

BUSINESS AS USUAL FOR CLC TOPS...

For United Labor Action to Smash Bill C-28!



LABOR SELLOUTS MORRIS AND BROADBENT AT CLC CONVENTION SC Photo

On April 7, Canada's corpulent old labor boss, Joe Morris, banged down the gavel for his last time as president of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) bringing to a close the 12th constitutional convention of the CLC. For Canada's labor officialdom the convention was a resounding success. Morris departed laden down with eulogies and gifts while his hand-picked successor, Dennis McDermott of the United Auto Workers, went uncontested in his bid for the CLC's top job. The CLC brass didn't leave empty-handed either--they managed to push through a hefty salary hike for themselves. Canadian workers will get a bitter laugh over McDermott's appeals to the labor movement to restrain its wage demands in the "de-controls" period now that he has secured a \$10,000 a year pay increase for himself.

For five days the labor fakers filled the conven-

tion center of the Quebec Hilton with empty rhetoric. They railed against the Trudeau government, tub-thumped for "labor's political arm," the New Democratic Party and huffed and puffed about the need to fight unemployment and take on the multi-nationals. But when the speeches were over the only message the 2,400-odd delegates had to take back to their unions was that life under McDermott would be business as usual.

In the two years that have passed since the last CLC convention the bosses and their government have hacked away at the living and working conditions of Canadian workers. Wage controls were enforced through strikebreaking both at the federal and provincial level. Last summer the Trudeau government brought down the axe on the three-day air traffic controllers strike, legislating the 2,200 controllers back to work and enforcing a wage settlement within Anti-Inflation Board constraints. After successfully smashing the controllers strike, aided by the passivity of the labor skates, the government has moved to attack gains won by the labor movement over decades of struggle--in particular the right to strike. Last month the government passed Bill C-45, which bans postal strikes during federal elections. In British Columbia, the Social Credit government passed legislation empowering the government to stop any strike by so-called "essential service" workers. More than 80,000 employees, including all civil servants, bus drivers, gas and electrical workers are covered by this strikebreaking law.

The trade union bureaucrats raised a howl against the government's anti-labor offensive and did nothing. At the 1976 CLC convention they waved their "Whatever happened to price controls?" placards and sported "Why me?" buttons. Under pressure from the ranks they even came up with a call for a "one-day general strike, if and when necessary." But

(continued on page 2)

CLC CONVENTION...

(continued from page 1)

the militant determination of the ranks to smash controls, which culminated in the half-aborted October 14 "day of protest," was dissipated by the treachery of the CLC bureaucracy. The protest strike was over, wage controls still existed, prices soared and the CLC hacks spent their days making backroom deals with the government for a share in administering the bosses' economy.

At this year's convention epitaphs were written for the "day of protest." Covering for their own class-collaborationist and defeatist policies, the bureaucrats moaned that "the trade union movement did not have the power to defeat wage controls." But the labor fakers themselves had sapped the power and militancy of the trade union movement. Under a leadership committed to a program of class struggle not class collaboration Trudeau's wage freeze could have been defeated through a carefully prepared nation-wide general strike by the entire labor movement to stay out until the controls were buried. Such a working-class political offensive would in turn pose the question of political power. The bureaucrats sabotaged their own strike both to dissipate militancy and to avoid any challenge to the rule of the capitalist class.

The convention took place against the background of the crisis of the Canadian economy. Unemployment and inflation are skyrocketing, the Canadian dollar has hit all-time lows and the government is desperately searching for schemes to bolster Canada's competitive position on the international market. The only way out for the bosses is to shift the burden of Canada's failing economy onto the back of the working class. The very conditions created by the anarchy of the capitalist system, in particular unemployment, have replaced wage controls in holding down wages in the private sector. And, for the public sector which is not immediately subject to the "natural" erosion of wages produced by unemployment the Trudeau government is promoting new legislation, Bill C-28, to permanently institutionalize wage controls. This legislation represents a serious threat to the entire labor movement. It will not only force down wages and living standards for public employees but will also hold down wages for all workers. In the likely event that this legislation is passed militants must demand that the CLC convene a delegated congress of the entire labor movement to launch a general strike to smash Bill C-28. But, in keeping with their parliamentary legalist tradition all the CLC tops could come up with was a toothless proposal to organize "special campaigns" to defeat any member of parliament who supports the bill.

"A ROSE BY ANY OTHER NAME..."

"Tripartism," which was the key slogan for "with-it" bureaucrats at the 1976 convention, was definitely passé this year. However, the change was only one of terminology--not one of substance.

The bureaucrats haven't abandoned their hopes of wangling invitations into the corporate board rooms of the nation. They just aren't calling it "tripartism" any more. This year's "conceptual breakthrough" for the union piecards was a "new industrial strategy": begging a few more crumbs from Parliament.

No sooner was he elected president than McDermott (who, as UAW Canadian Director was known to dine as a guest of Pierre Trudeau) was advertising his willingness to "break bread" and "drink a little wine" with the bosses. There is a grain of truth in McDermott's assertion that a little wining and dining with the capitalists wouldn't mean he had been "seduced." He is well past the age of consent, and besides, he has been "doing what comes naturally" with the bosses for years.

BUREAUCRATIC STAND-OFF ON QUEBEC

From the point of view of the labor tops the main "achievement" of the convention was an eleventh-hour accord reached on the explosive question of Quebec's right to self-determination. In the weeks leading up to the convention this issue had threatened to split the trade union bureaucracy. Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labour had stated his intention to lead a walk-out of Quebec delegates if the CLC adopted a position favouring the "national unity" of Canada.

Just as the convention opened however Laberge and the English-Canadian chauvinist champions of "national unity" announced that they had agreed to paper over their disagreements with a "Statement of National Solidarity." The statement negotiated by these masters of "compromise" is a remarkable piece of double-talk. In some last minute horse-trading a deal was made to substitute the phrase "national solidarity" for "national unity" in return for omitting any mention of Quebec's right to self-determination.

(continued on page 7)

LE BOLCHEVIK



LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DE FRANCE--
SECTION SYMPATHISANTE DE LA TENDANCE
SPARTACISTE INTERNATIONALE 50¢

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS DISCOVER "SEXUAL LIBERATION"

With the temporary lull in the class struggle in English Canada the incorrigible opportunists of the International Socialists (I. S. -- Canadian simulacrum of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party) have made a new attempt to find a short cut to instant popularity. Recent issues of Workers' Action, the I. S.'s unreadable garbage organ which usually specializes in nickel-and-dime economism, have been promoting an amalgam of gay activism, feminism and new left "sexual liberation."

In line with its new orientation the March issue of Workers' Action published a "women's" version of the "International" (penned by I. S. "sister" Abbie Bakan). From the first verse: "Arise, we slaves of domination, Arise our sisters 'round the earth" the song moves forward through a rising crescendo, "Our lives, our bodies, shall be ours!" and climaxes with the call for "Liberation! Women workers' power!" No doubt the I. S. will soon put its creative lyricists to work to produce special "Internationals" for gays, pedophiles and every other definable grouping within its new-found constituency.

Since its formation in 1975 as a decomposition product of the ultra-nationalist, social-democratic Waffle the Canadian I. S. has been wracked by an unending series of quits, expulsions and murky clique fights. Political life has not been kind to this motley collection of social-democratic opportunists. Only a few short months ago the I. S. appeared to be teetering on the brink of dissolving itself into the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). But, after co-sponsoring a forum on Gay Liberation last February the I. S. leadership apparently got cold feet. Now it seems that the romance is off.

Following its "fusion interruptus" with the RWL the I. S. ventured alone into the feminist/gay liberation milieu to which it was initially introduced by its pseudo-Trotskyist ex-fiancee. In search of a "piece of the action" in the current

mini-upsurge in gay and feminist activity in Toronto the I. S. leadership has supplemented their fixation on low-level workerism with some libidinal "leftism."

Just as it revels in simple-minded economism, the I. S. mimics some of the most rabid elements among the feminists. One recent article in Workers' Action, which is devoted to criticizing the tactical advice offered to women in a film entitled "How to Say No to a Rapist and Survive," concludes with a call on all "sisters" to unite in "direct action" to "cancel and destroy this film forever."


In the March issue of Workers' Action its feature column, "Talking About Socialism"--idiotic drivel at the best of times--was transformed into the "socialist" version of Ann Landers. Here we could read about "human unhappiness in sex and love" and be advised as to how to "take more control over our sexual lives." The space that the I. S. devotes to interviews with the out-bureaucrat of the month had been given over to interviews with gay high school students on the heterosexual bias in the educational system. Meanwhile, in the letters column there was an exchange concerning the "myth of the asexuality of children." Another contribution raised the question of "the full social and political ramifications of what sexual liberation means for kids under capitalism."

SEXUAL LIBERATION AND HUMAN LIBERATION

As Marxists we recognize that enforced standards of sexual activity have brought oppression and pain throughout history. But to seek personal or sexual "liberation" within the framework of capitalist society is simply petty-bourgeois individualism, itself a species of bourgeois ideology. To claim that human beings shaped by the oppressing and deforming influence of capitalist society can somehow sexually free themselves is simply utopianism. Instead, communists struggle for demands designed to undermine the basic institution of sexual oppression under capitalism--the nuclear family. We demand that abortion be free and legal, without restrictions of age or parental consent and that free quality child-care services be available to all. We oppose all state interference or intrusion into consensual sexual activities and all laws against pornography and prostitution. Marxists also understand, however, that only with the destruction of the decaying capitalist system can the basis be laid for the elimination of the economic restraints and social coercion imposed upon sexual relations.

Whether cringing before the temporary popularity of some trade union bureaucrat on the make

(continued on page 13)



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IN STRUGGLE: NATIONAL PAROCHIALISTS WITHOUT A FUTURE

In Struggle (IS) Secretary-General Charles Gagnon's recent coast-to-coast tour on the national question and Quebec marked a new stage in the evolution of these eclectic and heterodox Maoists. In both Toronto and Vancouver IS broke from its past practice of permitting its political opponents to attend its meetings in order to "expose" them. In Vancouver the sole target of the exclusion was the Trotskyist League (TL). But, by the time Gagnon reached Toronto on April 16, this category had been expanded to include the spineless fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL)--who had tried to curry favor with IS in Vancouver by remaining silent while the TL was excluded. Here, even the ultra-Stalinist Bolshevik Union (BU) was barred.

IS's exclusionism is clearly a product of its increasing difficulties in reconciling its partial leftist departures from orthodox Maoism with the Stalinist political heritage it defends. Gagnon & Co. have little difficulty in demonstrating to their ranks that the Quebec nationalist, NDP-boosting "Trotskyists" of the Pabloite RWL (or Lambertiste Socialist Workers Group of Quebec--GSTQ) are obstacles to proletarian revolution. However, the authentic Bolshevism of the Trotskyist League has proved more difficult for the IS leadership to handle. At the same time IS is also under attack from the Bolshevik Union, a tiny Stalinist sect which delights in exposing IS's "deviations" from Stalinist Realpolitik. In an attempt to seal off their members from any analysis of its manifold political contradictions IS has designated the BU as "Trotskyist" and adopted a policy of excluding all "Trotskyists" from its public meetings.

Naturally the IS leadership has hauled out the usual Stalinist slanders to justify their ban: "the Trotskyists disrupt our meetings," "Trotskyists take advantage of democracy to force their views on others," etc. However, at least at the Toronto meeting, IS had considerable difficulty retailing these hoary old chestnuts, even to their own members and supporters, some of whom expressed the opinion that the charges of disruption were "ridiculous."

A Trotskyist League supporter, who had entered the meeting undetected by the IS goon-squad at the door, spoke during the discussion period and addressed IS's extreme national parochialism, and its rejection of the necessity for a Leninist international. The TL spokesman also denounced IS's political cowardice in excluding its political opponents. Obviously embarrassed by the TL's intervention and reluctant to appear too bureaucratic in front of an audience which included many non-IS members, Gagnon attempted a political response. After elab-

orating In Struggle's "two-stage" theory of building an international--first build an organization in Canada and then later worry about international ties--Gagnon speculated that at some point in the future the "unity" of the "international Marxist-Leninist movement" might take "organizational form."

When a second TL supporter rose to speak Gagnon cut him off and announced that he would not tolerate any more interventions from Trotskyists. In an attempt to come up with a "principled" cover for his political cowardice Gagnon suggested that the TL should propose a formal debate with IS rather than "monopolize" the discussion at the forum. Although the debate challenge appears disingenuous in the light of IS's cowardly exclusionism, nonetheless on April 26 the Political Bureau of the Trotskyist League sent a letter to IS challenging it to a debate on China or "any question of interest to the left and labor movement" at the earliest possible date. Reprinted below is the leaflet distributed by the TL at the IS meeting of April 16.

To its credit In Struggle (IS) unconditionally supports Quebec's right to self-determination and opposes both the chauvinist "national unity" crusade of the English-Canadian bourgeoisie and the bourgeois nationalism of the Parti Québécois. In contrast to fake-leftists and fake-Trotskyists like the Revolutionary Workers League, IS upholds the Leninist principle of equal democratic language rights for all against the reactionary nationalist campaign for a "unilingual French Quebec." But the struggle for proletarian revolution does not begin and end with the fight for democratic demands.

Despite its formal opposition to nationalism IS remains one of the most insular and nationally parochial groups on the Canadian left. On every controversial international question--the purge of the "Gang of Four" or China's bloc with the Vorster regime during the South African invasion of Angola--IS hides behind its claim to be a Canadian "Marxist-Leninist" organization and maintains an uneasy silence.

**"SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY":
FROM KAUTSKY TO HOXHA**

IS's studied agnosticism on international questions and its concentration on problems faced in its "own" country is profoundly anti-internationalist and is completely counterposed to the practice of Marx and Lenin. This national parochialism finds its roots in Stalin's anti-Leninist theory of "socialism in one country," the ideological rationalization for the subordination of the interests of the international proletariat to the narrow nationalist interests of

the parasitic ruling Soviet bureaucracy.

When Stalin on behalf of the Soviet bureaucracy imposed the dogma of "socialism in one country" in the 1920's, the "one country" he had in mind was, of course, the Soviet Union. However each Stalinist regime which has come to power since World War II (Yugoslavia, North Korea, China, Vietnam etc.) has taken this theory as its own. Building "socialism" in its country each bureaucracy is willing to abandon the interests of the international proletariat to promote its own national interests.

"Socialism in one country" is premised on the profoundly reactionary nationalist conception that the necessary and sufficient conditions for the construction of a socialist society exist in every single country. This was the ideology which the German social chauvinists used to justify support to the Kaiser in World War I, while on the other side of the trenches Plekhanov and the Mensheviks were supporting the Czar. Had Lenin and the Bolsheviks not struggled against the social-patriots (and their talk of the historic mission of their own country as the "national homeland" of socialism) in the struggle for a revolutionary communist international they would never have been able to lead the Russian working class to power. They would have been no better than Kautsky.

The "three worlds" shibboleth which the IS finds so distasteful is simply Mao's application of Stalin's "socialism in one country" to China. The value of the "three worlds" double talk for the bureaucrats in Peking is that it can be used to alibi just about any of the various zigs and zags of China's counter-revolutionary foreign policy. IS members may recoil from Peking's most gross betrayals-- they do not relish apologizing for the closing of the gates of the Chinese embassy in Santiago to refugees from the bloody coup in September 1973 or the elevation of such reactionaries as the Shah of Iran or President Sadat of Egypt to the status of anti-imperialist "progressives." Yet IS remains committed to the politics which produced these betrayals: the politics of "socialism in one country."

Of course, the real ideological pretext for the "three worlds" nonsense is the characterization of the Soviet Union as "social-imperialist" and there-

fore the "main danger" against which it is permissible to ally with anyone: NATO, the Shah, South Africa. Using plenty of "three worlds" mumbo-jumbo Maoists in the imperialist countries seek to ally with the real imperialists, their own bourgeoisie. Thus by misusing Lenin's term to malign the Soviet Union, Maoists become what Lenin actually meant by social imperialist--self-proclaimed "socialists" who ally with their own imperialist bourgeoisie.

IS: HEADED DOWN CPL'S ROAD TO OBLIVION?


It must be galling for many IS members to be spurned as "Trotskyites" by most of their Maoist competitors because of IS's leftish objections to the Great Helmsman's own "three worlds" doctrine. However, IS's claim to uphold the elementary Leninist principle that the "main enemy" of the proletariat is its "own" bourgeoisie immediately sets it apart from the more orthodox Maoists of CCL(M-L) who eagerly peddle the reactionary poison manufactured in Peking that workers in the imperialist countries should support the strengthening of NATO against the Soviet Union. Today, the responsibility to uphold the class line of defense of the remaining conquests of the October Revolution--collectivized property--falls to the Trotskyists. Unlike the toadies of Peking and Tirana we resolutely oppose the imperialists' attempts to reconquer the Soviet Union for the capitalist marketplace (which would be quickly followed by "mopping up" operations in East Europe, China, Cuba, Vietnam etc.) At the same time we stand for building revolutionary workers parties in the Soviet Union, China, Albania and the other deformed workers states to lead political revolutions to overthrow the parasitic ruling bureaucracies.

The IS's attempt to assume a posture of loyal but slightly critical Maoists/Hoxhaites is doomed to failure. Unlike the Hua Kuo-feng sycophants of CCL(M-L), IS seems to place more importance on preserving some shred of political integrity than proving its unswerving loyalty to whichever clique currently holds power in Peking. IS faces a bleak future--for integrity is not well rewarded in the world of Stalinist politics. CCL(M-L) has cashed in on the Peking franchise while Hardial Bains has been signed on as Enver Hoxha's local public relations man --leaving IS to follow in the footsteps of the ex-Maoist CPL, condemned to a slow political death as a Stalinist sect without a "socialist fatherland."

STALIN IN WORLD WAR II--
IS TRIES TO FALSIFY HISTORY

The IS's "principal contradiction" lies in its attempt to reconcile the Stalinist tradition with its claim to orthodox Leninism. To avoid confronting the fundamental question that split the international communist movement after the death of Lenin-- "socialism in one country" vs. revolutionary internationalism, IS chooses to rewrite history. Thus, to defend the "People's Front" policy adopted by the Comintern in 1935, IS is forced to make the idiotic claim that the authors of this strategy were opposed to class collaboration with the "anti-fascist"

(continued on page 10)



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SC/WV Distributors Win Court Battle Against Ford Canada

On April 20, the attempts of the Ford Motor Company to violate freedom of the press and the democratic rights of workers at its Oakville, Ontario plant were stymied. Justice Murray Allen, presiding in Halton Regional Provincial Court, dismissed charges of "petty trespass" against three distributors of the labor-socialist publications Workers Vanguard and Spartacist Canada. The Ford witness, a plant security guard, was unable to prove Ford ownership of the property where the alleged "petty trespass" occurred.

In his court testimony, the Ford witness claimed that the municipal road allowance which provides for public thoroughfare between property boundaries

and roadways does not apply to the Ford Motor Company. Thus, according to Ford, there is no accessible public place from which to distribute literature to the workforce at the Ford Oakville plant. Responding to questions from Toronto lawyer Paul Copeland, the security guard stated that even the union at the workplace (UAW Local 707) must apply to the company for approval of material to be distributed to its membership!

While the case against the Workers Vanguard and Spartacist Canada distributors has been dismissed, the right to distribute material at the plant and the right of the workforce to read what it chooses has not been established. Ford management is intent on stopping the distribution of socialist newspapers to workers at the plant, just as it is intent on censoring the literature of the UAW. Ford's control of all material distributed at the plant must not go unchallenged. It is essential that the fight continue until Ford workers have access to labor-socialist literature and their own union's publications without harassment and censorship. ■

Body Politic Protests Ford Harassment

15 April 1978

Spartacist Canada Publishing Association
P. O. Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

Dear friends:

We at The Body Politic gay liberation journal were extremely distressed and angry at hearing about the stupid harassment of your members and supporters of the Trotskyist League because of your efforts to distribute your press to workers at the Ford Oakville Plant.

Harassment and intimidation of those attempting to publish and distribute progressive literature espousing political positions with which the ruling class does not agree is nothing new to us. Several times in the publishing history of TBP we have been directly attacked and intimidated by the corporate daily press, the police, and other agents of reaction and repression. The current battle which we are fighting is merely the most recent response to the newest of these attacks.

We recognize the Ford and police attacks on TL supporters as another aspect of the vicious attacks on progressive people, militants, gays, and women which are being waged by the Canadian state. Because of this, we strongly support your fights against these attacks. We support your right to distribute progressive literature

at the Ford Oakville Plant and wherever there are gatherings of working people and oppressed groups.

We support your demands to drop the charges and to stop Ford Motor Company's censorship and thug attacks. We regret that UAW Local 707 has not been supportive and has not yet recognized and defended the right of its membership to have access to progressive publications.

We wish you the best of luck in court, while realizing that a court determination of your rights will necessarily reflect the interests of the state and not necessarily your or our interests.

Please keep us informed of the developments in this case.

We also enclose a small financial contribution which comes from individual members of The Body Politic editorial collective. As you know, TBP is facing extremely lengthy, complicated and costly court battles, and thus we regret our inability to make a further or more substantial contribution at this time.

We regret that the pressures of work and time have delayed this response to your appeal for such a long period of time.

With best wishes and in struggle,

Paul Trollope
for The Body Politic collective

cc UAW Local 707

CLC CONVENTION ...

(continued from page 2)

The "compromise" resolution talked vaguely about a "new political and constitutional relationship" and granted the Québécois the "right to determine [their] own political and constitutional future." The phrase "national solidarity" was enough to conciliate Laberge, but the CLC bureaucrats had given up nothing--for them it was simply a new translation of "national unity." The phrases about the Québécois "determining" a new constitutional deal only meant that Quebec's future is to be "determined" within the confines of Canadian confederation.

It is the elementary duty of all working-class organizations to unconditionally defend Quebec's right to independence. If Trudeau carries out his threats to "use the sword" against Quebec, workers in English Canada must respond with strikes, refusal to handle military goods and other actions to concretely support the Québécois. However the chauvinist labor tops who did nothing to defend the hundreds of workers, labor leaders and leftists who were rounded up in Quebec under the 1970 War Measures Act have no intention of lifting a finger to defend the simple democratic national and language rights of the Québécois.

The bureaucrats managed to buy themselves some time with their "compromise" resolution. When the question was called only about 300 of the 2,400 delegates voted against the statement. Supporters of the Communist Party made some verbal objections but prominent CP supporter, Gordie Lambert, told the convention that opposing the resolution would be "like opposing motherhood." Of the unions which had passed resolutions favoring Quebec's right to self-determination, only the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) voted solidly against the CLC statement.

MAVERICK CUPW BUREAUCRATS ON THE "OUTS"

This was not the only time the CUPW leadership was to find itself at loggerheads with the CLC bureaucracy. Throughout the convention, the union's militant-talking president, Jean-Claude Parrot, attacked the CLC's "middle of the road" positions and argued for the delegates to support CUPW's Program of Action. But Parrot's bombastic talk about fighting for a shorter work week at no loss in pay and for "unlimited industrial action" to defeat any new edition of wage controls will not cut much ice with his own union members who have been without a contract for almost a year.

The Globe and Mail, the voice of Bay Street, dubbed the CUPW delegation the "new bible thumpers of the labour movement" and branded Parrot a flaming "zealot." In the same article it was also reported that:

"Congress officers have privately lumped the CUPW with the Communists, a small assortment

of Maoists, and the Trotskyists as the trouble-makers and divisive element at the convention."
--Globe and Mail, 7 April

The Globe's redbaiting provoked a floor fight on the last day of the convention as Parrot vehemently denied any "communist" influence in the CUPW and McDermott denied ever making the charge. But things cooled down after a brief tete-a-tete between McDermott and Parrot. Parrot, the "zealot" and McDermott reached "unity" on a resolution supporting Parrot's sub-reformist scheme to turn the Post Office into a Crown Corporation--thereby exchanging the Public Service Staff Relations Act for the only slightly less reactionary Canada Labour Code.

Tough-talker McDermott hopes to bolster the CLC's authority in the trade unions and at the same time strengthen the bonds of the Canadian labor movement with the parliamentary cretins of the NDP. Ed Broadbent, the dull and vacuous leader of the federal NDP, was a featured speaker at the convention. Broadbent took to the podium to do some electioneering and painted a rosy picture of life for workers under a social-democratic government. Certainly the British working class which has been under attack from Broadbent's social-democratic cohorts of the British Labour Party (BLP) would have a different story to tell. Like the BLP, the NDP where in power has proved itself an equal if not better instrument for the administration of the capitalists' anti-labor offensive than the bosses' parties themselves. Broadbent himself hopes for nothing more from the upcoming federal elections than to emerge as the junior partner in a coalition government with either of the two major capitalist parties.

Broadbent made a feeble attempt to curry favor with Quebec delegates with his tortured rendition of the French language. But the English-Canadian-chauvinist NDP which has consistently refused to recognize the right of Quebec to self-determination has little support among the Quebec workers. What the labor movement needs is a workers party that--unlike Broadbent and Co.'s NDP--can forge a fighting unity between the militant Québécois workers and their English-speaking brothers and sisters in the struggle for a workers government. The struggle for such a party is part of the fight for a class-struggle leadership of the entire labor movement.

The CLC tops had their way at this year's convention but the ranks of the labor movement will be the ones to foot the bill for their "leaders" commitment to maintaining class peace for the bosses. Their parliamentary legalist schemes to soften the blows of the capitalists' offensive are as impotent as they are contemptible. Labor needs a leadership which is prepared to mobilize the entire strength of the working class, both industrial and political, to smash the capitalists' offensive and open the road to socialist revolution.■

LESSONS OF THE U.S. MINERS STRIKE



OHIO MINERS BLOCK SHIPMENT OF SCAB COAL

Wide World

For nearly four months this winter 160,000 American coal miners waged the most magnificent strike battle in the last thirty years of U.S. labor history. After holding out for 110 days the ranks of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) went back to work on March 27 under a contract that is universally despised as a major step backward for the UMWA. While the settlement is a setback for the miners, the coal operators did not succeed in grinding them down nor in crushing their militant solidarity. The coal diggers out in the Appalachians stood and fought back against a concerted offensive by the mine barons and the U.S. government that was supposed to "teach them a lesson."

With unsurpassed militancy the coal miners rocked the U.S. ruling class and inspired the entire labor movement. The massive outpouring of donations to the strikers and the appearance of union-led caravans in the coal fields were on a scale unheard of in recent decades. Bosses and union misleaders from one end of the country to the other began to worry that workers might become infected with "miners fever." Shortly after the miners voted to return to work, New York City's municipal transit workers, themselves preparing for a possible strike, hooted down their union bureaucrats and carried placards reading "Miners Aren't the Only Ones Working in a Hole."

To the end, the miners upheld the proud traditions of their union--no contract, no work and steadfast labor solidarity. Wave after wave of roving pickets swept through the coal fields shutting down scab mines. Huge stockpiles of coal sat unused--the bosses were afraid to move them. Despite two martyred dead and hundreds of arrests, the miners were not intimidated by the companies' gun thugs or the vicious state troopers. They continued to choke off the supply of coal and by early February the once-cocky coal operators were running to the White House for help.

Within hours after the miners had thrown the second sellout contract into the bonfires, a frantic Jimmy Carter appeared on national television on March 6 to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act and order the miners back to work. But as they have done three times in the past thirty years the miners openly defied the hated slave-labor law and turned the government's strikebreaking measures into a dead letter. The federal judge who granted the government injunction refused Carter's appeal to extend it after two weeks, complaining "The miners are not paying any attention to what I am doing anyway."

HOW THE STRIKE WAS LOST

In the end, it was not the cops, courts, coal operators and capitalist politicians who finally forced the miners back to work. It was the treachery of the UMWA leadership that derailed the courageous strike, as many miners were discouraged by the hopeless prospect of endlessly voting against sellout contracts handed them by Miller and Co. When the strike was over, the UMWA's cradle-to-grave health care system was gone, while the threat of disciplinary firing hangs over the heads of any miners who dare to strike over such life-and-death issues as mine safety.

Although the miners forced the government and the operators to back off on their demand for an explicit no strike "stability" clause, they still do not have the right to strike during the life of the contract. Under the terms of the new contract, which was narrowly ratified in a 57 to 43 percent vote, pensions will remain inadequate and unequal, with miners retiring before 1976 (presently 93 percent of retirees) collecting a paltry \$275 a month. The miners know only too well that this rotten settlement will make it even more difficult to organize the non-union mines which threaten the bargaining power and even the very existence of the UMWA.

The miners returned to work bitter and disgusted but not broken. They know that they were not conquered by their avowed enemies; they were betrayed by their own leaders. The settlement, while a setback, is a ceasefire not a rout. Both the miners and the bosses realize that there are hard battles ahead.

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP IN THE UMWA

The great coal miners strike of 1978 is rich in political lessons. Here was a vivid example of what Leon Trotsky called the crisis of proletarian leadership--160,000 miners all but brought the companies and the United States government to its knees but in the end they were denied victory because they lacked a leadership determined to win the struggle. Socialists often refer to the venal sellout union bureaucrats as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." Seldom has there been a more despicable example of how "responsible labor statesmen" are agents of the class enemy within the workers movement. Arnold Miller, who was put into office by the U. S. Labor Department in 1973, let Carter write the contracts that he tried to pawn off on the miners. This treacherous bureaucrat willingly assisted the companies and the government in their attempts to starve the miners into submission by refusing to distribute the more than 4.5 million dollars contributed to the Miners Relief Fund.

Trade union bureaucrats like Miller always claim

that they can't challenge anti-labor legislation like the Taft-Hartley Act. But the miners proved what Marxists have always said about the bosses' laws --that they are merely an expression of the balance of class forces. When Taft-Hartley was finally invoked, the government had to scour the mining towns to find a few dozen scabs who actually "obeyed the law." Today in Canada, where the Trudeau government has already banned the right to strike for postal workers during federal elections and is campaigning for more sweeping anti-labor legislation, union militants must not forget this lesson.

THE AMERICAN LEFT AND THE STRIKE

Throughout the strike, the Spartacist League/U. S. (SL/U. S.) unceasingly struggled for genuine acts of solidarity with the miners. It publicized the efforts of steel/worker militants to fight for a joint steel/coal strike as well as the activities of steel and maritime workers who fought to have their unions hot-cargo scab coal. In response to Taft-Hartley, the SL/U. S. called for protest work stoppages and publicized resolutions to this effect passed by the United Auto Workers Local 6 in Chicago, the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555 in the Bay Area and by the International Executive Board of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

(continued on page 10)

RWL Endorses SWP Betrayal of Miners

The widespread support for the courageous battle of the U. S. coal miners in the American working class forced even some trade union bureaucrats to stick their necks out. On March 10, after Carter imposed the Taft-Hartley injunction, even the top bureaucrats of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) adopted a resolution calling for a 24-hour coastwide strike in opposition to the use of the government's strikebreaking slave-labor law against the miners. A similar motion was passed almost unanimously at a membership meeting of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), Local 1555 in the Bay Area.

But this initiative in the labor movement was too much for the despicable reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). At a March 11 strike support meeting of some 200 trade unionists in the Bay Area an ATU militant put forward a motion calling for the immediate implementation of the 24-hour strike proposal. SWP supporters in attendance lined up in a solid voting bloc with the most rabid right-wing bureaucrats at the meeting to defeat the motion. Even the hardened reformists of the Communist Party couldn't bring themselves to vote against the motion. In embarrassment, they chose to abstain.

At a public forum of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) Trotskyist League supporters confronted the SWP's main reporter on the coal strike, Nancy Cole, with this treachery. Cole tried to duck the issue by feigning ignorance of the incident. However, Joe Flexer, a former leader of a workerist "left" opposition in the ex-Revolutionary Marxist Group, who fancies himself an old hand at trade union struggles, was not so coy. Apparently eager to demonstrate that he has abandoned his "infantile leftism" of yesteryear, this aging workerist windbag leapt to the defense of the SWP's sabotage of the motion. Trying to belittle the significance of the ILWU proposal Flexer demagogically asked, "Was it realistic? Would it in fact have been a strike of hundreds of thousands of workers?"

The ILWU has one of the most militant traditions in the American labor movement--stretching back to the San Francisco General Strike of 1936. But the SWP/RWL are not subject to the rank-and-file pressure which forced the hand of the ILWU tops. The braintrusters for the trade union bureaucrats, these "socialist" pimps for Arnold Miller had no trouble standing to the right of the ILWU tops on a motion which represented a potential break in the bureaucrat's do-nothing front. Flexer's defense of the SWP's betrayal only demonstrates the depths to which yesterday's "leftists" of the RMG have sunk.

MINERS STRIKE...

(continued from page 9)

In contrast to the activity of the SL/U.S. the record of the rest of the American left is dismal. The Communist Party published a statement which hailed the UMWA top's sellout as a "real victory for rank and file miners" (Daily World, 30 March). The fake-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) spent their time during the strike collecting tins of tuna fish on the campuses while attacking the Spartacist League's calls for hot cargoing and solidarity strikes as "ultra-left." On March 11, SWP supporters actively sabotaged a solidarity strike proposal at a meeting of Bay Area trade union militants (see box, page 9).

In 1972 practically all of the self-styled "socialists" of the American left (the CP, the SWP and the International Socialists among others) touted Miller's election as a "victory" for the miners. Even today when Miller is the most hated man in the coal fields none of these opportunist groups has repudiated its earlier support to this traitor. Only the SL/U.S. refused to bow to the dangerous illusions in Miller's campaign to "democratize" the UMWA via the capitalist courts. Today it is only too clear that throughout Miller's term in office the Labor Department acting on behalf of the coal operators has been dictating orders as they squashed one wildcat strike after another.

The 1978 miners strike should be a lesson to all workers that every major labor struggle leads ultimately to a confrontation with the bourgeois state. Far from being "neutral," as the labor bureaucrats claim, the government is the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole and it will side with the bosses every time.

The militancy and courage which the miners repeatedly displayed in the course of their strike did not yield a leadership to match these qualities. Nor will future militant struggles alone produce such a leadership. Only by ousting the trade union bureaucrats and replacing them with a leadership of tested class-struggle militants can the working class be victorious. A class-struggle leadership would fight to mobilize the labor movement in united struggle against the capitalists and their government. Such a leadership would strive to build a workers party to fight for a workers government to expropriate the mines, banks and industry, and run them in the interests of the millions of working people--not for the blood-soaked profits of a handful of capitalist parasites. ■

(Adapted from Workers Vanguard, 14 March 1978)

Trotskyist League Directory

Toronto(416) 366-4107
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 Vancouver(604) 254-9166
 Box 26 Station A, Vancouver, B.C.
 Winnipeg(204) 589-7214
 Box 3952 Station B, Winnipeg, Man.

IN STRUGGLE...

(continued from page 5)

imperialists. In May 1935, when French foreign minister Laval signed a mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union, the official communique stated: "Mr. Stalin fully understands and approves the national defense policy carried out by France..." Shortly thereafter French CP deputies voted for the government's defense budget in parliament--just as the traitors of the Second International had voted war credits for "national defense" in 1914. In Mao's words: "It is a conclusion drawn only by Trotskyists that we must fight all the imperialists" (quoted in John Gittings, The World and China).

Following Russia's entry into the war in 1941 every Stalinist party in the camp of the imperialist Allies supported the "progressive" wing of its "own" bourgeoisie--Mackenzie King in Canada or Franklin D. Roosevelt in the U.S. As a token of good will toward his bourgeois friends Stalin even ordered the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, claiming that it had outlived its original purpose! There was no contradiction between the line of Stalin and the policies followed by the CP's internationally--Stalin was the architect of "Browderite revisionism." The only tendency in the international working class movement which upheld the principled internationalist position that "the main enemy is at home" in all the imperialist countries during the last world war, while defending the Soviet Union against imperialism, was the Trotskyist Fourth International.

**REFORGE THE WORLD PARTY
 OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!**

It is easy for Gagnon and the IS leadership to use Lenin to make left-wing criticisms of the craven opportunism of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League--but they are unable to deal politically with the authentic Leninism of the Trotskyist League. Like their mentor Joseph Stalin, who drowned in blood the best of an entire generation of dedicated Bolsheviks in the infamous purges of the 1930's, the IS leadership has to resort to slander and physical exclusions in an attempt to seal off their membership from the revolutionary criticism of the Trotskyist League. In Vancouver on April 1 the Trotskyist League was singled out from among IS's various political opponents for exclusion from Gagnon's talk. However Gagnon & Co. cannot solve the manifold political contradictions in their organization, nor can they avoid political struggle through such cowardly tactics.

Today only the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency can claim the heritage of Lenin, for only we carry forward Trotsky's fight against Stalin's destruction of the Communist International. Those members of IS who take seriously their organization's partial left-criticisms of Maoist orthodoxy and who believe that it is necessary to build a Leninist internationalist proletarian vanguard must study the political issues involved in the Trotsky-Stalin fight. Forward to the rebirth of a principled democratic-centralist Leninist international--
REFORGE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL! ■

CCL (M-L): Out of Step with China over Near East

Arriving at a "correct" position on any given political question is usually as easy as picking up the mail for the Peking Stalinists of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) (CCL[M-L]). The CCL(M-L) leadership has only to read this week's Peking Review to know what to say in the next issue of the Forge. However, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's recent trip to Israel seems to have sparked a little subterranean "two-line struggle" between these Mao-sycophants and their mentors in Peking.

While the Forge denounced Sadat's negotiations with Israeli Prime Minister Begin as "a betrayal of the Palestinian people, the Arab nations, and his own people" (25 November), Hua Kuo-feng arrived at just the opposite conclusion. Hua commended Sadat's efforts to make a robbers peace with Israel as "just and conform[ing] to the interests of the Egyptian, Palestinian and other Arab peoples" (Peking Review, 10 February).

Could it be that CCL(M-L)'s subscription to Peking Review, has lapsed? Or has the Forge's resident China-watcher been on vacation? Certainly CCL(M-L)'s American cohorts in Mike Klonsky's Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (CP[M-L]) didn't waste any time changing gears when the "correct verdict" on Sadat's pilgrimage was handed down from the Forbidden Palace. After initially denouncing Sadat's "peace initiative" as an attempt "to spread division and discord among the Arab and Palestinian peoples [which] must be opposed" (Call, 28 November), Chairman Klonsky moved quickly to cover up his blunder. By December 12 CP(M-L) had discovered that "Sadat's actions represent a step against superpower hegemonism."

Anti-Sovietism lies at the root of China's line on the question. In order to become a client of U. S. imperialism Sadat has made the virulent anti-communism which has always been an aspect of Nasserism the modus operandi of his relations with the Soviet Union. Having joined a U. S. imperialist-sponsored alliance with the most reactionary regimes in the Near East--the sheiks and kings of the Arabian Peninsula--Sadat now qualifies as a "progressive anti-imperialist" in the eyes of the Chinese Stalinists. In the past CCL(M-L) has always loyally parroted the line of its Peking masters. It has called for strengthening the Canadian army against the danger of "Soviet social-imperialism" and shamelessly endorsed the "anti-imperialist" credentials of every reactionary anti-Soviet dictator from Pinochet to the Shah of Iran.

Yet over the question of Sadat's visits CCL(M-L) appears to be deliberately ignoring the opinion of the beloved leader of its socialist fatherland, Chairman Hua. Hua is quoted in the Peking Review of 10 February as saying that "We appreciate the heroic struggle waged by the Egyptian Government and people under the leadership of President Sadat to safeguard state sovereignty... and oppose big-power hegemonism." Four weeks later the Forge bitterly commented that "the Sadat-Begin talks have not stopped Zionist expansion and aggression. From the very beginning, the PLO denounced this dead-end, and exposed Sadat's betrayal" (17-31 March). While they may not like the idea of calling Sadat a "progressive," if CCL(M-L) wants to keep the Peking franchise in Canada they had better get their line straight.

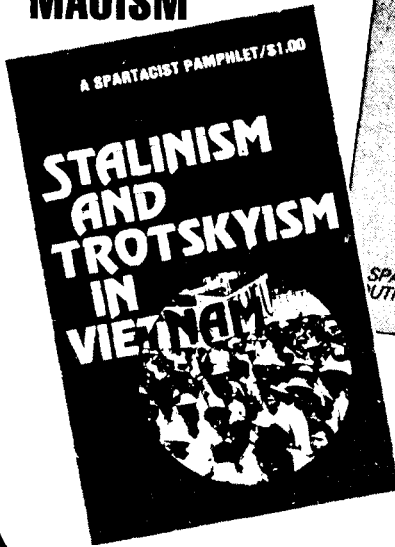
For our part we neither condemn Sadat as a "traitor" nor hail him as a "progressive." Sadat and the other colonels and sheiks who head the reactionary capitalist regimes of the Arab east are not the "betrayers" of Palestinian national rights: they are the enemies and oppressors of the Palestinian people. The road to Palestinian national liberation does not pass through an alliance with the Arab bourgeois states against Israel, as CCL(M-L) would have it. It lies in an alliance of the Arab workers and peasants with the Hebrew-speaking proletariat to overthrow the Begins and Sadats and establish a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Reviewed

TROTSKYISM vs. MAOISM

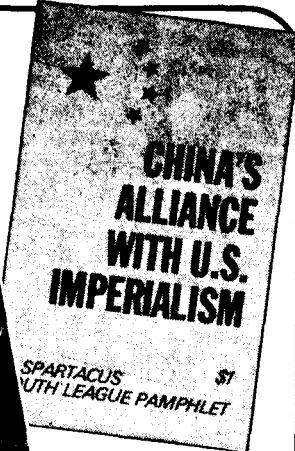
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Militants Fight for General Strike at LCUC Convention

APRIL 29-- The 38th Triennial Convention of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) which just concluded in Quebec City took place under the ominous shadow of a vicious anti-labor offensive. The initial target of the government's offensive is slated to be the public sector workers. The major piece of legislation brought forward so far is Bill C-28 which will impose permanent wage controls on all government workers. With this bill the government aims to reduce overhead for the capitalists while also depressing the price of labor power in the economy as a whole. At the same time the pressure of the swelling ranks of the unemployed (who today number well over a million workers) will hold down wages in the private sector.

Within the public sector the government recognizes that the postal workers, both the LCUC and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), constitute the hard core of trade union militancy. Government workers only won the right to strike in 1967 as the result of an "illegal" postal strike which smashed existing legislation. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Trudeau's curtain-raiser in the current campaign was Bill C-45 which has made it "illegal" for postal workers to strike during a federal election. The government is also pushing Bill C-26--a proposal to legalize mail tampering by Canada's political police (the RCMP)--as well as legislation to end automatic indexing of government workers pensions.

The current round of reactionary legislation is the direct result of the failure of Canada's labor big-wigs to smash the government's wage controls program in 1975-76. Rather than organizing a defensive general strike to defeat wage controls, the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) brass staged a token "day of protest" on October 14, 1976 to dissipate the tremendous hostility to this anti-labor law among rank-and-file trade unionists. If Trudeau is allowed to successfully implement Bills C-45 and C-28 it can only lay the basis for further attacks on the entire labor movement.

This year's LCUC convention was a critical one for the future of the union, for it is targeted as one of the first victims of the government's attacks. At the same time the LCUC, as one of the key unions in the public sector, is well placed to lead a counter-offensive by the labor movement. Unlike the industrial unions in Canada, which tend to be regionally concentrated, the postal unions are national unions and thus have an economic and political significance which far outweighs their numbers.

However, far from preparing to lead a fight against the government the leadership of the LCUC is pursuing a policy of systematic collaboration with the bosses. Yet despite the best efforts of

LCUC tops, and their opposite numbers in the CUPW, the government is not convinced that they will be able to contain the militancy of the ranks and has chosen to make postal workers the initial subjects of its anti-labor legislative offensive.

The convention opened with the president's report in which McGarry gave a glowing account of his first two and a half years in office. His remarks combined fulsome self-congratulation with a catalogue of the standard rationales offered by bureaucrats everywhere for their attempts to make peace with the bosses. "I believe that the National Executive has given sound leadership and am unaware of any mistakes which were detrimental to the membership" intoned McGarry smugly.

However, when Bob McBurney, a class-struggle militant from Local 1 (Toronto) rose to reply to the President's report he painted a somewhat different (and more accurate) picture. McBurney reminded delegates how McGarry had enforced the LCUC bureaucracy's criminal policy of crossing

(continued on page 14)

The following motion, put forward by Bob McBurney, was passed by Local 1 (Toronto) of the LCUC on April 20:

Whereas, the government has viciously attacked the public sector unions, and the postal unions in particular, through Bill C-28 wage controls, Bill C-45 denying strikes, breaking contracts through amendments to AIB, Bill C-26 and phase-out of pension indexing; and

Whereas, any anti-labor legislation passed against public sector unions will be used against the private sector, thereby requiring a united response of the entire labor movement to defeat these attacks; and

Whereas, the LCUC fought to obtain the right to strike through militant strike action, and must now organize to defend its rights by the same means;

Therefore be it resolved, that this LCUC National Convention put out a call to all CLC affiliates to call on the CLC to convene a delegated congress of all labor, organized and unorganized, to elect a strike committee and launch a 2 day general protest strike during the federal election to smash Bill C-45, and the government's proposed anti-labor legislation; and

Be it further resolved, that this CLC initiated delegated convention plan for further industrial action including a general strike to defeat these anti-labor laws if they are enacted.

RWL at UofT: Runs with Aspiring Boss, Supports Police Auxiliaries

Last month Spartacist Canada reported on the March 16 demonstration against educational cutbacks at the Ontario legislature where student bureaucrats and Communist Party (CP) supporters joined forces with the police to prevent militant students from entering the parliament buildings at Queen's Park. The despicable role played by these volunteer defenders of bourgeois "law and order" did not go unnoticed. For weeks after the demonstration the University of Toronto student newspaper, the Varsity, was full of angry letters denouncing these careerist hacks who were so ready to double as police auxiliaries.

However, widespread as the revulsion at the treachery of these supposed "student leaders" was, it was not quite unanimous--they did find defenders. Among them stood the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). At an RWL anti-cutbacks forum on March 31 RWL spokesman Joanne Pritchard apologized for the student bureaucrats, explaining that it had been necessary to avoid a "confrontation." When questioned by a member of the Trotskyist League after the forum Pritchard and two other members of the RWL (all former members of the reformist League for Socialist Action) shamelessly reiterated their position that the bureaucrats' bloc with the cops had been a "good thing." While several former members of the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group present evinced a certain discomfiture with their new organization's position on the question, they all appeared to accept it. After all, they have had to swallow worse since their fusion with the social-democratic LSA.

It is only a short step from defending such actions to committing them. Of course the "peaceful legal" parliamentary cretins of the ex-LSA have plenty of experience in dragging the name of Trotskyism through the mud in order to demonstrate their

"responsibility" to the bourgeoisie. But why, one might ask, did the RWL on its own initiative leap to defend such an unpopular betrayal? Certainly there was no mass pressure to do so--practically every left group in Toronto, as well as a large number of normally "non-political" students, has expressed disgust at the actions of the student bureaucrats.

Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that RWL member Barbara Stewart was running for Vice-President of the Graduate Students Union (GSU) at U of T on the slate of the oh-so-respectable "Coalition for a Democratic GSU." After a year of almost uninterrupted inactivity at U of T the RWL chose to surface in a bloc united only by a desire to "democratize" the GSU (which for the past several years has been dominated by a clique of Communist Party supporters.) In their time in office the CP supporters had indeed committed a number of bureaucratic atrocities. These hacks had also figured prominently among those who rallied to the defense of the Ontario legislature on March 16.

In the hands of even slightly militant opponents the incumbent GSU executive's role at the demonstration would have been deadly ammunition. But neither the Coalition nor the RWL saw fit to even mention it. In fact the Coalition's election publicity didn't contain the slightest hint of leftist politics. The "Coalition for Democracy" was nothing more than a bloc against the Communist Party. Its candidates ran on a sub-reformist program which could easily have been endorsed by the Young Progressive Conservatives. One of the four members of the Coalition slate was Ian Tripp, a graduate student in Management Studies who hopes to find himself a place in Canada's corporate elite after graduation. When asked about the apparent anomaly of an aspiring business manager on a common slate with a member of a self-proclaimed communist organization, Tripp told a Spartacist Canada reporter that he "certainly [has] nothing in common with communists." Neither, we might add, does the RWL.■

"Sexual Liberation"...

(continued from page 3)

(like Ed Sadlowski) or trying to curry favour with petty-bourgeois feminists or New Left sexual lifestylists, the political chameleons of the International Socialists systematically adapt their program to accommodate to bourgeois consciousness.

In a recent article, Workers' Action made the perceptive observation that "love and sex are topics almost everyone is interested in." No doubt the I. S. leadership hopes that a little bit of this universal popularity will rub off on Workers' Action--enabling them to hustle a few papers and perhaps even make a few recruits. But the I. S. cannot expect a new lease on life with its latest libidinous gimmickry. For our part we look forward to the further disintegration and eventual disappearance of this clique-ridden gang of "liberated" social democrats.■

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LCUC . . .

(continued from page 12)

the picket lines of members of other postal unions when they were on strike--thus deepening the craft divisions among postal workers. McBurney blasted McGarry's cooperation with management in establishing "Intergroup"--a joint union-management committee which McGarry disingenuously referred to in his report as a "method of problem-solving and consultation." This class-collaborationist scheme is based on the so-called "win-win philosophy," in which both union and management are supposed to emerge as "winners" from their "consultations."

McGarry's class-collaborationist schemes are not limited to trying to "win-win" in Intergroup. He is also pushing to bring the LCUC under the reactionary Canada Labour Code (instead of the present Public Service Staff Relations Act) by begging the government to make the Post Office into a semi-autonomous Crown Corporation. But postal workers stand to gain nothing by trading in one piece of anti-union legislation for another--the answer is to smash all the capitalist government's anti-labor legislation.

The LCUC leadership obviously feels pressure from the ranks to come up with some answers to the government's attacks. On the first day of the convention the leadership put forward several emergency resolutions which, among other things, addressed Bills C-28 and C-45. All of the leadership's motions were long on militant rhetoric, but short on practical proposals for taking the struggle forward. The only definite proposal contained in

any of the motions was that the delegates should endorse both the past and future actions of the LCUC National Executive, and the CLC.

However, with the bitter experience of the trade union bureaucrats' sabotage of the fight against wage controls to look back on, many of the delegates had little confidence in the leadership's vague talk of possible future "industrial action." In the discussion of the Executive's resolution on Bill C-45 a militant from Toronto rose to put forward the first part of a motion passed in Local 1 (see box). This proposal outlined a concrete strategy for mobilizing the whole labor movement in a two-day general protest strike to smash the government's offensive. The floor-fight which erupted around the amendment proved to be the key struggle at the convention. Delegates from Quebec, Kingston and Toronto went to the mikes to speak in favor of it. Despite the unanimous opposition of the National Executive, a third of the delegates supported the Local 1 proposal when the vote was called.

By its proven commitment to the politics of class-collaboration during its two and a half years in office, the McGarry leadership has demonstrated that it lacks the capacity to defend the union--much less lead the counter-offensive which is so desperately needed. The treacherous business unionists who sit atop the LCUC and other unions act only as a brake on the combativity of the ranks. These sellouts must be replaced by a leadership dedicated to carrying the struggle against the bosses to its victorious conclusion: a workers government and the expropriation of the capitalist class. ■

Fleck Strike...

(continued from page 16)

cruisers, buses and vans were assembled inside the industrial park. To keep an eye on the picketers, the bosses' strikebreakers in blue had installed a special camera that could film anyone approaching the plant even in the early morning darkness.

The UAW tops have done nothing to stop the use of scab wiring from Fleck at auto plants in Canada and the U. S. At a meeting of UAW Local 707 (Ford Oakville) union militants put forward a motion calling on the local and the International to organize mass pickets daily at Fleck and demanding the International declare a ban on the handling of Fleck products during the strike. The motion called for a special membership meeting to organize a plant shutdown until Ford stops using the scab wiring. In response, UAW International reps counselled the militants not to "go off half-cocked." This so-called "half-cocked" proposal was exactly the same action which White had earlier claimed the UAW would take.

The motion was ruled out of order by the local bureaucrats who were aided in winning the vote by supporters of the Canadian Party of Labour. Although

sabotaged by the labor fakers and their Stalinist bootlickers the motion pointed the way forward to victory for the embattled Fleck strikers. Union militants must demand concrete actions of labor solidarity with the strikers. Hot cargo Fleck wiring! For daily mass pickets to shut down Fleck!

The bosses have decided to turn this strike into a test of strength with organized labor in southern Ontario. Under the terms of the court injunction the auto bosses have free rein to shove stepped-up labor discipline, speed-up and layoffs down the throats of all UAW members. White has said that the UAW plans to challenge the injunction in court, but the courts have already shown that they are just the rubber stamp for the bosses' anti-labor laws. Union militants must follow the example of the U. S. coal miners who threw the bosses' strikebreaking legislation back in their face and openly defied the government's back-to-work orders. As the miners proved, organized labor has the muscle to turn the bosses' injunctions into worthless pieces of paper.

The Fleck strike has evoked such public sympathy that even Tory Labour Minister Bette Stephenson told the strikers that, "it is inappropriate there should be any question of union security in this day and age" (Globe and Mail, 21 April).

She then had some trouble explaining her government's use of cops and the courts to smash this just struggle. With the daily public exposure of the direct links between the Tory government and this strikebreaking firm Stephenson must try to give the bosses' government an appearance of "even-handedness" while the instruments of state repression--the cops, courts and jails are utilized to smash this strike.

A number of labor misleaders, including Ontario NDP leader, Michael Cassidy, have tried to use the Fleck strike to try to boost their credentials as fighters for the working people. But the Fleck workers must place no faith in these labor statesmen. The shutdown at Talbotville was an inspiring display of labor solidarity. But for the UAW hacks it was only a grandstanding maneuver staged to back up McDermott's visit to the Fleck picket lines. The UAW tops have already shown that they have no intention of living up to their threats to shut down plants where scab wiring is still being used.

UAW militants must not allow the Fleck strike

to be strangled by the bureaucracy. The tragic defeats of similar strikes at Essex last year and North American Plastics in 1970 must not be repeated. With systematic mass labor support the Fleck workers can win their battle with the company, cops and scabs. At an April 30 general membership meeting of UAW Local 303, Scarborough, a motion calling on the International to build daily mass pickets at Fleck and pledging the local to send its own contingent to the Fleck lines was passed overwhelmingly.

A victory at Fleck can open the road for the organization of the tens of thousands of workers in small sweat shops at full union scale. The leadership of the Fleck strike have limited their demands to a paltry wage increase and a compulsory dues check-off. But backed by the tremendous economic muscle of the UAW Fleck workers can win far more than the pittance the union is asking for. They should at least have all the benefits of the UAW Big Three contracts. Victory to the Fleck strike! ■

Court Sanctions Raid on *Body Politic*

The vicious anti-democratic attack on the Toronto gay liberation newsmagazine the Body Politic was given "legal" sanction last month in the Ontario Supreme Court. On March 15 Judge Hugh Garrett rejected a bid by legal counsel for the Body Politic to quash the search warrant which authorized a police "morality squad" raid on the paper's offices last December. The raid is part of the continuing right-wing offensive against the democratic rights of homosexuals. Spearheaded by Florida orange juice huckster, pharisaical psalm singer and professional bigot Anita Bryant, the campaign was promoted locally by Toronto's daily mouth-piece of bad taste and reactionary opinion, the Toronto Sun. Not content with merely ransacking the offices of the Body Politic, the ever-vigilant guardians of public "morality" decided to cart away twelve crates of business records, subscription lists, books, classified advertising files, unpublished manuscripts and just about anything else they could carry for "further study." On January 5 charges of possessing "obscene" materials and distributing same through the mails were laid against the publishers of the Body Politic.

One of the supposedly "obscene" items seized in the raid was a book which had been previously approved by Canadian customs officials as sufficiently "moral" to be admitted into Canada. Also seized for evidence of "obscenity" were copies of the December-January issue of the paper which contained an article entitled "Men Loving Boys Loving Men." This issue had already been on sale on newsstands across the city for four weeks at the time of the raid. To obtain proof that the Body Politic is in fact sent through the mails the police had only to contact the Post Office or read the newspaper's masthead. Far from attempting

to uncover evidence of a breach of the hypocritical public "decency" of the bourgeoisie the gestapo-style raid on the Body Politic was obviously intended to suppress the paper and intimidate its publishers and subscribers.

The search warrant which the police used to make their entry specified neither the "evidence" sought nor the charges to be laid. Judge Garrett's decision to uphold the "legality" of the warrant, and thereby to endorse such punitive police "fishing expeditions," establishes a very dangerous precedent. As Ken Popert, one of the defendants in the case, remarked following the court hearing:

"In upholding the warrant, Judge Hugh Garrett has clothed with judicial respectability a procedure which allows the police to close any publication and to seize the names and addresses of its readers."

--Globe and Mail, 16 March

The attack on the Body Politic is both an attack on democratic rights of homosexuals and an outrageous violation of the freedom of the press. All labor and left organizations and all those with a stake in the defense of democratic rights must demand the immediate dropping of the charges, the quashing of the search warrant and the immediate return of all the seized materials.

The publishers of the Body Politic, who are to be tried for "obscenity" in June, plan to carry their legal battle against the search warrant to the Ontario Court of Appeal. They estimate that the total legal expenses of their defense are liable to run to some \$30,000. Spartacist Canada urges its readers to send donations to Lynn King, in trust for the Body Politic Free the Press Fund, c/o Cornish, King, Sachs and Waldman, Barristers and Solicitors, 111 Richmond St. W., Suite 320, Toronto, Ont. M5H 3N6. ■

SPARTACIST CANADA



FLECK WORKERS' "RIOT SQUAD" AT PICKET LINE

SC Photo

SHUT DOWN FLECK WITH MASS PICKETS!

Victory to the Fleck Strike!

For the past eight weeks, 80 workers on strike against Fleck Manufacturing Co. have battled special riot-equipped provincial police, the company and scabs. With the sporadic assistance of United Auto Workers (UAW) members from other locals across southern Ontario, the strikers, most of whom are women, have fought to defend their picket lines against the club-swinging, scabherding cops. Despite the Ontario government's massive anti-union mobilization to crush the strike and the arrest of 23 UAW members, the determination of the Fleck workers to win this struggle for their first UAW contract has not been broken.

On April 12, a contingent of 20 Fleck workers picketed the Ford assembly plant at Talbotville. The 1,500 day shift workers respected the line, shutting down production for the day. The auto bosses went squealing to the courts about the loss of their precious profits. The same day, the Ontario Supreme Court handed down an injunction banning pickets at the Talbotville plant. Ford Motor Co., fearful that the Fleck pickets would hit its other plants, pressed for a more sweeping injunction. Again, the robed enforcers of the bosses' "law and order" came through and granted Ford an injunction banning pickets at all Ford plants in southern Ontario until September 14, 1979--the expiry date of the UAW contract!

At the recent Canadian Labour Congress conven-

tion, Canadian UAW director and soon-to-be president of the CLC, Dennis McDermott, called a press conference concerning the Fleck strike. This self-described "street fighter" bragged, "There is a gun powder trail that leads up to the Premier's office and we're going to light it." It appeared however that McDermott's powder was all wet. The somnolent press conference was livened up only when a Spartacist Canada reporter asked McDermott what he was going to do about the use of scab wire from Fleck at the Ford Oakville plant. To McDermott's evident discomfort, Bob White, soon-to-be new Canadian UAW director, piped up, "if they continue to handle scab products we will shut Ford down." McDermott then added that he had warned Ford management: "you can't have peace with us in Oakville and wage war with us in Centralia."

But "labor peace" is just what McDermott and White are enforcing for the bosses. When McDermott finally made it down to the Fleck lines, on April 12, the tough-guy rhetoric was dropped. The "old street fighter" who had challenged, "let the cops start pushing Dennis McDermott around," pleaded with the picketers to be peaceful and commended the cops for being "good boys." That day, according to a Globe and Mail estimate, 500 cops, a special riot squad and more than 40 police

(continued on page 14)