

# 4 SPARTACIST

CANADA FEBRUARY 1979 No.33 25¢

## Down with the Mullahs! Down with the Shah's Generals!



## Workers Must Rule Iran!

FEBRUARY 29—After a year of massive strikes and tumultuous demonstrations, the despised shah of Iran fled the country on January 16. Throughout Iran jubilant demonstrators representing nearly every segment of society poured into the streets to celebrate the downfall of the Pahlavi "dynasty."

Yesterday Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini leader of the anti-shah Islamic movement made his triumphal return to Teheran. This sets the stage for a bloody showdown between the millions of Khomeini's followers and the pro-shah officer corps.

The civilian government headed by Shahpur Bakhtiar that the shah left behind commands virtually no respect from either the military or the masses in the streets. The absence of an attempted coup is due to the unreliability of the conscript ranks of the armed forces. The generals may still brave a split in the army, even if it reaches into the officer corps, plus massive popular resistance, in order to launch one last desperate attempt to

drown all opposition to their authority in blood.

If actual civil war erupts in Iran then revolutionary Marxists must give military support to the forces rallied by the mullahs. Relentless political opposition to the middle class and religious obscurantist program of Khomeini is the sine qua non for the building of proletarian revolutionary forces to rip the Iranian nation from the hands of all oppressors and exploiters. Therefore, if the prolonged upheaval goes over into military conflict between the monarchian forces of the higher military and police officers, the nouveau riche, the minorities, etc. and the vast mass of the Iranian people, then the Marxists must seek to use their military support to the popular forces in order to polarize the popular masses in favor of the working class pole—in short the policy of revolutionary defensism.

(continued on page 12)

## NDP Takes Power... At Rideau Hall

"An insult to the Queen!" screamed the right-wing Toronto Sun. In a surprise political move Pierre Trudeau announced December 7 that Her Majesty's next representative to the Dominion was going to be Ed Schreyer, the former NDP premier of Manitoba. While Schreyer is no less committed to the maintenance of the bourgeois social order than Trudeau or the Queen, his appointment marks a departure from the blue-blooded, geriatric fossils which are usually exhumed for the job. Schreyer himself is rumored to have taken the first communication of his chances as a practical joke.

The news of Ed "I'm no socialist" Schreyer's appointment was greeted with jubilation at NDP headquarters. Federal leader Ed Broadbent was beaming with pleasure. Here was a wonderful opportunity for the NDP to further enhance its respectability in time for the upcoming federal elections. While the NDP has in the past helped keep minority Liberal governments in office in Ottawa, it now has one of its own empowered to dissolve the government at will!

Broadbent must be wishing that the appointment had been made a couple of months earlier. If it had, he really would have had something to brag about at last fall's conference of the Second International in Vancouver. For while the Swedish Social Democracy and the British Labour Party have long had cosy relationships with their respective sovereigns neither of them has yet produced a stand-in monarch. The position of governor-general is largely of ritual significance but on occasion the designated representative of the Crown can interfere in the affairs of parliament as Australian Governor-General Sir John Kerr did by dissolving Gough Whitlam's Labor government in 1975. Marxists call for the abolition of the monarchy and with it the post of governor-general in Canada--while for the contemptible royalists of the NDP ascension to Rideau Hall represents the ultimate pork chop.

While Broadbent is delighted with Schreyer's appointment the NDP loyalists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) are probably not so grateful. After all the selection of an NDP big-wig as



SCHREYER: SOCIAL DEMOCRAT CROWNED

CP

the local representative of the Royal House of Windsor won't make it any easier for the fake-Trotskyists of the RWL to peddle their plans to "Win the NDP to Socialism." However, to look at the bright side the RWLers at least have the satisfaction of seeing the partial realization of another one of their historic goals: "NDP to Power." ■

## Defend the Cossette-Trudels and Lanctot

After eight years in exile, Jacques Lanctot and Jacques and Louise Cossette-Trudel, three former members of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ), recently returned to Canada to face charges stemming from the October 1970 kidnapping of former British Trade Commissioner, James Cross. In response to the kidnappings of Cross and the former Quebec Labour Minister, Pierre Laporte, whose corpse was later found in the trunk of an automobile, the Trudeau government imposed the draconian War Measures Act. While the army occupied Montreal, police rounded up more than 450 leftists and nationalists in the course of over 3,000

raids. In December 1970, Lanctot and the Cossette-Trudels were flown to Cuba in exchange for handing Cross over to the government unharmed.

Leninists have always opposed individual terrorism as an impotent strategy which is both substitutionist and inevitably counterproductive. As happened during the "October Crisis," such acts very often provide a pretext for the capitalist state to mobilize its instruments of mass terror and repression against the working class, the left and oppressed minorities. Nevertheless, the kidnappings of Cross and Laporte--both symbols of capitalist

(continued on page 5)

# Anti-Gay Witchhunt

## Body Politic on Trial



BODY POLITIC DEFENDANTS AT RALLY: KEN POPERT, GERALD HANNON AND ED JACKSON

On February 14, more than a year after the morality squad cops raided its Toronto office, the verdict in the Body Politic trial will be handed down. The publisher of the widely-circulated gay liberation journal, Pink Triangle Press, and its three officers were charged under two sections of the Criminal Code with possession of "obscene" material and the distribution through the mails of material that is "obscene, indecent, immoral or scurrilous."

The jackboot raid on the Body Politic offices, when cops seized twelve crates of documents, including subscription lists, made a mockery of even bourgeois "justice." The raid which sought to disrupt publication of Body Politic, was a de facto execution of the sentence in the guise of obtaining the evidence for then-as-yet-unlaid charges! In June, the Supreme Court upheld the legality of this sweeping search warrant by refusing to hear the paper's appeal against lower court decisions. The proceedings surrounding this dubious warrant alone set a frightening legal precedent --the state now has the court-sanctioned "right" to raid any publication it wants. It can effectively prevent any publication from continuing to print by seizing all documents necessary for publishing to "study" them as evidence for possible charges.

The trial date for the "obscenity" charges against Body Politic was finally set for January 2nd. Three weeks before the trial began, Toronto police raided the Barracks, a gay bath house, charging three men with keeping a "common bawdy house" and 23 others, including George Hislop, long-time spokesman for Toronto's "establishment" gay community, as "inmates of a bawdy house." It was kept in the news throughout the Body Politic trial by a police sergeant's ham-handed attempt to "purge" four

teachers arrested in the raid by fingering them to their school boards.

### CROWN HARDLINES IT IN COURT

While the defense relied on a number of well-known figures in the medical, academic and literary professions to give testimony defending the article "Men Loving Boys Loving Men"--the tract which prompted the raid on the Body Politic--the prosecution let loose several rabid, reactionary bigots. One of the Crown's star witnesses was Claire Hoy. The notorious anti-gay columnist for the right-wing Toronto Sun repeatedly stressed his "strong personal anti-homosexual bias." Another animal uncaged by the prosecution was Reverend Ken Campbell, evangelical founder of Renaissance International, the group that brought Anita Bryant to Canada.

The defense made a complete buffoon of Campbell, eliciting an admission that he had never read Margaret Laurence's novel The Diviners although he is presently waging a campaign to keep it out of Ontario high schools. While Renaissance advocates the "Socratic" method of education, Campbell argued that Socrates himself should not be allowed to teach in Ontario schools when the defense pointed out that Socrates was a practicing pedophile! In a blatant denial of democratic rights, the Body Politic was repeatedly denied a seat in the press section of the court, although all other media reps were seated.

### "PROGRESSIVE" MAYOR ADDRESSES SUPPORT RALLY

On January 3, 600 people attended a Body Politic support rally featuring Toronto's newly-elected "independent" pseudo-populist mayor, John Sewell. The mayor's appearance at the rally created a furor in Toronto. After thousands of angry phone calls and a death threat, Sewell was forced to request a police escort. But for all the mayor's talk about "freedom of the press" his statement to the meeting (reprinted in the Toronto Star, 6 January) clearly took the pervasive Orange Order mentality of "Toronto the good" into consideration:

"One article in one newspaper may or may not be obscene, seditious, treasonous, or what

(continued on page 4)

## SPARTACIST CANADA

Published by the SPARTACIST CANADA PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, Box 6867 Station A, Toronto, Ontario

Editor: Tom Riley

Circulation Manager: C. Ames

Production Manager: D. Leonard

Business Manager: D. Weinrib

Signed articles do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.  
Printed in a union shop by union labor.

## Body Politic...

(continued from page 3)

have you--that's a question for the courts. But that one incident should not be used to end the life of that publication."

Thus, according to Sewell, the "alternative press" can have all the freedom it wants... as long as it doesn't print anything the capitalist courts deem "obscene, seditious or treasonous"! The mayor also hinted at a possible motivation for his appearance at the rally:

"One thing that makes Toronto viable is that smaller communities are allowed to be nurtured and developed within the larger community... They can be called neighborhoods, or they can be called communities...."

In the playpen of Toronto municipal politics these "communities" and "neighbourhoods" can also be called constituencies. While Toronto is hardly San Francisco, it has been estimated that in the downtown gay community alone there are at least 20,000 homosexuals of voting age--a fact no self-styled "reform" politician can ignore.

Sewell's right-wing brand of liberalism, while well received by the audience, provoked criticism from another featured speaker, Globe and Mail journalist, Joanne Kates. The feminist and food columnist took the mayor to task for his insistence that "it's not illegal to be gay," by pointing out the many forms of legal harassment gays are subjected to. Kates, local New Left "movement" groupie, while correctly linking the current assault on the democratic rights of homosexuals to the capitalist attack on the working class as a whole, ended her speech with the most simple-minded utopianism: "It's everybody's fight right now, and we're going to fight it and we're going to win because we have to." If only the solution to social oppression were so simple....

RWL: SOME MORE VOTES FOR SEWELL?

An article in Socialist Voice (15 January), newspaper of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), reprints large excerpts of Kates' speech. But the RWL was not content to tail this liberal feminist. In a gross caricature of its standard opportunism, Socialist Voice indulges in its own censorship to prop up Sewell's "progressive"

image. Conveniently omitting Kates' attacks on the mayor, Socialist Voice makes favorable mention of Sewell's remarks in favor of amending the Ontario Human Rights Code to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation--whitewashing his endorsement of court censorship.

According to the RWL, "The real issue raised by the trial is the right of gays and lesbians to communicate, build their own culture and control their own press, which is an indispensable tool for their struggle." This is of a piece with the RWL's position that the demands of gays and other oppressed minorities can only be fought for and won by their own organizations and struggles.

During the course of the Body Politic trial the eclectic Maoists of In Struggle! came out in defense of democratic rights for gays "to oppose the reactionaries campaign to blame homosexuals for the problems of capitalism" (In Struggle!, 16 January). But lest anyone think that IS! has broken from the Stalinist heritage of repression of sexual "deviants," IS! hastens to add that: "It should be clear, however, that IN STRUGGLE! does not support in any way the 'open-minded' and favorable stand towards pedophilia (sex between adults and children) contained in the article Men loving boys loving men."

As communists we oppose any attempts to fit human sexuality into the legislated or decreed "norms." The guiding principle for sexual relations between people should be that of effective consent--that is, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion. Communists do not capitulate either to the backward social prejudices of the working class or the vain illusions of the oppressed in the revolutionary potential of isolated social groups.

The struggle against homosexual oppression is primarily a question of opposing discrimination--i.e., a struggle for democratic rights. However that aspect of gay oppression which results from reactionary prejudice derives from the preservation of the nuclear family as the basic social unit of capitalist society. Ending anti-homosexual prejudice and all forms of sexual oppression requires the replacement of the nuclear family with the socialization of domestic work in a classless socialist society. Unlike the miserable opportunists of the RWL, the Trotskyist League does not seek to build the gay "movement" whose program varies from the gay church to the liberalism of Sewell to New Left lifestyle radicalism. Instead we struggle to win left-wing gay activists to the revolutionary program and party which alone can lead the working class and the oppressed forward in the destruction of the oppressive capitalist system.■

## SPARTACIST BRITAIN

Published for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, British sympathising section of the international Spartacist tendency.

Single issues 25¢. Order from/pay to:  
Spartacist Canada Publishing Association, Box  
6867, Station A, Toronto.

## Young Spartacus

Monthly Newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League,  
Youth Section of the Spartacist League

\$2 • 11 ISSUES

Make checks payable to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.  
Box 825, Canal Street Station New York, New York 10013

# Labor Must Defend CUPW!

After smashing the militant Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) strike last October, the Trudeau government has since moved with a vengeance to collect the spoils of its victory and finish the job of breaking CUPW. CUPW national president Jean-Claude Parrot and four national executive board members still face criminal charges which could result in prison sentences of up to two years. They are scheduled to go to court on April 2.

To date at least 12 CUPW members have been fired including one local president and several stewards. More than 700 postal workers have been suspended

and 4,000 others disciplined. As if this were not enough blood for the union-busting postal management, Postmaster General Gilles Lamontagne declared in mid-January that he could really move the mails smoothly if only he could fire 500 more postal workers. His ganguinary appetite is restrained only by the meagre job protection provided for government workers in the Public Service Staff Relations Act (PSSRA).

While the PSSRA principally favors the government, the job protection it does provide will no doubt be further weakened when the Post Office is turned into a Crown Corporation and brought under the Canada Labour Code--one of the long-standing demands of the CUPW bureaucracy. Meanwhile CUPW continues to work under the gun of Bill C-8, the back-to-work law which forced the union back on the job in October and which provides for fake "mediation" and an imposed contract.

In Toronto on January 27, CUPW held a defense rally endorsed by the Metro Labour Council and the Canadian Labour Congress regional office. The rally, followed by a march of 400, was called in



TORONTO DEMONSTRATION TO DEFEND CUPW

SC photo

defense of five fired workers including four stewards, and numerous suspended workers. Parrot, the featured speaker, fed his audience a clever but vacuous speech devoid of any strategy to defend his embattled union. Parrot called for informational pickets and more rallies, including a "big surprise" on Valentine's Day, February 14. The "big surprise" proposal turned out to be a big dud: a day on Parliament Hill lobbying MPs.

Following the defeat of the CUPW strike a motion submitted by Bob McBurney was adopted by the stewards body of the strategic Toronto local of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada, which demanded that "the Ontario Federation of Labour organize a one day work stoppage of its affiliates within 10 days to protest the victimization of CUPW and demand: Hands off CUPW! Drop the Charges! No Reprisals!" Although this motion failed to reach the floor of the November OFL convention as an emergency resolution, it expressed the kind of labor solidarity which is needed if the government offensive against the CUPW and the rest of the labor movement is to be smashed. ■

## FLQ...

(continued from page 2)

oppression--were directed against the class enemy and as Marxists we unconditionally defend those accused of the kidnappings against persecution by the bourgeois state.

At the same time, we draw a distinction between acts directed at the class enemy and acts of random terrorism attributed to the FLQ such as planting bombs in mail boxes, liquor stores and other public

places. Marxists do not defend those responsible for such indiscriminate terror since their victims are not the enemies of the oppressed.

The left and the labor movement must come to the defense of those accused of the Laporte/Cross kidnappings. While Lanctot and the Cossette-Trudels stand trial, four members of the FLQ Chernier cell convicted of assassinating Laporte are still in jail. We demand their immediate release! Drop the charges against the Cossette-Trudels and Lanctot! ■

## OCI Courts SWP

# Broué "Reconstructs Fourth International" in Montreal

Over the weekend of December 8-9 the Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ) held a teach-in in Montreal ostensibly to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International. The featured speaker at the event was Pierre Broué, a prominent leader of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI). But Broué hadn't been sent all the way from Paris just to help commemorate an anniversary with the provincials of the GSTQ. Broué's visit was another move in the OCI's grand strategy for the "Reconstruction of the Fourth International" through a lash-up with the reformist ex-Trotskyists south of the border, the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

It is of course quite appropriate that the OCI should seek to continue its courtship of the SWP through the Canadian back door. Canada has more than once served as the testing ground for factional warfare and/or reconciliation between competing factions of revisionists masquerading as Trotskyists. At the height of the factional warfare which raged in the United Secretariat (USec) in the early 1970's, Canada served as the base for the followers of Ernest Mandel's centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) in North America. Canada was also the home of the IMT's secret (and stillborn) "North American Bureau"--which was supposed to mastermind the political destruction of the SWP. With the subsequent cooling of hostilities and formal dissolution of factions in the USec in 1977, Canada was once again in the "vanguard" of the petty factional maneuvers, as the fusion between the IMT's Revolutionary Marxist Group and the SWP's League for Socialist Action was hailed by both sides as a model of the re-"reunification" of the USec.

One of Broué's main themes throughout the meetings in Montreal was that the SWP was "key" to "rebuilding" the Fourth International. Broué also claimed that the OCI had never considered these social-democratic renegades from Trotskyism as anything but revolutionary. But this is the same SWP of which Stéphane Just (another OCI honcho) wrote in 1962 that "the Cuban revolution... revealed that the SWP leadership had given up building a revolutionary party in the United States...."

The OCI's leading historian, Broué is a past master at dishonestly adjusting the historical record to fit the OCI's current opportunist appetites. Thus to "prove" that the OCI's characterization of the SWP remained consistent he baldly asserted that "we have never looked to build a new SWP." Thus Broué hopes to disappear the history of the OCI's

affiliation until 1971 with Gerry Healy's International Committee which sought to build a competitor to the SWP in the American Committee for the Fourth International (ACFI), subsequently renamed the Workers League.

At the GSTQ teach-in a spokesman for the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) confronted Broué's willful distortion of the history of the OCI and pointed out that it was not the SWP that had changed but the OCI:

"Today we have the denial of the OCI's own history. In 1962 Stéphane Just wrote that the SWP was through, as far as the American revolution was concerned. Today, we hear that the SWP



BROUÉ WOOS SWP IN MONTREAL

SC photo

and the USec are Trotskyist organizations. Comrades, when? When did the SWP change? You have to answer that. It hasn't changed. You have hooked up with it on its rightward trajectory... the OCI has joined up with the rightward-moving SWP and this was concretized in Portugal where the OCI and the SWP... put themselves in the service of counterrevolution. Of course, it was for different reasons: the SWP capitulated to its own bourgeoisie and the OCI to social democracy."

It is the OCI's continuing rightward degeneration

## **Socreds Bill 46**

# **Bennett Goes After B.C. Labor**

VANCOUVER--A strike/lockout of 250 school workers in West Kootenay provided a convenient pretext for British Columbia's Social Credit government to launch its latest attack on organized labor in B.C. The strikers, members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, were ordered back to work under a new strikebreaking law, Bill 46, passed in an emergency session of the provincial legislature, December 8. But the Socreds were not content with merely busting the school employees strike. The back-to-work legislation included a "surprise" legislative amendment bringing all workers at every public school, college and university in the province under B.C.'s Essential Services Disputes Act. The essential services law, Bill 92, enacted following a militant strike by B.C. ferry workers in October 1977, empowers the provincial government to call a halt to strikes of any provincial government workers, as well as firemen, hospital workers, bus drivers, ferry workers, gas and electric workers and many thousands more.

The Socreds' latest anti-labor law occurs in the context of the Trudeau government's attacks on public sector workers across the country. Trudeau picked the postal workers as the prime target and smashed the CUPW strike last October in order to clear the way for the imposition of wage controls on all government workers. Now the right to strike for thousands of workers in B.C. is on the line.

All of B.C. labor must be mobilized to smash Bill 46 and bury the essential services law. But the B.C. labor tops have no intention of waging a militant fight against the Socreds. Screaming

foul at the Socreds for shattering his hopes of cooperating with the government "to improve the labor relations scene in B.C.," Jim Kinaird, newly-elected president of the British Columbia Federation of Labour (B.C. Fed), complained "it is now clear that we placed our trust in the wrong people." In retaliation the "hoodwinked" B.C. Fed leadership is gearing up its campaign to put the "right people" in power--the right-wing social democrats of the NDP.

But the Socreds are only finishing a job begun by the Barrett NDP government they defeated in 1975. The NDP voted against the Socreds' Bill 46, but three years ago the Barrett government engineered the single largest strikebreaking act in B.C. labor history when it legislated 60,000 teamsters, supermarket employees, forestry and construction workers back to work. In keeping with this tradition, provincial party leader Dave Barrett intervened in the school workers strike to plead with the strikers to go back to work if the school board lifted the lockout.

The Socreds are determined to tame the militant and powerful B.C. trade unions. The only response of the trade-union bureaucracy has been to hold a series of impotent protest rallies around the province. The labor brass is primarily concerned with channeling opposition to Bill 46 into votes for the NDP in the next election. Workers must fight to replace the pro-capitalist social-democratic hacks who dominate the B.C. labor movement with a class-struggle leadership which is willing to mobilize the industrial strength of the unions to smash the Socreds' union-bashing anti-labor laws.■

that had led it into the arms of the social-democratic SWP. The struggle against Pabloism began in 1951 with the French section, the organizational progenitors of the OCI, the Parti Communiste Internationaliste. The SWP joined this struggle only two years later, resulting in the split of the Fourth International in 1953. The anti-Pabloite forces regrouped under the banner of the International Committee. The SWP, in transit to reformism, defected from the IC in 1963 and reunified with the Pabloites to form the United Secretariat. In Montreal Broué took pains to make it clear that the OCI, in its own transition to reformism, has closed the books on its fight with Pabloism and is seeking reconciliation with the USec. Repeatedly referring to this gang of revisionists as the "Fourth International" Broué credited the USec's "continuity" with Trotsky's Fourth International to the OCI:

"I state, in my opinion, my absolute conviction is

that without the struggle begun in 1950 by those who were at that time the majority of the French section, a struggle which was the beginning of the Organizing Committee, without this struggle the liquidationist elements, that is those who wanted to revise the program of the Fourth International in order to abandon its very name, it is very probable that without our struggle the former would have made the decisive step from revisionism to liquidation....

"It is because they continue to claim the mantle of the Fourth International that today, as 20 years ago, militants and organizations attached to the United Secretariat constitute, in different degrees, the bricks and indispensable materials for rebuilding the Fourth International."

Here in the image of "bricks and indispensable materials" we find the centrist methodology which

(continued on page 10)

# Discussion on Trotskyism and the CCF/NDP

We reprint below an exchange regarding the draft introduction to our recently published Revolutionary Trotskyist Bulletin No. 3: Trotskyism And The CCF/NDP. Prior to its adoption at the Trotskyist League of Canada's Second National Conference (see Spartacist Canada No. 28, July-August 1978), the draft introduction was circulated to other sections of the international Spartacist tendency. Two comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain who had played a formative role in the research and preparation for RTB No. 3 sent their views on the introduction in this letter dated 26 July. [The letters are slightly abridged and edited for style. Subheads and words in brackets have been added.]

\* \* \* \* \*

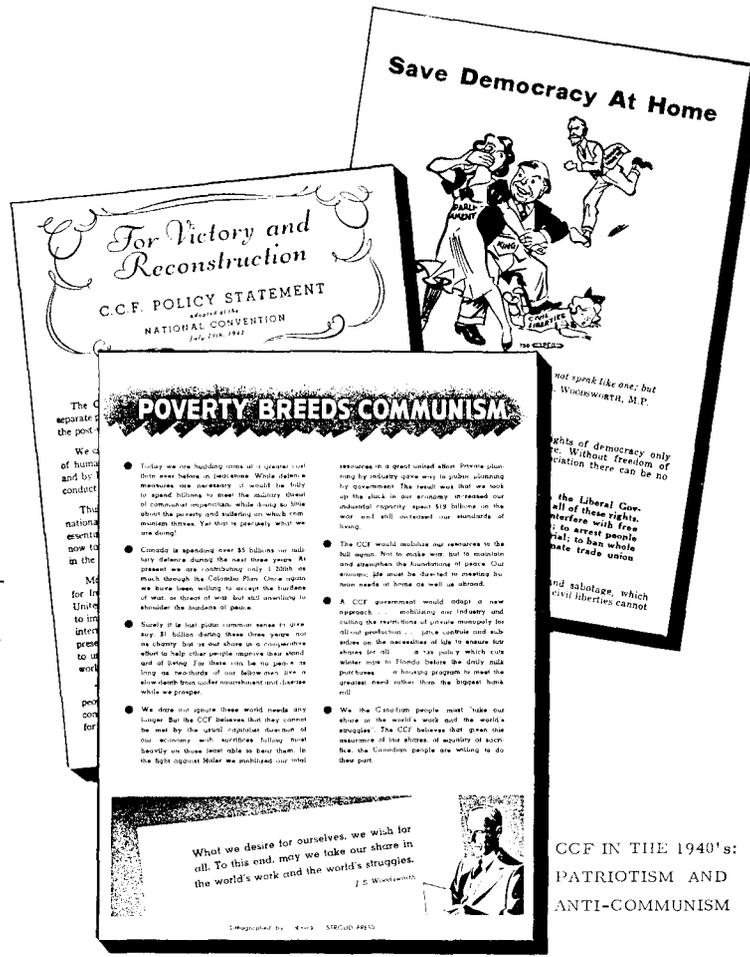
London  
26 July 1978  
TLC  
Toronto

Dear Comrades:

This is written a bit hastily, as I expect your copy deadline for the introduction to RTB No. 3 is rather soon. Overall the introduction is good, and some of these comments are pretty minor. They incorporate some written comments from Arnie (which I've edited) as well as some of my own thoughts, stemming from several discussions with Arnie and to a lesser extent with other comrades here. Arnie has gone over the final draft of this letter.

## SOCIAL CHARACTER OF THE CCF

What we both thought was the biggest single problem was that the CCF's [Co-operative Commonwealth Federation] role in linking up with the CCL [Canadian Congress of Labour] bureaucracy to defeat the CP in the industrial unions and the immediate aftermath was understated. While this doesn't change the basic correctness of the "petty-bourgeois social-democratic" characterization [of the CCF], it is important for understanding how the CCF became the NDP [New Democratic Party], a full-fledged (although weak) social-democratic party.



The early CCF relied almost exclusively on the financial and electoral support of the prairie farmers and actually discouraged trade-union affiliation (which the ossified, pro-Liberal Party craft-union bureaucracy of the Trades and Labour Congress was not about to grant in any case). But it faced a growing and formidable opponent in the Stalinist Communist Party [CP] which during much of the late 1930's and the war years sought to make a political bloc with the Liberals against the CCF. The CP was a significant force in the trade unions, especially in the new industrial unions organized in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which became the CCL through a merger with another union federation in 1940.

These new industrial unions underwent an explosive growth in the wake of the rise of the CIO in the U.S. and some were under the leadership of the CP. Faced with this development the CCF bureaucracy changed tack. It began to actively seek union support, linking up with the right-wing leadership of the CCL in an anti-communist alliance. As the CP was displaced from its leading positions in the industrial unions and hounded out of the mainstream of the labor movement during and in the aftermath of World War II, the CCF effectively became the arm of the CCL bureaucracy (which, however, remained a minority within the union movement as a whole). But, in contrast to "classical" European social democracy, the CCF took great pains to ensure that the

unions would not "dominate" and that the CCF would continue to retain its peculiar, federative structure. Not only was the CCF organized into provincial parties with almost complete autonomy but its constituency representation made the various parties a hodge-podge of farmer, labor and community-based affiliates....

#### SPECTOR AND MACDONALD

Arnie and I both thought that [the "Introduction"] came off too negative in tone against Spector and MacDonald. While they were "perennially unstable," they were key figures in the founding of Canadian Trotskyism and in Spector's case, somewhat important internationally. Despite its problems we want to assert that the tradition of the early Canadian Trotskyists is our tradition, not the Pabloites! Despite all their weaknesses the basic contribution of Spector and MacDonald to Marxism in Canada remains--to have been the key founders of the Trotskyist movement in this country amid the vicious attempts of the Stalinists to smash it through thuggery and slander.

#### THE CCF AND WORLD WAR II

We thought you should have something in the "Introduction" about how the CCF sought to undercut the CP to the left during the war and how at the time Canadian Trotskyists saw this as something of an opportunity for themselves. The CCF supported the war while simultaneously using the slogan "Conscript wealth and manpower" to feign some opposition to the virulently social-patriotic anti-strike CP. During this period the Trotskyists had some important political oppor-



Labour Challenge

JACK MACDONALD



Labour Challenge

MAURICE SPECTOR

tunities. In Montreal they played a leading role in winning a whole section of workers away from the clericalist Catholic union federation to the CIO. However, the Trotskyists failed to differentiate themselves sufficiently from the political program of the CCF.

I am leery about [the statement in the original draft introduction]: "The CCF's record of war-time social chauvinism decisively precluded critical electoral support in 1945." I'm not (and

neither is Arnie) familiar enough with the concrete situation in Canada at the time, but I'm worried about the baldness of this statement. Take Britain after World War II when the Labour Party had been equally vehement in its pro-war stance and had been in the national coalition government which prosecuted the imperialist war. Yet in the election of late 1945, the LP said, in effect: "All-right, the war is over now, there is no more need for coalitions. Now we can get on with the task of fighting for 'socialism.'" The elections, which the LP won, proved to be a major class polarization and the British Trotskyists of the time gave them critical support.

I can't say at all whether the situation in Canada was analogous and certainly all proportions must be guarded; the CCF was hardly the British Labour Party! But [as stated in the draft "Introduction"] critical support to any social-democratic party which in the immediate past supported the prosecution of an imperialist war would seem to be precluded. Arnie has a rather different emphasis on this whole question: that it was essential for the launching of the RWP [Revolutionary Workers Party] to break from previous, confused support of the CCF and adopt a position of no support in this period--i.e., internal considerations of the Trotskyist movement were paramount.

Comradely,  
John Masters

\* \* \* \* \*

Toronto  
29 September 1978

Dear John and Arnie:

Here is an unfortunately very late reply to your letter concerning RTB No. 3 on the CCF/NDP. Your letter arrived in the final stages of producing the bulletin so that we were only able to incorporate those suggestions which appeared crucial. In particular we found your comments on critical support to the BLP and the CCF after World War II to be important. The CCF was not the BLP and we would probably not want to give it electoral support under the circumstances. But it does appear that our criteria for withholding critical support, namely that the CCF supported World War II, is indeed too categorical. Since we did not have time for a complete discussion on it before our bulletin appeared we postponed taking up the question in this edition.

I don't really understand your points on us being too negative on Spector and MacDonald. We do indeed stand in their tradition and the tradition of early Canadian Trotskyism. And it should be added not despite its problems, but with its problems. The heritage of Canadian Trotskyism is very mixed. Only through an unflinching, critical evaluation of that tradition can Trotskyists in Canada learn from and transcend their not unblemished heritage. Spector was not "North America's

(continued on page 10)

## CCF/NDP...

(continued from page 9)

Lenin." Spector and MacDonald; like so many of the initial cadres of the Left Opposition, some of whom like the French communist Rosmer, were cadres of international stature, were unable to make the transition from leading large communist parties to starting anew with small propaganda leagues. MacDonald, a mass workers leader, was particularly out of place in the tiny and often isolated Canadian Trotskyist movement. Spector became an Abernite and left revolutionary politics on the eve of the decisive historic test of the second imperialist world war.

The question which we may have a real disagreement on is the early relation of the CCF to the labor movement and the specific weight of farmers in the party. It is not true that the CCF was solely a party of farmers. If it were, the party would not have ended up where it did. For example, while in 1935 the CCF got twenty-one percent of the vote in Saskatchewan and eight percent in Ontario, given the greater population of Ontario over rural Saskatchewan, the CCF got twice as many votes in Ontario as they got in Saskatchewan. Ontario contains the greatest concentration of industrial workers in Canada and it was from there that the CCF got the bulk of its votes.

Of all the provinces where the CCF had support the only one dominated and controlled by the farmers was Saskatchewan. Elsewhere the so-called "socialist" elements had control, hence the need for a federated structure. The national leadership realized that it could not rest on the farmer vote and needed to broaden its base. You tend to portray the CCF as a union-baiting farmers' organization. But the CCF was neither hostile to the trade unions nor without modest labor support. The program of the CCF represented the victory of the social-democratic elements over the farmers. It set a certain direction for the party. Also, the base of the CCF tended to be more active in the 1930's giving the CCF more of the character of a mass movement than the electoral machine which is the NDP today.

I agree with what you had to say about the labor bureaucracy using the CCF as a Cold War witch-hunt weapon to drive CP influence out of the unions, especially the strategic industrial unions affiliated to the CIO. Unfortunately we were not able to integrate your comments into the bulletin at the last moment.

Although it might not be apparent from the tardiness of our reply we really did find your letter very helpful in the preparation of the RTB.

Comradely,  
Michael Cranston

## Broue...

(continued from page 7)

has always characterized the OCI's "reconstruction" project even when it was a healthier organization. For the OCI "reconstruction" meant assembling the old pieces, the "bricks" of the pre-1953 Fourth International, and putting them back together again irrespective of the programmatic degeneration these "bricks" may have undergone under the impact of Pabloite revisionism.

For the OCI the Fourth International is little more than a label: the USec might have changed the program, but it still claims the name. But Ernest Mandel, the USec's leading light, was only too eager to trade in even the name for a hoped-for regroupment with the patriarch of anti-Trotskyist revisionism, Michel Pablo and his current social-democratic followers. As an iSt spokesman pointed out:

"Two years ago, Mandel, in a French paper, Politique Hebdo, explained that he was ready to abandon all labels, he was speaking about the label of the Fourth International, if he found in 24 hours an organization which wanted to make a deal with him. He was speaking of the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié] at the time, a social-democratic organization. Today we have comrade Broué who says to us: 'Okay, the USec is

for the Fourth International, we are for the Fourth International, so let's talk.' At bottom it's the same method.

"The question of the Fourth International is the question of knowing on what program the Fourth International was founded in 1938. It is not a question of labels. It is not a question of common references. It is a question of program.

"What is the program of the United Secretariat? Comrade Broué explained to us: 'They didn't succeed in liquidating the Fourth International.' But I say, yes! They did succeed in organizationally destroying the Fourth International. And it is against that that the OCI fought for years and now we have the definitive capitulation of the OCI to the USec."

Today the OCI engages in the same unprincipled maneuvering and horse-trading it once fought against. In her intervention at the GSTQ conference an iSt spokesman concluded:

"Following your orientation to the United Secretariat, you renounced all pretension to being an anti-Pabloite tendency. In contrast, we of the iSt take up once again the anti-Pabloite fight against the liquidation of the revolutionary party. We continue the international struggle to reforge the Fourth International, which is politically homogenous, democratic centralist and based on an authentic Trotskyist program."■

# 100,000 Students Strike Against PQ

In one of the most militant student strikes in North America since the sixties, thousands of students from community colleges (CEGEP) across Quebec walked out for six weeks during November and December to protest a Parti Québécois (PQ) government white paper on college education. The PQ's white paper proposed a whole series of budget cuts which would establish more direct control over the academic life of the CEGEPs and reduce the accessibility to higher education in Quebec. In particular, the report advocated establishing more restrictive enrollment quotas and tying bursary allocations to the needs of business.

The strike began in Rimouski on November 7, but rapidly spread to other CEGEPs across the province. By the end of November close to 100,000 students were out on the streets demanding free tuition and guaranteed bursaries indexed to the cost of living for all students. While the strike was strongest among French-speaking students it is significant that it was joined by students at least one English-language CEGEP (the Lennoxville campus of Champlain College).

When he was hustling votes to boost the bourgeois nationalist PQ into power, party leader René Lévesque wooed Quebec students with the promise of free education. Now that the PQ is in office, Lévesque has dropped his populist appeals to student voters in the name of the "economic stability" so necessary to marketing the bonds of an "independent" capitalist Quebec on Wall Street. When the CEGEP students struck in protest against the white paper, PQ Minister of Education, Jacques-Yvan Morin castigated them for their "greed" and wailed that if the students won their demands it would cost the government \$204 million. So much for free education. Meanwhile 600 students from Rimouski rallied on November 15 (the second anniversary of the PQ's electoral victory) and burned copies of the PQ's program and its white paper on education.

The PQ hardlined it from the beginning. At least three student occupations were brutally broken up by the police. On November 23, 1,000 students who had marched to the Ministry of Education offices in Montreal to press their demands were forced to call off a brief occupation of the offices under threat of a riot squad attack.

The following day Lévesque told 3,000 students at

Laval University that the government had no intention of knuckling under to the CEGEP students' demands. Nevertheless, Lévesque would prefer not to alienate Quebec's student population which comprises an important part of the PQ's popular base. Therefore, early in December the government announced a few cosmetic "reforms" in its student aid program--a promise to "take into account" high student unemployment and a minimal reduction in the parental contribution to educational costs. By mid-December the strike had fizzled out at most colleges.

Students by themselves lack the social weight to wring significant concessions from the capitalists and their government. The PQ's education cutbacks are of a piece with its attacks on public sector unions and its record of strikebreaking. The same cops that were sent in to break up the student occupations have been repeatedly used by the PQ to herd scabs and break strikes. Thus Marxists seek to link the fight against educational cutbacks on campus to the struggle of the labor movement against the bosses' across-the-board austerity offensive.

Lévesque once held out the promise of "free education" to win student support for the PQ's program of bourgeois nationalism. Today however this promise has been ripped up and Lévesque is making it perfectly clear that it is the working class, the exploited and the oppressed that are supposed to foot the bill for "sovereignty" for the Quebec bourgeoisie.

Despite the PQ's willingness to make demagogic promises of "a better life for all" in an independent Quebec the CEGEP strike demonstrates that Lévesque and Co. are as committed to the maintenance of capitalist class privilege as any other bourgeois politicians. Education will be the right of all and will genuinely serve the interests of the masses of the population only when the workers of Quebec and English-speaking North America unite to sweep away capitalism through socialist revolution. ■

## Trotskyist League Directory

Toronto.....(416) 593-4138  
 Box 7198 Station A, Toronto, Ont.  
 Vancouver.....(604) 733-8848  
 Box 26 Station A, Vancouver, B.C.  
 Winnipeg.....(204) 589-7214  
 Box 3952 Station B, Winnipeg, Man.

# SPARTACIST

CANADA

**SUBSCRIBE! \$2/10 issues**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/Province \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Make check out/mail to: Spartacist Canada Publishing Association, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto

## Iran...

(continued from page 1)

The movement under the control of the Muslim religious establishment (the ulema) in no way offers a "progressive" alternative to the rule of the military. The program of Khomeini is thoroughly reactionary. The reimposition of the veil and the forced seclusion of women; the revival of brutal Koranic "justice"; clerical control over all legislation and persecution of "heretics" like the Bahais and Zoroastrians are only part of what the Muslim leaders have in mind. The military regime installed by the Pakistani ulema in 1977 provides a stark example of what an Islamic state holds in store for the toiling people. The press is censored and errant journalists are flogged in the name of Muslim puritanism. All public meetings, student protests and trade unions are banned. The Baluchi and Paktuni national minorities are persecuted. And of course, leftists are routinely jailed, tortured and murdered.

Khomeini stands for the overthrow of the shah--not of his repressive state apparatus. What this religious reactionary fears most is the destruction of the army which would create conditions of "chaos." Khomeini knows he will need the shah's officer corps to suppress the left, the workers movement, the religious minorities and any and all potential opponents of his Islamic Republic. This high priest of Shi'ite Islam wants to pressure the army so that officers loyal to himself will come to power.

To gain the support of the officer corps, however, Khomeini must quiet their fears of "anarchy in the streets." The mullahs' need to discipline the enraged masses is sharply posed by the numerous popular attacks on the hated secret police, SAVAK, and summary executions of its agents. Khomeini quickly forbade these elemental outbursts of popu-

lar vengeance, and Ghotbizadeh flatly ruled out the use of special tribunals to try the SAVAK torturers. Instead he demanded that the masses must "cooperate with security officers who are striving to preserve law and order" (quoted in New York Times, 18 January)! The plebeian masses' determination that the SAVAK criminals not escape their just punishment gives revolutionaries the opportunity to mobilize the population independently of the Muslim hierarchy.

The Iranian toiling masses have no illusions that the rule of the shah's generals without the shah will be better. There are, however, widespread illusions in the beneficent rule of Khomeini's mullahs. Yet the social program of the Islamic opposition, especially its commitment to feudal enslavement of women, is even more reactionary than the shah's superficial "modernizing" regime. While all manner of opportunists tailed Khomeini, the international Spartacist tendency was unique on the left in giving no support to the religious opposition. Instead we raised the slogan: "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs!"

### KHOMEINI FOLLOWERS TERRORIZE THE LEFT

Events are rapidly confirming our contention that this movement of clerical reaction puts the Iranian left in mortal danger. The 19 January issue of Le Monde contains a graphic account of the suppression of leftist discussion groups by Moslem "shock brigades.":

"On Wednesday we saw one of these groups race through, disrupting everything to cries of 'la hizb, illa hizb allah' ('No party but the party of allah!'): the discussion groups got back together immediately after they had brutally passed through. One student who protested too energetically against these rather undemocratic procedures was beaten right under our eyes with

## RWL Zigzags on Mullahs

**Nov. 27, 1978** Socialist Voice

"An AP dispatch in the November 2 Washington Post states that 'Iran's troubles began early this year when conservative Moslems started demonstrations against the shah's reforms that gave greater freedom to women and redistributed mosque lands to peasants....'

"Intercontinental Press/Inprecor's coverage of events in Iran has given the lie to these outrageous distortions of the revolutionary upheaval that is shaking the very foundations of the imperial butcher's 'Peacock Throne.'"

**Jan. 15, 1979** Socialist Voice

"Khomeyni has been portrayed as arch reactionary. But what are his views? He has called for

the toppling of the regime by strikes and demonstrations. He has called on the ranks of the army to join the revolt. He has ordered the religious hierarchy to donate 50 percent of their tithes to striking workers. He has publicly indicated he places 'no value on agreements that are against the welfare of our nation.'"

**Feb. 5, 1979** Socialist Voice

"The religious leaders, with their extremely backward views on social questions, have no answers. Some of the mullahs have stated their opposition to the existence of 'Marxist unions.' Khomeyni himself has said he is against the legalization of 'subversive groups.' Khomeyni's anti-imperialism too has its limits."

fist blows and kicks and then tossed off the campus."

Le Monde also reports that ostensibly Marxist leaflets and wall posters have been ripped up, while the Washington Post states that on January 17 leftist and Muslim students at the University engaged in a bloody two-hour battle.

During the demonstration on January 19, a correspondent "saw pro-Khomeini marshals wearing yellow armbands stop five Communist groups from joining the march. The gate crashers were forced to roll up their banners and carry pictures of the religious leader. All along the route, Khomeini partisans ripped Communist posters from walls" (Newsweek, 29 January).

#### STALINIST BETRAYALS STRENGTHEN REACTION

The shah collided with the mullahs in the course of his attempt to transform Iran into a sub-imperialist power. Like other bonapartist "modernizing" rulers in the Near and Middle East he attempted to impose state control over religious offices and revenues. He also attempted to emulate a few of the more cosmetic secularizing reforms carried out in a much more serious manner in the 1920's by the Turkish bourgeois nationalist Kemal Ataturk.

But given the Persian monarchy's archaic multinational empire, the shah's modernization campaign was more akin to the abortive efforts of the 19th-century Ottoman sultans than to anything done by Ataturk. In their fight to maintain their privileged caste position and religious authority the mullahs could exploit the manifold contradictions of the so-called "White Revolution": the uneven economic development which brought inflation that ground down the merchants of the bazaar, a stronghold of Muslim traditionalism; the agrarian "reform" which took land from the ulema but which left the mass of peasants just as destitute as before and the token legal rights for women which enraged devout Muslims but actually benefitted only a tiny number of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women.

How is it that Khomeini's Muslim fundamentalism and demagogic populism have acquired such a hold over the Iranian masses? It is not simply the social backwardness of much of Iranian society but the historic inability of the Iranian left to provide revolutionary leadership in the struggle against the shah. The Stalinist Tudeh party betrayed the proletarian upsurge of the 1940's, breaking the 1946 oil workers' strike, in the service of the Soviet bureaucracy's diplomatic maneuvers. In the early sixties, when the USSR began to sell arms to, and buy natural gas from, the shah, the Tudeh party became apologists for the regime, advocating the "reform" rather than the overthrow of the autocracy. A whole generation of youth, repulsed by this betrayal, turned to Maoism. But they in turn became cynical apologists for such "state to state" relations when Peking consummated its alliance with the shah in 1971. The guerrillaists,

who had written off the Iranian proletariat as hopelessly terrorized and corrupted, then made a "turn" to the working class--on the basis of class-collaborationist "anti-imperialism."

#### IRANIAN STUDENT LEFT: APOLOGISTS FOR KHOMEINI

All wings of the Iranian left student movement, which is dominated by Maoist/nationalist politics, have given their support to the mullahs in their opposition to the shah. In every case they attempt to justify this disgusting--and suicidal--class collaboration by suppressing the reactionary program of the anti-shah opposition and playing up Khomeini

### Khomeinities Disrupt TL Forum

About 40 Iranian mullah supporters, chanting "Long live Khomeini," disrupted a recent Trotskyist League (TL) forum held on the University of Toronto campus. Enraged by the intransigent Marxist position held by the TL on the events in Iran, these mullah-lovers were clearly interested not in political debate but in prosecuting a jihad (holy war) against Trotskyism.

The international Spartacist tendency has a well-established record of not yielding to physical intimidation and successfully thwarting goon assaults. In this case, resolute rejection of these disruptors could have resulted in the intervention of the campus or city cops. The TL successfully moved the forum to another location where, despite the disruption, it was attended by 30 people.

as an "anti-imperialist." But Khomeini's "anti-imperialism" is as false as that of the Saudi oil sheikhs who merely pressure their imperialist patrons into paying more for their oil while cutting off Saudi Arabia from any Western cultural influence. A number of the Iranian Maoist groups see the attacks by Khomeini's followers on symbols of "Western decadence" as somehow striking a blow against imperialist domination of Iran in a grotesque intersection of Koranic fundamentalism and Red Guard-style cultural nihilism.

The welter of Maoist and ex-Maoist groupings which clutter the "far-left" political landscape in Canada (the Canadian Communist League [Marxist-Leninist], In Struggle!, the Communist Party of Canada [Marxist-Leninist], the Canadian Party of Labour) have all enthusiastically hailed the supposedly "revolutionary" character of the movement which Khomeini is leading while denying, ignoring or downplaying the reactionary nature of the Islamic theocracy which the mullahs are determined to set up.

#### RWL: "CONSISTENT DEMOCRATS" BACK KHOMEINI

The Maoists' commitment to the Stalinist strategy of the popular front and two-stage revolution has

(continued on page 14)

## Iran...

(continued from page 13)

led them to support a reactionary opposition to the shah. However, the pseudo-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) has embraced Khomeini just as enthusiastically as the Maoist-Stalinists. To justify their support to the religious opposition, the RWL and other ostensibly Trotskyist groups have likened Khomeini to figures like Chiang Kai-shek in the 1925-27 Chinese revolution, with whom Leninists could make a united front (i. e., engage in common military action) against reactionaries.

Chiang Kai-shek, although just as demagogic as Khomeini, was forced to fight against the feudalists, who were backed by the Western imperialists. But Khomeini stands for the reimposition and strengthening of feudal institutions (e. g., return of lands to the Islamic hierarchy) and effectively supports outlawing the communists. Now that the shah is out of the way, Khomeini's followers are terrorizing student leftists. Far from being bourgeois nationalist, Khomeini's movement is analagous to a clerical-fascist party, such as ruled Austria in the 1930's. In fact the pro-German Austrian Nazis (opposed to the clerical-fascist regime) demanded the separation of church and state, thus making them more formally democratic than Khomeini on this fundamental question!

It should be obvious that the democratic tasks will not be solved in Iran either under the shah's "white revolution"--which can only be white terror--or the mullahs' Islamic "republic." This is the dividing line between Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution and various propositions for a "democratic state" under the mullahs and the army. Struggle for a constituent assembly? Yes, but fight for one that is not a creature of a theocratic state. And that means a fight against the mullahs, a struggle for proletarian power! Fight for land reform? Yes, but not to redress the cosmetic reforms hated by the mullahs. We call for land to the tiller in the context of a struggle against the shah and against the Islamic clergy, who are among the largest holders of land in Iran!

People's justice for the SAVAK! Teheran has many lampposts and even more victims of SAVAK torture. When the mullahs, in an effort to save the secret police for their own use, say that the tribunals of people's justice must give way to the Islamic court, we say not an Islamic republic but workers' rule!

Most important of all, the workers in their factory committees must break from the leadership of the religious opposition. Unlike the bazaar merchants, the workers have a social organization that provides a ready basis to take up the struggle independently. When Mehdi Bazargan (who has been touted as Khomeini's choice for prime minister) went to the oil workers in the name of Khomeini and allah to ask them to ease up on their strike, he said that he found the workers were "not so religious." Here the ayatollahs and the

generals find useful the Stalinist Tudeh Party, whose leader said recently that the "oil workers follow only Tudeh Party directives" (Newsweek, 29 January). And what are those directives? The Tudeh Party leader finds "no conflict between Communism and Khomeini's vision of an Islamic republic."

The convulsions shaking Iran give the Iranian proletariat the possibility of sweeping away the filth of religious obscurantism, agrarian poverty, national oppression and grinding exploitation, and of leading an offensive against all the oil sheikhdoms, pseudo-socialist military despotisms and dictatorships of "soldiers of Islam" that surround Iran. This requires above all the construction of an Iranian Trotskyist vanguard party steeled in combat against Persian chauvinism and Muslim reaction.■

## RWL Unveiled

The February 2 Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) forum on Iran demonstrated that the erratic, opportunist vacillations of the United Secretariat have plunged the RWL into utter political disarray. Enthusing over the millions of Iranians taking to the streets in opposition to the shah, RWL spokesman Richard DeGaetano characterized the events in Iran as a "vast social revolution" and a "great victory for the masses." Then in an attempt to incorporate the RWL's latest line change DeGaetano stated that there were "strong indications" that Ayatollah Khomeini, the undisputed leader of the mass upsurge which he had earlier claimed to be "similar to the Russian revolution," was an "anti-communist" and the RWL was "unsure of Khomeini's position on women."

The discussion period was initiated by a leading member of the Body Politic Collective. Clearly dismayed by the RWL's incapacity to tell the truth, he asserted that it was obvious what Khomeini's position on women is. Citing the Islamic principles of enforcing the chador (veil) and excluding women from social life, he expressed amazement at the RWL's enthusing over a mass movement led by Islamic reactionaries.

In response, one RWLer admitted that she personally was "fearful of Khomeini coming to power." A second rose to defend the RWL's former position that Khomeini is better than the shah, while a third RWLer asserted that it didn't matter to him what Khomeini stood for because he was "really inspired" by the mass movement. The final speaker in the discussion period was a supporter of the Trotskyist League who responded to the RWL's opportunist infatuation with mass movements irrespective of their reactionary social character, leadership and aims, by commenting that: "I was about as thrilled to see 3 million Iranians carrying 2 million portraits of Khomeini as I was to see 60 million Mexicans cheering for the Pope."

## Loggers...

(continued from page 16)

until the good timber close to the mill was depleted before making its push to convert the workforce into independent owner-operators. With the loggers forced to travel greater distances to cut timber of a poorer quality, the piece-work rate is much more profitable for the company than paying an hourly wage. The company's proposal to expand the owner-operator trade would undermine established union standards of wages, hours and working conditions and eventually threaten the very existence of the union.

Although the company claims that the owner-operator program is purely "voluntary," it is attempting to force its union-busting scheme down the loggers' throats with the backing of the cops, the courts and the scabs. In Fort Frances where the strike was triggered by a wildcat over the introduction of owner-operators into the workforce last July, the loggers stayed out in defiance of an Ontario Labour Relations Board back-to-work order. Fines of \$25 to \$50 for each day the strike continued were immediately levied against the strikers by the Ontario Supreme Court but it didn't get them back on the job.

Confounded by the loggers' determination, Boise Cascade got court-ordered writs allowing the local sheriff to seize the loggers' bank accounts in payment of the fines! However the company's strike-breaking robbery created such an uproar that the Ontario attorney general was forced to call a halt to the bank account seizures. Having failed to force the loggers back to work with its other strikebreaking tactics Boise Cascade began to import scabs from as far away as New Brunswick to get production rolling again.

The LSWU strike hit Boise Cascade's Kenora mill on October 11. But here the bosses did not have to import scab labor, it was supplied from the ranks of another union at the mill, the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU). After agreeing to a contract which included a clause pledging the union to cross picket lines, on November 29, 200 UPIU members charged the LSWU lines. The loggers put up a determined fight but the picket lines were busted and 12 strikers were arrested.

However, UPIU local president, Lyle Hudson, was not happy with the protection afforded his scabs by the local cops and asked that more of the bosses' armed strikebreakers in blue be brought in! His request was granted and over 100 shotgun-toting provincial police arrived to "protect" the scabs. Now scabs are daily shepherded into the mill in company buses with all windows boarded up and surrounded by cops.

The UPIU has a notorious reputation for strike-breaking. Its scabbing was instrumental in busting the Canadian Paperworkers Union strike against the Trudeau government's wage controls in 1975. This treacherous betrayal provoked the outrage of trade unionists across Canada and when UPIU pres-

ident Joseph Tonnelli came to address the 1976 convention of the Canadian Labour Congress over a quarter of the delegates walked out in protest.

Tonnelli's record of betrayal does not stop at scabherding. Recently he pleaded guilty to having embezzled \$360,000 in union funds. In court, this well-connected crook was represented by Jimmy Carter's "Atlanta Mafia"--an influential law firm close to Carter and Griffin Bell, U.S. Attorney General. Although Tonnelli is reviled throughout the labor movement as a scab and a crook he was knighted by Pope Paul for his years of service to the Roman Catholic Church. To each his own.

While UPIU president Hudson pleaded that it was his union's "democratic right" to scab, workers in the four other craft unions at the Kenora mill initially respected the loggers' picket lines. Now, the Canadian Paperworkers Union (CPU) and the International Association of Machinists in Kenora are out on strike with the LSWU to fight their own contract battles. But in Fort Frances, the CPU and the machinists recently voted to accept the company's contract offer and are now crossing the LSWU picket lines.

The Boise Cascade bosses are playing one union off against another to break the LSWU strike. Scabbing will not only spell defeat for the loggers but will weaken all the unions in the face of the company's union-busting offensive. The first principle of the labor movement is respect for picket lines. All workers at Boise Cascade's lumber operation face the same strikebreaking employer and should recognize that by crossing the LSWU lines they are only cutting their own throats. A solid front of all unions in the mills would force the company to back down on its attempts to break the LSWU, and could lay the basis for a single, militant industrial union encompassing all pulp and paper workers.

Victory for the loggers depends on the solidarity of their union brothers and sisters and mass mobilizations on the picket lines to shut Boise Cascade's operations down tight! Railroad workers have refused to take their trains into the struck mill. All transportation workers must follow their lead and refuse to handle scab products from the struck mills. Already 100 loggers have beefed up the picket lines and LSWU strike leader Fred Miron reported that 1,000 to 2,000 could be mobilized. This support must be mobilized now and mass pickets built to shut down Boise Cascade.

**HOT CARGO SCAB PRODUCTS FROM BOISE CASCADE!**

**MOBILIZE MASS PICKETS!**

**VICTORY TO THE LSWU STRIKE!**

## **WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League**

24 issues—\$3; Introductory offer (6 issues)

—Includes *Spartacist*

Order from/pay to: SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.  
Box 1377 G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001

## *Victory to Kenora/Ft. Frances Loggers Strike!*



LOGGERS BATTLE COPS AND SCABS

Daily Miner and News

The battle lines have been sharply drawn in the bitter strike by the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union (LSWU) against Boise Cascade lumber mill operations in the small northern Ontario towns of Kenora and Fort Frances. The company has brought in a strikebreaking army of scabs, security thugs and riot-equipped police. Dozens of strikers have been arrested for their courageous defense of the picket lines and slapped with charges ranging from "assaulting a police officer" to "public mischief."

A Kenora logger reported that cops came pounding on his door at six a. m., hauled him off to the station house for "routine questioning" and then booked him. Ten Kenora strikers were thrown in jail last November and released only after they signed a statement pledging that they would not return to the picket lines. In Fort Frances, a shotgun blast ripped through the wall of a picket shack, barely missing one of the striking loggers.

The loggers have fought back against these repeated attacks by the company, cops and scabs. The wives of the strikers picketed the courthouse and bus depot in Kenora (where company buses pick up scabs daily) on the day of the first court appearance of the arrested loggers. More than 100 loggers from

other centers in northern Ontario joined the Fort Frances picket on January 28 and succeeded in preventing all but a few scabs from getting into the mill. In the meantime, Boise Cascade has offered a reward to anyone with "information" concerning a fire set among newsprint rolls outside the mill, the slashing of tires of scab and company vehicles and the partial derailment of a train headed into the Kenora mill to pick up scab products.

The key issue in the strike is a company attempt to increase the number of owner-operators in the workforce. Wailing over its high production costs in northern Ontario, Boise Cascade wants to cut its costs and boost production by forcing the individual loggers to assume the costs of buying and maintaining their own equipment and by substituting a piece-rate system for the present hourly wage. At the same time, Boise Cascade is taking on the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers (AWPPW) at its lumber mills on the west coast of the U. S. The AWPPW has been on strike for five months against the company's drive to slash wages and enforce a "minimum" three-year contract.

As the LSWU has pointed out, the company waited

(continued on page 15)