

SPARTACIST

CANADA Jan./Feb. 1981 No. 46 25¢



Guerrillas in northern El Salvador.

AP Photo

Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents! Civil War in El Salvador!

Profoundly socially polarized, wracked by almost indescribably bloody right-wing repression, El Salvador is locked in a battle to the death. On one side is a discredited U. S.-backed regime defending the privileged rule of a tightly knit oligarchy. On the other are the impoverished worker and peasant masses who have suffered for half a century under Latin America's longest continuous military dictatorship. The Carter plan to defuse the explosive situation in El Salvador with a "human rights junta," implementing a few

cosmetic reforms, has failed. Now it is a confrontation that can end only with the overthrow of the murderous generals or in a massive reactionary bloodbath, possibly assisted by the direct intervention of Yankee imperialism.

Tiny El Salvador is being posed as the first foreign policy "test" for the incoming Reagan administration. The Sandinista victory in Nicaragua and a growing guerrilla insurgency in Guatemala have

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TL Rally: "Greensboro Was Racist Murder!"

VANCOUVER--Angry students and faculty joined supporters of the Trotskyist League November 21 to protest the acquittal of the Klan/Nazi killers who gunned down five anti-fascist demonstrators in Greensboro North Carolina in November 1979. The spirited 50-strong rally, the first political demonstration at the University of British Columbia in years, was endorsed by several Vancouver area faculty members and leftists. The Friday afternoon crowd joined the TL in chanting "Smash the Nazis! Smash the Klan! Only Workers Defense Guards Can!" and "Jail the Killers of Albert Johnson!" among other slogans.

It is no coincidence that the fake left in Canada by and large ignored the Greensboro verdict. The five shattered bodies on the streets of Greensboro were bloody testimony not only to the racist terrorism of the Klan and Nazis but to the danger of suicidal confrontations by small, isolated bands of leftists. But the acquittal of the gunmen who shot down the unarmed protesters in cold blood before the eyes of millions of TV viewers is a thundering condemnation of those cowardly reformists who appeal to the racist courts and legislature to stop fascist terror. For Mass Labor/Minority Action to Smash the Klan!

OFL Convention Demands Labor Anti-Klan Mobilization

TORONTO--Only a week after the Greensboro fascist murderers got off scot-free, an Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) convention here overwhelmingly passed a motion, submitted by Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Local 1 in late November demanding that the CFL "call upon its affiliates, the NDP and other socialist groups, other trade union organizations, all minority groups and all defenders of democratic rights to immediately initiate an anti Klan campaign, cul-

minating in a massive demonstration to drive the K. K. K. out of Ontario."

But ironically some Stalinist fake-leftists opposed the OFL bureaucrats' call from the right, preferring instead to rely on the Canadian capitalist government for protection! From the OFL convention floor a supporter of the Communist Party whined that the resolutions committee had passed up a resolution calling for a government ban: "The Klan must be banned from Canada, from Ontario." Not to be outdone, Judy D'Arcy, a supporter of the Workers Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)--Canadian lapdogs of the Peking Stalinists--appealed to the government to be "evenhanded." After all, the courts "passed anti-labor legislation at the drop of a hat"--they could at least be as stringent with the Klan!

And who should have reminded these alleged "Marxists" of the class character of the bosses' government but the deeply class-collaborationist OFL tops themselves. The chairman of the resolutions committee explained that the motion was brought to the floor precisely because it didn't call for banning the Klan: "We think it could be dangerous to set a precedent of banning any organization; it could be us next."

After a few rounds of idiot reformism from self-proclaimed leftists--which ran the gamut from banning the Klan because it is a "terrorist organ-

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Vancouver Trotskyist League Class Series

Socialism or Barbarism

- Jan. 15 Sweep the Fascists From the Streets!
- Jan. 29 A Workers Poland, Yes! The Pope's Poland, No!
- Feb. 12 Workers Must Rule in El Salvador!
- Feb. 26 Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
- Mar. 12 Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

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Buffalo: 500 Rally Against Nazis



Toronto Fascist Taylor with Buffalo Nazi.

Five hundred anti-fascist demonstrators led by the Martin Luther King Day Memorial Rally Coalition rallied in downtown Buffalo's Niagara Square on the morning of January 15--the anniversary of

King's birthday--to protest a widely-publicized race-hate provocation which was scheduled earlier for the same time and place. The Nazis stated that they had deliberately chosen King's birthday to demonstrate for "white civil rights."

Two-bit Nazi "Führer" Karl Hand had boasted that his supporters would carry guns for "protection" (Globe and Mail, 15 January). And protection they got. In a massive show of force intended to intimidate Coalition supporters, 300 heavily armed Buffalo and Erie County cops with horses and German shepherds--and backed by helicopters and a SWAT team of 150 armed with high-powered rifles and special riot gear--separated the anti-fascist demonstrators from the handful of Nazis. Finally, the Nazis were driven home in a police car with motorcycle escort.

Since planning for the anti-Nazi demonstration began, "turn-the-cheek" ministers sought above all to avoid a confrontation with the Nazis; what they termed "another Greensboro." Here Greensboro is a codeword for a vicious red-baiting and fear campaign.

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B.C. Demo Protests Racist Firebombing

VANCOUVER--Early in the morning of January 3 fire ripped through the home of an East Indian family in the Vancouver suburb of Delta after a gas can was hurled through a basement window. Eight members of the Sidhu family, including a one-year-old baby, narrowly escaped injury as the



SC Photo

gasoline blaze raged, causing extensive damage. According to 20-year-old Balwinder Sidhu:

"People... are saying there is no racism here. But they have been doing things to us ever since we moved here seven years ago. We put in plexiglass windows because the glass was broken so many times."

--Vancouver Sun, 5 January

This vicious racist assault takes place in the context of the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan in Vancouver. Klansmen have distributed cards reading

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Spartacist Canada

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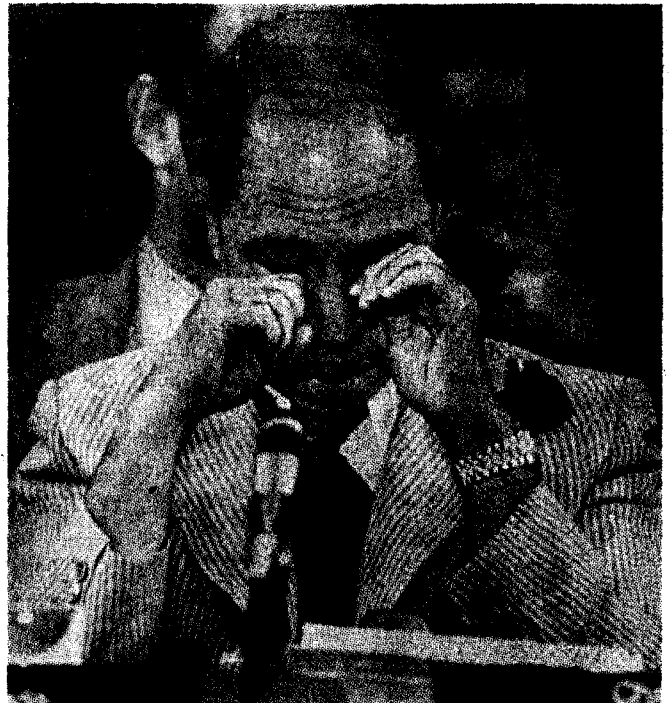
The Great Constitution Yawn

The media hype claims that Pierre Trudeau's attempt to "patriate" the constitution from Britain is the greatest event in Canadian politics since 1867, but the population is greeting the issue with one big yawn. And rightly so. An American humor magazine once commented that it's hard to tell the difference between a Canadian and "a very boring white person," and any high school student who suffered through stories of the fur trade, the glories of Upper Canada Loyalism and the C. P. R. would agree that Canadian history deserves its reputation for mind-numbing tedium. Now Trudeau's battle against the provinces over the constitution is speedily joining the great Canadian tradition, hard on the heels of Lester Pearson's struggle for the Maple Leaf flag.

The Great Constitution Debate does have its humorous side. Trudeau must appeal to the Queen to ask the British parliament to pass the appropriate legislation annulling the British North America Act of 1867 and vesting constitutional power in Canada. In turn, the P. M.'s provincial rivals from the West, up in arms over his Charter of Rights which would centralize more powers in Ottawa at the expense of the provinces, are attempting to block it by turning to the same Westminster "mother of parliament." The height or irony must be Quebec premier René Lévesque's appeal not only to the British parliament and Elizabeth II but to France and the provisions of the Treaty of Paris of 1763 by which France ceded Canada to England in the first place.

Behind all the constitutional wrangling lies the fact that Canada is a completely artificial state, a relic of British colonialism in North America following the American Revolution of 1776-83. The migration of thousands of counterrevolutionary loyalists to what is now southern Ontario, coupled with the priest-ridden backwardness of the former French colony and the military weakness of the new U. S. republic helped Britain retain Canada in the War of 1812. Supplemented by huge tracts of wilderness and northern wastes purchased from the Hudson Bay Company and barely lashed together by the Canadian Pacific Railroad, a Canadian confederation was eventually created. But an effective central power was never consolidated over the widely scattered, disparate regions--logically enough, since all of them are far closer to adjacent American areas than to each other. It is significant that the only indigenous attempt to break English-speaking Canada from British rule prior to Confederation, the Mackenzie rebellion of 1847, aimed at the creation of a republic and inclusion in the American federation.

So to this day the federal Canadian power remains extremely weak for an advanced capitalist country. Oil-rich Alberta will shortly cut its oil



Jim Merrithew/Toronto Star

**Trudeau at "Great Constitution" Debate —
O... (snore)... Canada.**

production by 15 percent in protest against the federal budget, forcing Trudeau to plead for more oil from Saudi Arabia. British Columbia is simply refusing to pay a federal tax on domestic natural gas. And Ontario government minister Larry Grossman has raised the call for a Canadian "common market," illustrating that barriers to trade and job mobility between the Canadian provinces are now often more restrictive than the borders of the countries in the EEC! Not limited to the Manitoba/Quebec "chicken war" of the early 1970s, the barriers include widespread limitations on employment in provinces other than that of the worker's origin and lengthy bureaucratic obstruction to the licencing of skilled tradesmen from out-of-province.

As communists we do not side with either capitalist camp in the current constitutional debate. Insofar as real issues of democratic rights are posed in the current federal/provincial wrangles, however, we take an uncompromising stand against all oppression and privilege. We oppose all restrictions on language rights and residence and job mobility. We stand for the right of self-determination for the oppressed Québécois nation. And we are against all the residual colonial ties to Britain, including the B. N. A. Act and all the feudalist monarchical trappings from Buckingham Palace to Rideau Hall. Down with the monarchy and the governor-general!

But our aim is not to pressure the capitalists

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El Salvador...

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given U.S. rulers cause to fear, that the fall of El Salvador's bloody junta would, in the words of a New York Times editorial, "tip the balance of forces in all Central America and threaten even Mexico." Anxious to create an "irreversible situation" before Reagan takes office, the Salvadoran Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), has called on left-wing militants to "take up combat positions" throughout the country and launched a "final offen-

es rise up in an all-round insurrection, from the coffee-growing hills of the west to the San Salvador slums and factories, they can defeat the white terror. Just look at the first days of the Spanish Civil War when nearly unarmed workers successfully stormed Francoist fortresses. Even if the Salvadoran proletariat does not fight its way through to establishing its own class rule, at least a radical plebeian uprising against the murderous junta will enable them to avenge--if only minimally--the grotesque crimes of these butchers and their dollar-crazed oligarch benefactors!

The battle cannot be limited to little El Salvador, however. To stop the torturing, murdering Salvador gorilas and their Yankee godfathers, the whole Central American isthmus must be set aflame with proletarian revolution. This will force the petty-bourgeois bonapartist Sandinista regime in Managua to confront head-on the dilemma it has sought to escape: either breaking sharply with the bourgeoisie and arming Salvadoran leftists, or capitulating to the imperialist pressures and likely sealing its own doom. It also means linking up, just as the imperialists fear, with the potentially powerful Mexican proletariat. And it requires militant acts of labor solidarity from the workers movement throughout the hemisphere, especially in the U.S. The West Coast longshore union's ban on military cargo on El Salvador--though so far only on paper--points in the right direction.

"El Salvador is more sharply divided than Nicaragua between left and

right," editorialized the New York Times (24 December 1980). And they were right. Here the battle is not against a single tyrant opposed even by important sectors of the bourgeoisie, but a much clearer struggle pitting the exploited masses against their capitalist exploiters. In El Salvador the ruling class is centered on a landed oligarchy, the so-called "14 Families," which for at least half a century has solidly supported naked military rule to prop up their economic domination.

Yet repeatedly the Salvadoran left has tried to paper over the abyss between the opposing class forces by proclaiming a "national" and "patriotic" fight for "democracy," not socialism, and tying the workers to "progressive" bourgeois forces. Already this treacherous policy of popular frontism has blocked mass struggles against the generals' terror, and as the showdown approaches it stands in the way of the key task: splitting the army, not between "democratic" and "fascist" officers, but between the proletarian/peasant ranks and an officer corps committed (even its most liberal elements) to the preservation of capitalist rule. Here the program of agrarian revolution--expropriate the latifundistas

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NACLA

Masses protest junta terror.

sive" in the capital, San Salvador.

Meanwhile, the anti-communist killers are in high gear. The spectre of "another Cuba" in "America's back yard" has led the Republicans to signal the Salvadoran military that they will have a free rein, and whatever military aid is needed, to drown the left in blood. Asked during his election campaign whether he would send the Marines into Central America, "Big Stick" Reagan replied coyly, "Never say never." There is a very real danger that El Salvador could become the victim of a Santo Domingo-style U.S. intervention, possibly with "inter-American" support from the neighboring dictatorships in Guatemala and Honduras or other Latin American countries.

Guerrilla leaders have warned that U.S. intervention would turn El Salvador into "another Vietnam and the tomb of the Yankee marines." Given the junta's superiority in firepower, the lack of geographical conditions for guerrilla war, the sizeable military forces of the dictatorship and the (so far) bitter-end resistance of an entrenched bourgeoisie, this will be no easy task. But the Salvadoran masses have no choice--passivity has not stopped the escalating massacre. And if the working mass-

El Salvador ...

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and coffee barons--is key to winning the peasant youth conscripted into the army.

The Salvadoran Left

The incredible number of fronts, armies, parties, coalitions, etc. makes El Salvador left politics extremely difficult to unravel. However, several points can be made. First, the main left groups are based on mass organizations of workers, peasants and the urban poor, counting tens of thousands of supporters. This contrasts with Nicaragua where the strategy of the bonapartist Sandinista armed forces was to conquer the main urban centers from without. This mass mobilization is one reason why the imperialists are more worried about the Salvadoran left taking power than they were at the prospect of a Sandinista victory in 1979. Second, the political differences are at most tactical and even then murky. Furthermore they are extremely fluid, so that groups pass easily from one coalition to another, and yesterday's left wing today stands on the right. And while today "unity" is the watchword, Salvadoran factional politics can be deadly: when the most prominent member of one group (the ERP), well-known leftist poet Roque Dalton, opposed its "militarist" line in 1975 he was executed by his "comrades." Above all, even before their general rightward turn since 1979, none of the "guerrilla left" groups had a program and strategy for proletarian revolution in Central America; all were based on an eclectic mishmash of radical nationalism and various brands of Stalinist "revolution by stages" reformism.

During the early and mid-'70s the guerrilla groups engaged in a series of kidnappings, radio station takeovers, embassy occupations and assassinations of hated military figures and capitalists. Meanwhile, falling coffee prices and a bad harvest in 1978 led to unrest in the countryside, while strikes increased in San Salvador. The right wing replied with bloody terror. When the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPR) occupied the capital's basilica in May 1979, police mowed down demonstrators on the cathedral steps, leaving more than two dozen dead. But the demonstrations continued.

Obviously, the white terror of General Carlos Romero's regime was not working to stem the tide of worker and peasant unrest. It was at that point that Jimmy Carter's "human rights" administration stepped in. When the general refused to step down, he was overthrown on 15 October 1979 in a coup which was obviously "made in USA." The composition of the new junta was clearly brokered by Washington: it included "moderates" like Colonel Adolfo Majano, leader of the "Military Youth" officers faction, together with right-wingers like Colonel Jaime Gutiérrez, reputedly the Pentagon's man.

The left was initially disoriented by the U.S. maneuver. But almost as soon as they were sworn in, the "human rights junta" was presiding over an unprecedented wave of rightist terror. The army, national police and paramilitary thugs went wild in the slums and villages murdering peasants and leftists at a rate unheard of under Romero. In response the "guerrilla left" and their above-ground "popular organizations" began drawing together with the Communist Party (PCS), leading to the formation of the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM) in early January. On January 22 the CRM held a mammoth inaugural rally of an estimated 200,000 in the capital. As the crowd entered the Plaza Central, rightist snipers on the rooftops of the presidential palace and the Bank of El Salvador began firing automatic weapons into the crowd: over 100 dead, 300 wounded....

The Junta Unravels

At the turn of the year the junta fell apart, with reform-minded civilians opting out. Education minister Samayoa joined the guerrillas (and was captured later, never to be heard from again). Agriculture minister Alvarez Córdova also left, and this "black sheep" of one of the 14 Families became the titular head of the opposition popular front, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). In the cities increasingly massive demonstrations reached a peak with a successful two-day protest general strike in June which solidly shut down San Salvador. But eventually the massive bloodletting began to intimidate the left's supporters from repeatedly trooping out to face deadly machine-gun fire, and an attempted general strike in August failed to close businesses or stop mass transportation in the capital.

Meanwhile, however, the "Military Youth" have been isolated within the armed forces, its members removed from operational commands and now Majano dropped from the junta. Like every other former government leader, he immediately went underground, and now issues calls to oppose the junta by "any means necessary." Today the FDR popular front, embracing most petty-bourgeois sectors and several bourgeois figures, may be picking up liberal support. Yet if a few "modernizing" colonels or Archbishop Rivera y Damas were to link arms with the guerrilla left, it would not be to aid revolutionary struggle but to act as a brake, to ensure that it remains within capitalist

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bounds. Former junta member Majano shares responsibility (no less than the vile Christian Democratic politicians) for the more than 9,000 murdered by rightist repression last year. He and other bourgeois forces in the FDR seek above all to preserve the blood-soaked officer corps and capitalist property from destruction.



NACLA

Colonel Majano.

Again and again since the October coup it has been demonstrated that popular-frontism paralyzes and disorients the struggle against the generals' counterrevolutionary terror. When Romero fell the new junta attempted to neutralize and even win over the left. They almost succeeded. The PCS joined the cabinet. The BPR called on the junta to carry out its promises, helping to spread illusions that it could or would. Later, the August general strike failed (as a strike, anyway) in part because petty-bourgeois components of the FDR kept their shops open and their buses running. After this setback, one guerrilla movement, the FARN broke ranks in order to seek more powerful bourgeois backing, while the rest of the left was banking on picking up international diplomatic support through tours by bourgeois scions like FDR head Alvarez Córdova, later murdered by the rightist death squads. Both efforts failed. But it was class collaboration that paralyzed the left in the face of a mounting counterrevolutionary bloodbath.

Nationalism, too, stands in the way of victory over the military butchers. The Central American statelets have never been viable as independent economic or political units. Each one has its own oil refinery, but none have real industrialization, and the Yankees get the bananas. The ruling classes are quick to unite, however, when it is a question of defending capitalist rule from the spectre of communism. Today, ex-Somoza troops are serving in El Salvador and several thousand more are being maintained in Honduras, which just signed a long-delayed peace treaty with El Salvador in order to facilitate policing the border against guerrillas.

In the face of likely imperialist intervention, and merely to defeat their "own" bourgeoisie, forces seeking proletarian revolution anywhere in Central America will face defeat if they limit themselves by artificial national frontiers. The borders of El Salvador or Nicaragua are less defensible than Cuba's coasts, and even there the U.S. attempted a

counterrevolutionary invasion. Yet the necessary goal of a Central America-wide revolutionary mobilization of the working masses is frustrated by the class collaboration of the Salvadoran guerrillas and the Nicaraguan Sandinistas. Seeking a modus vivendi with the "national" bourgeoisie, they refuse to internationalize the struggle against the capitalist exploiters: hence the absence of effective Sandinista military support to the Salvadoran rebels.

The Trotskyist program of permanent revolution--not for bogus "democratic" capitalism, but for a workers and peasants government to expropriate the bourgeoisie--is the only banner under which Central America will be liberated from the military boot, oligarchic exploitation and imperialist domination. This program is starkly counterposed to all brands of nationalist populism and Stalinist reformism in the Salvadoran left. Yet the major ostensible Trotskyist grouping in the world, the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec)," has endorsed the program of the FDR popular front, which calls for a "popular, democratic and anti-oligarchic" (i. e., not socialist) revolution, which appeals to "healthy, patriotic, and worthy elements that belong to the current army"--e. g., Colonel Majanos (Intercontinental Press, 5 May).

Two small pseudo-Trotskyist groups inside El Salvador, the Morenoite PST and the formerly Lambertist OSI, raise as one of their central demands in the present revolutionary crisis, "For a free, democratic and sovereign constituent assembly" (Correspondance Internationale, October 1980). Yet not even bourgeois liberals are calling today for a constituent assembly, at a time when the constitution of soviets, organs of workers power, is on the agenda. Like the USec, the PST's main goal is to gain sufficient importance to enter the DRU guerrilla command. But the struggle for Trotskyism in Central America is not a fight to unite with the popular-frontists but to defeat them politically, through independent mobilization of the working class around the communist program and internationalist struggle for a Socialist United States of Latin America.

U. S. /OAS/Latin American bourgeois rulers: All hands off El Salvador--No imperialist intervention!
Workers: Boycott all military goods to Central American rightist regimes! Military victory to the leftist insurgents! For a Trotskyist party! For workers soviets--For workers and peasants governments in El Salvador and throughout Central America!■

--adapted from Workers Vanguard, No. 271,
2 January 1981

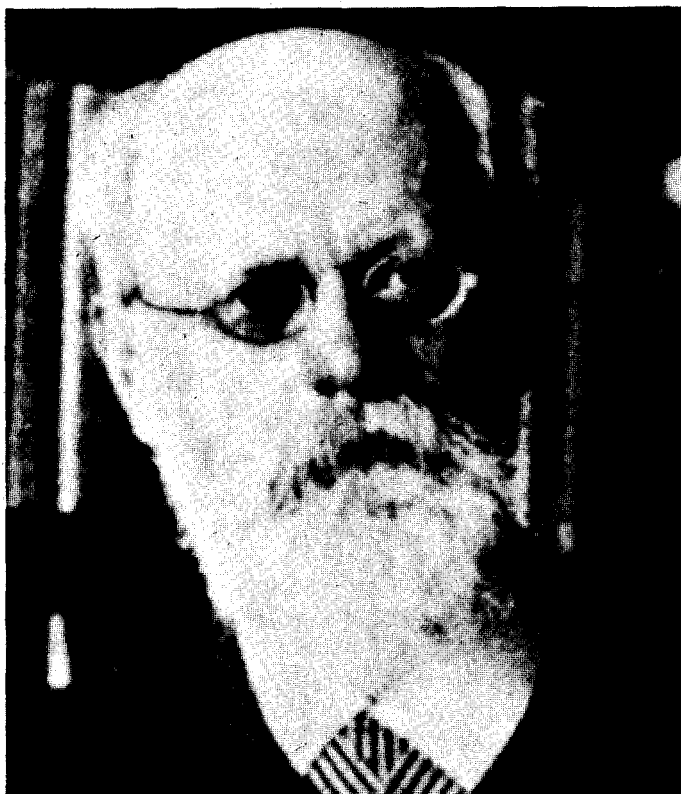
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IS! Investigates Russian Question

Documents for

Kautskyist Revisionism

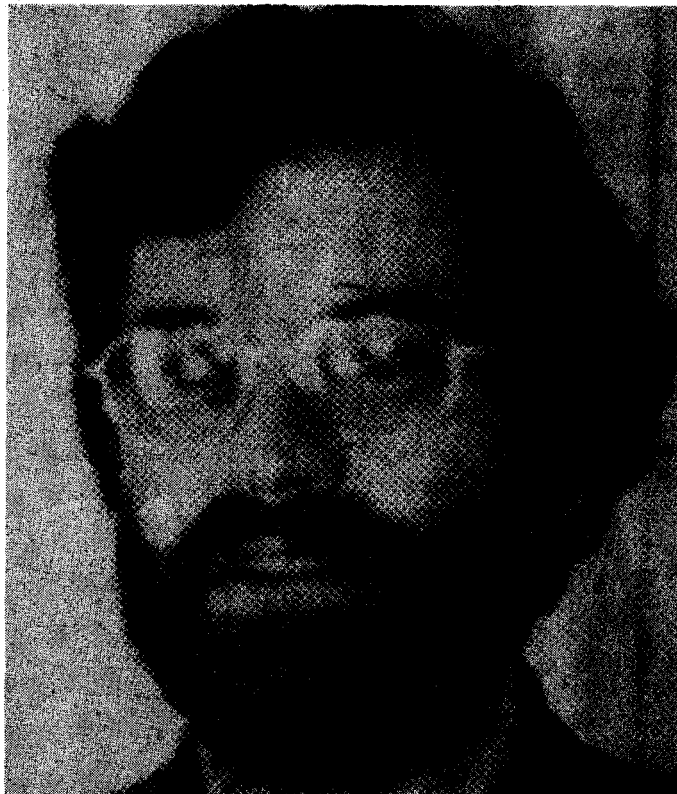


Archiv

Karl Kautsky.

It's a dog's life being a Stalinist without a country --just ask In Struggle! (IS!). Today these "critical" ex-Maoists have a sad refrain--capitalism was restored in the USSR, China has traveled its distance down the road to "social imperialism," recent IS! tourists to Albania report that the light of socialism doesn't seem to be burning too brightly in Tirana these days and to boot the organization doesn't seem to be recruiting. Their rivals in the Workers Communist Party (WCP) have the Chinese franchise, Enver Hoxha has given his blessing to Hardial Bains and his Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and IS! is left holding the bag.

With no more glorious socialist fatherland to rally recruits to, IS! has launched into yet another of its interminable "historical analyses"--this time it is a "what went wrong with socialism" series.



Charles Gagnon.

According to IS! Secretary-General Charles Gagnon, "... there is no doubt that many hesitate to work more closely with our organization and rally to it for reasons that are largely due to the lack of satisfactory explanations so far for the setbacks in the struggle for socialism--notably in the U. S. S. R. and in China" (1 July 1980).

Anyone who is looking for a "satisfactory explanation" of the degeneration of the Russian revolution won't find it in IS!'s "documents for the criticism of revisionism." Characterized above all by sterile terminological scholasticism, the series of articles in In Struggle! devoted to its latest theoretical musings consists of an endless series of questions to which there are seemingly no answers and the Russian question becomes something of a Sartrean debate. One is reminded of

the bourgeois historian who after 100 pages of "analysis" of World War I concluded "such things happen." IS! is even trying the patience of its readers. As one commented, "Sometimes I think IN STRUGGLE! puts forward too many questions and not enough answers..." (8 October 1980).

IS! of course could object that it has yet to complete its "investigation." But the conclusion is there and inalterable--capitalism was restored in the USSR, now China and who knows what Enver Hoxha is up to. So far it's anybody's guess just how capitalism was restored or for that matter when. IS! is even appealing to its readers for the answer. But what IS!'s theoreticians presently pride themselves on is not reducing the question to the conspiratorial/idealist theories that are the stock-in-trade of its Maoist competitors. Rather than attributing the restoration of capitalism to the bad thoughts of Khrushchev or Deng Xiaoping IS! claims to "take into account the social and economic conditions."

In this vein, the closest IS! comes to making any statement on just how capitalism was restored is pure and unadulterated Kautskyism--that Russia was too backward to support an economic system more advanced than capitalism. Particular emphasis is given to a statement by Marx in a Contribution to the Critique of the Political Economy that "no social order is ever destroyed before all the productive forces for which it is sufficient have been developed." With all the appropriate mights, maybes and buts characteristic of those unwilling and unable to commit themselves to a political position IS! comments that, "this statement by Marx might be the key to a scientific explanation of the reverses in the struggle for socialism" (5 August 1980).

In Defense of Marxism

On the face of it one might be led to believe that IS! doesn't know that capitalism underwent a fundamental change from the time when Marx wrote--it became a world system called imperialism. It not only created colonial oppression but drew many thousands of people into the working class thus creating the material prerequisite for proletarian revolution in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is this elementary fact which is at the heart of the Trotskyist theory of Permanent Revolution and behind what Lenin fought for in the April Theses.

At the same time Lenin and Trotsky recognized that it was possible for the revolution to be victorious, for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be established in a single country, they understood that socialism could not and cannot be constructed in a single country. As early as 1906 Lenin wrote:

"The Russian revolution has enough forces of its own to conquer. But it has not enough forces to retain the fruits of its victory... for in a country with an enormous development of small-scale industry, the small-scale commodity pro-

ducers, among them the peasants, will inevitably turn against the proletariat when he goes from freedom toward socialism... In order to prevent a restoration, the Russian revolution has need, not of a Russian reserve; it has need of help from the outside. Is there such a reserve in the world? There is: the socialist proletariat in the West."

Even in their turgid academic "historical analysis" IS!'s theoreticians trip over such questions as the failure of the German revolution and comment that this was a blow to the Bolsheviks who looked to the victory of revolution in the advanced capitalist countries as the key to the survival of the Russian revolution. Even the theory of "socialism in one country" has merited passing mention as one of the "issues at stake in the present debate." Really? How then does IS! explain that conspicuously and predictably absent from their "investigation" of the Russian question is any mention of the struggle of Trotsky and the Left Opposition? After all it was the Left Opposition that led the fight for a revolutionary perspective against the anti-Marxist dogma of "socialism in one country" and the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian revolution.

And, it was Trotsky who later provided a materialist analysis of the class character of the Soviet Union:

"The Soviet Union is a contradictory society halfway between capitalism and socialism, in which: (a) the productive forces are still far from adequate to give the state property a socialist character; (b) the tendency toward primitive accumulation created by want breaks out through innumerable pores of the planned economy; (c) norms of distribution preserving a bourgeois character lie at the basis of a new differentiation of society; (d) the economic growth, while slowly bettering the situation of the toilers, promotes a swift formation of privileged strata; (e) exploiting the social antagonisms, a bureaucracy has converted itself into an uncontrolled caste alien to socialism; (f) the social revolution, betrayed by the ruling party still exists in property relations and in the consciousness of the toiling masses; (g) a further development of the accumulating contradictions can as well lead to socialism as back to capitalism; (h) on the road to capitalism the counterrevolution would have to break the resistance of the workers; (i) on the road to socialism the workers would have to overthrow the bureaucracy. In the last analysis, the question will be decided by a struggle of living social forces, both on the national and the world arena."

--The Revolution Betrayed

As Trotsky pointed out in 1939, "The October revolution has been betrayed by the ruling stratum but not yet overthrown." For Marxists the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of the dic-

(continued on page 12)

Introducing Socialist Challenge Organization: Second Time Farce



SCO: Last gasp of the Old Mole.

"Why Socialist Challenge? At a time when there is a seeming abundance of small newspapers and magazines of the left... why another?" (Socialist Challenge, 20 November 1980). Why indeed? Is this really a "new revolutionary" organization? Hardly. The Socialist Challenge Organization is but a product of yesterday's opportunism, set up by former factionalists (a. k. a. Workers Struggle, a. k. a. Public Faction, a. k. a. Trotskyist Faction) from the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). Limping out of the wreckage of the RWL--itself once heralded as a "bold new initiative"--these factional castaways have collected to form an organization which lacks even the conviction to create... an umbrella. The first English edition of Socialist Challenge informs its readers that it has neither "all the answers" nor "pretensions to be the sole forum or umbrella" for cohering a political alternative within the workers movement (Socialist Challenge, 20 November 1980).

The dismal backdrop to this last-ditch effort at the "non-sectarian" regroupment of the cast-offs from Canadian Pabloism is described by SCO supporter Will Offley in his August 12 document "Why we must fuse with the Trotskyist Faction":

"The situation is far different from that which existed in 1972-3, at the time of the previous split. The Fourth International is wracked by splits, stagnation and deepening crisis, is no longer the same force that it was earlier in the decade. And neither are we.... unless measures are taken... to begin a process of unification of the non-degenerated Trotskyist left, then what we are witnessing is not merely the fragmentation of Trotskyism in Quebec and Canada, but its death agony."

What the dramatically-inclined Offley observes, however, is not the "death agony" of Trotskyism, but the continuing degeneration of Canadian Pabloism. Unlike the SCO, the Revolutionary Communist

Tendency (RCT) at least presented a challenge to the reformist League for Socialist Action's (LSA) adaptation to feminism, nationalism and social-democracy. Its political and organizational unravelling was the necessary outcome of its inability to generalize these leftist impulses into a coherent political program.

The RCT and then the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) learned the hard way that there was no middle ground between the authentic Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency and the LSA. Faced with a choice, the majority of the RMG shrank at the prospect of the break which the iSt represented from the friendly, accommodating Pabloist milieu. The expulsion of its left wing, the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency--which went on to become a founding component of the Trotskyist League of Canada--signalled the uninhibited rightward degeneration of the RMG to the point where fusion with the LSA became possible.

The RWL proclaimed that it was "a living denunciation of the sectarians," an organization in which all manner of political flora and fauna could flourish--but above all one that would grow in this period of the "ever deepening crisis." Now we have the SCO which sees in the reformist RWL only another example of "sectarianism." The RCT's faction fight within the LSA was waged as the basis for laying the political foundations for a new organization. In contrast the SCO takes issue with the "factionalism" within the RWL as the rationale for its split. Here we detect the sour refrain of the losers.

Indeed the SCO's conception for its much-vaunted political regroupment is the same as that which led to disaster in the RMG/LSA fusion--and not only in words but in deeds. Thus, Socialist Challenge reprints a September 1 statement by a clot of ex-RWLeers in Winnipeg opposing immediate fusion on the grounds that "many serious questions

of organization have yet to be resolved" such as "the application of Leninism in this period" and "the relationship between feminism and Marxism." Two months later--no doubt uninspired at the dismal prospect of isolation in Winnipeg--they changed their minds, "not out of a belief that the preconditions for unity have been met. Obviously they have not been met."

Questions of political program and other such "dogma" are decisively secondary for these "non-sectarians," well-schooled in the Pabloist formula of any program but a Leninist program and any party but a Leninist party. Thus the SCO shares the RWL's support for popular frontism in El Salvador and Nicaragua; defense of Khomeini's Iran in its squalid border war with Iraq; a willful blindness to the counterrevolutionary danger represented by Pope Wojtyla's church in Poland; and, now that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has belatedly decided that Soviet troops combatting Islamic-feudal reaction in Afghanistan are in the wrong place at the wrong time, the SCO and the RWL can pursue together their shared anti-Sovietism. Perhaps as a goodwill gesture, the SCO extended its fulsome support to the SWP's U.S. presidential candidate, Andrew Pulley--a scab.

Where the SCO does beg to differ with the RWL it simply reflects the pet enthusiasms of the group's two major components--Québécois nationalists and workerist-feminists. The ex-RWL feminists were particularly peeved that "their" milieu--once granted "most favored movement" status by the RWL--was dubbed "petty-bourgeois" in favor of a more conservative orientation to the trade-union bureaucracy. At issue here is not so much counterposed programs, but divergent appetites. Sand-box "feminist unionism"; affirmative action for women in the context of widespread, generalized unemployment; support for a national "Women in Trades" organization, which with government backing could easily be a tool for govern-

ment intervention into the labor movement--all this is quite acceptable. What has driven the SCO feminists "beyond the fragments" with frustration is the RWL's failure to amalgamate its particular brand of feminist/trade-union reformism with the burgeoning anti-porn movement of the new feminist "moral majority." Thus Socialist Challenge argues, "There is no reason why the women who were discussing together in Winnipeg during the 'Women in Trades' conference should not be united with women who organize 'reclaim the night' demonstrations." On the national question in Quebec one can discern something approximating a left/right split between the two organizations, with the RWL presently toying with an orientation to the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois while the SCO prefers the Quebec trade-union bureaucracy which in turn capitulates to the PQ.

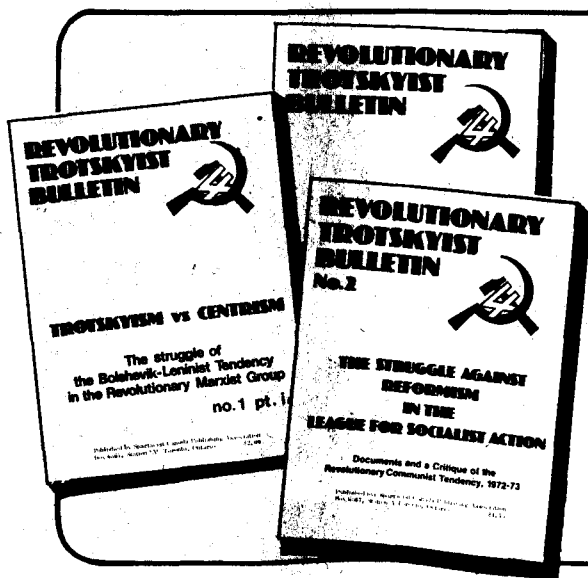
In concluding its fusion statement the Winnipeg group comments "it is with highest hopes that we look to the future." But the SCO's future is behind it. This is the sad postscript to years of cynical maneuvers and horsetrading and an endless quest for unity with the "new mass vanguard" that is the stock-in-trade of the United Secretariat (USec). As we noted in Spartacist Canada:

"It seems that so many of the political tendencies generously included in [Mandel's] 'new mass vanguard' have had more success in recruiting from the USec than vice-versa."

--"RWL Falls to Pieces,"

SC No. 44, September/
October 1980

These orphans of Ernest Mandel are still hammering at the USec's door hoping that its stillborn "regroupment" venture will bring with it recognition as the official USec section in Canada. The SCO is neither "new" nor "revolutionary" but a pathetic Pabloist rerun, incapable of forging a coherent political program or building a Leninist party.■



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IS!...

(continued from page 9)

tatorship of the proletariat require a revolution. Correspondingly the destruction of the workers state and the proletarian property forms established through the October Revolution would require a counterrevolution. With its theory of the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and China IS! runs the film of the reformist dictum of the "peaceful road to socialism" in reverse--the peaceful restoration of capitalism. One of In Struggle!'s readers has readily assimilated IS!'s analysis and concludes that the transition from capitalism to socialism is like changing clothes, "It can be said that going from capitalism to socialism and then from socialism to capitalism is normal" (16 September 1980).

What Are the "Objective Conditions" for Capitalist Restoration?

But what would the conditions for the internal restoration of capitalism in the deformed and degenerated workers states be? As we pointed out in our pamphlet "Why the USSR is Not Capitalist":

"Objective conditions encouraging the growth of bourgeois restorationist forces were most closely approximated in Yugoslavia during 1965-71. These included the proliferation of property-owning petty capitalists (well-to-do farmers, owners of small workshops exploiting wage labor, middlemen/usurers operating with money-capital); the growing activity of foreign capital in the economic life of the country; the elimination of the state monopoly of foreign trade, allowing the world market to have maximum impact on the economy; the atrophy of centralized planning with enterprise relations largely governed by market forces; and the separation of managers from the state bureaucracy.... Under such objective conditions, a domestic capitalist-restorationist movement could well emerge.... Such a movement would require an ideology and organization capable of enlisting masses of adherents such as the Catholic Church in Poland."

--"How Maoists 'Restore
Capitalism' in the Soviet Union"

Many of these objective conditions exist in Poland today and the present crisis poses point blank the

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alternatives of proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and a capitalist restoration led by Pope Wojtyla's church. And where does In Struggle! stand--on the side of the restorationist Catholic church. In Poland IS! lends its sympathy to the small landholding peasantry--the traditional base of the Catholic church. Similarly in Afghanistan it stands on the side of the landlords and mullahs against the Red Army.

Trotskyists have always maintained that a correct understanding of the class character of the Soviet Union (and by extension China, Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam and Cambodia) is the touchstone of a revolutionary perspective. But IS!'s investigation has nothing to do with a revolutionary perspective and everything to do with its bid to swim in the stream of reformist left-wing popularity. Denouncing the evils of sectarianism, dogmatism, voluntarism and idealism Gagnon and Co. have given full vent to what has always been at the root of IS!'s politics: New Leftism.

Once harshly critical of feminism IS! now allows women's caucuses inside its organization and is busy chasing up interviews with feminists critical of the organization's past "sectarianism" in relation to the women's movement. So "non-sectarian" is IS! it is running opinion polls to determine its political line. Thus on the gay question IS! appealed to its readers "to help us clarify our views"--but to no avail--IS! still admits it has no position on homosexuality.

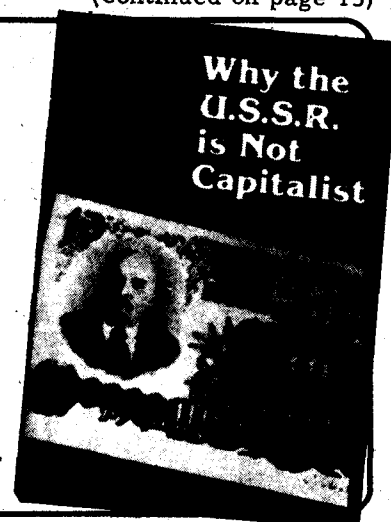
IS! so much wants to unite with the "popular movement" that even when the "progressive" slogans clash the problem is resolved simply by combining them--spawning such gems as "you have to organize to smash the Klan in order to ban the Klan." Internationally their brazen uncritical support for the class-collaborationist opposition in El Salvador has drawn criticism from the people around them. The main speaker at IS!'s seventh anniversary meeting in Vancouver revealed that "Some people told us [the El Salvador tour] could have been sponsored by the church. Our answer is it wasn't."

In keeping with its "non-sectarian" image IS! is
(continued on page 13)

TROTSKYISM VS. MAOISM ON THE RUSSIAN QUESTION

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IS!...

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looking for a palatable anti-Sovietism--one which will suit liberal and reformist tastes. Its investigation of "what happened to socialism" in the USSR and China is aimed at coming up with an anti-Soviet position that is different from the shrill ("sectarian"?) pro-U.S. denunciations of Soviet "social imperialism" characteristic of its rivals in the WCP-ML.

The endless stream of questions raised in its investigation can never be answered by the leadership of IS! which continues to cling however tentatively to the heritage of Stalinism. It is only Trotskyism that presents a Marxist analysis of the USSR from which can be drawn consistently revolutionary programmatic conclusions--defending the gains of the October Revolution while calling for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies who stand in the way of the preservation and extension of these gains internationally.■

Yawn...

(continued from page 4)

into "really" upholding democratic rights, but to end their oppressive class rule through proletarian revolution. In contrast, the social democrats and fake-left opportunists have all leapt on the constitutional bandwagon with their pet proposals for reforming and prettifying bourgeois rule. The NDP and Communist Party simply echo the P. M.'s nationalist rhetoric about "Canadian unity," while the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League and Socialist Challenge Organization wrap themselves in the fleur-de-lys and ludicrously try to paint Trudeau's scheme as a gigantic plot against Quebec's French-only unilingualist language legislation.

The New Leftist In Struggle! organization has for its part plummeted to incredible depths of parliamentary cretinism, suggesting how to improve Trudeau's proposals and writing that "a constitution is the supreme law of a country.... If the Canadian constitution included an article providing for the equality of languages and nations, this would prevent any government in Canada, including the federal government, from passing laws granting privileges to certain nationalities or discriminating against others" (In Struggle!, 5 August 1980). As if the adoption of a piece of paper codifying the rule of the capitalist class will protect the oppressed or safeguard the rights of labor! The "supreme law" of capitalist society is class struggle; democratic rights are won and defended through militant proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie. This, the opportunist left is incapable of understanding.

Historically it would have been far more just if the American Revolution had not been stopped at the forty-ninth parallel, and if what is now Canada had become instead a northern extension of the young, dynamic capitalist United States of Amer-

ica. But today the epoch of progressive capitalism is long past; the rulers of the imperialist world, led by the U. S., are taking humanity toward the brink of nuclear barbarism as they heat up the Cold War against the Soviet Union. Now the task--far from being to win a made-in-Canada constitution--is the mobilization of the proletariat throughout Canada and the United States in the struggle for North American socialist revolution.■

Buffalo...

(continued from page 3)

Since planning for the anti-Nazi demonstration began, "turn-the-cheek" ministers sought above all to avoid a confrontation with the Nazis; what they termed "another Greensboro." Here Greensboro is a code-word for a vicious red-baiting and fear campaign.

In withdrawing support from the anti-Nazi protest, one black community leader stated: "We're not subversives, and we believe in community unity. We are for unity and dignity, we are not for riots" (Buffalo Courier-Express, 9 January). UAW president Doug Fraser and his local henchman, Thomas Fricano even got into the act, saying that "what was going on in Niagara Square was a confrontation between two groups of weirdos" (The Buffalo Evening News, 10 January).

The Mayor of Buffalo unsuccessfully moved to ban both rallies, thereby equating the Nazis with their intended victims. And an "alternative" rally of 1,500--supported by the mayor--was held later in the day a few blocks away, "not only to celebrate Dr. King's birthday but to bring the community together" (Buffalo Evening News, 7 January).

U. S. border guards were instructed to turn back Klansmen and Nazis attempting to enter Buffalo from Ontario. Yet amongst the four or five "sympathizers" who joined Hand at Niagara Square was Toronto Western Guard leader Ross Taylor whose fascist activities go back to the '30s. Referring to Hand, Taylor said, "I've known him for some time" (Globe and Mail, 16 January). Hand himself claims to visit Toronto frequently, using "whatever ID I happen to have at the time." (Globe and Mail, 15 January). Hardly the first example of U. S./Canadian fascist "solidarity." Some of these Canadian scum reportedly travelled to Benson, North Carolina to attend a rally in defense of the Greensboro murderers.

The Canadian left, however, has shown a dangerous indifference to fascist activity across the border. The Trotskyist League of Canada was the only organization in this country to demonstrate against the Greensboro massacre, and later against the acquittal of the Klan/Nazi murderers. Incredibly a supporter of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) of "Keep-the-KKK-and-U. S. -Imperialism-out-of-Canada" fame described our Vancouver rally as a "diversion." As for the "Ban the Klanners," they cannot see beyond the legal jurisdiction of the Canadian state.■

For a Joint CUPW/LCUC Strike!

Shut Down the Post Office!

The contracts of the two major postal unions expired December 31 and the government is out for blood. Under Donald Johnston, the Treasury Board was able to smash last fall's Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) strike and buoy up the government's confidence as it meets the traditionally militant postal workers. Now Johnston has stated: "Only posties are overpaid." (*Toronto Sun*, 15 January).

Even the traditionally conservative Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) tops are talking



1978 CUPW Strike: Postal workers trampled because they stood alone.

strike. But the real strategy that unites the LCUC leadership and its sometimes more militant-sounding counterparts in the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) is ultra-legalistic business unionism. Thus both union leaderships are willing to hold off contract talks until the post office has been converted into a crown corporation bringing postal workers under the jurisdiction of the Canada Labour Code. This legislation, while allowing for the negotiation of working conditions presently prohibited by the Public Service Staff Relations Act, is nonetheless yet another of the bosses anti-labor laws. Postal workers will win nothing by this strategy. What is urgently posed is the need for united action by all postal workers.

The Treasury Board has turned down LCUC's contract demands and is pushing for massive takeaways! For years the LCUC thought it was immune to the speed-up and job loss that hit the CUPW with the introduction of technological change. In this round of negotiations, one of the major gains of the LCUC is under attack--the

walk evaluation. The postal bosses are also demanding the elimination of the cost of living allowance, which was already whittled down substantially in the last contract and the removal of the job security clause; and so far they have coughed up a measly three percent wage increase. With this hard-line approach, CUPW can only expect the same treatment at the bargaining table.

While the government was emboldened by its victory over PSAC last fall, it was the stunning defeat of the CUPW strike in 1978 which really set the stage for this round of negotiations. An all-out battle was being waged against CUPW at that time which had potential repercussions throughout the labor movement. While the RCMP raided union offices, arrested strike leaders, and in the face of threats of massive firings, McDermott, McGarry and the labor tops criminally sat on their hands.

Postal workers can only expect the same union-busting attacks from Trudeau and his hacks this time. The back-to-work legislation of 1978 will be used again this time and with a vengeance. The government would like the postal workers back where they were prior to 1965: no right to strike, no job protection, etc. But, joint struggle by all the postal unions can prevent these rollbacks.

While strike committees have been established in most LCUC locals what is needed are joint strike committees and joint negotiating committees composed of elected delegates from the three postal unions (CUPW, LCUC and the postal components of PSAC). With these bodies the following demands could be fought for: a big wage raise and a full cost of living allowance to offset inflation; a closed shop and a union hiring hall; the right to refuse unsafe work and union control over health and safety; a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to take speed-up and unemployment off the backs of postal workers. A joint strike could ensure effective picketing that would shut the post office down tight until the demands are met! And, this would lay the basis for the merger of all postal unions.

Postal workers are facing a particularly difficult round of negotiations. All of labor has a stake in seeing the postal unions victorious over the government--breaking its confidence in its anti-trade-union policies. The current leadership of both CUPW and LCUC cannot be relied upon to fight effectively. What is needed is a leadership that will uncompromisingly take on the government and fight for a class-struggle program. ■

OFL Convention...

(continued from page 2)

ization" to "outlawing racism"--OFL Secretary-Treasurer Terry Meagher took to the mike to argue that laws have an anti-working-class bias. Who was jailed in the "anti-terrorist" round-up under the Trudeau government's imposition of the War Measures Act in 1970, Meagher queried--the left and the labor movement. He also had to remind the supporters of the fake-left that you can't "out-law racism" or "legally" get rid of the Klan. Weren't the fascist bombings in Europe the work of "illegal organizations"?

Of course, no one should believe that the OFL leaders have discovered Marxism; it's just that they don't trust the current bourgeois government (as opposed to one led by, say, the NDP). While they have been upset by the mounting anti-labor legislation coming from Ottawa, the union brass have yet to do anything besides capitulate. But this motion calling for a labor-centered demonstration against the Klan must not be allowed to collect dust in the OFL offices. It was the example of the successful "stop the KKK/Nazis" demonstrations in the last year which inspired LCUC militants to fight for a labor/minority demonstration in Toronto. Only organized mass labor action can sweep the fascist scum off the streets--the capitalist cops and courts will let them get away with murder. Implement the OFL anti-Klan resolution--Demand mass labor action! ■

B. C. Firebombing...

(continued from page 3)

"Racial Purity is Canada's Security" at city campuses. "Nigger go home--KKK" was spray-painted on the residences of Nigerian students at the B. C. Institute of Technology. A Vancouver Sun reporter attended a secret Klan meeting where "the Communists...unions, the press, Jews, Chinese, East Indians and Blacks" were denounced while one fascist boasted that "I've got a locker full of [guns] and 50,000 rounds of ammo" (Sun, 6 December 1980). This is not the "open shop" South of the U. S. but British Columbia where, outside of Quebec, the labor movement is the most powerful and militant in all of North America. The B. C. labor movement has the power--it is urgent that the trade unions and minority organizations stand together to mobilize an effective defense against these racist attacks.

On January 4, an angry crowd of 300 demonstrated against the firebombing. The demonstration was called by the B. C. Organization to Fight Racism (BCOFR) to begin at the Sidhu house. The BCOFR is a rotten bloc "uniting" the Peking toadies of the Workers Communist Party with their rivals of In Struggle! and wholeheartedly backed by the Revolutionary Workers League and the Socialist Challenge Organization--dedicated to calling on the Sacred government to ban the Klan. But shortly

before the BCOFR rally was to begin the Albania sycophants of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) [CPC-ML] occupied the site in the name of their People's Front Against Racist and Fascist Violence. CPC-ML soon marched off, leaving the gathering BCOFR rally to fall in line some 25 yards behind. Despite the criminal sectarianism, the contrast was striking: a militant CPC-ML contingent chanting "Self-defense is the only way," tailed by a motley crew pleading "Ban the Klan" and "End Racism."

The only other spirited, disciplined contingent was that of the Trotskyist League (TL). Many East Indian militants joined the TL in chanting "No reliance on the cops, Labor must smash the Klan!" "Smash the Nazis, Smash the Klan, Only workers defense guards can!" "Stop the fascists once and for all, Fight for a workers government!" When the marchers reached the police station CPC-ML held a rally outside. While the BCOFR leaders waltzed inside for a chat with the police chief the TL contingent faced the CPC-ML rally chanting, "An injury to one is an injury to all!"

The BCOFR, with its touching faith in the cops and the right-wing Sacred government is fully in tune with the mainstream reformists. Black NDP MP Emery Barnes and Delicia Crump, president of the B. C. Association for the Advancement of Colored People and regional representatives of the National Black Coalition of Canada are also lobbying the Sacred government to ban the fascists. Vancouver alderman Harry Rankin, darling of the left and long-time friend of the Communist Party, agrees--but first he wants the KKK to come to City Hall and "tell us what they are about" (Vancouver Sun, 19 November 1980)! Their strategy is not merely futile but dangerous: any ban on "extremist" organizations by the capitalist government will not stop the fascists but will be turned against the left and labor movement.

CPC-ML's strategy of communal self-defense, on the other hand, dangerously and unnecessarily isolates the ethnic and racial minorities from their most valuable allies: the labor movement. Only labor/minority defense guards, backed by the strength of the union movement can defend victims of racist attacks. The strategy of mass labor/minority action to crush the fascist vermin has been fought for by the Trotskyist League as the only answer to the recent growth of the fascist right. ■

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Expropriate B.C. Tel! Strike to Win!



photo by Craig Hodge

TWU demonstration against B.C. Tel, 26 November 1980.

VANCOUVER, 7 January--The majority of the population of British Columbia could have only felt satisfaction when two members of Telecommunication Workers Union (TWU) gave the notoriously anti-union B. C. Telephone Company the big finger. In a dramatic move, on October 18, two linemen, Peter Massey and Don Gordon took over the Prince George central switching equipment office to express their "frustration, anger and bitterness" (Sun, 20 October 1980). They rigged buckets of water over the computers so that they would spill if anyone was foolish enough to storm the offices. Twelve hours later they ended their occupation after threatening to selectively cut off phone services. Later on November 7, 50 TWU members occupied the Newton Plant for a brief period.

B. C. Tel is trying to bring the TWU to its knees. In December when TWUers wore buttons demanding "Crown Corporation now!--TWU," management struck hard, suspending hundreds of workers in a blatant provocation. Earlier when federal conciliator Ed Peck issued a mediation report after four months of "study," the company ostentatiously rejected his "crumbs to the workers" recommendations--one which side-stepped the crucial issues of jurisdiction and contracting-out and included a paltry wage offer in a two year contract. It took a bitter 81-day strike to force B. C. Tel to sign the last contract and it has now been over a year since it expired! Arrogant B. C. Tel management has proven time and time again that its hardline stance and its anti-TWU provocations can only be met and defeated by militant industrial action.

Unfortunately, the 11,000 TWUers are saddled with a leadership that has no intention of waging a struggle to win. After keeping the membership working for nine months without a contract, TWU president Ed Clark leapt at the chance to accept Peck's conciliation report--even volunteering to extend Peck's terms for three years! After the Prince George occupation TWU tops simply told Massey and Gordon to shut up. But their militant message got through and by the end of October, Clark had pulled out 500-plus installers. Nonetheless Clark said "We're still going to try to win this thing without picketing all over British Columbia" (Sun, 27 October 1980). When it looked like all hell would break loose over the massive suspensions which followed the wearing of TWU buttons, the bureaucrats simply folded and ordered TWUers to leave their buttons at home! While all sorts of nasty things happened to B.C. Tel cables in the next week, Clark announced that he was submitting the suspensions to arbitration. And on January 6, he crawled back to the bargaining table with no promises that B. C. Tel would budge an inch.

The TWU can win, and win big. Effective mass occupations backed up by the solidarity of the entire labor movement as part of all-out strike action could turn the tables. Demanding the expropriation of B. C. Tel with not one penny going to the phone bosses, the TWU could garner widespread public support. But these are the tactics of struggle, not capitulation. Phone workers desperately need to oust Clark & Co., replacing them with a new leadership committed to a program of class struggle. ■