

CLC CONVENTION:

Oust the Labor Traitors! For a Class-Struggle Leadership!



MARCH 1976 ANTI-WAGE-CONTROLS DEMONSTRATION ON PARLIAMENT HILLS.

Labor Challenge

Outgoing Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) president Joe Morris and his designated successor Dennis McDermott will doubtless be serving up some tough talk to this year's CLC convention in Quebec City. After all, it's hard for a pro-capitalist labor faker to be glib and optimistic when looking at the sorry state of Canadian capitalism today.

In the two years since the last CLC convention, trade unionists have seen their standards of living slashed by wage controls and inflation, while unemployment has soared to levels unknown since the "Hungry Thirties." What's more, every bourgeois economic pundit predicts that it's only going to get worse. So Morris, McDermott and Co. will be trotting out all their timeworn, threadbare tricks for pumping life back into the economy: protectionism, a new "industrial strategy," tripartism, "co-determination." The speeches will be predictable, the line will be collaboration with the bosses, and Canadian workers will be left unarmed in the face of the capitalists' attacks.

However, while the labor tops band together to push "unity" with the bosses and their government,

the issue which is likely to split the convention is the national question in Quebec. As we go to press, the CLC bureaucracy is still trying to patch up some kind of compromise resolution which will allow them to dodge the debate of "national unity" vs. Quebec's right to self-determination, and has yet to take a position on the issue that has provoked debate in virtually every major union convention since the election of the Parti Québécois in November 1976.

But battle lines have been drawn. Waving the Canadian flag, the New Democratic Party and several unions and labor federations (notably the International Association of Machinists and Ontario Federation of Labour) have joined Trudeau's English-Canadian-chauvinist "national unity" crusade. On the other side, the Quebec Federation of Labour, backed by the Canadian Union of Public

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ZIONISTS GRAB SOUTHERN LEBANON 8

"Subversives" on the *Toronto Sun*?

In mid-March the federal government charged two senior officers of the right-wing *Toronto Sun* under the Official Secrets Act for "leaking" material from an allegedly "top secret" RCMP report on Soviet espionage in Canada. Inveterate anti-communist *Sun* editor Peter Worthington seemed completely befuddled by the government's indictment against himself and *Sun* publisher Douglas Creighton. In a column written after he was charged, Worthington moaned, "... it had always seemed to me that the Official Secrets Act and its 14-year maximum sentence was designed for traitors and enemy agents attempting to destroy Canada..." (*Sun*, March 19). Worthington and Creighton can hardly be charged with being "enemies" of the Canadian capitalist state--the *Sun* is probably the most viciously anti-labor, anti-communist daily published in Canada.

What makes the whole affair even more bizarre is the fact that the bulk of the supposedly "secret" information published in the *Sun* on March 7 had been broadcast on the national CTV network three weeks earlier on February 12. One of the participants in the program had even been Robin Bourne --Canada's top security cop. Thus far government spokesmen have sought to dodge the question why no prosecution has been undertaken against CTV and/or Bourne. Even leading bourgeois dailies like the *Toronto Star* are asking if there isn't "more than a whiff of politics hang[ing] over the whole business?" (March 22).

Most of the "revelations" leaked from the RCMP document are so ludicrous that one wonders if perhaps they were supplied to the Mounties by the "U.S. Labor Party's" *New Solidarity* news service. One of the pieces of information published by the *Sun* concerns the story of a dowdy Canadian research scientist who went to Russia and was seduced by his attractive Intourist guide. Another example of "Soviet subversion" contained in the RCMP report concerns the sale of a Canadian-built research submarine to a Soviet company in Switzerland. According to the *Toronto Star* of March 22, however, "the government was fully aware of what was going on, as was the RCMP security service. Government export permits were issued and insurance arranged through the government's own Export Development Corp." Some "subversion"!

The *Sun* has not been the only source of the secret RCMP revelations--right-wing Conservative MP Tom Cossitt has also been busy leaking material from the same document used by Worthington. Cossitt's material, which has been even more far-fetched than the *Sun*'s, included a list of five Canadian companies which are supposedly

operating as KGB fronts. Super-sleuth Cossitt was later forced to apologize to the president of one of these "KGB operations," Arthur Smith, when he discovered that Smith had spent six years as a Tory backbencher in Ottawa. Perhaps the wildest charge in the whole ridiculous affair was Cossitt's allegation, reported in the *Globe and Mail* of February 24, that "the French intelligence service, infiltrated with KGB agents, is funding terrorist activities against Canada, based largely in Quebec." According to Cossitt much of the financial backing for these anti-Canadian activities originates in Manila!

In response to reporters' questions Cossitt disingenuously claimed, "I'm not anti-French or some lunatic seeing a Communist behind every tree" (*Globe and Mail*, February 16). But the Prime Minister claims to know better: "I never take Tom Cossitt seriously...I rarely know what he is talking about. I don't think he does either" (*Globe and Mail*, February 24).

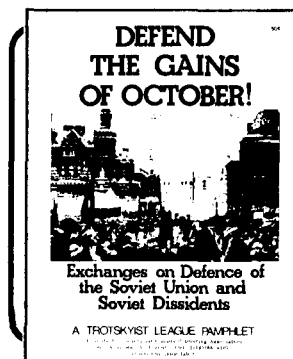
WHAT IS THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT?

The Official Secrets Act is a gag law dating from the 1890's which allows the government to prosecute anyone communicating or receiving "secret information." In order to allow the state the widest latitude in using this reactionary legislation, "secret information" is left undefined in the act. Furthermore, in prosecutions the Crown can ask for an order from the judge for a secret trial if it feels that making the evidence public "would be prejudicial to the interests of the state." This clause makes a mockery of the Canadian Bill of Rights which states that an accused has a right to a "fair and public" trial.

The Official Secrets Act is one of a number of acts--such as the War Measures Act, which was invoked against the Québécois in October 1970--which provide a 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. These acts, and other such bonapartist laws imported from English jurisprudence, are a reactionary heritage from the British Empire. To date in Canada the Official Secrets Act has been used exclusively against individuals accused of funnelling secrets to the Soviet Union.

The Trudeau government's decision to use the Official Secrets Act against the reactionary anti-

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UAW Militants Battle Cops at Fleck

HURON PARK, Ont., March 28--More than 150 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) set up a mass picket line at the Fleck Manufacturing Co. plant here this morning in support of 80 workers, mainly women, who have been on strike since March 6 for their first UAW contract. Auto workers from the Ford Motor Co.'s Talbotville assembly plant, who drove down to this small town near London to man the lines, cheered enthusiastically when it was announced that a militant from Ford's giant River Rouge complex in Detroit had also come to support the strike.

On March 14 and 22 mass picketing had forced the company to close the plant for the day, but this time the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) had boasted that the road to the plant "will definitely remain open" for scabs. The workers who set up today's picket were determined to shut the plant down by stopping the busload of scabs which the police have been herding across the picket line daily. However when they arrived for the picket they found only one carload of OPP cops waiting across from the picket line (with a bus full of reinforcements further down the road). For once these armed strikebreaking thugs weren't expecting any action--the scabs had been brought into the plant at 3 a.m. and had barricaded themselves in.

Since they began their strike, the Fleck workers have been victims of continual police intimidation, harassment and assaults. Even before the strike began, the cops were acting as open company agents. One striker told a Spartacist Canada reporter on the picket line that "the cops said there wasn't much sense in going to the union meetings because the case would never come before the [Labour Relations] Board."

The strikers have been subjected to continuing police brutality, and seven have been arrested on various charges. One of the more ominous developments has been the police seizure of newspaper photographs, taken at the picket line by London Free Press photographers, in order to obtain material for future prosecutions of picketers. Several of the arrests which have been made resulted from these seizures. The police have also attempted to requisition film from Global TV, but Global management refused to release footage not previously shown on news broadcasts.

In the face of the arrests and continual police harassment, and with the help of UAW members from other locals, the Fleck workers have fought back against both cop and scab attempts to break their strike. The driver of a car which injured two picketers on March 14 had the misfortune to have his vehicle overturned and smashed.

Fleck's employees work in unsafe, unsanitary conditions with miserable wages (ranging from \$2.85 to \$3.40 an hour) manufacturing auto wiring, primarily for the Ford Motor Co. The union lead-



FEMALE COPS ASSAULT UAW MILITANT.

London Free Press

ership's demands in the strike--a starting wage of \$3.20 rising to \$3.95 over three years, plus a compulsory dues check-off--are pitifully inadequate. But they have thus far been contemptuously denied by the company, which is determined to try and bust the union.

McDERMOTT'S MILITANT GRANDSTANDING

UAW Canadian Director Dennis McDermott, heir apparent to the Canadian Labour Congress presidency has used the strike for some image-building within the labor movement. McDermott played up the direct link between the Ontario government and the company--which was founded by Conservative Deputy Minister James Fleck, and is half-owned by his wife and daughter--and has denounced the strike-breaking role of the government's cops. Striking a tough-guy pose, McDermott told reporters, "if [Ontario Solicitor-General] Mr. Kerr can't control the OPP and if he doesn't do something to stop the abuse of women on the picket line by police, the UAW will show him how to do it" (Globe and Mail, March 10).

But as one member of the Talbotville local remarked when asked about McDermott's support for the strike, "He's never been out himself." Another strike supporter from Talbotville, recalling McDermott's vicious attack on Talbotville workers as a "goon squad" for closing down their plant one day before the "official" beginning of the November 1976

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Student Bureaucrats, Stalinists Link Arms with Cops

Ontario Students March Against Cutbacks



MARCH 16 PROTEST AT ONTARIO LEGISLATURE

Globe and Mail

TORONTO, March 16--Close to seven thousand students, faculty and campus workers from all over Ontario marched on Queen's Park today to protest the provincial government's continued cutbacks in educational spending. Chanting the timeworn slogan of anti-cutbacks demonstrations, "They say cutback! We say fightback!", many of the demonstrators were indeed eager to "fight back" against the Conservative Ontario government's budget slashing, tuition fee hikes and financial assistance cuts. But the Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) and local student hacks who organized the demonstration were not about to have any truck with a movement to transcend the bounds of parliamentary lobbying.

These junior parliamentarians offered demonstrators an hour or two of speechifying and tub-thumping by trade union bureaucrats, opposition party leaders and (of course) themselves, then wound up the demonstration by encouraging everyone to leave for coffee and donuts. But while the student bureaucrats were politely applauding and paying their respects to the speakers, a few hundred angry demonstrators attempted to break through police lines to enter the Ontario Legislature. Their efforts at keeping the demonstration "respectable" having run aground, the student hacks turned to the armed experts on quashing dissent, and closed ranks with

the cops to keep demonstrators in their place. And who should find themselves in the front lines with the hired guns of the capitalist class, holding back "the people," but many well-known supporters of the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP)! In a style that would have done Joe McCarthy proud, Leo Casey, vice-president of the University of Toronto Graduate Students' Union (GSU), whose executive has for several years been in political agreement with the CP, had warned demonstrators at a warm-up rally before the march not to be hoodwinked by "outside agitators." But at Queen's Park, pleas by Casey and his cohorts for students to disperse and go back to their campuses fell on deaf ears. As a few hundred students continued to push against police barricades, the demonstration organizers were driven into a frenzy. Lining up beside the cops to protect the sacrosanct hall of government, Casey lashed out wildly with a picket stick at a "Stop the Cutbacks" banner which had been brought too close to the barricades.

Unlike its Stalinist CP cronies in Italy, the Canadian CP has no mass influence to barter for a few ministerial portfolios in a bourgeois government, and accordingly tries to make a few vapid "left" criticisms of the "Eurocommunists." But Canadian CP supporters' activities on March 16 were a small-scale duplication of the betrayals of the Italian CP, which has become rightly reviled and isolated among large sections of radical student youth for its support to capitalist austerity and its blocs with the police and administrators against students protests.

GROVELLING REFORMISM AND "MILITANT" BRAVADO

The U of T student government hacks and their CP friends had gone to ridiculous lengths to insure in advance that "troublemakers" were kept out of demonstration preparations. Several days prior to the demonstration they had organized a fake, invitation-only, twelve-person "occupation" of the president's office, in an attempt to cajole the administration into closing the university on March 16 and supporting the protest.

But the bureaucrats' sub-reformist "strategy" did not go unchallenged. At a public meeting on the evening of March 15, organized by Mario Cutajar, editor of the U of T student newspaper the *Varsity*, several students attacked the student "leaders" for grovelling before the administration and government. Picking up on this sentiment, math professor Peter Rosenthal, the embodiment of the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour (CPL) on campus, supported by a representative of the Toronto Anarchist League, came up with a plan to enter the Legislature and confront government officials head on.

However, despite their pseudo-militant bravado, neither CPL nor the anarchists tried to advance a political response to the government's attacks. When asked by a member of the Trotskyist League (TL) what the demands raised by the proposed student "coup" would be Rosenthal came up with "return to the 1975 budget"!! While the desire of many students for militant action was certainly a healthy response to the cap-in-hand reformism of the OFS and Co., CPL and its anarchist friends could only come up with mock heroics. It was left to the TL to pose a programmatic alternative: a fight for open admissions, no tuition and a full living stipend for all students.

TOWARD A NEW STUDENT MOVEMENT ?

The contemptible role of the so-called "student leaders" on the demonstration even drew the fire of many campus liberals. In the days following the protest the pages of the Varsity were filled with letters denouncing these student junior cops. But accompanying the justifiable outrage at these petty henchmen for the police and government were ecstatic paeans to the "rebirth" of the student movement. An editorial in the 17 March Varsity exclaimed: "Students, the Student Movement is alive and kicking."

The March 16 demonstration was the largest student protest in many years, but in political thrust it was identical to many smaller anti-cutbacks demonstrations held at Queen's Park in recent years --all propounding impotent, campus-parochial reformism. The student movement of the sixties has not been "born again."

While the New Left in North America was rife with anti-working-class and personalist prejudices, literally thousands of student youth were disgusted with the imperialist slaughter in Vietnam. If only for a short time, many wanted to overthrow the imperialist system. Students stormed administration buildings, fighting tear gas and bullets to protest the U. S. war machine.

Today, protesting students are not motivated by a vision of a better society, but are simply feeling the pinch in their own pockets. While students in the 1960's marched against university administrations, today the student bureaucrats plead with these hired lackeys of the bourgeoisie to protest cutbacks. Hence, the main demand of the U of T occupation was that the university president John Evans--a federal Liberal candidate in the upcoming elections--endorse the demonstration. And Evans' cohort, Ontario Liberal Party leader Stuart Smith, drew cheers from a sizeable portion of the demonstration for his phoney "solidarity" speech from the steps of the legislature.

OPEN ADMISSIONS--NO TUITION!

While Evans declined to support the demonstration, other administrators did endorse the anti-cutbacks protest. Their concern was that the reputation for high academic standards enjoyed by Ontario universities like U of T will be tarnished as entrance requirements are lowered to boost enrollment. With prohibitive tuition fees, a lower entrance require-

ment will in fact pose more sharply the existing class bias of the university--now you don't need to be rich and smart to go to U of T--just rich.

Marxists oppose any admissions requirements which discriminate against youth from working class, immigrant and poor backgrounds. Only the demand for open admissions, coupled with demands for no tuition and a full living stipend for all students, truly challenges the class bias of the universities. While student hacks and their CP hangers-on plead with the campus administration to oppose cutbacks, the TL raises the demand "Abolish the administration--for student/teacher/worker control of the university!"

Such demands will not be won by resurrecting the worst aspects of the New Left's student parochialism, the present game plan of CPL. The New Left is dead, and there is no new mass "student movement" in the making in Ontario. But students should learn the lessons of the sixties. Lacking any decisive social power and refusing to see the working class as the central force for social revolution, the amorphous student movement of the 1960's dissipated. Concocting the rebirth of the sixties out of one anti-cutbacks demonstration reveals only the inveterate impressionism and opportunism of groups like CPL. It is also a testimony to the relative lack of mass struggle by the labor movement. But this quiescence in the face of endless attacks by the bosses and their government is the responsibility of the labor bureaucracy, which treacherously contains the explosion brewing in the working class.

Students and campus workers must look beyond the campuses to advance the struggle against cutbacks--part of a much larger offensive by the capitalist government aimed against those it exploits and oppresses. Workers' real wages have plummeted, while new layoffs are announced every day by the profit-hungry corporations. Social-service cutbacks have forced hospital closures, and provincial Treasurer Darcy McKeough's recent budget hiked health insurance premiums by an incredible 37.5 percent. Meanwhile rapacious profiteers like Inco are given multi-million dollar tax write-offs by the same provincial government.

Students must link arms in struggle with the victims of capitalist oppression, above all with the labor movement--not with the administrators and cops. The working class is the only force with the power to end the anarchy endemic to the capitalist economy. As capitalism writhes in its death agony, plunging mankind into wars, reactionary terror and economic depression, a working-class upsurge is inevitable. The only way to ensure its victory is to assemble revolutionary cadres in a tight-knit combat party that can lead the proletariat to power.

The Trotskyist League and international Spartacist tendency are dedicated to building such a Leninist vanguard. As the founding conference of the Fourth International stated in its "Resolution on Youth," "youth will rally under the flag of those who bring it a future." ■

WSL Left Wing, London Spartacist Group Fuse

SPARTACIST LEAGUE FOUNDED IN BRITAIN

LONDON, March 5--This weekend the London Spartacist Group fused with the Trotskyist Faction which recently split from the Workers Socialist League (WSL) of Alan Thornett. With this fusion, the British supporters of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) constituted the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B), sympathising section of the iSt. The fusion represents more than simply a doubling of the cadres grouped around the Trotskyist programme of the iSt in Britain. The accretion of the experience of an authentic left oppositional current cohered in struggle within the right-centrist WSL, providing the iSt's British section with real if modest roots in the British left milieu, represents an important gain for the tendency as it seeks to transform itself into an International Trotskyist League in the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

This advance was prepared through the iSt's painstaking efforts to intersect leftward-moving forces looking for an authentic Trotskyist alternative to the parochial British centrist swamp. Frankly avowing its regroupment perspective--rejecting the fake "mass work" gimmickry pervasive on the British far left--the iSt established a propagandist presence in Britain and worked to polarise and split the existing fake-revolutionary organisations through counterposing Trotskyist political clarity to muddleheaded centrism. While the little-Englanders who people the British left baited the London Spartacist Group because its initiating cadres were for the most part externally developed, the internationalists of the iSt sought to constitute a pole of attraction for serious subjective revolutionists in and around groupings like the WSL. The present fusion and the fusions of the future constitute the most graphic vindication of the London Spartacist Group's insistence that the struggle for the authentic Leninist and Trotskyist programme among already organised far left elements is a crucial tactic in assembling the cadres for the nucleus of an authentic Trotskyist party of the British proletariat.

Britain is one of the more politically important countries in Western Europe, with a working class which has a long history of combativity. In addition, as the centre of a former empire, Britain offers important opportunities for the recruitment of comrades from a whole host of different nationalities. Initiating cadres of other sections of a

reforged Fourth International are being recruited in Britain.

CONTINUITY AND INTERNATIONALISM

From its origins in 1961 as the Revolutionary Tendency of the U. S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the iSt has struggled to overcome its initial, involuntarily imposed national isolation. The false hopes held by these revolutionists in



FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF SL/B

Workers Vanguard

Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League--based on such early documents as the SLL's 1961 "World Prospect for Socialism"--were frustrated by Healy's bureaucratic highhandedness: his 1962 splitting of the left opponents to the SWP's headlong rush toward Pabloist centrism (and on to outright reformism) and his expulsion of the Spartacist delegation from the 1966 London Conference of the International Committee. His little Stalin-style organisational machinations soon found their concomitant programmatic expression in accommodation to the so-called "Arab Revolution" and the Maoist Red Guards and political support to the Hanoi Stalinists. Today Healy/Banda's nationally centred militant economism is overshadowed by their slander campaign against SWP leaders Hansen and Novack and their activities as publicity agents for the Muslim fanatic dictator

of Libya, Qaddafi. Healyism has become a dangerously cynical travesty of "Trotskyism."

Despite Healy's frustration of the early Spartacist tendency's internationalist commitment, the tendency pursued an aggressive regroupment orientation through polemical presentation of Trotskyist positions on decisive programmatic issues facing the international proletariat. The tendency was successful in polarising and splitting a number of centrist formations, outside the U. S. mainly from the United Secretariat orbit, as part of cohering iSt groups in a number of countries. Thus comrades from twelve countries attended the London fusion conference. Greetings to the conference were presented by representatives of the German, French, Australian, Chilean and Canadian iSt sections as well as by a representative of the International Secretariat of the iSt.

While saluting the formation of the British sympathising section, the International Secretariat spokesman noted the immense tasks which lie ahead:

"With all of the pleasures, apprehensions and enthusiasms that I experience in seeing this conference being convened, it has a bittersweet component to it because our tendency has a certain imbalance. This kind of imbalance I first noticed at the end of the 1950's, where the split between the International Secretariat and the International Committee seemed to be between the Europeans and the English-speakers... and you notice they have the same re-establishment of that old division after nearly ten years of faction fighting--that's the present formal agreement between the SWP and the French. And that is of course quite deadly. You can only know the world if you are in it and if you are confined to only a section of it, however big, powerful or broad, you are objectively set up for deformations."

Many speakers at the fusion conference noted the corrosive effects on internationalist consciousness of the pressures emanating from the intensely parochial, Labourist British left milieu. Members of the Trotskyist Faction have first-hand experience from the workerist WSL of how accommodation to the present consciousness of the working class is an unbridgeable impediment to the fight against the trade-union bureaucracy and to the strategic goal of splitting and destroying the Labour Party, reformist obstacle to revolutionary struggle.

The conference participants stressed that the British centrists' workerist philistinism has deep roots in the history of the British movement. A memoir by a founder of British Trotskyism testifies to the incredible "little England" parochialism of some of the early self-styled Trotskyists:

"As the British section, Left Opposition, we were invited to send someone to an enlarged meeting of the Left Opposition's International Secretariat, to be held from 4 to 8 February 1933, in Paris. On 30 January, Hitler had been

appointed Chancellor of Germany by President Hindenburg, and it was felt that we ought to send someone to the meeting. A reluctant delegate, I travelled to Paris, and sat through complex, heavily-jargonized discussions in French and German, with someone whispering occasional explanations in English, on Saturday, and again on Sunday....

"That evening, walking through the streets of Paris with aching head and jaded spirits, I saw newspapers being sold on the streets, the news-vendors carrying placards--'250,000 [anti-unemployment demonstrators] at Hyde Park'. So the movement was on the mend....

"There was, too, something unreal in evening retrospect about the Left Opposition conference solemnly pronouncing on those controversies of the Comintern, and even earlier ones of Russian Social Democracy.... Surely there could be no true renovation of socialist ideas, or renewal of the forces and spirit of rebellion and resistance, in those old, obscure contentions, argued out again in the thick accents of a now degenerate communism?..."

--Reg Groves, The Balham Group: How British Trotskyism Began

Another inauspicious tradition recalled at the conference was the shotgun fusion of various warring British factions and fragments engineered by the International Secretariat and the SWP in 1944. Seeking to stand in the best traditions of Leninist democratic centralism on the international plane, the iSt aims to forge an authoritative international leadership through the development of organically cohered leaderships in its national sections.

Another comrade noted:

"The fusion taking place this weekend is in marked contrast with the realignments that are taking place among the so-called Trotskyist left in Britain.... The comrades who have gone through various political journeys by which they have arrived in this room have seen a number of potentially valuable cadres for Trotskyism either broken, burnt, demoralised or rendered cynical. In my opinion the comrades who come from the Trotskyist Faction represent some of the best of their political generation which the iSt has managed to salvage from the political

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Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

Zionists Grab Southern Lebanon

MARCH 20--On Saturday, March 12 an eleven-man Palestinian guerrilla squad armed with automatic rifles and hand grenades went on a terrorist rampage along the Haifa-Tel Aviv highway, abducting two busloads of passengers and randomly firing on passing cars. By the time the Palestinian kamikaze attack came to a bloody end in a hail of gunfire from an Israeli ambush 37 Israelis had been killed and another 76 wounded along the way. Fatah, the largest Palestinian guerrilla group and the backbone of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), immediately took credit for this massacre.

The world nervously awaited the Israeli response. Zionist vengeance was swift, murderous and massive. Unlike the poorly armed Palestinian guerrillas it can and does mobilize all of the resources of a state power equipped from the arsenals of U. S. imperialism with the most advanced weaponry in the world. To give but one stark contrast, the PLO guerrillas of course have not one single plane whereas Israel has the third most powerful air force in the world equipped with, for example, F-15 Eagles (which cost \$17 million apiece).

The last Zionist "retaliation" took place in November after rockets launched from southern Lebanon killed three Israelis in the coastal village of Nahariya. Israel responded by launching massive air strikes which leveled whole Lebanese villages, murdering 300 civilians.

The March 12 Palestinian raid was the largest in Israel's history. And its response was this time not limited to the usual mass cruelty of Zionist "justice" which takes 100 eyes for any eye. Israel is today led by that genocidal maniac Menahem Begin, the Zionist terrorist whose murderous atrocities against the Palestinian population in the 1940's brought about their physical dispersal and the creation of the Zionist state over the dismembered body of the Palestinian nation.

Begin's outfit, the Irgun, was an embarrassment even to the bloodstained official Zionist movement. It was disarmed and integrated into the Israeli army, an integration facilitated by the fact that long before the creation of the Israeli state this army (then the Haganah) had adopted the Irgun's methods. In dividing the spoils of state power Begin and his fellow gangsters became the official opposition and re-emerged as the right-wing political party, Herut. Last May's elections elevated into the premiership the man who personifies the most sanguinary, racist and genocidal aspects of Zionism.



BUTCHER BEGIN SUPERVISES ISRAELI INVASION INTO LEBANON. AP

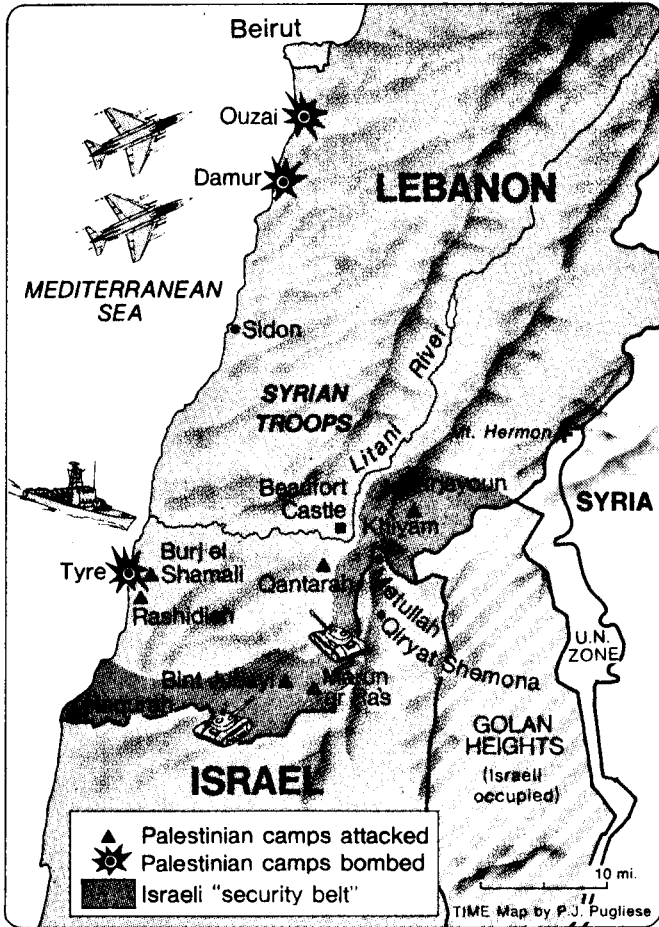
Torrential rains and gale force winds that pounded the Levant early last week prevented an immediate Israeli military response. But the respite was filled with Begin's furious call for Arab blood. Claiming that their crimes were equal to the Nazis, who killed six million Jews, Begin vowed to "cut off the evil arm of the PLO."

Prior to the raid Begin was under increasing pressure from the more "moderate" wing of the Zionist movement for his intransigence in dealing with the U. S. and Sadat's "peace initiative." But now yesterday's "moderates" try to outdistance the butcher of Deir Yassin in murderous fanaticism. One of Begin's harshest critics, Yigal Allon, a former foreign minister and leader of the "Labor" Party, today calls for the "use of active defense in order to break the strength of the PLO." Even the self-proclaimed "left-wing" Zionists in Mapam trumpeted:

"The hand of Israel will reach them wherever they may be and they will be punished."

ISRAEL INVADES

On Tuesday rains and winds relented and Israel launched its massive air, naval and ground attack. Gunboats bombarded the southern Lebanese port city of Tyre, and fighter bombers strafed and bombed villages and Palestinian refugee camps including Sabra on the outskirts of Beirut where 15,000 Palestinians are concentrated. Damur, 15 miles south



tual Syrian occupation army didn't venture below the Litani for fear of confrontation with Israel. As a consequence the Lebanese communal war has continued below the Litani. Israel, through its "open fences," provides military and logistical support to the Maronite Christian militias. Last fall Israeli troops even crossed into Lebanon to fight beside the Maronites' militias but withdrew under U. S. pressure. Israel would like to use these militias as its border guards but even with Zionist military aid they have up to now proven unable to fulfill this function.

REPRISALS AND GENOCIDE

Begin's defense minister Ezer Weizman rushed back from Washington, where he was begging for more arms for the Israeli arsenal, to take charge of the Lebanese invasion. He called the campaign "not a reprisal operation in the usual sense"--that is, the usual sense of last November's reprisals where 300 Arabs were killed in revenge for three Israelis. These reprisals in fact are seldom aimed at the Palestinians themselves so much as at the governments that give sanctuary to Palestinian refugees. They in turn were supposed to "discipline" and police the Palestinians.

This Israeli strategy proved successful in Jordan, where a series of reprisals in 1968-69 led to the Jordanian civil war and the tragic "Black September" of 1970 in which King Hussein was able to militarily crush the Palestinian resistance. However, this strategy has not worked in Lebanon because its army was too weak or more recently non-existent. Therefore the present campaign is, in Weizman's words, designed to "uproot the terrorist concentrations in southern Lebanon once and for all." But as Arab civilians are indistinguishable from "Arab terrorists" the campaign which has already created 100,000 refugees and countless casualties seeks to uproot an entire Arab population.

Egypt's foreign minister Muhammad Ibrahim Kamel did not exaggerate when he stated, "The Israeli invasion aims at the complete annihilation of the Palestinian people." The government-controlled Egyptian press also chimed in, denouncing Begin as a "new Hitler." But today's "new Hitler" was yesterday's "good friend" of Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat's "peace initiative." Ironically, Sadat's pilgrimage to Jerusalem where he fawned over all the leaders of Zionism, including the butcher Begin, took place in the aftermath of Israel's last brutal anti-Palestinian "retaliation," the November air strike against Lebanon.

"STEADFASTNESS FRONT?"

Meanwhile, those Arab states which joined with the PLO to oppose Sadat's "peace initiative"-- Syria, Algeria, South Yemen and Libya--and which formed the so-called "steadfastness front" has up to now remained "steadfast" in doing nothing to materially aid the PLO in the face of the Zionist genocidal aggression against the Palestinian people.

(continued on page 10)

of Beirut, whose present inhabitants are the survivors of the long Syrian siege of the Palestinian refugee camp Tel al Zaatar, was reduced to rubble.

After the bombing, strafing and artillery attacks had "softened up" the area Israel launched an armored and infantry invasion along the full length of its 65-mile border with Lebanon, securing an area six miles into Lebanon from the Mediterranean coast to Arkoub, where Israel, Syria and Lebanon meet. The Zionists added more than 215 square miles to their "occupied territories." By March 20 Israeli ground forces had advanced beyond the six-mile cordon sanitaire, occupying most of southern Lebanon up to the Litani River. Though the campaign is not over yet the Israeli war machine has already claimed thousands of casualties and produced over 100,000 refugees streaming out of southern Lebanon. Many of these latest Palestinian refugees, like those who now flee Damur, are in turn refugees from the 1975-76 Lebanese communal war in which the PLO guerrillas threw in their lot with the so-called "Muslim-leftist" warlords. And they are all refugees from the creation of the Zionist state of Israel.

Israeli ground troops have been careful so far not to venture above the so-called "red line" demarcated where the Litani River flows into the Mediterranean 15 miles north of the Israeli border. The red line is the product of the Lebanese civil war and its suppression by the Syrian-dominated 30,000 man Arab "peacekeeping" force. This vir-

Lebanon...

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Syria, which was crowned the "main confrontation state" since it is the only member of the "steadfastness front" which borders Israel, has kept its troops north of the Litani River and away from contact with Israeli ground forces. The Syrian forces, the butchers of Tel al Zaatar, are as much the policemen of the Palestinian commandos in the north as the Christian Maronite militias are in the south!

Syrian president Hafez al-Assad, ever willing to fight bombs with bombast, declared Saturday, "Syria will remain the big power forming a spearhead in the resistance to every invasion and aggression against the Arab nation." He then proceeded to offer the rights of passage over Syrian land or airspace for any Arab who wanted to go to the aid of the Palestinians in Lebanon. Abstractly, such an appeal has meaning only for Iraq, but in reality such an offer is utter nonsense as Iraq and Syria are in a state of war with one another, and each has troops tied down guarding its respective borders from the other.

Beneath the bombast Syria's real line is to appeal, along with its puppet government in Beirut, to the real "big powers" on the United Nations Security Council to "assume their responsibilities" and force Israel to withdraw to be replaced with UN "peacekeeping" forces. Such forces have ringed Israel for 28 years and have permitted four full-scale wars and countless border incursions. In fact, there are already UN "peacekeeping forces" in southern Lebanon! This is probably the solution preferred by both the United States and the Soviet Union. However, Israel is not about to withdraw its forces from southern Lebanon unless under substantial U. S. pressure and not until it finishes "uprooting" Palestinians and the Lebanese that it does not consider friendly.

For now Syria and Israel are staying on their respective sides of the "red line." Nonetheless the Zionist invasion of Lebanon and the placing of 25,000 Israeli troops directly on the other side of the Litani tremendously destabilize what is already a volatile situation. The Israeli invasion already has the magnitude of a fifth Near East war. It could rapidly escalate into a major confrontation between Israel and Syria--again threatening to drag in their respective patrons, the United States and the Soviet Union--thereby sparking a global confrontation and perhaps nuclear holocaust.

CONSISTENT NATIONALISM IS GENOCIDE

Fatah and the PLO hailed the March 12 terrorist raid as a "big success." Even a spokesman for the reactionary Kuwaiti sheikdom stated that it was "natural that the Palestinian revolution should carry out actions to prove its presence and effectiveness." And the Saudi Arabian state radio labeled the operation a "courageous action."

The Fatah raid was timed to occur on the eve of Begin's trip to Washington. Clearly, the PLO

wanted to disrupt the present round of negotiations sparked by the Sadat "initiative" and U. S. pressure on Israel to make some token concessions to Egypt while leaving out the PLO. This was Fatah's answer to U. S. national security strongman Brzezinski's remark, "Bye, bye PLO." In forcing Begin to postpone his trip to Washington for one week Fatah has won a pyrrhic diplomatic victory indeed.

Yasir Arafat also sought to call world attention to the existence of the Palestinian question and to reclaim for the PLO the designation of "sole representative" of the Palestinian people. The suicide raid was most certainly a desperate act by self-sacrificing elements of an oppressed people abandoned on all sides by their self-proclaimed allies and with no other prospects but another 30 years of poverty and the squalor of refugee camps in hostile countries. But the raid was an act of indiscriminate terrorism in which the guerrillas simply killed at random whomever they came across, from the first person they encountered on the beach where they landed, a 19-year-old girl, to the young children captured in a hijacked tourist bus.

It is no accident that the Fatah guerrillas were launched from and probably trained at Damur. Damur was considered the most militant of the Palestinian camps, the reason why it has received such brutal punishment from the Israeli air strikes. This town was brutally sacked and its entire population, mainly Christian, massacred by the misnamed "Muslim-left" gang whose bosses happen to be Muslim rather than Maronite religious leaders. They are no more left-wing than different families in the Mafia could be distinguished between left and right. The resettling of the Tel al Zaatar survivors at Damur was at best another macabre episode in the cycle of vengeance and countervengeance that characterized the squalid Lebanese communal war.

Thus it is not surprising that the Palestinian refugee concentration at Damur spawned the desperate indiscriminate terrorism of the recent raid. But it makes that terrorism no less criminal. Indiscriminate terror--whether it is aimed at the Hebrews, Maronites or Palestinians--asserts that a whole people, rather than its ruling class and organized state power, is the enemy. Fatah's rampage on the Haifa-Tel Aviv highway asserts that the liber-

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SL/Britain Founded...

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wreckage that goes under the name of British Trotskyism. The man who is above all responsible for this political debris is Gerry Healy.... In Britain a number of sizeable centrist and revisionist obstacles have been able to flourish precisely because of Healy's criminal political practise and his blinkered sectarianism. Our fused organisation will confront the task of clearing a path through these roadblocks which stand between us and the building of a revolutionary vanguard party."

A major theme of the conference was the centrality of the revolutionary programme in the formation of a Leninist party. The present fusion was firmly based in a thorough exploration of such critical issues as the history of the Fourth International, the workers government, the popular front and the national question.

The conference also adopted a perspectives document, "Tasks in Britain," which outlined major priorities for the SL/B in the coming period. High on the list of tasks for the new organisation is to move toward a regular monthly press:

"We must provide a press in Britain which reflects the political tasks and the organisational strength of the Spartacist League. This must be the interventionist press of a fighting propaganda group; it must be polemical, taking up the inadequacies and betrayals of our opponents; it must deal with the broad theoretical questions of the workers movement internationally; it

must show how the class struggle can be intersected by the communist vanguard and the way forward for particular struggles."

Another important task will be to accelerate the polarisation process among the myriad fake-Trotskyists in Britain. The present fusion must point the way forward for subjectively revolutionary militants who, in the absence of a strong Trotskyist pole of attraction, have not yet broken from the opportunism of the decomposing centrist organisations.

Thus a decade after Healy's International Committee proved its decisive inability to combat the Pabloist revisionism which politically destroyed the Fourth International, the British nucleus of authentic Trotskyism has been founded. But whereas then the Spartacist tendency confronted a period of involuntary national isolation, today the British section is born as part of a small but real international Trotskyist tendency. Recognising the need for careful determination of priorities in the context of deepening organisational consolidation, the conference participants saluted the fruitful possibilities for work in Britain in the period ahead. And as the first ripples of the present fusion spread across the cesspool of British fake-Trotskyism, the iSt's opponents as well as its supporters demonstrate their recognition of the significance of the principled programmatic struggle of the Trotskyist Faction of the WSL and the subsequent principled fusion which make possible the formation of the Spartacist League/Britain.

Forward to the International Trotskyist League!
For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

(Reprinted from Workers Vanguard, 24 March 1978.)

Toronto Sun...

(continued from page 2)

communist Sun might appear to be anomalous. The Sun is a major mouthpiece for an ultra-conservative section of bourgeois political neanderthals. Typical of this wing of the bourgeoisie are right-wing Tory MP's Tom Cossitt and Otto Jelinek. Like Cossitt and Jelinek the Sun's management rejects the Liberal government's present policy of "normalized" relations with the Soviet Union and seeks to promote a return to the Cold War hysteria of the 1950's. This aspiration they share with some disgruntled elements in the Canadian state's secret police, the RCMP, whom Jelinek credits with having supplied the document in the first place (Globe and Mail, March 11).

The Sun's campaign was obviously designed to exploit anti-Soviet sentiments whipped up in the aftermath of the satellite crash and the subsequent embassy spy-hunt, in an attempt to simultaneously discredit the Trudeau government and refurbish the tarnished image of the RCMP.

It has apparently not occurred to any of the would-be spy catchers at the Sun (or in the RCMP) to wonder why the Soviet Union would bother devoting such phenomenal resources to espionage

and "subversion" in such a thoroughly second-rate country as Canada. What "secrets" are the devious "Ruskies" hoping to uncover? Perhaps a few candid shots of Pierre's errant wife Margaret entertaining Mick Jagger? Or perhaps they are planning to steal the plans for a new model of Skidoo?

The present prosecutions, which are the first use of the Official Secrets Act against the press, represent a transparent attempt by the Trudeau government to deal with its bourgeois political opponents by using some of the repressive legislation usually reserved for leftists and trade unionists. How seriously the federal government intends to pursue this vendetta against its right-wing critics remains to be seen.

As Trotskyists we are committed to the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism. We shed no tears for the consternation of pro-imperialist sabre-rattlers like Creighton or Worthington, who find themselves the victims of an anti-democratic law of which they are ordinarily the foremost champions. Nonetheless, it is in the interest of the workers movement and all those concerned about democratic rights to demand the immediate abolition of the Official Secrets Act.■

CLC CONVENTION ...

(continued from page 1)

Employees and Canadian Union of Postal Workers, is on record for unconditional defense of Quebec's right to self-determination. And occupying "Half-way House" are the United Auto Workers and United Steelworkers of America leaders, who try to argue both sides--the right to self-determination and "national unity."

As for McDermott's succession to the seat of power in the CLC, it promises to be a ho-hum affair. Even the bourgeois press has been hard-pressed to find any substantial differences between Morris and McDermott. The best Maclean's magazine (20 March) could come up with was to dub Joe Morris "a plodding cliché of a union leader, a stolid, slow-talking mumbler," while raving about McDermott's flashy suits and flowered print ties.

Maclean's termed McDermott "labor's gain," but the union movement will gain nothing under this labor faker. What has McDermott won for his union, the Auto Workers--forced overtime, speed-up and layoffs! Only when the Morris and McDermotts have been swept from office by a new leadership--committed to a program of class struggle, not class collaboration--will the working class be able to smash the bosses' attacks.

We reprint below a leaflet issued by union militant Bob McBurney, a shop steward in the Letter Carriers Union of Canada Toronto local, outlining a class-struggle program for the CLC. Although McBurney was not elected convention delegate (being eliminated on the fifth ballot), his program points the way forward for the Canadian labor movement today.

A Class Struggle Program For CLC

This April's Canadian Labour Congress convention will take place in the context of the layoffs of thousands of nickel miners and other workers, skyrocketing unemployment and inflation, Trudeau's threat to send troops to Quebec and a likely fall federal election. I am standing as a candidate for CLC convention delegate, and am putting forward this statement to outline a class-struggle alternative to the sellout policies of the labor bureaucrats and the NDP.

In response to massive layoffs and rising unemployment some labor misleaders have tried to make a chauvinist alliance with the bosses to export unemployment onto the backs of foreign workers. Protectionism and "buy Canadian" schemes only serve to divide workers in the face of the capitalist class enemy and to drive up the cost of living. Bosses seek to protect their profits and share of the market by cutting labor costs through speed-up, automation, layoffs and wage cuts. Economic nationalism serves only to increase both unemployment and the exploitation of those "lucky" enough to find work.

Another response to the economic crisis by the CLC tops has been tripartism, which has been en-

dorsed by the LCUC leadership and never repudiated. While tripartism has been rejected by several major unions, other class-collaborationist schemes such as "industrial democracy" have been bandied about. Imagine nickel miners sitting down with management and "co-determining" how to "humanely" throw themselves out on the street! Or take the so-called "Intergroup" meetings in the post office, where postal union bureaucrats are supposed to "constructively" contribute to "saving the post office" through layoffs, speed-up and emasculating the already limited right to strike.

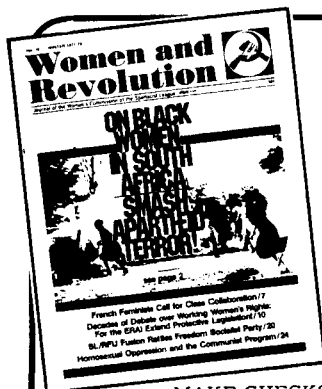
The only way to protect jobs and fight unemployment is to break with class-collaboration in all its guises and disguises, and independently mobilize the labor movement to fight for such demands as: a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, organize the unorganized, raise the minimum wage to the average unionized industrial wage, for unconditional and unlimited unemployment benefits at full pay. Expropriate Inco and Falconbridge without compensation--lay off the nickel bosses!

After all the placard waving, coupon clipping and button wearing promoted by the CLC brass, wage controls still exist. Trudeau has stated that as of April 14 they will begin to fade away, only to be replaced by "average comparability" wage controls on public sector workers. Any attempt to continue controls in any form for any sector of the labor movement must be answered, not by a one day protest, but by a general strike of the entire labor movement.

In light of Trudeau's recent threat to use force against Quebec if it decides to separate, it is imperative that the CLC go on record to defend the Québécois against any moves by the government to deny them their right to self-determination. The cowardice and lack of response by the CLC to the 1970 War Measures Act, which saw hundreds of workers and leftists jailed, set back the necessary unity of French- and English-speaking workers. In light of the revelations about RCMP harassment and disruption of the labor movement and the left (particularly in Quebec) and its threat to democratic rights, the CLC must demand the abolition of this terroristic secret police force of the capitalist government.

Federal elections will raise once again the question of supporting the NDP. But if this party really fights for the workers, as the CLC tops tell us, why does it not have any support in the most militant sector of the labor movement in this country --Quebec? Because it is English-Canadian chauvinist, preferring to support the bosses and their national unity campaign against the interest of workers' unity. The NDP has repeatedly supported wage controls, and this week NDP Saskatchewan Premier Blakeney endorsed public sector wage controls and the government's restraint program. The workers movement needs a workers party that will --unlike Broadbent & Co.'s NDP--fight for a workers government to expropriate capital and establish a planned economy in the interests of all working people.

--16 February 1978



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Lebanon...

(continued from page 10)

ation of Palestinian people requires not just destruction of the Israeli state and ruling class but the annihilation of the Hebrew people, just as Zionism asserts that survival of the Hebrew people requires annihilation of the Palestinians.

The program of Palestinian nationalism--which is the program of all factions of the PLO, from Habash to Arafat--is no different from the program of Zionism carried out to its logical conclusion. The program calls for "national liberation" through genocide. The difference is that the Zionists have the means to implement their program, the Palestinian nationalists do not. But this does not mean that we support the program of the victim, the program of Palestinian nationalism. We consider utterly undefensible the H'atah atrocity on the Haifa-Tel Aviv highway.

What must be supported are the real struggles of the Palestinian masses against the real enemies of the national liberation of the Palestinian people: in the first instance the Zionist ruling class, its army, police and prisons. Therefore, we unconditionally defend (irrespective of their present political leadership) the struggle of the Palestinians against the Israeli armed forces in Lebanon and in the occupied territories. We also defend the struggle of the Palestinian refugees against their Arab oppressors, from U. S. client Hussein to the "militant" Assad, who are not more interested in the national liberation of the Palestinian nation than is Israel. While taking a defensist position on the side of the Palestinians under Israeli attack in Lebanon and exposing the hypocrisy of the Arab regimes which have turned their backs on the embattled guerrillas, we point out that if Syria directly enters the fighting the conflict would be transformed into another reactionary nationalist war not different in kind from the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars.

The Hebrew workers must be broken from their Zionist rulers, a task made much more difficult by the tactics of indiscriminate terror practiced by the Palestinian nationalists. Israeli workers must be made to see that the Begins, Allons and "left" Zionists can lead only to more war and destitution. At the same time the Palestinian people must be broken from the PLO, its militants won over to the perspective of the class struggle and internationalism. They must seek their liberation not through the dead-end nationalist policies of genocidal terrorism and reliance on reactionary Arab League regimes or imperialist diplomacy, but in the class unity of the Hebrew and Arab proletariat. An internationalist communist leadership must be forged in the Near East that fights for the realization of the self-determination of both the Palestinian and Hebrew nations in a socialist federation of the Near East. Israel out of Lebanon and all the occupied territories! For Trotskyist parties in the Near East! For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!
(Reprinted from Workers Vanguard, 24 March 1978)

FLECK...

(continued from page 3)

Ford strike, told an SC reporter "we're living up to our reputation" in coming out to support the Fleck workers.

Pickers also told SC that Ford's Oakville plant has continued using scab wiring manufactured during the strike. To date, the UAW has reportedly done nothing more than ask Ford management to change brands! Even the most minimal trade union solidarity requires that the UAW refuse to handle scab (i. e., Fleck) wiring for the duration of the strike. It is a telling indictment of the lack of determination with which the McDermott leadership approaches this struggle that it has not only failed as yet to shut Fleck tight with daily mass pickets, but has also allowed Ford workers to handle scab products.

SHUT DOWN FLECK WITH MASS PICKETS!

The UAW shouldn't even have to hot cargo scab wiring, for the success of the March 15 and 22 mass pickets has demonstrated that the UAW has more than enough muscle to shut down Fleck until the strike is won. Militants in UAW throughout southern Ontario must demand that busloads of pickets be dispatched to Fleck to support the strike every day. The company has threatened to seek a court injunction, but auto workers in Southern Ontario must follow the example of the American miners and turn any injunction into a dead letter through continued mass picketing. The strike must demand wage and benefit parity with the UAW scale at the Big Three auto companies and the dropping of all charges against arrested union members and strike supporters.

McDermott must not be allowed to sell the Fleck strike short. With continued militant support from other UAW locals, the Fleck strikers can win a substantial improvement in their wages and working conditions. The UAW must use its industrial muscle to bring these and the tens of thousands of other workers in small auto parts shops into the union at full Big Three scale.

VICTORY TO THE FLECK STRIKE!

COURTS IN THE UNIONS: TWO FACES OF THE RWL

Does the hypocrisy of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) know no bounds? Attentive readers of Socialist Voice have good reason to wonder.

Writing in the March 16 issue, one Michael Ericson denounces the B.C. Socreds' recent Order-in-Council that provides for mandatory government supervision of union strike votes. Ericson points out that trade union "independence from the bosses and their state structures" is crucial to the fight against the capitalists, and demands that "Neutral strike vote supervisors' should not be let into our union meetings nor our union halls." We wholeheartedly agree! No government interference in the unions!

But just one moment! Has the RWL forgotten the 1972 campaign of Arnold Miller for the presidency of the United Mine Workers? We remember that at each polling place a representative of the U.S. Labor Department supervised the voting--at the insistence of Miller and his backers in the Democratic Party. While Workers Vanguard, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., demanded: "No vote to Boyle or Miller! Governments out of the unions!", the RWL's big brother in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party, enthusiastically endorsed Miller's campaign in the pages of the Militant. Today this same Miller is rightly reviled throughout the coal fields as a stooge of strike-breaking President Jimmy Carter.

And then there was Ed Sadlowski's "Steelworkers Fight Back" campaign. Sadlowski, whose claim to fame was court suits against the union, received the enthusiastic backing of both of the RWL's predecessor organizations, the League for Socialist Action and Revolutionary Marxist Group. Supporters of the soon-to-be RWL went around "organizin' the campaign" and "meetin' the people" on Sadlowski's behalf, while they angrily denounced the Trotskyist League's refusal to tail this bureaucrat on the make (see SC No. 14, March 1977). So what have Sadlowski and his "Fight Back" machine done of late, when mass layoffs and plant closures swept the steel mills, and when rank-and-file unionists called for hot cargoing and solidarity strikes by steelworkers to support the embattled mine strikers? Nothing.

Comrades of the RWL, why don't you drop the pretense? Let the readers of Socialist Voice know what your real position is: "No government intervention in the unions--unless some left-talking faker demands it!"

UFAWU...

(continued from page 16)

assault on the UFAWU, union members picketed the buildings in which the hearings were to be held, demanding that they be made public. While the demonstrations and other protests forced a temporary adjournment of the hearings, the government intensified its efforts to smash the UFAWU.

Using the pretext of supposed "disruption" of the hearings by UFAWU members, government investigators launched yet another raiding operation. This time their targets were the offices of the Vancouver Sun, the Province and two local television stations. Armed with search warrants, two government agents rifled through media files, grabbing all tape recordings, film, photographs and reporters' notes relating to the protests against the inquiry. One of the investigators complained that he had been remiss in his note-taking and photo-snapping of the "disrupters" and that the information seized during the raid "may clarify what I didn't observe." Its "clarification" in hand, the government charged seven members of the UFAWU with having "willfully impeded an inquiry by the Combines Investigation Branch."

WHY THE UFAWU?

Why has the 7,000-member UFAWU been singled out as the target for one of the government's most blatant and provocative attempts at union-busting since the witchhunts of the 1950's? Doubtless it is related to the fact that the UFAWU is one of the few CP-led unions which survived the cold war red purges.

Until 1948, the labor movement in B.C. was one of the CP's strongholds. Its supporters were in the leadership of not only the fishermen's union, but also the International Woodworkers of America, United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Vancouver Labour Council, Ship and Dockyard Workers and the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders unions. Needless to say, the CP's widespread influence rankled the mainstream, anti-communist labor bureaucrats. Pat Conroy, a top leader of the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL--one of the forerunners of the Canadian Labour Congress) complained in 1943:

"... it seems that the Communist party is more or less overrunning both trade unions and politi-

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cal organizations in the Pacific Coast province, and is at the present time enjoying sort of a Roman holiday."

--quoted in Irving Abella, Nationalism, Communism and Canadian Labour

But the "holiday" was soon over. Following the lead of their cold-warrior brothers in the AFL-CIO, the anti-communist union bureaucrats moved to sweep the "red menace" from the "house of labor."

The UFAWU went down in the wave of purges and expulsions from the labor movement of CP-led unions along with militants and "reds" of all stripes. In 1953, the fishermen's union was suspended from the Trades and Labour Congress (another predecessor of the CLC) until such time as it could give "proof of taking all reasonable and necessary measures to rid itself of communist leadership and leanings..." (quoted in G.North/H.Griffin, A Ripple, A Wave). After a long series of maneuvers by the labor tops to rid the union of CP supporters in the leadership (e.g., trying to force the UFAWU to merge with larger unions as a precondition for affiliation to the CLC), the UFAWU was finally admitted to the CLC in 1972--nineteen years after its expulsion. Now the government has taken it upon itself to "finish the job"--a job left undone by their labor lieutenants, though certainly not for lack of trying.

CP'S HISTORY OF BETRAYAL

The CP paved the road for the witchhunts of the 1950's by its own class collaboration. While today the Stalinists have been provoked by the government's witchhunting attack on the UFAWU to take an uncharacteristic stand in the defense of trade union independence from the government and courts, the CP's is a history of betrayal of this fundamental working-class principle.

Before, during and after WWII, the CP was the staunch supporter of and accomplice to the bosses' governments--from the Social Credit regime in B.C. to Mackenzie King's Liberal government in Ottawa. With such gusto did the Stalinists serve the interests of the bourgeoisie during the second world war that CCL president Aaron Mosher worried that the CP "may develop into such ardent patriots that we shall pale into fifth columnists by comparison" (quoted in Abella, *ibid.*)! The fishermen's union, then called the Fishermen and Cannery Workers Industrial Union, was no exception to this zealous patriotism--during the war the CP's supporters in the union leadership were the most ardent enforcers of the "no strike" pledge.

After the war the Stalinists found themselves under attack by the same "liberal" bourgeoisie whose "democratic" pretensions they had buttressed for years. In the UFAWU, despite the services provided the fishing companies by the CP's allegiance to "no strike" agreements, the bosses did not return the favor.

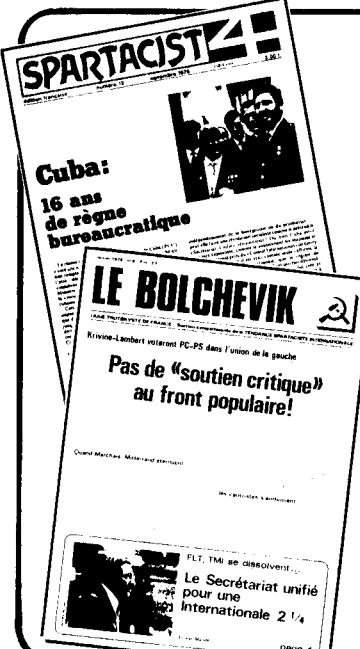
DEFEND THE UFAWU!

In 1956 the fishing companies launched the first investigation of the union under the Combines Investigation Act. After observing the successful

use of similar anti-trust laws to smash the U.S. International Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, the B.C. fishing companies were sufficiently emboldened to take a crack at the UFAWU. Union offices were raided and records seized as the fishing bosses attacked the union as an "illegal combine." When they discovered that they also would be required to open their books in the course of the proceedings, the owners quickly retreated and dropped the investigation. But the companies' venture was in part successful--to this day, UFAWU fishermen have no trade union rights and are allowed only to bargain over the price of their fish.

Two decades later, the government has taken up the attack on the union again through the Combines Investigation Act--an act purportedly designed to investigate trusts and monopolies that are fixing prices. The charge by the profit-gouging fishing companies that the small-boat fishermen of the UFAWU are the real "combine" is an obvious attempt to smash the union organization of fishermen in order to bolster company profit. It is the fishing companies--not the UFAWU fishermen whose catch the companies sell for up to 100 times as much as the fishermen are paid--who gouge the public and fix profits.

The Combines investigation of the UFAWU threatens not just the fishermen's union but the entire labor movement. With its gestapo-like raids on union and media offices to gather "information," the government strengthens the instruments of bourgeois state repression for future attacks on the exploited and oppressed. The left and labor movement must rally to the defense of the UFAWU, demanding the return of all seized material and an end to state intervention into and harassment of the union. The joint company/government union-busting offensive must be smashed, and full trade union rights won for the fishermen! Drop the charges! Hands off the UFAWU! Courts out of the unions! ■



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1973 UFAWU STRIKE

A Ripple, A Wave

Gov't Tries to Bust B.C. Fishermen's Union

Hands off the UFAWU!

Last year Homer Stevens, a prominent supporter of the Communist Party of Canada (CP) and long-time leader of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union (UFAWU) in British Columbia, stepped down as president of the UFAWU. Aside from the predictable fanfare, Stevens' retirement was an uneventful affair. But what was notable was the "lesson" preached by the veteran Stalinist in his words of adieu. Reminiscing over his sometimes stormy career in the UFAWU, which landed him an 11 month jail term in 1967 for defying a court injunction, Stevens concluded:

"I don't have any faith in the government or the courts, as they are now structured, as being unbiased when it comes to labor.

"And I think the interference of the courts should be removed entirely from dealing with conflict between labor and management."

--Vancouver Sun, 18 February 1977

Spoken by a man whose 31 years in the leadership of the UFAWU were spent preaching and peddling the Stalinist politics of class collaboration--be it the "anti-monopoly coalition" or the nationalist crusade to protect the sovereignty of Canadian fishing waters from foreign trawlers--Stevens' last pitch for the courts to stay out of the unions may seem remarkable. Stranger still, the CP itself echoed Stevens' sage advice against government interference in the unions during the recent campaign of Vancouver Teamster "rebel" Jack

Vlahovic (see "Bureaucratic Dogfight in B. C. Teamsters," SC No. 23, February).

Could it be that the Communist Party, master of the Stalinist school of class collaboration, has undergone some kind of conversion? No, Stevens and his friends are being forced to talk somewhat left only because they are being hounded by the capitalist courts and government on their own turf, the UFAWU.

UNION-BUSTING WITCHHUNT

In a transparent maneuver aimed at busting the union, the government has been dragging the UFAWU through court inquiries and investigations under the Combines Investigation Act for the past three years. In October 1975, government investigators raided union offices and seized 3,000 union documents including minutes, records and proceedings to be used as "evidence" for an inquiry into the "productivity, purchase, sale, storage, transportation and supply of fish in the province of British Columbia." A year later, in December 1976, Stevens, his soon-to-be successor as UFAWU president Jack Nichol and Len Guy, secretary of the B. C. Federation of Labour, were summoned to appear before a private hearing of the government's Restrictive Trade Practices Commission.

In response to the government's union-busting

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