

# SPARTACIST

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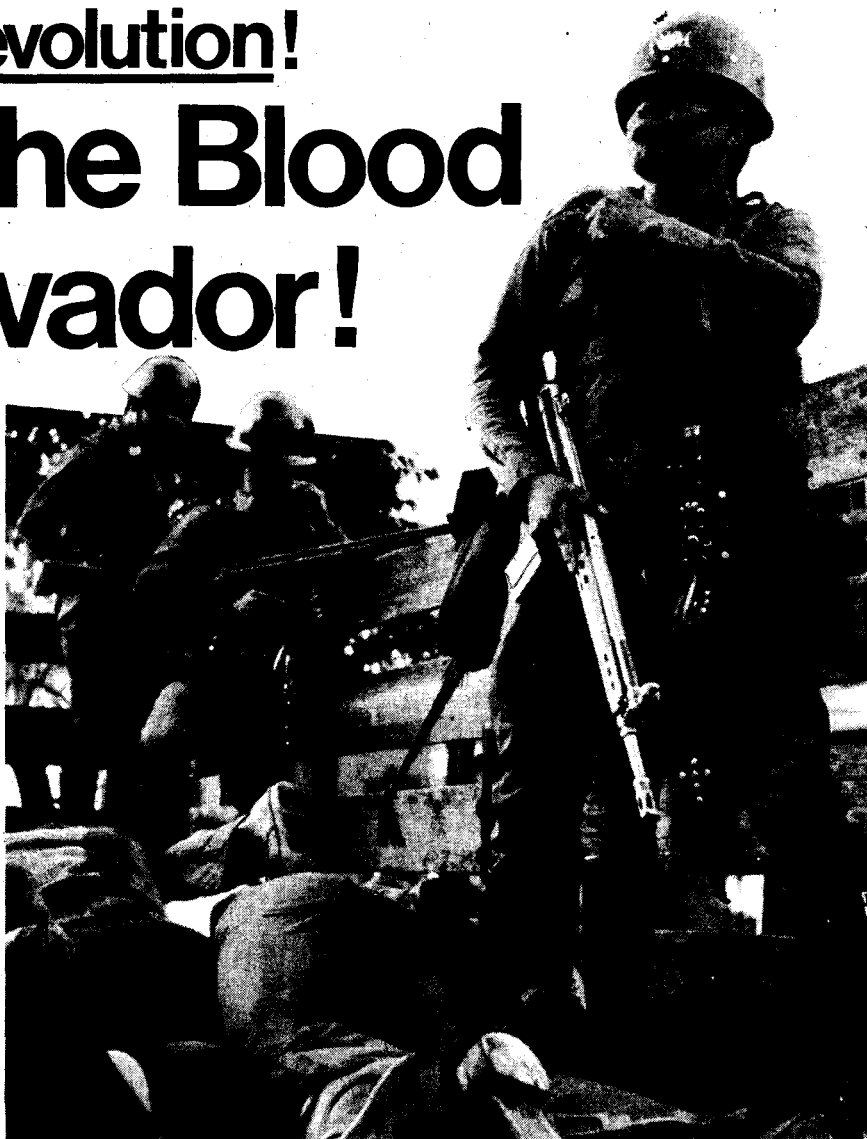
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## For Workers Revolution!

# Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!

While screaming bloody murder about "Soviet terrorism" in Central America, the Reagan administration's campaign of imperialist lies and slander aims at throwing a smoke-screen around its own support to the criminal military junta which is presently carrying out a war of extermination against leftist insurgents in El Salvador. The Legal Aid Office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador recently announced that so far this year the government and rightist death squads have assassinated more than 5,000 victims, three-quarters of them peasants and workers. Since January 1, over 200,000 have been left homeless as the rivers of this impoverished land run red with the life's blood of its martyred masses. Reagan/Carter and their butchers have turned El Salvador into a "human rights" house of terror. And it will take nothing less than workers revolution to avenge the grisly tragedy inflicted in the name of defending the "free world" against the spectre of communism.

The most deadly massacre so far in the Salvadoran civil war occurred March 25, when almost 1,500 peasants were buried alive as they sought to flee from government troops into neighboring Honduras. The Latin American Human Rights Association reported this hideous slaughter which occurred at the La Sentada cave in the eastern department of Morazán. Peasant survivors told the Salvadoran leftist broadcasting station Radio Venceremos that 600 old people, 700 women and 150 children were killed when aerial bombardment from U.S.-supplied Huey helicopters and artillery



fire hit the cave where they had sought shelter.

"Then the Honduran and Salvadoran soldiers began to shoot and launch smoke bombs; the children that went out were massacred by the gunfire." Finally, troops "sealed the cave and left all those who remained to die of suffocation" (Uno Más Uno [Mexico], 9 April).

A week earlier, on March 18, a similar incident involving Honduran and Salvadoran troops occurred on the Lempa River in Cabañas department. Leftist guerrillas together with some 8,000 refugees were being encircled by government forces who were

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# Down With Exclusionism!

## What is IS! Afraid of?

Political suppression within the workers movement--whether by thuggery, exclusion or slander--has long been the defense of the politically bankrupt when confronted by revolutionary opposition. In this sordid tradition, the Stalinoid New Leftists of In Struggle! (IS!) printed an article in the April 7-14 issue of their paper announcing: "Trotskyist League barred from In Struggle! public meetings." This slanderous article and the threat it carries must be vigorously protested by class-conscious workers and leftists.

This is not the first time that IS! has resorted to political exclusion to try to seal itself off from the Trotskyist League (TL). Yet the article's pub-

up unseen and at full speed crashed into him from behind. Using both hands, your member smashed his picket stick down onto the photographer's head. By sheer luck the photographer escaped serious injury."

Posing a choice for IS!, the letter stated: "If you really believe in openness and workers democracy...you will condemn his behavior so that the rest of the left will know this is not your policy." In response IS! has chosen to ignore the incident and to formalize political exclusionism as its policy.

At once trivial and menacing, the article tries to paint a picture of sinister TL "sabotage" (like taking control of the mikes at a meeting where there

were no mikes on the floor) and "infiltration" (like accepting their invitation to well-known TL spokesman Oliver Stephens to attend a non-members' reading circle). More insidious but equally dishonest is the charge that we distributed a leaflet to an anti-abortion rally "denouncing In Struggle! and the RWL, both of which support the right to abortion" last November. In fact, the leaflet--a polemical statement on religion and reaction nailing IS! and the RWL for their capitulation to the anti-

### Trotskyist League barred from IN STRUGGLE! public meetings

The Organization IN STRUGGLE! has decided to ban members of the Trotskyist League, also called the Spartacists, from its public meetings. This decision was taken after numerous attempts on their part to infiltrate our Organization and to sabotage our work.

We could sum up the Trotskyist League's practice in the past years as follows: systematic attacks against workers and their struggles and other leftist groups in Canada.

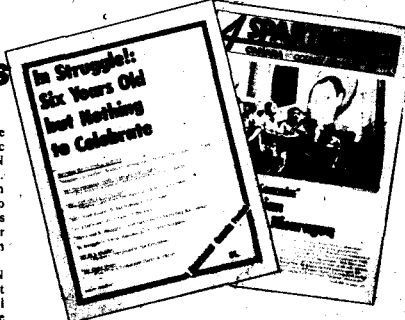
the bourgeois.

According to the Spartacist of September 1978, the leader of the postal workers' union of Canada, Jean-Claude Parrot, jailed for having opposed the law forcing the posties back to work, is nothing but "a left-talking, do-nothing demagogue, who has left his membership stranded for 14-months without a contract".

Here is another example. During an anti-abortion demonstration organized by the right last November 30, the Trotskyist League found nothing better

to their publications. They have showed up to all the public meetings organized by IN STRUGGLE! in Vancouver. And like the Bolshevik Union in Quebec, they did not come so faithfully to all those meetings out of any desire to listen to our point of view or to engage in an honest debate.

During the tour of the IN STRUGGLE! journalist last year on the struggle in El Salvador, members of the Trotskyist League tried to take control of the mikes. Five or six



The Organization IN STRUGGLE! is one of the "infiltrator" targets of the Trotskyist League. At the time of IN STRUGGLE!'s 6th Anniversary celebration, the League produced a special issue of its newspaper ardently devoted to denigrating the work of our Organization.

In Struggle!'s answer to revolutionary politics: exclusion, lies and thuggery.

lication puzzled even some of its own members--IS! rarely has public meetings in either Vancouver or Toronto and the alleged TL "crimes" concern events dating from five to seven months ago.

Conspicuously, if predictably, missing from the article is any account of a recent--and real--IS! crime against the TL. On March 7 the IS! Vancouver organizer assaulted a Spartacist Canada photographer during the International Women's Day march. Evert Hoogers, president of the Vancouver local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (a union which the TL is slanderously accused of not defending against government attacks) along with the provincial president of the Association of University and College Employees, Lid Strand, and other unionists joined with the TL in an open letter to IS! condemning the incident. The letter described the attack:

"The photographer, well known to several of your members, was taking a picture of your contingent's placards when your member ran

abortion Catholic church in Poland--was distributed at a pro-abortion rally addressed by Dr. Henry Morgentaler.

The lies simply gallop along building up to a conclusion borrowed straight from big brother Joe Stalin:

"We adopted this position because the systematic sabotage by the Trotskyist League, as well as its lies and undemocratic methods, drive workers and progressive people away from revolutionary organizations and objectively strengthen bourgeois power."

In the next breath comes an implicit threat, "That is why we cannot tolerate such organizations within the left." Objectively strengthen the bourgeoisie? Who stands with the Catholic church in Poland, took the side of Khomeini in Iran and closer to home defends labor lieutenants of the capitalist class (like that darling of the left, Jean-Claude Parrot) against revolutionary criticism? In Struggle!

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# El Salvador...

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 systematically burning villages and crops in order to force peasants out of the area. The insurgents tried to break through the net to escape across the border at Lempa River. Many never made it, as soldiers from both countries and gunmen from the fascistic paramilitary ORDEN squads killed at least 50 during the crossing. The Lempa River massacre recalls a similar atrocity last May on the Sumpul River, also along the Honduran border. At that time, some 600 refugees were massacred as they tried to escape the kill-crazy soldiers. These repeated bloodbaths dwarf My Lai in the savagery of the slaughter.

## Massacre "Made in USA"

Last week the Defense Department released figures showing that in the first quarter of 1981, the United States poured in far more arms to the Salvadoran generals than it claims were ever delivered by the Soviet bloc to the leftist rebels. From the beginning of the year it reported 343 tons of bombs, bullets, machine guns and other "lethal" military hardware shipped to the murderous junta, compared to the 200 tons alleged by a discredited State Department "White Paper" to come from Cuba, Vietnam and the USSR. This doesn't even include "non-lethal" military aid and the more than 240 million in U.S./IMF "economic" credits scheduled to keep the military dictatorship afloat for the coming year.

But all this firepower has not produced any victories on the battlefield for the government headed by Christian Democratic puppet Napoleón Duarte (known locally as "Bonaduarde"). In Morazán department, government troops can't go more than six miles outside of the provincial capital. In western Chalatenango, the army estimates close to 5,000 guerrillas and supporters in base camps of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), but has been unable to touch them in occasional raids. Junta troops took two weeks to climb to the top of Conchagua volcano in the south-east without inflicting serious casualties on the guerrilla defenders. And on Guazapa volcano, only 20 miles from the capital, army forces are still pinned down half-way up the slope after several months of fighting.

In frustration the junta soldiers have been doing the only thing they know how--mercilessly gunning

down defenseless peasants and slum-dwellers in an attempt at mass terrorization of the populace. For the most part, the U.S. works hand-in-glove with the junta in the cover-up (denying, for instance, that the Sumpul River, Lempa River and La Sentada massacres ever occurred). One of the few mass murders Washington has confirmed came after a large force of FMLN guerrillas staged a lightning raid on the main Ilopango air force base April 4, getting away without a loss. Two days later the Treasury Police retaliated by dragging 30 men, women and teenagers out of their homes in the working-class suburb of Soyapango, shooting them in cold blood and leaving the bodies strewn along a dirt road. This particular atrocity was hardly exceptional, but this time the U.S. admitted the butchery in order to further its propaganda campaign portraying the junta as "moderates" beset

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## EL SALVADOR:

# Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!

A bloody civil war is raging in El Salvador. Nicaragua is threatened with counterrevolutionary invasion. Reagan has proclaimed Central America the front line of his anti-Soviet Cold War. Which side are you on? The U.S. sends Huey helicopters and Green Beret "advisers" to prop up the junta. Cuba, rattles nuclear missiles over Poland. But seeking to placate imperialist liberals like Kennedys, reformist organizers of El Salvador protest refuse to side with the Salvadoran rebels.

A militant protest is needed NOW against the imperialist war drive! The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are calling for an Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march on May 3 in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco for the demands: Stop all aid military and economic to the Salvadoran junta! U.S./OAS hands off Central America! Military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador! Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!

Ronald Reagan and General Haig have a side. They back the murderous junta and anti-communist death squads who slaughtered more than 12,000 Salvadorans last year. Haig even excuses the murder of four American nuns in order to justify U.S. support to a gang of blood-crazed despots. All in the name of "Soviet terrorism." Reagan and Haig stand by their butchers. We must take a side, too. It is not enough to demand no

**Join the  
Anti-Imperialist  
Contingent!  
May 3  
Washington, D.C.**

**Stop All U.S. Aid to the Salvadoran Junta!  
U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America!  
Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador!**

April 28--Across the U.S. our comrades in the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League are campaigning to build anti-imperialist contingents in the May 3 Washington D.C. and San Francisco demonstrations against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The reformist organizers of the protests refuse to go beyond the demands of "self-determination" and "U.S. hands off!" It is the SL that has posed the question "Which side are you on?"--mobilizing around the slogan "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!" and the demands: "Stop All U.S. Aid to the Salvadoran Junta! U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America! Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador!"

## Spartacist Canada

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## El Salvador...

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by extremists of both left and right. A State Department spokesman said the Soyapango killings "serve to reinforce our determination to support the centrist government" (Washington Post, 10 April).

### Workers Revolution or Death!

With Reagan and Haig vowing to "draw the line" against "Communist subversion" in Central America, and the Salvadoran junta moving steadily to the right ever since being installed by Jimmy Carter in October 1979, it should be clear that all the talk of a "political solution" in El Salvador is a dangerous illusion. In February Reagan's State Department refused to meet with representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the coalition of leftist guerrillas and bourgeois politicians opposing the junta. The FDR, undeterred, sought negotiations through Socialist International president Willy Brandt. When that attempt fell through, the popular-front leaders dropped their insistence that they meet only with "the puppeteer, not the puppets" and indicated their willingness to discuss with civilians (the Christian Democrats) in the junta. The military's answer was to publish a "black list" of 138 names of priests, human rights

activists, academics and former junta members labeled "traitors" and thus marked for death.

What kind of "political solution" can there be for the savagely oppressed Salvadoran workers and peasants short of a revolutionary victory over their landlord/capitalist/military class enemies? So long as the bloody officer corps remains intact and a rapacious oligarchy continues to rule the land, the death squads will continue their killing and abysmal poverty will be the fate of the masses in El Salvador. The only ones who stand to gain by an illusory "compromise" are the capitalist politicians (many of them former junta members) who now seek to play games with the buffoon Duarte. Alarmed by the extreme class confrontation in El Salvador, their main concern is to stave off the "threat" of workers revolution.

But for the suffering working masses, this is the only solution. For them the alternatives "Revolution or Death" are the terms of survival--and to win the workers must rule by expropriating all the exploiters. That is why the Trotskyists call not for a bogus bourgeois "political solution" but for military victory to the leftist insurgents! U.S./OAS hands off El Salvador! Break with the bourgeoisie--For workers revolution throughout Central America! ■

--Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 279, 24 April 1981.

## IS!...

(continued from page 2)

Lies? What bothers IS! is that the TL tells the truth. Undemocratic methods? Slander and exclusionism are IS!'s methods, not ours. The article's contempt for politics and lack of concern for anything resembling the truth say more about In Struggle! than about the TL. A soft, Stalinoid organization, IS! takes bits and pieces of its crazy-quilt program from an assortment of diverse currents on the political spectrum, from musically inclined opponents of "acid rain" and avowed anti-Leninists like Beyond the Fragments author Sheila Rowbotham, to more traditional revisionists like Karl Kautsky (see "IS! Investigates Russian Question: Documents for Kautskyist Revisionism," SC No. 46, January/February 1981). After an interminable series of articles in its press, IS! still can't come up with a plausible rationalization for refusing to defend the gains of October embodied today in the Soviet degenerated workers state. While they complain of TL polemics against IS!, ignored completely are the lengthy articles in Spartacist Canada on the Russian question.

With Reagan challenging Castro and Brezhnev to a showdown in Central America, even IS! cannot continue to dodge the Russian question. The class line has been drawn in El Salvador and the stakes are high; the left must take sides in the confrontation between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet bloc. Where will In Struggle! stand if Reagan makes good his threat to blockade Cuba, if there is another Cuban missile crisis?

Recently it has been during protests against U.S. intervention in El Salvador that the political line between IS! and the TL has been most sharply drawn. The TL alone has raised a program to defeat imperialism, while IS! has joined with those who want merely to pressure it, pinning their hopes, as does the class-collaborationist FDR, on convincing Reagan to negotiate a "political settlement." Calling forthrightly for the military victory of the left-wing insurgents, the TL has warned that "unity" with the "progressive" bourgeoisie has paralyzed effective action by the workers organizations, preventing the mobilization of the masses in a truly revolutionary direction.

Our political opposition to the FDR has caused some IS! members to seethe with rage. But others are finding it hard to stomach support for a program committed to preserving the "integrity" of the armed forces, the "serene guidance" of the church and, in the name of "democratic unity," the private property of the capitalists and landlords, like former FDR head Alvarez Córdova.

The fact that the article, obviously authored on the West Coast, focuses exclusively on events in Vancouver is not merely an indication of parochialism. Our newly reestablished branch has rapidly recruited a number of young workers through its energetic intervention into the B.C. left and labor movements, most recently the dramatic TWU occupation and CUPE strikes. Many IS! supporters must want to know why their organization refused our invitation to participate in a TWU/CUPE strike support rally at UBC on February 17

## LCUC Militants Run on Class-Struggle Program

LCUC militants Gerry Docherty and Audrey Minton will be delegates to the union's national convention in October fighting to "get this union on its feet and fighting for the interests of the membership." We reprint below Docherty and Minton's campaign leaflet.

We are a letter carrier and an MSC and are running as delegates to the national convention. We stand for a program that will get this union on its feet and fighting for the interests of the membership.

We must combat job loss that has come through speed-up, route restructuring and technological change through the demand for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Not a cost-of-living allowance that triggers after another 6% of our wages have been eaten away and even then doesn't keep up with inflation--but a full, uncapped COLA! We need full medical, dental and optical coverage.

Our members have been victimized for respecting picket lines--not only a trade-union principle but union policy. Without a leadership that will back this paper policy with action these victimizations will continue. Respect for picket lines must be part of our contract and defended! Picket lines mean don't cross!

Our union was founded through the militant, illegal strikes in the 1960's. Workers put their jobs on the line to win the gains we have now. But our present leadership has spat on this tradition and allowed the government to erode past union gains. McGarry's policy of taking the union into conciliation and sitting on committees with management has taken the edge off the union's ability to stand up and take on

the boss. This year's contract has to be the worst though. McGarry claims to have won us a free lunch--instead it is a green light to management for more speed-up and job loss. The leadership agreed that we can do 480 minutes work in 450 minutes. Some free lunch--we don't get an extra cent, it's an attack on walk evaluation and gives management another excuse for harassment. Under a Crown corporation we can expect more of the same. After the U. S. post office became a semi-private corporation more than 100,000 jobs were eliminated.

Walk evaluation is further undermined by the householder agreement--basically all we get is a few lousy cents to be treated like mules. Householders should be counted under walk evaluation the same as the rest of the mail. Not only would this ease the workload but it would create more positions. Walk evaluation should be under the union's control--not management's.

We fought against this rotten contract and for a winning perspective--a joint strike together with the CUPW and the postal component of PSAC to win what we need. Some of the drivers, angered by the results of the strike vote, have talked about splitting away from the union. But victory against the government's attacks on our jobs, wages and working conditions will be won only through united action for one contract and the formation of one union of all postal workers.

In the interest of keeping our union strong and protecting our jobs we should fight to organize courier service workers. We have no interest in competing with UPS, etc. to boost the post office's business. We should all be in the same union. )

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endorsed by campus groups and trade unionists including the B.C. Division of CUPE. Or why IS! abstained from an earlier TL-initiated rally to protest the acquittal of the Greensboro Klan/Nazi murderers. Well, they won't find out from In Struggle!; its "polemic" is designed precisely to obscure such sticky political questions.

IS! of course denies that its cowardly exclusion policy is politically motivated: "We have adopted this position not because we oppose the expression and public debate of points of view which differ from ours." Certainly, behind the petty sob stories of TL "wrongdoings" we detect a deeply apolitical conception of workers democracy, an almost punitive view of exclusionism: you have offended us, therefore we will not let you come into our meetings. But the scandal-mongering and slander do have a political point.

Exclusionism and slander are soft-core violence,

an attempt to create a climate of opinion that communists are non-people, undeserving of workers democracy. On a more ominous scale the bourgeois state uses similar tactics, hiding behind professed concern about "terrorist violence" to itself do violence to leftists, minorities and labor militants, branding them as criminals about whom anything can be said and to whom anything can be done. In IS! lingo, "saboteur" serves the same function as "extremist" and "terrorist" do for the government.

IS! has indicted the Trotskyist League for our unrelenting exposure of their eclectic, but thoroughly reformist political program. To this charge we plead guilty. And though IS! "public meetings" may be few and far between, we have every intention of exercising our rights as members of the socialist and working-class public. Workers democracy is not just a nice idea but a principle to be defended.■

# P.Q. Sweeps Quebec Elections



UPC Photo

## PQ supporters cheer nationalist victory.

On the eve of the Quebec provincial election Liberal leader Claude Ryan told supporters he was "ready to serve and ready to serve elsewhere" if it was "His will." A devout Catholic, Ryan was referring to god not René Lévesque. It was the "will" of the Parti Québécois (PQ) that prevailed on April 13, however, as Lévesque's government was returned with 80 of the 122 seats in the National Assembly.

Lévesque led a slick "something-for-everyone" election campaign. In the wake of the PQ's referendum defeat last year the issue of sovereignty-association, the PQ's watered-down program for Quebec "independence," was definitely downplayed. And in this electoral bout the PQ made a concerted

effort to win the votes of Quebec's English-speaking and immigrant communities hoping to undercut an important part of the Liberal Party's base.

Two PQ Anglophones were elected--the first ever--with Robert Dean, Quebec president of the United Auto Workers and vice president of the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ), defeating Liberal star front-bencher Solange Chapat-Rolland. Lévesque set another first, speaking in English at the PQ election-night rally to thank his "fellow Quebecers from Anglo-Saxon stock and the ethnic communities" for their support. When the votes were tallied Francophones had voted nearly two to one for the PQ while the Liberals maintained their strength in Montreal's predominantly English-speaking, Italian and Greek neighborhoods. The Union Nationale lost all its seats and the other parties and independents combined took less than one percent of the popular vote.

Of the three Quebec trade-union federations only one, the FTQ, officially took the PQ side. The Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ), which represent the province's public-sector workers remained "neutral." No wonder--a vote to the anti-labor strikebreakers of the PQ would have been a hard one to sell to the ranks of Quebec's public-sector unions. Between November 1979 and October 1980, the PQ passed four special laws to prevent or break strikes of public-sector workers. Jobs were slashed and the latest PQ budget included proposals for further cuts in education and social services. Despite the record of the party of the Quebec bosses and despite their paper neutrality, both CSN and CEQ bureaucrats hailed the election of the PQ as defeat for the right.

The Quebec left had nothing to offer as an alternative for militant Quebec workers in these elections. The fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), Canadian section of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, not only posed no alternative to the PQ but displayed an at best ambivalent attitude toward it:

"Isn't the PQ the 'lesser evil'? Yes--if our only choice is the PQ. But it is not our only choice. Moreover, the PQ is not a lesser evil--it is a major obstacle--with respect to the big task before working people in Quebec: building a party which defends our interests."

--Socialist Voice, 6 April

In its propaganda for the election the RWL skated very close to the position that the PQ should be

given full support as the leader of the oppressed Québécois nation in a struggle against Canadian imperialism. Declaring the PQ has taken "a number of [unnamed] initiatives against imperialism," the RWL said that "even in a deep economic crisis the PQ could improve our standard of living if it were prepared to confront the multinationals and the federal government and to challenge their domination of Quebec." The RWL's portrayal of René Lévesque as the possible future leader of a "Grenada of the north" was mixed in with old down-home social-democratic parliamentary cretinism. According to the sole RWL electoral candidate, "if the unions got together and presented their own candidates in the elections, we could elect a government that we could control..."

The RWL cannot seem to move right fast enough to satisfy its own central committee. In February the CC decided that the RWL's failure to vote "yes" in last year's referendum on sovereignty-association was a mistake based on "formal and abstract analysis of the wording of the question and a sectarian attitude toward the masses who still follow the PQ" (*Socialist Voice*, 23 March). In fact, a "yes" vote could have represented nothing other than a vote of confidence in the bourgeois nationalist PQ. (Two CCers voted against the line change and one abstained.)

The Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs (GST), part of the self-declared Fourth International (International Committee), presented two candidates in the elections. Since its predictable failure to revive the moribund provincial NDP, the GST has been campaigning to get the trade-union bureaucrats to launch a pro-independence, social-democratic NDP à la Québécois. The GST's quest for working-class unity around a reformist program together with its ludicrous hobby-horse call for a Quebec constituent assembly are clear signs of its political bankruptcy on the domestic scene. At the same time its ongoing campaign for an end to repression "East and West" shows that the GST is not too Quebec-centered to abstain from the Stalinophobic anti-communism of its international mentors.

The Socialist Challenge Organization (SCO), a split from the RWL, wrote an open letter calling for independent candidates to "take the initiative" and run in the elections for "independence and socialism." (Apparently none of its members responded.) SCO called for votes to the RWL and GST candidates but pride of place was accorded to the classless, populist campaign of Colette Provost, candidate of the Society to Conquer Pollution, supported by *Le Monde à Bicyclette* and the Cooperative Family Economy Association. Clearly suggesting that "critical support" to the PQ was at least understandable in the past, SCO lamented that the difference between the program and policies of the Liberals and the PQ is becoming "less and less significant for the working class and popular movements" (*Combat Socialiste*, 27 March).

In Struggle! (IS!) shares the SCO's position that support to the PQ in the 1976 elections was "understandable." According to IS! this election afforded an opportunity for "progressive forces" to unite and organize "to create a genuine political alternative." The qualities of this "alternative" other than its "genuineness" remained unspecified. IS! had no program for the elections other than attempting to pressure the PQ to the left, joining with "opposition forces that call the PQ to account for its policies and actions" (*In Struggle!*, 17 March). It presented no candidates and called for spoiled ballots.

The Workers Communist Party (WCP) tried to pass itself off as the working-class alternative in the elections. But its appeals for socialism remain abstract and its day-to-day practice is characterized above all by low-level trade-union economism. Moreover, the virulently anti-Soviet WCP has no claim to represent the interests of the international working class.

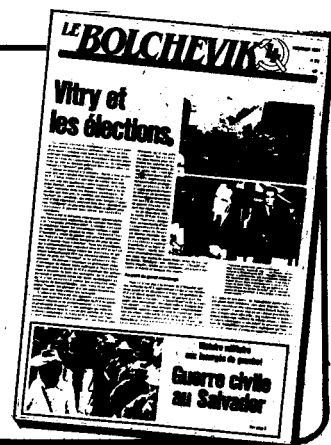
The Communist Party ran on its usual chauvinist pro-Canadian, reformist program calling for "democratic nationalization of the key sectors of the economy" to permit "efficient planning of the economy," while the pro-Albania Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) campaigned for a mega-popular-front of the "people of Quebec, Canada and the world" against the "superpowers" and "Chinese social-imperialism."

"Critical support" to bourgeois parties is not a tactical question for Marxists. Leninists are proletarian internationalists, irreconcilably opposed to bourgeois nationalism. The PQ has shown through job slashing, strikebreaking and anti-labor laws whose interests it defends. We unconditionally defend Quebec's right to self-determination seeking not to defend the "nation" but to forge a fighting unity between the Québécois working class and its class brothers and sisters in the rest of North America against their common class enemies. The most militant sector of the North American working class, the Québécois proletariat could stand in the forefront of the struggle for North American socialist revolution. What is needed is a Leninist party that combats both English-Canadian chauvinism and Québécois nationalism, uniting the working class of both nations on a program of proletarian revolution. ■

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# U.S. Imperialists Provoke Soviet Union

## Whose Poland?

### For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Poland is coming unstuck. The "Solidarity" union movement (Solidarność) is polarizing. The Polish Communist party is in chaos. The economy is in a shambles. And United States imperialism is wildly seeking to provoke a Russian intervention. Reagan and Haig have seized upon Poland as a pawn for their superheated Cold War drive against the Soviet Union. And their ultimate aim is to overthrow the remaining conquests of the October Revolution, the main bastion of proletarian state power. Revolutionaries and all class-conscious workers must oppose this imperialist provocation and unconditionally defend the Soviet bloc states against counterrevolutionary attack.

Washington hectors its West European "allies" to stiffen their anti-Soviet resolve with nuclear missiles aimed at the "Russian aggressor in Poland." General Haig tries to line up NATO governments to break off economic and diplomatic relations with the USSR. American secretary of war Weinberger threatens terrible reprisals if the Soviet Union intervenes. He even flashes the U. S.' menacing "China card," threatening to arm Peking, presumably with atomic weapons capable of reaching Soviet cities. And the Chinese are ready, even eager: they don't just want thermonuclear missiles, they want to use them!

Ever since World War II the American bourgeoisie has tried to talk itself into the idea that they can nuclear bomb the Soviet Union and live! This goal is now openly stated by the Reagan administration. White House Russia expert Richard Pipes says the Soviets face the choice of "changing their Communist system in the direction of the West or going to war." Reagan/Haig believe that Soviet intervention in Poland will remove all obstacles in



Warsaw Pact tanks in Poland.

Sipa

their preparations for such a war.

Even if the Kremlin doesn't intervene, the U. S. has already made Poland a focal point of the Cold War with its endless talk of "invasion by osmosis," "indefinite extension of Warsaw Pact war games," etc. The U.S. "seem[s] to be playing some kind of game with a whole nation," exclaimed one Pole angered by Washington's constant alarms (New York Times, 6 April). Indeed, Reagan and Haig have made it clear they want full-scale Russian intervention, and they're doing their best to spark it. They want to see Polish workers under the eagle and the cross throwing Molotov cocktails at Soviet tanks. They want to provoke a bloodbath in Poland so that they can

use the battle cry of "Russian aggression" to push forward on all fronts in their drive toward World War III.

Imperialist politicians and the Western press all speak of a Soviet "invasion of Poland." In fact the Soviet Army drove the Nazi German forces out of Poland and liberated the country in 1944-45. They have been there since, and today two Russian divisions guard the vital communications links to East Germany and the NATO front. To demand withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland is to demand that Warsaw leave the Warsaw Pact--tantamount to calling for unilateral disarmament of the Soviet bloc. It is not an invasion that is posed, but a Russian military intervention into the civil life and class struggle in Poland. And those processes have undergone important developments during nine months at full boil.

The massive strike wave in the Baltic ports last August brought Polish workers before a historic choice: with the bankruptcy of Stalinist rule dramatically demonstrated, it would be either the path of bloody counterrevolution in league with Western imperialism, or the path of proletarian political revolution. With the clerical-nationalist



influence in *Solidarność* and now the emergence of a mass organization of the landowning peasantry, the counterrevolutionary danger remains great. But a process of political differentiation has begun. Above all, "Solidarity" has come to embrace the whole of the Polish working class, with all of its tensions and contradictions. One million Polish party members have joined the new unions, and the party is in deep trouble--hardliners isolated, the leadership weakened, the ranks in uproar. And the church has pulled back from Walesa & Co., hoping to maintain itself as a stable pole for counterrevolution in the face of Russian military intervention.

This political fluidity by no means signifies a fundamental change in the relationship of forces, which is still distinctly unfavorable from a revolutionary standpoint. But if a genuine Leninist-Trotskyist opposition were precipitated, it could quickly grow and have a tremendous polarizing impact. Should the Kremlin, goaded by imperialist provocation, move to restore bureaucratic order in Poland, however, it would in the best case freeze that political differentiation necessary for the only progressive solution to the Polish crisis: workers political revolution. Thus genuine proletarian internationalists must bitterly protest a Russian military intervention, which would represent a defeat for the cause of socialism.

But far worse would be violent resistance by the Poles, which could produce a bloodbath. This would be a historic catastrophe. A "cold" suppression would only postpone the confrontation between the Polish workers and their Stalinist rulers. If there is a Soviet tank on every street corner and the Polish people walk by them hissing, what has really changed? But if there is a violent response, the resulting repression would crush the Polish working class into the ground politically and produce an explosion of anti-Russian nationalism that would take years, perhaps decades to overcome. It would also fuel U.S. imperialism's war drive to a white heat, which is why Reagan and Haig are pushing for such a bloodbath. Proletarian revolutionaries must therefore emphatically oppose all violent resistance, whether mass action or individual terror, against such a Soviet military intervention in Poland.

The present Polish situation is the product of decades of capitulation by the Stalinist bureaucrats to capitalist forces. It makes revolutionaries yearn for a Trotskyist leadership in the USSR which would make short shrift of the Polish crisis.

Only a political revolution throughout Stalinist-ruled East Europe can open the road to socialism. And that requires internationalist Trotskyist parties which can reach out to the Soviet working class in defending the gains of the October Revolution.

### Stalinism Fuels Clerical-Nationalist Reaction

The Soviet armed forces entering German-occupied Poland in 1944 were greeted as liberators in a social as well as a national sense. The expropriation of the large landed estates and big capitalists in the mid/late-1940s was a broadly supported measure. Yet three decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule have turned much of the population, and much of the industrial working class, against what they view as the "Russian-imposed Communist system." And this is not simply a reaction to the police suppression of democratic rights and the gross privileges and corruption of the "socialist" officialdom. The present Polish crisis, especially the dangerous growth of clerical-nationalist sentiment, has its roots in the failures and broken promises of reform Stalinism.

When Wladyslaw Gomulka came to power in 1956 proclaiming the need for the widest workers democracy, he enjoyed enormous popular authority. Then he turned and suppressed the workers councils and dissident intellectual circles which had supported him against the hard-line Stalinists. When Edward Gierek replaced Gomulka in 1970 after the Baltic coast workers' uprising, many believed his promises of unparalleled economic prosperity. Then he ruinously mortgaged Poland's wealth to Western

bankers and also ruinously subsidized the landowning peasants!

So when under the pressure of rising prices and food and other consumer goods shortages the workers exploded last summer, they looked to the powerful Catholic church as the recognized opposition to the discredited Communist regime. The *Internationale* was replaced by the national hymn, "Oh God, Who Has Defended Poland," and the new workers leader, Lech Walesa, declared himself at every opportunity to be a

true son of the Polish church. Many of the "dissidents" who raised their heads are openly reactionary--virulently nationalist, anti-communist, anti-democratic and even anti-Semitic (despite the fact that there are almost no Jews left in Poland).

The upsurge of clerical nationalism is associated with pro-Western sympathies, often expressed

(continued on page 10)



Der Spiegel

Soviet soldiers greeted as liberators in Cracow, 1945.

## Poland...

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in calls for "free trade unions" like in the U.S. and West Germany. Polish workers would do well to look at the blood-soaked American neo-colonies before buying the Radio Free Europe line. The Russians would have to kill something like 150,000 Poles to proportionately match the number of workers and peasants slaughtered during the last year by Carter/Reagan's junta in El Salvador. In Brazil, the popular union leader "Lula" has been sentenced to three and a half years in prison for far less than threatening to lead a political general strike every month or so. Even United Auto Workers observer John Christensen commented:

"It's incredible to me that in comparing Brazil and Poland, a Communist country, there seems to be more freedom there than here. Walesa is freer than Lula. There the Government agreed to hold a dialogue with him, not here."

--New York Times, 3 April

A visit to El Salvador and Brazil by a "Solidarity" delegation might teach them a thing or two about the "free world"--if they got out alive.

With the strong clerical-nationalist influence over the new unions which became *Solidarność*, we have repeatedly warned of the danger of capitalist counterrevolution spearheaded by Pope Wojtyla's church. At the same time, we recognized that the emergence of a powerful workers movement fundamentally challenging Stalinist bureaucratic rule could also open the road to proletarian political revolution. We have therefore insisted that the key strategic task for a Trotskyist vanguard in Poland was to split the mass of workers from reactionary forces. This means fighting for a series of programmatic demands including strict separation of church and state, defense of

collectivized property, defense of the Soviet bloc degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism. A Trotskyist vanguard would seek to polarize the workers movement, attracting those who seek a genuinely socialist solution and are hostile to the Vatican and Western capitalism.

### Solidarność in Turmoil, Communist Party Polarized

Today we see the beginnings of internal political differentiation within "Solidarity" and the Communist party. For the first time forces are opposing bureaucratic rule not in the name of the eagle and the cross but calling for "socialist renewal" and even a return to the principles of "Marxism-Leninism." The New York Times (12 April) now projects: "Barring Soviet military intervention, the likely next phase in the workers' revolution in Poland will not be a struggle against the Communist Party but a struggle within the party itself." This makes even more urgent the crystallization of a Trotskyist propagandist nucleus in Poland which alone can offer a way out of the desperate and seemingly endless crises which are wracking Poland.

The political landscape has changed considerably since the Gdansk-based general strike last summer. Walesa is under several-sided attack from within *Solidarność*. Meanwhile, many of the more than one million working-class members of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) now participating in "Solidarity" must find their socialist convictions (however deformed by Stalinist ideology) in conflict with the reactionary views of Walesa and his associates. The church hierarchy, on the other hand, has pulled back, fearing a Soviet military intervention. A few days before "Solidarity" had scheduled a general strike at the end of March, Cardinal Wyszyński issued a joint statement with Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski urging that "strikes can be eliminated as extremely costly to the enfeebled national economy" (Daily World, 28 March).

Most striking is the impact which the workers struggles have had on the Stalinist apparatus of the PUWP. The recent Central Committee meeting at the end of March turned into a political brawl. "We must know that Solidarity is in the first place the working class itself," declared the party secretary of the Baltic port of Szczecin. Only the fear of the

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Kremlin's reaction prevented this meeting from throwing hardliners like Stefan Olszowski off the Politburo. A recent national conference in Torun of dissident groupings within the party called for full and adequate information, secret ballots, multiple candidates. One delegate protested: "The authorities should not present the changes going on in our country as the work of antisocialist forces but as a proper restoration of Marxist-Leninist principles" (*New York Times*, 16 April).

However, overall the PUWP dissidents are not moving toward a rediscovery of authentic Leninism. They tend rather toward liberal Stalinism, "socialism with a human face," as the Czech Stalinist reformer Dubček called it during the Prague Spring of 1968, and they seek a favorable hearing from the present leaders of *Solidarność*. Moreover, they are quoted expressing anti-Russian prejudices and political sentiments common in Poland today. One delegate at the Torun conference remarked: "Our Soviet friends have a history that has accustomed them to absolutism in government. But the history of our nation is closely connected to democracy." And what of the national hero and fascistic dictator Pilsudski, a former right-wing social democrat who defended Polish capitalism against the Red Army in 1920?! As Trotsky pointed out, the Stalinist bureaucracy itself could generate a fascistic wing--he called it the "Butenko faction"--which in Poland today would be imbued with virulent anti-Russian nationalism.

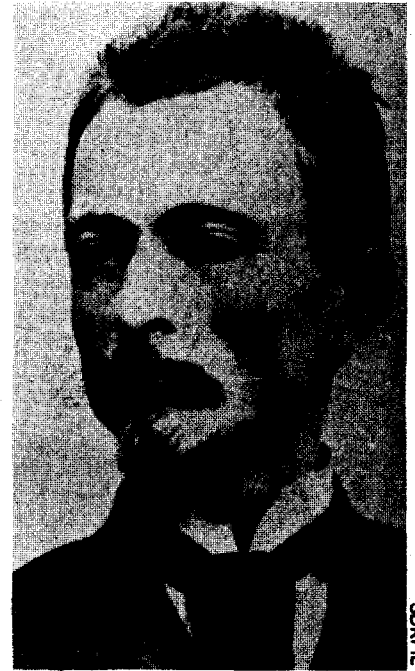
If the PUWP liberals are talking of a "socialist renewal" in Poland, the Kremlin is warning of "creeping counterrevolution." The Brezhnevite Stalinists dare not attack the real basis for counterrevolution, the powerful Catholic hierarchy, but instead target relatively small dissident groups, notably Jacek Kuron's Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) and the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) of Leszek Moczulski. Of course, the Kremlin hacks would denounce any political opposition, including and especially Trotskyists, as "counterrevolutionary" and even "fascistic." But Stalinist slanders notwithstanding, KOR and the KPN are each in their own ways enemies of socialism.

The KPN is openly clerical-nationalist and anti-socialist. This is not the case, however, with Kuron's KOR. In the West Kuron is widely regard-

ed as some kind of left radical, even a "Marxist"--a reflection of his stance in the 1960s. As we have pointed out in the face of his pseudo-Trotskyist cheerleaders, he has since moved far to the right. Tamara Deutscher confirms this in an important recent article in *New Left Review* ("Poland--Hopes and Fears," January-February, 1981). She recalls that when sentenced to prison in 1964, "Kuron and his comrade defiantly sang the Internationale in court. Such a gesture on his part would be unthinkable today. He has moved towards social democracy, the Church and a nationalistic position."

**Above All, A Revolutionary Internationalist Party**

Whether or not Moscow intervenes militarily in the near future, the Polish crisis is fast heading



**Polish revolutionary Felix Dzerzhinski headed Bolshevik Cheka, security arm of early Soviet power.**

SDXPH

toward the explosion point. The economic chaos is assuming disastrous proportions. Food supplies are shrinking rapidly; hard currency exports have fallen 25 percent since last year, coal exports have dropped 50 percent. Politically the situation is anarchic. There must be a tremendous felt need for the working people of Poland to take control of society, of the economy, and direct it in their interests. Seeking to placate the masses, the Stalinist leaders are now talking about granting more powers to the parliament, the *Sejm*, nominally the highest governing body.

In Poland today the classic Bolshevik demand--all power to the soviets, the democratically elected workers councils--would have a broad appeal. A revolutionary vanguard might well demand that the supposed powers of the *Sejm* be vested in a congress of soviets as in the Russian October Revolution. But soviets in themselves do not guarantee the socialist direction of society. Especially under present Polish conditions, they could fall under the

(continued on page 12)

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## Poland...

(continued from page 11)

influence of reactionary nationalist forces seeking imperialist backing against the USSR. The crucial element is an authentically revolutionary workers party capable of organizing the socialist impulses among the working masses around a Marxist, internationalist program.

A communist vanguard must be militantly anti-nationalist. It would look back to the tradition of the pre-World War I socialist party of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches. In contrast to Pilsudski's chauvinist Polish Socialist Party, they called their organization the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. They maintained that the socialist transformation of Poland was inextricably bound up with the proletarian revolution in Russia.

One of the leaders of the Luxemburg/Jogiches SDKPiL was Felix Dzerzhinski, who later played a distinguished role in the Bolshevik Revolution as head of the Cheka, the police arm of the early Soviet power. Dzerzhinski, whose Polish accent in Russian became stronger when he was agitated, was chosen for this most sensitive post because he was a revolutionist of outstanding moral integrity. On a far lesser historic scale, there was Konstanti Rokossovski, a young Polish socialist who joined the Soviet Red Army in 1919. Imprisoned in the Stalin purges of the late 1930s, he reemerged to become one of the greatest Soviet commanders of World War II. Marshal Rokossovski was not a revolutionist but a Stalinist military officer. But his service in defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack does him honor--and he played a key role in liberating Poland in 1944-45 from nightmarish Nazi occupation.

In his great essay on "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party," Isaac Deutscher stressed as his main conclusion: "...if the history of the Polish CP and of Poland at large proves anything at all, it proves how indestructible is the link between the Polish and the Russian revolutions." Today it is necessary to revive the tradition of revolutionary unity of the Polish and Russian proletariat. Now it must be directed against the Stalinist bureaucracies, in defense of the collectivized economies and proletarian state powers against the threat of capitalist-imperialism.

The leadership of "Solidarity" stands directly

opposed to these principles. Walesa and his colleagues see themselves leading the entire Polish nation against Russian "Communism." This is most strongly expressed in their active support to the peasant organization, Rural Solidarity. In fact, the recent near general strike was called primarily on behalf of the peasant organization. Expressing the acquisitive appetites of Poland's numerous landowning peasants, Rural Solidarity aims at the complete reestablishment of capitalist relations in the countryside. Its non-economic demands include the construction of more churches, no restriction of religious education and an end to compulsory teaching of Russian in the schools. Little wonder, then, that Pope Wojtyla himself demanded that the Warsaw regime recognize Rural Solidarity, a potent base for capitalist restoration. The fact that the Stalinist regime has just legitimized this peasant organization, reversing its earlier stand, marks a major concession to the forces of reaction.

The socialist answer to Rural Solidarity is not maintaining the status quo in the countryside. For that situation is disastrous. Poland's inefficient, aging smallholders are a major barrier to balanced economic development. The \$10 billion food subsidy--the difference between what the state pays the farmers and what it charges urban consumers --is by far the largest item in the government budget and accounts for a significant share of total national income. Russian and Ukrainian collective farms now supply Poland with food, even though the consumption level, especially of meat, is much higher in Warsaw and Gdansk than in Moscow and Kiev. An immediate key task for a revolutionary soviet government in Poland would be to promote the collectivization of agriculture. Cheap credit and generous social services should be given to those peasants who pool their land and labor. Those who want to remain petty agricultural capitalists should be subject to higher taxes and other forms of economic discrimination.

Along with the backward smallholding agriculture, an enormous foreign debt is at the root of the current Polish economic crisis. During the 1970s the Gierek regime tried to buy off the workers and peasants with massive loans contracted from the West. His successors have accelerated this disastrous policy. Poland's debt to the West has increased by one-third in the last seven months alone! Repaying the bankers of Frankfurt and Wall Street will absorb all of Poland's hard-currency export earnings for years to come. (And no small share of Soviet hard-currency exports are expended on repaying directly or indirectly Poland's Western capitalist creditors.) The demand to cancel the imperialist debt is crucial in breaking the capitalist stranglehold on the Polish economy. But this would be possible only under a revolutionary soviet regime which could counter imperialist economic retaliation by appealing to the workers of West Europe to become comrades in international socialist planning in a Socialist United States of Europe.

As important as appeals to the working class of

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the capitalist West are to a proletarian political revolution in Poland, still more important is the perspective toward such a revolution in the Soviet Union. Should the Kremlin intervene militarily, the immediate fate of the Polish workers would in large measure depend on their ability to influence and win over Soviet conscript soldiers--that is, young Russian, Ukrainian and Central Asian workers and peasants in uniform. Anti-Russian Polish nationalism, and especially violence directed at Soviet soldiers or officers, would sabotage the proletarian cause.

Here it is important to recognize that illusions about "good will" and peacefulness of the Western capitalist powers, common in East Europe and particularly in Poland, do not extend to the Soviet Union. After losing 20 million fighting Nazi Germany, the Soviet people understand full well that NATO's nuclear arsenal is targeted at them. This understanding is now heightened by Washington's open threats of a nuclear first strike. The Soviet people legitimately fear the transformation of East Europe into hostile, imperialist-allied states extending to their own border.

The Kremlin bureaucrats exploit this legitimate fear to crush popular unrest and democratic aspirations in East Europe, as in Czechoslovakia in 1968. But the situation in Poland today is significantly different from that during the "Prague Spring." Anti-Russian nationalism is far more virulent, while Washington and its NATO allies are being far more provocative and militarily threatening. For these reasons the question of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism takes on far greater importance in the present Polish crisis. Revolutionary Polish workers cannot hope to appeal to Soviet soldiers unless they assure them that they will defend the social gains of the October Revolution against imperialist attack.

Only by addressing their Soviet class brothers in the name of socialist internationalism can the Polish proletariat liberate itself from the chains of Stalinist oppression. With this perspective a Trotskyist vanguard in Poland could turn a looming catastrophe into a great victory for world socialism. ■

--Reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 279,  
24 April 1981

## B.C. Phone...

(continued from page 16)

District's takeaway demands and the employers' hardline refusal to grant wage parity between the mostly women inside workers and the mostly male outside workers. CUPE/VMREU have tried various attention-grabbing tactics (picketing Granville Mall downtown, leafletting hotels, holding demonstrations) but more than publicity is needed to win. A CUPE militant put forward a strategy for victory at a recent Negotiating Committee meeting, urging CUPE to shut down the crucial garbage dumps. The bureaucrats squelched an attempt to introduce a motion to this effect, but many strikers realize that the employers' attempts to piece off various units of CUPE must be met and defeated with militant, united action. Turn the scores of anti-picketing injunctions into garbage! Demand the full backing of the B.C. Fed and all its affiliates!

B. C. labor has demonstrated the power and will to bring the employers to their knees: the TWU proved the effectiveness of the sit-in tactic, unionists responded enthusiastically to the call to shut down Nanaimo and picket lines are respected nearly everywhere. The unions' leadership, however, is unwilling to unleash that power. Kinnaird & Co. haven't lifted a finger to help the municipal workers. The Sacred government threatened to bust an all-out firemen's strike so Kinnaird demanded that the union must maintain "essential services." And the B. C. Fed leadership scrambled to help TWU president Bill Clark end the occupations in the face of a court order. With their pressure tactics, legalist strategies and with their eyes always on the New Democratic Party's electoral chances, the labor brass are an obstacle to victory.

They must be ousted and replaced with a new leadership committed to a class-struggle program.

Round Two is coming up: the groundwork is there for a Vancouver-wide shutdown, and there could be a long hot summer ahead as the key pulp, paper and forestry workers as well as thousands of miners will be up against B. C.'s major employers. The most militant English-speaking labor movement in North America can show the way forward with a decisive victory against the capitalists' strikebreaking offensive. Bust the union busters! ■

## LCUC...

(continued from page 5)

When the KKK opened an office in Toronto last summer we fought for our local to take the lead in implementing the only strategy that will drive these vermin back into their holes--massive action by organized labor in conjunction with minority and socialist groups. A similar motion was passed at the Ontario Federation of Labour convention last year. This motion must be translated into action!

We think the issues addressed here are among the most important facing the membership and if elected will fight at the convention for such policies to be adopted and implemented. Instead of bowing to the bosses' government, its cops and courts this union needs a leadership that will fight for a workers party which unlike the strikebreaking NDP is committed to the struggle for a workers government. Without a perspective of class struggle not even the most minimal gains can be won and secured. On Thursday, April 16 vote for Gerry Docherty and Audrey Minton for Local 1 delegates. ■

## Communist Party Upstaged

# TL Confronts Mamonova

Russian feminist Tatyana Mamonova was whirled across Canada in March--her tour sponsored, hosted and heralded by a motley collection of feminists and fake-leftists. Members of In Struggle! and "dissident" ex-members of the ostensibly Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) acted as escorts and publicity agents for this man-hating anti-communist. The tour was the occasion for the Socialist Challenge Organization's (SCO) Pamphlet No. 1--"Solidarity with Soviet Feminists!"--an unabashed and unrestrained tribute to Mamonova and her Russian sisters. In Winnipeg the SCO pushed that the tour be part of International Women's Day celebrations. In this, however, they managed



**Tatyana Mamonova speaks out for cold war anti-Sovietism.**

to tweak the tail of the Communist Party (CP) which along with its various front groups packed the meeting where the proposal was put forward to vote it down.

Mamonova is certainly no "sister" to the pro-Moscow CP. CP Women's Commission leaflets roundly (and rightly) denounced her tour as helping to heat up Reagan's new Cold War. But it was the Trotskyist League (TL) not the CP which stood up to defend the Soviet Union against this pro-

imperialist who denied and spat on the gains of the October Revolution. In Toronto a TL member confronted Mamonova on her denunciation of the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan:

"I would like to ask how you can present yourself as a champion of women's rights and yet hold such open contempt and indifference for the plight of the masses of women in Afghanistan, who unlike their sisters in Soviet Central Asia are sold like cattle, smothered under 30 yards of black muslin cotton, never live beyond the age of 40 and never learn to read and write. It is a fact that the main thing standing between the women of Afghanistan and grotesque, barbaric feudal, pre-feudal, institutions is the Soviet Red Army. And you called on Red Army soldiers to desert."

To this Mamonova replied that the liberation of women in Afghanistan will not be won by "tanks and guns" (what does she suggest--"Western"-style consciousness-raising among the Muslim fanatics who shoot teachers and throw acid in the faces of unveiled women?). When pressed on this point by another TL supporter, Mamonova snarled at her to "go back to Russia." Communist Party members present at the meeting remained silent.

In Vancouver a TL comrade denounced Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, pointing out that it is now centered on El Salvador and noting the possibility of a blockade of Cuba. "There are sides to be taken," she said and asked Mamonova "Which side are you on?". Mamonova responded "The Soviet Union is the same as the U. S. They are both capitalist." But this self-proclaimed "feminist and socialist" with her admiration for Western "freedoms" and condemnation of the Red Army clearly has a side. She is only too willing to serve as a tool in the imperialists' drive to restore capitalism in the USSR. Again the CP remained silent while after the meeting a woman from the CP-dominated B. C. Peace and Disarmament Committee privately told our comrade she had asked "the only important question."

In the old Communist Party stronghold of Winnipeg (where a TL supporter was bureaucratically excluded from the discussion because of his gender) the CP did manage to struggle to its feet. In Winnipeg Mamonova tried to dramatize with personal anecdotes her account of the "horrors" faced by women in the USSR at the hands of "vodka-swilling, wife-beating" Soviet men. Included in these was a story of being "almost forced" to have her baby in a hospital because she had high blood pressure along with an account of being stared at by Soviet



# Smash H-Block!

SC Photos



As we go to press Irish Republican prisoner Bobby Sands, camp commander of Provisional prisoners in Long Kesh, is near death. On April 10 Sands was elected Member of the British Parliament--the institution representing centuries-long tyranny and oppression in Ireland. That an MP could die in prison, as part of the long battle for political status by the tortured and framed-up H-Block prisoners is a searing indictment of British imperialism.

International protests continue against the murderous treatment of Irish Republican prisoners by their British jailers. On April 18, TL contingents participated in demonstrations in Vancouver and Toronto demanding "Free the Hunger Strikers! Smash H-Block! British

Troops Out of Ireland Now!" From day one of their occupation the British troops' presence has only had the effect of perpetuating the unjust status quo through the ruthless enforcement of police/army terror, overwhelmingly against the impoverished Catholic population.

There is no justice for either the oppressed Catholic or Protestant working people of Northern Ireland within the capitalist framework. At a forum April 12 in Toronto on Ireland given by Spartacist League/Britain Central Committee member Alan Gilchrist and at the demonstrations, the TL put forward a class perspective: "Troops Out Now! Not Green Against Orange, But Class Against Class! For an Irish Workers Republic in a Socialist Federation of the British Isles!"

citizens while riding her bicycle. Paula Fletcher, now leader of the Manitoba CP, welcomed "Tatyana" and said she was a feminist too, apologizing to this enemy of the international proletariat for spelling her name wrong in the leaflet they put out to expose her! Then, leaning on an article on Mamonova and her reactionary friends in Women and Revolution ("Holy Mother Russia's Daughters," W&R No. 21, Winter 1980-81), Fletcher asked Mamonova why she had taken money from the Ford Foundation and questioned her on her stand on Afghanistan. (Fletcher recommended W&R to the rest of her team.)

The real theme of the CP's intervention in Winnipeg and of its leaflets was an abject plea to world imperialism for peace and disarmament. Despite the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution which saw the reversal of many of the gains won by women, Soviet women today remain closer to legal, educational and social parity with men than women in even the most advanced capitalist "democracies." This is by no means the least of our reasons for defending the USSR against capitalist restoration and imperialist aggression. But the

gains of the October Revolution will not be defended and extended by fostering illusions that the imperialists can be pressured to "peacefully coexist" with the Soviet degenerated workers state. The road to defense of the USSR lies in an intransigent fight for international proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries and for political revolution in the degenerated/deformed workers states.

At the Toronto Mamonova meeting an ex-RWL supporter told CP women distributing pro-Soviet literature: "You should be trying to recruit these guys [the TL]. They're better defenders of the Soviet Union than you are." It is the TL, however, which is seeking to recruit those who really want to defend the Soviet Union to the only program that can do it--the Trotskyist program. Ours is the tradition of the courageous Soviet Left Oppositionists who, even in the face of death in Stalin's forced labor camps, held fast to the defense of the USSR, calling for the overthrow of those who betrayed the revolution. Mamonova's Canadian tour showed one thing--the Trotskyists are still the best defenders of the Soviet Union. ■

## Oust the Bureaucrats!

# B.C. Phone Workers Sold Out

VANCOUVER, April 18--After a dramatic five-day occupation of B. C. Telephone Co. offices in February and five weeks out on strike the 11,000-strong Telecommunications Workers Union (TWU) returned to work March 23. Under intense pressure from the leadership of the B. C. Federation of Labour and the TWU tops, phone workers voted to accept a contract that fell short of their already much-reduced demands. In a dangerous precedent-setting move, the deal left the fates of 24 fired militants in the hands of an arbitrator, an outrageous capitulation by the TWU leadership.

The stage was set in March for a Vancouver-centered, province-wide general strike to bust the strikebreaking drive spearheaded by B. C. Tel. The Trotskyist League issued a special March 10 supplement to Spartacist Canada which said:

"The Fed has the power to win. B. C. is a labor province. . . . What's needed is action, not pressure tactics. Pull the plug province-wide. . . . All B. C. unions should go out demanding that the fired workers be rehired, that there be no reprisals, that all charges be dropped. Burn the injunctions! Dump the anti-labor legislation and win the unfettered right to strike! Wipe out the results of Trudeau's wage controls: for a big wage boost, 20% across-the-board catch-up and full COLA! Settle the strikes on the strikers' terms! B. C. labor can show the way forward for millions of workers across North America."

But B. C. Fed president Jim Kinnaird struggled desperately to keep the battle within the bounds of pressure tactics and legalism. Trying to maintain control of a membership fed up and ready to fight, Kinnaird declared "industrial relations war" and staged a one-day regional general strike in Nanaimo, March 6. Class war was the last thing Kinnaird & Co. wanted, however, and the deal was struck to gut the phone workers' fight. Round One went to the bosses not because they defeated the unions but because the union brass gave it away.

The battle against the capitalist offensive is far from over, though. Over 10,000 Vancouver-area municipal workers have been joined on the bricks by 2,000 Insurance Corporation of B. C. unionists.

Two thousand bus drivers and hundreds of fire-fighters are working without a contract. And TWU members are far from satisfied. On April 15 Judge K. E. Meredith slapped a \$30,000 fine on the union for criminal contempt of court and B. C. Tel is appealing the arbitrator's ruling to rehire the 24 unionists. TWUers throughout the province threatened to walk off the job when B. C. Tel announced the appeal, and if the courts overturn the decision "there would be no way to hold them back," according to one business agent. Their attacks on the TWU must not go unanswered!

The municipal workers, organized in the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) and the Vancouver Municipal and Regional Employees Union (VMREU) have been on strike for three months, fighting the Greater Vancouver Regional (continued on page 13)



Phone workers occupation showed power of working class. Union bureaucrats snatched defeat from the jaws of victory.