



SPARTACIST

CANADA

Dec.1985/Jan.1986 No.65

25¢

Black Union Federation Launched

Smash Apartheid! For a Bolshevik Party!

Singing freedom songs and sporting red T-shirts with the slogan, "One country, one federation," 10,000 black South African workers rallied at King's Stadium in the port city of Durban on December 1 to launch the Congress of South African Trade Unions. In founding COSATU, with its half-million members, South Africa's overwhelmingly black proletariat has created its strongest organization in a century of struggle against hideous superexploitation by apartheid capitalism.

From the Witwatersrand mining houses to Wall Street board rooms, the capitalists are well aware that this "super-federation" with 34 member unions covering the mines, harbors, transport, metal industries and retail trade has the power to bring the South African economy to a standstill. Coming after almost 18 months of continuous nationwide revolt, COSATU's birth expressed above all the desire of the black toilers to utterly smash apartheid.

But trade unionism, however militant, is not enough to liberate the non-white masses of South Africa, or even to significantly ameliorate the hellish conditions in which they work and "live." Any serious class struggle against the white supremacist bosses and their police state poses the question of *power*. For the oppressed to emerge victorious from the inevitable civil war, they must be organized and led by a class-conscious vanguard infused with the understanding that those who labor must rule.

A Bolshevik party in South Africa must be built in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular frontism, counterposing the program of *permanent revolution*, for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now is the time for internationalist revolutionaries—black African, coloured (mixed-race), Indian and white alike—to undertake the construction of communist nuclei, in and oriented toward the workers movement, laying the basis for a racially integrated Leninist workers party.

During the early 1980s independent black and coloured unions grew explosively and became the main organs of mass resistance to apartheid. However, since the revolts erupted in the black townships in



Durban: Black workers cheer birth of COSATU, the strongest black labor organization in South African history.

September 1984, the potentially powerful organized black working class has been largely on the sidelines. Commenting on the formation of COSATU, the *New York Times* (1 December) observed:

"...in the last fourteen months of unrest, during which 900 people have been killed, community organizations in segregated black townships, rather than labor unions, have been at the forefront of protest.

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WV/SC Sub Drive: Big Success!

Congratulations to all the comrades for making the 1985 *Workers Vanguard/Spartacist Canada* subscription drive the most successful ever in Toronto. Hard work and enthusiasm sent us over our quota of 280 points early and by the end of the six-week sub drive an impressive 160 percent of the quota was reached, for a total of 448- $\frac{1}{2}$ points. Special congratulations to this year's top-scoring individual, comrade Andrew with 81 points, and to the runners-up, comrades Maria and Rusty, with 70 and 65 points respectively.

From campus literature tables and dorm blitzes to door-to-door canvassing in working-class neighborhoods our comrades reported that the struggle against apartheid South Africa was the central issue in attracting both new readers and subscribers. While the campuses in and around Toronto were not the sites of the often-militant anti-apartheid struggles that swept American campuses last spring, we encountered much more political curiosity and openness to our revolutionary politics than has been the case in recent years, when "me generation" conservatism was the predominant mood on campus. At York University and the University of Toronto we sold 79 points in subscriptions and hundreds of individual papers.

A crucial component of this year's sub drive was reaching new readers in Toronto's large black and East Indian communities. Our door-to-door sales in the heavily black, working-class Jane-Finch area yielded 56 points. Here, "multiculturalism," the code word for liberal racism in Canada, is brought home in unemployment, poverty and continual racist police harassment. SC's article exposing the racist Canadian government's brutal incarceration of more than 20,000 Japanese Canadians in concentration camps during World War II attracted many of our new readers. Still others, conscious of the similarities between Britain and its former Canadian "dominion," were anxious to read WV's excellent coverage of the explosions of ghetto anger against Margaret Thatcher's rampaging cops in several of Britain's major cities and of the intervention of our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain with the urgent call for racially integrated workers defense guards to stop racist and cop terror.

Our regional trips this year were successful and challenging, the most exciting and significant being a trip to Sudbury where our team netted 44 points and sold close to 200 single issues. The nickel barons of Inco and Falconbridge are doing their dirtiest to

destroy this historically important and militant sector of the Canadian working class, throwing more than 10,000 workers on the scrap heap in the past 10 years. In 1982 thousands of Inco miners were laid off in a 10-month shutdown which put even the "official" unemployment rate at close to 50 percent while working-class families suffered hunger and deprivation on a level unheard of since the Dirty Thirties. This year over 1,000 more workers will be sacrificed on the altar of Inco's profits. The WV supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" was widely distributed at the mines, subs were sold door-to-door, at shopping malls and to Laurentian University students, many of whom are sons and daughters of northern Ontario miners.

Trotskyist League comrades also worked with Spartacist League/U.S. comrades from Cleveland and Chicago at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, combining to sell a total of 133 points. Together with comrades from New York City, a trip to Cornell University, a campus where there has been considerable interest in our revolutionary perspective, brought 82 points.

Our Marxist newspapers are meant to provoke discussion and action. In our conversations and meetings with subscribers, reports are this is exactly what is happening. Subscribers we have gone back to visit, in particular in the black and East Indian neighborhoods, tell us that they are showing the paper to friends. A subscriber and black community organizer in the Jane-Finch area invited TL comrades to show our video of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S., which stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982, to a number of black youth.

Spartacist Canada welcomes our new—and our old—readers. If you aren't already a subscriber, send in for a sub today. Introduce *Workers Vanguard* and *Spartacist Canada* to your friends and co-workers. Join with the Trotskyist League of Canada in fighting to build the multiracial revolutionary party that can lead the struggle to put this racist, profit-bloated, war-crazed system of capitalist exploitation into the ash can of history where it belongs.

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Anti-Sikh Crackdown

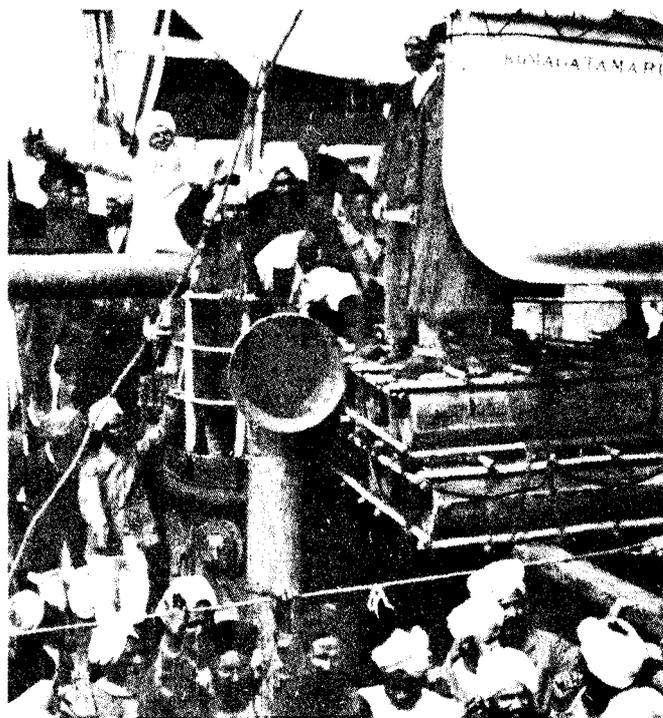
Stop the Racist Deportations!

The 329 passengers and crew who went to their death aboard Air-India Flight 182 last June 23 and the two baggage handlers who were murdered when a bomb exploded in Tokyo's Narita airport the same day, have become the pawns in the Canadian government's racist crackdown against the entire Sikh community. The government and its media mouthpieces were quick to charge "Sikh extremists" with responsibility for both. Yet after months of investigation no one knows what caused the Air-India flight to crash or who or what was behind the brutal bombing in Tokyo. Nor do the Canadian rulers really much care: for them these tragic deaths were "made to order" for a vicious racist "anti-terrorist" vendetta against all Sikhs. On November 27 the government announced its plan to deport up to 2,800 Sikhs, refugees from the bloody anti-Sikh terror in India. Already more than 2,000 have been served with deportation notices. And Sikhs are not the only ones the government has lined up in its sights as it seeks to "resolve the refugee problem," i.e., get rid of all "illegal" non-white immigrants. Labor, minorities and all anti-racist fighters must demand: Stop the racist deportations of Sikhs! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!

The government's mass deportation notice came in the wake of brutal RCMP raids against the Sikh community in Vancouver. On November 6, the Canadian state's gestapo burst into Sikh homes, temples, offices and businesses, kicking in doors, slashing mattresses and ransacking bookshelves. In Duncan, B.C., on Vancouver Island, the cops raided a Sikh *gurdwara* (temple) as 100 were about to begin prayers and arrested Inderjit Singh Reyat, an electrician. In Vancouver, they swooped down on the home of Talwinder Singh Parmar, a Sikh fundamentalist leader. The two men have been charged with setting off an explosion in the woods near Duncan. But in the pages of the bourgeois press they have been all but convicted of responsibility for the Air-India crash and the bombing at Narita airport. Even the judge who first handled the case noted that the prosecution was trying to convince him "to infer that there is probably some connection with certain aviation bombings and this case" (*India Abroad*, 22 November). He released the two on their own recognizance.

Launching a full-scale witchhunt against Sikhs, the Canadian government has shown little concern for the passengers and crew aboard Flight 182 who went to their deaths. Most of the 280 Canadian citizens who died when the plane crashed off the coast of Ireland were East Indians, including many Sikhs. For the rac-

ist rulers of this country it's only the lives of white middle-class Canadians that count. When Ronald Reagan sent 269 passengers aboard the KAL 007 spy plane to their death in his cold-blooded anti-Soviet war provocation, the families of the 10 Canadians aboard were



Vancouver 1914: Racist Canadian state targeted Sikhs aboard *Komagata Maru*. Today, 2,800 Sikhs face deportation.

given every courtesy and condolence. A mass rally of 5,000 was staged at Queen's Park in Toronto, featuring representatives of the highest levels of government whose impassioned speeches of "sorrow" were in the service of whipping up a Cold War frenzy. The families of the Canadians on the Air-India flight were spit on. Grieving relatives who flew to Britain to claim the bodies of their loved ones were treated with contempt and indifference by Canadian officials. Government representatives who addressed memorials for the victims in Canada expressed not sorrow or condolence but instead gave speeches designed to whip up a racist war cry against "terrorism."

In a statement read to a service in Toronto, Tory prime minister Brian Mulroney sanctimoniously lectured the mourners: "While it has not yet been confirmed that this was the result of a terrorist act, we must not forget that violence solves nothing; violence begets violence" (*Toronto Sun*, 26 June). What obscene hypocrisy! The rulers of this country built Canada on genocide against Native Indians and racist terror and violence against Chinese, Japanese and Sikh immigrants. Adulators of the British Raj, which brought the stench of bloody communalism to India, the United Empire Loyalists of Canada represent the

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Stop Anti-Abortion Terror!

Defend Dr. Morgentaler!

The defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler—a heroic man who has put his livelihood and his very life on the line fighting for women's fundamental right to abortion—is the touchstone of the defense of the most basic democratic rights and elementary human decency. The vicious persecution and terror campaign against the



John Mastroianni

Dr. Morgentaler: Heroic fighter for women's right to abortion.

62-year-old doctor, which runs from the highest corridors of power to the crazed anti-abortionists in the streets, is an index of the rampant social reaction that flourishes in Canada, fueled by the political climate of Cold War II. Beneath the "pro-life" banner in Canada march Orangemen and Roman Catholic priests; anti-Communist fanatics and bookburners; the fascists of the KKK and Nazis. Filthy anti-Semitism against the Polish-born Jewish doctor, a survivor of Hitler's concentration camps, is the rallying cry for the government's Moral Majority shock troops who have not only women, but every minority and every working-class gain from unions to the Russian Revolution lined up in their sights. And they feel the wind in their sails, with not only "god" but the government, its cops and courts on their side.

For over a decade Dr. Morgentaler has faced the most vicious and vindictive state persecution. *Four times* acquitted by juries, Dr. Morgentaler has nevertheless served ten months in a Quebec jail, where he suffered a heart attack, and has had to sell his modest house to help meet over \$100,000 in legal fees. In October the Ontario Court of Appeals overturned the November 1984 jury acquittal of Morgentaler and the doctors in his Toronto clinic, ordering a retrial on the charge of "conspiring to procure a miscarriage," which carries a maximum penalty of life imprisonment. The ruling right-wing NDP social democrats in Manitoba have sent their cops on three gestapo-style raids on Morgentaler's Winnipeg clinic to gather "evidence"

for their prosecution of Morgentaler and the clinic staff. The clinic has been all but shut down, now operating only as a referral agency. And Manitoba's College of Physicians has *barred* Morgentaler, an internationally respected physician named Humanist of the Year in 1975 by the International Humanist and Ethical Union, from practicing medicine in the province!

While Morgentaler, the doctors and staff at his Winnipeg and Toronto clinics face life imprisonment, the courts are giving the green light to anti-abortion terror. A demented anti-abortionist who lunged at Morgentaler with a pair of garden shears in front of the Toronto clinic was never thrown behind bars. Six "Right to Lifers" charged with trespassing for blocking the entrances to the Toronto clinic were let off scot-free by a Toronto judge. Calling abortion "murder" he ruled "that they were doing whatever they could to stop the loss of human life" (*Toronto Star*, 25 September).

Every day for the past year these anti-woman bigots have surrounded the Toronto clinic with pickets chanting "Killer" and "Auschwitz." Patients have to walk a gauntlet of abuse, harassment and terror to get into the clinic. This summer, three "Right to Lifers," including a Jesuit priest, pinned a patient and her two female escorts to the stairs of the clinic. When Morgentaler's associate Dr. Robert Scott came to his patient's defense he was punched in the face and had his nose broken by two of these "thugs for life." Anti-abortion wacko Joe Borowski, a former Manitoba NDP cabinet minister, was recently in Toronto to incite his followers to take stronger measures to shut down the clinic. How long will it be before these deadly enemies of human freedom commit murder in the name of "pro-life"? In the U.S. 30 abortion clinics have been firebombed in the past five years and deadly letter bombs sent through the mail. The arsonists who tried to destroy Morgentaler's Toronto clinic in 1983 made their murderous intentions clear in death threats scrawled on the clinic door.

In an interview with *Australasian Spartacist* (August/September 1985) Dr. Bertram Wainer, a long-time fighter for women's right to abortion, paid powerful tribute to Dr. Morgentaler. Wainer also spoke of his dealings with anti-abortionists who invaded his Australian clinic and chained themselves to the operating tables:

"...I went back into my operating theatre and I said, listen, you've got fucking three minutes to get out of this place or you'll all be gassed, and I turned on the anaesthetic gas. And the copper said, you can't do that. And I said, look, we know just where you stand, you said you've no authority in here, now get gassed or get out. And the "Right To Life" at this stage started undoing their chains. They weren't going to be gassed. And as they ran out of the theatre I and a few of the other doctors started hitting them, hard. And then I turned the fire extinguishers on them and then I threw them down the back stairs and turned the hoses on them. I was beside myself with rage. I mean a real Glaswegian Gorbals rage, you see.

Moral Majority Rampant Government War on Sex

In a decision which would have warmed the cockles of Queen Victoria's heart, the high priests of "morality" in Canada's Supreme Court decreed sex toys "obscene publications," the sale of which is punishable by two years in jail! After making the stunning discovery that penis-shaped vibrators and inflatable sex dolls are "concerned with satisfying the sexual desires of men or women," the court upheld the conviction of the owner of Montreal's National Sexe Boutique, raided by the cops eight years ago. Patrick Long, the prosecutor for the Montreal cops, did, however, have some words of assurance for the purveyors of "smooth" vibrators (you know, to work out those facial wrinkles): "No problem with those. They are not obscene" (*Globe and Mail*, 17 October). This could lead to some interesting legal proceedings as the honorable and learned judges retire to their chambers to examine hands-on the finer points of court exhibits, using who knows what or whom as their measure of "obscenity." But it's not just dildos and sex dolls, the court ruling is that *anything* "offered for sale to the public" can be ruled an obscene publication if "a dominant characteristic... is the undue exploitation of sex." What next? Are the fevered minds of the Supreme Court judges going to be set to work banning the sale of long English cucumbers?

These guys are obscene and dangerous. The reactionaries with state power are out to enforce good, clean conformity for "god and country," as the domestic frontline in the battle against "atheistic Communism" and nefarious plots to undermine the moral fiber of this nation, which was built on the "morals" of the racist, colonialist British Empire and rigidly puritanical, bigoted Orange Order reaction. If you're black, gay, a woman, young, old, East Indian, working class—watch out. The government and its courts have all

manner of social reactionaries mobilized behind them in the "legions for decency"—from bible-thumping religious fanatics to the fascists.

And they have turned their sex police loose. Recently the RCMP in B.C. drilled a hole through a motel room wall and videotaped sexual activity between consenting individuals in order to prove "prostitution." The tapes were then used to blackmail people into testifying against an alleged madame. Last year in Halifax the names of 47 alleged prostitutes were posted in sheriff's notices on utility poles. Many of the women named lost their jobs, and their children were harassed and ridiculed at school. It's all part of a witchhunt codified in the federal government's "anti-prostitution" law (Bill C-49) which is so draconian that a nod or wink to a friend on the street, even hailing a taxi, could get you busted for prostitution.

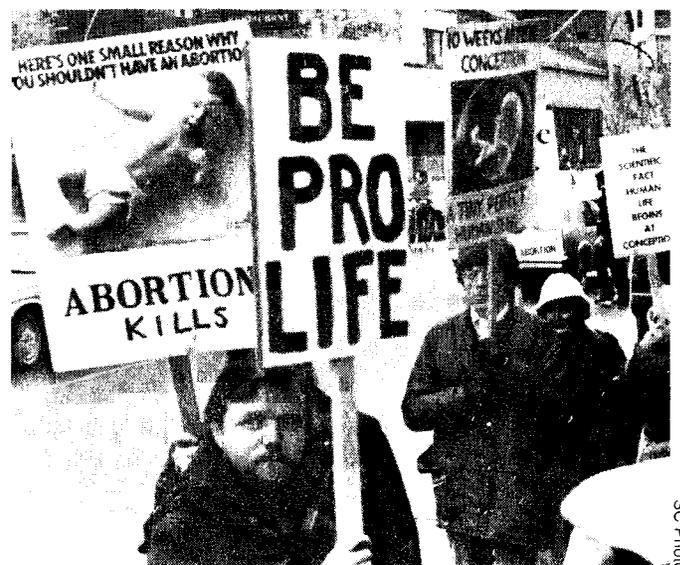
It's not enough that you can't have any sexual pleasure, the government in all its munificence has decided you can't even read about it. Canadian Customs regularly stops shipments of *Penthouse* at the border. But even this is not enough for the anti-porn feminists who think that while "our bodies" may be "ourselves," the population (especially of the male gender) needs the state to protect them from their "dirty minds." The racist apartheid state in South Africa is similarly motivated in its proscription of pornography and other "dirty" publications like communist newspapers as "undesirable publications or objects." The South African government publishes lists of all banned items in its official *Gazette*. In the Canadian "Orange Free State," Customs has a *secret* list, 112-pages long, of prohibited publications, enforced by the police.

On September 18, the RCMP and Project P (the

(continued on page 12)

And the TV arrived and filmed all this. There had been buckets of water flowing on them and they said, why are you doing that doctor, and I said, I always wash the filth off my steps at this time of day."

What's needed to wash the filth from the steps of the Morgentaler clinic are disciplined union defense guards of militant men and women determined to protect women's rights. In 1983, Canada's most notorious fascist, KKK "intelligence director" William Lau Richardson and his Nazi sidekick George Graham came out to provoke, harass and terrorize a labor-endorsed abortion rally in Toronto. These fascists tried to frame up and jail two postal workers, Paul Schneider and Mike Mares, for defending the demonstration and themselves against the KKK and Nazi scum. It was the support of hundreds of unionists and unions, minorities and other opponents of fascist terror for the Trotskyist League-initiated defense campaign for Schneider and Mares that helped stop this legal lynching cold. It is the power and muscle of the labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights that must be brought to bear to stop the Moral Majority terrorists. Free abortion on demand! Defend Dr. Morgentaler, his clinics, doctors and staff!



"Right to Life" terrorists outside Dr. Morgentaler's Toronto clinic.

Drop the Charges Against Lennox Farrell!

Apartheid Apologist Run Off Campus

On November 14, South African ambassador Glenn A. Babb got the reception he so richly deserved when anti-apartheid protesters ran him off the University of Toronto campus. The Hart House Debates Committee had invited this mouthpiece for South African führer P.W. Botha to be their "honorary guest." No doubt Babb felt right at "home" as student "passes" were demanded at the door and blacks singled out for special searches and harassment. The campus cops, the notoriously racist Metro police and the RCMP were out in force to protect this agent for Pretoria. But Babb didn't get a chance to engage in the polite "parliamentary discourse" planned by the aspiring servants of "Her Majesty's" racist Canadian "dominion" in the debates committee. Instead this apologist for apartheid butchery was met by angry protesters. A 20-pound mace was hurled in his direction, he was shouted down and finally forced to flee the room.

Babb couldn't bring out the *sjamboks* (whips), machine guns or hippo armored cars used to impose the silence of the graveyard on struggling black youth in South Africa. But he has the RCMP and U of T administration doing the job of crushing anti-apartheid protest. On Babb's behalf, the RCMP has charged black protester Lennox Farrell, a U of T graduate and Metro separate school teacher prominent in Toronto's black community, with "assault." Other protesters have been threatened with disciplinary action by U of T president George Connell. In the meantime Connell has apologized to Babb and invited him to return to campus! It's "academic freedom" for the apartheid butchers and their agents, jail and academic sanctions for the opponents of apartheid slavery.

The U of T Trotskyist League Club issued an urgent call for all opponents of racist apartheid terror and all defenders of black freedom to join in a militant protest demonstration. Over 2,000 leaflets were distributed on campus demanding: Drop the charges against Lennox Farrell! Cops off campus! Smash apartheid slavery! On November 28, in front of the administration offices at Simcoe Hall, spirited demonstrators chanted: "No reprisals against the November 14 anti-apartheid protesters!" "Keep the butchers on the run! Keep Babb off campus!" A statement by Lennox Farrell, read to the demonstrators, ended with the chant: "Don't be neutral, take a side, apartheid is genocide! Amandla!"

The RCMP and U of T administration want Farrell's scalp not only to wave in the face of would-be student militants but as an example to blacks and other minorities of what happens if they "step out of line" in this rich, racist "white man's" country. Escalating racist attacks by the state, its police thugs and hooded Klansmen, union-busting, austerity, witchhunting; this is the domestic face of the imperialists' drive for war, targeting the Soviet workers state. As part of the regimentation of the population for war, it is the

job of the university administrations to train a generation of docile, mindless dimwits who won't question, let alone oppose, the capitalist warmongers or their anti-Soviet "free world" allies—be they the apartheid butchers in South Africa, the death squads in El Salvador or the murderous "contras" in Nicaragua. During World War I, Maurice Spector—later a founder of Canadian Trotskyism—lost his post as editor of the U of T's *Varsity* and was almost driven off campus for speaking out against the imperialists' war aims. Today in Cold War II, the administration is out to



Steve Bingham/the newspaper

Anti-apartheid protester Lennox Farrell confronts apartheid ambassador at U of T "debate."

enforce the imperialists' *diktat* that political protest is *verboten*.

If the RCMP gets away with throwing Lennox Farrell behind bars it sets a dangerous precedent for the persecution of any opponent of apartheid. Guided by the old labor canon "an injury to one is an injury to all," students, the labor movement and the black community must mobilize in mass united-front demonstrations demanding: Drop the charges against Lennox Farrell! Unfortunately it seems that the U of T Divestment Committee, many of whose members are threatened with disciplinary charges over the anti-Babb protest, do not share this view. In their many letters to the campus and bourgeois press they have yet to say a word in protest over the outrageous charges against Farrell. For those who seek to cuddle up to the U of T administration and the Canadian government, to beg them to be "moral" and divest, it appears that the defense of Farrell goes against the grain.

As U of T Trotskyist League Club spokesman Peter Stevens said in addressing the demonstrators on November 28: "There are a lot of people on this campus who hate apartheid, who want to see it brought down.

And a lot of students believe that the best way to do that is to demand divestment and imperialist sanctions—to get the university administration and the ruling class in this country to wash their hands of apartheid. Well, the charges against Lennox Farrell and the threats against the November 14 protesters should help to puncture any illusions in the U of T administration and the racist Canadian capitalist state." Indeed, this crackdown should serve to "divest" students and others of any illusions in the "democracy" of this racist, capitalist society and the "good will" of its institutions—academic or otherwise.

The powers that be in Canada are wedded to Pretoria not only because they rule a deeply racist society as well, but because South Africa is a strategic ally in the global anti-Soviet war drive; it is also a source of superprofits extracted from the blood and sweat of the six-million-strong South African black working class. Effective opposition to apartheid, therefore, necessarily runs smack up against the entire capitalist system. There will be no liberation for the black masses of South Africa or here in North America until the system which perpetuates their oppression is smashed through victorious workers revolution.

The U of T administration wants to preserve "their" campus as a bastion of snotty elitism, race and class privilege and putrid liberalism. It wasn't until the 1960s that U of T dropped its "quota" for Jewish student admission! Today foreign students have to pay double or triple the tuition fees of Canadian students for their price of admission. U of T is supposed to be clean, white and ready to fight for the imperialist war aims. To this end they're targeting a black anti-apartheid protester for victimization. And the skills for the administration in the Students' Administrative Council (SAC) are serving vigorously for the prosecution, leading the charge against Farrell and the November 14 protesters with a motion condemning the "violation" of Babb's "freedom of speech." Apartheid "speaks" with the guns, whips and torture chambers that have killed over 1,000 blacks in South Africa in the past year. But no matter to the SAC hacks who aren't concerned about being on the receiving end of a little "freedom of speech" apartheid-style.

Tied by a thousand purse strings to the administration, these aspiring parliamentary prostitutes are not only beholden to the powers that be but are ever so eager to prove that they can fill their shoes. In this their propensities for racist provocation and insult are boundless. Nowhere is this better captured than in the person of SAC communications commissioner Pierre C. Blum who writes to the *Varsity* (21 November) in support of Adolf Hitler's "freedom of speech"! Blum, who signs his letter of introduction to the SAC Directory "Kommunications Commissioner," appears to feel more than a little identification with the fascists. A picture of a concentration camp with the obscene caption, "Camp Ne'er Return—Daycare for really bad kids," is another feature of Blum's SAC "handbook"!

Responding to the outcry over the apartheid ambassador's "academic freedom," black student Iggy Pitt, who has the misfortune to sit on the SAC executive, wrote powerfully:

"...U of T is not only a bastion of intellectual thought but also a cesspool of racist ideas and a spawning ground for liberal bigots.

"My opinions on this issue are very strong because I personally know what it is like to have cold hard knuckles bash against my face while others held me down. This was done to me because these

people had learned that this was the way to deal with 'smart niggers.' When I see news reports from South Africa I thank God they hadn't learned to shoot. Now I worry that in the name of 'Freedom of Speech,' people like the ones who beat me up many years ago may learn bigger ideas here."

—the newspaper, 4 December

It seems, however, there was a little poetic justice meted out to the aspiring Cecil Rhodeses of the debates committee who apparently met up with some other defenders of "freedom." Gilbert Pinfeld reports in his muckraking column in *the newspaper* (20 November) that debates committee members who fled in Babb's footsteps inadvertently landed themselves in a room full of rabid anti-Communists of the "skin 'em alive" captive nations variety. Apparently three of them climbed out of a window onto the roof, leaving one face to face with a Soviet defector who believed the "debater" to be a KGB agent and pulled out a knife and blackjack! It is notable that none of the debates committee "notables" or the U of T administration have laid charges against these anti-Soviet "freedom fighters." Like Babb, the ambassador for apartheid butchery, these are imperialism's murderous allies. Maybe the debates committee is considering one of these anti-Communist maniacs to be another of their "honored guests," a position they had considered filling with resident Nazi hatemonger Ernst Zundel. There certainly is a job for these guys in the government and courts of this country of Colonel Blimps where the Nazi Holocaust is still a subject "open to debate."

If Babb—or any of the fascist scum the debates committee wants to open its doors to—shows his face on campus he should be driven off by militant mass protest. The Trotskyist League of Canada is pleased to have initiated a call for students, campus workers and all opponents of apartheid terror to rally to the defense of Lennox Farrell and the other anti-apartheid protesters. What's at stake here is the right to protest the imperialists and their counter-revolutionary butchers around the world. All those who stand with the black masses in South Africa struggling against brutal apartheid terror, who want to stop racist terror here at home must demand: Drop the charges against Lennox Farrell! Cops off campus! No reprisals against the November 14 anti-apartheid protesters! Keep the butchers on the run! Smash apartheid slavery! ■

Trotskyist League Toronto Class Series

Marxism and World Revolution

January 15 Marxism and the Class Struggle

January 29 The Cops, the Courts, the Army
— the Capitalist State

February 12 Defend the Gains of the
Russian Revolution!

February 26 Smash Apartheid!
Workers to Power!

March 12 The Revolutionary Party:
Tribune of the People

Classes will be held alternate Wednesdays at 7 pm in the International Students Center (33 St. George St. at College), U of T. For further information call 593-4138.

Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 1)

On only one occasion, a year ago, did labor unions mobilize their members, for a two-day work boycott that paralyzed many businesses in Johannesburg."

This is certainly *not* due to any lack of courage and combativity on the part of the ranks and organizers. Nor is it simply because of the labor movement's fragmentation, a weakness which the "super-union" is intended to overcome. It is due to the absence of revolutionary leadership at the head of the workers movement. Union leaders have responded to the greatest crisis of the apartheid state in a generation with a narrow economism, on the one hand, and passive support to petty-bourgeois nationalism on the other.

The formation of COSATU certainly strengthens the economic power of black workers, and for this reason is to be welcomed by communists. But it also underscores the danger that the black working class will be used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. The new federation is demonstrably closer to the liberal nationalist African National Congress (ANC) than were the main union groupings which came together to form COSATU.

Both the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) had deliberately chosen *not* to affiliate to the United Democratic Front (UDF)—an all-embracing popular front bringing together everything from trade unions to sports clubs, religious councils and traders associations—behind which stands the ANC. But at the opening of the COSATU conference NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa declared that workers "have to win the confidence of other classes" and "have to get into alliance with other progressive organizations."

This is fully in keeping with the ANC's long-standing strategy of seeking a deal with the "liberal" English-speaking bourgeoisie represented by Harry Oppenheimer and his Anglo American Corp., the mammoth mining and manufacturing conglomerate. The influence of ANC-style nationalism on COSATU is embodied in its president, the NUM's Elijah Barayi. In his inaugural speech, Barayi delivered a "last warning" to South African president P.W. Botha to "get rid of the pass laws and to withdraw the troops from the townships before the country burns":

"COSATU gives Botha six months to get rid of passes. If that does not take place we will burn the passes of the black man."

—*Guardian* [London], 2 December

Barayi also called on Botha to resign, to be replaced by imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela. His call for a defiance campaign recalls the pass-burnings of the 1950s against the hated document that brands every South African black person a foreigner and chattel in his own country. That campaign ended in the

bloody massacre at Sharpeville in 1960, leading to the suppression of all organized resistance to apartheid for over a decade.

This historic disaster was prepared by a vain belief that the white supremacist regime would bend if defiant protesters were willing to fill the jails. After the Sharpeville massacre the ANC abandoned non-violence. But whether through guerrilla attacks or lobbying at the United Nations, it still pursues a policy of pressuring the apartheid regime to negotiate its own liquidation. For all his militant talk, Barayi



Nurses at Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital, largest in black Africa, work under shadow of apartheid war machine.

Peter Magubane

echoed the weepy black liberals like Bishop Tutu when he called on the government to create conditions for peaceful change before it is too late.

If the top leadership of COSATU appears clearly in the ANC camp, those black unions which have remained outside the new federation represent the other main current of petty-bourgeois black nationalism, the Black Consciousness Movement which excludes whites, holding that only blacks can organize blacks. The largest of these groupings is the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), which has been rather tame in the workplace and is affiliated to the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The second main Black Consciousness labor group is the Azanian Congress of Trade Unions, allied with the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), which avows a "socialist" program that equates the class line with the race line. AZAPO opposes imperialist liberals like Teddy Kennedy, whom the ANC cultivates, while identifying "socialism" with Zimbabwe's tribally based, neocolonial despotism.

The issue of racial exclusionism in South African trade unions is far more than a tactical question. It is in the proletariat's interest that the union movement be open to all workers—black, coloured, Indian and white. Only class organization of the oppressed and exploited can transcend the tribal and ethnic divisions fostered by apartheid in its policy of "divide and rule." Furthermore, dedicated anti-apartheid

Closer to Proletarians of the "Colored" Races

Writing of a letter from black South African supporters, Trotsky underlined the danger of Stalin's policy of class collaboration which led to the beheading of the 1927 Chinese Revolution by Kuomintang strongman Chiang Kai-shek. Trotsky stressed that for the enslaved toilers the achievement of genuine democracy and national emancipation requires the proletarian conquest of power.

I have received a copy of the letter dated April 26, 1932, sent by an organization of Negro comrades from Johannesburg. This letter, it seems to me, is of great symptomatic significance. The Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) can and must become the banner for the most oppressed sections of the world proletariat, and consequently first and foremost for the Negro workers....

In their letter, to which 24 signatures are appended (with the notation "and others"), the South African comrades expressed particular interest in the questions of the Chinese revolution. This interest, it ought to be acknowledged, is wholly justified. The working masses of the oppressed

peoples, who have to carry on the struggle for elementary national rights and for human dignity, are precisely those who incur the greatest risk of suffering the penalties for the muddled teachings of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the subject of the "democratic dictatorship." Under this false banner, the policy à la Kuomintang, that is, the vile deception and the unpunished crushing of the toiling masses by their own "national" bourgeoisie, may still do the greatest harm to the cause of the liberation of the toilers. The program of the permanent revolution, based on the incontestable historic experience of a number of countries, can and must assume primary significance for the liberation movement of the Negro proletariat....

We can and we must find a way to the consciousness of the Negro workers, the Chinese workers, the Indian workers, and all the oppressed in the human ocean of the colored races to whom belongs the decisive word in the development of mankind.

—Leon Trotsky, "Closer to the Proletarians of the 'Colored' Races!" *Writings* [1932]

white South Africans (like the martyred Neil Aggett) have played an important role in building the black unions.

Multiracialism in the South African labor movement points toward a genuinely multiracial South Africa under a black-centered workers government. Indeed, if post-apartheid South Africa is to be anything but a Zimbabwe writ large, there had better be a place for the white minority, with its relatively high level of cultural and technological skills, which can be a valuable resource in the socialist reconstruction of all Africa. But a multiracial South Africa can be built only on the basis of a workers revolution, not classless appeals for brotherly reconciliation.

Danger of Betrayal

The National Union of Mineworkers with 150,000 members is the largest and most important component of COSATU. The half million deeply oppressed migrant black gold miners stand at the heart of South Africa's economy. The NUM is the first black union to really establish itself in the mines, and its development raises crucial questions about the direction of the whole union movement.

The general secretary of the NUM and the leading figure at the founding of COSATU is the articulate, ambitious 33-year-old lawyer Cyril Ramaphosa. After a spell in security police detention for his activities in the Black Consciousness Movement in the mid-'70s, Ramaphosa went on to serve on the board of the Urban Foundation, a fund launched by the Oppenheimer empire to promote a black middle class. When Anglo American decided—after a series of bloody wildcat strikes in the mines—to allow the growth of "responsible" unions with which it could bargain, Ramaphosa launched the NUM.

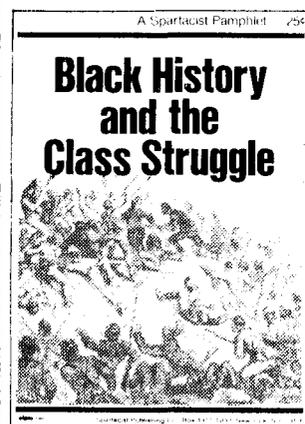
Harry Oppenheimer may have expected the NUM to behave something like a company union, but the practically slave labor conditions in the mining compounds have produced an explosive situation. Class struggle in the Witwatersrand gold fields in recent years has been especially bloody and desperate even by South African standards. The mine workers union has been

involved in countless job actions, many of them attacked by police with tear gas, *sjamboks* (whips) and shotguns. If Ramaphosa has remained free while many other black unionists have been jailed, this is not just because he is the kind of "moderate" Anglo American can talk to, but also because he leads a powerful union with a combative membership.

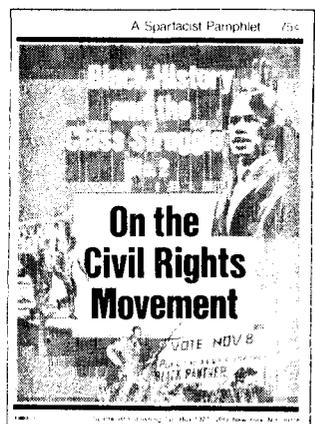
The Ramaphosa leadership has sabotaged that power and militancy. This was sharply revealed in the aborted miners strike last August–September. Coming at a time of mass defiance against Botha's state of emergency and with the international capital flight from South Africa, a nationwide gold mine strike could have been a most powerful blow against the apartheid regime. Other unions including the strategic Metal Workers offered to strike in solidarity. The whole world was watching the gold fields. But what happened?

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Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 9)

First the NUM dragged out negotiations, complying with every clause of apartheid legislation for a "legal" strike, while thousands of miners were besieged in their hostels and shipped off to the bantustans. Eventually, Ramaphosa signed an agreement with all the mining houses (including Anglo American) save one, and struck only seven mines at the beginning of September. This was presented as a smart move "splitting the bosses." Instead it was the union that was split. The cops and army prepared their forces as if for war, naturally concentrating on the few mines actually struck. The courageous miners who walked out were ruthlessly crushed almost as the strike began.

The effect of this betrayal goes far beyond the mines. As the gold strike loomed, the ANC leadership had scheduled talks in Lusaka, Zambia with a delegation of South African magnates headed by Gavin Relly, Oppenheimer's successor as chairman of Anglo American. Had the NUM waged an all-out strike, this meeting, held in mid-September, would have blown up in the participants' faces. One labor expert hit the mark when he explained that Ramaphosa did not call out the whole union because "he did not want to ruin his relationship with Anglo American" (*New York Times*, 6 September).

The ANC has long looked to this preeminent representative of the "liberal" bourgeoisie to pressure the Pretoria regime. This is the suicidal strategy of the popular front. Anglo American, the biggest super-exploiter of black migrant labor in South Africa, which installs secret gas vents in the mine compounds to deal with strikers, is as much an enemy of the black oppressed as the most *verkrampte* (reactionary) Afrikaner Nationalists. The aborted gold mine strike demonstrates graphically how trade-union economism and nationalism combine to derail class struggle against apartheid.

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

While Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders are talking with Gavin Relly and his fellow "progressive" South African capitalists, they are also calling upon the black masses to "make the townships ungovernable." This is the policy of chaos. It can inconvenience the apartheid rulers for a time, but it will not overthrow them. Nor is it intended to: the ANC is pursuing the utopian and reactionary goal of "power-sharing," seeking to pressure the bosses into letting a layer of petty-bourgeois black leaders share in the super-exploitation of black labor. The very restless black masses in South Africa today are very far from having an instrument—a revolutionary workers party—for taking power.

Barayi put the authority of COSATU behind the campaign for divestment, another aspect of the policy of chaos, trying to "make the economy ungovernable" by appealing to the imperialist mass murderers of Hiroshima and Vietnam to put the squeeze on their South African allies, to get them to clean up their act. Barayi was faithful to the strategy that led to Sharpeville when he justified divestment saying, "Let us all suffer together; that will force the Government to abolish apartheid" (*Financial Times* [London], 2 December).

But the imperialists have already "disinvested" billions of dollars, pounds and deutschemarks from South Africa, and it has not stayed the hand of the mur-

derous apartheid police state butchers one whit. For Botha knows that the Wall Street, London and Frankfurt bankers are waiting for the imposition of social peace, even if it is a "peace" of the graveyards, and the billions will flow back seeking superprofits, the golden spoils of apartheid slavery.

The policy of chaos dangerously underestimates the potential repressive power of the white rulers, who are now in considerable disarray and deeply politically divided. If South Africa's rulers cannot govern the segregated black townships, they can still isolate and destroy them. A South African Hitler—and there are plenty of candidates for this role—could seal off the townships, blow up the sewer lines, demolish the hospitals, cut off electricity, food and water... and wait. After about 18 months the resulting hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of dead would secure "social peace" in South Africa for a generation.



Winnie Mandela defies government ban, demanding vengeance for anti-apartheid martyrs.

If the racist rulers in Pretoria have not yet moved toward such a Hitlerite "final solution," they are wantonly slaughtering black township dwellers. At a mass funeral in Mamelodi for the latest victims, anti-apartheid fighter Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader, defied Botha's banning order and proclaimed: "This is our country. In the same way as you have had to bury our children today, so shall the blood of these heroes we buried today be avenged." Her courageous words speak for all supporters of social justice.

But how will the martyrs of apartheid terror be avenged? Certainly not by calls to make the townships ungovernable, and still less by talks with Oppenheimer/Relly & Co. and appeals to Wall Street to disinvest in South Africa. It is the powerful and combative black proletariat, under the leadership of a Bolshevik party, which will be the gravedigger of apartheid capitalism and the avenger of its crimes. On that grave will arise a black-centered workers government, the only road to the liberation of black Africa from the chains of neocolonial exploitation and imperialist domination.

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 393
(13 December)

Sikhs...

(continued from page 3)

reactionary legacy of British imperialism which continues to wreak havoc upon the Indian masses.

From 1903 to 1907, 5,000 Sikhs were brought to Canada to replace Chinese and Japanese immigrants as the source of cheap labor. Most settled in B.C., where they soon became the victims of state-orchestrated racist terror. In 1907, when a recession hit the West Coast, Sikhs—all of whom were British subjects and many veterans of the British Indian army—were stripped of all voting rights (which they did not regain until 1947), barred from buying public land and thrown out by landlords. Those who left to visit relatives in India were not allowed to return. In 1914, 376 courageous Sikhs, determined to break Canada's racist color-bar against East Indian immigration, sailed into Vancouver harbor aboard the *Komagata Maru*. The government refused to let them land and for two long hot summer months the passengers were left to perish on board, denied fresh food or drinking water. But these heroic people did not crack, despite continual harassment by immigration officials, British agents and racist mobs on shore whipped to a frenzy by the government. Only after 100 police attempted to board the ship and the Canadian government threatened to blow the *Komagata Maru* out of the water with its heavily armed Navy gunboat *Rainbow* did the Sikhs finally concede and sail back to India.

Today the parasitic Canadian bourgeoisie still sees itself as the outpost of the British Empire whose task is to stem the flow of "brown-skinned hordes" and keep Canada white. Refugees fleeing anti-Tamil massacres in Sri Lanka, right-wing terror and death in Haiti and the Salvadoran death squads are routinely kept out. Those who do manage to make it here are thrown into detention centers where the Inquisitors of the immigration department force them to relive time and again their experiences of torture at the hands of the sadistic friends of Canadian imperialism, from Latin America to Asia, as "proof" of their "credentials" as refugees. A country founded by counter-revolutionary "refugees" defeated in the American bourgeois revolution, Canada puts out the welcome mat for all manner of mass murderers, drug dealers and fellow defeated counterrevolutionaries from Vietnam to Eastern Europe. An estimated 3,000 Nazi war criminals have found safe haven here. And woe to those who try to get any of Hitler's butchers and their collaborators deported. At the phony Deschênes hearings supposedly to investigate Nazis in Canada, it was Nazi-hunter Sol Littman, associated with the world-renowned anti-Nazi Simon Wiesenthal, who was put on trial. Decrying the very existence of the "commission of inquiry," the government's lawyer targeted Littman as a "vigilante" condemning him for forcing the establishment of the Deschênes Commission.

Not one Sikh fleeing the Hindu-chauvinist reign of terror, unleashed by Indira Gandhi's June 1984 massacre of 2,000 Sikhs at Amritsar, has been granted refugee status in Canada. With typical smug racist British superiority, the *Globe and Mail* editorialists offer this as "proof" that the refugee claims were phony. Sikhs in India were beaten up, chased, chained, hacked to pieces and burnt alive in the communalist terror that engulfed large parts of India following the assassination of Indira Gandhi by avenging Sikhs, members of her personal body guard. The pogromist mobs that took to the streets for this butchery were frequently led by thugs of Gandhi's Congress (I) Party.

Since inheriting his mother's position as the iron-fisted ruler of India, Rajiv Gandhi has insistently demanded that Canada crack down on Sikhs. *India Today* (30 November) writes: "The tough Canadian reaction—long overdue according to some... to some extent reflect[s] the merits of Rajiv Gandhi's unpromising diplomacy during his recent foreign tour." But according to *Globe and Mail* reporter Zuhair Kashmeri, the anti-Sikh outcry reflects years of work by Indian government agents provocateurs whose "activities in Canada include the spreading of false information, the use of paid informers and the instigation of activities to discredit the Sikh separatist movement" (28 November). The Indian government reportedly sent the RCMP several intelligence reports implicating Sikhs in the Air-India crash and the Narita airport bombing. However, Kashmeri claims that: "RCMP investigators believe Indian Government agents to be responsible for the bombings, although they have no firm proof" (21 November). The RCMP has always alleged that the Air-India plane was bombed, although they have no proof of that either. Now the Indian government, which claimed that the crash of Flight 182 was the result of sabotage by Sikh terrorists, finds the finger pointed at it. When the RCMP denied the story, the newspaper's managing editor Geoffrey Stevens said the *Globe and Mail* stood by Kashmeri's articles, noting that the RCMP "through access to some of their files, left us with no doubt that they suspect Indian government agents of planning the Air-India incident" (22 November).

The Indian ruling class are the inheritors and skilled practitioners of the British Raj's "divide and rule" perfidy, whose victims numbered in the millions. Well trained in his mother's school, Rajiv Gandhi is a consummate, calculating and murderous Hindu chauvinist. Such is the reactionary logic of nationalism that the terror and crackdown against the entire Sikh community only increases support for the creation of Khalistan, a Sikh theocratic state. This is an invitation to the 1947 Partition all over again. As we wrote in *Spartacist Canada* (November 1984) at the time of the bloodcurdling reign of terror against the Sikhs: "... within a capitalist framework, the Sikh fundamentalist dream of Khalistan ('state of the pure') or some other form of self-determination would entail a reactionary reversal of the terms of oppression for the Punjab's large and interpenetrated Hindu minority. Only within a socialist federation of the Indian subcontinent can the oppressed peoples and nations find their emancipation."

The Canadian government's racist "anti-terrorist" crackdown against Sikhs fuels the genuine terrorism of the fascist KKK and Nazis, which is directed against all East Indians. The KKK nightriders have literally ridden shotgun through a Vancouver suburb, blasting gunfire and firebombs through the windows of East Indian homes. A young East Indian was shot with a knitting needle reading "compliments from the KKK." Where was the outcry in the House of Commons over this terrorism? There wasn't any. The KKK and Nazis are simply the terrorist strong-arm version of the racism that emanates from the highest sources of power.

It will take the mass mobilization of labor and minorities to stop these fascist terrorists—like the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S. which stopped the KKK from marching hooded and robed in a terror campaign against "illegal immigrants" in the streets of Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. And it will take a multi-racial Leninist-Trotskyist party leading the struggle for North American socialist revolution to avenge the bloody racist crimes of the Canadian imperialists. ■

Moral Majority...

(continued from page 5)

joint anti-porn squad of the Metro Toronto Police and the Ontario Provincial Police) raided the staid W.H. Smith bookstore in Toronto's glittering First Canadian Place to remove the only copy of *The Joy of Gay Sex* from its shelves. Canada's Moral Majority is determined to impose its straitjacket version of "one man on one woman for life" in the monogamous nuclear family, the main source of women's oppression in capitalist society and tailor-made to produce good little boys and girls who will kill those the government tells them to kill. In this all-sided war against all sex, homosexuals are the number one target. For years,



Barry Gray/Toronto Sun

Toronto cops beat demonstrators protesting raids on gay bathhouses, April 1983.

the cops have conducted jackboot raids on gay bathhouses and social gatherings, assaulting, beating and jailing hundreds. They have tried to eliminate gay bookstores and publications like the *Body Politic* through endless court persecution. Private homes and public washrooms are spied on in the search for "homosexual deviants," leading to at least one tragic suicide and hundreds of shattered lives. Meanwhile, a gang of drunken anti-gay punks, who beat a 40-year-old Toronto school librarian to death in Toronto's High Park last June, were described in court and media headlines as "average, sensitive youths"!

The fatal disease of AIDS has given rise to ignorant mass hysteria reminiscent of the plague years in Medieval Europe. Despite the fact that this cruel disease cannot be transmitted by casual contact, the school boards, the medical establishment and the government have shunned, threatened and harassed AIDS sufferers (who have more to fear medically from the general population than vice versa), demanding that the names of potential AIDS carriers be turned over to the state. Anti-gay reactionaries and religious bigots have declared AIDS to be "god's retribution for sin." Fascist Ann Ladas, former member of the race-terrorist Western Guard and now of the Hitlerite Nationalist Party, used the issue of AIDS to pose as a "respectable" candidate in the November municipal elections in Toronto. This two-bit Eva Braun promised to "quarantine" every AIDS victim in Toronto and close every bathhouse. Ladas and her Nazi-loving campaign manager,

Donald Andrews, have Hitler's death camps in mind as their "quarantine" models. At the same time, Auschwitz survivor Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a courageous fighter for women's democratic right to abortion, is the target of a viciously anti-Semitic terror campaign and state persecution (see article on p.4).

The fascists are not the only ones to relish the Nazis' "final solution." In what surely has its roots in the notebooks of the notorious Nazi torturer Josef Mengele, a B.C. Provincial Court judge recently ordered a 16-year-old, who had just pleaded guilty to break-and-enter charges, to be "treated" with a "chemical castrator." The state intends to torture and deform this youth because some psychiatrist thought the boy had "violent sexual fantasies." This is an outrage! The sinister doctor, in a long white coat, needle ready to inject "rebels," "misfits" and "deviants" with mind-numbing drugs is a reality in this country.

These are truly the manifestations of a sick society and the degeneracy and bankruptcy of a ruling class caught up in a Cold War frenzy. They only have room in "their" society for people who live in slavish fear, obedient to "authority" and willing to step into line behind their insane anti-Soviet war drive. We Marxists stand for the principle that people ought to be able to live their lives decently, in peace. We adamantly oppose any laws proscribing freedom of expression, consensual sexual activity, prostitution and other so-called "crimes without victims." People should have the right to write, paint and film what they want, read and watch what they want and sleep with whomever and whatever they want, provided the other one(s) agree. We demand that abortion and health care, including birth control information and devices, be free and available on demand. We call for millions of dollars for research to combat AIDS. The deep social/sexual reaction being enforced in Canada by the rulers of this country of defeated United Empire Loyalist counterrevolutionaries can only be defeated by the revolutionary program of struggle for workers power in North America. Only the abolition of capitalism will enable man to build a society which uses its resources for human need, "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." ■

Just Out!

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee Commission for Work Among Women

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Britain...

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Ireland. Thatcher's proposed "Public Order Bill" gives the cops free license for the most brutal repression of all "enemies" of the Tory government which include not only labor, the left and minorities but anyone who opposes the rule of the Iron Lady. What's needed is a Leninist-Trotskyist party at the head of the working class, as a genuine tribune of the people. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain fought for union-centered community defense guards to defeat the racist attacks and cop terror. Right now in Britain is a unique opportunity to unite minorities and the poor with the heavy battalions of labor, a key moment to forge a genuinely Bolshevik party of workers revolution.

* * * * *

In early September Margaret Thatcher and her racist cops set off explosions of ghetto anger. First there was the massive police invasion of Birmingham's predominantly black and Asian district of Handsworth. Less than three weeks later came London's Brixton, where the 1981 "riots" first burst into flames. When cops shot a West Indian mother in the back, angry crowds surrounded the police station; burning barricades of overturned cars soon appeared. Then it was the turn of Liverpool's Toxteth. And on October 7, in north London, the cops got more than they bargained for. This time not only bricks and bottles, but shotgun fire greeted police invaders who charged into a housing project in Tottenham. The cops came up one short.

Last March, after 12 bitter months on the picket lines, Britain's militant miners were forced back to the pits. They had been dealt a defeat, fighting essentially alone against the whole state apparatus of British capitalism, *but they were not broken*. They proudly marched back to work with union banners flying, with drums and bagpipes playing. Maggie Thatcher vowed to be "vindictive in victory," and she certainly carried through on that threat. But a mere six months later the Iron Lady was in big trouble. Her popularity sank to new lows. And, the haughty Tories in Whitehall are well aware that Handsworth, Toxteth and Brixton could spark a new wave of militant social struggle.

Nero fiddled as Rome burned; Thatcher lit the torch and stoked the fires that set Britain's cities aflame. Meanwhile the opposition Labour Party offers nothing but soft-core Thatcherism. From the year-long miners strike, the most important struggle in this country in decades, to the recent ghetto revolts, Labour leader Neil Kinnock has done nothing but stab the struggles of Britain's poor and working people in the back. *The country is falling apart and it will take socialist revolution to rebuild Britain.* As almost nowhere else in the industrialized capitalist world, the stark choice in Britain is socialism or rampant decay and devastation—and the devastation is there for everyone to see. After half a decade of Thatcher's monetarism, unemployment is officially 13.5 percent, and double that in the industrial areas of northern England, Scotland and South Wales. In ghettos like Handsworth and Brixton it approaches 60 percent. The reformists' welfare state schemes have already been tried and proven bankrupt. The standard of living has fallen below Italy and Spain. And it's not just Thatcher: the Wilson/Callaghan Labour government broke strikes,



Black miner addresses Spartacist meeting in Birmingham: "Defend Handsworth! Racist cops out now!"

sent troops to Northern Ireland and instituted the notorious virginity tests for Asian women seeking entry into Britain.

Thatcher deliberately sought to foment a racist bloodbath, either through naked police terror or through an attempt to incite interracial violence. She wanted the cities to burn—and then blame it on the blacks, Asians and reds. One week before Handsworth blew, the police sponsored a white vigilante meeting that targeted a popular bingo hangout for arson attack. That was the first building to burn. Then they tried to pit Asians against blacks: the Fleet Street press deliberately spread lies that two Asian men were seen being beaten up and thrown into a burning building by "black mobs." Every sector of the Handsworth community repudiated the police/media provocation; black and Asian community leaders came together to lay wreaths in memory of the two Asian men burned to death, and publicly called for a boycott of a government "inquiry."

On September 28, seven armed police kicked down the door of a Brixton council house and shot a black housewife in cold blood, paralyzing her from the waist down. What followed was a police riot, as cops first rampaged on the streets and then systematically terrorized residents of black housing estates. As a pall of smoke hung over whole sections, Brixton was sealed off under police occupation. A week later, London police burst into the home of black community organizer Floyd Jarrett and pushed his mother, who suffered from heart trouble, to the floor. They refused to call an ambulance while she lay dying. After a protest over the racist murder, hundreds of cops swarmed the area. But in an ensuing ten-hour battle, the cops got what they had coming: 230 were injured, several wounded by shotgun fire, one dead. Four kids as young as 13 and a local shopkeeper were hastily framed up for "murder" of a cop.

Bankruptcy of Labourism

Thatcher has deliberately deindustrialized Britain, shutting down large chunks of steel and coal production. In fact, Britain is the only industrial nation with an *absolute decline* in manufacturing output in the last decade. For blacks and Asians, brought over

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Britain...

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in large numbers in the '50s and '60s to do the dirtiest, lowest paying jobs, there's nowhere to go. Yet the Nationality Act, which was prepared by a Labour government, denies citizenship to many children of West Indian, Asian and other Commonwealth citizens who lived and worked in Britain most of their lives.



Handsworth after cop riot looks like Dresden after World War II terror-bombing.

The need for working-class power and socialist reconstruction of society is posed pointblank in Britain today. The Thatcher government is exposed, exhausted, brittle and discredited. Only a year ago Thatcher and her entire cabinet were almost blown to kingdom come by the IRA, to the expressed indifference or outright jubilation of the vast majority of her subjects. The most militant section of the proletariat—the miners—was defeated but hardly crushed. And Labourite parliamentarist illusions have been shaken. Certainly after a year of hard class struggle the reformist pipe dream of a peaceful transformation of British society is a bad joke for militants. These conditions sharply pose the possibility for a regroupment of class-struggle militants into a revolutionary vanguard party.

But the workers movement remains tied to the reformist Labour Party. For decades the British left has subordinated itself politically to the parliamentarist lieutenants of British capital. In decaying Britain, where there is no room for credible reform, social democracy today means increasingly overtly breaking social struggles. Striking miners and other militants disparagingly refer to Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock as "Ramsay MacKinnock," after despised Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald, who defected to the class enemy in the 1930s. Kinnock supported Thatcher's scab ballot and condemned the miners' defense of their

picket lines against the strikebreaking cops and scabs.

Now, as a section of the bourgeoisie has deserted Thatcher, and Kinnock smells the possibility of leading the next government, he is all the more eager to demonstrate his loyalty to the capitalist order. When a local black Labour councillor, Bernie Grant, refused to condemn Tottenham youth for courageously defending themselves against Thatcher's cops and forthrightly asserted that the police got a "bloody good hiding," Kinnock echoed the savage Tory denunciation of Grant. He and his deputy chief Roy Hattersley immediately issued a statement dissociating the Labour Party from Grant's eminently decent stance.

If even most militant workers remain tied to the Labour Party, it is not on account of the despised Kinnock but out of illusions in the "lefts" in the trade unions and Labour Party. Divisions within the British workers movement are shaped by the conflict between the groveling pro-CIA, anti-Soviet right wing and disparate, mushy "left." The most prominent "left" leader is NUM head Arthur Scargill, who had earned the widespread enmity of the right for his forthright denunciation of Polish Solidarność as counterrevolutionary. The bosses may cheer for Kinnock, but much of Labour's working-class base looks to Arthur Scargill's NUM and the class struggle it symbolizes. At this year's Labour Party conference a resolution was put forward by Scargill calling for a future Labour government to reinstate sacked miners, review the cases of jailed miners and reimburse the NUM for its funds seized by Thatcher. This got a majority despite frenzied opposition by Kinnock. And yet Scargill, along with the other lefts, calls for unity within the Labour Party, supporting the election of a Labour government under strikebreaker Kinnock!

The miners strike was an acid test for evaluating every grouping that would lead the British proletariat. The right-wing Labourites who most hate the Russian Revolution proved themselves equally the enemy of the British revolution—they were the open scabherders. But in the final analysis it was the treachery of the "lefts" in refusing to spread the strike that defeated the NUM. They did not want to shut down Thatcher's Britain because they are unwilling to *fight for power*. As for the myriad pseudo-Trotskyists, both inside and outside the Labour Party, they at best tailed the "lefts," helping the backstabbing social democrats maintain their hold on the proletariat.

Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

The Spartacist League sharply exposed the Labour and union "lefts," demanding they break *in struggle* from the open class traitors. The SL called for a Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen, and transport workers to strike jointly against Thatcher. This would have been in effect a general strike, posing the question of workers power. But although two dock strikes were called briefly, union leaders in rail, transport and maritime who proclaimed their "solidarity" with the NUM would not break with the scabherding leadership of the Trades Union Congress and mobilize their ranks alongside the miners. The miners strike perfectly bore out Leon Trotsky's observation about the British "lefts":

"...leftism of this kind remains left only so long as it has no practical obligations. But as soon as the question of action arises, the left wingers respectfully cede the leadership to the rights."

—"Problems of the British Labor Movement,"

12 January 1926



Ronald Richards

Thatcher's cops move in for union-busting occupation of mining town during heroic British miners strike, 1984.

A revolutionary vanguard party in Britain can only be forged through breaking the stranglehold of Labourism on the working class. But that will take effective Leninist tactics. Simple sectarian dismissal of the divisions within British social democracy no less than opportunist tailing of the Labour and union "lefts" are equally formulas for sterility. A Leninist-Trotskyist party can be forged only through splitting the Labour Party, bringing key sectors of the working class under the revolutionary banner while exposing and politically defeating the pro-capitalist misleaders, both "left" and right. *Today the opportunities for a regroupment, through splits and fusions of would-be revolutionary forces, are more favorable than at any time in years.*

The various fake-left groups in Britain who have made a career out of liquidating into or blindly tailing the Labour Party—from the limp Communist Party to the ex-guerrilla enthusiasts of the ex-IMG—have split or are on the verge of splits. Most notably the British

Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) of Gerry Healy and Michael Banda, which professes to be the largest and most leftist group in Britain calling itself Trotskyist, is in profound upheaval. The apparent bulk of the group, headed by general secretary Banda and leading theoretician Cliff Slaughter, has severed itself from Healy—who long occupied in the WRP a position roughly equivalent to that enjoyed by J.V. Stalin in the Russian Communist Party. The two wings have expelled one another, both claiming the WRP name and both producing papers with the same name, *News Line*.

Most of the British fake-left simply apologized for or amnestied the cop terror, refusing even to oppose the racist police occupations. In contrast, the SL uniquely demanded: Down with the racist cop occupations of Handsworth, Brixton, Tottenham—Cops out now! Drop the charges against victims of the police dragnets—Free those framed up for "murder" in Tottenham! Jail the killer cops and throw away the keys! Build trade union-centered community defense guards to defeat racist attacks and cop terror!

The SL called an emergency meeting in Handsworth when the area was under police occupation. The cops hated it—they arrested three of our comrades for leafletting. But a well-integrated crowd of several dozen blacks, Asians and whites showed up in defiance of the cops. The miners we organized to come were particularly well received. As one miner put it: "Ten years ago I wouldn't have bothered...but now you're going through what we went through." There are *tens of thousands* of militant workers who share these sentiments; indeed, at a miners meeting in Barnsley on October 19, several thousand miners cheered NUM leader Arthur Scargill when he condemned cop violence in Brixton. Condemnations are not enough—in the face of Thatcher's cops rampaging, the watchword must be: Cops out! Miners to Brixton!

The British proletariat needs a Bolshevik party, modeled on the party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the Russian workers and oppressed, all races, all nationalities, men and women, to victory over capitalism in 1917. ■

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SPARTACIST CANADA

War on Minorities, Poor, Labor

Thatcher Burns Britain

We reprint below, in abridged form, an article from *Workers Vanguard* (1 November) on Margaret Thatcher's vicious cop attacks on blacks, Asians and the poor in several of Britain's major cities. Blacks and Asians in Canada, in particular youth, felt a keen sense of identification with the impoverished ghetto residents who fought back with justice on their side against the police rampage. It's not only that many have friends and relatives from the Caribbean, India and other former British colonies now living in England. Minorities here, from black youth in Toronto's Jane-Finch area to East Indians in Vancouver, know only too well from their own bitter experience in Britain's Canadian "dominion" what it is like to be on the receiving end of brutal cop harassment and racist terror.

Thatcher thought that a massive provocation against what she considered the most vulnerable section of British society would do for her plummeting popularity what the dirty Falklands/Malvinas war did. But the attempt to scapegoat minorities didn't wash. The government and especially the cops are deeply hated by wide sectors of the population where there are still vivid memories of the brutal police charges against the overwhelmingly white miners in their 12-month heroic strike. It was white as well as black and Asian youth who battled the cops in Tottenham and drove Home Secretary Douglas Hurd out of Handsworth.

The miners strike broke down the traditional barriers between the working class and the oppressed Irish, black and Asian minorities who were among the most stalwart supporters of the embattled National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). Internationally the miners strike inspired tremendous and unusual support. Miners in Sudbury, whose ranks have been slashed by over 10,000 layoffs in the past decade and many of whom are permanently jobless, knew that the British miners were battling for the lives and futures of thousands of workers and families. They dug down deep to give generous financial support to the NUM. Trotskyist League of Canada members and supporters found the same kind of generosity and solidarity among the unionists and others we appealed to as part of the Partisan Defense Committee's campaign for aid to the striking British miners' families. Over \$23,000 (U.S.) was raised from across North America.

In contrast, on both sides of the Atlantic, the Cold War social democrats and trade-union tops proved themselves to be the open enemies of class struggle. On the eve of the NUM strike Britain's Trades Union

Congress attempted to isolate the miners in a vicious witchhunt of NUM leader Arthur Scargill for his honest and forthright denunciation of Poland's Solidarność as counterrevolutionary. Canadian Labour Congress president Dennis McDermott tried to pick up this cudgel to spike any demonstration of solidarity with the British miners from Canadian unionists. The Labour Party



Brixton ablaze: Cop terror sparks explosion in London black ghetto.

News Line

tops and trade-union bureaucrats, together with their counterparts in Canada, lined up against the miners. Not surprisingly today they are even more hostile to the black, Asian and white poor in the ghettos exploding in just outrage against the murdering cops. In Canada, the NDP social democrats, who are to the right of even Kinnock's Labour Party, did nothing when hooded and robed Klansmen took to the streets of Vancouver in broad daylight terrorizing East Indians and leftist bookstores. Instead they were mobilizing unionists to picket a Polish ship in defense of Solidarność' counterrevolution. Pushing anti-Japanese protectionism and immigration quotas to "save the jobs" of Canadian (read: white) workers the NDP fuels rising racist and fascist terror against minorities. In Manitoba the NDP government is persecuting Dr. Henry Morgentaler who is the target of a vicious campaign of anti-Semitism waged by former Manitoba NDP cabinet minister Joe Borowski (see article p. 4).

Thatcher's cops have warned that in the future they will use tear gas and plastic bullets: the tools of terror for the British occupation forces in Northern

(continued on page 13)