

4 SPARTACIST

CANADA

FEBRUARY 1977, No.13

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Peking's Purges Perplex Maoists

Bureaucrats' War in "People's" China

In a speech welcoming the new year, Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Chairman Hua Kuo-feng exhorted the Chinese people to deepen the struggle against the purged "gang of four," and to make this their "main task" for 1977. The jailing of Mao's widow Chiang Ching and other leading CCP "radicals," and the subsequent campaign to villify them as "counterrevolutionary capitalist roaders," have stunned Peking's loyal followers around the world. The international Maoist movement has had a great deal of trouble swallowing the charges levelled against Chiang: that she tried to restore capitalism under her husband's nose; that for thirty years she was an agent of the Kuomintang; and that she and her "gang of four" cohorts were responsible for all China's past economic ills.

Already several sizeable Western Maoist groups (notably the Portuguese PCP-R and the KPD [M-L] of West Germany) have refused to join the chorus "exposing" Chiang Ching. Particularly after the return of twice-purged "rightist" Teng Hsiao-ping to the upper echelons of the CCP, many more Western Maoists are straddling the fence in uncomfortable silence. The American Revolutionary Communist Party has not written a word on the Chinese situation in more than three months, while in Canada In Struggle! waited until mid-January before putting out its first tentative pro-Hua feelers. Although the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) (CCL[M-L]) and the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) (CPC[M-L]) have leaned toward, respectively, Hua and the "gang of four," neither has attempted any analysis of the current clique warfare in China.

Undaunted by similar fears, on January 2^d William Hinton, former National Chairperson of the China/U.S. People's Friendship Association, brought to Toronto his analysis of the purges in Peking. Hinton is widely regarded as one of the most informed

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Spartacus



CHINESE "RADICALS" AND "MODERATES" TOGETHER. LEFT TO RIGHT, CHIANG CHUN-CHIAO, HUA KUO-FENG, WANG HUNG-WEN, YEH CHIEN-YING AND CHIANG CHING.

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End of the Road for the RMG

At a plenum over New Year's weekend, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) resolved to call for a fusion with the League for Socialist Action (LSA). According to an RMG Political Committee statement printed in the 26 January Old Mole, the resolution of the RMG CC was made both "unanimously" and "unequivocally."

Thus the centrist RMG nears the end of its three-and-a-half year existence. The decision to reunite with the cravenly reformist LSA (from which the RMG issued as a left split in 1973) reflects both the organization's extreme rightward degeneration and its all-pervasive failure and demoralization.

In 1973, the RMG's leading bodies could pass ("unanimously" and "unequivocally") resolutions condemning the LSA as reformist. Without the secondary cadre and youth activists which the RMG took out of the LSA, the latter was supposed to collapse like a house of cards. Meanwhile, the RMG would triple or quadruple its size within two years.

Instead, the RMG was to lose most of its ex-LSA founding cadre during the subsequent two-year period. Following a series of left splits (most importantly, the expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency in March 1975) which led to the formation of the Trotskyist League, the RMG was compelled to note that affairs stood rather differently than in the heady, left-leaning days of late 1973. "It must be added that in English Canada, the political differences between the LSA and RMG are not at all clear in front of the left," sighed an internal document in August 1976.

Accordingly, the RMG leadership has resolved to pull its organization out of the moleholes and back into the social-democratic, pro-NDP "Trotskyism"

of the LSA. However, laments the leadership in the Old Mole statement, "the position of the Central Committee is not yet a position of the RMG as a whole."

The Central Committee--which is composed overwhelmingly of ex-NDPers and New Leftists who were not part of the formative 1972-73 faction fight--is apparently concerned that the RMG membership might not so willingly swallow a perspective of organizational liquidation back into the LSA. Opposition to the projected fusion is reported to be widespread, particularly in the Vancouver local. In Vancouver, a workerist RMG branch has had a great deal of unpleasant first-hand experience with the right-wing politics of the LSA, which uncritically supports a gang of mainstream right social democrats in the B.C. NDP "Open Caucus."

For years, the LSA has made the call to "win the NDP to socialism" the centerpiece of its program. One of the better aspects of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency's (RCT--the RMG's precursor inside the LSA) factional struggle was its rejection of the majority's "unconditional support" for social democracy.

Particularly valuable was its documentation of the LSA's intervention into the NDP Waffle caucus. For the most part, the LSA differentiated itself from the Waffle's social-democratic leadership from the right--by urging the group never to split from the NDP, but to "stay and fight." On one occasion, the LSA majority--hand-in-glove with David Lewis and Jim Laxer--went so far as to smash the leftist New Brunswick LSA operation, because the positions it had won the local NDP to were too left-wing (documented in [LSA] Discussion Bulletin No. 26, January 1973).

Comments about the need to fight within the NDP for vague "socialist policies" have dotted recent issues of the Old Mole--testifying to the willingness of the RMG to readopt the LSA's bankrupt NDP line. Thus the RMG seeks to eliminate the final substantive difference on domestic policy which separates the two organizations, in order to cement the fusion.

The impending dissolution of the RMG into the LSA is part of the international horse-trading between the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat's (Usec) centrist majority wing (to which the RMG adheres) and the reformist minority (supported by the LSA). Two years ago, the Usec's "Tenth World Congress" called for the reunification of those national sections which had split along international majority/minority lines.

Pressure from Ernest Mandel and the rest of the
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THE REAL LESSON OF OCTOBER 14

A Reply to Dowson's Slanders

In the mid-1940's, when he was a leader of the Canadian section of the Fourth International, Ross Dowson wrote scathing attacks on the labor bureaucrats, denouncing them as "so-called labour leaders doing the dirty work for the boss parties" (Labour Challenge, 1 June 1945). Today, as head of the Socialist League--a social-democratic old folks' home for derelict refugees from Trotskyism--the aging Dowson is past all that. Having long since abandoned the Trotskyist program, Dowson and his tiny band of sub-reformists and Canadian nationalists exist in a slavish relationship of unrequited love for the same labor bureaucrats and their pro-capitalist labor party, the NDP.

As a renegade from Marxism, Dowson is particularly suited to the task of stooging for the labor fakers by attacking their left-wing critics. A polemic written by him for a recent issue of Forward uses shop-worn arguments drawn from the worst tradition of anti-communist social democracy in an effort to label all left groups which were critical of the October 14 day of protest as "ultra-left and/or sectarian."

"Oct. 14: Acid Test for the Left" (Forward, November-December 1976) seeks to tar virtually everyone with the "ultra-left" brush (including such "respectable" reformists as his ex-cronies in the League for Socialist Action). Dowson grows particularly shrill when attacking the Trotskyist League, which he maintains exhibited "narrow dogmatism and sectarianism most consistently" on October 14. However, rather than attempt to demonstrate the TL's supposed sectarianism, the article offers only a motley version of the bankrupt social democratic charges against Leninism--charges which are both dishonest and self-exposing.

Dowson's article is dishonest because many of the positions it attacks the TL for are positions which the organization has never held--furthermore, they are positions which Dowson knows the TL has never held. For example, he dusts off the Transitional Program of Trotsky to produce a quotation which denounces sectarians for refusing to struggle for partial and transitional demands, and for abandoning the trade unions to the reformist misleaders. Dowson insinuates by using this quote that the TL does not work in the existing trade unions or struggle for partial and transitional demands. But this is a bald-faced and conscious lie--a glance at any issue of Spartacist Canada is enough to refute such a despicable and demagogic slander. Other



TL BANNER AT OTTAWA CLC DEMO, MARCH 1976.

SC

passages of the Transitional Program and Trotsky's other writings which are directed against trade union opportunism are easily forgotten by the dishonest social-democratic dogmatism of Monsieur Dowson--who without talent, learning or eloquence of style aspires to be Canada's answer to Karl Kautsky.

Further, the Forward article is written in such a way as to imply that the TL did not support the October 14 protest. Once again, Dowson knows that this is simply not true. The implication is there for a purpose, however: to smear the TL and, by extension, anyone who recognized that a one-day protest was not enough and called for a full-scale general strike to smash the controls.

Dowson's rantings become self-exposing when he seeks to analyze the weak turnout suffered by many areas of the country on October 14. Impressive as it was, the day of protest drew many fewer participants than it should have. This was due to the obstruction of the Canadian Labour Congress brass, which instructed hundreds of thousands of "essential" workers to stay on the job, i. e. scab, and advised strikers to "stay home and drink beer" rather than march in the protest demonstrations.

This is typical behaviour for the pro-capitalist labor skates (whom Trotsky, as well as the Trotskyists today, call "the economic police of capital" ["The ILP and the New International"]). On the rare occasions when the bureaucrats are compelled to call or support militant actions, they only seek to sabotage them through half-hearted and partial mobilizations of the ranks, often accompanied by

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Campus Paper Closed in Anti-Communist Attack

FREE SPEECH AND THE CHEVRON AFFAIR

JANUARY 29--In a blatant violation of democratic rights, fake-socialist Student Federation president Shane Roberts shut down the University of Waterloo student paper, the Chevron, last September. Roberts, who is a member of the New Democratic Party, charged that the paper was dominated by a campus group known as the Anti-Imperialist Alliance (AIA). He proceeded to fire the news editor and production manager, two paid staffers who were both members of the AIA, and bureaucratically cut off all Federation funds to the newspaper.

The closing of the paper led to an outburst of clique warfare on the campus, with Roberts and his fellow student bureaucrats receiving administration backing in the dispute. The Student Federation organized a bizarre series of attacks on the Chevron's right to continue publishing: at least two efforts (in collaboration with the administration) to change the locks on the Chevron office doors; an unsuccessful attempt by Roberts to remove typewriters from the offices; and the appearance of two new Federation-funded publications. Meanwhile, the Chevron staffers continued to produce their own paper, the Free Chevron, with some financial backing from the Canadian University Press.

Clearly, not only the AIA, but a majority of Waterloo students were annoyed by the bureaucratic stunts of Roberts and his cohorts. A petition calling for his recall as Federation president obtained 2,240 signatures. Mocking his own constitution, Roberts at



YESTERDAY'S NEW LEFTIST. TODAY'S ANTI-COMMUNIST: SHANE ROBERTS (TOP) PARADES IN A 1960's VIETNAM DEMO. BELOW, CHEVRON STAFFERS DISCUSS TACTICS DURING THEIR OCCUPATION OF THE NEWSPAPER OFFICE.

first challenged the petition on technical grounds, then resigned to replace himself with his friend and co-thinker, Dave McLellan, without even considering holding a new election.

While some of the incidents involved may be humorous, there is an important political issue at stake in the Chevron affair. The Student Federation's closure of the Chevron was obviously an undemocratic, anti-communist attack on the AIA and on freedom of the press, and must be reversed. The current attack on the AIA sees stooge Shane Roberts continuing a lengthy administration vendetta against the organization. However, despite its protestations about "defending democratic rights," the AIA's track record on this question is no better than that of budding careerist Roberts.

AIA FINDS AN IDEOLOGY

The AIA's history on the Waterloo campus began in late 1974 (at first, it was called the Anti-Capitalist Alliance). At that time, it defined itself as an "independent left group... concentrating on practical activities rather than the elaboration of an ideology" (Chevron, 22 November 1974). As one of its first "practical activities," the AIA brought Hardial Bains, leader of the Maoist Communist Party of



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No. 13

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Canada (Marxist-Leninist) (CPC[M-L]) onto the campus in November 1974, in order to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the People's Republic of China and speak on "Superpower Politics."

The AIA did not have to elaborate an ideology because it received one ready-made from CPC(M-L). While it initially attracted members who were not in or around CPC(M-L), it very rapidly consolidated under the political control of CPC(M-L) members and supporters, and pushed a version of that organization's Maoist politics.

In October 1975, the campus administration moved to curtail the AIA's activities by dismissing three professors, all AIA members, from their teaching posts at the university's Renison College. In addition to firing Hugh Miller, Jeff Forest and Marsha Forest, the administration also charged a fourth professor, Marlene Webber, with "unprofessional behavior" and banned her from the college, and refused to renew the teaching contract of a fifth, Sami Gupta. These McCarthyite political firings, which should have been opposed by all socialists and defenders of democratic rights, set the stage for Roberts to take over the administration's dirty work.

AIA HOOLIGANISM

Roberts sought to exploit an incident that occurred in February 1975 to fuel the attack on the AIA. During that month, the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency (CCIST)--precursor of the Trotskyist League) gave a public forum on the Waterloo campus on the strategy for proletarian revolution. When the CCIST speaker began his presentation, AIA hooligans attempted to disrupt the meeting through heckling, catcalls and physical violence. This behavior continued for the duration of the forum. AIA members now parade their concern for democracy, yet, as one would suppose from their affiliation to CPC(M-L), this "democracy" does not extend to any political organization standing to their left.

The appearance of Trotskyists on the campus had such an impact that CPC(M-L) was still writing about the incident nearly two years later. A slanderous article in the 4 October 1976 issue of People's Canada Daily News (entitled, in CPC[M-L]'s inimitable Pekinglish, "Down With the Fascist Assault

on the Anti-Imperialist Alliance and the Students at the University of Waterloo!") alleges that the CCIST (which is referred to only as "a small trotskyite sect" of "microphone revolutionaries") collaborated with Roberts in an attempt to bar the AIA from campus. This is a blatant falsehood: while Roberts did seek (unsuccessfully) to use the Maoists' disruption to deny them the use of campus facilities, the Spartacist tendency has always stood forthrightly against student government and/or administration attacks on the democratic rights of campus groups.

**AGAINST CENSORSHIP--
 FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS!**

We have no reason to believe that the AIA would run a campus newspaper any more democratically than they run any of their other activities. The 20 December 1976 issue of PCDN boasts that "it [the Chevron] has refused to print any openly anti-people, openly fascist, openly racist propaganda." Denying free speech to fascist scum is certainly a correct (and laudable) sentiment. However, since CPC(M-L) considers most anyone holding political views contrary to its own to be "fascist" and "anti-people," we can be sure that any paper controlled by them would deny other campus groups the right to have their material published. All campus groups should have unrestricted access to campus facilities --including the pages of a campus newspaper--in order to propagate their views and publicize their activities.

However, political censorship by the Maoists (or even their control of the paper, which has never been conclusively demonstrated) is not the central issue at hand in the closing of the Chevron. Despite the AIA's own sordid record on the questions of free speech and workers democracy, Roberts' assault on the Chevron (conducted with the approval of his friends in the administration) must not go unanswered. In a fit of anti-communism, the Student Federation shut down a campus newspaper--the Trotskyist League demands that it be reopened immediately, with the reinstatement of the fired staffers.■

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Oct. 14 ...

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officially-sanctioned scabbing. The October 14 protest was one example; another was last fall's U. S. Ford strike. Such actions are called only to allow the ranks to blow off steam, and are always managed by the bureaucrats in such a way as to do the least damage to capitalist profits.

But for the bureaucrats' lapdog Dowson, the cause of the poor turnout on October 14 was not the treachery of the labor misleadership, but the backwardness of the Canadian working class. Dowson's friends in the CLC bureaucracy did their job, he claims, but the proletariat failed to respond due to "the confusion and resistance of many of the second-line leaders across the country to the CLC executive call to strike the factories and organize mass actions in the streets."

Forward whimpers that an excerpt from Trotsky's 1935 writings on the general strike which was printed in the June-July 1976 SC is "completely irrelevant" to the situation prior to October 14, because it deals with the general strike as a tactic to stop war. If Dowson set aside his copy of David Lewis' collected speeches long enough to actually read the reprinted passage, he might at least be better informed of its subject matter.

The section of Trotsky's "The ILP and the Fourth International" reprinted in SC discusses Engels' views on the general strike, as expressed in an 1898 letter to Karl Kautsky. Trotsky comments that:

"The parliamentarians and the trade unionists perceive at a given moment the need to provide

an outlet for the accumulated ire of the masses, or they are simply compelled to jump in step with a movement that has flared over their heads. In such cases they come scurrying through the backstairs to the Government and obtain the permission to head the general strike, this with the obligation to conclude it as soon as possible, without any damage being done to the state crockery."

He refers to examples of such general strikes "which have been provided in England, Belgium, France and some other countries."

Dowson seeks to dismiss Trotsky's analysis through lies. However, the outline presented by Trotsky of a bureaucratically-controlled general strike which is in fact nothing more than a large protest demonstration applies exactly to the October 14 action. Across the country, working-class anger at Trudeau's wage controls had been expressed in a whole series of localized strikes and protest demonstrations during the first half of 1976. October 14 was a sop by the bureaucrats to the militant ranks--whose "accumulated ire" threatened to spill over into even more massive protests.

Morris and Co. held a whole series of closet tête-à-têtes with the government, which were designed to assure the Liberals that any general strike would be only a brief, tightly-controlled protest. Once they had called the day of protest to give the militant ranks an outlet, the CLC chieftains did everything they could to sabotage the success of the strike, least it do a bit of "damage to the state crockery."

Dowson praises the CLC misleaders for calling a general strike which he considers a "turning point action in Canada's history." Many working-class militants did try to make the day of protest into something more than the tokenist work stoppage and parade which the bureaucrats wanted. Militants in Sept-Îles, Quebec, and other small towns across the country shut every industry down tight. Striking miners in Thompson, Manitoba, threw up barricades to prevent access to the mines. In Vancouver, roving pickets shut down the bus service in the face of prohibitive court injunctions.

But all of these militant actions occurred despite the opposition of the labor fakers. Dowson's pathetic excuses for Morris and Co. cannot disguise the fact that, since October 14, they have managed to deliberately dissipate the combativity of the working class. With little organized resistance (certainly not from the Socialist League!), Dennis McDermott has slapped auto workers with a sellout contract "in the spirit" of the wage controls. The CLC leaders have managed to stop most of the anti-controls strikes and demonstrations, and have channeled much of last year's class militancy into the reformist and class-collaborationist traps of reliance on the NDP and "tripartite" maneuvers.

Ross Dowson's attack on the supposed "ultra-leftists" on October 14 reveals only his own bankruptcy as an ostensible socialist. As a fawning

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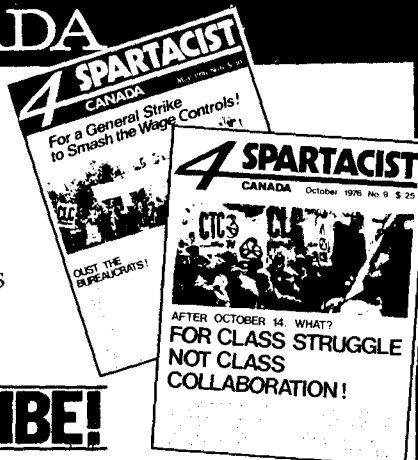
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SC ROSS DOWSON Labor Challenge

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE SUPPORTERS MARCH ON OCTOBER 14.

and obsequious senile hanger-on of the labor bureaucrats, he apologizes for Joe Morris' betrayals and slanders his left critics.

The real lesson of October 14 is the danger of reliance on a corrupt and criminal pro-capitalist misleadership which can only betray the working class.

While Dowson, to adapt the phrase of a one-time revolutionary, does the dirty work of the labor bureaucrats, the Trotskyist League continues its fight for a new class-struggle union leadership, and for a workers party to lead the proletariat to power. ■

RMG...

(continued from page 2)

USec majority leadership has undoubtedly played a major role in the RMG's decision to re-embrace the LSA (three international USec majority leaders were reportedly present at the New Year's plenum). However, the key factor permitting an RMG-LSA reunification has been the former's own rapid rightward degeneration--from left-centrism, to right-centrism, to the brink of reformism.

The ex-NDPers who run the RMG have no continuity with the left-centrist RCT forces which split the LSA in 1973, and thus are quite prepared to capitulate to the reformist LSA of today. The Quebec Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR), however, is still led by the same group of hard-line Pabloists (centered on Michel Mill) who waged a long and very bitter factional struggle against the LSA's Quebec wing (the LSO) in the 1960's and early 1970's. While the GMR has also expressed a willingness to participate in the fusion with the LSA/LSO, it is unlikely that Mill and Co. would go along with a fusion unless they retained control over the USec's Quebec operation (despite being in a "united" organization). Thus, in a completed trade-off, RMGers would swallow the "win the NDP to socialism" line and the LSA would run the USec's English-Canadian work, while the Mill wing would have bundist "autonomy" to run Quebec.

Such unprincipled combinationism and scotch-tape "unity" between reformists and centrists is the stock-in-trade of the USec. But four years ago, the RCT rejected just such "unity" with the ultra-reformist LSA when it split to form the RMG.

"Comrades," wrote future RMG leaders Bret Smiley and Walter Davis in 1973, "Luxemburg and

Liebknicht did not die at the hands of the social democrats so that we would give 'unconditional support' to the political grandchildren of their executioners" ("Social Democracy and the LSA," Discussion Bulletin No. 29, February 1973). As the RCT partially understood, the LSA is a venal and bureaucratic reformist organization, having more in common programmatically with Scheide-mann and Noske than with the great German revolutionaries. The RMG is welcome to its new-found home. We, however, pledge to continue the struggle to reforge the Trotskyist Fourth International, in order to defeat the working-class misleaders and lead the international proletariat to victory. ■

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Opposing Healy Slanders, Suppressing Workers Democracy

London Meeting: Fake-Trotskyist Family Reunion

(First printed in Workers Vanguard, 21 January 1977)

At a London meeting attended by some 1,500 people last Friday, Ernest Mandel, Pierre Lambert, Michel Pablo and representatives of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were to have shared the same platform for the first time in over 25 years. Behind the speakers was a banner proclaiming, "For Workers Democracy--Against Frame-Ups and Slanders," and the ostensible purpose of this reunion of renegades from Trotskyism was to condemn the outrageous accusation by Gerry Healy that SWP leaders Joe Hansen and George Novack were "accomplices of the GPU" in Stalin's 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky.

To be sure, Healy's disgusting slanders deserve nothing but utter contempt from revolutionists as they are manifestly absurd and groundless, and moreover, serve to fuel the Stalinist lie that Trotsky was murdered by "one of his own." But the main purpose of the meeting's organizers lay elsewhere. Planned at an October 1976 session of the "United" Secretariat (USec), at the same time as an abortive pact was worked out between the USec and the French OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste] (see "No Tango in Paris," Workers Vanguard No. 137, 10 December 1976), Friday's meeting provided a forum for the chieftains of the squabbling factions of competing revisionists masquerading as Trotskyists to publicly bury the hatchet.



GERRY HEALY AT LONDON USec MEETING



JOSEPH HANSEN



MICHEL PABLO

Much of the meeting was an orgy of indignation against Healy and his Stalinist practices, from gangster attacks against other leftists to pernicious cop-baiting and character assassination. Healy richly deserves the harshest condemnation for his venomous slanders and thuggery, but the ex-Trotskyist dignitaries who use his travesty of anti-revisionism to justify their own maneuvers have little to boast about as partisans of workers democracy.

Starring in the role of "saved" sinner and prodigal son was former Healy lackey Tim Wohlforth. After a dozen years as servile Gauleiter of American Healyism, Wohlforth was blackjacked by his master (and perforce accused of harboring a suspected "CIA agent"). Wohlforth, now a book reviewer for the SWP's *Militant*, appealed for sympathy because of the trials and tribulations he and his companion Nancy Fields faced after being dumped by Healy ("no one knocked on our door"). In the process he inadvertently revealed his own moral cowardice and total unfitness to be a revolutionary leader.

According to Wohlforth, the "hardest thing that I ever said in my life" was to get up in a meeting with Healy and say that he "disagreed with the proceedings." But this "disagreement" was not sufficient to prevent him from voting ("against my convictions") for his own removal as head of the Workers League. By his own testimony, then, Wohlforth demonstrates that he would have stood in the front ranks of the capitulators to Stalin in the 1920's. If he cannot stand up to Healy's blustering, how could he have resisted the onslaught of Stalin, who had the full resources of state power at his command, or the pressures exerted by the bourgeoisie?

YOU SCRATCH MY BACK,
I'LL SCRATCH YOURS

In the chummy atmosphere of a family reunion, the meeting also celebrated the "growth and vitality of the Fourth International." Mandel put it most clearly: the meeting was not called to refute Healy's vile frame-up, but "to defend the Fourth International through our solidarity with comrade Hansen and comrade Novack...because it needs defending."

The intervention by Lambert of the OCI--by far the most political of the evening--gently chided the USec majority for refusing to discuss with the OCI so long as the latter refused to characterize the Mandelites as "revolutionaries" (after all, he pointed out, terms such as "centrist" are a legitimate part of political debate among ostensible Marxists). But at the same time he abandoned the OCI's anti-Pabloist tradition and accepted the USec's ultimatum by several times pointedly referring to this gang of revisionists as "the Fourth International."

Lambert went out of his way to imply that the OCI had never considered the Socialist Workers Party as anything but revolutionary. He claimed that in 1963 when Healy characterized the SWP as centrist the OCI had rejected this label. This bald assertion cannot alter the fact that during the late 1960's and early 1970's the OCI referred to the SWP as "revi-



PIERRE LAMBERT

Workers Vanguard

sionist." Moreover, in 1962 Healy had split the Revolutionary Tendency (RT--predecessor of the Spartacist League/U. S.) of the SWP when the RT majority refused to sign his dictated statement avowing that the SWP was revolutionary and not centrist.

Mandel in his closing speech returned Lambert's compliment, stating that he must "give credit where credit is due" and praising the OCI for having played "an excellent, excellent leading role" in the campaign to free Leonid Plyushch and to defend other left dissidents in the Soviet Union. Referring to the liberation of Plyushch last February, Mandel assimilated the OCI to the USec by triumphantly proclaiming "we got him out."

Michel Pablo, the dean of anti-Trotskyist revisionism, did not show up, no doubt to the secret relief of Mandel and Lambert, since Pablo no longer maintains any pretense of Trotskyism or adherence to the Fourth International and might therefore give the game away. His message read at the meeting was in many ways the frankest of all. He disparagingly referred to "this nasty quarrel" which was "symptomatic of a certain ideological decomposition in the movement of epigones, who have not succeeded in linking themselves up seriously with the natural movement of the class." But after denouncing the "exacerbated sectarianism of the sects," in the spirit of the evening he went on to propose "our common task" which was to "search with the utmost determination for what can unite us and not to divide ourselves." All that was necessary, said Pablo, was a "common program which corresponds to the current necessities."

The speakers wholeheartedly took up Pablo's admonition. Lambert declared that he did not wish to discuss "who was correct" in 1953, when Pablo caused the split and destruction of the Fourth International with his liquidationist program of "deep centrism" in the Stalinist and social-democratic

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LONDON MEETING...

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mass reformist parties. Mandel, recalling Pablo's 1950's talk of a "new world reality" in which the Stalinists could no longer betray, discerned that "Euro-communism" has introduced "new and tremendously vulnerable elements of division" into world Stalinism, which can have "fairly big effects in favor of Trotskyism." He therefore proposed that "all comrades present here, of all different tendencies, factions and organizations," undertake a "common political campaign" to "ask" the European Stalinists to "immediately, openly and publicly rehabilitate all the victims of Stalin, all the victims of the Moscow trials," and to call on the Spanish Communist Party to expel Trotsky's assassin! After all, "It can't hurt to ask?"!

Following hard on the USec's prostration before a new wave of popular-frontism in Europe and Latin America, Mandel is proposing a "broad front" of the "family of Trotskyism" to fight "what remains [his emphasis] of the poison of Stalinism today in the working-class movement, in the Communist parties and the trade-union organizations" in Europe. As the Stalinists seek to prove their reliability to the imperialist bourgeoisies, in classic Pabloist fashion Mandel capitulates to their talk of classless "democracy" rather than exposing its pro-capitalist essence. Is he preparing for entrism in the "Euro-communist" parties?

WORKERS DEMOCRACY OR BUREAUCRATIC SUPPRESSION?

Any remaining doubts concerning the real purpose of the meeting were dispelled after the scheduled speakers had finished. As chairman Tariq Ali was announcing the end of the proceedings, Gerry Healy rose from the audience and demanded speaking time to answer the chorus of attackers. All serious defenders of workers democracy--purportedly the central theme of the meeting--would have wanted Healy to speak, but Ali, with the practised sleight-of-hand of union bureaucrats and shell game operators, called for an immediate vote amidst the uproar, then declared that "workers democracy" had upheld him. As Healy continued to protest, with considerable support among the audience, the chair demagogically silenced him by bursting into the Internationale to close the meeting.

This outrageous violation of elementary workers democracy--at a meeting allegedly called precisely in order to defend it--again exposes the USec's rotten bureaucratic maneuvers. Moreover, it is only because the decomposition of the "United" Secretariat has reached such a point that it barely exists that this meeting was held at all. Today Mandel and Lambert exchange compliments on the podium and defend the integrity of Hansen and Novack; but when the SWP first sought statements denouncing Healy's slanders a year and a half ago, it took Mandel & Co. quite a while before coming up with a statement.

None of the organizers of this meeting are true defenders of workers democracy or of the Fourth International. The OCI systematically uses thug



ERNEST MANDEL AND TARIQ ALI

Workers Vanguard

violence against its ostensibly Trotskyist opponents on the left. Pablo and his acolytes (today the Mandelite USec majority) refused to defend the Chinese Trotskyists jailed by Mao in 1949-51, slandering them as "refugees from a revolution" for their courageous defense of proletarian democracy against the bureaucratic Stalinist regime. As for the SWP, it responded to Castro's jailing of the Cuban Trotskyists by remarking, in the words of Barry Sheppard, now SWP national secretary, "There are Trotskyists and there are Trotskyists. But if I were in Cuba, I wouldn't be arrested."

While the USec and OCI use Healy's despicable slanders as a convenient excuse for a reunion of the "family" of ex-Trotskyists, the international Spartacist tendency insisted that a genuine and principled programmatic regroupment of authentic Trotskyists can come about only through hard, open debate. A leaflet distributed at the meeting by the London Spartacist Group--co-signed by the iSt, the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile and the Trotskyist Faction (expelled) of the German Spartacusbund--pointed out that "The real political issues which place all these squabbling slander-mongering, violence-prone elements at one pole and the iSt at the other are currently posed by two decisive considerations: the popular front and the Fourth International."

Exposing the speakers' false pretensions to defending workers democracy, the leaflet explained that behind this lay their capitulation to reformist programs of class collaboration. It concluded, "without the struggle to create a programmatically united and disciplined Fourth International the workers are left to wander into the new traps of capital ... with the assistance of their revisionist would-be 'leaders'." Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Kitimat...

(continued from page 16)

funct) Western Voice newspaper, CCU affiliates have succeeded in gaining a small toehold in the organized union movement. Today over half of the CCU's membership is concentrated in B. C., particularly in small single-industry towns in the provincial interior.

WORKERS' SOLIDARITY-- BUREAUCRATS' BETRAYAL

Due largely to the publicity efforts of right-wing Vancouver-based Maoists, the CCU has developed (and sought to cultivate) an image as a "militant" alternative to the highly bureaucratized international unions in the Canadian Labour Congress. The raison d'être of the "independent" Canadian union movement is ostensibly to create more democratic and combative unions outside the bureaucratic control of the American-dominated Internationals. This reactionary-nationalist strategy serves only to divide North American proletarians in the face of their common class enemy. Instead of fighting for national-reformist breakaways, militant unionists should struggle to forge a new, class-struggle leadership for the entire North American labor movement.

Furthermore, the leaders of the breakaway unions affiliated to the CCU are no more "militant" and "democratic" than their more solidly entrenched confrères in the CLC bureaucracy--as was graphically illustrated during the Kitimat strike. The CASAW strikers heroically stood up to the combined might of the company/government/LRB/AIB assault, while unionists from across the country expressed their support. In an inspiring display of proletarian solidarity, Alcan strikers in Quebec flew eight of their number into Kitimat to help man the picket lines. Yet neither the CLC nor the CCU bureaucracy lifted a finger to concretely aid the strike. In fact, both CLC and CCU leaders actively collaborated with the government to smash the strike and victimize the strikers.

LABOR BUREAUCRATS POLICE THE UNIONS

When the last CLC convention issued its tripartite proposals--a call for a federal Labor Relations Board writ large--the CCU chieftains considered Joe Morris' scheme for "social corporatism" to be somewhat "inopportune." However, this did not temper their enthusiasm for participating on the various provincial government boards alongside CLC bureaucrats, government and management representatives. In Ontario, the CCU has long been courting bourgeois "respectability" through a seat on the Ontario LRB. In B. C. it was successful in achieving such representation, despite the objection of CLC-affiliated unions. In April 1975 NDP Labor Minister Bill King appointed Peter Cameron, re-

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gional vice-president of the Canadian Association of Industrial, Mechanical and Allied Workers (CAIMAW), to the LRB. King avowed that the appointment of Cameron was made "on the basis of his individual abilities." (Vancouver Sun, 19 April 1975).

Why is a right-wing social-democratic strike-breaker like Bill King so enamoured of the "abilities" of a reputedly militant union leader? A sample was provided in August 1976, when Cameron voted with the rest of the LRB that Pacific Press, publisher of Vancouver's two daily newspapers, should not pay its employees the full increase they had won in a contract settlement. Instead, argued Cameron and the LRB, the company was entitled to withhold payment in excess of the wage-control ceiling until the AIB could rule on the case. After all, moaned Peter, "Pacific Press could be liable for up to \$2 million" (Vancouver Province, 25 August 1976)!

When Stalinists join a bourgeois government they are often made ministers of labor--what Trotsky called "the traditional post of a hostage"--the better to dupe and control the working class. Playing a similar role, former labor leaders Jack Moore

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Kitimat...

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(of the International Woodworkers of America) and Angus MacDonald (of the Steelworkers) were the first LRB officials sent to Kitimat to issue back-to-work injunctions against the strikers. And the CCU's Peter Cameron went along with every suspension order and penalty that the LRB imposed on CASAW--a member of his own union federation! Cameron balked only at the repayment guarantee; but even this was not sufficient cause for the rising young bureaucrat of "independent" Canadian unionism to resign his post. In the end,

"Cameron reluctantly upheld the obligation on the grounds that board orders are at least better than court involvement in labor disputes, and therefore some penalty is necessary for defiance [in order] to lend credibility to the LRB."

--Vancouver Sun, 27 November 1976

"Lending credibility to the LRB" means lending credibility to the capitalist state, for the "neutral" LRB is in fact nothing but an extension of the bourgeois court system. Its purpose is identical: to protect bourgeois property relations, to protect capital against labor, and to give the illusion of "impartiality."

The LRB was established by the former B. C. NDP government in order to relieve the courts of some of their time-consuming labor cases, and to create the illusion that "labor's government" was offering a forum where the unions could get a "fair hearing." Except for the fact that LRB rulings are made not by judges but by lawyers and ambitious bureaucrats, the LRB differs little from a court; many legal powers are shared, overlapping or transferrable, and the LRB rulings are backed up by court enforcement. The bourgeois state does not so easily give up its powers as would-be "militant" Peter Cameron might like to think.

PETER CAMERON'S LRB("M-L")?

But the sordid story of Peter Cameron does not end there. For, besides holding posts in CAIMAW and on the LRB, Cameron is also a former member of the Maoist Progressive Workers Movement (PWM), and remains today a reputed sympathizer of a Maoist collective which issued out of the demise of PWM and the Western Voice! Even while enforcing "industrial peace" in consort with pulp magnates and Social Credit government bureaucrats, Cameron continues to posture as a "Marxist-Leninist."

In a polemic against an assessment of the Kitimat strike written by two other Vancouver Maoist collectives, the Red Star Collective (RSC, a group whose most prominent spokesman is former PWM leader Jack Scott) argues that to characterize the CCU leaders as "class traitors," or even "opportunists," is fundamentally wrong. This is not sur-

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prising, for among the CCU leaders so characterized are several members of the RSC!

The RSC polemic (printed in the November 24 and December 9 issues of In Struggle! and subsequently endorsed by that organization) goes from defending the CCU tops to opposing the strike at Kitimat. The RSC's grounds are that the strike was "adventurist" and would only damage the Canadian union movement in the eyes of Canadian workers. Both in the pages of In Struggle! and at a strike-support meeting held in Vancouver last June, the RSC argued that the demand to reopen the contract was unwinnable, that the workers themselves had not specifically requested support, that the union had plenty of money in the bank anyway, and that if people "were determined to do strike-support work," they should support a luggage-handlers strike going on in Vancouver at the same time, and not the Kitimat walkout.

The devil can quote scripture; and it is under a cloud of pseudo-Leninist rhetoric, patiently explaining that "economic struggle is not revolutionary struggle," that the RSC tries to pass off its groveling capitulation and betrayal as "the proletarian line." Much of the RSC's polemic is devoted to a sickening justification of CAIMAW's and the CCU's opposition to the Kitimat struggle, and to cynical glorification of the "revolutionary" potential of breakaway unions. Glibly we are assured that "had there been any potential for the Kitimat strike to be the catalyst that would stir the CLC into mobilizing a general strike, the CCU would have done everything it could to promote this"! Coming to the defense of the "basically honest" CCU leaders, the RSC warns that we must not "turn friends into enemies." One can only answer that with "friends" like Peter Cameron, the Kitimat strikers hardly need enemies.

Militants must denounce the treachery of the labor bureaucracy--both CLC and CCU--and call for the rescinding of all penalties levelled against the militant Kitimat strikers, and for the abolition of the anti-labor LRB. The way forward for the North American proletariat does not lie through trade-union nationalism and parochialism. Rather, international proletarian unity can only be forged through united and democratic industrial unions. Only a workers government throughout North America can put an end, once and for all, to anti-labor attacks.■

"People's" China...

(continued from page 1)

North American mouthpieces for the current thinking of the Chinese bureaucracy (perhaps only Richard Nixon receives more inside information!). His discourse on the evils of Chiang Ching attracted an overflow audience of several hundred, making it the largest Maoist meeting in Toronto in years.

The occasion of his speech provided the various Canadian Maoist groups with a perfect opportunity both to hear and to comment on the political line of Mao's heirs in the Forbidden Palace. Yet, with the exception of a single supporter of the tiny Bolshevik Union (BU), none of the several Maoist organizations ventured to speak during the discussion period. While other groups attended the meeting incognito, only members of CCL(M-L) even attempted to sell their press--but they too had nothing to say after Hinton's talk. As the purges and rehabilitations escalate, a great deal of fancy footwork is needed to keep pace with Peking's line changes. Rather than risk denouncing tomorrow's resurrected "revolutionary" or hailing a future "capitalist roader," the Maoists preferred to learn their lessons in silence.

While Hinton justified the crimes of Peking's current in-crowd and the organized Maoists sat on their hands, speakers from the Trotskyist League took the floor during the discussion to point out that all the bureaucratic cliques in China stand on qualitatively identical anti-working-class programs. Mao, Teng, Hua and Chiang alike have supported China's counterrevolutionary alliance with U. S. imperialism and a host of tinpot dictatorships against the "number one superpower," the Soviet Union. As mindless Mao-sycophants hooted and catcalled, TL spokesmen showed how all the bureaucrats are hostile to the struggles of the Chinese proletariat. Only their overthrow through proletarian political revolution can truly defend the gains of the Chinese revolution and transform China into a bastion of workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

In the course of his talk Hinton entertained his

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CHINESE WALL-POSTER DEPICTS "GANG OF FOUR" Der Spiegel

audience with horror stories of the moral degeneracy and bureaucratic excesses of the Chiang and her purged clique. The accusation that Chiang, on a visit to a state farm in 1970, demanded that all motor vehicles delivering things to her be stopped and pushed the final fifteen kilometers was hailed by Hinton as dramatic evidence of her aspiration to be a feudal aristocrat. Corrupted by such "dirty foreign films" as *The Sound of Music* Chiang even had to be dragged from a poker game to go to her great husband's deathbed. Upon arriving, she proceeded to hasten Mao's death by her constant bickering.

One might wonder how these crimes threatened a nation of 800 million people with the restoration of capitalism. Yet Hinton went so far as to assert that if Chiang and her cohorts had come out on top in the current power struggle, there would be a fascist dictatorship in China! How did these future fuehrers come to hold top posts in the bureaucracy? Hinton claims that Mao put the four in the leadership in order to "expose" them. That's two line struggle for you!

BUT WHICH ROAD LEADS TO CAPITALISM?

Leading off the discussion period, Trotskyist League spokesman Murray Smith demolished the myth that the Hua-Chiang clique war was an example of "class struggle" against would-be bourgeois elements. Last April, *Peking Review* claimed that Teng Hsiao-ping provoked the riots in Peking's Tien An Men square in order to stage a coup and restore capitalism. Now, Hinton tells us that Teng was really a "Marxist-Leninist," while the "gang of four" were the real "capitalist roaders." Only in the magical world of Maoist "dialectics" do con-

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"People's" China...

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tending forces change their class character so frequently!

In response, Hinton claimed that Peking Review had erred in the past, because it had fallen under the editorial control of the nefarious Chiang Ching. But, he added, the Chinese masses studied the "gang's" views and, with the infallible aid of Mao Tse-tung Thought, rebelled against them. (If only Western Maoists had known the truth: that the journal they so faithfully parroted for years was in fact promoting a return to capitalism!)

Other TL speakers took up Hinton's remarks: if the Chinese masses are so encouraged to express their political views, then where are their soviets, their organs of democratic rule? What about the real crimes of Mrs. Mao--how she smashed strikes and promoted detente with American warmongers? The crimes of Chiang Ching are the crimes of the entire Chinese bureaucracy, which will not be undone through clique warfare or simple reform, but through working-class political revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party.

LSA PLAYS MORALIST, RMG PLAYS MUSICAL CHAIRS

Spokesmen for the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA), an organization which makes an occasional pretense of Trotskyism, sought to pose as the best liberal moralists at the meeting. An LSA member unassumingly asked Hinton to explain why Chiang had not come under criticism earlier for her opulent lifestyle. (Hinton replied that while knowledge of her promiscuous excesses was widespread it takes time to expose those on the "capitalist road").

After some initial hesitation, Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) "China watcher" Wally Seccombe walked to the microphone to intervene for his organization. But when Bolshevik Union spokesman Dennis Stover rose to question Hinton as to whether he would be loyally supporting the "gang of four" if they had won, Seccombe slapped his knee in approval.... and sat back down again!

Seccombe later complained privately that the Trotskyist League's analysis of China was "crude" and "vulgar." Of course the RMG had no "analysis" to offer the audience--apparently being satisfied

to let its future fusion partners in the LSA speak for it and to tail behind the left-posturing Stalinists of the BU.

The RMG's international mentors in the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) have a long and sordid record of supporting one anti-working-class clique or other in Chinese intra-bureaucratic warfare. Ten years ago, when Mao, Chiang and the Red Guards teamed up with Lin Piao's army to do battle with Lui Shao-chi and Teng in the Cultural Revolution, the USec dubbed Mao a "centrist" and supported his faction. Today, with pro-Mao Stalinists threatening to break with China over the purge of Chiang, the RMG seeks to avoid the "vulgarity" of polemicizing against Mao's own betrayals.


Eventually, Seccombe thought again about speaking, and wandered back to the microphone. However, before he could speak, the discussion period was bureaucratically closed by the chair. The latter apparently felt that Trotskyist League speakers were asking too many telling questions for even an experienced Stalinist hack like Hinton to handle. (Of course, the RMG offered no protest.)

APOLOGISTS FOR BETRAYAL

One question Hinton did, however, manage to answer was whether China would support the United States in a war against the Soviet Union. His answer: yes, and North American Maoists should do the same.

At least some of the assembled, silent Maoists who heard Hinton's reply must have felt a pang of conscience at this blatant espousal of real "social imperialism" as Lenin used the term, namely support for one's imperialist bourgeoisie, from a verified Peking mouthpiece. The road from New Leftism to "Marxism-Leninism" à la Henry Kissinger has not been very long for those Maoists who became radicals during the middle and late 1960's. Many of them undoubtedly came to Maoism out of hostility toward the mindless apologists for betrayal who parade as spokesmen for the pro-Moscow Communist parties.

Today, these Maoists can see their future in the person of William Hinton--a cynical, bootlicking apologist for the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Maoists who seriously aspire to make a proletarian revolution in North America must break with Stalinism and adopt the program of Trotskyism--the only program that can lead the international proletariat to victory. ■

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the road from maoism to trotskyism

TORONTO, January 22--About 40 people attended a Trotskyist League forum here tonight to hear speakers from the TL and the Spartacus Youth League/U. S. (SYL) discuss Maoism and the current situation in China.

The featured guest speaker was Irène Gardner of the SYL National Bureau, a former member of a Los Angeles Maoist group known as the Communist Working Collective (CWC). Beginning with specific and limited criticisms of aspects of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" (in particular, they rejected the application of Mao's "two-stage" theory of revolution to the United States), the CWC went through a process of internal study and discussion leading to a complete break with Maoism in 1971.

Comrade Gardner related how the members of the CWC came to realize that the positions they now held were the positions of Trotskyism--a rather traumatic experience for those well schooled by the Stalinist slander that Trotskyists are police spies, fascists, agents of Hitler, and the like. She recounted the relations the CWC had with another Los Angeles Maoist collective, led by Mike Klonsky, which sought unsuccessfully to dissuade the CWC from its in-depth study of the Stalin-Trotsky debates. Faced with the CWC's evolution away from servile groveling before China toward authentic Leninist proletarian internationalism, Klonsky and Co. could only express disbelief that anyone would willingly "lose China."

While the CWC went on to fuse with the Spartacist League/U. S. in late 1971, Klonsky's group "kept China." It evolved into the October League, an organization which in recent years has been one of the most abject American apologists for Peking's betrayals--from supporting the Shah of Iran and Yahya Khan to defending NATO, the imperialists' military bulwark against the Soviet "superpower." In Canada, the OL receives repeated laudatory mentions in the pages of The Forge, paper of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist), an organization which also lavishes praise on such worthy objects as the bourgeois Canadian army.

D. Leonard, speaking on behalf of the Trotskyist League, followed Comrade Gardner by presenting a Leninist analysis of the situation in China since the death of Mao. Asserting that the present struggle is a fight between bureaucratic cliques, she demonstrated how all the contending factions of the Chinese bureaucracy are hostile to the independent interests of the Chinese working masses.

When a participant in the discussion period sought to defend Chairman Hua's "moderates" by claiming

that the "ultraleftism" of the "gang of four" threatened to undermine the stability of China, several TL supporters responded with examples demonstrating the fundamental programmatic identity between the "radicals" and "moderates." One cited an incident from the summer of 1975, when striking workers shut down the textile center of Hangchow, near Shanghai. The bureaucracy first dispatched "radical" Wang Hung-wen to end the strike. When he failed to do so, "moderate" Teng Hsiao-ping led a Red Army detachment in to finish the assignment.

While two members of the Maoist Bolshevik Union (BU) sold copies of their journal, Lines of Demarcation, outside the forum, they crept away upon being challenged to enter and defend their positions during the discussion period. (Left unexplained was why the BU deigns even to stand outside Trotskyist meetings, hawking literature to supposed "counter-revolutionaries.")

The BU's position on the current squabbling in the Heavenly Palace is summed up in an article (tacitly backing the "gang of four") which exhorts fellow Maoists to "Combat Cynicism About Recent Events in China!" As TLers pointed out at the forum, it is rather hard for a Maoist not to be cynical these days, what with Mao's heirs taking knives to each other's throats while urging their followers in capitalist countries to unite with their own bourgeoisie. Maoists seeking a way out of the endless spiral of class-collaborationist reformism and revolving-door purges in Peking would do well to look to the experience of the CWC. The road from Maoism to Trotskyism is the road to authentic Leninism, the only revolutionary program for the imperialist epoch.■

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MILITANT KITIMAT STRIKERS STABBED IN THE BACK

Rescind the Penalties- Abolish the LRB !

In a particularly vicious example of government-backed strikebreaking, the Aluminum Company of Canada (Alcan) is trying to destroy a union in Kitimat, British Columbia. Alcan's chief assistant has been the B. C. Labor Relations Board (LRB), a tripartite government board established three years ago by Dave Barrett's New Democratic Party provincial government to police labor disputes. Among the LRB's "reluctant" accomplices have been leaders of reputedly "militant" breakaway Canadian-nationalist unions, along with assorted "communists" in B. C. Maoist collectives.

The union is the Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW), formed through a raid on the United Steelworkers of America in the late 1960's. In June 1976, CASAW's only local, the 1,800 workers at Alcan's smelter in Kitimat, conducted a militant eighteen-day wildcat strike in defiance of Anti-Inflation Board wage-control guidelines and LRB injunctions. The aim of the strike was to reopen the union's previous contract, in order to pull it into line with a higher wage settlement received by employees of another Kitimat plant.

Militant CASAW ranks rejected the recommendation of their executive to return to work, and defied three separate back-to-work orders from the LRB in order to continue their strike. The plant was able to keep up partial operations only through the use of scab and supervisory personnel flown in from another Alcan plant in Arvida, Quebec, which was also on strike at the time.

The strike was finally broken by a massive early morning RCMP assault on the picket line (which had been declared illegal by the LRB). When the unionists were finally forced back to work, the LRB imposed heavy punitive measures on CASAW and on individual workers. In addition to suspensions of up to six months' duration which had already been imposed, the union had to accept two further penalties, or else Alcan would be free to fire whomever it pleased in retaliation for the walkout. First, the LRB paid homage to the days of feudal serfdom by demanding that a number of strike leaders donate ten days' free labor to the company in compensation for losses incurred during the strike. Further, workers who had received money from the union while they were under company suspension in the post-strike period had to give legal guarantees that it would be repaid. The LRB ordered this blatant interference into the union's internal affairs because



KITIMAT, JULY 1976: RIOT-EQUIPPED RCMP COPS PREPARE EARLY-MORNING ASSAULT ON CASAW'S PICKET LINE.

it felt the money given the disciplined workers by the union turned their suspensions into "paid vacations."

The CASAW leadership recommended acceptance of these humiliating and financially overwhelming penalties, in the interest of "keeping the union together." Of the workers affected, only one has refused to comply with either penalty, and he has been fired. Thirty-five others have refused to comply with the forced repayment to the union, and they have been suspended. Alcan has topped off the massive attack on this tiny union by launching a \$1.3 million damage suit against CASAW and three of its leaders.

CASAW is an affiliate of the 30,000-member Council of Canadian Unions (CCU), a labor central which was formed primarily through raiding operations against affiliates of international unions like the Steelworkers. Outside British Columbia, the CCU's weight in the labor movement is negligible. In B. C., however, thanks in large measure to the efforts of economist, nationalist Maoists around the (now de-

(continued on page 11)