

Central America Aflame!

We print below an edited and abridged transcript of a public talk given by Oliver Stephens, Spartacist Canada editor, in Toronto May 7.

Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S.'s Madame Chiang Kai-shek and UN ambassador, wrote a telling little piece a few years ago about a pet butcher of hers, one of those "mod-

**Defend, Complete, Extend
Nicaraguan Revolution!
Kill the Invaders!
Salvadoran Leftists:
On To Victory!**

erately authoritarian" people that the U.S. seeks to support in its holy crusade against communism:

"Hernández Martínez is such a hero. General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, who governed El Salvador from 1931 to 1944, was minister of war...when there occurred widespread uprisings said to be the work of Communist agitators. General Hernández Martínez then staged a coup and ruthlessly suppressed the disorders—wiping out all those who participated, hunting down their leaders. It is sometimes said that 30,000 persons lost their lives in the process.... The traditional death squads that pursue revolutionary activities and leaders in contemporary El Salvador call themselves Hernández Martínez Brigades, seeking thereby to place themselves in El Salvador's political tradition and communicate their purposes."

[—quoted in *Village Voice*, 30 March 1980]

Martínez was truly a nut case, one of the more far out butchers that it has been the displeasure of this world to see. But it is the pathological killers like him who hold state power, with the army and death squads at their disposal, who in the last five years have slaughtered over 120,000 people in Central America. These are the friends of "the free world," the "freedom fighters," that the imperialists



Meiselas/Magnum

hail in their drive to war against the Soviet Union.

Ronald Reagan and his class have their own domino theory: first crush the communists in El Salvador, then smash the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and roll on to getting rid of that thorn in the side of American imperialism, Cuba, just 90 miles off the shore of Florida. It's very much the policy of John Foster Dulles in the height of the Cold War: roll back the communists throughout the world. We in the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) say: The defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America!

Now this drives the fake-lefts and the nationalists absolutely bonkers. They goon us at demonstrations, they call the cops on us. At a demonstration recently in front of the U.S. consulate in Toronto to protest American-backed intervention in Nicaragua we carried a banner reading, "Defend Nicaragua! Complete the Revolution! Kill the Invaders!" The sponsors of the demonstration picked themselves up and marched all the way across the street. In

(continued on page 8)

U.S., France, Britain: Demos Protest Anti-Tamil Terror



Workers Vanguard



Le Bolshévik

Spartacist-initiated protests against Lankan P.M. Premadasa. April 13, National Press Club, Washington, D.C. (left), and April 21, Air Lanka office, Paris (right).

From Washington to London to Paris, wherever Sri Lankan prime minister Premadasa went in his recent tour to pay homage to the Lankan bourgeoisie's imperialist overlords, militant protests initiated by the international Spartacist tendency were there to confront him with angry chants: "Premadasa/Jayewardene—you have blood on your hands!" The demonstrations focused public attention on the vicious state repression of the Tamil minority under the United National Party (UNP) regime of Sri Lankan strongman J.R. Jayewardene.

On April 13 picketers jointly organized by the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Eelam Tamils Association of America chanted "Smash anti-Tamil terror!" and "Stop U.S./J.R. arms deal!" outside the VIP luncheon for Premadasa at the National Press Club. Spartacist placards declared: "For the Right of Self-Determination for the Tamils!", "For a Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Government in Sri Lanka!", "U.S. Hands Off Trincomalee and Diego Garcia!" and "U.S. Imperialists Out of the Indian Ocean!"

When he arrived at London's 10 Downing Street on April 18 Premadasa was confronted by Spartacist

League/Britain-organized demonstrators chanting: "Sinhala, Tamil, men, women—Workers bring down UNP!" Two days earlier a Spartacist contingent joined the Tamil Women's League at the Ceylon Tea Centre to protest the arrest of Tamil activists. The SL/B highlighted the brutal exploitation of the women in Sri Lanka who live in virtual slave-labor camps in the "Free Trade Zone," where unions are outlawed.

In Paris April 21 some 200 demonstrators joined in the protest initiated by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) and supported by the People's Liberation Organization—Tamil Eelam and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council, outside the Air Lanka office. LTF banners and chants proclaimed: "Free the Victims of Anti-Tamil Terror!" "Down with the Anti-Soviet War Drive of Mitterrand and Reagan!" and "France and U.S. Out of the Indian Ocean!"

As the Spartacist spokesman summed up in Washington, D.C.:

"Trincomalee, Diego Garcia are stepping stones in the Indian Ocean to encircle the USSR. Reagan needs allies like J.R. to build his war drive against the Soviet Union. J.R. is willing to squeeze every drop of blood from Sri Lankan workers and peasants if only Reagan will bankroll his bankrupt capitalist system. We're here to mount revolutionary protest against the sinister link between the U.S. government and J.R. Jayewardene, and for revolutionary defense of the gains of October! For military defense of the Soviet Union!"

In Lanka, our comrades are fighting to forge a revolutionary party that will fight in the interests of the stateless "Indian" Tamil plantation workers, the viciously exploited women of the "Free Trade Zone," the Sinhala workers, the peasant masses, the "Ceylon" Tamils of the Northern and Eastern Provinces and all the oppressed. Build the Spartacist League/Lanka! Forward to a South Asian Soviet Federation! ■

	<p>Lanka Spartacist (Sinhala) No. 6</p> <p>Illangai Spartacist (Tamil) No. 3</p> <p>10 Rs./\$1</p> <p>Order from: Spartacist League/Lanka 33 Canal Row Colombo 01 Sri Lanka or Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116 USA</p>
--	--

Defend Montreal Transit Workers!

Quebec Labor Under the Gun

Mussolini boasted that he would make the trains run on time. And the labor-hating Parti Québécois (PQ) leader René Lévesque is trying to do just that by trashing the militant Montreal transit maintenance workers union. When 2,100 transit workers struck on May 10 against management's suspension of a union brother, Lévesque came down with legislation virtually transforming the union into a corporatist appendage of the capitalist state. Five union executive board members were fired. The union was taken over by PQ-appointed "trustees" with full power to "negotiate" contracts and raid union bank accounts. Twenty other unionists were suspended indefinitely while all of the membership faces fines and one-year jail terms.

The transit workers, who have repeatedly fought back against management provocations and anti-labor legislation, have been a constant thorn in the side of Quebec governments—from the Liberals to the PQ. In January Lévesque jailed union president Jacques Morrissette and four executive board members for taking part in a one-day Common Front strike last November. Now under the PQ's draconian Bill 16 (modeled on legislation passed by the provincial Liberal government in the wake of the notorious 1975 Cliche Commission witchhunt) the transit workers have been made virtual slave laborers for Lévesque's bourgeois-nationalist union busters.

This is a blow to the entire workers movement. And it had better be fought now! All of Quebec labor must rally to the defense of the transit workers' right to even have a union, demanding: Drop all the charges! Rehire all those fired! Boot out the PQ's trustees! If Lévesque gets away with this one it threatens a return to the days of Maurice Duplessis—who ruled Quebec with the iron hand of clerical reaction, corruption and savage strikebreaking; to the days when priests ran the Quebec labor movement, preaching from their pulpits on the "sins" of international unionism, and in the name of clerical nationalism, urging economic corporatism through joint associations of workers and bosses.

The PQ has been out-Reaganing Reagan in its "PATCO"-style union-busting attacks on Quebec

labor. The increasingly overt state intervention into the unions by these bourgeois nationalists rivals that of the Duplessis regime. First it was Bill 105, tearing up existing contracts, imposing unprecedented wage cuts and a strike ban on 335,000 Quebec public sector workers. Then the National Assembly came down with Bill 111, a provincial version of the War Measures Act, aimed at forcing defiant teachers back to work by completely eliminating their rights to legal "due process" and threatening



Quebec unionists demonstrate against PQ labor-haters, January 29. Bust the union-buster Lévesque!

mass firings, fines and jailings. And now the PQ has taken over the transit maintenance workers union.

But Lévesque & Co. are sitting on a tinderbox. The Quebec proletariat is the most militant and combative in all of North America. Quebec labor has repeatedly spearheaded nationwide actions including postal and rail strikes as well as the 14 October 1976 one-day general strike against Trudeau's wage controls. This year members of the Common Front unions—the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ) and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ)—repeatedly demonstrated their willingness to fight the PQ's union-busting. So who's letting Lévesque get away with it?

It's the pro-PQ misleaders of Quebec labor who sabotaged and betrayed the Common Front strike, who left the teachers to go it alone and who in the face of Bill 111 ran up the white flag and went begging the PQ for a "negotiated settlement." They didn't get it. Now all of Quebec labor is literally paying. Government workers' pay checks have been

(continued on page 15)

Spartacist Canada

Published by the SPARTACIST CANADA PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X6

Editorial Board: O. Stephens (editor), S. Peters (production manager), J. Clancy

Circulation Manager: B. Owen
Business Manager: M. McPherson

Signed articles do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Printed in a union shop by union labor.

Cold War II Rains on CP Parade

Ordinarily the pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Communist Party (CP) just have to grin and bear it when they find themselves marching side-by-side with the Solidarność-lovers of the left. It's the price they pay to try and get in on the ground floor of the anti-Soviet popular front, from the pro-war "peace" movement to taking up the call to stop Communism in Central America through a "negotiated sellout." But this year on May Day the lights went on in the Kremlin when a contingent of fake-leftists turned up at a CP-dominated march with a banner calling for "Solidarity with Solidarność." With the balance of forces decisively in their favor

little explaining to do, especially one must believe, to some of the trade-union bureaucrats in attendance—like Wally Majesky, president of the Metro Labour Council. After all Majesky regularly finds himself under "Solidarity with Solidarność" banners lending "labor's voice" to the imperialists' Cold War chorus. But they certainly found the man for the job in the *Canadian Tribune's* "labor editor," William Stewart.

In a column entitled "Ultras find friends in strange places" (9 May) Stewart raises the standard Stalinist bogey man of "Trotskyism," griping that the Solidarność contingent was "in reality a motly

[sic] group of Trotskyite splitters." Motley, maybe. Trotskyist, never. This crew, which ran the gamut from ex-Trotskyist-now-social-democrat Ross Dowson to the latest incarnation of Mandelite fake-Trotskyism, the Socialist Workers Collective, to the straight-out third campists of the International Socialists, long ago abandoned any pretense to the hallmark of Trotskyism—Soviet defensism. But they certainly aren't "CIA agents" either, the despicable Big Lie chant of Stalinist goons and others at the demonstration.

For all its cop-baiting apparently the CP would have welcomed some *bona fide* agents of the CIA's Polish company union. Stewart's main complaint is the Solidarity contingent "...did not represent anyone. They do not represent the Solidarność movement in exile, nor do they represent the Polish people of Canada, the CLC, any union or any affiliated body of the labor movement in Canada." So Zygmunt Przetakiewicz could have marched with a placard hailing

NATO, for instance. Or perhaps some genuine Pilsudskiites marching under the eagle and cross?

But then for more than three decades the Stalinists conciliated precisely these clerical-nationalist forces, paving the way for Solidarność' failed counterrevolutionary power grab. It was the Stalinist rulers who mortgaged Poland to the imperialist bankers, capitulated to the Catholic church and the landholding peasantry, lorded it over the working class with their venal corruption and brutality, fostered nationalism and every kind of backward ideology, not least anti-Semitism, and who drove the historically socialist Polish proletariat into the arms of counterrevolution.

Solidarność had to be stopped. And we certainly have no sympathy for those who are yelping about the violation of their "democratic right" to defend pro-imperialist counterrevolution. But the Stalinists are in no position to rally the working class behind the defense of the gains of the Russian Revolution.



Keith Beatty/Toronto Star

May Day, Toronto. CP excludes Solidarność-lovers — exactly what these cheerleaders for counterrevolution in Poland deserved.

the CP surrounded these "friends of Lech Walesa" with a ring of goons, keeping them out of the march.

"Solidarity with Solidarność" is the rallying cry of the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive taken up by everyone from the anti-Communist pope to the Cold War social democrats to the fascists. So as far as we're concerned these "left" cheerleaders for counterrevolution in Poland got exactly what they deserved and undoubtedly what they hoped for. Waving the Solidarność flag under the noses of pro-Moscow Stalinists could only have been an intentional provocation designed to whip up a cry for Solidarność' defeated counterrevolution. The *Toronto Star* certainly didn't miss it, featuring a photo of the Toronto exclusion as well as pictures of Solidarity supporters getting hosed down in Poland.

But it's a dog's life being a Stalinist hack, having to square loyalty to the Kremlin with the CP's desperate bid to swim in the mainstream of Cold War popular frontism. And it seems that the CP had a

CLC Dumps Reagan's Solidarność Hawk

Under the slogan "solidarity with Solidarność" the pro-imperialist Canadian labor tops together with the wretchedly right-wing social democrats of the NDP led the charge on the Polish front in Cold War II. In B.C. they rediscovered the picket line in the service of the Reagan/Trudeau/NATO anti-Soviet war drive and the CIA company union in Poland, preventing a Polish ship from leaving the harbor and grounding a Polish plane. In Toronto the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) provided space for Solidarność' office as well as an annual salary of \$18,000 plus expenses for its representative, Zygmunt Przetakiewicz. But recently Przetakiewicz's rabid pro-Reaganism became too much even for these Cold Warriors, who sacked him.

According to the union-haters of the *Toronto Sun*, which waged a vigorous defense of this "union" man, Przetakiewicz claimed that the CLC didn't like his close association with right-wing politicians and was "also upset that he refused to denounce U.S. president Ronald Reagan and because he wouldn't join demonstrations against U.S. policies in El Salvador" (27 March). Refused to denounce Reagan?! Przetakiewicz *openly made common cause* with the warmonger in the White House on every issue from El Salvador to the Western "peace" movement. Here are some of his

comments from a meeting at the University of Toronto last March:

"I don't think they [Canadians] realize that the Soviet Union, which is based as a government, as a country, is based on aggression.... The last example we had was Afghanistan. Right now we have a great involvement of Soviet Union in Salvador, in other countries around Salvador, Nicaragua, too. And it is a naive opinion of Canadian people if they think that there is only American involvement there. There is a great involvement of Soviet Union trying to penetrate a very important piece of continent between North America and South America.... "I don't understand, for example, why so many German people—there was 300,000 Germans—demonstrate *against* America, against American arms in Western Europe. Without American umbrella Western Europe won't exist for a day."

This comes from the mouth of not just some little-known member of Solidarność. Przetakiewicz first came to public attention in September 1982 as the man who headed Solidarność' first foreign office, appropriately located in the New York headquarters of rabid Cold Warrior Albert Shanker's

(continued on page 12)

Having sacrificed any vestige of class principle to the aim of "unity" with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, the CP continually confronts the problem, as it did on May Day, that the present incarnation of the popular front is shot through with anti-Sovietism.

To listen to Stewart rail on against "anti-Sovietism" one could get the impression that the CP everywhere and always holds high the banner of Red Russia. To the contrary the Stalinists beat a hasty retreat in the face of the renewed Cold War offensive, and they can carry out an anti-Soviet exclusion along with the "best" of them. At a Toronto "peace" demonstration October 31, 1981—at the height of Solidarność' counterrevolution—the CP linked arms with the Solidarność-lovers of the left to exclude a Trotskyist League (TL) contingent with its banner declaring: "Smash NATO! Defend the USSR! Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!"

No lie is too big, no bloc too rotten for the Stalinists' purpose of attempting to silence the politics of revolutionary Trotskyism. And from the "Stalin School of Falsification" revisited Stewart brings us this one:

"Last year they tried to break the unity of the Vancouver May Day, going so far as to undertake one of their patent 'Canada-wide' protest campaigns designed to smear the Vancouver May Day as a Communist plot. They failed there as they will fail here."

United around Cold War popular frontism the CP found its own "friends in strange places," making common cause with the Russia-hating Maoists of the now-departed and unlamented Workers Communist Party (WCP) in a failed bid to exclude the Trotskyist League. Modeled on Stalin's Big Lie of the '30s when Trotskyists were accused of being agents of the Mikado and then murdered, they came up with

an exclusion motion equating us with the race-terrorists of the KKK. It didn't go down. Backed by overwhelming labor support, including members and officials of 12 unions, the TL marched under the banner: "Canada—Jr. Partner of U.S. Imperialism. Smash NATO/NORAD. Defend the USSR." The CP marched under the maple leaf pleading with the Canadian imperialists for "peace" and its erstwhile WCP bloc partners chanted "Nyet, Nyet Soviet!"

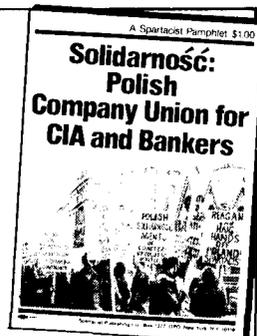
A genuine communist defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack requires an uncompromising struggle against the Stalinist bureaucrats. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (May 1940): "The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle.... We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy." ■

Spartacist Pamphlet

- Wall Street Journal Loves Poland's Company Union
- Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!
- Irving Brown: Cold War Criminal
- "Market Socialism" Is Anti-Socialist
- All the Pope's Dissidents

\$1.00

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Canada
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, M5W 1X6



Vietnam Was a Victory!

2,3, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!

Hands Off Vietnam!

Today, on the eighth anniversary of the fall of Saigon (30 April 1975), we salute the courageous workers and peasants of Vietnam. Our internationalist solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution demands implacable opposition to the renewed U.S./Chinese military pressure against Vietnam. Once again it appears that U.S. imperialism is trying to crush Vietnam. Over the April 22-24 weekend China, Washington's anti-Soviet ally in Asia, launched artillery attacks against Vietnam for the first time since Peking's 1979 invasion. Meanwhile the U.S. is rushing ultramodern weaponry—Redeye anti-aircraft missiles, long-range 155-millimeter howitzers and the like—to Thailand. Early this month, U.S.-supplied Thai warplanes dropped napalm on Vietnamese forces in Cambodia (Kampuchea). And then came an ominous report that CIA director William Casey had dined with former South Vietnamese Marshal Ky, the jumpsuited Hitler-lover, at the Philippines presidential palace in Manila. The Chinese border, the Cambodian border, poking around in the south...the Americans are orchestrating an

attack all around Vietnam and inside as well. The Trotskyists demand: U.S./China—Hands Off!

Even more ominous is the way this onslaught is being presented. "U.S. is Airlifting Missiles to Thailand in Face of Vietnamese Threat" headlined the *New York Times*. What threat? Peking presents a diplomatic note to Hanoi saying that if Vietnam lets "the trend of armed provocations against China's border continue to develop, they must be held responsible for the grave consequences." Earlier the Chinese chief of staff declared in Bangkok that "if Vietnam dares to make an armed incursion into Thailand...the Chinese army will not stay idle." This is the language of someone who is planning war, like Bismarck's Prussia on the eve of its war against France in 1870. The U.S. allies are acting provocatively, hoping to draw in the Vietnamese and then claiming some incident as a pretext for unleashing a bloody attack.

Perhaps behind these anti-Vietnamese provocations is a message from Reagan to Andropov: "Get out of Nicaragua and El Salvador and we will let

you have 'Nam." But there is a corollary: "this is what we intend to do to the Soviet Union." The Chinese are telling the Kremlin that the price of détente is giving up Vietnam. Vietnam is a long way from Russia and the connection is from Vladivostok through the western Pacific. The Americans could easily interdict those sea lanes, but then they've got World War III. So it depends on what the Soviets are going to do and on how crazy those guys in Washington are.

The Sino-Vietnamese border has been a potential trip wire for World War III since early 1979 when China, vowing to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson," invaded that nation and ended up receiving a bloody lesson of its own. Perhaps the U.S. is now seeking to really smash Vietnam, using China as its instrument. Two or three million Chinese may die doing it. While the Vietnamese army is vastly superior to the Chinese army man-for-man, the population ratio of the two countries is 50 million to one billion. The Chinese can put more soldiers in the field than the Vietnamese

G. Virgili/Paris Match



Heroic Vietnamese fighters. Solidarity with Vietnamese Revolution demands implacable hostility to U.S./China war alliance.

have children. It is possible that Vietnam is on the brink of extinction. *If China does invade, all people everywhere must rally to the defense of Vietnam in all ways.*

Vietnam heroically fought French colonialism and American imperialism for 30 years and won. The Vietnamese army of peasants and workers inflicted the most humiliating defeat the United States has ever suffered. The image of those Marines desperately trying to escape from the roof of the American embassy in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) remains a searing, bitter memory for the men who inhabit the Pentagon, the CIA headquarters at Langley and other corridors of power in Washington. They long to avenge themselves on this small but heroic people.

And in Maoist-Stalinist China, frustrated in its ambitions to become the hegemonic power in Indo-

consequences of three decades of imperialist war and devastation: per capita income in 1981 was only \$153, ranking them among the poorest of nations. Under pressure from the U.S., most Western capitalist countries have cut off all aid and credits to the Vietnamese. *Break the Imperialist Economic Blockade!* By forcing Vietnam to expend massive military resources in Cambodia and on the Chinese border, U.S. imperialism is seeking to starve the Vietnamese people and prevent the government from rebuilding the war-ravaged economy.

Economic aid from East Europe is due to be cut by some 20 percent as well. It is with bitterness that we view the resources of the Russian collectivized economy being spent to fatten the bellies of clerical-fascist Pilsudskiites in Poland, while the heroic people of Vietnam endure grim poverty to stand up to the powerful forces arrayed against them.

In the past few months Washington has evidently decided to step up the all-sided squeeze on Vietnam. When U.S. secretary of state George Shultz visited Peking in February, he and his Chinese hosts agreed to closer military cooperation. He was followed in March by Canadian defense minister Gilles Lamontagne seeking to boost Canada's trade with China which already includes such military-related items as aircraft, communications equipment, winter clothing and snowshoes. Lamontagne crowed that China "is at the turning point of a great modernization, a great improvement of military forces, and we want to be there when it happens" (*Globe and Mail*, 31 March). Another important U.S. ally against Vietnam is Australia, whose newly elected right-wing Labor prime minister Robert Hawke has aggressively put himself forward as Reagan's man in Asia.

Despite recent frictions disturbing the anti-Soviet Washington-Peking alliance (over U.S. arms sales to Taiwan), China continues to play the U.S. game, especially against Vietnam. Yet if U.S. imperialism succeeds in its ultimate aim of destroying the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China will not long survive. Does anyone doubt that an anti-Communist fanatic like Reagan would like to return China to the heirs of Chiang Kai-shek who now rule Taiwan under American protection? The defense not only of the Vietnamese Revolution but also of the gains of the Chinese Revolution and ultimately of the Soviet Union demands: U.S./China —Hands Off Vietnam!

—Adapted from *Young Spartacus* No. 109, May 1983

Telegram to Ho Chi Minh

Sunday, 7 February 1965

President Ho Chi Minh,
Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Hanoi, North Vietnam

Spartacist in fullest solidarity with defense of your country against attack by United States imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working people furthers the American revolution.

Spartacist Editorial Board

Cablegram sent by our U.S. comrades the day American air attacks against North Vietnam were begun.

China, American imperialism found a ready instrument to attack Vietnam. In late 1978, shortly after Vietnam overthrew the hated genocidal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, which killed at least two million of its own people, Washington gave Peking the green light for a "punitive" invasion of Vietnam, although it didn't turn out that way. We wrote at the time:

"...the Chinese invasion is clearly intertwined with imperialist opposition to the gains of the Vietnamese revolution, won at the cost of more than a million lives and decades of struggle. Socialists and labor militants throughout the world must demand that China Get Out of Vietnam Now! We call on the workers and peasants of the Chinese deformed workers state to demand an end to the obscene, sinister anti-Soviet Peking-Washington alliance now aimed at bloodying the working people of Vietnam."

— "China Get Out!" *Workers Vanguard*
No. 226, 2 March 1979

The Chinese army withdrew at that time with heavy casualties. Ever since Washington/Peking have kept up military pressure on the Vietnamese, mainly through support for the remnants of the Khmer Rouge of the despised butcher Pol Pot and rightist insurgents in Cambodia supplied through Thailand. And it looks like the Vietnamese are finally cleaning up the counterrevolutionary scum in the border enclaves, which naturally causes their imperialist backers to cry "atrocities!"

The Vietnamese must counter the constant military threats at great cost. They suffer the grim

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the
Spartacist League

SUBSCRIBE! \$5/24 issues

(Includes *Spartacist!*)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Province _____

Postal Code _____ Phone _____

Make payable/mail to:

Spartacist Canada, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto M5W 1X6

Central America...

(continued from page 1)

order not in any way to be associated with the revolutionary politics of the iSt they split their own demonstration. The reason for all this is that it is the Russian question that they must duck at all costs.

Junta Butchers On the Run, Leftist Rebels Need Russian Guns!

The problem with Cuba and the Soviet Union when it comes to Central America is that these conservative, narrow, nationalist regimes are in fact *not* intervening to adequately arm the rebels in El Salvador and aid the defense of Nicaragua. That is their very real crime. Because Central America is red hot. Dictatorships that have been in power for a long, long time have shot their wad and are

Nicaragua the Sandinistas are running a pretty effective roach motel for the CIA-backed forces. You know, they check in but they don't check out. And that's a very good thing.

The question in Central America is what strategy, what program can lead to victory, can smash the junta in El Salvador and can defend and extend the Nicaraguan revolution. As Marxists we base ourselves on the experience of the working-class movement, centrally on the experience of the Russian Revolution which proved positively that it is only the internationalist program of permanent revolution that shows the way forward.

Today a socialist revolution that began in El Salvador could spread like wildfire through the entire region, arouse the sleeping giant of the Mexican proletariat and shake the North American colossus to its very core. So that we in the iSt, its Canadian sympathizing section, the Trotskyist League (TL), say: "Military victory to the leftist insurgents in El

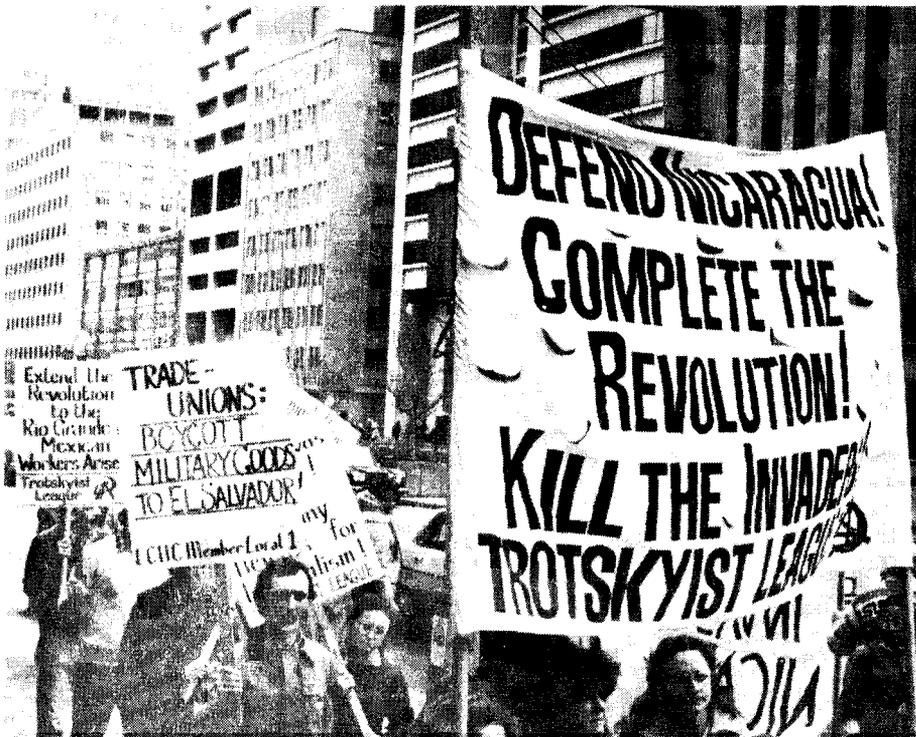
Salvador! No negotiated sellouts! Forward to San Salvador!" And in Nicaragua it's desperately necessary to defend, complete and extend that revolution, to smash Reagan's attempted Bay of Pigs—no less than Kennedy's in 1961—and to kill every last one of the invading *contras*.

Winning is what it is all about because military victory in El Salvador is the only thing that can open the road to workers revolution. In the epoch of imperialism the capitalists can no longer do what was done in the French Revolution of 1789, cannot provide land to those who work it, cannot provide the most basic democratic rights, cannot win and achieve national emancipation. It's only the working class under the leadership of a Leninist/Trotskyist party, leaning on the peasants and establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat that can achieve these gains. That is one of the central lessons of the Russian Revolution.

Now El Salvador is particularly ripe. Of all the countries on the isthmus it has the largest urban working class, and it has engaged in some sharp class battles in the

not too distant past. The conditions in El Salvador, the weight of the proletariat, its historical experience make it necessary today to fight for the creation of workers councils, of soviets, to form the basis of workers democratic rule, of a workers and peasants government. To begin that task and to carry it through to a successful conclusion we need a party like the Bolshevik Party in Russia 1917, that can organize those soviets, that can smash the oligarchy and the bloody junta, that can extend the revolution beyond the borders of a tiny and rather backward El Salvador.

In many ways our entire approach to this area of the world was summed up in 1932 by Farabundo Martí, a leader of the first Communist-led uprising in the Western hemisphere, an insurrection in El Salvador that was brutally suppressed, where over 2½ percent of the popula-



SC Photo

Trotskyist League contingent protests U.S.-backed invasion of Nicaragua at U.S. Consulate, Toronto, May 14. Chants included "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!" and "Crush the *contras*! Workers to power!"

crumbling. The working people are rising up in the thousands for a life free of misery, poverty, oppression, the death squads, torture.

Over 50,000 in a very small country, Nicaragua, died in the struggle to overthrow the West Point-trained hyena of Managua, Anastasio Somoza. That victory of the Sandinista Liberation Front, the FSLN, in July 1979 opened up a revolutionary crisis in Central America with civil war spreading throughout the region. In the last little while we've seen some tremendous battlefield victories being won in El Salvador. In a recent major offensive the guerrillas swept down from their bases, capturing over 40 towns including Berlin, El Salvador's second largest city. By the junta's own admission over 12 percent of the bloody butchers' army in El Salvador have been casualties in the last year including over 1,000 dead. That's a hell of a casualty rate. Right now in

tion was murdered by the junta, by Jeane Kirkpatrick's hero, Martinez:

"The Communist Party calls all the poor workers and peasants of El Salvador to bloody struggle against the national bourgeoisie, who are unconditionally allied to Yankee Imperialists... Down with the imperialist oppressor and his national dogs!"

At the time the Stalinists denounced Martí as an insane ultraleftist. And so would today the FDR, the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the misnamed Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, the FMLN. Why? Because the FDR/FMLN leadership and the Stalinists are *opposed* to workers revolution. The Stalinists are the product of a political counter-revolution in the Soviet Union in the 1920s; a narrow, conservative, petty-bourgeois bureaucratic caste usurped political power and destroyed the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. It was the result of the intense isolation of Russia after the 1917 Revolution, the overwhelming weight of the peasantry and the repeated defeats of revolutions in the West, three times in Germany, for example.

No Popular Front Illusions, For Workers Revolution!

With their counterrevolutionary theory of socialism in one country the Stalinists denied any responsibility for workers revolution abroad. This meant turning the Communist Parties around the world into border guards for socialism in one country, into agents for pressuring the bourgeoisie in their own lands, into agents for accommodation with the imperialists. It meant adopting and championing the Menshevik two-stage theory of revolution. First there's a democratic or an anti-fascist or anti-imperialist or anti-something else—but not an anti-capitalist—revolution in which you can ally with the good bourgeoisie, the "progressive" bourgeoisie, the nationalist bourgeoisie, some section of the bourgeoisie. Then, i.e. never, move on to the socialist revolution. It's the program of the popular front which tries by every means to tie the working class to their own exploiters, to the capitalists. And it's meant defeat after defeat after defeat.

As Trotsky said the question of the popular front is the central question of proletarian class strategy in this epoch. The capitalist state cannot be reformed, it cannot be transformed into an instrument to aid the workers and the oppressed. As Marxists and as Leninists we say very simply that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie must be smashed and replaced with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our task as communists is to educate the working class as to its historic interest and to pose the revolutionary leadership that is necessary to take the working class to victory.

This is precisely what the petty-bourgeois FDR and FMLN are not for. I'd like to read the response of one person to Ronald Reagan's speech on TV the other night: "The United States has the right to stop the spread of communism. That's true. We agree on that." That wasn't Margaret Thatcher, Pierre Trudeau or the leader of the Salvadoran military. It was Guillermo Ungo, head of the FDR. All wings of the FDR think no differently. What they're all about is preserving capitalist rule in El Salvador and throughout the region.

That is what the talk of a negotiated political settlement in El Salvador is all about. Just think about it! You're going to sit across a table and ne-

gotiate with the likes of "Blowtorch" Bob D'Aubuisson, who got his name by his method of making people talk under interrogation. These people are pathologically crazy, completely insane murderers. There are no negotiations with these people. Where would the Sandinistas be if they had approached the presidential palace in Managua under the white flag and suggested a dialogue with the National Guard and Somoza?

The question of negotiations and an attempted political sellout is not suicidal lunacy for the FDR, it's political. No less than Reagan they are out to stop Communism in Central America. Venezuela and Mexico, the FDR, the U.S. Democratic Party, the New Democratic Party (NDP) in Canada all agree on that. They are pushing for negotiations because they are scared to death that Reagan's tactics are all wrong, that his big stick might backfire. But all of these forces are united on one goal, to keep the workers and peasants of Central America from taking power.

That's very well captured by a slogan that's heard on a lot of the marches and demonstrations in North America. Not all that long ago people used to chant "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF is going to win." Today many of these very same people are saying "No more Vietnams." Why? Because the U.S. *lost*. They got driven out. For us, Vietnam was a tremendous victory. Not "No more Vietnams" but "Two, three, many defeats for imperialism!" It's quite appropriate to be able to say that tonight, in honor of that smashing defeat for American imperialism, as it was about eight days ago in 1975 that the first tank rolled into Saigon.

According to the radical-liberal *Guardian* in the United States, FDR honcho Rubén Zamora "cautioned that the FMLN is not trying to achieve a military victory in El Salvador because the country's problems must be 'solved through dialogue, through negotiation and not... a military solution'." The purpose of the military activity is to pressure the U.S. into a negotiated "solution" that gives the rebel forces a share of the power, capitalist power. In fact Zamora, Ungo and others in the FDR have had a share of that power before.

Following the Sandinista victory there was a massive strike wave in El Salvador. Women textile workers started it off, electrical workers picked it up, factories were occupied. On October 15, 1979 the old junta got thrown out in what is known as the "human rights" coup with Ungo, Zamora and others currently in the FDR as prominent members of the new crew. The various left groups did not oppose this coup, they wanted to give it a chance. One day after it took power the junta with Ungo and buddies sent the army in to clear the factories in

(continued on page 10)

SPARTACIST PAMPHLET

Class war in El Salvador: From La Matanza massacre of 1932 to the front line of Reagan's Cold War.

(40 Pages, \$1.00)

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Canada Publishing
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6



Central America...

(continued from page 9)

the suburbs of San Salvador. There were over 200 killed in one week as the strikes were broken by the military. This didn't stop the Communist Party: on October 22 a CPer became minister of labor. Since then over 50,000 have been killed in El Salvador. It is workers revolution or death, there's no middle road.

And that's no less the case in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas, looking for a middle way, hope to appease and to conciliate imperialism. Sixty percent of Nicaragua's GNP is still in the hands of the capitalists. They worked out a new law on foreign investment with the help of the U.S. Council of the Americas, a business-based group. They're quite right when they say they're not shipping much of anything to the rebels in El Salvador. The Sandinistas go out of their way to deny any kind of connection other than sort of moral solidarity with the heroic fighters of El Salvador, a narrow nationalism that can only lead to defeat. The pope's trip was supposed to be a gesture of good faith from the Sandinistas, but the pope did exactly what you'd think this pope would do, stirring up counterrevolution—straight from Gdansk to Managua.

There is no appeasing Ronald Reagan and the imperialists, they stand by their butchers. So it is desperately necessary to ruthlessly drive out the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, to smash the fifth column that exists and to complete and extend that revolution. That that hasn't been done is the reason that the Edén Pastoras, the Robelos and the *contras* find such fertile ground inside the country. The very existence of capitalism, the capitalists not being smashed as a class, can lead to nothing else.

Now it's possible that under the pressure and hostility of the U.S. the Sandinistas, or a section of them, might be forced much further along the road than they had ever intended to go and, in simple self-defense, expropriate the bourgeoisie. But the best result of petty-bourgeois guerrilla movements in the absence of the working class contending for power in its own name is a deformed workers

state, a state akin to the degenerated product of the Russian Revolution. Such states are marked centrally by the absence of workers democracy and by the rule of a bureaucratic caste that sits on top of the gains from the abolition of capitalism and that is a fundamental roadblock to the achievement of socialism.

For North American Workers Revolution!

There are a lot of fake-leftists and pseudo-socialists who are cheerleaders for the FSLN and the FDR. All of them have no faith whatsoever in the ability of the working class to make a revolution. So they support popular frontism abroad just as they support popular frontism at home. In the U.S. it's mainly through the Democratic Party: everyone is "ready for Teddy," vote Democratic for the "lesser evil." In Canada the same policy is mediated through the NDP which is truly one of the most wretched right-wing versions of social democracy. Ed Broadbent himself made a little tour for the Socialist International to Central America not all that long ago and made his pitch for the maintenance of capitalism and to stop Communism.

The social democrats are very much the soft cops for imperialism. The NDP and the trade-union bureaucracy went all out in support of Solidarność² attempted counterrevolution in Poland. They are mighty pushers of protectionist poison—their solution to the economic crisis is to restore the profits of the capitalists here. But trade wars lead to shooting wars—and the social democracy will not be found wanting. In August 1914 the Social Democratic parties in Europe directly supported their own bourgeoisies and the mass slaughter that was World War I.

The NDP and the various fake-lefts attempt to whitewash and prettify Canadian imperialism, to turn Canada into the nice, clean, good-guy imperialist power. You know, the ones that'll speak out and keep their hands clean when all about them is very dirty and bloody. Like Canada during the Vietnam war with all those fine protestations all the while making a killing in the armaments industry and doing a little spotting work in Hanoi for the American bombers as well.

Canada is the fringe on the surrey, it is the loyal and junior partner of U.S. imperialism. In Central America it's doing its part—not a very big part, but a part—selling \$30 million worth of transport planes to Honduras, contributing a bit of money to help rebuild the infrastructure of El Salvador, like a bridge the guerrillas blew up not all that long ago. And Canada has participated in the NATO naval maneuvers like Operation Safe Pass a couple of years ago and apparently just recently in "Caribops 1983."

We believe we have a particular responsibility to oppose our "own" bourgeoisie who are part and parcel of the drive to war against the Soviet Union. We say that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. Intransigent opposition to the bourgeoisie in power where you live. We say no aid whatsoever, economic or military, to Central America. Reagan/Trudeau: Hands off the Caribbean and Central America! In the United States and on the West Coast longshore militants fought for a one-day port shutdown as a concrete and real expression of solidarity with the Salvadoran rebels.

In Canada and the U.S. we live in the belly of the beast. Our task is to educate, to train and to mobilize the working class for socialist revolution.

(continued on page 12)

SUBSCRIBE!

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Province _____

Postal Code _____ Phone _____

\$2/10 issues (includes Spartacist)

Order from/pay to: Spartacist Canada Publishing Association,
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6

Reactionary Backlash Targets Women

Free Abortion on Demand!

Six carloads of cops raided Dr. Henry Morgentaler's Winnipeg free-standing abortion clinic on June 3, dragging off 11 people. Women at the clinic covered themselves with blankets to protect their identities. In the advanced industrial countries the bourgeoisie's war on women is concentrated in an all-sided attack on abortion rights. Leading the charge in Canada is "Holy" Joe Borowski, a former Manitoba New Democratic Party (NDP) cabinet minister. For Borowski the battle to destroy the clinic, which opened May 6, is "like Custer's last stand," and he's threatened that Morgentaler will need "guns and thugs" to protect it. Since November, when plans for the clinic were announced, Borowski and his ilk have subjected Morgentaler, a survivor of the Nazi death camps, to a vile campaign of anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic graffiti has been painted on the clinic's walls (see "Defend Dr. Morgentaler Against Anti-Abortion Frenzy!", *Women and Revolution* No. 26, Spring 1983).

Borowski is a right-wing, dangerous lunatic who allegedly shoves raw potato chunks and cloves of garlic up his ass and battles "Satan" in his painted backyard shrine (*Toronto Star*, 12 May)! And he has friends in high places. Manitoba NDP attorney-general Roland Penner has vowed to prosecute any violations of Canada's reactionary abortion laws which make clinics like Morgentaler's illegal. Manitoba's Chief Justice, Alfred Monnin, who gained notoriety with a racist crack about Indians, has publicly signed an anti-abortion petition. Yet another of these black-robed bigots, Mike Baryluk, has declared that "any woman who wants an abortion should be given a razor blade" (*Toronto Star*, 21 May)! This is an outrage! No charges! No prosecution! Free Abortion on demand!

The "pro-life" reactionaries are out to stop more than Morgentaler's clinics. Borowski has gone to court demanding an end to all abortions even those allowed under government law. And he wants IUDs outlawed as an instrument of murder! The government didn't call one witness in defense of even its own legislation which is restricted to "therapeutic

abortions." To bolster Borowski's case the judge permitted him to hand around case histories of women seeking abortions which included their full names! No wonder Borowski has been gloating that the government was "folding up its tents."

Emboldened by the right-wing climate reflecting the imperialists' drive to war against the Soviet Union, all manner of reactionary scum are rearing their ugly heads. In a tiny Alberta town the mayor, a teacher, preaches that the Holocaust was a lie, fabricated by the "international Jewish conspiracy." The KKK has been on the rise, recently plastering Edmonton with race-hate tracts advertising a fascist conference in Idaho. In Toronto in early May the cops staged more jack-boot raids on gay bathhouses. Meanwhile a prominent "right-to-lifer" in Toronto cites Nazi "medical experiments" on Jewish concentration camp prisoners as "evidence" that "women rarely get pregnant as a result of rape!"

At the heart of the Moral Majority domestic campaign to regiment society and drive women into the hands of back-alley butchers is defense of the "sacred" monogamous family. The family of today is not a natural expression of eternal "human nature" ordained by god, but originated in the development of private property. Outlawing any kind of sexual behavior other than monogamous married life, imprisoning homosexuals, taking children away from "sinful" mothers on the one hand, while making motherhood mandatory by outlawing abortion on the other—all these are on the agenda in Cold War North America.

The attack on abortion rights, linked to attacks at all levels of society, must be fought by a powerful mobilization of the working class, the oppressed and all defenders of democratic rights. But for the feminists, today's rallying cry is "down with pornography," putting these would-be scourgers of sin in an objective political bloc with the bible-thumping, anti-abortion, pro-death penalty "right-to-lifers." The feminists can only answer Borowski with a court case of their own, citing the same section of the new "Charter of Rights and Freedoms" as he does, arguing that current abortion legislation impedes women's

(continued on page 12)



SC Photo

Trotskyist League at Toronto International Women's Day march, 1982.

Central America ...

(continued from page 10)

To end the reign of terror and oppression and misery and starvation that the rule of capital means for millions and millions. There are three conditions that are necessary for success, as Trotsky put it, a party, a party, and once again a party.

The conclusion of the Transitional Program, adopted in 1938 at the founding conference of the Fourth International, states it very powerfully:

"The Fourth International, even today, is deservedly hated by the Stalinists, Social Democrats, bourgeois liberals, and fascists. There is not and there cannot be a place for it in any of the People's Fronts. It uncompromisingly gives battle to all political groupings tied to the apron-strings of the bourgeoisie. Its task—the abolition of capitalism's domination. Its aim—socialism. Its method—the proletarian revolution....

"The present crisis in human culture is the crisis in the proletarian leadership. The advanced workers, united in the Fourth International, show their class the way out of the crisis. They offer a program based on international experience in the struggle of the proletariat and of all the oppressed of the world for liberation. They offer a spotless banner.

"Workers—men and women—of all countries, place yourselves under the banner of the Fourth International. It is the banner of your approaching victory!"

We in the international Spartacist tendency stand for the re forging of the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution. Join with us in the fight to dispose of capitalism once and for all. As Frederick Engels said over one hundred years ago, what we are facing is the question of socialism or barbarism. ■

CLC Dumps ...

(continued from page 5)

United Federation of Teachers. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. demonstrated against the opening of this "press office" proclaiming "Polish Solidarność Agents of Counterrevolution." These charges were dismissed out of hand by the bulk of the left in their desire to become at one with the popular anti-Soviet "solidarity with Solidarność" campaign. But Przetakiewicz revealed once again the true face of Solidarnosc.

And it certainly can't be argued that the reactionary Reaganite views Przetakiewicz expresses are not shared by the majority of Solidarność' activists. He was backed up in the recent spat with the CLC by Alicja Matuszewska, reportedly a personal emissary of Lech Walesa and one of the top 12 in the Solidarność presidium, appointed by the director of the Solidarność international office in Brussels to straighten things out. Against the CLC Matuszewska claimed, "In some ways what I am experiencing now in Canada is what I experienced in dealing with the communists in Poland" (*Toronto Sun*, 19 April). Now the CLC/NDP are painted as veritable "KGB agents." This is really rich.

The CLC is the junior partner to the U.S. "AFL-CIA" whose leader Lane Kirkland along with notorious CIA "labor" operative Irving Brown was invited to Solidarność' 1981 Gdansk conference. As for the

NDP it was their social-democratic counterparts in Germany who laundered the \$40 million Vatican subsidy to Solidarnosc. Today the social dems in Canada and Europe are at loggerheads with Reagan over Central America as they attempt to broker a "negotiated" sellout in El Salvador. Hence the falling out with "Zyg." Nonetheless from Warsaw to Managua the social traitors' aims are the same: roll back Communism and head off socialist revolution. Defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and its Solidarność agents requires the political destruction of the right-wing and hypocritically self-righteous Canadian social democracy and the forging of a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement which will militantly fight U.S. and Canadian imperialism's renewed Cold War. ■

Abortion...

(continued from page 11)

rights. Turning their back on poor and working-class women, groups like the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League, a hodge-podge of NDPers, petty-bourgeois feminists, liberals and fake-lefts, refuse to fight for free abortion on demand, calling only to "repeal the abortion laws."

The fight for women's liberation will not be won in courts and legislatures but in sharp class struggle uniting militant working-class women and men. Class-struggle militants fight for free abortion on demand, free 24-hour day care, free quality health care, union control of hiring on a first-come, first-served basis combined with aggressive recruitment and training of women and minorities, and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay.

The key to women's liberation is replacing the monogamous family unit with social alternatives to its stifling restrictions. But so long as capitalism exists, it will enforce those restrictions with a vengeance. To open the road to the full development of every individual the working class must break the chains of poverty, racist exploitation and the hideous sexual straightjacket of "conventional morality" through socialist revolution.

And the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 proved it could be done. That revolution established a workers state and did more to liberate women than any bourgeois reform in history. And it proved to millions of workers and oppressed peoples around the world that they could make history. Despite Stalinist degeneration making necessary a working-class political revolution to break the bureaucratic stranglehold and stop the sellout deals with imperialism, the USSR today still stands as an objective roadblock to the imperialists' desperate appetite—indeed economic need—to reconquer the entire planet to renew capitalist profits. That's why Reagan and his junior partners in Ottawa hate Russia. That's why we say it is in the best interests of the oppressed to defend the Soviet Union against the imperialists' war drive.

The Trotskyist League fights for a revolutionary party, like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, that will be a "tribune of the people," uniting the struggles of the oppressed with the driving force of working-class revolution. We seek to build a women's section of a mass workers party, which will address the special oppression of women in the family and in society and make the fight against women's oppression an integral part of the fight for socialism. Defend Dr. Morgentaler! Free abortion on demand! Forward to women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Jail the Scab Murderer of Claude Dougdeen!

TORONTO—Suspecting that strike-bound Alcan Building Products would try to move some material in the dead of night United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 6922 sent out a call for emergency pickets at 11:30 p.m. Friday April 8. Trinidad-born Claude Dougdeen, father of seven, received one of those calls, donned his union jacket, collected his eldest son and left to man the Warden Ave. picket line. Two hours later Brother Dougdeen lay crushed and dying in the yard while the scab trucker who murdered him calmly went about loading his rig.

The cops have protected Dougdeen's killer, steadfastly refusing to press charges or even identify this scab murderer. And the labor tops and the NDP moved swiftly to divert the anger of trade unionists into demands for phony anti-scab laws modeled on those in B.C. and Quebec. But these laws didn't stop the NDP's massive 1975 strikebreaking in B.C. nor the Parti Québécois' PATCO-style union-busting attack on Quebec public sector workers and transit employees. In fact there have been massive labor demonstrations in Quebec against the PQ's "anti-scab" law which gives scabs legal protection and opens up the unions to direct government intervention.

Demonstrating the labor fakers' boundless faith in the supposed "neutrality" of the capitalist state USWA staff worker Bob Nichol moaned that "the police should have been called" to Alcan the night of Dougdeen's murder. Tell that to the Alcan strikers in Kitimat, B.C. whose 1976 picket was viciously broken by hundreds of riot-equipped RCMP thugs. The job of the cops is to bust strikes, and the job of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy is to police the labor movement for the bosses. Remember USWA Local 1005 president Cec Taylor who worked hand-in-hand with the cops to escort scabs through the Hamilton Stelco picket lines in 1981!

Against the sellout strategy of the trade-union bureaucrats, militants Audrey Minton and Jane Kirby in the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Local 1 in Toronto fought, at the April 21 membership meeting, for the local to help mobilize mass pickets to shut Alcan down tight and to demand the



Unionists protest scab murder of Alcan striker.

immediate jailing of the scab murderer of Claude Dougdeen. Minton amended the local leadership's toothless motion to include these demands. While the amendment passed overwhelmingly the local bureaucrats did nothing to mobilize the union ranks, instead sending themselves to a series of one-shot token pickets organized by the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL).

The OFL tops had no intention of stopping scabs but merely wanted media attention for their "anti-scab" law pressure campaign. This was amply demonstrated by the OFL-organized mass picket at Central Precision Ltd. in Rexdale where USWA Local 6624 has been on strike since February 7 against givebacks. Here strikers have been routinely arrested, fingerprinted and jailed, their picket lines decimated by both the cops and the private union-busting firm Securicor. Black auto workers from a nearby plant have regularly joined the picket lines to stop company scabherding. But the May 6 OFL picket was for PR only and the company simply waited a half-hour after the labor big wigs' departure to bring in the scabs.

LCUC militants walked the picket lines at Alcan and Central Precision with signs demanding: "Not 'Anti-Scab' Laws but Mass Pickets to Win!", "Drop the Charges against USWA Local 6624!" and "Jail the Scab Murderer of Claude Dougdeen!" The labor fakers' total retreat in the face of the bosses' escalating anti-labor offensive has emboldened the capitalists and created the climate in which scabs dare murder strikers. And in mid-May the USWA tops even dropped a suit for compensation of \$1 million to the Dougdeen family in exchange for a quick contract deal. With revenues well over \$4 billion in 1982 Alcan must be made to pay—no less than \$1 million to Dougdeen's widow and family! But it will take a program of militant class struggle to defend even the most elementary workers rights from the bosses, their courts, cops and murderous scabs. ■

Women and Revolution

In this issue:

- Sri Lanka: Women Workers, Tamils Key to Revolution
- Canada: Defend Dr. Morgantaler Against Anti-Abortion Frenzy!

\$.50 single issue
\$2/4 issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Canada
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6

Women and Revolution

International Women's Day 1983

Dr. Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis	Ireland/Britain:
Canada	France
Australia	Spain
Italy	West Germany
Sri Lanka	U.S.
Women and Revolution	U.S. America & England

Secret Police...

(continued from page 16)

new law would also make it illegal to reveal anything which could identify the government's spies and provocateurs.

Even the McDonald Commission of Inquiry into RCMP "wrongdoings"—headed by three handpicked commissioners intimately linked to the Liberal Party and whose final report was nothing but a whitewash of the RCMP and the government—"exposed" too much for the government's tastes. For what the hitmen and spies for imperialism need most to carry out their deadly work is...secret. And this law is intended to insure that the Canadian government and its secret police can literally get away with murder without anyone raising a voice in protest.

It is no wonder then that Bill C-157 has provoked a nationwide yelp from civil libertarians, the bourgeois media and even provincial attorneys-general (whose main bone of contention is that the federal government is invading their jurisdiction to get the left). This official witchhunting act is so blatant as to ride roughshod over the bourgeoisie's sometime pretense to upholding the democratic idea of free expression and the right to "privacy"—after all a man's home is still supposed to be his castle.

But in this country of United Empire Loyalists, the defeated opponents of the American revolution, there are no constitutionally-guaranteed rights. Remnants of its counterrevolutionary history as a British colonial bulwark against the American bourgeois-democratic revolution are such laws as the War Measures Act (used most recently in 1970 to round up Quebec nationalists, leftists and unionists) and the Official Secrets Act, which provide the legal basis for the government to suspend democratic rights whenever the administrators of the bourgeois state judge that these rights conflict with the "security" of their class rule. And as a further reminder of Canada's reactionary heritage the government states in its introduction to explanatory notes on "Security Intelligence in Canada" that Canada's first spy agency "was established to monitor events of the American Civil War and report any activities affecting Canada's security." And they weren't worried about the slavocracy's Confederate Army.

In any case no one from the *Globe* editorialists to the Canadian Civil Liberties Association challenges the government's "right" to its spies and hitmen. Alan Borovoy, general counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association ends his statement to the *Globe and Mail* (26 May) with the comment: "No one can quarrel with the claim that Canada should have an agency to perform security and intelligence functions,

but such an agency must not acquire powers which exceed what is demonstrably necessary...." Borovoy has no quarrel with Cold War witchhunting as long as the targets are "legitimate" but expresses concern over "surveillance against citizens simply because, for example, they are raising money to help rebels in Afghanistan throw the Russians out of their country"! Don't worry Alan, that's not who these spies will be looking for!

Capitalism's secret police have no other purpose than to frame up and destroy the state's political enemies. And they don't much care about the law or naive reformers who believe otherwise. In the heyday of the McDonald Commission when many liberals and reformists were smug in their conviction that this "inquiry" would lead to a gentlemanly security operation we wrote in *Spartacist Canada*:

"...the working class and the oppressed should have no illusions that royal commissions and liberal investigations into 'illegal' police activities will in any way protect them from the terrorism of the state. Liberal reformers may be serious about curbing the bonapartist tendencies of the state's secret police, however their campaigns against the abuses and excesses of the RCMP serve only to increase its effectiveness as an instrument of the class it serves—the bourgeoisie." —"Trudeau Muzzles Lapdog Commission," No. 31, November 1978

It was the McDonald Commission which came up with the recommendation for a more streamlined, professional "civilian" spy agency to better carry out the duties of state harassment and terror against those whose only "crime" is their political convictions. It didn't think the Mountie "amateurs" were the men for the job. But the Mounties will still get their man under the new law, which says that the CSIS will turn over the fruits of its investigations to the RCMP and let these thugs make the hit. And as for any "inquiries" into wrongdoings, from now on this will be the property of a handpicked watchdog committee of three Privy Councillors, sworn to an oath of secrecy, which essentially will act as a rubber stamp for the activities of the secret police. And there is even a Catch-22 on this committee's powers of investigation, i.e., they can ask for any documents they want but have no way of knowing what to ask for.

Reformist Dissent

The government's witchhunting law has certainly caught all those reformist promoters of the Canadian government as the "democratic, nice-guy imperialists" with their pants down. The pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) which ordinarily marches under a banner hailing the Canadian state as "the brave neutral mediator" now wails that it is a "menace to democracy." In its brief to the McDonald Commission the CP called for "a code of conduct which establishes a clear separation between what is security and what is legitimate dissent." Well, according to solicitor-general Robert Kaplan, the new spy agency will uphold just such a "code of conduct" differentiating between "threats to national security" and "lawful advocacy, protest or dissent." Of course lawful dissent is limited to the likes of college professors and churchmen who simply write letters to the bourgeois press expressing concern over "human rights." Now the Stalinists are complaining that Kaplan refused to answer whether or not the CP would be a "legitimate" target for "surveillance." But as we wrote: "In the context of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive,

Trotskyist League Directory

Toronto
Box 7198 Station A
Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26 Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

Trotskyist League Public Office Hours

Saturdays 1:00 - 5 p.m.
Suite 502, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto
Phone (416) 593-4138

backed by his junior partners in Ottawa, does the CP need to wonder who would be the natural targets for persecution as 'dangers to national security' under the definition of its own 'code of conduct?' ("Smash the Secret Police!" SC No. 51, October/November 1981).

The response of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) was predictable. They demand that "the NDP campaign to defeat this bill and organize protests across the country" (*Socialist Voice*, 30 May). The social democrats have been kicking up a minor stink on Parliament Hill over Bill C-157's violation of democratic rights—after all even they could be targeted for "surveillance." But these Cold Warriors certainly have no disagreement with the need to "protect" Canada's "national security," in particular against "Soviet influence." Responding to the McDonald Commission's recommendation for a new spy agency NDP leader Ed Broadbent's only comment was that the Liberals were incapable of supervising a security service. What this descendant of Noske and Scheidemann would like is a crack at the job himself. And if the NDP ever managed to win a federal election it would use the secret police against left-wing organizations as viciously as its social-democratic cousins in the West German SPD did.

Fight the New McCarthyism!

Neither the RWL nor the CP even make a pretense of calling for the abolition of the state's se-

cret police—it doesn't fit into their own self-defined category of "lawful dissent." These peaceful, legal reformists hoped that their briefs to the McDonald Commission would convince the ruling class to tolerate their reformist dissent and they couldn't have cared less what happened to other organizations, especially revolutionary socialists who don't share their touching faith in the "democratic credentials" of the Canadian state.

It is the Canadian government and its secret police who are the subversives, terrorists and criminals. Gearing up behind their senior partners in Washington to plunge all of humanity into thermo-nuclear holocaust they contrive the spectre of "international terrorism" to legitimize their own terror tactics, their own consummately violent state and their war on the working class and oppressed. The fascists, presenting themselves as the domestic face of the anti-Soviet war drive, have crawled out of their holes to launch their murderous attacks on minorities, socialists and unionists. Now the Canadian imperialists have retooled and streamlined their official deadly machinery for the witchhunt of the 1980s, and it is aimed at the destruction of the left and labor movement.

The new red-hunt must be fought now! But it won't be fought by those liberals and reformists who look to "democratize" the capitalist state, its spies and thugs. Only victorious proletarian revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party will wipe out the criminal secret police and the criminal capitalist system that they serve. ■

Quebec ...

(continued from page 3)

slashed by up to 20 percent. More than 29,000 Common Front strikers face charges before the courts. And the PQ's labor lieutenants haven't raised a peep in protest against the government's takeover of the Montreal transit maintenance union.

In the years before the 1976 election of the PQ the Quebec labor tops churned out manifestos calling to smash capitalism and build socialism. But instead they channeled the militancy and combativity of Quebec labor, together with mounting resentment over national oppression, into votes for the PQ. In 1977 FTQ president Louis Laberge introduced Lévesque to a union gathering as "The Premier, our premier, everybody's premier." Now when "everybody's premier" is walking all over the Quebec working class Laberge is busy trying to extort union members' money to funnel into a union/government investment fund to aid ailing Quebec capitalists. This is Laberge's answer to unemployment in Quebec, the highest in Canada outside of the Maritimes.

Laberge, who at one time blustered about the need for a workers party, today proclaims that this scheme to line the pockets of Quebec bosses "is a more revolutionary step for labor than starting a workers party" adding, "for those who dream of revolution tomorrow, this isn't exactly the tool..." It sure isn't. But it is a tool for the trade-union tops to increasingly tie Quebec labor to the PQ.

As Leon Trotsky wrote in his "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay": "There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations throughout the world: it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power." Lévesque's labor lieutenants in the Quebec trade-union bureau-

cracy have aided and abetted the PQ in cutting at the heart of the independence of the working class from the capitalist state. And the arrogant refusal of their counterparts in the Canadian Labour Congress and the NDP to recognize Quebec's right to self-determination has fueled the reactionary nationalism that has shackled the Quebec proletariat.

Intervening into the Common Front strike the Trotskyist League uniquely championed the perspective of winning the Quebec labor movement to the program of multi-national revolutionary class unity in the struggle for North American socialist revolution, in which it is destined to play a vanguard role. Lévesque's attempt to revive the trade-union corporatism of the Duplessis era must be met by a resolute political struggle to bust the PQ union-busters. The elementary defense of trade-union independence from the capitalist state requires the ousting of the pro-PQ Quebec labor bureaucrats and the chauvinist leaders of English-Canadian labor, forging a class-struggle leadership of labor with the will to fight and the program to win. Defend the Montreal transit workers! ■

LE BOLCHEVIK 4

Rompez avec Mitterrand! **REVOLUTION**

**Pour un Mai 68
allant jusqu'au bout!**



Mobilisations ouvrières contre les attaques racistes!
Flics hors des quartiers immigrés!

Le Bolchévik
Publication de la Ligue
trotskyste de France

\$.50 chaque numéro

Commande:
Spartacist Canada Publishing
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6

Trudeau Launches Cold War Red-Hunt

Abolish the Secret Police!

It's Cold War II brought home with a vengeance. With the May 18 announcement of legislation (Bill C-157) to establish a new spy agency the Trudeau government has given the green light for the wholesale intimidation, harassment, slander, disruption and suppression of the left and labor movement. The proposed Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) will take the secret police out of the scarlet and gold Mounties uniform, dress them in civilian clothing, load them up with bugs, black bags and guns and send them out on a full-scale red-hunt.

Under the heading "threats to security," all the "are you now or have you ever been" McCarthyite clauses and code-words are in place: "foreign influenced activities," "espionage or sabotage," "violence ... for the purpose of achieving a political objective," "undermining... the constitutionally established government in Canada." So if you are a member of a left organization, a militant trade unionist, a fighter for East Asian or black rights, a Quebec nationalist; if you have ever demonstrated against the Salvadoran junta, Pinochet, apartheid South Africa, or even given money, for instance, to the World Council of Churches to aid victims of right-wing terror... they could be looking for you. It's a wide-open hit list. And the definition of "threats to security" is so vague and so sweeping as to ultimately target any political opponent of the government "or any state allied or associated with Canada."

But the real target of this new security agency will be leftists, in particular revolutionaries. In the explanatory notes for the new law the government cites "the increasing threat of international terrorism" as the *raison d'être* for the CSIS. The fraud of "international terrorism"—with its wild pope plots and "yellow rain" lies—has been developed as the code-word in the anti-Soviet war drive. As junior partners in Reagan's drive to war against "godless" Communism abroad, the Canadian jackal imperialists' "security" law parallels the new FBI guidelines under which left groups are branded as terrorist "criminal enterprises" to be taken with a drawn gun (see "FBI Red-Hunt," *Workers Vanguard* No. 327, 8 April).

Not in Canada, you say. Don't count on it! The only reason the Canadian government witchhunters didn't use the same designation for their left-wing political opponents is that there was no need. Trudeau's spooks don't have to "prove" any crimes have been committed or even alleged, to bug, break in, burgle and infiltrate. They never did. And now all the things the RCMP was supposed to have stopped doing when its "dirty tricks" were exposed—mail opening, wiretapping, theft, arson—will be made completely legal. And it doesn't stop with the use of "intrusive investigative techniques." The CSIS will be allowed to break any law when "reasonably necessary to enable them to perform" their duties.

Even the *Globe and Mail* (20 May) expresses concern that this "section is so broad that it could have been used by the RCMP security service to justify the now famous barn-burning episode in Quebec in 1972. Mounties burned a barn in the Eastern Townships to prevent a meeting there between members of the Front de Libération du Québec and of the Black Panthers from the United States." And now



"The enemy's on the look-out for your secrets," says Quebec poster. New Cold War spy agency will do more than listen.

Canada's new spies and hitmen will have the legal license to do what the U.S. feds did to the Black Panthers—infiltration by provocateurs, set-ups, frameups and murder—all in the line of "duty."

What will be a crime is the exposure of agents or paid informants. So if you catch one of these spooks tapping your phone, rifling through your files or infiltrating your organization and start naming names you could land a five-year prison term! In fact the

(continued on page 14)