remains unsolved, like 50 other murders or unexplained "accidents" at Pine Ridge since 1973.

The FBI's anti-AIM campaign resembles that waged against the U.S. Black Panther Party prior to the physical extermination of Panther leaders

in Chicago and California by police and the FBI. The campaign to smash the Panthers recently concluded with the dismissal of charges against those responsible for the December 1969 murder of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago (see Workers Vanguard No. 154, 22 April 1977).

FREE PELTIER AND BANKS!

Despite the sectarianism that has marked AIM's conduct of the Peltier defense in Canada, the Trotskyist League has consistently supported and publicized his case, making financial contributions to the Peltier Defense Committee and participating in local demonstrations whenever possible. The left and labor movement must wage a vigorous campaign to demand immediate freedom for Leonard Peltier, Dennis Banks and other victimized AIM militants. Funds for the appeal of Leonard Peltier's conviction should be sent to: Peltier Defense Committee, c/o Vancouver Indian Centre, 1855 Vine, Vancouver, B. C. ■

Who is Really "Conciliating the Bourgeoisie"?

CCL(M-L) in Anti-Trotskyist Frenzy

In recent months, the Peking-loyal Stalinists of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) (CCL [M-L]) have escalated their use of goon violence against other tendencies on the left. On several recent Montreal demonstrations, CCL(M-L) goons have tried to prevent other left groups from distributing literature and selling newspapers. At this year's May Day demonstration, "marshals" from the 1,000-strong CCL(M-L) contingent attempted to force a feminist contingent off the march. In Toronto, CCL(M-L) has launched a number of gangsterist assaults on Trotskyist League (TL) sales and poster teams.

Concurrently, CCL(M-L)'s paper, The Forge, has been filled with vituperative diatribes against Trotskyism, and against other Maoist groups (in particular In Struggle [IS]) who are supposedly guilty of "conciliation with Trotskyism." Denouncing In Struggle's policy of "exposing and unmasking the Trotskyists" through "ideological struggle," CCL(M-L) recites the usual litany of Stalinist lies and slanders to "prove" that Trotskyists are "agents of the bourgeoisie." Therefore, concludes the April 28 Forge, with Trotskyists, no "ideological struggle is possible:

"How should we deal with them? The way has already been indicated in advance. We must exterminate these vermin, wipe them out and be rid of them. No mercy for the Trotskyists."

CCL(M-L) has already consigned almost every other left tendency (including fellow Maoists of the Communist Party of Canada [Marxist-Leninist] and the Bolshevik Union) to the camp of "counterrevolutionary saboteurs." Now it is using the issue of "conciliation with Trotskyism" to create doubts about the "Marxist-Leninist" legitimacy of its main Maoist competitor, In Struggle. Thus the April 8 Forge threateningly queries: "What kind of Marxist-Leninists are you anyway, IS comrades?"

IN STRUGGLE MEETINGS IN VANCOUVER

The Forge's attacks on In Struggle for "softness" toward Trotskyism cite in particular events at two IS-sponsored public meetings held in Vancouver during March. The meetings--the first to celebrate International Women's Day (IWD), and the second to mark the publication of IS's "Manifesto Against Bill C-73 and Wage Controls"--were both attended by members and supporters of the Trotskyist League and the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). Despite vociferous objections by snarling CCL(M-L)ers, TL and RMG members were allowed to distribute literature and participate in discussions during the meetings.

The RMG was its usual servile "family-of-the-left" self, praising the IS "Manifesto" as "quite a good document in the main," and making no protest when IS attempted to limit discussion in the IWD meeting to the telling of New Left encounter group "personal experience" stories. IS broke the meeting down into several little discussion workshops so as to better control the content of the discussions. A participant in one of the workshops commented that he had not been involved in such a mindless discussion since he was a sensitivity trainer for the United Church.

IS also ran its anti-wage-controls meeting in a similar bureaucratic manner--workshops were intended as a means to hear participants' "concrete experience" and to "build unity" around the IS "Manifesto." Debate, counterposed strategies and theoretical or historical discussion were ruled out in advance as "disruptive."

Nevertheless, the TL was able to intervene forcefully in the discussions at both meetings. To the discomfort of all the assembled Maoists--in particular the CCL(M-L)ers--TL speakers denounced the bureaucratic rule and pro-U. S. foreign policy of the Chinese deformed workers state, and counterposed the revolutionary program of Trotskyism to IS's domestic trade union economism. IS's failure to forcibly silence the TL was, for CCL(M-L), a betrayal of the Stalinist tradition.

THE CRIMES OF STALINISM

According to CCL(M-L), "conciliation with Trotskyism is conciliation with the bourgeoisie." But who is really guilty of conciliating the capitalists? Certainly not the international Trotskyist movement, which has always waged an unrelenting battle for the independence of the proletariat and for revolutionary leadership.

During the 1930's, the Trotskyists in Spain fought against the Stalinist Communist Party's popular-front alliance with the bourgeoisie, which led to the decimation of the Spanish proletariat at the hands of Francoist reaction. The Vietnamese Trotskyists sought to lead the working class and poor peasantry in the struggle against capitalist rule, while Ho Chi Minh's Stalinists helped drown the 1946 Saigon workers' insurrection in blood and supported the return of French imperialist troops to the country.

Today, the international Spartacist tendency is the most trenchant critic of Peking's counterrevolutionary foreign policy--its alliance with NATO and U. S. imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state. Trotskyists call for proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucratic parasites who reign

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CCL(M-L) ...

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in Moscow and Peking, while standing in unconditional defense of the USSR, China and all other deformed workers states against imperialism and domestic capitalist reaction.

But what about CCL(M-L)? These Mao/Hua worshippers are well-trained in the Peking school of conciliation with the imperialist warmongers and their "second" and "third" world gendarmes like B. J. Vorster and the Shah of Iran. They have stomached China's unholy alliance with the South African army against the Angolan MPLA, and cheered as Peking gave millions of dollars worth of military aid to the reactionary Iranian regime. Closer to home, they have called for the strengthening of the imperialist Canadian armed forces, in the name of "national defense."

CCL(M-L)'s politics--based on the counterrevolutionary heritage of world Stalinism--can quite accurately be termed "conciliation with the bourgeoisie." In order to consolidate his bureaucratic grip on the USSR, Stalin had to physically exterminate hundreds of thousands of revolutionary oppositionists, including Trotsky and the majority of the Bolshevik old guard. CCL(M-L)'s present-day anti-Trotskyist campaign is in keeping with this Stalinist tradition--gangsterist violence in the service of bankrupt class-collaborationist politics.

THE MANTLE OF MAOIST "ORTHODOXY" PASSES ON

CCL(M-L)'s core of founding cadre issued from a 1972 split in the Montreal branch of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) (CPC[M-L]). Since its formation in the fall of 1975, the group has enjoyed a rapid growth in both Quebec and English Canada. To a significant degree, this growth has been due to CCL(M-L)'s projection of a more sane and serious image than the one-time unchallenged king of Canadian Maoism, Hardial Bains' cult-like CPC(M-L).

CPC(M-L) has long been reviled throughout the Canadian left (including by all other Maoist organizations) for its extreme sectarian gangsterism and fanatical megalomania. (See the article on a recent CPC[M-L] provocation in Toronto, page 7, this issue.) Yet (with the exception of a few bizarre personal touches provided by the organization's venerated Chairman Bains) CPC(M-L)'s evolution into a crazed violent sect flowed logically from its attempt to apply consistently Mao Tse-tung's brand of Stalinism to Canada.

Today, as it reigns supreme in the Canadian Maoist movement (including significant recent growth at the expense of In Struggle), CCL(M-L) is coming more and more to resemble its hated forebearer. Gangsterism, political megalomania and bootlicking fealty before its masters in Peking's Heavenly Palace are becoming the hallmarks of CCL(M-L), just as they became the most prominent characteristics

of CPC(M-L) several years ago.

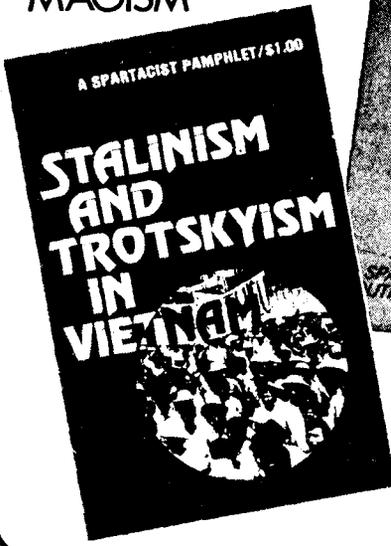
Having hardened up as the most consistent of Stalinists and the most loyal parrot of the new Peking line, CCL(M-L)'s onslaughts against its Maoist rivals are becoming increasingly bizarre. Thus in the April 8 Forge we are informed that "... the Bains gang is trying to split the world communist movement and is trying hard to divide socialist China and Albania."

CPC(M-L)'s descent into mindless zealotry has reached the point where its salesmen proclaim that the dictatorship of the proletariat reigns on street corners in Toronto. Yet even these crazed cultists

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would be surprised to discover that they have the authority to provoke a split between Hua Kuo-feng and their "beloved" Enver Hoxha!

A REFORMIST SECT

While CCL(M-L) today seeks to project a "left" image on domestic trade union questions, its occasional rhetoric is cheap and ephemeral. The same anti-Sovietism which led it to call for building the Canadian army will lead it into the arms of the most right-wing, anti-communist cold warriors in the labor bureaucracy. CCL(M-L)'s inevitable destiny is to become a vile, openly reformist sect.

CCL(M-L)'s current crusade against the revolutionary politics of Trotskyism will be to no avail. The Trotskyist League upholds workers democracy and opposes violence within the workers movement. But the TL has always defended itself against violent attacks, and will continue to do so.

CCL(M-L)'s Mafioso goon tactics will not go unanswered. And these tactics will ultimately leave their perpetrators only further isolated from and despised by the class-conscious proletariat, as it rises up under Trotskyist leadership to deal the final blow to the capitalist system. ■

Down With CPC(M-L) Hooliganism!

TORONTO--On Saturday, May 21, Trotskyist League supporters distributing literature were threatened, harassed and assaulted by supporters of Hardial Bains' quasi-religious-cum-macho cult, the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) (CPC[M-L]). Upon their arrival at the intersection of Bathurst and Bloor streets, a busy street corner used by a number of left organizations for newspaper sales, TL supporters were informed that this area was

Trotskyist League Statement

the selected "turf" of the Bainsites. CPC(M-L)ers warned that any attempt by "police socialist Trotskyites" (sic) to interfere with their attempts to build socialism on one street corner would be met with violence.

When one CPC(M-L) goon grabbed for a Spartacist Canada salesman's papers he was immediately surrounded by TL friends and supporters, who informed this wayward Mao-cultist that the TL had every intention of preventing violence in the workers movement. Sensing a "primary contradiction" in the weakness of CPC(M-L)'s self-proclaimed dictatorship of the proletariat at Bathurst and Bloor, this hooligan quickly withdrew, the better perhaps to ponder his illustrious helmsman's treatise on guerilla warfare. Throughout the course of the sale, TL supporters defended the right of all groups within the workers movement to sell their literature in public places. Numerous provocations by members of the Bains cult were met with the TL's determination to sell its literature and prevent any incident that might open the workers movement to intervention by the bourgeois state's police.

CPC(M-L) supporters taunted: "The capitalist class and its agents the Trotskyites are the criminals...", while their honcho quickly called for reinforcements. The scene was obviously tense when a number of West- and East-Indians arrived to partake in CPC(M-L)'s efforts at intimidation. Through the efforts of the TL supporters present, incidents were averted that could only have pleased the real agents of the capitalist class, as well as possibly leading to grave consequences for CPC(M-L)'s immigrant supporters.

This is not the first time CPC(M-L) has resorted to frenzied threats and gangsterism. Nor is it the first time such an incident has taken place on the street corner CPC(M-L) so righteously claims as its own. Some weeks ago, members of the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour duked it out with the Bainsites in a brawl that resulted in minor injuries for both groups. Both organizations have a history of substituting gangsterism for political debate and for undertaking and provoking frenzied, adventurist ac-

tions seemingly designed to invite cop intervention. In fact, the slanderous and demagogic mobilization of their members to commit crimes against other workers' organizations can only make groups such as these prime targets for police infiltration. The unusual absence of uniformed police agents at Bloor and Bathurst during the 21 May provocative hooligan mobilization by CPC(M-L) could well be more than accidental.

The Trotskyist League adamantly opposes violence within the workers movement. The threats and slanders used by CPC(M-L) and other politically bankrupt groups must be condemned. The TL refuses to be intimidated by the pathetic macho display of these politically feeble-minded desperados. We stand fully committed to the defense of workers democracy. However, we realize that a continuous turf war with CPC(M-L) can only serve to bring police and bourgeois state repression into the workers movement. The TL has no interest in attempting to prove itself a superior street gang. Trotskyist politics, the politics of working class revolution, will win out over anti-working class hooliganism. ■

CORRECTIONS

In "Nationalist Trap for Quebec Workers," (SC No. 15, April), we state: "Revolutionaries uphold Quebec's right to self-determination, above all, to promote class unity by opposing all unjust national oppression." By the phrase "unjust national oppression" we do not, of course, mean to imply the existence of "just" national oppression. Communists oppose all national oppression and privilege in order to forge the fullest proletarian unity against capital, and as part of our dedication to the eradication of all forms of social oppression.

Also, in the article "RMG Embraces Feminism, Slanders Bolshevik Work Among Women" (SC No. 16, May), we denounce the "great crimes of Stalin in reversing the gains women made under the impact of October." While the Stalinist political counterrevolution led to the reversal of many gains won by women after 1917 (e. g., abortion rights), important gains of the October revolution still remain.

In particular, the maintenance of the planned economy in the USSR has meant that women are no longer subject to the economic anarchy of the capitalist system, and are no longer forced to serve the function of a reserve army of labor. Thus they enjoy a much greater degree of economic security than could ever be possible for women in capitalist countries. Such gains, still intact under the Soviet degenerated workers state, must be unconditionally defended, but only proletarian political revolution to oust the usurping bureaucracy can open the road for the complete emancipation of women. ■

Free Abortion on Demand!

Free Quality Health Care for All!



TL BANNER ON MAY 28 ABORTION DEMO.

MAY 28--Over 250 people marched through Toronto today to protest Canada's reactionary anti-abortion laws. The action was called by the "May 28 Coalition," a hodgepodge of women's groups, social service organizations and the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and League for Socialist Action.

Competing at times with the New York State Elks (who had selected part of the same route for their baton-twirling and brass-band parade) and the disgusting spectacle of reactionary "right-to-lifers" who organized a tiny balloon-waving counter-demonstration, the long march was little more than a tour of the city's hospitals. Slogans like the time-worn "Up from the kitchens, up from the bedrooms, up from under, women unite!" were rather ironic, considering the presence of at least one female cop in the squad harassing the demonstrators.

In opposition to the dead-end reformist and feminist politics of virtually everyone else on the march, the Trotskyist League's militant contingent marched under a banner reading "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" TLeers chanted such slogans as: "Free abortion on demand--free quality health care for all," "Men, women, black, white--workers of the world unite" and "For a class line, not a sex line."

The RMG--in line with its continual rightward degeneration--refused to join in the TL-initiated class-struggle chants. Instead, RMGers happily chanted along with the slogans and songs initiated by the demonstration organizers: "Women should control their fate, not the church, not the state," "Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide," etc. The degree of the RMG's capitulation to feminism was made clear when its spokesman ended her address to the crowd with the slogan: "The ris-

ing of the women is the rising of the race!"

Reprinted below is the leaflet distributed by the TL to the protestors:

The Trotskyist League welcomes this opportunity to demonstrate against Canada's reactionary abortion legislation. We have a long history of opposition to all anti-abortion laws and a record of active defense for convicted abortionists Dr. Henry Morgentaler and Dr. Kenneth Edelin of Boston. But at the same time, we did not join the Coalition that has organized today's demonstration, because its strategy to defeat the existing legislation is completely ineffective.

The central focus of today's action is "Repeal the abortion law." This demand is perfectly supportable, but in isolation and as the main focus for a mobilization, it is not enough. This march was called in the context of hospitals tightening up their quotas, doctors demanding fees well above OHIP to perform abortions, and the closure of the public gynecological clinic at Women's College Hospital to abortion procedures. In the wake of the current economic recession, there has been an erosion of even the limited accessibility to abortions that exists within the framework of the current legislation. If the abortion laws were repealed tomorrow, this would represent a real gain in terms of women's rights. But without addressing the issue of accessibility, the victory would have no meaning for the mass of women without the means to pay for the procedure.

Although the Coalition's poster pays lip-service to the issue of accessibility by calling for "Total procedural coverage by OHIP," this demand does not speak to the needs of the many women without OHIP coverage. And it supports Ontario's costly and inadequate health insurance program. Hoping

to stay as respectable as possible (in the eyes of the bourgeois legislators it is appealing to), the Coalition voted down the demands for "Free abortion on demand" and "The right to bear the children we choose to bear," which were put forward at a Coalition meeting by a representative from the Immigrant Women's Centre. Consequently, the Immigrant Women's Centre refused to join the Coalition or endorse the demonstration. In its grovelling for respectability, the Coalition has cut off support from those women whose interests are at stake: poor, working-class, immigrant and minority women. Wealthy women will always have the money and connections to procure abortions, regardless of the state of the capitalist economy or the abortion laws. On the other hand, many poor women are forced to have "illegal" abortions administered by quacks and racketeers because of a decaying social system that cannot even guarantee a living standard sufficient for many women to have the number of children they want.

To answer the very real needs of women without these means, the Trotskyist League raises the call for FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND! Only by fighting for this demand, as part of a broader call for FREE QUALITY HEALTH CARE FOR ALL! does the struggle against the existing abortion legislation take on any meaning for working-class and minority women. It is these women and their class that must be mobilized, and the struggle for such demands as free abortion on demand must be carried into the trade unions and the rest of the organized labor movement. Only the mobilization of the working class and the oppressed, not impotent lobbying, has the social power to win these demands, which are in the interests of all the oppressed.

In the epoch of imperialist decay, the reforms that the capitalists are forced to grant are reversible--and much of the reform legislation that is passed is in reality tokenistic or inconsequential. For example, blacks in the U. S. have formally won equality with whites, yet they are still living in rotting ghettos, victims of a blatantly racist society. The oppression of women and racial minorities is part and parcel of the capitalist system--a system that depends on racial and sexual oppression to divide and weaken the working class. The working class as a

whole--men, women, black, white--must smash the bourgeoisie's system of class rule before basic democratic rights become meaningful and irreversible.

What is needed to unite the working class in struggle against capitalism is a Leninist party that will fight for a workers government, not an "autonomous" women's movement to fight for women's rights, an "autonomous" gay movement to fight for gay rights, etc. As the international Spartacist tendency has consistently pointed out (particularly in opposition to the would-be Leninists in groups like the League for Socialist Action and the Revolutionary Marxist Group, who embrace feminism as something inherently progressive), the women's "movement" cannot remain "autonomous" from the predominant forces in capitalist class society--the bourgeoisie and proletariat. Autonomy from the proletarian class struggle can only lead to subordination to the bourgeoisie.

The history of the feminist movement demonstrates this. The Coalition, itself forced to acknowledge the fact that the struggle for the most basic women's rights has yet to be won, says the following in its leaflet for this march:

"It is devastating to think that in 70 years of the women's movement from the suffragists to the present that despite the time, energy, sacrifices and numbers the most basic of human rights has yet to be won--that of control of our bodies."

Apparently, if only the women's movement were stronger, women's rights would have been won a long time ago. But the example of the suffragists cited by the Coalition shows how erroneous a strategy based on uniting women on the basis of their sex instead of their class is. On the eve of the proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917 Emmeline Pankhurst, leader of the suffrage movement, praised the counterrevolutionary "Women's Battalion of Death," a last-ditch effort by the old regime to defend the Winter Palace from the Bolsheviks in October. Mrs. Pankhurst was a life-long vicious opponent of the Bolshevik government--which was the first government in history to lay the basis for the emancipation of women by providing for the socialization of housework and childcare and equalizing educational and vocational opportunities. Pankhurst's hostility to Communism, and therefore to the material foundations for the genuine emancipation of women, was in no way inconsistent with her feminism.

The Trotskyist League, upholding the banner of revolutionary Marxism, looks forward to the day when a communist women's movement, part of a reborn Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, is in the lead of the struggle against women's oppression.

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Ontario NDP...

(continued from page 1)

tario social democrats became toadies to the provincial Tories. Eventually, perhaps sensing disgruntlement in the ranks, Lewis eased the NDP caucus out of formal support to the government, allowing the Liberals to take over as the Conservatives' chief stooge.

But even when the NDP began to register the occasional pro forma vote against Davis last year, it continued to caucus regularly with the other parties in order to ensure that the government was not, by some "misfortune," brought down. Lewis and Co. were such servile lackeys that several top Conservatives questioned the need to call an election. After all, commented provincial vice-president John Dumitrascu, "The Government was working.... The opposition was co-operating." (Globe and Mail, 27 May).

NO VOTE TO THE NDP!

This is the real program of the NDP in the Ontario provincial elections: support to reactionary bourgeois governments. Because it has never repudiated coalitionism with bourgeois parties, the NDP deserves no support, however critical, from militant workers in this election.

Stephen Lewis' protestations to the contrary, the NDP is based on and supported by the mass organizations of the working class, the trade unions. It is a pro-capitalist party based on the organized workers movement--a bourgeois workers party, albeit one of a particularly odiferous and right-wing character.

The fake-Trotskyist League for Socialist Action (LSA) and Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) are fond of arguing that because the NDP is based on the trade unions, it must be supported all the time, and must be backed during elections as a "class vote." This is unadulterated opportunism, having nothing in common with the Trotskyist program.

In order to warrant even the most critical electoral support, a bourgeois workers party must at least formally run as a party of the working class counterposed to the parties of the bourgeoisie--something which the NDP is manifestly not doing in the Ontario campaign. As it did federally in 1974 and in Ontario in September 1975, the Trotskyist League stands in conditional opposition to the NDP in this month's provincial election, demanding that it break with the program of bourgeois coalitionism.

RMG, LSA CANDIDATES:

NEW LEFT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMS

Of the three organizations to the left of the NDP which are standing candidates in the election, the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) also warrants no support. The CP is running a slate of thirty-odd candidates, headed by provincial leader William Stewart, on its usual program of uniting everyone to the left of the Tories in a class-collaborationist "broad progressive bloc." The only novel wrinkle

in the CP's program this year is a new slogan designed to build the popularity of its leader: "Put Another Bill in Queen's Park!"

The candidates of the fake-Trotskyist LSA and RMG offer hypocritically "left"-sounding social-democratic election programs, garnished with New Left verbiage. Both groups tear a few demands from Trotsky's Transitional Program, then proceed to blunt, warp, bend and otherwise attenuate their revolutionary content, before incorporating them into the election platforms. Underlining the rapid rightward evolution of the centrist RMG is the fact that its program is substantially the same as that of the LSA lickspittle reformists.

LSA POSTURES

The LSA's program contains uncharacteristically harsh--and utterly phony--criticisms of the NDP. When NDP premiers were elected in several western provinces in the early 1970's, the LSA went into raptures, calling on Schreyer, Blakeney and Barrett to put "the provincial government at the service of the revolution" (Dick Fidler, "The NDP and the Waffle," Document from the Summer 1971 Central Committee Plenum).

Today, the rhetoric is rather different:

"Workers in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba have all had the bitter experience of electing NDP governments only to see them implement anti-working class measures such as wage controls, cutbacks and strike-breaking legislation."

--LSA election leaflet, undated

But the operative conclusion remains the same:

"The New Democratic Party, on the other hand, presents an alternative to the big business parties.... Every trade unionist, every feminist, every student, all those suffering from big business rule should rally behind the NDP and work to elect an NDP government."

--ibid.

Despite the "left" criticisms of the social democrats, the LSA's central perspective remains to "build the NDP"--i. e., to be the best waterboys for these wretched right-wing social-democratic betrayers. Its entire program is carefully couched in legalist social-democratic phrasing: it is a program for pushing Stephen Lewis to "implement socialist policies." And the "socialist policies" it demands he enact are only slightly to the left of the official NDP program.

The NDP wants to nationalize the energy industries and Bell Telephone; the LSA adds the food monopolies, real estate developers and a few others

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(notably "the polluting industries"). Like the NDP, the LSA is willing to compensate them all--save one company, Reed Paper, which alone (presumably because it is the worst polluter) "deserves" no indemnification.

To counter the increasing incidents of racist brutality in Ontario cities, the LSA appeals to the state to "arrest and prosecute those who commit racist crimes." No mention of the need for integrated union/racial-minority defense guards to stop racist assaults--a demand which would certainly not ring well in the ears of the NDP parliamentarians. Instead, the LSA advises a criminal reliance on the "good graces" of the racist capitalist state to "defend" the oppressed.

Rather than raising the Trotskyist demand for organizing the unorganized and jobs for all at union rates of pay, the LSA pleads for the capitalists to give up a few more pennies and institute a \$4.50 an hour minimum wage. These kowtowing reformists want to haggle with the bosses over a minimum wage well below union scale, rather than mobilize the proletariat in struggle. The LSA's whole political perspective--always trying to be "concrete" and "relevant"--is tied into a reformist, parliamentarist framework: LSA leader Dick Fidler and his minions doubtless drool for the day when, sitting in their carpeted offices at Queen's Park, they can actually enact their "progressive" nickel-and-dime reform legislation.

Demands never raised by the LSA in the course of its day-to-day reformist activity are added to the program as a "left" cover. For example, the program calls for "free and universal access to abortion"; yet the LSA has always opposed this demand whenever it has been raised in abortion coalitions. The "left" face of the LSA's program is a fraud, designed only to make this implacably reformist group appear more attractive to its prospective fusion partners in the RMG.

RMG: BACK TO THE NDP

The RMG's program is only slightly more radical-sounding than that of its more staid and experienced fiancé. The election supplement to the first issue of The Militant scores the "anti-human record of the Davis government" and poetically envisions a New Left paradise "which distributes the beauties of life equally among us all." How to get there? The Militant advises that "the election of an NDP government would mark a step in the direction of a government based on workers, farmers and their allies."

This call for an NDP government marks an important step rightward for the RMG, whose origins lay in a left split from the LSA in 1973. At the time of the split, the RMG recognized that a key aspect of LSA's anti-Trotskyist revisionism was its cringing capitulation before the NDP. However the RMG never attempted to come to grips with the roots of this liquidationism, preferring instead to avoid the question of social democracy by tailing trade union mili-

program vs. practice

As Stalin once so aptly commented, paper will take anything that is written on it. So it is with the electoral platform of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). In keeping with the tradition of social democracy, the Sunday socialists of the RMG have one program for the elections and quite another in practice.

The election supplement to The Militant argues that "the working people cannot fight successfully against unemployment and inflation, against cutbacks and controls, unless they take the offensive." As part of this offensive, the RMG's paper program calls for the working class to fight for such demands as full cost-of-living allowances (COLAs) and the unconditional right to strike. However the RMG's supporters in the University of Toronto library workers' union (Canadian Union of Public Employees [CUPE] Local 1230) whistle a different tune.

At a May 4 local meeting called to discuss contract demands, union militant Jane Kirby proposed that the union take up the demand for the right to strike during the life of the contract. In response, RMG supporter Jim Stewart echoed the pronouncements of a regional representative of the CUPE bureaucracy, who had ruled the proposal out of order. Kowtowing to bourgeois legality and the dictates of the Ontario Labour Relations Board, Stewart argued that it was "ridiculous" to propose that the union fight for an "illegal" demand as part of its contract proposals. (However, Stewart did not rule out the possibility that the union might undertake "illegal" wildcat strikes.)

If Stewart's arguments seemed rather contradictory (combining business unionism and verbal adventurism), they didn't hold a candle to the twisted logic propounded by fellow RMG supporter Kathy Beeman, as she presented her "wage packet." Despite the RMG's call to "take the offensive," Beeman could come up with nothing better than a partial COLA clause, which would activate only after inflation reaches the six percent limit set by the Anti-Inflation Board! According to Beeman, if the union demanded a COLA that would only activate above the AIB limit, then it would be able to avoid the AIB wage-increase ceiling. If you can't beat 'em, hood-wink 'em!

This is advocating an "offensive" against wage controls? And these are the people who dub themselves a "socialist alternative"?! Reserving its "full" program for the elections, the RMG in its scanty trade union work dishes up the same business unionism as the labor lieutenants of capital.

(continued on page 12)

Ontario NDP...

(continued from page 11)

tancy and New Left fads--including stupid anti-parliamentarian demagoguery.

When the organization's get-rich-quick schemes brought only disintegration, it began moving back to the right. The March 1975 expulsion of its Trotskyist left wing (the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency [B-LT]--which went on to become a founding component of the Trotskyist League) laid the basis for a rapid rightward lurch. In the course of its transition from left- to right-centrism, the RMG has re-embraced many of the reformist LSA positions which it had once rejected.

During past election campaigns the RMG has given critical support to the NDP, while using characteristically confusionist and obscurantist arguments to avoid calling for an NDP government. Having rejected the Trotskyist position on social democracy upheld by the B-LT, it has now come full circle to re-adopt the LSA's call for the NDP to take power.

A careful reading of the section of the RMG program entitled "For an NDP Government" demonstrates the extent to which the group has embraced the NDP as its own. Like the LSA, it now reprimands the social democrats when they do badly, but praises them when they do well. For example, The Militant decries the NDP's chauvinist position on Quebec, only to moan that "this is a dark stain [!] on the record of the party that opposed the imposition of the War Measures Act seven years ago." Perhaps the RMG would like to return to the "unstained" heydays of the NDP circa 1970, when Tommy Douglas provided the social democrats with such "principled" leadership?

"LEFT" HYPOCRISY

Like the LSA, the RMG presents in its program some demands lifted from the Transitional Program which it never defends in its day-to-day work. Both the RMG and LSA mention in their election platforms the call for the independence of the trade unions from the state. Yet both organizations campaigned unabashedly for Steelworkers' union presidential aspirant Ed Sadlowski--a bureaucrat who does little but take the union to the bosses' courts.

The RMG program contains a passing mention of the need to defend the economic gains of the deformed and degenerated workers states, in the context of upholding the "cherished democratic freedoms" of Canadian workers. Yet this is simply a cover-up for the despicable counterrevolutionary line propounded in recent issues of the RMG's press, which chides imperialist chief Carter for being insufficiently forthright in his anti-communist "human rights" campaign (see "Defend the Gains of October!", SC No. 16, May). As for the LSA, it ducks the issue of Soviet defensism altogether in its program, commenting only that Ontario should try to construct as many daycare centers as Cuba, "a small country under economic blockade"!

Both groups loudly proclaim their defense of lan-

guage rights for French-speaking Ontarians. At the same time both defend the Parti Québécois language bill, which denies such rights to English-speaking and immigrant Quebec residents, thus further enflaming and reinforcing anti-Québécois chauvinism in English Canada. And in their opportunist rush to tail simultaneously both Quebec nationalism and the chauvinist English-Canadian social democracy, the RMG and LSA run up against another contradiction. While calling for independence for Quebec, they are also trying to elect as Canada's political leaders notorious anti-Québécois chauvinists like Stephen Lewis!

The RMG and LSA are profoundly opportunist organizations whose programs do not provide a revolutionary alternative to the pro-capitalist NDP and

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trade union bureaucracy. The Trotskyist League can give critical support to the election campaigns of the RMG and LSA without violating proletarian principle. Nevertheless it must be recognized that their electoral platforms are thoroughly inadequate and flawed from a Marxist viewpoint. Furthermore, their actual practice is far to the right of even these eclectic, nebulous New Left social-democratic pastiches. The NDP is one of the most wretched, right-wing social-democratic parties in the entire world; and yet the opportunist appetites of the RMG and LSA are so strong that they rush to embrace Lewis, Broadbent and their ilk at every opportunity.

What is needed is not a "left" NDP pressure-group, but an authentic Trotskyist party, rooted in the proletariat and fighting for a revolutionary program. Only such a party can defeat the misleaders and lead the fight for a workers government and the expropriation of the capitalist class. ■

Barrett Reigns Supreme at B.C. NDP Convention

VANCOUVER, May 23--Facing only token opposition for their strikebreaking, anti-working-class policies, ex-premier Dave Barrett and his right-wing social-democratic cohorts emerged from the just-concluded British Columbia New Democratic Party convention here in unchallenged control of the party. Even though the B.C. NDP's main source of financial and electoral support is the powerful trade union movement, the dominant mood of the convention and the speeches by party leaders were anything but pro-labor.

Former provincial cabinet ministers Bill King and Alex Macdonald denounced a milquetoast reformist resolution calling for an NDP government to legalize scabbing and protect workers who honor picket lines. King (the former Labour Minister and architect of the notorious B.C. Labour Code and the mass strikebreaking Bill 146) and Macdonald argued that such legislation would "interfere with the collective bargaining process" and would be "too biased" in favor of labor.

Len Guy, the B.C. Federation of Labour secretary-treasurer, whose reputation rests on purely verbal labor "militancy" and mild criticism of NDP labor policy, was twice defeated in attempts to win Labour Caucus endorsement for a seat on the provincial executive. Only one member of the amorphous "left-wing" Open Caucus (OC), Harold Steves, was able to win a major seat on the executive (first vice-president). Underlining its role as an ultra-loyal "opposition," the OC did not even bother to run a candidate against Barrett for party leader.

The interventions of the OC and its sometime bloc partner, the Women's Caucus, at the convention were not even an annoyance to the leadership. Timid objections by OCers to some of the leadership's most blatant undemocratic actions, such as the dissolution of the Vancouver Area Council last year, were brusquely swept under the rug by leadership hacks.

The OC's half-hearted effort to introduce a resolution defending Quebec's right to self-determination collapsed, when it neglected to argue for such

a resolution in the Resolutions Committee meeting prior to the plenary session. Harold Steves' later motion to discuss Quebec on the final day of the convention was passed--but when the moment arrived for discussion it was ruled out of order, because the enabling motion had been made ten minutes after the end of a session. Neither the OC nor the convention supporters of the fake-Trotskyist League for Socialist Action (LSA), which backs the OC uncritically, distributed any convention propaganda on Quebec. Thus the only mention of Quebec came in the strongly English-Canadian-chauvinist, pro-federalist line of Barrett's wrap-up speech.

The supporters of the LSA "distinguished" themselves by their usual abject capitulation before the NDP "lefts." Trying to balance between the feuding OC and Women's Caucus at the convention, the LSA supporters found themselves unable to simultaneously satisfy both the "left" social-democratic and feminist camps. One LSA supporter, Joyce Meisenheimer, was nominated by the OC for executive member-at-large, but declined, saying "I think women's candidates should be chosen by the Women's Caucus"!

Despite their fawning and capitulation, the LSA supporters are reportedly becoming the victims of a groundswell of redbaiting in the Women's Caucus on the grounds that they are maneuvering for their own "sinister" ends--namely to bring the two caucuses together. The LSA supporters' despicable (and unsuccessful!) maneuvering inside the B.C. NDP serves only to emphasize the vast gulf that separates these unregenerate social democrats from Trotskyism.

The NDP is an English-chauvinist, right-wing social-democratic party which can only betray the interests of the proletariat. Nevertheless it commands the support of the trade unions and the majority of the Canadian working class today. In order that a revolutionary proletarian party may be built, the NDP must be destroyed--its working class base won to a revolutionary program.

In order to aid in the task of destroying this reformist roadblock to revolution, a whole series of tactics--including united fronts, critical electoral support and short-term entrism--may be useful in certain periods. Such tactics are aimed at breaking the illusions of the working people in their reformist leadership. Unlike the bootlicking LSA, the Trotskyist League neither builds reformist organizations like the NDP, nor seeks to "push them to the left." Rather the TL wages a continuous battle to build the revolutionary vanguard party, the only instrument which can lead the working class to power. ■

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SPAIN...

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up to chant: "Prisoners into the streets--Cops into the jails!"

Nevertheless militant working class actions have by and large remained regionally isolated. The PCE and PSOE continue to sabotage their own calls for general strikes in order to preserve alliances with the bourgeoisie. While the Stalinists and social democrats clamp down on the seething ranks in the workers commissions and trade unions to pacify the bourgeoisie, they prepare to betray the militant proletariat through the popular front.

As the speaker pointed out, Spain is a country which had a class-collaborationist government for much of the 1930's, and the memory of that period and of the civil war is drawn in blood. Forty years ago the popular front was in power in Republican Spain and Catalonia. In Barcelona a situation of dual power existed and the workers militias were the only effective armed groups in the entire region. However within eight months, between July 1936 and April 1937, the popular front--in which the Stalinists and social democrats were the largest forces--had built up a force of 20,000 men armed with Soviet weaponry to defend capitalism against the working class.

Lewis described the events of the May Days in Barcelona. During the civil war, the proletariat rose up in defense of workers control against a provocation by the Stalinist gendarmes. The only political groups which stood with them, however, were the small left-anarchist "Friends of Durruti" and the even tinier Trotskyist nucleus, the Bolshevik-Leninist Group.

These groups issued a joint leaflet calling on the workers to disarm the Republican National Guard and extend the general strike to all except the essential war industries. But the masses waited, looking for support from the anarchist unions and the centrist Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM--formed in 1935 by the fusion of former Trotskyist leaders with a Catalan nationalist organization). But both the anarchist leaders and the POUM had capitulated to the popular front, and the uprising was crushed.

Today, while the PCE and the PSOE grovel once again before the bourgeoisie, the self-proclaimed Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR--Spanish sympathizing group of the United Secretariat) are taking the same road as the POUM. In the aftermath of the murder of five Communist Party members in January, the Stalinists and social democrats signed a joint appeal with Suarez calling on the working class to remain "serene." Equally disgusting was a joint communiqué issued by several "far-left" groups together with bourgeois liberals in Catalonia during the same month.

The Barcelona communiqué (see box) began by exploring the murder of several policemen, continued by demanding that the Francoist police arrest the fascists (often the same police out of uniform!) and

concluded with a disgusting plea to the Francoist state to establish "democracy." Among the signatories to this disgraceful class-collaborationist document was the fake-Trotskyist LCR.

The following month, the LCR was given an opportunity to participate in a full-fledged popular-frontist formation in the Basque country. Along with other "far-leftists," nationalists and bourgeois formations in the region like the Basque National Party and the monarchist Carlists, it was asked to sign a common political platform. Its response was to reject two of the points of the platform, one calling for a "pro-

The Infamous Barcelona Communiqué

The undersigned parties:

First, condemn the attacks which resulted in the deaths of three policemen [in Madrid on January 28].

Second, consider that the measures decreed by the Council of Ministers do not contribute to the regulation of the present situation.

Third, energetically condemn the arbitrary detentions of numerous members of democratic parties and the violent raids upon their homes. They reaffirm their democratic will and that they bear no responsibility for the Madrid attacks.

Fourth, as a result they demand:

- a) the immediate freeing of democratic militants who have been detained and a halt to the utilization of arbitrary measures;
- b) immediate action against the real culprits in the present situation, i. e., the fascist and para-police organizations.

Fifth, reaffirm that only the reestablishment of all democratic and national rights, notably that of unrestricted amnesty, would allow advance toward democracy in a climate of democratic tolerance. With these goals in view, they demand the firmest unity and responsibility of all people in the framework of this democratic statement and condemnation of all the murders committed.

[Signed]

Partido del Trabajo (Comite de Cataluna), Esquerra Republicana de Cataluna, Frente Nacional de Cataluna, Asamblea de Cataluna, Liga Comunista Revolucionaria, Movimiento Comunista de Cataluna, Organizacion Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores, Partido Carlista, Partido Comunista de Espana (Marxista-Leninista), Organizacion Comunista de Espana (BR), Partido Comunista (Unitario)

--Rouge, 30 January 1977

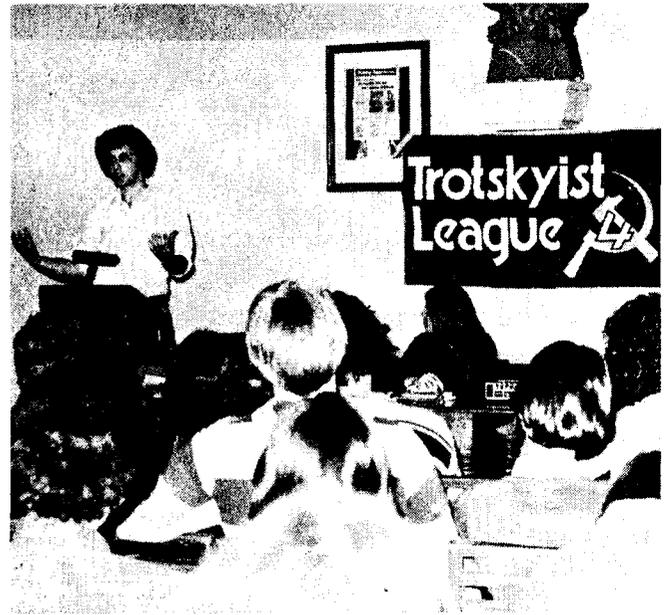
visional government" and the other for an explicitly bourgeois "statute" for the Basque area. But far from unconditionally rejecting participation in a class-collaborationist pact, the LCR agreed to join it, on condition that the two objectionable demands were removed:

"The LCR-ETA(VI) [the group's name in the Basque country] therefore proposes that these two programmatic questions not be included in the platform, leaving it well understood that each organization would develop in its own fashion its position on these two questions."

--Rouge, 21 February 1977

Although it remains illegal, the LCR recently issued a proposed electoral program, from which Lewis quoted excerpts. The group advocates the unity of all workers and "revolutionary nationalist" parties on common electoral slates, based on a minimal democratic program. The points of this program include: "amnesty, legalization with no exceptions, self-determination, election of a Constituent Assembly, republic, support to mass struggles, rejection of the 'social pact'" (Inprecor, 28 April 1977). Thus the LCR proposes to unite and issue common electoral propaganda with groups like the PCE and PSOE--the historic betrayers of the Spanish working class--on a program whose "maximum" demand is for a bourgeois republic!

While the LCR follows the tradition of Andres Nin and the POUM, the international Spartacist tendency upholds the exemplary heritage of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Spain. Authentic Trotskyists are irreconcilable in their battle against popular frontism. Only they, having drawn the bitter lessons of the popular front, will be able to lead the revolutionary struggle for a Spanish workers republic. The Barcelona communiqué and other examples of the LCR's willingness to accommodate the popular



SAM LEWIS ADDRESSES TL FORUM ON SPAIN, MAY 14.

front demonstrate once again the inability of the United Secretariat revisionists to withstand the tests of turbulent class struggle, and underline the urgency of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International.

As Lewis asserted in his summation, quoting Leon Trotsky on the lessons of Spain in the 1930's: "There are three conditions for the victory of the working class--the party, the party and once again the party." So long as the leadership of the Spanish working class rests in the hands of the reformists and centrists, the red in the streets of Spain will not be the color of the new state power's flag, but will be the color of working class blood that has been spilled." ■

Letter

Vancouver, B.C.
10 May 1977

Dear comrades:

In the article on the B.C. NDP in SC No. 16 (May), we make the statement: "With the loss of control over the provincial executive in 1974, the VAC [Vancouver Area Council] retreated into an organizational war of maneuver against the party leadership..." In fact, the VAC as such never had control of the provincial NDP executive. The "left" won a majority on it in 1973, but these were not the same people who controlled the VAC (although there was some overlap). While the VAC and the provincial executive worked together around many issues in this period, there was no formal ongoing left caucus in the NDP which exercised control over

either the VAC activists or the executive. The relationship was entirely informal.

Secondly, the article on the RMG and Bolshevik work among women makes an incorrect amalgam of the Bolsheviks and the RCT [Revolutionary Communist Tendency]. While it clearly opposed feminism, the RCT did not counterpose "building a communist women's movement to the autonomous bourgeois and petty-bourgeois movements." The RCT had several positions on work among women, reflecting its heterogeneous composition and political evolution. While some RCTers agreed with the British International Marxist Group's policy of building "Socialist Woman Groups" on an organizationally Menshevik and programmatically unclear basis, the most common position in the RCT (expressed in "Feminism or Scientific Socialism?") was to intervene in the existing movements, organizations and coalitions as the "left wing."

Communist greetings,
Murray Smith

SPAIN: Powderkeg of Revolution



Triunfo
DEMONSTRATORS IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY DEMAND AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS, MARCH 1977.

TORONTO, May 14--More than 50 people attended a Trotskyist League forum here tonight on the explosive pre-revolutionary situation in Spain. The speaker, Spartacus Youth League/U. S. National Committee member and Young Spartacus Managing Editor Sam Lewis, began his talk by commenting on the upcoming elections, to be held on June 15. These will be the first elections in Spain in more than forty years. In them the two largest parties of the working class, the Communist Party (PCE) and the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (PSOE)--both legal for the first time since the fall of the Second Republic--will be fielding full slates of candidates.

But, as Lewis pointed out, "on the day of the elections, we Marxists will find it impossible to call on the working class to vote either for the PCE or the PSOE. And moreover, in large sections of the country we will call for an active boycott of the elections." In the course of his presentation Lewis explained the reasons for this position, linking the question of the elections to today's pre-revolutionary turmoil and to the central political question for the working class--the popular front.

In the elections the PCE and PSOE are allied with bourgeois forces--ranging from nationalists to Christian Democrats and even monarchists. Trotskyists are irreconcilably opposed to all popular-frontist electoral alliances with bourgeois forces. As Lewis pointed out, "those working class parties which enter into alliances with the bourgeoisie will end up betraying the proletariat to bourgeois terror." A necessary precondition for revolutionaries to even consider giving critical support to the PCE or the PSOE is that they break with the popular front and stand as an independent working class pole. Unless they do so, they can receive no support from Marxists.

The legalization of the PSOE, the PCE and the trade unions are very important gains for the Span-

ish working class. But, as Lewis underlined, the "democratization" of the Francoist regime so touted in the bourgeois press is largely a fraud. All the "far-left" groups are still illegal, and in the most combative regions of the country conditions of brutal police terror continue to reign.

This is particularly true in the Basque country, presently the most volatile area of class struggle in Spain. Lewis cited a recent illustrative incident, when 5,000 civil guards occupied a town in order to smash an attempt to celebrate a Basque national festival. Not only do the "far-left" organizations remain illegal in the Basque area, but so do several bourgeois nationalist formations.

In this context, even non-proletarian popular forces in the Basque region, such as the nationalist ETA, have declared that they will not support the elections. Under such conditions of state repression, where proletarian combativity remains high and there are few illusions in Francoist "democracy" among the working people, Marxists call for an active boycott of the elections. In such areas of the country as the Basque region, to go to the polls with the Francoists would be to cross the class line--to scab on the beleaguered but combative proletariat.

The "democracy" of Juan Carlos and Suarez is at root an attempt to shore up the last vestiges of Francoism. Leftists continue to be rounded up and murderous police and fascist gangs roam the streets. Moreover, the Suarez regime is widely despised, especially by the working class--as is shown by the dramatic increase in mass strikes and political demonstrations. Strike activity--illegal in Spain--last year exceeded that of the last ten years combined. In the Basque region it has become a tradition for someone to raise the Basque flag at the start of soccer games--at which point the entire stadium, packed with thousands of people, stands

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