

# SPARTACIST

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## ONTARIO GOV'T BREAKS TEACHERS' STRIKE

The longest teachers' strike in Ontario's history ended on January 12 as teachers returned to work following the Ontario Legislature's passage of strikebreaking legislation. The legislation imposes compulsory arbitration on the dispute between the 8,600 striking Metro Toronto high school teachers and Toronto school boards, providing additionally for a two-year settlement and cancellation of ten teacher "professional development days" to allow students "to make up for lost time."

The strike, which began on November 12, signified a new militancy on the part of Metro teachers and their increased self-identification with the organized labor movement. Following the defeat of the postal strike, the teachers' strike was seen as a focal point in the struggle against the federal government's incomes policy. The end of the strike must be viewed as another defeat for the labor movement in the face of the bourgeois state's anti-labor offensive.

Despite the militancy of the teacher rank and file (members of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation--OSSTF), expressed in the 5,000-strong demonstration at the Ontario Legislature on December 11 and the January 5 Metro-wide mass meeting where the school board's final contract offer was overwhelmingly rejected, the OSSTF embarked upon the strike ill-prepared for the many-sided struggle that was required to win a victory. Responsibility for this rests with the provincial executive council of the Federation. As late as early January, the provincial executive recommended a 75 percent return-to-work in order to "finance the strike," a proposal so clearly disastrous in its consequences that it was overwhelmingly rejected by Metro teachers, despite



## Over 2200 March Against Cutbacks

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## Origins of Canadian Pabloism...

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their concern over depletion of the strike fund.

Such no-win policies were evident from the beginning of the strike. The leadership's wholehearted support for the Hartt "fact-finding" report, whose provisions (which would have simply brought Metro high school teachers wage parity with their counterparts in 22 other Ontario districts) fell far behind the teachers' original contract proposals; the leadership's failure to mobilize for a Metro-wide teachers' strike involving primary- and parochial-school teachers; and, perhaps most

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importantly, its failure to challenge the blatantly anti-labor provisions of the School Boards and Teachers Collective Negotiations Act (Bill 100) left the OSSTF rank and file in a very weak position to prosecute their struggle.

The back-to-work legislation imposed on the OSSTF is ominous in its implications for all Ontario workers, particularly in the context of Trudeau's "new society" wage-controls policy. In December, the Anti-Inflation Board (AIB) headed by Jean-Luc P  pin "ruled" that not only was the contract proposal of the Hartt fact-finding board "unacceptable," but so was the offer of the Toronto school board. This ruling was obviously a propaganda move on the part of the federal government to intimidate and demoralize the teachers into supporting a back-to-work movement. It was given credibility by the Davis government which for the first time acknowledged the jurisdiction of the AIB over provincial employees. It was in response to this maneuver that the OSSTF organized the December 11 mass demonstration at Queen's Park.

against Bill 100--which provided all along for government intervention into the strike and the termination of the collective bargaining rights of Ontario teachers. This legislation was greeted last July as a major "victory" for teachers, the culmination of a years-long struggle to win the right to strike. But it provided among other things for an Educational Relations Commission (ERC) that could recommend to the government to call an end to a strike, set up a fact-finding commission with access to union information, and conduct union votes on contract offers. Moreover, it provided for principal and vice-principal (i. e., management) membership in the union and prevented the right to strike during the life of a contract.


Under such terms, it is virtually impossible for any teachers union or association to win a strike. All that a school board must do in order to win a dispute is to wait it out until the ERC declares that the strike is a detriment to the "public interest."

NDP: MUCH CONFIDENCE  
IN THE CONSERVATIVES

The official opposition in the Ontario Legislature, the social-democratic New Democratic Party, supported "in principle" the back-to-work legislation, despite its pretension to being a staunch defender of another "principle," that of collective bargaining. In explaining the NDP's treacherous amendments to the legislation, Stephen Lewis stated: "We want to have the schools open, but preserve the collective bargaining process... that the teachers be given the guarantee of the last board offer as a floor [to ensure] a serious element of fairness" (Globe and Mail, 16 January).

Lewis' sleight of hand cannot conceal the incompatibility of collective bargaining with government strikebreaking and compulsory arbitration. While voting against the final, unamended, bill, the NDP never took a stand squarely behind the striking teachers. This behavior should surprise no one. The NDP, after all, was a staunch supporter of Bill 100 and throughout the strike called upon teachers to compromise on their contract demands in the interests of re-opening the schools as quickly as possible. Moreover, along with Liberal leader Nixon, Lewis opposed the Davis government's acceptance of the AIB's jurisdiction over the teachers by calling instead for a provincial counterpart to it!: "It seems to us... that we must have and should have a provincial anti-inflation board where, if necessary, tough decisions could be made with our own provincial public sector, but they would not be handled so crudely and so ineptly as was discharged by Jean-Luc P  pin on Friday last" (quoted in Labor Challenge, 15 December).

Lewis' obvious stated confidence in the minority Davis government's ability to avoid such "excesses" goes hand in hand with the NDP's policy, as official opposition, of "relating constructively"



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#### BILL 100: LETHAL "VICTORY" FOR TEACHERS

While the mass demonstration was a militant and useful tactic in showing opposition to the AIB and the massive anti-teacher propaganda campaign mounted by the federal and provincial governments, the school boards and the mass media, the fight that should have been made first was the fight



THE SPIRITED MILITANCY OF THE TEACHER RANK AND FILE DURING THE STRIKE (AS SHOWN HERE AT THE DECEMBER STRIKE VOTE MEETING AT MAPLE LEAF GARDENS) WAS DISSIPATED BY THE NO-WIN POLICIES OF THE OSSTF BUREAUCRATS.

to the Conservatives. The NDP's policy of "making the minority government work" included its voting confidence in the government in December, rather than seeking to bring it down ("who wants to burden people with elections at Christmas time," said the sensitive Lewis)--an act in keeping with its policy of participating in "corridor coalitions" with bourgeois parties. Lewis' position on government "anti-inflation" boards is a clear betrayal of even his own party's verbal opposition to Trudeau's wage controls. And considering the record of the Ontario government over the last few years, including its most recent proposals to further slash the province's educational budget (see article, this issue), there is every reason to believe that an Ontario "anti-inflation" board would be just as ruthless as P  pin's.

#### LSA LIQUIDATES INTO NDP TEACHERS' CAUCUS

The only self-proclaimed "revolutionary" organization with any kind of influence in the OSSTF,

the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA), made no substantial criticisms of the OSSTF tops throughout the strike, except to suggest that more "mass actions" be mounted against the provincial government. Like the bureaucracy, LSA supporters failed to point out the need for a struggle against Bill 100 and at no point called for a Metro-wide strike of all teachers.

Enthusiastically uncritical of the Hartt report, the LSA was incapable of differentiating itself from the OSSTF tops even on the issue of open negotiations and democratic discussion at the mass rallies. Instead of attempting to build a class-struggle opposition within the OSSTF, LSA supporters have gone from building a rank-and-file economist caucus (last year) to liquidating into an NDP caucus (this year). At public forums, the LSA has pointed out to teachers that their struggle must acquire a political direction, i. e., OSSTF must affiliate to the NDP and actively work to elect an NDP government, which, presumably, would draft less "crude and inept" strikebreaking legislation than the Tories.

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# Angola

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**TORONTO**

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Despite its claim to programmatically support teacher-student-worker control of the schools, the LSA never mentions this in its teacher-oriented propaganda. The loyal waterboy of the OSSTF bureaucracy and the NDP, the LSA is incapable of posing a class-struggle program and strategy for Ontario teachers.

Pockets of defiant strike action for settlements in excess of the government's wage ceiling continue-- notably among members of the Canadian Paperworkers Union, whose Ontario section recently voted to remain on strike until assured that the AIB will not move to roll back any contract settlement in excess of the 10 percent maximum increase. The most important tests for labor action against Trudeau's incomes policy are still to come, with negotiations pending in rail, auto and among Quebec's volatile public employees.

Yet every major confrontation which has come directly up against the wage controls to date--from postal workers to the teachers--has gone down to defeat, thanks to an almost total lack of support from the rest of the labor movement coupled with no-win, business-unionist policies on the part of the leaderships of the unions involved.

The solution is not to be found in more "militant" economism or more "consistent" support to social-democratic cretinism, as fakers like the LSA would have Toronto teachers believe. Rather OSSTF members, along with unionists throughout the rest of the labor movement, must take up the fight to oust the bureaucrats and forge a new leadership for the working class based on a class-struggle program to point the way to workers power. ■

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### • Letter

Sydney  
16 October 1975

Greetings on the formation of the Trotskyist League of Canada! Greetings to Spartacist Canada!

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand welcomes a new sympathising section of the international Spartacist tendency and a new organ of Marxist propaganda. The struggles against Pabloism (particularly as found in the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group) which led to your emergence constitute an important episode in the ongoing fight to reforge the Fourth International as the instrument of world proletarian revolution. The regroupment of forces in the Trotskyist League of Canada and the establishment of Spartacist Canada prepares the way for new and more decisive struggles!

Spartacist League of  
Australia and  
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# For a labor-student mobilization against cutbacks and wage controls!

TORONTO, 21 January--More than 2,200 students from across Southern Ontario rallied here today to protest provincial cutbacks in educational spending. The day's activities--including a mass rally at the University of Toronto, followed by a march on the Ontario Legislature--were initiated by the Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) and endorsed by various other student organizations around the province. Contingents of students arrived by bus from as far away as Ottawa (300 students from Carleton University) to attend the protest actions.

The primary focus of the rally was opposition to the provincial Henderson Report, tabled in the Legislature by Provincial Treasurer Darcy McKeough last November, which makes sweeping recommendations to slash the provincial budget at the expense of students, women, the unemployed and public sector workers. In addition to urging massive cuts in hospital spending and the civil service, the report recommends severe reductions in financial allocations to colleges and universities.

Unabashedly reversing the government's past lip service to the "ideal" of universal accessibility to

higher education, the report is premised on the notion that students should be shouldering much more of the financial burden of their education. Stripped of its mystification concerning individual responsibility and choice, the proposal boils down to the sharply class-biased view that working-class, lower-petty-bourgeois and poor youth will have to forego the "privilege" of education and its subsequent material/social benefits in these capitalist-created hard times, while their wealthier schoolmates will continue their education as usual.

Specifically, the Henderson Report suggests a draconian 65 percent increase in tuition fees and the elimination of the grant portion of the Ontario Student Assistance Programme (OSAP). The Ontario government has already indicated to Ottawa that it intends to replace OSAP with an "incomes contingency repayment" scheme which will force poorer students into massive debt if they choose to pursue a post-secondary education. The debt would be repaid through automatic deductions from wages after graduation.

The Henderson Report's recommendations are an  
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STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST CUTBACKS AT THE ONTARIO LEGISLATURE, JANUARY 21.

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outrage--but its provisions comprise only a small part of the series of attacks the capitalist class is unleashing on those it exploits and oppresses in the depths of the economic crisis. The cutbacks in education and social services in every province, the elimination of federal "make-work" schemes (e. g., Opportunities for Youth), new tougher immigration laws, widespread layoffs, government wage controls and strikebreaking are all designed to sow internal discord among the oppressed and drive down the living standards of workers in order to bolster Canadian capital's sagging profits and international competitive position.

**NOT STUDENT PAROCHIALISM,  
BUT CLASS STRUGGLE!**

Today's protest is part of a burgeoning movement of student anti-cutback actions across the country. In October, 1,000 students and faculty rallied at Vancouver City College in British Columbia, and almost the entire student body at North Vancouver's Capilano College held a one-day protest strike against budget cuts introduced by the NDP provincial government. Simultaneous with the Toronto demonstration, one-day student strikes were also held today at Carleton and at Brock University in St. Catharines, while students in New Brunswick initiated a three-day mass boycott of classes this week. Similar types of militant protest actions have also been held in Quebec.

Yet all these instances of resistance to cutbacks have failed to go beyond the impotent framework of student parochialism, to point the way toward successfully turning back the many-sided government offensive. By confining the demands of today's activities to ones concerning education cutbacks alone, the OFS, for example, consciously limited their potential force. No real attempt has been made to link up the struggles of students with those of the Canadian labor movement against layoffs and wage controls.

Quality higher education for all cannot be achieved in struggles restricted to the campuses because the educational system is part and parcel of capitalist society. Just as capitalism seeks to monopolize social wealth for a tiny ruling class, so it seeks to monopolize learning and culture, the fruits of this social wealth. The educational system is tailored to serve bourgeois ends: the training of government administrators and industrial managers and the general propagation of bourgeois ideology. Working people are to get just enough "education" for the capitalists to extract profit from their labor power.

Students lack both the social power and the consistent class interest to achieve even limited campus reforms in a lasting way. Only the working class has the strength to successfully fight capitalist attacks, because of its access to the means of producing wealth--its ability to withhold its labor power--and the material basis for its class

consciousness in its social organization of work. The proletariat alone has the power to extract even limited meaningful reforms from the capitalists, along with the power to smash capitalist class society and lay the material basis for ending all forms of social oppression.

**TOWARD A NEW STUDENT MOVEMENT?**

Despite the present combativity of the Canadian working class and the obvious objective possibilities for linking up the anti-cutbacks fight to proletarian struggles, various fake-leftists are seeking to channel the new student militancy back into the inherently reformist framework of a "new student movement" modelled on the heydays of New Leftism. At today's U. of T. rally, Chris Harries, the "left-wing" editor of the OFS's Ontario Student from McMaster University in Hamilton, told students about to leave for the march to Queen's Park: "We have the basis of a strong and vibrant and viable student movement in this province, and that's important."

Similarly, York University Student Federation president Dale Ritch, another reputed OFS "left" is approvingly quoted in the December 1975-January 1976 issue of Forward (newspaper of the Socialist League) as saying: "The student movement is beginning to take organizational shape and a new leadership is emerging."

The 1960's student movement died precisely because it remained locked into a parochialist, sectoralist strategy which could never concretely tie student struggles to broader social questions through a revolutionary, working-class program. By its very nature the movement was unable to break out of an impotent cycle of isolated adventurism and utopian reformism (epitomized in the "red university" strategy).

Today, various new "militant" reformists are seeking to turn back the clock, having learned nothing about the futility of a strategy based on the struggles of a petty-bourgeois social layer like students. Following in their wake are ostensibly revolutionary organizations like the League for Socialist Action/Young Socialists (LSA/YS), who could do nothing more in their leaflet to the OFS rally than call for campus "teach-ins, rallies and meetings" and further OFS-initiated actions. "What is needed to win," say these fake-Trotskyists, "is a powerful, united voice of thousands of students...." Apparently, the LSA/YS actually believes that all that is needed to win significant reforms from the capitalist government is for students to speak slightly louder.

**BUILD A LABOR/STUDENT MOBILIZATION!**

A mass movement is necessary, if the capitalists' attacks are to be beaten back, but to be effective such a movement must be based on a labor/student mobilization against all cutbacks, wage controls and layoffs. United-front actions of

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## NOW MONTHLY

student, left and labor organizations must be built, with full rights of independent propaganda (banners, leaflets, speakers, and so on) for all those opposed to the cutbacks. Such actions must link up with the struggles of workers to lay the basis for a generalized counter-offensive against the bosses.

It was with this perspective--showing the way from student parochialism to class struggle--that the Trotskyist League intervened in the Queen's Park rally, as well as in the main planning meeting at U. of T. While a so-called "left contingent" initiated by (and basically limited to) the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group sought to put forward an ill-defined strategy of "unity with the working class" by issuing a few minimal slogans, the TL contingent raised demands which pointed the way forward to a revolutionary struggle of labor against capital.

At the planning meeting held at U. of T. a few days prior to the rally, the RMG translated its proposed "working-class intervention" into a demand that the OFS invite a representative of the Ontario Federation of Labor (which recently came out for the elimination of university tuition coupled with a stipend to assist students in board, lodging and personal expenses) to address the rally. The TL, on the other hand, raised the call during the demonstration for "Labor Strikes Against Layoffs and Wage Controls," noting that the OFL bureaucrats' left-posturing position on student issues is basically a "militant" cover for their abject failure to take up a concrete struggle around the key issues facing the working class today. Anti-cutback united fronts should certainly take advantage of the labor central's stated position to involve OFL affiliates in united actions. But the only way for the OFL to lend real power to the student struggle would be to spearhead a mobilization of labor in

strike action against the government's attacks.

DOWN WITH THE CLASS  
 BIAS OF THE UNIVERSITY!

Demands must be raised which go beyond simple opposition to tuition hikes and cutbacks in the already inadequate educational funding to call for free quality higher education for all who want it, with a full living stipend tied to the cost of living. Students must struggle against the class bias of the university by calling for student-teacher-worker control of the campuses--down with the hand-picked capitalist flunkies of the administration!

The fight for reforms must be tied to a revolutionary program of struggle against the capitalists and their social-democratic agents in the New Democratic Party and the trade-union bureaucracy. Oust the labor skates!--for a class-struggle leadership in the trade unions, committed to a program of expropriating the capitalist class, and a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government! Only a planned socialist economy can lay the basis for the unfettered development of the productive forces and an end for all time to capitalist economic anarchy, oppression and exploitation. ■

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# From Trotskyism to Reformism

## ORIGINS of CANADIAN PABLOISM

Until recently, the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA), the "official" section of the international rotten bloc known as the "United" Secretariat, was the only visible ostensibly Trotskyist organization in Canada. Today, there are at least six organizations in this country which claim continuity with the Trotskyist tradition. An understanding of the reasons for this proliferation of revisionist pseudo-Trotskyist tendencies must proceed from an historical analysis of the degeneration of Trotsky's Fourth International (FI) in the post-WWII period. The Spartacist League of the United States (SL/U. S.) undertook such an analysis in "Genesis of Pabloism" (Spartacist, Fall 1972). The unique characteristics of Pabloist degeneration within the Canadian movement have yet to be fully explored, in particular its liquidationist orientation toward the social-democratic Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). This policy had its roots in the late 1930's but did not become definitive until over a decade later.

The degeneration of the FI was politically codified in the documents of the Third World Congress in 1951 which carried the line of liquidationism propounded by Michel Pablo. Under the impact of extreme isolation and unexpected developments (in particular the post-war Stalinist expansion into Eastern Europe and the Chinese and Yugoslav Revolutions), the international leadership, headed by Pablo, developed an objectivist perspective on the development of world revolution, a perspective which effectively obviated the role of the Trotskyist vanguard and the class-conscious proletariat in the revolutionary process. Programmatically, Pablo's view took the form of a liquidationist or adaptationist "orientation" toward the existing reformist workers parties, the Communists and the social democrats. According to Pablo's schema, these parties could, under the pressure of the masses and the impact of objective developments (such as a new world war), transform themselves into "adequate instruments" for the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat.

Believing that the Western Communist Parties (CP's) and even centrist currents developing within the social-democratic parties could follow in the steps of the Yugoslav and Chinese CP's in "roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation," the Pabloist current redefined the role of Trotskyists as one of pressuring the proletariat's existing leaderships to the left. The Pabloists remained inattentive to the exceptional conditions under which the Yugoslav and Chinese Stalinists were able to lead essentially petty-bourgeois mass movements in the destruction of the bourgeois state (conditions including the extreme decay and decadence of the bourgeoisie in those countries, pressures from world imperialism and the absence or extreme weakness of a revolutionary vanguard) and failed to draw the necessary programmatic conclusion that the deformed workers states issuing from these revolutions required proletarian political revolutions under Trotskyist leadership to oust the ruling bureaucracies in order to set them on the road to socialism.



THE CANADIAN SECTION'S ADVICE TO WORKERS AND FARMERS DURING WWII: FOLLOW THE PRO-CONSCRIPTION, PRO-WAR CCF AS A STEPPING STONE ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM. MEANWHILE STALINIST SNAKES-IN-THE-GRASS SEEK TO LURE "JOE CANUCK" DOWN THE "COALITION TRAIL" THROUGH A NO-STRIKE PLEDGE AND SUPPORT TO THE BOURGEOIS LIBERAL PARTY. (FROM LABOUR CHALLENGE, 1 JUNE 1945.)



The liquidationist adaptation to Stalinism was thus accompanied by an increasingly soft line toward all of the bureaucratically-deformed workers states, with the Pabloists effectively abandoning the program of political revolution in any of these states. This is the meaning of Pablo's hypothesis that the future promised "centuries of deformed workers states," a projection which revealed both a fundamental pessimism concerning the capacity of the working class as a revolutionary force and of the Trotskyist movement to resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership, and a completely non-Marxist understanding of the unstable nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

#### WEAKNESSES OF THE ANTI-PABLO FACTION

While Pablo was successful in winning a few adherents in the Canadian section of the FI, the section's majority supported the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in its belated opposition to Pablo in 1953. The SWP, together with the Healy tendency of the British section and the Lambert-Bleibtreu group of the French, formed the central core of the anti-Pablo opposition in the FI. All of these organizations, however, evinced serious tendencies toward parochialism and their struggle against Pablo was consequently flawed by their failure to wage it on an international scale, and not merely against Pablo's supporters in their own countries.

The struggle was also flawed theoretically inasmuch as their critique of the Pabloist line relied too heavily on a reassertion of Trotskyist orthodoxy on the question of Stalinism, overlooking for the most part the methodological, programmatic and strategic premises underlying the Pabloist perspective which were to survive even after the Pabloists had made a partial rectification of their "Stalinophile excesses." Thus the Pabloist perspective of "deep entry" (entrism "sui generis"--entry "of a unique type") into the CP's was denounced, but its application in relation to the social democracy was largely overlooked.

By fighting the Pabloists primarily on the terrain of anti-Stalinism, the SWP was able to win the support of groups which were in other respects politically closer to the Pabloists on the question of entrism. The Canadian section majority falls squarely into this category (as does the Moreno tendency in Argentina and the Healy tendency in Britain, at least in the early 1950's).

As late as 1954, SWP leader Murry Weiss could write of the Canadian section:

"I am convinced that Pabloism, that is real Pabloism, has taken a deep hold in the whole organization up there. They don't fully realize it. They think they are all united in the work in the CCF. And they are, but on a Pabloite line I'm afraid. They have become infected

with this terrible disease of thinking that everything can be solved with fancy endless maneuvers in the CCF, with 'deep' entry conceptions."

--International Committee Documents,  
Vol. 3, Education for Socialists series

Despite this assessment, there is no evidence that the SWP attempted to wage a serious political struggle with the Canadians over the CCF line.

Canadian Pabloism, taking the form of a liquidationist deep-entry perspective toward the CCF, fully appeared only in 1951, but it had been nurtured by a series of previous errors in relation to the CCF, beginning in the late 1930's. These earlier errors, which were understood as such by the International, can be attributed to the extreme historic weakness of the Canadian section's leadership.

Despite the presence of some highly talented cadres like Maurice Spector and Jack Macdonald, both of whom had been central leaders of the Canadian CP, the Canadian Trotskyist movement (first as the Toronto branch of the Communist League of America and later as the Workers Party of Canada--WPC) was heavily reliant on the American section from its inception in 1928. An authentically revolutionary organization of great promise and with an impressive scope of activity in the 1930's (though with only 250 members, the group was over-extended), the WPC was never able to congeal an authoritative leadership, due in part to the perennial instability of both Macdonald and Spector.



LABOR CHALLENGE  
RWP 1948 TORONTO MAYORALTY CAMPAIGN.  
CANDIDATE ROSS DOWSON RECEIVED ALMOST  
24,000 VOTES, 20 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL.

#### THE "FRENCH TURN" IN CANADA

As part of the International Communist League's (ICL) tactical orientation toward temporary shallow entry into the leftward-moving social democracies in order to win the left wings to Trotskyism, the WPC in 1936 began an entry into the CCF in British Columbia and in 1937 in Ontario.

The CCF was characterized later by the Canadian Trotskyists as "a petty-bourgeois Social Democrat-

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 ic party with some trade union support but deriving its main strength from the agrarian regions and from middle class elements in urban centers" (SWP International Information Bulletin, September 1946). While in terms of social base the early CCF resembled a two-class party like the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party (FLP), it differed in one important respect: program. While the FLP had a bourgeois-populist program, the CCF adopted a petty-bourgeois "socialist" rhetoric and program, and was correctly characterized as a social-democratic party. Thus it was principled to conceive of an entry into the CCF of the type carried out during the "French turn" period. (For a fuller social-historical analysis of the CCF, see "Canada's New Democratic Party: Right-Wing Social Democracy," parts 1 and 2, Workers Vanguard, newspaper of the SL/U.S., 15 and 29 March 1974.)

A heated dispute over the question of entry into the CCF split the WPC into pro- and anti-entry factions. The pro-entry faction won a small majority but comprised little of the party's central leadership. Spector, in fact, had made a bloc with A. J. Muste and Martin Abern in the Workers Party/U.S. to oppose entry into Norman Thomas' Socialist Party (SP). Macdonald also faded from the leadership of the WPC following this tactical turn.

The entry tactic was seen by Trotsky and the international leadership as a short-term raiding operation on the social democracy in order to intersect developing left currents. The most spectacular success for the tactic was registered in the U.S. where the American Trotskyists were not only able to win over a large number of SP youth and trade unionists, but also to effectively destroy the social-democratic obstacle. The American Trotskyists were significantly strengthened following the split from the SP.

In Canada, however, the entry was a failure, resulting in the ruination of the section. By late 1937, the ICL (forerunner of the FI) had to step in to re-establish the section after its partial disintegration. The reorganization of a much smaller group took place at a convention of the American Trotskyists in January 1938, although a split from the CCF was not carried out at this time.

The failure of this entry (which the section had attempted to carry out on a principled basis) can be traced to three main inter-related factors.

First, the organization had suffered a significant degree of decomposition even prior to the entry, namely, the splitting away of a large part of the organization, including key cadre, who had opposed the entry tactic. Secondly, the group's leadership was, particularly following this split, extremely weak and inexperienced and was unable to give firm guidance in the execution of this intricate maneuver. And finally, the left wing of the CCF proved, following the onset of the entry, to be more ephemeral than it had appeared in 1936. In 1938 the FI instructed the Canadian comrades,

organized by then as the Socialist Policy Group in the CCF, to carry out a "complete programmatic and political fight at or around the national fall convention of the CCF with a perspective of completing the experience within this declining reformist organization and re-establishing the Canadian section of the Fourth International" (Documents of the Fourth International). This directive was not followed; the British Columbia comrades remained in the CCF while the Ontario comrades were expelled (finding their way back in short order, however).

The subsequent formation of the Socialist Workers League (SWL) in 1938 did not signify a complete break with the entrism perspective. Despite the directives of the International, an important part of the SWL's work was in or even on behalf of the CCF. For example, the SWL participated in the organization of factory clubs for the CCF during WWII.

The fact that the entry was continued past 1938, against the FI's directives and at a time when the CCF was in decline, reflected a shift in orientation. The tactic of entry with a short-term perspective was being displaced by a permanent "semi-entrism" policy with no clear-cut objectives, contravening the FI's instruction to "create a thorough line of demarcation between the reformists, centrists and themselves" (Documents of the Fourth International).

These tendencies were accentuated during the war years both in reaction to government repression of the left and also due in no small measure to the failure of the SWP to maintain close surveillance on the work in Canada. As a strong section of the Fourth International in geographic proximity, it had a special responsibility for the Canadian section. But the SWP was succumbing to isolationism: "The American Trotskyists retreated into an isolation only partially forced upon them by the disintegration of the European sections under conditions of fascist triumph and illegalization" ("Genesis of Pabloism").

The growing adaptation to social democracy was clearly revealed in the first issue of Labour Challenge (1 June 1945) in an article entitled "VOTE CCF" which inferred that the CCF in power would be a "labour government," a necessary stage on the path to socialism. The demand for a CCF government was, in fact, the focus of the overall program presented by Labour Challenge.

The CCF in 1946 was still a petty-bourgeois social-democratic party (with a working-class base which had grown since the late thirties) and it would have been conceivable, from the standpoint of Marxist principle, to give it critical electoral support. However, in 1946 the CCF stood on a record of wartime social chauvinism, having made a turn away from an anti-conscription position early in the war toward a stance favoring conscription.

In addition to this, it was very federated on the provincial level with farmers (who had moved

considerably rightward since the radical "socialist" rhetoric of the thirties) as its overwhelming mainstay in certain areas. Thus, while it might have been correct to give critical support to the CCF in certain areas at certain times, it was a political mistake to call for a CCF vote on the national level in this period.

#### THE "WORKERS GOVERNMENT" SLOGAN

But the Canadian group's "mistake" went beyond this. To begin with, its support to the CCF was not critical from the Leninist standpoint, but tended toward a stages theory of the road to socialism. Rather than conceiving of putting the CCF in power so that it would expose the falsity of its promises to the working class, the Canadian group saw a CCF government as a progressive step toward socialism, not as an obstacle that would have to be removed before genuine workers power could be achieved.

Trotskyists understand the "workers government" slogan as an algebraic formulation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In departing from this transitional conception of the slogan, the by-then centrist SWL took a basically reformist position on the role of the CCF in the struggle for socialism. The SWL was not consistent in this attitude; in fact, it tended in the forties to move from right to left to right on the question, ending finally with a hardened rightist orientation toward the social democracy.

One example of the rightist, strategic-entry policy in 1945 was the work of one SWL member who was so successful in integrating himself into the CCF that he won election to Parliament as a CCF candidate. This having been accomplished, the SWP prepared to send one of its leaders, George Clarke, to Ottawa to write the man's speeches. But this ill-conceived venture soon fell apart when the new Member of Parliament dropped out of the SWL.

#### THE RWP 1946 LEFT TURN

With the formation under Ross and Murray Dowson's leadership of the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP), the Canadian section made a brief left turn, empirically abandoning its tailing of the CCF. The impetus for the turn was the militant post-war strike wave of 1945-46.

In RWP propaganda, the slogan, "For a CCF Government," was correctly replaced with "For a Workers and Farmers Government." The RWP boldly embarked on its own municipal election campaigns in 1947 and '48, not as a milk-sop surrogate for the CCF's failure to run, but in order to advance a revolutionary program. The 1948 RWP campaign for mayor in Toronto was endorsed by two important United Auto Workers locals and received 20 percent of the vote under the slogan, "Vote DOWSON, Vote for a Labour Mayor, Vote for the TROTSKYIST Candidate."

Eight years after the FI had urged a break from the CCF, it was finally made: "The hardened opportunist leadership of the CCF...excludes any possibility of converting the CCF into an instrument of social revolution" (Labour Challenge, mid-October, 1946).

But the old errors had never been analyzed from a Marxist standpoint and the RWP was not politically prepared for the growing anti-communism of the cold-war period which followed the '45-46 strike wave. The old orientation began to creep back, with Dowson re-embracing the erroneous line he had put forward in 1942: "Political action of the Canadian workers has taken a reformist detour. Today's expression of working-class independent political action is the CCF" (RWP Internal Bulletin, 1942).

#### PABLO ENCOURAGES PERMANENT ENTRY INTO CCF

The international leadership was no longer capable of correcting the Canadian section's errors, having undergone a serious disorientation and then degeneration following the war. In fact, Pablo's new international line encouraged the exploration of the deepest depths of the "CCF orientation." In a 1950 letter the International Secretariat advised the Canadian section that the CCF entry it was preparing would be "something of a long duration" (quoted in Ross Dowson, CCF: Our Tasks and Perspectives). This instruction anticipated the line that Pablo would advance at the Tenth Plenum of the International Executive Committee in 1952. In countries where the hegemonic political tendency in the workers movement was social democracy, Pablo declared that the task was to enter the social-democratic parties "...in order to remain there for a long time banking on the great possibility which exists of seeing these parties, placed under new conditions, develop centrist tendencies which will lead a whole stage of the radicalization of the masses and of the objective revolutionary process in their respective countries" (International Secretariat Documents, Vol. I, Education for Socialists series).

The general guidelines for these political entries, as outlined at the Austrian Commission of the Third World Congress in 1951, were directly counterposed to the Leninist-Trotskyist position on the question: "A. Not to come forward as Trotskyists with our full program. B. Not to push forward programmatic and principled questions...." (quoted in "Genesis of Pabloism"). In periods of both full and partial entry over the last 25 years, Dowson and his heirs have never deviated from these guidelines in their CCF/NDP work.

While a 1951 RWP document which effectively heralded the dissolution of the RWP into the CCF noted that the CCF had no left wing, was declining, had a defunct youth movement and was moving rapidly to the right, the entry was made nonetheless.

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By the time the former RWP'ers were expelled from the CCF in 1955 (with the British Columbia section remaining inside), the group had defined itself completely as a left appendage of the CCF.

#### PABLO'S UNRECONSTRUCTED OFFSPRING

Today Ross Dowson, having departed from the LSA in early 1974 to form the Socialist League, accuses his ex-comrades of abandoning the historical position of Canadian ostensible Trotskyists toward the CCF/NDP in favor of a species of "ultra-left sectarianism." But while Dowson (with his long-term deep entry into the social democracy with a non-split perspective) has merely carried the historical practice of the LSA and its predecessors further along toward its logical conclusion in outright programmatic and organizational liquidation, the LSA orientation remains fundamentally no different.

As they have for over 20 years, the LSA affirms that its attitude toward the NDP is one of "unconditional" fraternal support. Although for the past two-and-a-half years, less of the LSA's actual practice has taken place within the NDP than has been the historical norm, this is for purely conjunctural reasons stemming from the split during 1973-74 of most of the organization's entrust fraction to either Dowson's outfit or the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). In fact, as it moves closer to achieving unity with the Canadian adherents of the so-called "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" (an invitee to the LSA's last national convention, whose sole practice in English Canada is subterranean NDP work), the LSA is coming to place noticeably more emphasis on its work inside (and on behalf of) the social democracy.

For its part, the RMG (the central core of whose leadership came from an inchoate left-reformist caucus in the Ontario NDP known as the Red Circle) has not since the early days of its independent existence exhibited the classic orientation of Canadian Pabloism toward deep entry in the NDP. (The early days of the RMG were marked by NDP fraction work which did not differ qualitatively from that of the LSA.)

Yet this fact does not reflect any break in the direction of Trotskyism. The RMG, in common with its European mentors in the "United" Secretariat majority of Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan (all of whom trained under Pablo during the 1950's and early 1960's), has embraced the more "militant" orientation of mainstream international Pabloism today--adaptation toward the spontaneous movements of various socially-peripheral sectors which comprise a so-called "broad vanguard" presumably able to politically lead struggles in its own name. Thus rather than programmatically liquidate into the social democracy, the Pabloists of the RMG prefer at this juncture to programmatically liquidate into various petty-bourgeois/sectoralist/reformist "inde-



TOWARD SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC CRETINISM:  
FROM RWP'S LABOR CHALLENGE (1948)  
TO LSA'S WORKERS VANGUARD (1963)

pendent mass movements" of women, blacks, gays, immigrants and natives.

What all Pablo's latterday, unreconstructed offspring have in common is an explicit refusal to fight for the revolutionary Transitional Program in the course of their day-to-day work, and a rejection of the centrality of the class-conscious proletariat and its Leninist vanguard in the struggle for socialist revolution. The Spartacist tendency had its origins as a faction in the American Socialist Workers Party in the early 1960's which waged a struggle for these principles against the SWP's rapid flight toward unprincipled reunification with the European Pabloists in 1963. Today the international Spartacist tendency, of which the Trotskyist League of Canada is a sympathizing section, carries forward this struggle to reforge the Fourth International on the program and principles of revolutionary Marxism. ■

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# Tops tail PQ...

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other capitalist states against the workers and in order to throw a wedge of nationalist antagonism between French- and English-speaking workers.

In the absence of such sharp class struggles, any moves toward separation by a bourgeois Quebec would not be met with greetings of well wishes from the English-Canadian bourgeoisie, but more likely by federal-troop occupation of the province. The Canadian state's willingness to take such draconian measures was made clear in the fall of 1970, when Trudeau declared martial law in Quebec (the War Measures Act) and sent in an occupation force of 7,000 federal troops. While a mass armed movement in Quebec might present a stronger argument to the federal government, the last thing the PQ desires to see is a mobilization of workers and petty bourgeois, arms in hand.

Marxists deplore the national oppression of the Québécois and stand resolutely opposed to all the forms this national oppression takes. While pointing out that Quebec should have the right to national self-determination, we present the case to the Québécois working class that the exercise of national self-determination through separatism will impede their struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. We seek to win workers in English Canada away from anti-Québécois chauvinism and Québécois workers away from nationalism. These two aspects of bourgeois ideology must be replaced with a class consciousness of the need for proletarian unity across national, racial and sexual lines as strategic in the battle to overthrow capitalism.

## PQ: PALE SHADOW OF THE GIRONDISTS

The new Quebec petty bourgeoisie has established a political track record as cowards unwilling to fight for their stated causes; thus the PQ's main effort in the 1970 crisis consisted of appearing as respectable as possible in the eyes of the Trudeau government. A few weeks before the 1971 PQ convention, Lévesque told Montreal students that his party had not exercised leadership in opposition to the War Measures Act because of the fear of being connected with extremists. At the same convention, Lévesque successfully mobilized support to defeat a resolution calling for donating bail money to Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon, jailed supporters of the radical petty-bourgeois nationalist Front de Libération du Québec.

The PQ drew lessons from the 1970 events. At its fifth convention, in 1974, it revised and limited its program, replacing the demand for immediate separation with a series of demands outlining a lengthy process leading to separation. One of the first steps would be a request (!) to Ottawa to hand

over certain decision making powers to Quebec.

In 1789 the petty-bourgeois French Jacobins had been able to stand at the head of the French nation and lead the great French bourgeois revolution, even in the face of bourgeois cowardice. The cowardice of the PQ cannot be explained by personal failures of leadership; the dialectic of history has made the PQ not a repetition of the radical Jacobins, but the pale shadow of the cowardly right-wing petty-bourgeois Girondists.

## THE UNION BUREAUCRATS AND THE PQ

What interest do the Quebec trade union bureaucrats have, then, in urging workers to vote for a non-working-class party like the PQ? Let no one imagine that some confusion has led the union tops to consider the PQ to be some kind of labor party. Prior to the 1973 elections, Québec-Pressé, the union-sponsored weekly, called for support to the PQ on the following grounds: "...because Quebec does not have a party of the workers, the Parti Québécois appears for the time being as a party which is the closest to the interests of the working class" (quoted in Labor Challenge, 19 March 1973).

Indeed, the PQ is so close to the interests of the working class that Lévesque went on record as saying that he would rather live in a South American "banana republic" than in a Quebec dominated by ranting and raving labor leaders (Last Post, October, 1971).

There is a good reason why the Quebec union bureaucrats (not only of the FTQ, but also of the more militant Confédération des Syndicats Nationales) support the PQ; it has nothing to do with their claim that the PQ is a friend of labor, but is motivated by their fear of a movement for a labor party.

Unlike the revisionists of Marxism who claim that the union bureaucrats can be pressured to move left and genuinely defend workers interests, communists understand that the bureaucrats' program of class collaboration is basically determined by the material privileges they receive by fulfilling their role as capitalist agents within the workers movement. When they are under pressure from a militant rank and file, they will often adopt left rhetoric in order to betray more efficiently.

During the 1970 Quebec events, Marcel Pénin, the president of the CSN, voiced the position that the construction of a labor party should be seriously studied, only to quickly reverse himself when the pressure of events eased. The reputed leftist Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal Council of the CSN, has repeatedly called for the formation of a party of the workers. This, however, has in no way prevented him from calling upon workers to give electoral support to the PQ.

In the abstract there is no reason why the union tops would not form a labor party on their pro-

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gram of class-collaborationist reformism. However, in the face of rising working-class militancy among Quebec workers coupled with a mistrust toward the reformist New Democratic Party, the union bureaucrats are terrified of launching a movement for a labor party that might, with the intervention of revolutionary Trotskyists, bypass the bureaucrats and become a labor party not only in name but in program and action, that is, a party that could lead workers in Canada to seize state power.

#### FOR A CLASS-STRUGGLE WORKERS PARTY!

The call must be raised for a labor party in Quebec, a party that will struggle for the real interests of the working class. Such a call is not a demand to construct a provincial NDP, but a party that will fight for a genuine workers government. Workers must not be fooled by the petty-bourgeois climbers of the PQ and their smokescreen of nationalist rhetoric. Rather than seeking to divide Francophone and Anglophone workers along national lines, a labor party should seek to unite workers throughout Canada along class lines, against the class enemy in both French and English Canada.

Of the three ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Quebec, neither the reformist Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO--Socialist Workers League), the Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ--Socialist Workers Group of Quebec) nor the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR--Revolutionary Marxist Group) calls for electoral support to the Parti Québécois; at the same time, none of the three organizations offer a genuine class-struggle alternative to the French-Canadian proletariat.

The LSO, part of the League for Socialist Action (with its name, however, opportunistically tailored for the more working-class-conscious Quebec milieu), seeks a "labor party" in Quebec which would be the best fighter for Québécois nationalism. Within the framework of their view that consistent nationalism (in the face of national oppression) leads (by some mystical process) to a struggle for socialism, the LSO calls for a labor party in Quebec, not a party that will fight for a workers government but one that will do the donkey work for the would-be bourgeois elements:

"It may be regretted that this struggle of the Québécois is not linked directly through close unity to the NDP. But if the Québécois reject the NDP because it is too far behind their struggles, we cannot force them to wait until the NDP catches up to them in their struggles. Although the independentist road implies a rejection of the NDP, this does not prevent us from carrying a campaign for the NDP on the federal level, or in favor of collaboration with

the NDP if an independentist labor party comes into being in Quebec, unity of the workers always being one of our basic principles."

--Labor Challenge, 24 August 1970

"Unity of the workers" is a nice phrase--but unity for what? For the LSA/LSO it means unity behind the NDP class traitors in English Canada and in support of petty-bourgeois nationalists in Quebec.

The GSTQ-supported Regroupement des Militants Syndicaux distributed a statement at the FTQ convention calling for the convocation of a trade-union political-action conference to initiate the construction of a workers party. The statement, however, was deliberately vague on the nature of the workers party it wished to see constructed, specifying only that it "pass laws in the name of the workers, defend our interests" and "defend all our demands" (Tribune Ouvrière, December 1975). The GSTQ (which adheres to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International--OCRFI --of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste--OCI) thus puts forward a labor party which would reflect the present level of working-class consciousness ("all our demands"), i. e., militancy on the economic level and illusions in the role that bourgeois parliaments can play in passing pro-worker legislation.

Another article in the December Tribune Ouvrière makes the OCRFI's reformist perspective toward independent working-class political action in Quebec even clearer. While the OCRFI claims that revolutionaries in English Canada should center their work solely on long-term entrism within the NDP, in Quebec the task is "to win the best militants to the necessity of a workers party in Quebec so that, finally, the Quebec NDP participates, with the trade union centrals, in the construction of this party."

The labor party has always been seen by revolutionary Trotskyists as a tactic, applicable in certain historical conditions. When applicable, Trotskyists raise the call for a labor party based on the revolutionary Transitional Program, a party that will fight for a genuine workers government. For the LSA/LSO and the GSTQ, however, the labor party demand is immutable, a necessary stage in some imagined gradual march toward socialism, and the party's program is reformism, whether it be the social-democratic fakery of the NDP or the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the proposed Quebec "labor party." This unabashed reformist attitude reflects the politics of the "United" Secretariat minority faction (led by the Socialist Workers Party of the United States) to which the LSA/LSO adheres, and the continuing rightward motion of the centrist OCI, the mentor of the GSTQ.

The GMR, an adherent of the United Secretariat centrist majority faction, reflects the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the milieu it has chosen in its organizational relationship to the English-Can-

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adian component of the USec majority tendency, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). Contrary to the Leninist position of one party to one state power, the GMR enjoys a separate party structure and discipline from the RMG. Beginning with this clear capitulation to Québécois nationalist sentiment, the GMR goes on to praise the supposed anti-capitalist character of the nationalist struggle.

Like the LSO, the GMR believes that the outcome of any movement for a labor party must necessarily be a reformist party controlled by the union bureaucrats. But while the LSO calls for a labor party based on this analysis, the GMR refuses to raise the demand for the same reason. What both organizations have in common is a methodology that rejects the Leninist conception of communist intervention in the working class to transform economist consciousness into socialist consciousness. Where does the GMR's position leave it?-- in a de facto bloc with the union bureaucrats against any movement for a labor party!

But the role of Marxists in Quebec is not to choose which non-revolutionary force to adapt to. While fighting against all aspects of national oppression wherever and whenever they exist, communists seek to win workers to a proletarian strategy of united class struggle against capitalism. There are no short cuts; assigning various kinds of false consciousness some mystical "progressive" dynamic only creates roadblocks in the struggle to liberate the working class and its allies from capitalist rule. ■

## WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

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## CORRECTION

The article on the conference of the Revolutionary Marxist Group's captive Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression ("AARPR Conference Flops," SC, January) incorrectly asserts that RMG spokesman Bret Smiley and Tariq Ali of the British International Marxist Group failed to contest Maoist demagogue Amiri Baraka's slanderous characterization of the Soviet Union as a "social-imperialist superpower." Smiley and Ali did in fact refer to a "qualitative distinction" between the Soviet property forms and those of

authentically imperialist countries, identifying the former with the property forms of North Vietnam. Nevertheless the spokesmen for the views of the United Secretariat majority tendency conspicuously neglected to mention the Trotskyist position of defense of all the deformed workers states against imperialist attack, nor did they call for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies in these states.

This "omission" is by no means an isolated "accident" for the supporters of the centrist USec majority. The RMG wilfully capitulated to the anti-communist sentiments of many Canadian workers in its electoral campaigns nationally in 1974 and in B. C. last year, by roundly denouncing the ruling bureaucracies in the workers states while refusing to raise in any manner the issue of defense of the proletarian property forms. And the USec's Austrian group (the GRM) vehemently rejected in its propaganda for the recent elections in that country "socialism à la ČSSR [Czechoslovakia]," while at no time calling for defense of Czechoslovakia (Austria's closest neighbor) against imperialism or political revolution to restore workers democracy and proletarian internationalism. ■



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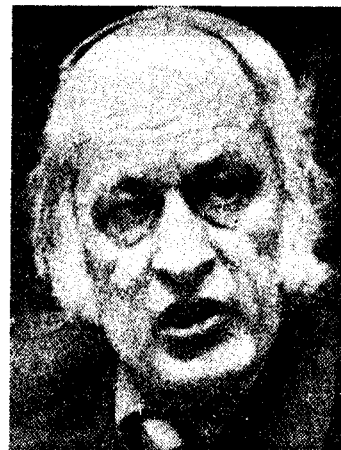
# *Petty-Bourgeois Climbers Tailed by Union Tops*

In December 1975, the Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec (FTQ) passed a convention resolution calling for workers to give electoral support to the petty-bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ). This move reflects a conscious attempt by the union bureaucrats to turn the class-conscious militancy of Quebec workers, who have recently demonstrated strong motion toward a provincial general strike against the wage controls, into nationalism and class-collaborationist parliamentarism. This is not the first time the union tops have supported the PQ. In both the 1970 and 1973 provincial elections, they encouraged workers to vote for the PQ.

### THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE IN POST - WWII QUEBEC

One effect of United States and English-Canadian capital investment in post-WWII Quebec, and the resulting growth of capitalist production in the province, was the appearance of a new petty-bourgeois social layer. This included a component of industrial and commercial managers and a layer of civil servants needed to service the expanded provincial government apparatus which enjoyed considerable growth in the sixties. Until the last few years, this new urban petty bourgeoisie did not differentiate itself politically from the weak Quebec bourgeoisie, and to the extent that the former participated in Quebec political life it was through the bourgeois Liberal Party.

Toward the late sixties the expanding petty bourgeoisie began to feel its social weight and developed its own variant of nationalist ideology motivated by its role in administering the bourgeois state. This differentiation found political expression in 1967 in a small split within the Liberal Party. A group under the leadership of René Lévesque was expelled from the Liberals because of its nationalist positions and formed the Mouvement Souveraineté Association (MSA). At the same time a section of the bourgeois Social Credit Party composed primarily of rural petty-bourgeois elements split under the leadership of Gilles Grégoire and united with the MSA to form the PQ in the fall of 1968. The later adhesion to the PQ of the radical petty-bourgeois Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance du Québec was important in extending the PQ's influence, especially among students.



RENE  
LEVESQUE

### AN INDEPENDENT QUEBEC: NO VICTORY FOR THE WORKING CLASS

The key issue that differentiates the PQ from the Liberals is the demand to exercise control through the provincial bourgeois state apparatus over the Quebec economy, eliminating the role of American and English-Canadian capitalists as primary policy makers on Quebec economic affairs. The PQ, however, has no desire to restrict the investment of foreign capital. From its inception, the PQ has made it clear that it does not want to encroach upon the profits of American capital; in the April 1970 elections, for example, the party circulated a statement by David Rockefeller (who has considerable capital investments in Quebec) to the effect that American capitalism is not afraid of an independent Quebec.

The French-Canadian bourgeoisie, junior partner of English-Canadian and American capitalists, has a very different opinion. It believes that such a move would create a period of uncertainty of ownership and would thus discourage the new capital investments which the Quebec economy depends upon.

The PQ program is little more than a pipe dream of would-be bourgeois. There is, however, one historical situation in which the French-Canadian bourgeoisie would demand the right of national self-determination, namely, in the event of a significant proletarian uprising in English Canada. The Quebec bourgeoisie would build a separatist movement in order to ally itself with

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