

DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION!

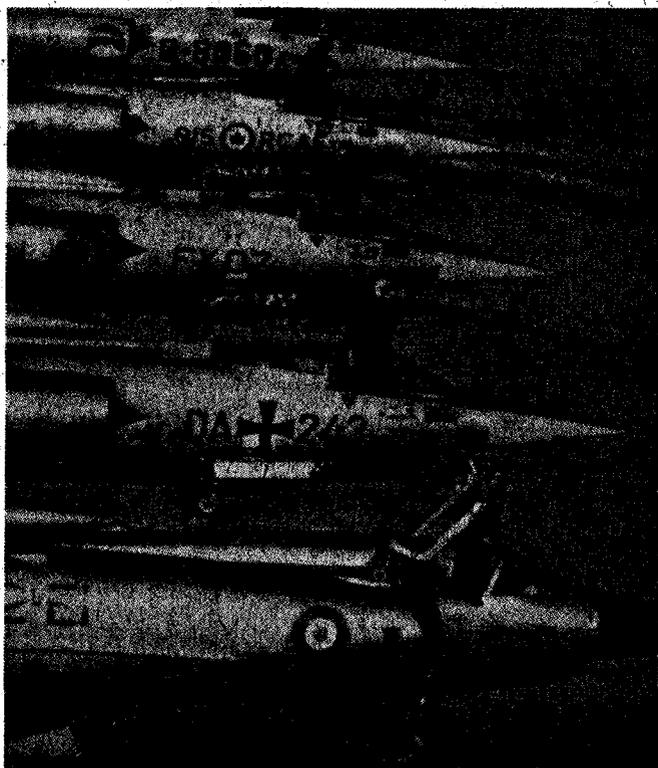
## NATO Chiefs Prepare Cold War Drive

"Born-again" war monger Jimmy Carter, chief-tain of U. S. imperialism, has intensified his campaign to revive the anti-Soviet hysteria of the 1950's. While the Kremlin bureaucracy clings to the mirage of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists, the U. S. government engages in provocative sabre-rattling and openly girds for war.

At a NATO conference held in Washington during late May Carter secured an agreement to undertake a 15-year plan to boost Western arms spending by \$60 to \$80 billion to offset the supposedly growing "Soviet threat" to the "Free World." While the NATO heads agreed to proceed with rearmament they are not (with the exception of West Germany) particularly enthusiastic about escalating cold war tensions with the Soviet Union at this time. Speaking for Canadian imperialism, Pierre Trudeau agreed to participate in the rearmament program but called for a "redoubling of efforts to achieve détente with the Russians" (Globe and Mail, 29 May). Trudeau's remarks were probably motivated as much by the prospects of future Soviet wheat deals as by global strategic considerations. Here the Canadian bourgeoisie is usually happy to accept the leadership of its American big brother--who is also left to pick up the tab.

The bellicose turn of U. S. foreign policy has been prepared by Carter's "human rights" propaganda offensive. While the blood-drenched rightist dictatorships in South Korea, Iran, the Philippines and throughout Latin America have continued to receive lavish American aid, Soviet dissidents preaching Western economic and military sanctions against the USSR have become the darlings of the White House. The problem for Carter is that his incessant bleatings for "human rights" have not stirred up much enthusiasm in the U. S. populace for a real showdown with the Soviets:

Carter's pretext for launching this latest round of anti-Sovietism was the alleged Soviet and



NATO JETS

Authenticated News International

Cuban "complicity" in the mid-May invasion of Zaire by ex-Katanga guerrillas of the National Liberation Front of the Congo (FLNC) (see "West Props Up Zaire Despot," SC No. 27). There is no evidence that the FLNC guerrillas, who have a long-standing tribalist dispute with Zaire's reactionary dictator Mobutu, received any support at all from either the Cubans or the Russians. Carter couldn't even get the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to believe the stories of Soviet involvement manufactured by the CIA and Mobutu's news service. Both the Washington Post and the New York Times remained openly sceptical of the administration's claims. Carter was further embarrassed when the Times revealed on June 11 that Castro had notified the U. S. nearly a month earlier that he had tried to stop the invasion plans when he first learned of them in April. The

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## NATO...

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administration had simply suppressed this piece of information and continued to claim that the Cubans "had done nothing" to halt the raid.

### CHINA'S ALLIANCE WITH U. S. IMPERIALISM

If the American bourgeois press was unwilling to accept the CIA-Mobutu fabrications about Soviet/Cuban involvement in the FLNC raid, the counterrevolutionary bureaucrats in Peking (and their international toadies) eagerly seized on the imperialist propaganda in order to vilify the Soviet Union. In his address to the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in May Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua railed against "Soviet aggression" in Africa. Sounding rather like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Huang called for the imperialists to arm to the teeth and and warned against

"some people in the West who are cowed by Soviet military threats and are afraid of war or who indulge in a false sense of security and deny the existence of a serious danger of war. Politically they seek peaceful cooperation to accommodate the Soviet hoax of détente."

In a show of solidarity with the reactionary Mobutu regime (which howled for imperialist military intervention to repel the FLNC) Huang flew on to Zaire. The Chinese bureaucrats (who are every bit as counterrevolutionary as the rival geriatric clique which rules in the Kremlin) also announced a substantial increase in military aid to the Zairean dictator.

Washington has shown every intention of enlisting Peking's support for its crusade against the Soviet Union. Following the African uproar American National Security Council chief Zbigniew Brzezinski--the Dr. Strangelove of the Carter administration--visited Peking. Brzezinski told the New York Times of May 28 that "The basic significance of the trip was to underline the long-term strategic nature of the United States relationship to China." As an expression of confidence in its anti-Soviet ally the U. S. reversed an earlier decision and decided to sell the Chinese sophisticated airborne scanning equipment which can be adapted for anti-submarine warfare, material that is still being denied to the Soviet Union for reasons of military security.

It is their shared hostility to the Soviet Union that lays the basis for the U. S./China alliance. The Maoist bureaucrats were quite willing to overlook the imperialist rape of Vietnam in order to court the Americans, and Nixon correctly saw the opportunity for driving the wedge deeper between the competing Stalinist cliques in Moscow and Peking. Although both the Soviet Union and China are based on the abolition of private property, the narrow nationalist outlook of "building socialism" in their "own country" leads the Stalinists to repeatedly stab each other in the

back. The vastly weaker position of the Chinese has led them directly into the arms of the U. S.

U. S. imperialism's drive to heat up the Cold War has been enthusiastically endorsed in the pages of the Forge, newspaper of the "official" Maoists in Canada--the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) [CCL(M-L)]. The Forge has lately taken to running lurid neo-McCarthyite maps showing global "Soviet expansionism" which look like reprints from Time Magazine or Readers Digest, if not William Buckley Jr.'s National Review. Taking their cue from their masters in Peking, these shameless would-be allies of U. S. imperialism call on Carter to take a hard line against the Soviet degenerated workers state and compare American "appeasement" of Russia with Neville Chamberlain's policy toward Hitler in the late 1930's.

### THE "THIRD CAMP"

In Struggle! (IS!), CCL (M-L)'s heterodox semi-Maoist rival, has been somewhat more circumspect in its reportage of Carter's Cold War revival. Like CCL(M-L), IS! denounces "Soviet social imperialism" at every opportunity but it is not so enthusiastic about embracing U. S. imperialism as an ally. Predicting that the imperialist rearmament campaign must inevitably lead to a third world war, the bogus "Marxist-Leninists" of IS! announce in advance their neutrality in any future attempts by U. S. imperialism to reconquer the Soviet Union for the capitalist world market. The rabid boosters of the Peking/Washington axis of CCL(M-L) denounce IS! for "whitewashing Soviet aggression."

IS! is not the only organization on the left to seek membership in the "third camp" of "neutrality" in the event of imperialist attack on the social conquests of the Russian Revolution. The fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) are also interested in staking out a campsite alongside such long-term inhabitants as the ex-Maoist Canadian Party of Labour and the International Socialists (whose British mentors split with the Trotskyist movement over a refusal to defend North Korea in the Korean War). The June 19 issue of the RWL's Socialist Voice published an editorial calling for U. S. imperialism to "Stop Threats Against Cuba," but remains silent on Carter's threats against the Soviet Union. No doubt the RWL hopes to find an audience for its call on the U. S. to stop bullying "little Cuba" among various clerics, pacifists and social democrats with whom talk of defending the Soviet

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# Letters

## PABLOITES GLORIFY SPANISH ANARCHISTS: BETRAYERS OF WOMEN AND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Toronto

6 July

Comrades:

In your fine polemic, "USec Factions Liquidate in Spirit of 'Sisterhood'" (Spartacist Canada, June) you point out that for the once-hostile factions of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat to reach detente on the woman question they must distort their previous positions and disappear their heated polemics. The article rightly censures the crude distortion of Bolshevik work among women contained in the contribution of the centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) to this piece of diplomatic chicanery ("For an Intervention by Sections of the Fourth International Against the Oppression of Women").

Revisionists are never capable of breaking with a revolutionary tradition without performing many a disservice to the cause of historical integrity. About the Bolsheviks the IMT writes:

"... their underestimation of the subjective factor and of the specific oppression of women in the family (parallel to the reticence of many of them toward the movement of communes and the search for different lifestyles among the youth during the 1920s) certainly had its effects on the noncommitment of broad layers of women who later stood by passively as the bureaucratic counterrevolution developed."

-- Women's Liberation and Socialism

Hence, due to the "reticence" of the Bolsheviks to promote self-indulgent, petty-bourgeois "alternative lifestyles" so popular today among North American and West European youth, the IMT now echoes the anti-communist argument that Bolshevism led to Stalinism.

Equally dishonest is the IMT's adulation of the Spanish anarchists. Against the staid, conservative Bolsheviks the IMT holds up as exemplary the work of the "swinging" Spanish anarchists among women during the Civil War, embodied in the organization Mujeres Libres (Free Women). The IMT is not, of course, totally uncritical of Mujeres Libres. Their guru, Ernest Mandel, has taught his disciples the lawyers' virtues of reservations and escape clauses, the language of shoddy insurance policies, not revolutionary clarity. Thus, the IMT document notes the "ambiguities and deviations [which] marked this movement because of its anarchist leadership and its positions on the question of the state." Nevertheless it goes on to praise Mujeres Libres as:

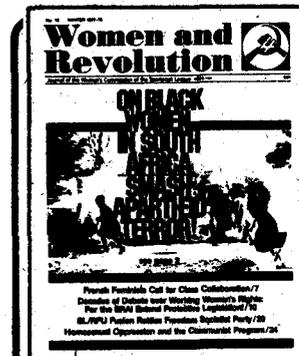
"... to our knowledge the most advanced historical example of a women's movement which, while asserting its class character and anti-

capitalist objectives, insisted on its organizational independence of the workers movement, since chauvinism repelled broad layers of women who were able to be won to action because of the existence of independent structures."

Backward attitudes toward women were a real problem of the Spanish labor movement. What the IMT fails to mention is that no one in the labor movement bore greater responsibility for these backward attitudes than the Spanish anarchists. The anarchists refused to raise partial demands against the special oppression of women, particularly when they had to do with the establishment of legal rights. The anarchist labor organization, the National Confederation of Labor (CNT) accommodated itself to the prevailing chauvinism against women workers in Spanish society. Given the backwardness of Spanish capitalism, women workers were concentrated in industries which were mere extensions of domestic work such as textiles, cigar-making and baking and were paid piece work rates. The CNT did nothing to organize industries where women workers predominated or to open up those industries which excluded women. It made no effort to fight for equal pay for women employed at the same work as men or for that matter any other demands which addressed the special needs of women such as child care centers, free legal abortion and health care. In general, the CNT viewed women workers as strikebreakers and bastions of clerical reaction. Of course, by ignoring the special oppression of women, the CNT forced women workers to rely on the Catholic Church as the sole provider of social welfare.

It was the entry of the Spanish anarchists into the Popular Front government which forced them for the first time in their history to seriously address questions of social services and protective legislation, but within the framework of administering a capitalist state. Mujeres Libres was transformed from a small group carrying on educational work into a mass women's auxiliary of the Popular Front. One of the anarchist leaders of Mujeres Libres, Federica Montseny, became minister of health and social services. While she implemented certain minimal reforms such as lifting some of the restrictions on abortion and establishing a program of child care and hygiene, she was part

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# CPL vs PL: Biting the Hand that Rocked the Cradle

The 14 June issue of the Worker, four-page news-sheet of the Canadian Party of Labour (CPL) contains a polemic aimed at the Progressive Labor Party (PL--CPL's American parent) on the national question in Quebec. CPL's polemic comes as a reply to an editorial in PL's newspaper Challenge which reiterates PL's long-standing position on the national question. PL's position can be summarized as follows: (1) nationalism is a reactionary bourgeois ideology which divides workers; (2) to call for the right to self-determination is to make concessions to nationalism and therefore; (3) revolutionaries should never raise a call for the right to self-determination.

Until a year and a half ago CPL shared PL's position. But in March 1977 it made an abrupt 180 degree line change and suddenly came out in favor of granting Quebec the right to self-determination (see SC No. 16), having learned the hard way that it couldn't get anywhere with PL's chauvinist reflex "anti-nationalism." CPL has already suffered one disaster in Quebec, when it lost virtually its entire Montreal branch in 1972. CPL's correction on the question of the right of national self-determination was the product of pure opportunism and has been accompanied by adaptation to the bourgeois nationalist politics of the Parti Québécois (PQ). In May, for example, CPL joined with René Lévesque, the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League and various other Québécois nationalists to oppose the transfer of the corporate headquarters of the Sun Life Assurance Co. from Montreal to Toronto.

The Challenge editorial is a thinly disguised attack on CPL's line change. In arguing its case Challenge uses plenty of quotes from earlier articles in the Worker and warns its erstwhile satellite that "it would be suicidal to look for nationalist-capitalist solutions" to the national question in Quebec. CPL replies by savagely attacking its one-time mentors and asserts that "to say 'fight for socialism' in the event of an armed struggle over independence and not to say Quebec has a right to self-determination would be a cowardly and right-wing step, left in form, right in content." The Worker editorial goes on to "point out to Challenge that the pro-Moscow CP shares that view." Strong stuff!

"THERE ISN'T A SHRED OF 'SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS'!"

CPL concludes its attack on PL with the charge that: "There isn't a shred of 'socialist consciousness' in the 'revolutionary' who can ignore or turn his back on the question of the right to self-determination." In a subsequent issue of the Worker

(28 June), CPL reprints a letter bolstering its attack on PL. It draws a parallel between the struggle against national oppression in Quebec and the struggle to destroy apartheid in South Africa. The writer suggests that the logic of the PL leadership's position could lead them to

"revise their slogan [of 'smash apartheid'] to 'smash Apartheid--but not until South Africa achieves socialism.' The corollary of this demand is, of course, the demand to keep Apartheid for the time being. Which is why Lenin branded socialists in oppressor nations as Chauvinists if they refused to back the rights of oppressed nations to secession."

The spectacle of public polemics between PL and its Canadian offshoot would have been unthinkable in CPL's earlier days. Ever since its formation in 1969 (in which PL cadre played a decisive part) CPL has willingly accepted its role as PL's junior partner in North America and has obediently reproduced every twist and turn of PL's erratic political gyrations. In the late 1960's and early 1970's PL was a much larger organization than it is today. Through a successful intervention in SDS--the hegemonic organization of the American New Left--PL won the allegiance of many of the best militants to its simple-minded brand of Stalinist workerism. After squandering the human material that it picked up in the late 1960's through mindless sub-reformist hyperactivism and a series of splits (including the departure of the entire Boston branch in 1974 and a major split in San Francisco last year) PL is only a shadow of its former self and is today barely visible on the American left.

CPL's sharp attack on PL signals that it no longer takes its orders from New York. This does not mean that CPL has begun to correct its reformist political line. The same organizational opportunism that motivated CPL's adoption of a crude approximation of the Leninist position on the national question led it to scab on the strikes of postal mechanics in Toronto in 1975 and again this year. CPL's break with PL demonstrates that Stalinist organizations which share a belief in the theory of "socialism in one country" but who no longer have a "socialist fatherland" to take orders from, must inevitably fall out among themselves. Those subjectively revolutionary individuals who are interested in making a socialist revolution in North America must abjure the unprincipled opportunists of CPL and investigate carefully the consistent and principled record of the international Spartacist tendency--represented in Canada by the Trotskyist League. ■



TROTSKYIST LEAGUE NATIONAL CONFERENCE CLOSING WITH SINGING OF THE "INTERNATIONALE"

SC Photo

## TLC Holds Second National Conference

More than 40 comrades attended the second national conference of the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC) held over the July 1 weekend in Toronto. Perspectives for the coming period were discussed in light of the implementation of the cuts and adjustments undertaken by the TLC and the Spartacist League/U. S. (SL/U. S.) to bring the organizations' work into line with present North American social, political and financial realities, and to assist the work of the international Spartacist tendency in other vital areas, particularly Britain (see "WV to Go Biweekly," Workers Vanguard, 19 May). These adjustments for the TLC were codified at a Central Committee plenum in May.

For the SL/U. S. the pressures of the period were most acutely felt on the Workers Vanguard (WV) staff. In Canada, it was the TLC's work in Vancouver that suffered. The iSt made a significant investment of cadres to aid in the crystallization of a branch in Vancouver, the center of the most class-conscious proletariat in English-speaking North America. But the pressures of geographical and political isolation combined with the need to strengthen areas of higher priority has forced a temporary retreat for our Vancouver perspectives.

The cutback in Vancouver makes available forces for relocation in Toronto. This in turn mandates a significant expansion of regional work throughout Ontario as well as pushing forward our work in Montreal. Conference participants reaffirmed the importance of producing French-language propaganda for work in Quebec, and looked forward to the production of translations of articles on Quebec from WV and SC in a future issue of French-language Spartacist.

### TROTSKYISM AND THE CCF/NDP

A highlight of the conference was a stimulating educational presentation on Trotskyism and the New Democratic Party (NDP) by Central Committee member Murray Smith. His presentation was the third in a three-part series designed to critically equip Trotskyist League members to evaluate

a draft introduction to the projected Revolutionary Trotskyist Bulletin on Trotskyism and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and the NDP.

The first two classes had been presented to the Toronto local in June. The first class dealt with Lenin and Trotsky's contributions on the labor party question, especially the relation between the early British Communist Party and the Labour Party. Also discussed were the so-called "two-class" farmer/labor parties (i. e., the Kuomintang and the Federated Labor Party in the U. S.). The fundamental criterion in judging these disputes of the early communist movement is the political independence of the labor movement and its revolutionary vanguard to which the necessary tactics for winning the working masses to Bolshevism are subordinate.

The second class applied the lessons of the early communist experience to an assessment of the class character of the CCF and NDP and an evaluation of the orientation to the CCF by Canadian Trotskyists from the 1930's to the formation of the NDP.

Comrade Smith's presentation dealt with the impact that the question of orientation to the NDP had on the development of left-oppositional currents within the Canadian affiliates of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. Of particular importance was the development of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT) within the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group. The labor party question in Canada was a crucial programmatic point in the fusion of the B-LT with the Canadian Committee of the iSt following the B-LT's expulsion from the RMG in March 1975. Smith, formerly a leader of the B-LT reiterated the position of the international Spartacist tendency that the NDP is a bourgeois workers party. The task of revolutionaries is to split the working-class base of the NDP from its bourgeois leadership and bourgeois program.

The educational was followed by reports from comrades on the TLC's work in Vancouver,

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# Trudeau/Davis/Levesque Fuel National Antagonisms

Two years ago as part of a general austerity drive the federal government cancelled the annual "Dominion Day" celebration. But since the victory of the bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) in the Quebec provincial elections in November 1976, Ottawa has decided that massive expenditures to promote the annual chauvinist celebration of "Canadian unity" are a necessary investment. Canada, like Lebanon, is a country with an "identity crisis." Popular support must be whipped up to back Trudeau's threat to keep Quebec within, Confederation by "any means necessary."

This year the bill came to \$4.5 million, which included funding for a July 1 rally of 175,000 Canadian "patriots" on Parliament Hill. Members of Canada's secret police, the RCMP, were on hand to demonstrate their equestrian skills along with stunt flyers and parachutists from the Canadian Armed Forces. Thousands of other people turned out for smaller rallies which were held in most of the major cities and towns in English Canada.

Not to be outdone, René Lévesque's PQ government splurged \$3.5 million on Quebec's national holiday--St. Jean Baptiste Day. On June 24, tens of thousands of Québécois marched in parades throughout the province. To counter the federal government's July 1 festivities, the PQ shelled out another \$800,000 to sponsor a giant pop festival to celebrate the 370th anniversary of the founding of Quebec City. Some 150,000 people attended the event, to which the Quebec government had invited Cajuns from Louisiana, Acadians from New Brunswick and Ontario francophones.

## ONTARIO/QUEBEC SEAL THE BORDER FOR CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

While Quebec and Ottawa were staging their rival nationalist celebrations, Lévesque became involved in an ugly dispute with Ontario's Tory government. Both provincial governments are sealing the border to construction workers from the other province. Quebec's legislation came into effect on July 1. It is one of a number of measures issuing from the 1975 Cliche commission which was set up to bring Quebec's construction unions under government control (see "Quebec Government Seizes Construction Unions," Workers Vanguard, 6 May 1975).

In addition to barring workers from outside Quebec the new anti-labor law divides the province into 13 regions and decrees that construction workers in Quebec must work within their own region. As was noted in a letter to the editor of the Globe and Mail (29 June), the PQ legislation



ARMED FORCES JETS STREAK PAST OTTAWA'S PEACE TOWER IN "CANADA DAY" EXTRAVAGANZA CP

reduces Quebec's construction workers to the condition "of a serf in Medieval Europe--Ad scriptus glebae--bound to the soil of his manor."

In retaliation, Ontario Tory premier Bill Davis tabled legislation which prohibits Quebec construction workers from working in Ontario. Davis expressed the pious wish that the Supreme Court would intervene to overturn both pieces of legislation. He hypocritically bemoaned the fact that he was forced to pass "a self-protective measure, that seems contrary to the principle of free movement of our citizens" (Globe and Mail, 23 June).

The right-wing social democrats of the Ontario New Democratic Party are more forthright. They are pushing for the immediate passage of the reactionary Tory bill in order to "defend" the interests of Ontario workers. Trade unionists in both provinces must firmly oppose both the PQ's and the Ontario Tories' chauvinist anti-labor bills. Both pieces of legislation represent an attack on the rights of all workers in Quebec and Ontario and can only serve to deepen national antagonisms.

## ONTARIO DENIES FRENCH LANGUAGE RIGHTS

Construction workers are not the only victims of the anti-Quebec chauvinism of the Davis regime. In June the Tories killed a proposal by their own Council for Franco-Ontarian Affairs which called for the building of a French-language community college. At present there are no French-language post secondary educational institutions in the province, which has a francophone population of almost half a million. Last month the Davis government also squelched a bill to provide provincial government services in French as well as English after allowing the bill to pass second reading (approval in principle) in the legislature.

Davis, the most powerful Conservative office holder in Canada, apparently views the extension of even the most minimal democratic rights to Ontario's sizeable francophone minority as damaging to the Tory image as the "hardliners" against the Québécois. As Leninists we oppose all forms of national oppression and therefore uphold the right of everyone to be educated and receive government services in the language of their choice.

## TRUDEAU TINKERS WITH "CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM"

While Lévesque and Davis vie with each other in passing reactionary legislation, Trudeau has been busy in Ottawa cooking up yet another scheme to "revitalize" Confederation. Given his growing unpopularity Trudeau is reluctant to call an election and has, instead, announced a new package of constitutional "reforms." Trudeau, who fancies himself the "national savior" of the Canadian bourgeoisie, hopes that his "reforms" will undercut support in Quebec for Lévesque's "independence with association" plans.

The actual changes proposed by Trudeau are so insignificant that they hardly warrant mention: increasing the number of Supreme Court judges from nine to eleven; annual meetings between Ottawa and the provinces and a proposal to make the Governor General (the ceremonial head of state) "autonomous" from the Queen! The other "major" change is that the Senate (a watering-hole for over-the-hill hacks of the ruling federal party) will be renamed the "House of the Federation" and have half its members appointed by the provinces. The function of this anti-democratic upper house is to remain the same--to delay any legislation passed by the House of Commons which does not meet with the approval of the capitalists. The big "concession" to Quebec in Trudeau's package is that any measure of "special linguistic significance" has to be approved by a majority of both the French- and English-speaking members of this revamped house of patronage.

Not surprisingly, Trudeau's farcical "reforms" have excited little interest in either Quebec or English Canada. The only strong reaction to the proposed changes has come from members of the Senate who stand to lose their highly paid "plums." But Trudeau has an answer for them too--he is already promising to set up a "blue-ribbon commission" to study "appropriate compensation" for any of these incompetent geriatrics who don't manage to get hired on as "Federators."

## DEFEND QUEBEC'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

While Trudeau and Lévesque are frantically scrambling to outmaneuver each other and to whip up chauvinist sentiment in the working class, the duty of revolutionaries remains to champion the unity of the proletariat across national lines. The

"spectaculars" staged by the PQ and the federal government are designed to poison the working class with bourgeois nationalism. Trudeau combines threats of a military occupation of Quebec with meaningless constitutional "reforms" in an attempt to bully and cajole the Québécois into rejecting Lévesque's half-hearted separatism. The PQ on the other hand represents no one but Quebec's middle class that wants the exclusive right to exploit its own working class.

Against the attempts of Trudeau/Davis and Lévesque to inflame nationalist antagonisms between workers in Quebec and those in English Canada it is the duty of revolutionaries to defend Quebec's right to self-determination in order to promote a united class struggle against the bosses. ■

## TLC Conference...

(continued from page 5)

Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal, as well as a report on trade union work and perspectives. While the TLC has experienced no significant growth in the past period, it has continued to contribute to the building of other ist sections. The conference emphasized that our inexperienced union fractions can only develop through the input of party leadership. It committed the TLC to find the forces to maintain and expand our campus work.

The conference noted that one of the TLC's successes has been the stabilization of SC as a regular monthly and the development of a pool of communist journalists. Another has been the training of branch organizers. These will be underutilized resources with the concentration of our forces in Toronto but will provide the firm propagandistic and organizational foundation for future geographical and industrial expansion.

## CANADIAN PROLETARIAT AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH AMERICA

The greetings of comrade Joseph Seymour on behalf of the SL/U.S. eloquently placed the work of the TLC in perspective:

"... one should remember... that the proletariat in Canada, that is both the English-speaking and the French-speaking, has a considerably higher level of class-consciousness than the proletariat of the United States... That even intersects and manifests itself in the present work of the TLC, however modest. But as I say, it is no accident that the Munoz defense campaign got far more support within the Canadian labor movement than in the American, despite the very considerable difference in the relative resources devoted in the United States and Canada... So it is entirely possible... that the Canadian section of the Fourth International will find itself, if not in the military/strategic vanguard, at a certain point in the political vanguard of the North American revolution, and that historic sense must imbue any considerations of the immediate organizational tasks and priorities." ■

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## French LCR Defends "Socialist" Generals and Admirals

# "EUROTROTSKYISTS" FÊTE EUROCOMMUNISTS

It was a Pabloist's dream come true: a star-studded gallery of Eurocommunist notables, prominent social democrats, "progressive" generals and Soviet dissidents, all brought to you courtesy of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire [LCR--French section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, represented in Canada by the Revolutionary Workers League]. Not content with the company in the little cesspool of "far-left" opportunism, these pseudo-Trotskyists have been looking for an opportunity to jump into the reformist swamp of class betrayal where they can swim with the big boys. They saw their chance and leaped with both feet, turning the LCR's Rouge Fête into a gala weekend in honor of Eurocommunism. More than 10,000 attended the May 27-28 gathering at the Porte de Pantin on the outskirts of Paris, entitled "May 1968--May 1978: Reform or Revolution?"

The LCR lost no time making clear which it was for. In this grand celebration of "classless" democracy, they courted the right-wing Communist Party (PCF) dissidents, who in recent weeks have become the darlings of the bourgeois press, and defended "socialist" officers of the French imperialist armed forces against enraged protest from the audience. Guests of honor at the "fraternal debate" included noted French Eurocommunists Jean Elleinstein, Jacques Frémontier and Jean Rony, "premature Eurocommunists" Roger Garaudy and Fernando Claudín, an official delegation of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), French Socialist Party (PS) national secretary Gilles Martinet, Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch and military reserve officers air force General Bécam and Admiral Sanguinetti.

The bourgeois press took note of the unusual event. Le Monde of 30 May observed that the weekend gathering "made it possible for representatives of the families of the left and the far left to begin the dialogue." Even the New York Times (4 June) covered it, commenting that "A new current is stirring in the French left, bringing together representatives of a broad sweep of views from extremists to ecologists and moderate reformers in opposition to Communist Party orthodoxy." And although the presence of the PCE delegation stayed the hand of the French Communist Party from taking direct reprisals against the PCF dissidents who participated, this did not stop L'Humanité (29 May) from furiously denouncing the meeting as "a

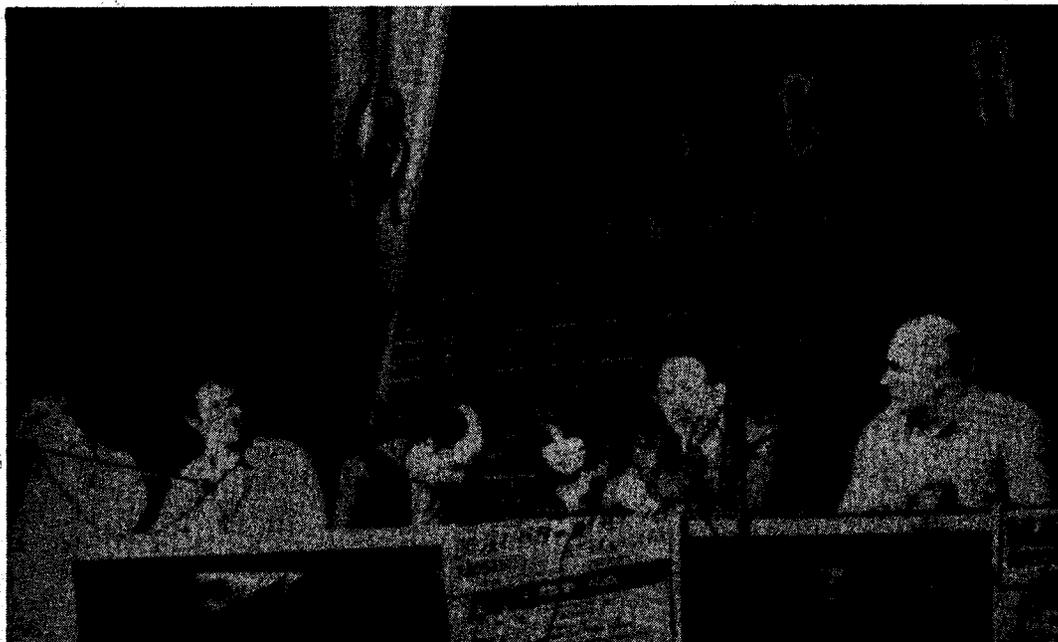
factional undertaking directed at the Communist party, its policies, principles and leadership."

The weekend fête was indeed designed to capitalize on the current uproar in the PCF, which has spilled over into a heated public controversy, as leading party intellectuals have taken to the pages of Le Monde, the leading French daily, to denounce the PCF leadership as responsible for the recent electoral defeat of the Union of the Left. Neo-Stalinist philosopher Louis Althusser published a four-part copyrighted series entitled "Things Can't Go On This Way in the Communist Party," and historian Elleinstein, deputy director of the PCF's Center for Marxist Studies, called in his series for dropping the name "Communist" as a liability before French public opinion. At the Rouge Fête the LCR provided a platform for the most thorough-going Eurocommunists seeking to pressure those CPers resistant to exchanging pro-Soviet Stalinist reformism for anti-Soviet social-democratic reformism.

Although at first glance the speakers' platforms at the fête appeared contrary to nature, there was in fact a political logic uniting PCF right wingers with LCR "far leftists": both accused the Communist Party leadership of being responsible for the March 19 electoral defeat of "the left" by breaking the "unity momentum." This charge, raised by a "Declaration of 100" PCF militants (Le Monde, 17 May), is the theme of a propaganda barrage initiated by PS leader Mitterrand and picked up by virtually the entire bourgeois press. It ignores the fact that the PCF's reflexive "hardening" came in response to threats to its electoral base by the Socialists and indications from Mitterrand that the PCF would have little effective power in a Union of the Left government. Thus the Pabloists and super-Eurocommunists find common ground on the rightist program of unconditional unity of the reformist bureaucrats.

Commenting afterwards on the star-studded weekend, the LCR's first crack at the big time, LCR leader Alain Krivine underscored the significance of the Rouge Fête.

"For us this was not a publicity stunt or a factional operation, but the application of a policy for which we have been fighting for years and years, frequently against the stream: the policy of the unity of the working people in action against the common enemy... the breach has



La Pabla

FROM LEFT, "PREMATURE EUROCOMMUNIST" FERNANDO CLAUDIN, LCR LEADER HENRI WEBER, UKRAINIAN DISSIDENT LEONID PLYUSHCH AND TRANSLATOR, FRENCH CP DISSIDENT JEAN ELLEINSTEIN AND FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY NATIONAL SECRETARY GILLES MARTINET. ELLEINSTEIN HAILED "THE ORIGINAL PATH TOWARD SOCIALISM" WHICH "IS NEITHER THAT OF STALIN OR MAO, BUT WHICH IS ALSO NOT THAT OF LENIN OR TROTSKY. . . THE EUROCOMMUNIST PATH."

been opened, the precedent set, nothing will be the same as before."

--Rouge, 30 May

#### DISCOVERY OF "EUROTROTSKYISM"

Leading off the discussion on Eurocommunism Elleinstein reaffirmed his support to a Union of the Left and declared that "unity is debate." This was music to the ears of the LCR, which had been seeking debates with the PCF ever since well before the March elections. Elleinstein also called for joint action between the Eurocommunists and the LCR, between "we who are in the Party and you who are a vital force but who today are feeling the dead end you are in." But the basis for such collaboration, he specified, must be:

"... a line which of course is neither that of Stalin nor of Mao, but which is also not that of Lenin or Trotsky, a path which is the original path toward socialism imposed on us by history and is precisely, I'll say it: the Eurocommunist path."

This meant, said Elleinstein, first of all support for "representative democracy" and the "extension of public liberties." He added, "I think that in many respects Rosa Luxemburg was right in 1918 in criticizing certain aspects of the Russian Revolution," endorsing in particular her claim that "lack of representative democracy" would lead to "the domination of a bureaucracy."

"Eurocommunism," said the PCF historian, "implies total independence from the Soviet Union." The representative of the PCE, Malo de Molina, declared that it "assumes the negation of the model of the Soviet revolution, the model of class against class, and the model according to which one must end up with the destruction of the state." Neither here nor at any time in the weekend did the LCR defend the Leninist "model" or even mention the

need for defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism.

There were a few murmurs from the audience when Molina praised the Italian Communist Party's austerity policy as a "theoretical innovation" and went so far as to oppose cost-of-living escalators as "inflationary." LCR spokesmen attacked this apology for the anti-working-class, wage-cutting policies of the Andreotti and Suárez governments, but refused to criticize the policies of the French Union of the Left. Not only did they fail to denounce this coalition as a popular front, tying the working class to the bourgeoisie, but throughout the weekend these fake-Trotskyists hardly even mentioned the Communist-Socialist-Left Radical bloc which has dominated French politics for the past six years.

In contrast there was stormy applause when PS national secretary Martinet, an ex-Stalinist and Krivine's father-in-law, denounced anti-Trotskyism as "the anti-Semitism of the workers movement." Fernando Claudin, the former member of the PCE central committee expelled in 1964 for ultra-reformist positions similar to those of the present-day Eurocommunists, went even further, suggesting that the debate be extended to include "Eurotrotskyism," since they were in the presence of "non-sectarian" Trotskyists:

"... this is perhaps the sign that there is also a 'Eurotrotskyist' phenomenon, that is a certain opening of Trotskyism toward other currents of the communist movement."

In response, LCR leader Daniel Bensaid returned the compliment and went out of his way to demonstrate the compatibility of "Eurotrotskyism" with social-democratizing Eurocommunism. Thus he defended the Pabloist perversion of Trotskyism against charges of "underestimating the struggle for democratic rights" by saying: "It seems there

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## French LCR...

(continued from page 9)

is agreement--everyone says 'representative democracy, democratic rights,' and we defend them too...." Bensaid also solidarized with Rosa Luxemburg's critique of the Russian Revolution for "limiting freedom of the press, limiting freedom of association, which leads to sclerosis of democracy" and approved of Elleinstein's use of this reference which has been cited for decades by social democrats as part of their attack on Leninism.

In answer to Claudin's opposition of parliamentary to non-parliamentary forms of democracy, Bensaid made a fundamental and far-reaching revision of Leninism on the central question of the state:

"You will find the debate on the articulation of parliamentary democracy and grassroots democracy with Lenin vs. Kautsky on the subject of the constituent assembly in Russia, you will find it between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin on the same problem, you will find it in Trotsky, you will find it broadly among some people who are coming back into style today, and not by accident, that is the Austro-Marxists like Adler. However (left-wing) social-democratic they were at the time, they said that parliamentary forms and forms of self-organization could cohabit, but that the forms of self-organization must have the last word.... As for us, we say it is necessary to take the question to its conclusion and say which should predominate."

So... instead of smashing the capitalist state, and with it bourgeois parliamentary forms of government, to replace it with the proletarian democracy of soviet rule, it is necessary to combine them, to "articulate" them; and like the Austro-Marxists, this arch-Pabloist says that it is simply necessary to specify that forms of "grassroots democracy" should predominate over parliamentary forms!

The reference to Austro-Marxism is, as Bensaid remarks, not an accident. Together with the German Independent Social Democrats, the Austrian Socialist Party was the mainstay of the ill-fated "Second and a Half International" set up in reaction to the proclamation of the Comintern, and Friedrich Adler was its architect. As far as the "cohabitation" of parliamentary and soviet democracy, this program was actually carried out by the Austro-Marxists, who used their domination of the Vienna Workers Council to prevent any revolutionary attempt to sweep away the institutions of capitalist rule. In Berlin, where the Spartakusbund had found support among sectors of the proletariat, this "articulation" was achieved by the bloody massacre of the January 1919 uprising and the assassination of Luxemburg and Liebknecht! Bensaid will no doubt say that there the wrong element predominated, but it was only because the Independent Social Democrats refused to call for all power to the workers councils, instead hoping for peaceful

coexistence between the councils and the national assembly, that the "majority" social-democratic butchers Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske could carry out their bloody work, eventually suppressing the workers councils as well. These are the fruits of the tradition with which the "Eurotrotskyists" solidarize!

Comrade Bensaid has a history of getting carried away with whatever is the current line of the majority of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), as when he proposed importing to Europe the USec's guerrillaist policy for Latin America. However, in this case he is simply making explicit the capitulationist policy toward Eurocommunism authored by the USec's top theoretician, Ernest Mandel. Thus in the introduction to his book, From Stalinism to Eurocommunism, Mandel refers to the Eurocommunist current as analogous to "classical Social Democracy of 1910-1930, which should not be confused with contemporary Social Democracy." Social Democracy before World War I, the world historic event which marked the passage of social democracy to the camp of defense of the bourgeois order? Without saying so explicitly, Mandel is implying that the Eurocommunists have not yet definitively betrayed.

As for Bensaid's defense of "representative democracy" and political pluralism, this is already foreshadowed in the USec resolution on "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (Imprecor, 7 July 1977) in which the Pabloists reject the Trotskyist position of democratic rights for all parties standing on the gains of the October Revolution, instead calling for "freedom for the defenders of reactionary ideologies [presumably including fascism] to defend these ideas, [for] ideological cultural pluralism" even for active counterrevolutionaries, just so long as they are not caught bomb-in-hand. The remarks by Bensaid during this debate constitute a deliberate attempt to present a common platform on which the Eurocommunists and Pabloist "Eurotrotskyists" can "cohabit": namely, left-talking social democracy, formally independent of the Second International and modeled on post-World War I Austro-Marxism.

DEFENDING THE POPULAR-FRONT BUTCHERS

While Bensaid's discourse on the "articulation" of bourgeois and proletarian democracy provided the

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political framework for a Eurocommunist/"Euro-trotskyist" lash-up, it was in the forum on the army that the LCR most vividly demonstrated the depths to which it will descend in order to gain admission to the reformist swamp. Krivine, Bensaïd & Co. have been assisting in the formation of a Committee for Rights and Freedoms in the Military Institution, organized by the bourgeois League for the Rights of Man with the participation of two ranking reserve officers, General Bécam and Admiral Sanguinetti. These two general staff officers had star billing in the oh-so-fraternal "debate" on a podium chaired by the LCR leadership.

Sanguinetti, who had run for parliament in March on the PS ticket, justified attempts to "democratize" the army on the grounds that it would be more "efficient" in "maintain[ing] order." Likewise, he pleaded for a draftee army as necessary to provide the numbers necessary for such tasks as "search-and-destroy operations in Algeria." After a supporter of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, protested the scandalous composition of the speakers platform, the LCR chairman of the session denounced "the 'insults' addressed to the Admiral inside this hall." Thereupon, General Bécam intervened praising the "democracy" of Hitler's Wehrmacht (!) and warned against workers militias as potentially less democratic than the army. His horrible example? The Nazis' SA!! Again LTF comrades protested, now accompanied by shouts of disapproval throughout the hall.

In a subsequent intervention during the debate an LTF spokesman again denounced the presence of these professional butchers of the Vietnamese and Algerian peasants and workers:

"The question is, what is there to debate with ex-officers, generals who defend the bourgeois army, who are for the defense of the fatherland, when you are an organization that says it is socialist, that even claims to be Trotskyist. As for an ex-general, an ex-admiral, so long as they haven't renounced their past... I think these characters still merit the name given them by the soldiers' committees themselves, namely crévures [roughly "butchers," the worst insult a soldier can make to an officer in the French army, punishable by long stretches in the stockade]."

A second LTF comrade linked the LCR's incredible call for an "alliance of the workers movement, the soldiers movement, the career officers" to the Pabloists' capitulation to popular frontism, and counterposed the revolutionary Trotskyist program of opposition to collaboration with the class enemy:

"Obviously the question of the army is the key question for a popular front. The LCR, if it wants to maintain its alliance with the popular front, its essentially popular-frontist policy,

is compelled to have a reformist policy toward the army. Which, moreover, explains why they have also abandoned all their guerrillaist postures, ... while today they take the side of the bourgeois state against the Red Brigades in Italy....

"The question for Trotskyists is essentially the question of the officers. What is the officer caste? The officer caste is precisely the last bastion of the bourgeoisie. And that's what the reformists never want to touch.... Today the LCR wants us to believe that the officer caste... can be split between the elements in favor of the proletariat and those in favor of the bourgeoisie. The officer caste is selected, educated and structured to destroy the organized proletariat.... And the Trotskyist program is the destruction of the officer caste....

"The objective of Trotskyists in the army is to effectively defend the democratic rights of soldiers in the army--but we link the defense of democratic rights with the goal of the destruction of the bourgeois army, the destruction of the officer corps, the constitution of workers militias, the creation of a Red Army with nuclear arms against the imperialist armies that will intervene. And we will struggle also for the creation of a Trotskyist party which can lead the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois army!"

In a recent special issue of Inprecor devoted to the May 1968 events, the USec announced that its analyses in the post-1968 period had been too optimistic and called for Communist-Socialist parliamentary governments as the axis of its propaganda in southern Europe. In an interview Bensaïd remarked that "everyone now agrees" that the elusive "new mass vanguard" "will be radicalized mainly in the reformist parties and the unions" (Inprecor, 25 May). Hence the USec's new orientation toward Eurocommunism. If Eurocommunists like PCE leader Carrillo and PCF dissident Elleinstein are ready to renounce Leninism, and "Eurosocijalists" like Spanish leader Felipe González renounce Marxism, then in order to get into the act Mandel & Co. are prepared to take off their tattered fake-Trotskyism as the price of admission in this obscene political striptease. ■

(Reprinted from Workers Vanguard, 30 June)

## LE BOLCHEVIK



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## CUPW/LCUC...

(continued from page 16)

The bosses and the government fear the militant union tradition of the postal workers--a tradition which extends back to the "illegal" postal wildcats of the mid-sixties which broke the government's no-strike legislation of that period. But the biggest barrier to harnessing the power and militancy of the LCUC and the CUPW in united action to smash the bosses' anti-labor drive are the treacherous bureaucrats sitting atop the postal unions.

Since the breakup of the Council of Postal Unions in 1974 the postal union bureaucrats have reinforced craft divisions between the two unions by signing mutual scabbing deals and calling on the bosses' courts to settle intra-bureaucratic squabbles over certification rights. Management has used the gradual introduction of technological change--hitting the more concentrated CUPW inside workers first, while affecting LCUC carriers later--to help exacerbate the divisions among postal workers. The LCUC bureaucrats have played along--contenting themselves to leave CUPW to "go it alone" against the bosses' automation drive.

While management hammers away at the CUPW, the LCUC tops have been busy participating in the class-collaborationist Intergroup Development scheme. For his efforts at promoting "industrial harmony" through joint union-management consultations, LCUC national president Robert McGarry has been praised by both the postal bosses and the bourgeois press. McGarry might be the darling of postal management but his class-collaborationist strategy spells "sellout" for the ranks of the LCUC. Preaching faith in management to resolve the workers' problems, last year the LCUC bureaucrats pushed through a stinking contract providing postal delivery workers with no protection against technological change. This time around, McGarry's plan for the contract talks is identical. Once again the LCUC tops are refusing to reveal their contract demands to their own membership! McGarry applied for conciliation only four days after the contract had expired--no doubt hoping to be able to push through another rotten settlement and leave the CUPW to go it alone. The crucial factors of speed-up and job loss affect all postal workers and should serve as the unifying factor in the fight against the boss and for merger. Despite the best efforts of the LCUC tops, even the bourgeois press is worried that the issue of layoffs "may have LCUC hitting the bricks with CUPW sooner than we think" (Financial Post, 4 February). The same article observes that "Although the letter-carriers union appears complacent, things may change once its members digest the implications of a secret post office report." Contained in the "secret report" referred to by the Financial Post are proposals for the elimination of more than 2,500 letter carriers' jobs through Post Office "rationalization" schemes. The possibility for joint LCUC/CUPW action was demon-

strated last month when a busload of CUPW and LCUC militants (many of them shop stewards) from Toronto went together to demonstrate their solidarity with the embattled Fleck picketers in Centralia, Ontario. The basis for this joint action was laid last December when LCUC militants in Toronto ignored their national leadership's instructions and honored the picket lines thrown up during a 3-day CUPW strike.

The divisions among the postal unions are not simply attributable to the conservative business unionism of the LCUC leadership. CUPW national president Jean-Claude Parrot has also acted to widen the gap between his union and the LCUC. At last year's CUPW convention he opposed a motion calling for merger of the two unions on the grounds of his "deep ideological differences" with the LCUC bureaucrats, thus undermining the unity of the ranks and further isolating his own union.

In contrast to McGarry's open deals with management the CUPW tops have traditionally tried to present a more "militant" face to their ranks by raising demands such as a shorter work week at no loss in pay and for union veto over technological change. But the fake-militancy of the CUPW leadership is designed only to fool the militant CUPW ranks by promoting the illusion that the union brass is fighting back. Despite occasional tough talk, Parrot and the other CUPW misleaders do not even uphold the simple trade union principle on "no contract, no work." CUPW members are now entering their thirteenth month without a contract, thanks to these militant-talking, do-nothing hacks.

In the negotiations Parrot has made a major issue of his sub-reformist demand to have the Post Office designated a Crown Corporation. If Parrot's scheme succeeds, postal workers will be moved from the jurisdiction of the reactionary Public Service Staff Relations Act and come under the slightly less reactionary Canada Labour Code, which permits bargaining over technological change. This servile cringing before bourgeois legality demonstrates the extent of Parrot's "militancy."

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## POSTAL WORKERS NEED A CLASS-STRUGGLE LEADERSHIP

At the June 15 meeting of Toronto LCUC Local 1 Bob McBurney, a class-struggle militant, put forward a motion calling for a delegated conference of all postal unions to elect joint strike and negotiating committees to wage a common contract struggle, to implement a militant strategy of "no contract, no work" and rejection of conciliation. McBurney's motion called for a fight for a shorter work week at no loss in pay (to save jobs and make sure that automation benefits the workforce); a closed shop and a union hiring hall to end the use of non-union labor; a hefty pay increase and a full cost-of-living allowance as well as the withdrawal of Bill C-45 and all pending labor legislation. The class-struggle strategy proposed in this motion is the only way forward to victory against the government's union-busting attacks.

Postal workers are locked in a battle with their employer--the government--and the rest of labor has a stake in standing behind them. Postal militants in both unions must link the fight against their employer to the necessity of a broader political struggle by the entire working class against the government. CUPW and LCUC members need a new leadership--one which, unlike "no-strike" Parrot and "moderate" McGarry, is committed to a policy of uncompromising struggle against the capitalists and their government. Such a leadership must be armed with a program which points the way to the expropriation of the bosses and the establishment of a workers government. ■

## NATO...

(continued from page 2)

Union would not be too popular. The only reason that the U. S. has not dared to militarily overthrow the Cuban deformed workers state and reimpose imperialist hegemony in the Caribbean is because of the existence of the Soviet military counterweight. The RWL's "abstention" from the urgent necessity to defend the Soviet Union in the face of the present imperialist war mongering is tantamount to repudiation of the Trotskyist position of Soviet defensism.

The Trotskyist League defends the Soviet Union because we recognize that the overturn of capitalist property relations in Russia in 1917 (and subsequently in Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, Vietnam and the other deformed workers states) represents an important victory for the international proletariat. The fact that the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states are presently ruled by parasitic bureaucracies does not diminish in the least our determination to defend these gains. The international Spartacist tendency is committed to organizing Trotskyist parties in the Soviet Union, China and the other deformed workers states to lead political revolutions to oust the Stalinist misrulers and forge communist unity against imperialism. ■

## Bureaucrats Abandon Fleck Strikers

TORONTO, July 8--The strike by 80 workers at Fleck Manufacturing Co. outside the small, southwestern Ontario town of Centralia is now entering its fifth month. Since the strike began last March the battle of the Fleck workers, who are mainly women, to win their first United Auto Workers (UAW) contract has evoked widespread sympathy and support throughout the labor movement. Unionists from the UAW and other unions across southern Ontario have walked the Fleck lines and defended the strikers against club-swinging, scab-herding cops.

In the early months of the strike Dennis McDermott and his successor as the Canadian Director of the UAW, Bob White, made some grandstanding statements about throwing the full support of the UAW behind the Fleck strikers. But in April the UAW International and its local henchmen squelched a motion put forward by militants at Ford Oakville UAW Local 707 calling on White to implement his own policies and shut down Ford. Later, the auto bosses won an injunction banning picketing at all Ford plants in Ontario to undercut support for the Fleck strike. The CLC and UAW tops did nothing to fight this sweeping injunction.

Now, the UAW tops are even dropping their episodic and halfhearted demonstrations at Fleck. At a recent meeting of Organized Working Women in Toronto it was announced that White and Co. have changed their strategy, in favor of pressuring the Ontario Tory government to legislate a compulsory dues check-off (a key demand in the Fleck strike) for all union contracts. Since June 23, when postal militants from Toronto demonstrated at Fleck, there has been no organized support on the picket lines from either the UAW or other unions.

Fleck vividly recalls last year's tragic strike of predominantly women auto workers at Essex Incorporated in Elwood, Indiana. Miserably underpaid, the women walked out in April 1977 and for nine months they fought against scab-herding cops and trigger-happy guards who shot and permanently disabled one striker. The Essex strike was a shameful defeat. The union was broken. Scabs hired during the strike kept their jobs and did not have to join the union. Of the 200 strikers, only 50 were immediately called back to work.

The UAW International sold out the Essex strike. The sellout must not be repeated at Fleck. The labor movement must stand behind the Fleck strikers. The UAW must organize daily mass pickets to shut down this strikebreaking firm and enforce a ban on handling scab wiring from Fleck. The International must not be allowed to sell the Fleck strikers short. Victory to the Fleck strike!

## Not Government Bans but Labor Mobilization !

# NO PLATFORM FOR FASCIST NPC!

Swastika-painting, brick-throwing, window-smashing, arson and bombing conspiracies: this is the real, immediate program of the fascist Western Guard Party. Its Hitler-loving publications, speeches and phone-in White Power messages reveal its long-range goals: crushing the trade unions and unleashing genocidal terror against blacks, Jews and other minorities. But the Western Guard is now seeking respectability, disguising itself as the "Nationalist Party of Canada." It is the task of the workers movement to crush these vermin before they can grow.

Two years ago Don Andrews, leader of the Western Guard, and two of his stormtrooper friends were charged with setting fire to a black man's home, conspiracy to bomb an Israeli soccer match at the 1976 Olympics, possession of explosives and possession of stolen cigars! Last February Andrews and Dawyd Zarytshansky were convicted on the explosives, arson, conspiracy and cigar-stealing charges for which they were sentenced to two years and 18 months respectively.

During his nine-week trial Andrews, who had been forbidden by the court to associate with the Western Guard, announced the creation of a "new" political party, the Nationalist Party of Canada (NPC). The NPC is only one more front group for Andrews and his pack of racist psychopaths. In the past they have used other names: Edmund Burke Society, National Socialist Alliance, National Socialist Underground. But their fascist politics haven't changed.

Hoping to capitalize on the rightward political motion in North America, and particularly on the chauvinist anti-Quebec hysteria being whipped up in English Canada, Andrews & Co. are seeking a place as an accepted, albeit extreme, part of the bourgeois political spectrum. To this end these fascist vermin have adopted a new name and are consciously toning down their rhetoric to fit their new image as "suit and tie" fascists. In an interview in the Toronto Globe and Mail of 18 April, NPC spokesman Anne Ladas said the party stood for "Canadian unity, anti-communism and a tightening of immigration laws." But Ladas disclaimed the Western Guard connection, saying, "Just because Mr. Andrews has certain views doesn't mean we are white supremacist."

As part of its search for respectability the NPC is trying to get recognized as an "official" political party. (Anti-democratic legislation in Ontario designed to safeguard the political monopoly of the major parties allows only "official" parties, i.e., those who submit a petition supporting registration

signed by 10,000 voters, to be reimbursed for election expenses). On April 3 it submitted a petition with 13,000 signatures to the Ontario Commission on Election Expenses. A minor scandal ensued when it was revealed that hundreds of the signatures had been signed by the same people.

The Peking-loyal Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) [CCL(M-L)] has joined with the pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Communist Party (CP) to demand that the bourgeois state deny the NPC legal status. The CP even demands that the



state ban the fascists altogether. True to the reformist class-collaborationist heritage of Joseph Stalin which they share, both the CP and CCL(M-L) tell the workers to rely on the presumably class-neutral capitalist state to restrict the rights of, or outlaw, the fascist bands. This cringing before the bourgeoisie can only sow illusions in the "democratic" character of the capitalist government and ignores the bitter lessons of history which demonstrate that any legislation directed against "extremists" inevitably will be used far more frequently and harshly against the left than against the para-military right. The bourgeoisie knows that in times of revolutionary upsurge it may find it necessary to use the fascists as the last line of defense against the proletariat.

It is necessary for the labor movement to mobilize independently of the capitalists to smash

the fascists. Wherever possible the fascists should be denied a platform, and if the balance of forces permits, they should, to use Trotsky's phrase, "be acquainted with the pavement." Those phony socialists like the CP or CCL(M-L) who tell the workers to rely upon the state to deal with the fascists have no claim to the mantle of revolutionary Marxism.

An article appearing in the newspaper of the confused New Left Stalinists of In Struggle! (IS!) reports on the NPC's petition and cites instances of the cops' infiltration of and collaboration with the Western Guard. But in the end IS! fails to take a position on how the working class should deal with the fascists. IS! entirely avoids the question of whether or not to call on the bourgeois state to ban the NPC. In Struggle!'s confusion on the question of fascism is hardly surprising--what else could one expect from a group of muddle-headed semi-Maoists who still can't decide whether the present ruling clique in Peking is a gang of "capitalist roaders" and scabs or a "Marxist-Leninist" beacon for the international working class?

The fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) have nothing to say on the NPC either. The question is one they would no doubt like to avoid--because it could be a source of considerable internal conflict. The League for Socialist Action (LSA)--one of the two founding groups of the RWL--followed its American mentor, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), in defending the "right" of fascists to organize for genocide under the banner of "Free Speech for Fascists." The LSA, like the SWP, hypocritically opposed government bans on the fascists while at the same time calling for U. S. imperialist troops to defend black school children from racist mobs in Boston. The abject reformists of the SWP are above all interested in maintaining their credentials with the bourgeoisie as "responsible" socialists. On the other hand the LSA's fusion partner, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), enthused over the substitutionist confrontations initiated by their European heroes, the Ligue Communiste in France and the International Marxist Group in Britain. These disastrous adventures pitted a handful of leftists against the police apparatus of the capitalist state, which was determined to defend the fascists' "right" to free speech. There may still be a few ex-RMGers left within the RWL who can't stomach the SWP/LSA's ultra-reformist position on the fascists--so the RWL leadership has opted to keep mum on the whole question.

Rather than begging the bourgeois state to deal with the fascists and to protect racial minorities, the Trotskyist League seeks to mobilize the trade-union movement and the oppressed minorities to crush the Nazi scum before they can build a mass base for themselves. It is the workers movement that has the power, and the duty, to drive these rats back into the sewer where they belong. ■

## ANARCHISTS...

(continued from page 3)

of a government which drowned the independent mobilizations of the working class in blood and paved the way for Franco's victory.

The "independent structures" the IMT enthuses over--like the "Mujeres Libres Column," organized to wash and iron at the front--did no more than undertake traditional homemaking tasks with primitive technical means, albeit in a "communal" setting. Mujeres Libres and other anarchist communes and collectives were exploited by the Popular Front government as primitive and inexpensive surrogates for a program of genuine social services. The Popular Front meant the substitution of "different lifestyles" and the "movement of communes"--the "subjective factor" the Bolsheviks so badly "underestimated"--for a real social revolution that would have laid the material foundations for the liberation of women from domestic drudgery.

The IMT excuses the anarchists by claiming the Civil War "was an obvious impediment to the application of the program which was advanced." But even those reforms which were a burning necessity from a military standpoint, such as the integration of women into heavy industry were eschewed by the Popular Front government which would rather let Franco win than directly confront the heritage of sexual oppression. In 1937, D. A. de Santillan observed in his After the Revolution: Economic Reconstruction in Spain Today, that the treatment and condition of women, even in anarchist areas, was little different than it had traditionally been.

The IMT embraces Mujeres Libres not only because it is more palatable to the counterculture feminists the IMT hopes to woo than the stodgy Bolsheviks. The capitulation of ostensible Trotskyists in France to the Union of the Left has revived a new "historical" appreciation of the Spanish anarchists and the POUM (e.g., The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain by Emile Termine and Pierre Broué--a well-known supporter of the Organization Communiste Internationaliste).

Perhaps it was the subordination of Mujeres Libres to the Spanish Popular Front that makes it appear to the IMT as "the most advanced historical example." Alternative lifestyles and the "movement toward communes" which in no way challenge capitalist property relations are entirely compatible with the program of the popular front today in France, just as they were in the Spanish Civil War. The Popular Front strangled the revolutionary initiative of the masses and gave Spanish women nothing but Franco. The Bolsheviks, whose work among women the IMT must slander and distort, were the leaders of the only successful proletarian revolution in history which opened the road to the emancipation of women from the enslavement of class society.

Bolshevik greetings,  
Jane Klancy.

## CUPW/LCUC MUST UNITE TO SMASH GOVERNMENT OFFENSIVE

# For a Nationwide Postal Strike!

On June 30, the 22,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) began their second year of working without a contract. The same day, the contract of the other major postal union, the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) expired. The postal workers are working without a contract at a time when the Trudeau government is preparing to lower the axe on public employees with a new piece of anti-labor legislation. The proposed legislation (Bill C-28) is designed to clamp a new wage controls program on government workers and further restrict their right to strike. If the capitalist politicians have their way, the CUPW will be the first to the chopping block.

For years the government and the postal bosses have relentlessly pursued a campaign to bust the militancy of the postal workers through speed-up, layoffs and the wholesale junking of traditional union work rules. The CUPW is threatened with the loss of up to 6,000 jobs--a quarter of the entire union membership--when and if Post Office management can ever get its multi-million dollar automation program working properly. With private courier services eating into parcel post delivery, management is trying to saddle postal workers with the blame for its inability to make the automated facilities perform efficiently, while at the same time the bosses step up surveillance and harassment. Meanwhile the bourgeois press is busy drumming up public hostility to the CUPW, scapegoating postal workers for every ill imaginable--theft, vandalism, sabotage of the postal system, etc.

Yet despite the treachery of the postal union bureaucrats, the government's attempts to cripple the union and demoralize the ranks have thus far met with failure. It is this failure that motivated the current spate of anti-union laws which make the postal unions the first target. The government has already passed Bill C-45, banning postal strikes during federal elections and is currently pushing legislation to end automatic indexing of pensions for government workers before age 60 as well as Bill C-26 to legalize mail tampering by the RCMP.

### FOR POSTAL WORKER UNITY AGAINST ANTI-UNION ATTACKS!

The last CUPW strike in 1975 was one of the first major union confrontations with the government's "anti-inflation" program. For 42 days CUPW members pounded the pavement, in the end to return to work with a lousy contract which was virtually identical to the offer made by the government at the beginning of the strike. The defeat of the 1975 CUPW strike (which could have provided a

spearhead for a national labor offensive to smash wage controls) was due above all to the criminal passivity of the Canadian Labour Congress tops and the rest of the labor bureaucracy which refused to lift a finger in defense of the CUPW.

Today in the "de-controls" period the government is using the same strategy--taking on the most militant sector of the public workers to set the stage for the implementation of its anti-labor legislation. The 1975 CUPW contract settlement set the



LCUC, CUPW MILITANTS MARCH TOGETHER ON FLECK PICKET LINES

precedent for the labor brass's acceptance of the wage controls program. A defeat for the CUPW in the current round will clear the way for the renewed government attacks on all workers. Postal management is seeking to use the current round of negotiations to impose "take-backs" on the CUPW. The bosses want the right to employ an unlimited number of casuals--non-union workers--and to contract out work in the Post Office to non-union firms. It is vital for the future job security of all postal workers that these attacks be smashed.

Postal workers must not be left to stand alone against the government! The CUPW must not be defeated! Joint CUPW/LCUC strike and negotiating committees must be set up immediately to prepare for a nationwide strike of all postal workers. As the initial targets of the government's anti-labor laws and the most strategic section of public employees, postal workers must seize the initiative in the fight against anti-strike legislation and the proposed wage controls bill by striking now! Combined with an aggressive campaign to mobilize the rest of labor against government attempts to break such a strike, a nationwide postal strike would point the way forward to the defeat of the government's anti-labor drive and would also lay the basis for merger of the postal unions into one industrial union.

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