

## Jackal "Peacekeepers" Mean War

# U.S./Canada: Bloody Hands Off Central America!



Nachtwey/Black Star



Cutthroat contras and their imperialist godfathers, Reagan and Mulroney.

MARCH 18—The Canadian government is talking about sending "peacekeeping" troops to Central America, and the insurgent workers and peasants of El Salvador and the embattled Nicaraguan masses had better keep their hands on their carbines. Because when America's junior partners start talking peace, the imperialists' preparations for all-out war are already made and well-advanced. Grenada-invader Reagan is hailing the cutthroat counterrevolutionary *contra* butchers waging war against Sandinista Nicaragua as "freedom fighters" and "our brothers" as they rape, torture and murder old men, women and children. The Salvadoran death-squad junta, pathological killers of over 50,000, get U.S. military "advisers," helicopter gunships and millions of dollars to exterminate poor and working people. As U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, à la Churchill, draws the "Iron Curtain" across Central America, it's never been clearer that it's socialist revolution or death on the frontline of Cold War II.

In July 1979 the Nicaraguan people smashed the rule of the West Point-trained hyena of Managua,

Anastasio Somoza, and opened up a revolutionary crisis in Central America with civil war spreading throughout the region. Over the past several years the leftist rebels in El Salvador have scored impressive battlefield victories, putting the bloody junta butchers on the run. The entire region is red hot as the working people are rising up for a life free of misery, poverty, oppression. But for the Reaganites—the most powerful mass murderers on the face of the planet—the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime "is a Communist, totalitarian state" and the Salvadoran rebels are to be drowned in blood to "draw the line" against Communism.

It's a testament to the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution, when for the first time the working class seized power, that behind every movement for social justice and liberation the imperialists see the hand of "Red Russia." But the Soviet Union of Stalin and his heirs is not the revolutionary internationalist bastion of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party. It is unfortunately true that the conservative, nationalist

(continued on page 2)

## Central America...

(continued from page 1)

Soviet regime is *not* adequately arming the embattled Sandinistas and the insurgents in El Salvador. But this is of no account to the Reagan government, determined to destroy the "evil empire" through nuclear Armageddon if necessary.

From Star Wars to installing Pershing 2 missiles just eight minutes from Moscow to the MX, the U.S. is gearing up its first-strike drive to war. And Canada is playing its role as jackal imperialist junior partners. Even before Reagan and Mulroney glad-handed each other at the "Blarney" Summit Canada had endorsed the mad Strategic Defense Initiative and had signed on to revamp NORAD's obsolete DEW and Pinetree radar lines with the \$1.5 billion North Warning System. To further demonstrate "solidarity" Mulroney is shipping an additional 1,200 troops to beef up Canada's forces in NATO. And it's recently been revealed that the U.S. plans to deploy nuclear depth charges in Canada and station nuclear-armed B-52 bombers at at least six Canadian airfields in times of "crisis." As the Soviet news agency Tass said, it is "clear from the pronouncements of the [U.S.] administration's representatives that a more effective contribution in NATO is demanded of Ottawa," and that Reagan "reckons to use his visit to more actively draw Canada into the orbit of its military preparations, primarily in space" (*Toronto Sun*, 18 March). Defend the Soviet Union! Smash NATO/NORAD!

"Rollback" is once again the imperialists' watchword. "The Solidarity movement in Poland; resistance forces in Afghanistan, in Cambodia, in Nicaragua, in Ethiopia and Angola; dissidents in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe" all deserve "our support," threatens Shultz. It's on to Moscow and the first stop could be Managua. The U.S. is readying its big stick: combat units have been assigned, casualties estimated, finances calculated. Troops are in almost constant maneuvers in the region while fleets of warships steam up and down Nicaragua's coasts. And they've been regularly joined by what passes for the Canadian navy.

No less than the U.S., Canada is striving to prevent the emergence of "Marxist states" in Central America, fighting to ensure that the exploited and oppressed masses remain forever hungry, illiterate, poor and under the military jackboot. In December, minister for external affairs Joe Clark announced that the blood-drenched Duarte regime in El Salvador would be getting renewed economic aid after Canada put its stamp of approval on his elections-by-death. Loyal to its U.S. masters Canada denounced the recent voting in Nicaragua, is backing the brutal Guatemalan murderers and has sent \$30 million worth of transport planes to Honduras. No doubt these planes have helped the mostly Honduras-based, CIA-backed *contras* who last year alone killed 600 civilians in hit-and-run attacks on farming cooperatives, schools and clinics.

While Reagan lusts to rape Nicaragua, and Canada

is up to its neck in the war plans, the fake-lefts in the Toronto Anti-Intervention Coalition seek to advise and pressure Washington's loyal Canadian allies. They whine: "We must break Ottawa from this path. We want a foreign policy which is dedicated to peace, human rights and democracy." It's a wonder they left out "and the Canadian way." *Opposed* to the struggle to destroy the truly evil North American empire that is out to spread counterrevolution across the globe, the rad-libs and social democrats beg the Canadian imperialists to end their "complicity" and "increase aid to Nicaragua."

As the war drive heats up, the right-wing social democrats of the NDP are openly talking about dropping even their paper opposition to NATO. As the snotty Tory editorialists of the *Globe and Mail* (25 January) commented, it's "praise the Lord but pass the ammunition." While they might differ over tactics, the social democrats are as committed as Reagan and Mulroney to "stopping Communism." From mobilizing for counterrevolutionary Solidarność in Poland to Broadbent's current "rethinking" of NDP support to the Sandinistas, the NDP operates as the ideological frontman for the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive.

And the fake-left takes its cue as foreign policy adviser from its NDP mentors. In his *Toronto Star* column (17 November 1984) prominent NDPer Gerald Caplan argues: "...there is a proud Canadian role to play... Canada can once again become the honest broker, the unthreatening middle power that, notwithstanding its clear identity with the Western bloc, has a positive reputation in much of the world." Joe Clark couldn't agree more, offering to send Canadian "peacekeeping" troops to Central America. Labeling Canada's army "peacekeepers" is the same kind of 1984 newspeak Reagan uses when he calls the mega-death MX missile the "peacemaker." Clark's declaration that Canada has "a proven record of success in peacekeeping" was not lost on the Zionist butchers. As Israel brought down a reign of "iron fist" terror in Lebanon, foreign minister Yitzhak Shamir asked Ottawa to send more troops to the Middle East to replace those other good white boys, the Australians, in keeping the peace for Zionist genocide. According to Shamir, "Canada is considered by us one of the most friendly countries in the world" (*Toronto Star*, 6 March).

Reagan wants to make the Sandinistas scream "uncle" by unleashing his *contra* thugs. As for the "friendly" Canadian imperialists, they look to playing the same dirty role for their U.S. senior partners as they did during the Vietnam war (see page 7). In Central America they hope to police the "Contadora peace process"—an attempt by regional bourgeois powers to limit the revolutionary conflict in Central America—which fell apart last fall when Nicaragua accepted a draft peace treaty and the U.S. shot it down.

(continued on page 7)

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# Heroic British Miners Defiant in Defeat

The British miners' strike has been defeated but the union has not been broken. For one full year, twelve long and bitter months, the coal miners fought valiantly against the British bosses and the blood-thirsty Thatcher regime. It was the sharpest and most deep-going conflict of British labor since the turn of the century. The Thatcher regime and the rotten edifice of British capitalism was profoundly shaken by the miners union who fought for all of labor and the oppressed. Isolated and betrayed by the scabherding tops of the trade unions and Labour Party, the miners and their wives resisted heroically against tremendous odds. Their pickets were arrested and beaten, even murdered; martial law was instituted in the coal fields; mining villages were devastated by Thatcher's occupation army of cops and thugs. Hardship conditions rivaling those of the period of the General Strike of 1926 were imposed on the miners' families.

On March 3, a delegates conference of the National Union of Mineworkers voted narrowly to call off the strike. Hundreds of miners fervently lobbied to continue the strike. Even after the vote, Kent and Scottish areas of the NUM vowed to hold out while negotiating for amnesty. There is widespread comradely solidarity for the 700 sacked miners, effectively blacklisted, unable to move or obtain retraining, some facing jail sentences. But defeated and bloodied, *the miners union is not broken*. Assured of her coal stockpiles with the collaboration of her swinish labor lieutenants of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Thatcher cruelly stretched out the strike. She yearned to smash the NUM and watch the workers crawl back in disarray. But in this she failed. The miners marched back to the pits defiant and proud, and in numerous places, the entire community came out—men, women, children and dogs—the sacked miners with them, bagpipes playing and banners flying. Even then many mines were picketed and workers stayed out.

The rabid bosses' press, from the Tory *Times* to the liberal *Guardian*, glorified committed anti-union scabs like Silver Birch. But especially at the very end many strikers were driven back in desperation by "Iron Lady" Thatcher. Despite this defeat, the miners must above all preserve their fighting capacity. They ought to go back cohesively, not split up. However understandable it is to want to continue the strike or to want to carry out individual reprisals, the immediate task must be to keep their army as intact as possible, to retreat in good order.

The Iron Lady, who vowed to be "vindictive in victory," is itching for new victimizations of militants. But all reports indicate that the miners are defiant in defeat. The existing sackings must be fought, intelligently and collectively, and new ones avoided as much as possible. The way must be prepared for

a new workers' offensive. Union martyrs like David Jones and Joe Green, cut down on the picket line, have not died in vain! Down with the despot Thatcher, unpopular even in her own circles for the cover-up of her cowardly butchery of the *Belgrano's* Argentine sailors in the squalid Falklands/Malvinas war.

Thatcher has taken aim at the entire trade-union movement. *Remember the traitors!* In the hands of the reformist misleaders of all stripes the unions were criminally misused to stab the NUM, to discipline the



Miners march back to work defiant and proud.

Franklin-Sygma

workers in the interests of the strikebreaking capitalist state. It is necessary to expose the base cowardice and treachery of the "lefts," who kowtowed to their big brothers in the TUC at every decisive point. The Labour Party politically scabberded and now its head Kinnock says he's against amnesty for strikers. Above all the lesson must be driven home of the burning importance of constructing a genuinely revolutionary party to mobilize the working masses in struggle. Without that the struggles of the workers, no matter how militant and courageous, are prey to the sabotage of the reformist traitors. As the great communist revolutionist Leon Trotsky reiterated after the 1926 General Strike: "Without a party...the proletarian revolution cannot conquer."

The courageous miners' strike inspired tremendous and unusual support internationally among all those fighting capitalist oppression. Food and financial support flooded in from all corners of the world, including black miners in South Africa fighting racist apartheid rule. Miners in France, cockers in Scandinavia fought to "hot-cargo" scab coal. In North America the Partisan Defense Committee's Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund drive raised

(continued on page 11)

# Labor Must Smash Fascist Scum!

## Nazis Use Toronto Court to Whitewash Holocaust

For close to two months a Toronto courtroom has provided a forum for fascist genocide in the trial of a notorious Nazi hate-monger and terror-monger. On February 28, Ernst Zundel, the author of "The Hitler We Loved and Why" and one of the largest purveyors of Nazi filth in the world, with a network covering 45 countries and 18 languages, was found guilty in court of publishing false statements likely to incite hatred. It says a lot about Canada that in 1985 the Nazi Holocaust is being "debated" in the courts and that Nazis and their apologists are recognized as "expert" witnesses. Zundel and his gang of fellow fascists paraded into court every day, wearing construction hard hats, and used the courtroom to force concentration camp survivors to relive the unspeakable horror of Hitler's death camps. Zundel's lawyer Doug Christie attacked them as "liars," and demanded autopsy reports as "proof" of the existence of gas chambers!

The bourgeois press gave wide circulation to Zundel's anti-Semitic lies, with headlines like, "Gas chambers are fakes man tells trial," "Women happy at



Tony Beck - Toronto Star

### Fascist scum: James Keegstra and Ernst Zundel.

Auschwitz, trial told," "Holocaust survivor is accused of lying by Zundel lawyer." The currency given Zundel's "views" in the press can be measured in the rise of right-wing and fascist terror in the streets. A Jewish synagogue was firebombed in Vancouver in the midst of the trial. And anti-abortion reactionaries are continuing their vicious campaign of anti-Semitism against Dr. Henry Morgentaler, an Auschwitz survivor. Joe Borowski, a dangerous lunatic and former NDP Manitoba cabinet minister, said he wished Morgentaler had been sent to the ovens. Toronto "pro-life" leader Laura McArthur cites "medical evidence" from Nazi concentration camps as "proof" that women rarely get pregnant as the result of rape! Women at Morgentaler's Toronto abortion clinic are terrorized by daily mass pickets of these "pro-life" Nazi-lovers.

Last year, prior to the trial, Canada's most notorious fascist, self-declared KKK "intelligence director" William Lau Richardson and his Nazi sidekick George

Graham attempted to frame up and jail two postal workers, Trotskyist League supporters Paul Schneider and Mike Mares, for defending themselves and others at a labor-endorsed abortion rights demonstration in Toronto against provocation and harassment by Richardson and Graham. On August 29, Ontario provincial court judge J.S. Climans threw this outrageous KKK/Nazi frame-up out of court after Richardson and Graham were exposed on the stand as lying, psychotic fascist terrorists.

### Canada: Haven for Nazis

It's no accident these fascists and right-wing terrorists run amok in Canada. During the years of Hitler's Holocaust against the Jews in Europe, from 1933 to 1945, Canada accepted only 5,000 Jewish refugees—the lowest number of any of the so-called "democratic" imperialist countries (even China took 25,000). Expressing the rampant anti-Semitism of the Canadian government, one official's response to Jewish immigration was the infamous statement, "None is too many." Meanwhile, the "Aryan" Nazi scum, the mass murderers and sadistic torturers of the fascist regimes, were welcomed with open arms. According to Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal, close to 3,000 of Hitler's killers and their collaborators still reside in Canada today.

Documents acquired by the Wiesenthal Center under the U.S. Freedom of Information Act reveal a whole network of former members of the Romanian Iron Guard, the mass murderers of tens of thousands of Jews during World War II, in and around the Toronto area. These documents indicate that the most wanted Nazi killer, the "Angel of Death" Josef Mengele, was allowed to "slip" through the Canadian government's grasp. Dutch Nazi Jacob Luitjens, on the Dutch government's list of 15 most wanted war criminals, continues to live comfortably in Vancouver despite repeated extradition requests. And the "Butcher of Lyon" Klaus Barbie's second-in-command, Count Jacques Noel Duge de Bernonville, lived in Quebec from 1946 to 1951 under the protection of the Canadian government who *refused* to extradite him to France where he had been sentenced to death for murder and torture.

Following World War II the surviving Nazi killers were eagerly recruited by the triumphant imperialist powers as "freedom fighters" in their Cold War against the Soviet Union and put in the service of U.S. imperialism's drive to reconquer Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union for capitalist exploitation. As Sol Littman, the Canadian representative of the Wiesenthal Center, commented, Canada became a "dumping ground" for a number of Nazis who couldn't be sheltered in Europe even with official aid:

"Canada was certainly the junior partner to the British and American intelligence services. We tried to be a good partner in that respect and certainly we played a role. When people could no longer be safely kept in Europe and had to be

(continued on page 11)

## No to Protectionism and Maple Leaf Nationalism!

# Bureaucrats Split UAW

On December 10, the eve of the 50th anniversary year of the United Auto Workers (UAW), Canadian UAW director Bob White announced to an International Executive Board meeting in Detroit that he was pulling the 120,000 Canadian auto workers out of the International and setting up his own show north of the 49th parallel. Once the most powerful union in North America, the UAW has been criminally weakened and undermined by the misleaders on both sides of the border. Decimated by plant closures and massive layoffs, the ranks of the union have had their pockets picked by these labor traitors in givebacks of billions of dollars and entire programs won in past struggles. Now the bureaucrats divide the union along the artificial border between Canada and the U.S., originally erected by British imperialism.

Not even allowing the membership to vote, White presented the split as a *fait accompli*. Years of calculated treachery and manipulation by the UAW tops in Canada and the U.S. aimed at keeping the ranks isolated and demoralized set the stage for White's "Canadian UAW."

The UAW was forged in the bitter *internationalist* class struggle of the 1930s. In the 1980s it is split by the poisonous maple leaf nationalism that White has inculcated in the ranks. As we wrote in a special *SC* supplement, "Spread the GM Strike!" (24 October 1984), widely distributed on picket lines during the GM Canada strike last fall:

"White & Co. play up the differences in wages and benefits to fan the flames of Canadian nationalism, splitting the Canadian GM strikers from the powerful main body of auto workers in the U.S....

"A *real* strike to beat the profit-bloated auto bosses requires an internationalist class-struggle leadership to fight for working-class solidarity across all borders, a leadership that will fight the nationalism and protectionist schemes that set worker against worker, boost the bosses' profits and pave the way for war."

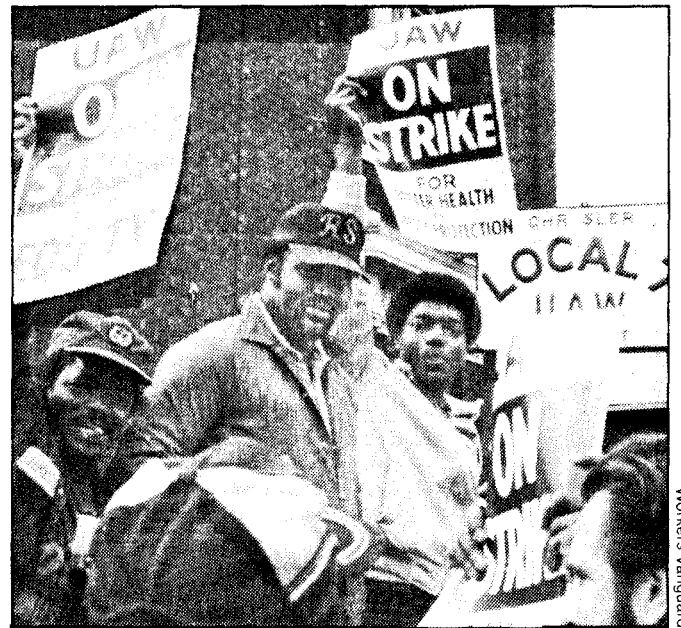
White kept Canadian GM workers chained to the job while their brothers and sisters in the U.S. manned the picket lines. Only after International UAW president Owen Bieber's monster sellout had been narrowly passed did White take 37,000 workers out in an isolated strike. Now he uses this strike to claim himself the man who stopped Bieber from enforcing this stinking deal on Canadian GM workers and as "proof" that Canadian auto workers will gain more by going it alone. To be sure Bieber's company contract enraged Canadian auto workers who are already over \$7 per hour behind the U.S. in wages and benefits. But Bob White's proclamation of "no concessions" was literally worth as much as the ever-dwindling Canadian dollar. On the eve of the strike White commented, "Within the cost of the U.S. package, we could put together a good Canadian package." And the U.S. package is what he got—after 12 days on the bricks GM workers were presented with a contract that was not one (American) dime different from the Bieber sellout.

The five-week strike against Chrysler Canada in 1982 won White his spurs as a supposed "militant," especially in the eyes of the capitalist press and the



Toronto Star

Canadian UAW tops mobilize ranks behind reactionary maple leaf nationalism. Bureaucrats let militant labor/black Detroit go under.



Workers Vanguard

fake-left. But both White and then-UAW chief Doug Fraser bought Chrysler boss Lee Iacocca's job-cutting, wage-slashing contract and worked hand in hand to isolate the striking Canadian locals from the potentially explosive black auto workers in Detroit. White and the Solidarity House sellouts on the other side of the border have allowed Detroit, once the powerhouse of the UAW, to become what it is today: a ghetto hellhole for hundreds of thousands of unemployed auto workers. The city of the 1968-69 black rebellion at Chrysler and the 1973 wildcat at the Mack Avenue Stamping plant, both crushed by the UAW tops. Detroit today

(continued on page 6)

## UAW Split...

(continued from page 5)

translates UAW as "U Ain't Working." Hundreds of thousands of auto workers will never see the inside of an auto plant again.

White's Canadian UAW is designed to keep Canadian auto workers in a low-wage ghetto dragging down the wages and costing the jobs of U.S. auto workers. Using the 30 percent disparity in wages and benefits to engineer the split, at the same time White holds up the \$7 "cost advantage" to appeal for more investment in Canadian industry. Hyundai (the South Korean manufacturer of the "Pony") has a better idea—about a \$20 "cost advantage" and near slave-labor. Far from winning "more," White's "Canada-only" UAW members can look forward to wages on a par with the open-shop U.S. South and the same living standard as the masses of exploited and unorganized Mexican auto workers.

White has always been guided by the dictum that what's good for Canadian business is good for Canadian auto workers—from the Foreign Investment Review Agency to the Auto Pact's Canadian content laws. This is what lies behind the split and White's larger project to create a Canadian metal workers federation of auto, steel and rubber workers and machinists. The very idea of an independent Canadian auto industry is ludicrous: the Canadian domestic market is too small to possibly support profitable production. The U.S.-based auto giants are Canada's auto industry.

It is no accident that the most recent apartheid massacre was at Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape, center of South Africa's auto industry and site of the pathbreaking 1980 black auto strike at Volkswagen. On March 21, the first day of a general strike, the apartheid butchers fired on a peaceful march by black demonstrators, killing at least 19 and wounding 29 others. It is South Africa's black proletariat that has the power to bring down the racist apartheid regime. And it is the internationalist duty of North American auto workers to take industrial action to back black unions in South Africa. International working-class solidarity, organizing auto workers from Mexico through the open-shop South to Canada is the key to building a real international union that can beat back the wage-slashing, job-cutting, union-busting auto giants from Oshawa to Detroit to South Africa.

The labor-hating *Globe and Mail* quite unintentionally got it right in a headline proclaiming the Canadian UAW leader as "Organized Labor's Great White Hope." Pushing "poor little Canada" nationalism and whipping up anti-communism (in particular with its "solidarity with Solidarność" campaign) White & Co. encourage the worst enemies of labor, contributing to the recent growth of the KKK and other fascist groups. The UAW's "Build Canadian, Buy Canadian, Bargain Canadian" jingoism appeals directly to the racist Bri-

tish colonialist "values" of this rich white man's land. Screaming for protectionist import quotas and tariffs, in particular directed against the Japanese, the UAW bureaucrats rally to the defense of "their" bosses' profits.

Anti-Asian racism has always been easy to sell in the "Great Dominion," whose railways were literally built over the corpses of brutally exploited Chinese laborers. From British Columbia's Chinese Exclusion laws to the internment of Japanese Canadians during World War II to recent anti-Chinese "community meetings" in Agincourt, Ontario, the "yellow peril" is a keystone of white Canadian racism. Auto workers who buy White's protectionist campaign may well find their sons being sent as cannon fodder in a war against their Japanese fellow workers. Remember, the last time the North American ruling class met the "Japanese threat" they didn't stop with import quotas and tariff barriers, they A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki!

Every Canadian nationalist from the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) brass to the NDP to the "Canada Firsters" of the Communist Party echo White in hailing the UAW split as "a new day" for Canadian workers. But the UAW bureaucrats, Canadian or American, are drawn from the same pro-capitalist, social-democratic mold: virulent racist protectionism, support to Reagan's NATO anti-Soviet war drive, massive givebacks. The UAW's complete prostration before the auto companies is a direct result of the "tradition" of Walter Reuther, White's hero. It was Reuther who throttled the class-struggle tactics that organized the open shops. Slavishly subordinating the UAW to the Democratic Party, Reuther welded the union to the government, aiming to wipe out any remnant of union independence from the capitalist state. Reuther's disciple Fraser became an open company cop taking a seat on the Chrysler board in the name of a labor/capitalist "partnership" to dismantle fundamental gains in order to prop up the profit system.

This is the program of Fraser's protégé White and of the reformist Socialist (Second) International. In Canada the UAW has been the bastion of support in the union movement for the NDP social democrats whose CCF predecessors cut their teeth in the anti-communist purges, in particular in the UAW. It's no accident that former Canadian UAW director Dennis McDermott campaigned for and won the leadership of the CLC on the slogan "A Perfect Union: CLC-NDP."

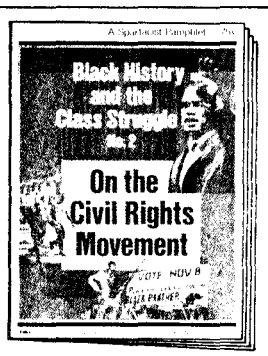
(continued on page 15)

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## Canada in Vietnam

# "Peacekeepers" for U.S. Imperialism

April 30 marks the tenth anniversary of the fall of Saigon. We hail the heroic Vietnamese workers' and peasants' victory over U.S. imperialism and its dirty Canadian junior partners. Today the liberals, reformists and social democrats alibi the Canadian jackal imperialists as international "peacekeepers" as against the nasty warmongers in the White House. But the Vietnamese, who fought for over 50 years against colonial oppression and the yoke of capitalist exploitation, have a rather different view of Ottawa: "The Vietnamese people know full well that the Canadian government has all along shielded and supported the acts of intervention and aggression of the U.S. in both North and South Vietnam" (*Nhan Dan*, 28 January 1967, quoted in *Labor Challenge*, 11 September 1972).

In 1950 Ottawa's ambassador to France declared, "Indochina is now the highest stake in the world struggle between communism and democracy. Canada has taken sides fully and irrevocably on the side of democracy and I believe should...proclaim this stand to the world and share responsibility in the struggle" (quoted in James Eayre, *In Defence of Canada: Indochina: Roots of Complicity*, Toronto 1983). And Canada did, diverting weapons from Europe to the murderous French Expeditionary Corps. When the Vietnam People's Army crushed the French at Dien Bien Phu on 7 May 1954 the Canadian imperialists mourned, "All free men...will salute with pride and honor the matchless heroism of the soldiers of France..."

When the Stalinists sold out what the Vietnamese people had won on the battlefield with the 1954 Geneva accords, dividing the country in half, Canada's policy was "halting communism at the 17th parallel." Ottawa agreed to serve as U.S. and French agents on the "peacekeeping" International Commissions for Supervision and Control for Indochina (ICSC). Canada got the U.S.'s OK (the Americans were equally amenable to Belgian participation), promising to supply political, economic and military intelligence. As one reporter succinctly put it, the Canadians "are functioning as spies" (*Montreal Star*, 9 May 1967).

At every key escalation of the U.S.'s rape of Vietnam, Canada was there to lend a hand. When the U.S. sent in "advisers" and military equipment in 1956, Ottawa provided the cover-up in active collusion with Washington's puppet President of South Vietnam, Diem. In May 1964 as the U.S. planned massive terror bombings of North Vietnam, prime minister L.B. Pearson, Nobel "peace" prize winner, met U.S. president L.B. Johnson in New York. The official U.S. record shows that Pearson indicated he would personally understand "the punitive striking of discriminate targets by careful iron bomb attacks" (quoted in Eayrs). Just over two months later the U.S. fabricated the infamous "Tonkin Gulf incident" and began its campaign of trying to wipe out the Vietnamese with "death from above." During this same period Canada's Commissioner for ICSC Vietnam, J. Blair Seaborn, carried ultimatums written by the U.S. essentially demanding that Hanoi surrender. Meanwhile Canada gave millions

in "humanitarian aid" to the Thieu/Ky butchers, and by 1972 was shipping \$1 million a day worth of arms for U.S. imperialism's murder machine. The U.S. did the killing, Canada reaped the profits—all the while declaring that its hands were clean.

Assassination squads, tiger cages, Agent Orange, terror bombings couldn't turn back the Vietnamese struggle for liberation. On 30 April 1975 the heroic NLF fighters rolled victoriously into Saigon while the last Americans scrambled ignominiously to flee. The U.S. and its jackal junior partners in Ottawa *lost* and are still trying to recover from that humiliating battlefield rout. Today, self-styled "progressives" join with mass murderer and war criminal Richard Nixon to cry "No more Vietnams," but for poor and working people around the world Vietnam was a victory. Two, three, many defeats for imperialism! THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME!

## Central America...

(continued from page 2)

The Sandinistas keep trying to strike a deal with Washington, but the White House dismisses each concession out of hand and steps up the military pressure. The petty-bourgeois, radical-nationalist Sandinista regime is tops on the Reaganites' hit list precisely *because* of the Sandinista's attempts to appease imperialism, because they haven't destroyed the capitalist fifth column inside the country, because the Kremlin hasn't extended military protection to Nicaragua. Similarly in El Salvador, the FDR/FMLN leadership is trying to deal away the rebels' battlefield gains in "negotiations" with the blood-drenched junta. Its November 1984 "Global Proposal for a Negotiated Political Solution and Peace" offers to keep the oligarchy and the army intact. This sell-out would be paid for in the blood of the heroic Salvadoran workers and peasants. The only "peace" the junta wants is the peace of the graveyards!

There is nothing to negotiate with the junta butchers and their mass-murdering imperialist godfathers! And, no amount of appeasement, pressure or "write your MP" campaigns will transform the Canadian ruling class into "right-thinking progressives." While Reagan "thanks god" for Mulroney it was the Liberals who gave the green light for the testing of the cruise missile, and Trudeau who led the imperialist wolf-pack in imposing sanctions against the USSR over KAL 007. The fake-lefts try to whitewash Canadian imperialism. The Trotskyist League says: The Main Enemy is at Home!

Real solidarity with the working masses of Central America is revolutionary struggle here in the belly of the beast against the imperialist patrons of the *contras* and junta butchers. U.S./Canada: Bloody hands off Central America! Nicaragua: Kill the invaders! For revolutionary war throughout Central America! Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution! Defense of the Soviet Union and Cuba begins in Central America! ■

# Proletarian Internationalism the Only Road: PQ Nationalists on the Skids

The victory of the Parti Québécois (PQ) in the November 1976 Quebec elections was celebrated in the streets of Montreal by crowds dancing and waving the *fleur de lys*. Hatred and disgust for the Liberal regimes in Quebec and in Ottawa (which occupied Montreal in 1970 under the draconian War Measures Act), combined with mounting resentment over national and language discrimination brought to power the first pro-separatist party in Quebec's history. Quebec Liberal leader Robert Bourassa—the man who ruled Quebec during the 1970 army occupation, who jailed the leaders of Quebec's three main labor federations sparking the near-insurrectionary 1972 general strike and who was reviled even by the federal Liberals as a "hot dog eater, an imbecile and a buffoon"—was all but run out of the province and hounded into hiding. But today, following close to a decade of PQ rule, Bourassa, once known as "the most despised man in Quebec," has not only made a comeback as head of the Quebec Liberals but is currently favored to win the next Quebec elections.

Nationalist sentiment is at its lowest ebb in years. A poll taken in January recorded that Québécois favoring "sovereignty-association" has fallen from 40 percent to 15 percent in the past five years and put those favoring separation at a mere four percent. PQ membership, which swelled to a 350,000 high in 1980, now stands at 80,000. Looking to save his ass, Quebec premier René Lévesque decided to jettison even the PQ's watered-down *indépendentiste* demand for "sovereignty-association." In November, following Lévesque's announcement that the PQ would not even raise the hint of separatism in the next election, nine PQ cabinet ministers and backbenchers defected. Headed up by former PQ finance minister Jacques Parizeau, the braintruster of PQ austerity and union-busting, and Camille Laurin, the architect of the PQ's reactionary French-only language law, they

promised a fight to the finish at the January 19 emergency convention of the PQ. When it was announced there that 65 percent of the delegates had voted to drop Article 1 in the PQ platform—"a vote for the PQ is a vote for sovereignty"—there was a huge walkout of *indépendentiste* delegates led by Parizeau. Now Laurin and Parizeau have announced the formation of a new pro-independence party, the *Rassemblement démocratique pour l'indépendance*. Lévesque's response: "They haven't got a snowball's chance in hell."

## Defend Quebec's Right to Self-Determination !

Since its inception in 1975 the Trotskyist League of Canada has fought to defend Quebec's unconditional right to independence. In 1978, when former Liberal prime minister Pierre Trudeau threatened to use "the sword" against any attempt by the Québécois to exercise their democratic right to self-determination we called on English-Canadian labor to respond with strikes, refusal to handle military goods, and other concrete actions of labor solidarity should Trudeau have made good on his threats of armed suppression of Quebec. As we wrote at the time: "Only through such active defense of the national rights of the Québécois can the basis be laid for the fighting unity of the workers of both North American nations against their common capitalist exploiters" ("Trudeau Threatens War on Quebec," *Spartacist Canada* No.23, February 1978). At the same time we fought to break the illusions of Québécois workers in the bourgeois-nationalist PQ. In 1976 we warned that the PQ's rise to power would produce exactly what Lévesque has wrought: a vicious anti-labor government that uses the *fleur de lys* to dupe the workers as it cuts their throats.

The election of the PQ followed a decade of rising nationalist struggle in Quebec. The militancy and combativity of the Quebec working class was fueled



Quebec City, 29 January 1983: 50,000-strong Common Front demonstration against PQ union-busting.



in strikes against national and language discrimination. This in turn was channeled by the nationalist misleaders of Quebec labor into votes for the PQ. Their "reward": Lévesque's massive "PATCO" style union-busting offensive against Quebec's Common Front unions, representing 210,000 hospital workers, teachers and other provincial government employees. The main bastion of support for the PQ in the Quebec labor movement, these workers were trashed by Lévesque in 1982 under the provisions of Bill 105 which ripped up existing contracts, imposed a strike ban and three-year contracts that slashed wages up to 20 percent and enforced thousands of layoffs. Quebec's 95,000 teachers, once the most fervent supporters of the PQ, stayed out in opposition to the PQ union-busters and were slapped with the most vicious piece of strikebreaking legislation in Canadian history, Bill 111. A provincial version of the War Measures Act, Bill 111 was aimed at forcing the defiant teachers back to work by completely eliminating their rights to legal "due process" and threatening mass firings, fines and jailings. The Quebec labor tops ran up the white flag and went begging to the PQ for a "negotiated settlement." Now the PQ is pressing for legislation that would put an end to centralized bargaining by the Common Front unions, make it illegal to strike for money, and have salaries set by the government.

In its close to ten years in power the PQ has also alienated another traditional bastion of nationalism—university and college students. In the later 1960s and early 1970s students were the most ardent nationalists, holding mass demonstrations and student strikes against the historic discrimination and ghettoization of French-speaking students and workers. Their demands were answered in the passage of the PQ's reactionary French-only language law, Bill 101. A nationalist reaction to anti-French discrimination, this law set an ugly precedent for the *continued discrimination* against French-speakers outside of Quebec who have been targeted, in particular in Manitoba and New Brunswick, for a racist English-Canadian chauvinist backlash. Aimed at shoring up the French language, Bill 101 was forced down the throats of bitterly resistant immigrants, Inuit and English-speaking workers.

Against the English-only bigots and the PQ nationalists the Trotskyist League of Canada fought for full and equal democratic language and national rights for all. At the same time we pointed out that an isolated unilingual Quebec in the highly integrated North American economy ran counter not only to the interest of non-French speakers, but to those of the French-speaking population as well. Today Quebec student enrolment in English classes is at a record high. No wonder! Unemployment in Quebec is the highest of any province outside of the Maritimes. As Lévesque's former student supporters have discovered, the PQ's language law leaves them no possibility of leaving low-wage, high-unemployment Quebec to seek work elsewhere in North America. What they get is the billy club of the notoriously brutal Montreal Riot Squad who beat students protesting youth unemployment outside the PQ convention center.

Lévesque's increasingly vicious and brutal crack-down on any opposition to his rule rivals Maurice Duplessis, the Union Nationale premier who ruled Quebec with the iron hand of clerical reaction and savage union-busting for 20 years. It is more than symbolic that Lévesque brought Duplessis' statue out of storage a few years ago. In the Quebec of 1985 the stench of Duplessisism is more than palpable. Lévesque is replacing cabinet defectors with

yes-men from Quebec's backwoods. The elevation from the back bench of Michel Le May from the Gaspé to the newly created post of minister of development and regional highways is a pure distillation of Duplessisism. As the main organ of English-speaking chauvinism, the *Globe and Mail* (22 December 1984), put it, "the very creation of the ministry is a throwback to the Duplessis days, when one could identify the boundary of a riding that had voted Liberal as the line where the paved road stopped and dirt road



**PQ premier René Lévesque, nationalist labor-hater.**

began, and when the paving contractors got rich."

Even Lévesque's cozy, almost servile relations with the federal (Conservative) government in Ottawa find their only recent precedent in the Duplessis regime. Lévesque threw his support behind Mulroney's Tories in last fall's elections and they swept the province. The last time the Conservatives won any number of seats in Quebec, traditionally a stronghold of the Liberal party, was when Duplessis got out the vote for former Tory prime minister John Diefenbaker.

Campaigning as the folksy "boy from Baie Comeau," Mulroney has a history in Quebec as a slick and dirty union-buster. A former "labor" lawyer, Mulroney won his spurs "cleaning up" the Montreal waterfront unions. He achieved prominence as a member of the Cliche Commission, set up in 1974 under the leadership of Robert Cliche, a former leader of the NDP, with the aim of breaking the construction unions to smooth the building of the massive James Bay Project. Bourassa's creature, the Cliche Commission had virtual police powers in the labor movement and was notorious for its strong-arm methods of gathering "evidence." Its major recommendation, the appointment of trustees to "clean up corruption" in the construction unions was endorsed at the time by Lévesque.

Since the PQ has been in power Lévesque has borrowed even more from the Cliche Commission. In 1983 Lévesque responded to a strike by 2,100 Montreal transit workers by firing five executive board members and came down with legislation virtually transforming the union into a corporatist appendage of the capitalist state. Modeled on legislation passed by the

(continued on page 10)

## PQ Nationalists...

(continued from page 9)

Bourassa government, the PQ's union-busting Bill 16 appointed trustees to run the union, with full power to negotiate contracts and raid union bank accounts. This wholesale takeover of the transit workers union was a throwback to the days of Duplessis when priests ran the Quebec labor movement, preaching from their pulpits on the "sins" of international unionism, and, in the name of clerical nationalism, urging economic corporatism through joint association of workers and bosses.

The nationalist misleaders of the Quebec labor movement paved the way for the PQ's increasingly overt state intervention and attempts at incorporating the unions outright. It is they who pushed for labor to vote for Lévesque, using the very real issue of national oppression to tie the militant and combative Québécois working class to its bourgeois-nationalist oppressors. In 1977 Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ) president Louis Laberge introduced Lévesque to a union gathering as "The Premier, our premier, everybody's premier." While "everybody's premier" has been walking all over the Quebec working class, Laberge has been extorting union members' money to funnel into a union/government investment fund to aid ailing Quebec capitalists. This is Laberge's answer to unemployment!

Following Lévesque's lead Laberge has now declared Brian Mulroney to be "his" prime minister. After receiving a "courtesy call" from the Tory chief of state Laberge proclaimed that his "heart belongs to Brian Mulroney." According to the *Globe and Mail* (14 January): "Mr. Laberge says that while the NDP and his own 300,000-member labor body share the same social democratic principles he is more comfortable with Mr. Mulroney's views on the 'national question'." So great is the stench of the NDP's English-Canadian chauvinism that the leader of the Quebec wing of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) feels totally unabashed in his praise of the leader of the party that hanged Louis Riel! The arrogant refusal of the NDP and the CLC to recognize Quebec's right to self-determination has fuelled the reactionary nationalism used by the pro-PQ union tops to shackle the Quebec proletariat.

### Not Bourgeois Nationalism but Proletarian Internationalism!

Of the Canadian fake-leftists the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) has the unique distinction of simultaneously capitulating to Canadian social democracy and Quebec nationalism. Undying in their loyalty to the English-chauvinist NDP, the RWL's main complaint about the PQ is that it isn't nationalist enough! Like jilted lovers, these "consistent nationalists" decry Lévesque's "betrayal":

"Lévesque faced a choice. He could either retreat under the pressure from the stock exchange, the banks, and the federal government—all pushing him to abandon the national struggle—and impose austerity. Or he could clearly turn to defending those worse off, women, small farmers, and workers—towards a new strategy to defend the gains of Quebec against Ottawa.

"Lévesque chose. He went with the bosses."

— *Socialist Voice*, 11 February

Unlike the RWL, Lévesque never labored under any illusion as to exactly where he stood. This is the man who in 1971 said he "would rather live in a South American banana republic" than a Quebec dominated by the "ranting and raving of labor leaders." The

reason that Lévesque is trying to introduce a banana republic standard of living for the Quebec working class is the same reason the ruling class throughout North America, Reagan and his Canadian junior partners, are out to trash the unions. As the crisis of capitalism deepens they have only one program to save their falling rate of profit: domestic repression, union busting at home and the anti-Soviet war drive abroad. This is the tune Lévesque and the PQ march to. For, like Reagan and Mulroney, they are the servants of the capitalist class.

Arguing that the Parizeaus and Laurins "express in their own way the resistance of Québécois to these retreats by the Lévesque leadership," no doubt the RWL is expressing in its "own way" its appetite to back these ex-PQ architects of austerity, strike-breaking and reactionary French unilingualism. And the RWL now has some new confrères in Quebec: Gauche Socialiste. This lash-up of former members of Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire and the people they took with them after being unceremoniously given the boot by the ex-trade-union bureaucrats they so loyally served in Mouvement Socialiste, was recently recognized as a "sympathizing" section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec). Not to worry that Gauche Socialiste doesn't even claim to be Trotskyist, their *three point* program for independence, socialism and women's liberation was enough to satisfy the split-wracked USec.

Gauche Socialiste argues that "The experience of the PQ has shown us in point that we cannot let the bourgeois parties have responsibility for defending the interests of men and women workers..." Discovering more than 100 years after Marx wrote the *Communist Manifesto* that the bourgeoisie and its political parties don't defend the interests of the working class, Gauche Socialiste's alternative is "proletarian nationalism"—"independence and socialism" for Quebec. No strategy based on separatism—including this utopian "socialist independence"—can truly show the way forward for the working masses of Quebec. A social revolution in Quebec, a Quebec "Commune," would necessarily have to be extended throughout North America or it would be crushed.

The proletariat of Quebec will find their social as well as their national liberation only within the framework of a continental socialist revolution. The recent showdowns between Quebec labor and the PQ and the current demise of Lévesque's bourgeois nationalists offer the opportunity to win the militant and combative Quebec labor movement to a perspective of binational, multi-racial revolutionary class unity in the struggle for North American socialist revolution in which it is destined to play a *vanguard* role. It is this perspective of proletarian internationalism that is uniquely championed by the Trotskyist League of Canada. ■

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## Nazis...

(continued from page 4)

taken out, Canada became one of the places that they were warehoused."

—The New Edition, 5 February

Repeated requests by the Soviet Union for the deportation of many of these killers have been turned down on the grounds that Communist courts mete out unfair justice! We demand the immediate extradition of the Nazi war criminals demanded by the Soviet Union, to be tried by their surviving victims!

### Only the Working Class Can Smash Fascist Terror!

The trial of Nazi filth merchant Zundel was an obscenity from start to finish. The Canadian courts essentially provided a platform for anti-Semitism, race hatred and fascist terror, while the Canadian state (founded by counterrevolutionaries defeated in the American Revolution of 1776) continues to shield and protect Nazi war criminals. Furthermore, the "hate laws" under which they convicted Zundel are in fact designed for use against the left and working-class movement (one could be witchhunted for inciting "class hatred," for example, by standing up for working-class rights).

In 1981 Zundel and his ilk got a taste of the kind of treatment they so richly deserve. Over 600 angry protesters, mainly Jewish and many concentration camp survivors, marched on the "Zundel Studios" in Toronto. Met by fascist placards reading "No Truth to 6 Million Story! Gigantic Jewish Rip-Off!" and "Holocaust is a Lie!" the outraged protesters broke through a line of cops and drove Zundel and his fas-



**Nazis butchered millions, found haven in Canada.**

cists into a headlong retreat into their "studio."

What's desperately needed to stop the fascists are mass mobilizations of the labor movement and minorities to crush these killers, like the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK terrorists from marching in their white sheets and hoods through the streets of predominantly black Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. The international Spartacist tendency is committed to mobilizing the power of the working class and its allies among the oppressed and specially exploited to stop Nazi terror, as part of our fight for socialist revolution which will rid this planet of fascist filth once and for all. ■

## British Miners...

(continued from page 3)

US \$21,659.13 as of 19 March 1985, including more than \$2,300 raised in Canada among unions and individuals in Ontario and Quebec, with a donation coming from as far away as the Yukon Territory.

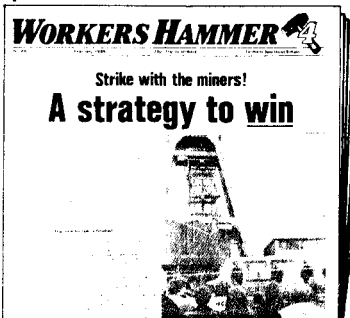
At UAW Local 303 outside Toronto, some \$800 was additionally raised for a Northumberland mine after the PDC assisted a visiting miner in appealing to the local. And the PDC was fortunate to work with Eddy Loseby, a miner from Armthorpe Branch in Doncaster (Yorkshire). Loseby spent four weeks in Toronto and spoke at a Steelworkers area-wide meeting after contacting the PDC. Conducted in the spirit of class-struggle anti-sectarianism, the PDC's objective was to build international working-class solidarity by getting urgently needed money to hungry strikers and their families. In the same spirit Brother Loseby

forced the fake-left Revolutionary Workers League to back down from their three-year policy of cowardly anti-Trotskyist exclusion at a meeting where he was speaking to build support for the embattled miners.

Loseby came to Canada to raise money for his colliery, but he also fought to convey to unionists a sense of the stakes of this battle. As he told *Spartacist Canada*: "When we say that our fight is your fight we're deadly serious. If we lose the whole working class will lose. Support one another, because once we've had it Great Britain trade unions will be finished and after that it will come to Canada, America, all over the world." This kind of message struck a deep chord among unionists in this country. Targets of René Lévesque's vicious union-busting in Quebec, a Montreal local of the Conseil d'enseignement de Québec (teachers), sent a donation to the PDC. In Toronto two members of a CUPE local which has just emerged from a lengthy and bitter strike donated their strike pay. The Letter Carriers Union of Canada Local 1, CUPE Local 43, railworkers and firefighters also voted to send donations. And over \$500 was raised at Trotskyist League of Canada forums.

Our comrades in the Spartacist League/Britain intervened powerfully into this crucial class battle: on the picket lines, at rallies and at demonstrations. The 29 January *Workers Hammer* special supplement—"Road, rail, docks: strike with the miners! Turn the tide against Thatcher!"—was grabbed up in the coal fields. Driving home the lessons of this heroic and bitter strike, the SL/B is committed to building a revolutionary party that will embrace the tens of thousands of militants who fought with all their power for victory and that will finally avenge the crimes of the long-outlived British ruling class.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No.374, 8 March



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## Moral Majority Terror...

(continued from page 16)

to the touch. Apparently, Castro's invincible troops are now on the march from one end of Africa to the other. If Somalia falls, Mali falls; if Mali falls... No one cares. Africa is too far away, while Cuba is too small and too near to be dangerous. "In desperation, the nation's ownership has now gone back to the tried-and-true hot buttons: Save our children, our fetuses, our ladies' rooms from the godless enemy. As usual, the sex buttons have proved satisfyingly hot."

In the climate of Cold War II we see a repetition of Cold War I—social relations from "Leave it to Beaver" and "Ozzie and Harriet." Reagan presents this vision of a nice family: no sex, no fun, no porn, no drinking. All surrounded by MX missiles to prevent the "godless communists" from invading. It's not just Reagan, this is played out in Canada.

Anything that threatens the family, the main institution for the oppression of women in capitalist society, is a threat to the war drive. Homosexuality is considered one of the biggest threats, and as gays are seen as weak and vulnerable they have been one of the first targets. It started with Anita Bryant's anti-gay witchhunt. In 1977 the police went on a jackboot, Gestapo-style raid on *The Body Politic's* office. The "crime"—publishing an article called "Men Loving Boys Loving Men." For those who happen to subscribe to the feminist anti-porn frenzy, *The Body Politic* was charged under the laws against pornography!

The persecution of *The Body Politic* makes another point, because the latest scare tactic is the question of so-called "child abuse." This current frenzy is directed at strengthening the truly violent enterprise of the nuclear family: a woman's place is in the home; daycare centers are subversive enterprises; youth must associate all sex with rape. In Chicago a couple was tried and convicted and run out of town because the father had taken pictures of their 5-year-old daughter getting out of the bath. In Los Angeles a 5-year-old black child by the name of Patrick Mason was watching TV in his bedroom one day when the cops busted down his door and blew the kid's brains out. The cop was pensioned off. And Patrick Mason's mother was charged with "child abuse" for the "crime" of having to work for a living.

In Canada there was the Badgley Commission which was given untold sums to investigate child abuse. Their main conclusion was to raise the official age of childhood to 18. As *The Body Politic* pointed out, "After all, our economy has a hard enough time employing people over 18; how can it afford to grant independence to anyone younger?" You can't drink until you're 19. You can't have sex until you're 18. But you can be fodder for imperialist war. It's all aimed at reinforcing a very strong two-parent family.

Women who have an alcohol or drug addiction in Canada face criminal charges of "fetal abuse." But they can't get an abortion. Single mothers can't get welfare if they have a boyfriend. And the Moral Majority would like to ban even the stultifying, warped and deformed version of "sex education" that is taught (all I saw was a film by the nuns called "How to Say No").

It's barefoot, pregnant, in the kitchen...or jail. In Canada women who refuse to testify against boy-friends or husbands who beat them are thrown in jail because the state in all its "benevolence" has intervened to stop wife beating. This legislation was

pushed for by the feminists. *Broadside*, a Canadian feminist journal, commented that a woman who had refused to testify in such a case had low consciousness as a woman! For the feminists it's all simply a matter of ideas. If you "deviate" from their ideas or their "consciousness" they'll get you—as in the current pornography "debate."

### 1980s Feminists: Daughters of Jerry Falwell

As Marxists we have always taken a very hard line against feminists because they undermine the necessary class solidarity with their sex line and therefore obstruct the only possible means for women's liberation: united working-class struggle for socialist revolution. Nonetheless in the mid, late 1960s we knocked ourselves out to intervene in the feminist movement. On one level or another they were interested in an end to oppression and we sought to win them from feminism to the understanding that the end to sexual, women's, human oppression lay through the road of socialist revolution. And we recruited a lot of these women.

At that time the feminists, or some of them, considered themselves some sort of revolutionaries. They supported revolutionary uprisings. They attacked religion. At the same time they never challenged the capitalist system, the source of women's oppression. We recruited the best of the lot. The rest who stuck around have changed quite a bit. Susan Brownmiller is really a caricature of that. She was a feminist, a New Leftist, she fought for civil rights. She protested the lynching of Emmet Till, a 14-year-old black murdered by two white men in the South for whistling at a white woman. These days Brownmiller has a different story: that Emmet Till subjected the woman to sexual abuse!

Today Susan Brownmiller is the head of Women Against Pornography. And believe me, it all fits. While women face daily terror and violence at the hands of the Moral Majority, the feminists are campaigning against the "violence" of pornography. When the Morgentaler clinics were first being busted, the feminists had demonstrations against Playboy videos. When the anti-abortionists' pickets went up at the clinic, what was the big brouhaha over? Not over defending the clinic against these terrorists, but "defending" the population against some *Penthouse* photographs.

There is an objective, indeed subjective, bloc between the feminists and the Moral Majority. They



Vancouver beansprout totalitarians picket dirty pictures. Moral Majority/feminists: "sisters" under the skin.

share the Cold War terminology: porn is the new terrorism. And they share common views of human sexuality: women are the tender, loving childbearers and all men are rapists. Here's a quote from the Australian censor board head, who was in town recently, regarding the anti-pornography campaign in Australia: "Protest which emanated from the pulpits of churches of all denominations was strengthened by the voices of those who would otherwise find little common ground. The feminists joined hands with the moralists and barely a civil libertarian whisper was heard."

Now, recently in Canada, there are some feminists who have come out against state censorship—at least in terms of their own films. Mary Brown, the Ontario Censor Board head (now called the Film Review Board like newspeak) bans not only pornography but feminist movies. So these feminists feel obliged to take a stand against censorship, all the while proclaiming their opposition to "violent" pornography. I see a relationship between pornography and violence in the "Wimmin's Fire Brigade" that bombed three Red Hot Video stores in Vancouver!

Pornography is not violence, it is images, fantasy. Rape is a concrete example of violence against women. It is a criminal assault and should be dealt with accordingly. We had a cartoon in *Workers Vanguard* around the question of the New York subway "vigilante" [showing a would-be mugger and an old lady on the subway packing a pistol]. Our caption was, "God created men and women, and Colonel Colt made them equal." In other words we're for the right of women, of all citizens, to bear arms, to defend themselves.

Another point about those who are opposed to censorship and to "violent" pornography. They make a difference between erotica and pornography. Erotica is "tasteful," well done, costs money. Pornography is cheesecake, beehive hairdos, greaseballs, fuzzy pictures and it costs \$2.50. The liberals are righteous and good and have correct consciousness. They favor gun control. God knows, they don't want to meet some of those "unwashed masses" who read pornography as opposed to "erotica" on the subway and they sure don't want *them* to have arms to defend themselves.

"Fight pornography, but no to state censorship." Picket porn shops—it all smacks of this "Take Back the Night" crusade by the feminists. They had a mock poster in 1983 saying no man over 13 could be allowed out at night because the incidence of rape is up. In other words, all men are rapists. And that's what's behind "Pornography is the theory, rape is the practice"—show them a little bit of leg and off they go, there's no stopping them. Again sharing the Moral Majority's view of women as the kind, nurturing sex and men as vile rapists, these "Take Back the Night" crusades dovetail with the incitement of every backward, racist, jingoist prejudice of a society preparing for war.

We oppose all attempts at puritanical censorship, whether by the state or the feminist ayatollahs. We don't think you can legislate sexuality. We defend the

right of consenting individuals in any combination of age, race, sex and number to engage in the sexual activity of their choice, to look at pictures of their choice without the intervention of the state or the moral proscription of the feminists.

We don't deal with images. We deal with reality. The feminists say that if you only show positive images of women you'll combat sexism. But images aren't reality. What about the positive images of Sidney Poitier in 1960s movies: the black neurosurgeon who lived in a "good" neighborhood, the guy who comes home for dinner. What did this contribute to the liberation of blacks in America? Nothing. In the 1980s Reagan doesn't even mention blacks—they're



Daily hell for black women in apartheid South Africa: real violence against women.

confined to the ghettos and they can starve to death, or be blown away by cops for not paying rent like Eleanor Bumpurs. We seek to change the world, not images, publishing houses and movie theatres.

### Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Smash Apartheid Slavery!

Worried about women being photographed in black garter belts, the feminists could give a shit about women who are bound by the black veil, by thirty yards of black muslin cotton, like in Iran and Afghanistan. We stood alone on the left in calling for "Down with the Shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" and "No to the bride price, no to the veil!" The feminists can literally bet their lives that there ain't no porn in Iran.

The other chant that drives the feminists crazy is our "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" We recognized that the Red Army was the only force that stood against the reactionary mullahs who were fighting to keep women illiterate and veiled, prisoners for life to be bought and sold like cattle. This is *real* women's oppression—never touched by many of the liberating ideals that were brought with the bourgeois revolution. The feminists could care less.

When Indra Gandhi ate it, another feminist journal *off our backs* said they would have to reserve judgment until they heard what their "sisters" in India

(continued on page 14)

## Moral Majority Terror...

(continued from page 13)

had to say. Their "sisters" in India just so happen to equal the population of the U.S. Only 10 percent work, mainly in agriculture. 82 percent are illiterate, all of them have a lower life expectancy than Indian men (which isn't very high itself compared with North America). There has been an increase of dowry deaths, with no prosecutions. The debt bondage of poor peasants to wealthy landlords means they have to sell their daughters in order to meet the debt. Women's liberation is a matter of life and death.

In South Africa black women are tied both by the chains of apartheid and of women's oppression. They have no right to own land, they are separated from their husbands for 11 months a year if their husbands can actually get jobs in the urban centers. They can't even visit their husbands then. They are relegated to the totally uneconomic bantustans, supposed to scratch out a living from the brush and rock for their kids, the unemployed, the aged, for all those the racist apartheid regime shipped there because they were no longer "useful." But there's no pornography in South Africa. In the big September raids on the black townships people were rounded up and thrown in jail for having pornography. *They couldn't get them for anything else.* But I suppose the feminists could see this as a victory—South African black women are safe from pornography!

### Red Avengers Vs. Feminist Thought Police

The feminists of today are really thought police. It's like 1984: you must read, think, say, do what they say. Now, I have a T-shirt on tonight which is no doubt going to provoke a certain amount of antagonism among those who are the junior cotillion of the Moral Majority. It says, "Go Underground with Xandra, the Red Avenger." At San Francisco State University the Women's Center, headed by Judy Moore, held a debate over the city election in which the Spartacist League/U.S. was running two candidates. Judy Moore decided that our Marxist literature table "invaded her inner space" and so she called the police. In willful mockery of this beansprout totalitarianism (at San Francisco State a black woman was stabbed in an elevator for smoking) the Red Avengers were born.

We characterized Judy Moore and her ilk as "Lady dobermans in anti-Soviet heat." In other words they were very frenzied, very scared and very demoralized by the defeat of Walter Mondale—who is so boring that he ought to be made an honorary Canadian. So they let loose a campaign of intimidation, lies, slanders, calling in the cops—THE BIG, WHITE, MALE COPS—against our comrades. And they found a contingent to back them up. It's called the "External Tendency." Their yellow journalism says that the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League are quite worthy of repression because we're nothing more than a "cult," i.e., dangerous people who should be locked up. Nonetheless they continue to describe themselves as the "External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency"! Sharing the same popular-frontist appetites as those who are out to deny our rights, they pretend not to see that behind this anti-red witchhunt, headed up by the Women's Center, was an attempt to intimidate and regiment youth for war, in which the Moral Majority feminists share the politics but not the power of Ronald Reagan.

As Gore Vidal so aptly pointed out social and sexual issues are pushed as *the* red hot buttons for the regimentation of society for war. It's very similar to

Cold War I—the era of "fluoridation is a communist plot" and billboards reading "The family that prays together, stays together." And in this context we've had a real shift of the feminists to the right. I remember arguing with the Revolutionary Marxist Group, which no longer exists, but was really big on feminism. They weren't arguments over mobilizing behind the Moral Majority, or freedom of the press, or that the veil is a symbol of women's oppression. It was an argument over the Bolsheviks' work amongst women—the only people who actually fought for *and implemented* a program for women's liberation. Now we argue over the defense of elementary bourgeois-democratic rights, the French Revolution, in defense of Mark Twain, who said:

"Man has been called the laughing animal, but the monkey laughs. And he has been called the animal that weeps, but several of the others do that. Man is merely and exclusively the immodest animal, for he is the only one with a soiled mind, the only one under the dominion of a false shame."

Which is the false shame of Jimmy Carter's "lust in the mind, lust in the heart" and which is shared by the feminists.

### Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

As Lenin pointed out, the Bolshevik Revolution did more to liberate women than endless reforms and laws passed under bourgeois society. When the Bolsheviks took power some of the first legislation was for the equality of men and women, free abortion on demand, laws against the persecution of homosexuality. The Bolsheviks' martyrs were the women who went to the Muslim East and laid down their lives to liberate women who were oppressed not only as women but as national minorities, who were bound by religion, by the veil, by enforced illiteracy. Despite its Stalinist degeneration, not least of the reasons we defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack is the position that has been attained by women there.

We stand in the tradition of the Bolshevik Party and of Lenin. We want a women's section of a mass revolutionary party, not of women only, but of men and women together to fight women's oppression. A party that will stand as the tribune of all the oppressed. A party that will genuinely fight to liberate all of humankind and bring the day when men and women will be equal and sexual relations will become more free, more open, more diverse. As we have said many times, may the day come soon. ■

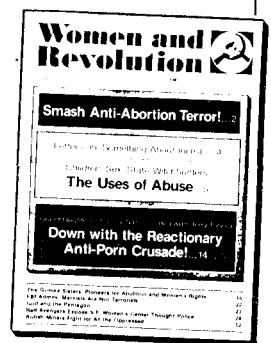
## Women and Revolution

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# FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists

On 30 November 1984 the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) successfully concluded the first direct legal challenge to the 1983 U.S. attorney general's Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism. Under these guidelines the FBI witchhunters are directed to obliterate any distinction between political opponents to the government and "terrorism"—a set-up for the wholesale legal destruction of the left. The SL/SYL sued against the application of these "terror" guidelines to our organizations and won in a legal agreement the FBI's admission that Marxists are not terrorists. Central to this victory against the secret police was their change of definition of the SL/SYL: the FBI has now retracted its long-standing set-up "definition" of the Spartacist League as a conspiratorial grouping advocating "violent overthrow of the government," and substituting a statement defining the SL as what it is—a Marxist political organization. Civil libertarians, unionists and fighters for black freedom are rightly acknowledging this victory as a blow against the new McCarthyism.

We have no illusion that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration or disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived opponents of the government. In the reactionary climate of Cold War II the bourgeoisie seeks to intimidate and regiment the population, longing to silence *all* opposition. The sinister Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), the new "civilian" spy agency whose powers parallel and indeed exceed those of the FBI, has a definition of "threats to security" so sweeping as to ultimately target *any* political opponent of the government "or any state allied or associated with Canada." Born under the Liberals, cut loose by the Tories, CSIS thugs are loaded up with bugs, black bags and guns for a full-scale red-hunt.

## UAW Split...

(continued from page 6)

The CLC/NDP didn't lift a finger to fight Trudeau's wage controls but these Cold Warriors sure did attempt to mobilize workers behind the only "union" the imperialists ever loved—Poland's counterrevolutionary Solidarność which wanted to bring the misery of Detroit to Gdansk. In 1914 the German social democrats voted for war credits and became direct agents of the Kaiser, who sent their workers to kill brother workers in the imperialist slaughter of World War I. Today beating the anti-Soviet war drums abroad, on the home front the social democrats push capitalist austerity and racism.

The only winners in the UAW split are the auto bosses. Canadian auto workers are the losers. Now they face the greedy auto companies with 10 percent of their former potential strength. UAW members must fight to revive the militant tactics—sit-down strikes, plant occupations, mass pickets—and traditions of



Federal Courthouse, New York City, November 30: SL, SYL, PDC spokesmen announce settlement of lawsuit against the FBI.

### SUPPORT THE PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The successful conclusion of the Spartacist League's suit against the FBI strengthens all of us by striking a blow to the government's deadly equation of Marxism with terrorist conspiracy. The Partisan Defense Committee, the anti-sectarian, class-struggle legal defense organization in accordance with the views of the SL, undertook the financial support of this important case. The PDC faced the vast resources of the United States government. Victories cost money and the PDC has incurred substantial debts. Please help by sending donations to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York NY 10013.

The Trotskyist League of Canada salutes the SL/SYL's important legal victory—a victory for the civil liberties of everyone from whom the vicious capitalist regime perceives a threat. As the Spartacist League said at the outset of this suit against the FBI, undertaken in conscious self-defense against the real terrorism of the U.S. state:

"We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night. As the organization which embodies the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying, racist system through victorious socialist revolution." ■

international working class solidarity that built the union. But as the heroic British miners strike showed, militancy and determination are not enough—every major workers struggle becomes a political fight requiring class-struggle leadership. In Detroit so great is the stranglehold of the social-democratic, bureaucratic UAW regime that the prospects for socialist revolution look brighter than ousting these company cops. Indeed the fight to get the UAW off its knees is part and parcel of the fight to politically destroy the NDP and the Reutherite UAW bureaucracy in the battle to forge a revolutionary workers party. While the social democrats wrap themselves in the maple leaf flag for the greater glory of a "competitive" Canadian capitalism and the "Great White North," the Trotskyist League is dedicated to building a workers party to fight for a workers government, a government to expropriate capitalism and to end once and for all the hideous social system that turns the enormous industrial wealth squeezed out of the lifeblood of the working class into misery, poverty and the spectre of nuclear holocaust. ■

## Down with Feminist Anti-Porn Frenzy!

# Stop Moral Majority Terror!

Printed below is an edited transcript of a Toronto March 9 Trotskyist League Forum presented by Jane Clancy of the TLC Central Committee entitled "Defend Abortion Clinics—Defend Dr. Morgentaler! Down with Reactionary Anti-Porn Frenzy!"

The utopian socialist Charles Fourier said that the social progress of any society can be gauged by the position of women in that society. And in Cold War North America the escalating and all-sided offensive against women's rights is certainly a gauge of rampant social reaction. Bible-thumping bigots. Moral Majority terrorists are literally on the march. Every day the Morgentaler abortion clinic has mobs of anti-abortionists in front of it. The clinic has been firebombed. Morgentaler was attacked by an anti-abortionist wielding garden shears.

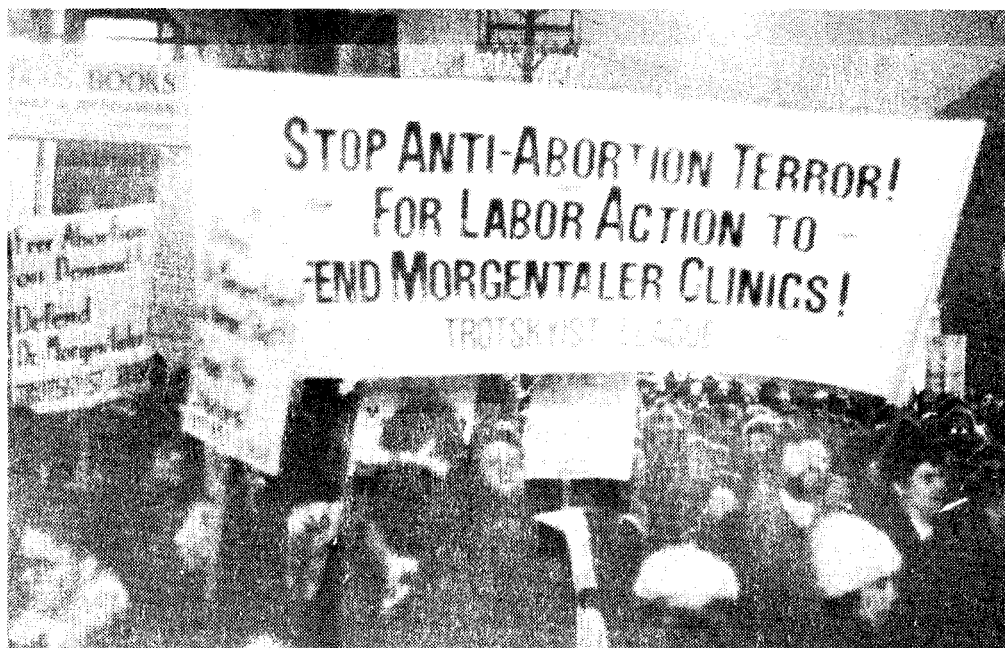
We think it's about time that somebody struck some *real* fear of god into these supposed god-fearing reactionaries. We think it's about time there was the organization of integrated workers defense guards—men and women—to protect the clinic and to defend women's elementary democratic right to free, medically safe abortion. This stands in stark counter-position to the feminists of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics. Their strategy is to pressure the *government* to defend the clinic, which is encapsulated in their chant: "If the Tories are for the people, the people want choice!" At best such a strategy is an illusion and a treacherous one. The people daily mobbing and terrorizing women at the Morgentaler clinic are the "moral" lieutenants of the capitalist class, of the politicians, of the cops and courts in the all-sided persecution of this very heroic and courageous man.

"Women have the right to choose"!? Morgentaler handled this quite well in court, pointing out that the wives, daughters and mistresses of the ruling class will always be able to get a medically safe abortion, not the coat hanger or the back alley butcher. The ruling class in this society buys its rights. The working class has to fight for its rights.

Canada has always been a highly bigoted, racist, United Empire Loyalist, hypocritically moral country. In the context of the drive to war against the Soviet

Union, the ruling class wants to force people back into a strong, preferably religious family which is a must for discipline, obedience and the inculcation of reactionary values. To mobilize the population for war, they need an ideologically compliant population. What they want as cannon fodder are safe, clean, obedient and scared youth. And they use the family to enforce that.

I'd just like to read a quote from an interesting article in a January 1979 *Playboy* magazine (considered



TL contingent at 22 February Toronto demonstration to defend Dr. Morgentaler.

contraband by the feminists and Moral Majority). It's by Gore Vidal and called "Sex is Politics":

"Now, it is not possible for a governing class to maintain its power if there are not hot buttons to push. A few months ago the 'Giveaway of the Panama Canal' issue looked as though it were going to be a very hot button, indeed. It was thought that if, somehow, American manhood could be made to seem at stake in Panama, there was a chance that a sort of subliminal sexual button might be pushed, triggering throughout the land a howl of manly rage, particularly from ladies at church receptions: American manhood has never been an exclusively masculine preserve. But, ultimately, American manhood (so recently kneed by the Viet Cong) did not feel endangered by the partial loss of a fairly dull canal, and so that button jammed. "The issue of Cuban imperialism also seemed warm

(continued on page 12)