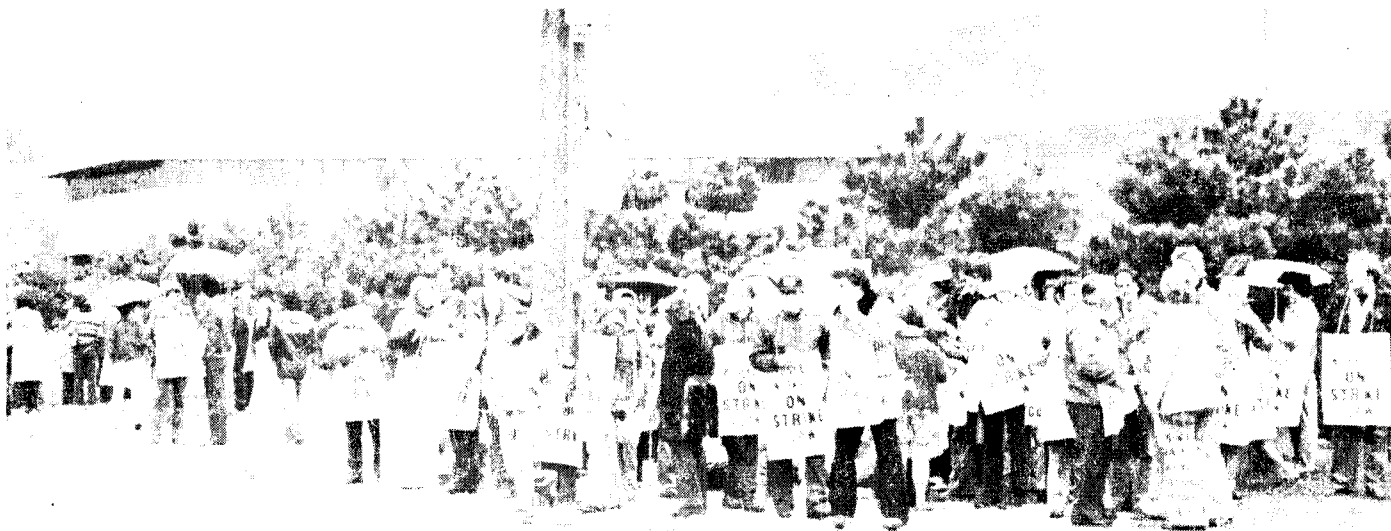


# 4 SPARTACIST

CANADA NOVEMBER 1978 No.31 25¢



CUPW PICKETS SOUTH CENTRAL POSTAL PLANT IN TORONTO

## Drop the Charges! Lift the Suspensions! **Trudeau Tramples Postal Strike**

The nine-day strike by the 23,000-member Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) was the most dramatic labor showdown with the capitalist government since the Quebec general strike of 1972. The militant strike which shut down the postal system from coast to coast posed point blank the need for the class mobilization of the entire Canadian labor movement against the vicious union busting of the Trudeau government.

The combative postal workers maintained solid picket lines in defiance of strikebreaking back-to-work legislation rushed through Parliament (Bill C-8) and threats of heavy fines, jail sentences and mass firings. On October 25, the last day of the strike, CUPW members received dismissal notices as Postmaster General Gilles Lamontagne threatened to reopen the Post Office with scabs. The same day criminal charges were laid against five CUPW national executive board members while the RCMP conducted gestapo-like raids on CUPW offices across the country. Earlier in the day picket lines began to wilt under the impact of the mass

dismissal threat and the indecisiveness of the CUPW national leadership. But the hamfisted RCMP raids and criminal charges against five members of the CUPW national executive board revitalized the CUPW ranks and outraged support for the postal workers swept through the ranks of organized labor. But that night the sometimes left-talking CUPW National President Jean-Claude Parrot called off the strike.

The following day Parrot was arrested and ordered by the Ontario Supreme Court to recant his earlier defiance of the government's back-to-work law and declare the union's strike "invalid." Even this humiliation was not enough for the vengeful capitalist rulers who are proceeding with criminal charges against Parrot and the other members of the national executive board, lower-level union officials and rank-and-file militants, including 31 members of the Vancouver local. Post Office supervisors are also attempting to purge militants from the workforce through suspensions. In Toron-

(continued on page 10)

## Vancouver Strike Paper: "It's War"

VANCOUVER, November 3--The first issue of the Vancouver Express, published by the six newspaper unions on strike against Pacific Press, hit the streets today. In its editorial, "Press ganged," the Express tells the strikers' side of the story and exposes the publishers' union-busting drive.

The strike against Pacific Press, which publishes Vancouver's two daily newspapers, the Sun and the Province, is the latest battle in a long war waged by newspaper publishers against the printing trades unions. "It's not just a strike--it's war" said Phil Needham, the co-chairman of the press unions' joint bargaining council. Needham also pointed to the bitter 1975-76 Washington Post strike which broke the pressmen's union and strengthened the newspaper bosses' union-busting campaign. "Now the battle ground is in Vancouver," he said.

The major issue in the strike is management's attempt to drastically cut the union's manning scale--the same job-slashing attack which provoked the New York newspaper strike. Reportedly, the publishers even offered to buy the union's manning clause out of the contract for a cool one million dollars (the money was to be spread out in a package deal to the pressmen). This deal to gut the newspaper unions was flatly rejected. The newspaper bosses' other tactic to break the unions is to exclude jobs from union jurisdiction through



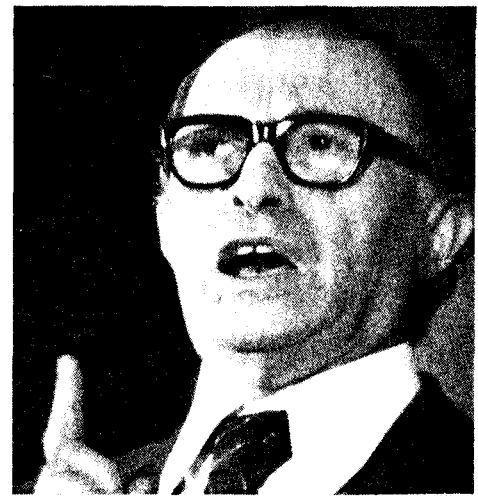
FIRST ISSUE OF THE EXPRESS, VANCOUVER STRIKE NEWSPAPER

re-classification.

The Vancouver press unions have dug in for a long battle. The Express story on the strike reported that "the picket lines will remain up until all unions have ratified new collective agreements." The strikers have already taken an important step toward turning the tide on management's union-busting drive and winning public support for their battle by putting out their own newspaper. During the 1970 strike against Pacific Press the Express (which is published three times weekly) was Vancouver's only newspaper for three months. Stop the newspaper bosses' union-busting drive! Victory to the Vancouver press strike! ■

## Trudeau Banquets Butcher Begin

On November 9 Prime Minister Trudeau is taking a break from his usual round of union busting, strikebreaking and trying to wiggle out of his own RCMP "Watergate" coverups long enough to host a Toronto banquet for racist maniac and Irgun terrorist Israeli Prime Minister Begin. Canada and Sweden, as junior imperialists, like to cultivate images of righteous moralism while they get rich supplying respectively the raw materials and the technology for imperialist wars. In the Near East, however, under the flag of UN "peacekeeping" forces, both Sweden and Canada provide the troops that have served as landmarks and border guards for Israeli annexations from the genocidal birth of the Zionist state in 1948 to the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon last March. In that most recent Zionist adventure 1,000 Arab villagers were murdered and tens of thousands more were driven into exile. Sweden is more sophisticated than Canada in both its technology and its pacifist hypocrisy, having institutionalized the latter into the Nobel "Peace Prize." The Nobel Prize for this year was recently awarded



BUTCHER  
BEGIN

to Egyptian President Sadat and Begin for their "courage" in capitulating to the U.S.-dictated Camp David peace plan for the Sinai. The Trotskyist League plans to participate in a November 9 demonstration to protest Begin's

(continued on page 13)

## McDonald "Investigates" RCMP

# Trudeau Muzzles Lapdog Commission

With federal elections on the horizon, Pierre Trudeau has found himself embroiled in an embarrassing dispute with the McDonald Royal Commission on the RCMP. Unlike the Parti Québécois' Keable Commission, which was mothballed by the Quebec judiciary under pressure from the Trudeau government when it appeared to be on the verge of exposing direct Federal Cabinet participation in RCMP crimes, the McDonald Commission was supposed to exonerate Cabinet ministers by scapegoating a few retired cops. Handpicked by Trudeau, all three commissioners are intimately linked to the Liberal Party. Commission head, David McDonald, is a former president of the Alberta Liberals.

Trudeau was obviously stunned when the commission rejected the government lawyers' argument that the Cabinet and not the commission should be the sole judge of what documents and testimony could be made public. Several days later, Trudeau stated that the commission "should not have the right to tell the public what certain ministers and I said about the operation of the RCMP" (Globe and Mail, 17 October) and insisted that this had been the government's position all along. McDonald, charging that Trudeau was attempting to infringe on the commission's mandate, threatened to resign.

With Liberal party hacks in open revolt against the Trudeau leadership following the party's disastrous performance in the October 16 by-elections, Trudeau can ill-afford to provoke the resignation of his own commission. But, on the other hand, he fears that disclosure of Cabinet involvement in RCMP "dirty tricks" will be equally damaging to his plummeting popularity.

On the ropes, Trudeau attempted a quick shuffle. While promising to "permit publication of any Cabinet document that shows evidence that Cabinet ministers knew Mounties were breaking the law" (Globe and Mail, 28 October), and assuring the commissioners that he would give them any document they requested, he refused to allow the commission access to Cabinet files. But, as NDPer Stuart Leggatt pointed out, it would be rather difficult for the commission to know which documents it wanted if it could not see them first. This



GUNMEN FOR THE BOSSES

ploy fooled no one--not even Conservative leader Joe Clark who continues to make political hay out of Trudeau's "Watergate style cover-up."

While the chinless leader of the opposition wags an accusing finger at the government and Trudeau scrambles to exculpate his government from responsibility for the RCMP's illegal activities, the working class and the oppressed should have no illusions that royal commissions and liberal investigations into "illegal" police activities will in any way protect them from the terrorism of the state. Liberal reformers may be serious about curbing the bonapartist tendencies of the state's secret police, however their campaigns against the abuses and excesses of the RCMP serve only to increase its effectiveness as an instrument of the class it serves--the bourgeoisie.

During the past two years the seemingly endless series of revelations of RCMP criminal activity has been accompanied by the introduction of legislation to legalize the Mounties' "dirty tricks" by broadening wire-tap surveillance laws and granting the RCMP the right to intercept and open mail. Perhaps next on Trudeau's legislative agenda is a bill to legalize barn burning by "Canada's finest," with the usual proviso of course, that arson is done in the interests of "national security."

The RCMP, like the army, the courts and other police forces exists only to protect and defend the rule of the capitalist class. The RCMP's "legal" raid on the offices of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers during their recent strike is proof of that. One of the key tasks of the proletarian revolution is to smash the RCMP and all the other instruments of the capitalists' repression. ■

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## NDP Loyalism vs Quebec Nationalism

# RWL "Fusion" Unravels

In recent months the chronic internal crisis wracking the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL/LOR) has become increasingly acute. The focus of the RWL's present difficulties is a three-sided dispute over Quebec and the NDP--two key programmatic questions confronting socialists in Canada. The three sides of the debate correspond to the leadership of the three organizations which "fused" to form the RWL/LOR last year--the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA), the right-centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and its Quebec sister group, the centrist Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR). The present factional lineup within the RWL/LOR should come as a surprise to no one, as the organization was created on the basis of an explicit agreement to temporarily paper over long-standing differences between the LSA and the RMG and GMR. As the author of the major document of the ex-RMG admits:

"... our pre-fusion discussion... [on the NDP and the national question] did not attempt to develop our program in relation to the current political situation or to take up questions of orientation and tactics. In fact it is in these areas that the differences between the founding organizations were located."

--RWL/LOR PanCanadian Preconvention Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, September 1978

The current debate in the RWL/LOR was sparked by the necessity to take a position on the NDP in the upcoming federal elections, but the underlying issue is the conflict of opportunist appetites between the ex-GMR wing (which responds mainly to the pressure of petty-bourgeois Québécois nationalism) and the former LSA leadership which has not abandoned its abject NDP-loyalism. The ex-RMGers are attempting to mediate between the two by advocating a slightly more "critical" approach toward "building the NDP" than the ex-LSAers.

### RMG, LSA WINGS AGREE TO "BUILD THE NDP"

The ex-LSA's slogan is "NDP to power! For a workers and farmers government!" and the strategy is summed up in its major document as "seek[ing] to build a mass movement for an NDP government that can develop a powerful anti-capitalist dynamic independent of the program of the NDP." As one of the ex-RMGers notes, in the arguments advanced by the ex-LSA wing there is "a continuing equation between 'which class shall rule' and 'NDP to power.'" In order to achieve its "workers and farmers government" (i. e., get the

NDP elected in Ottawa) the ex-LSAers call for "building the NDP" and advocate in particular "building caucuses of NDP supporters in the unions."

The leadership of the ex-RMG sums up the ex-LSA's position on the NDP as "build the NDP, fight inside to make it adopt and, as a government, implement socialist policies" and then acidly remarks that "There may be some difference between this and the old Dowson [long-time LSA leader who split to the right in 1974] line 'win the NDP to socialism.' If there is, it is too subtle for us to grasp." We find ourselves in agreement on that point but recall that in early 1977 (when these same ex-RMG leaders were trying to sell their ranks on the idea of fusing with the LSA) they characterized the change in the LSA's central slogan from "win the NDP to socialism" to "build the NDP" as a "profound evolution" and claimed that it could "evolve further in a positive direction." Today, however, the ex-RMGers charge that the ex-LSA position in effect "reduces political action to electoral action."

However the ex-RMGers don't propose a decisive break from the NDP-loyalism of the LSA--they simply want to give it a more "critical" appearance. Despite the harsh characterizations of the LSA's social-democratic servility to the NDP, the ex-RMGers accept the LSA's basic proposition that "It is simply not possible... to convince rank and file workers of a militant action program if it is counterposed to voting NDP." Here is how the ex-RMG leadership proposes that the RWL address the workers on the question of the NDP:

"... we want to help you to fight to get [an NDP] government.

"How can that be achieved? ...

"... its necessary to build a mass movement which fights for the defeat of the big-business parties....

"And such a movement can only succeed if it takes up the real needs and demands of every section of the working class and its allies, and uses its collective strength to hold the NDP and the union leaders accountable for satisfying these demands."

The ex-RMGers are no doubt equipped with extremely subtle minds--but to us this all sounds rather like a reformulation of the old Dowson/LSA line of "win the NDP to socialism." Like their factional opponents in the ex-LSA wing, the ex-RMGers proclaim that they "ultimately aim to destroy" the NDP--however for the meantime they set themselves the more "practical" task of fighting "to win a majority of the working class to vote NDP."

Where the ex-RMGers really differ from the ex-

LSAers is that they believe that the ex-LSA's more open NDP loyalism (and its tactical consequence-- permanent deep entry in the NDP) will make it impossible for the RWL to recruit from "The broad layer of trade union militants which... has [been] politicized in part through its experience with the betrayals of the NDP." The ex-RMGers hasten to assure everyone that:

"We want to convince these militants of the correctness of our view on the NDP and to challenge their syndicalist or ultra-left positions. But we cannot expect them to agree that they cannot build a class struggle tendency unless they carry their fight into the NDP."

The ex-RMGers also refer darkly to the disastrous results of the "entrust perspective... in the 50's and 60's" which "meant that some sections [of the



BROADBENT  
AT 24 SUSSEX:  
"A WORKERS  
AND FARMERS  
GOVERNMENT"?

United Secretariat--i.e., the LSA] found themselves isolated from [and to the right of] the upsurge of the late 60's." While the ex-LSAers are not concerned about those "ultra-left" workers who, through their own experience, have come to reject the NDP for its anti-working-class policies, the ex-RMGers want to try to recruit them so that they too can participate in the great historic task of "unit[ing] the working class to vote NDP."

Unlike the NDP loyalists of both wings of the RWL, the Trotskyist League seeks to break the most militant and class-conscious sections of the NDP's base from the professional class traitors in the leadership. When the social democrats have proven their loyalty to the capitalists and are widely discredited among the advanced workers (as strikebreakers Blakeney and Barrett were in the provincial elections in Saskatchewan last month and in British Columbia in 1975), to call for a vote to the social-democratic traitors (no matter how

"critically") only serves to tie the most class-conscious workers to their treacherous leaders.

The ex-RMGers and ex-LSAers agree on a general level to "build the NDP," despite their secondary differences over how to implement this perspective, but they disagree on whether or not to call for the election of an NDP government in Ottawa. The former LSAers strongly favor such a call but the ex-RMGers argue that such a slogan would be suicidal in Quebec where the NDP is seen as a party of chauvinist "national unity" just as much as the Liberals or the Tories. The ex-RMGers try to get around this dilemma by advocating an NDP majority in English Canada only.

However the ex-GMR, which constitutes the majority of the LOR, is not so concerned as their English-Canadian confrères in "orienting" to the NDP (because the NDP is virtually non-existent in Quebec). The ex-GMR wing makes no attempt to mask its own narrow nationalism:

"Quebec revolutionaries must in this debate start from the point of view of the interests of the Quebec working class and for us, on the national question, the bourgeois or the social democratic parties are tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee."

The ex-GMR seems to be coalescing behind a position of no vote to the NDP anywhere on the basis of its chauvinist national unity position. Responding to criticisms that it is simply capitulating to national pressures (which it manifestly is) the ex-GMR points out that "The demagogic argument of pressures can, when it is a question of social democracy, be utilized in two ways." In a jab aimed at the ex-RMGers' attempts to make the RWL's capitulation to the NDP more palatable for Quebec nationalists by omitting the call for an NDP government nationally, the ex-GMR sneers that "even prettied up a thousand times, filled out by long and sinuous [and we might add turgid] intellectual acrobatics, to call for a vote to the NDP is to constitute objectively a little pressure group sewing confusion." For the ex-GMR:

"... the fundamental issue is the following: does the Canadian wing of the section still believe in the possibility of constructing a Marxist organization or is our fate still to constitute ourselves as a vague pressure group hanging on to the left flank of the social democrats?"

In its attack the ex-GMR wing raises another question left unresolved in the unprincipled "re-unification" which resulted in the RWL--Portugal. In 1975 the LSA and the RMG/GMR and their international co-thinkers had positions which would have placed them on opposite sides of the barricades during the Socialist Party-led attacks on Communist Party headquarters. The ex-GMR cites the position of the Lambertiste Organizing Committee for the

(continued on page 6)

## RWL Unravels...

(continued from page 5)

Reconstruction of the Fourth International (which was virtually identical to that of the LSA) as "a perfect example of how confusion... can lead revolutionaries to formulate the problematic of workers government in terms of pure 'parliamentary combinations'" and chastises the ex-LSAers for their "fetishization of the present Canadian state and of the integration of the present workers organizations into the specific workings of bourgeois democracy within this state."

While the RWL's main political problem at this juncture is the increasing tendency toward the decomposition of the "fused" organization into its original components, the bitter wrangling is having a degenerative effect throughout the organization. As was noted in a report adopted by a Toronto branch meeting in June:

"Over the last period... there has occurred a rather marked deterioration in our internal functioning. The combination of unclear though strongly felt difference[s], of personal antagonisms, and of disagreements over structure and leadership, have resulted in some heated discussions, for many of us reminiscent of the old days of tendency and faction struggles in the RMG and/or the LSA."

One of the biggest (and messiest) organizational disputes in the Toronto branch occurred when the predominantly ex-LSA branch leadership (in typically bureaucratic fashion) moved to dissolve the Latin American fraction last May. The attempted dissolution was ostensibly motivated on the grounds of rationalizing branch functioning but was widely recognized as an attempt to liquidate a source of political criticism of the branch leadership. When several ex-RMG Political Committee members intervened in the discussion to postpone a decision, ex-LSAers in the branch leadership charged "interference" in branch work and denied taking a "heavy-handed approach to 'dissidents' in the branch." When a vote was finally taken, the branch split almost exactly along ex-RMG/ex-LSA lines with a majority opposing the executive's proposal for the immediate dissolution of the fraction.

### A TRIBUNE FOR THE DISGRUNTLED

The unhealthy state of the RWL's Toronto branch (which comprises approximately half of its English-Canadian membership) has provided an ideal culture medium for the growth of sundry cliques, clots and blocs. The best organized of these is the "Working Group"--a politically disparate group of disgruntled elements who hold a variety of grudges against the leadership. The very existence of the Working Group is symptomatic of the degree of demoralization rampant in the RWL. The Working Group has no definite programmatic positions but functions as a tribune for the growing layer of demoralized

elements in the organization. At the core of the Working Group are New Left ex-RMGers who flaunt their hostility to the "trained seals, hand-raisers and hacks" of the ex-LSA. Politically the elements who make up the Working Group lean toward the ex-GMR but in their documents they assiduously avoid taking positions on the disputed political questions and concentrate only on organizational questions. Thus the Working Group alluded to the attempted disbanding of the Latin American fraction as an example of how the "hacks and bureaucrats" in the leadership make a practice of "trying to shut down the interventions" where criticisms arise while "stifling the comrades involved by name-calling, slander or gossip."

In assigning blame for the "obstructionist, conservative style of leadership" of the Toronto branch the Working Group notes that "the theory of the kind of leadership we have has come heavily from one side of the fusion"--the LSA. The Working Group adds that "it is hard to fathom that the present conception of leadership held by the executive is restricted to Toronto alone. We have the existence of Tendency A [in the LOR], the Toronto Working Group and the tensions in the Vancouver and Hamilton branches to indicate the contrary." One indication of these tensions occurred at an RWL public meeting last July in Vancouver. The meeting, which was addressed by Fred Halstead, a prominent leader of the American Socialist Workers Party--factional mentors of the LSA, was boycotted by all but one of the twenty-odd ex-RMGers in the branch.

At the RWL's Labour Day Central Committee plenum, when counterposed documents from the ex-LSA and the ex-RMG on the NDP and Quebec were put to a vote, the organization was split down the middle. This does not auger well for the RWL--what it means is that on the two most crucial political questions in Canadian politics, Quebec and the NDP, the "fusion" was no more than a temporary agreement not to disagree. A week after the plenum the author of the ex-LSA wing's theses proposed to all parties that they attempt to "solve" the problem by sweeping it under the carpet and sending the membership out to get jobs. According to this two-bit maneuverist the deep split between the ex-RMG/ex-GMR and ex-LSA over "the NDP and the national question in Canada--only reflected a much deeper problem confronting the RWL: the urgent need to carry out a fundamental turn of the entire party toward the working class." But such a cynical and glib "solution" to the RWL's bitter political stalemate is unlikely to fool many.

Both the ex-RMG and ex-LSA agree that their strategic place is as the (more or less "critical") "best builders" of the NDP. And all three components of the RWL/LOR agree that petty-bourgeois Québécois nationalism has an inherent "permanent revolution dynamic." But the root of the RWL's present impasse is the inability of its

(continued on page 14)

# RWL Pimps for Parrot

On October 28, only three days after the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) President Jean-Claude Parrot\* ended the militant postal strike, the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) played host to Joe Davidson--former president of the CUPW and the man who taught Parrot everything he knows about "militant" business unionism. The RWL spent weeks building a platform for this bureaucrat emeritus with a flurry of activity not seen since its formation. It was even able to mobilize the bulk of its paper membership for the occasion. Apparently it takes a "big name" like Davidson to whet the jaded opportunist appetites of these latter-day Mensheviks.

Not surprisingly, only a handful of CUPW members (mainly ex-members of the RWL or its predecessors) bothered to turn out to hear Davidson. The CUPW leadership's decision to fold the strike outraged postal workers across the country. At the mass CUPW meeting in Toronto on October 25, 1,000 postal workers exploded in anger upon hearing that Parrot was sending them back to work. Even the RWLers present admitted sheepishly to SC that Parrot had indeed "sold out" the strike.

However, from its vantage point on the sidelines of the class struggle, the RWL is adamantly sticking with Parrot. In a front page story on the strike written after the sellout was announced, Socialist Voice offers not one word of criticism of this faker. Having spent months promoting Parrot as the representative of a supposed class-struggle wing of the bureaucracy in its press and having finally enticed one of his cohorts to share a platform with them, the small-time Jay Lovestones of the RWL no doubt feel they have a vested interest in alibiing Parrot's sellout.

The theme of the RWL's meeting was "solidarity" --not with the militant CUPW ranks but with their treacherous leaders. Davidson's remarks were punctuated throughout by sycophantic applause. At the end of his speech one RWLer (perhaps moved by the spirit of craft solidarity--she is herself a highly paid functionary in the bureaucracy of a white-collar union) attempted, unsuccessfully, to rouse the audience to a standing ovation.

The two RWL members on the platform bent over backwards to ingratiate themselves with Davidson and anxiously watched his reactions to the evening's events. They need not have worried. Davidson was glad to have the RWL do a little "left-wing" public relations for him and the rest of the CUPW brass. The closest that the RWL came to criticizing the CUPW tops during the meeting was when John Steele, the singing Menshevik, warbled his way through a ballad about how to win strikes by defying court injunctions. The unintended irony of Steele's little ditty seemed lost on Davidson and his admirers.

It was left to the Trotskyist League to take up the most fundamental duty of communists: to tell the

truth. The TL speaker began his remarks by stating that the entire labor bureaucracy, and particularly the class traitors in the leadership of the CLC, shared responsibility for CUPW's defeat through their do-nothing passivity. The TLer called for the entire trade-union movement and the left to rally to the defense of the CUPW. He also made the elementary point that Parrot had sabotaged his own strike by trying to hide behind the United Nations International Bill of Human Rights, rather than attempting to mobilize support from the labor movement. This was met with a chorus of catcalls,



DAVIDSON ALIBIS PARROT

SC Photo

boos and hisses. A red-faced Davidson rushed to the front of the stage to sputter that "Brother Parrot is the best trade-union leader in this country today," to the applause of the RWL.

RWL: MADISON AVENUE MENSHEVIKS

Parrot is by no means the only bureaucrat whom the RWL and its predecessors have backed--in 1974 they supported Arnold Miller (the U. S. Labor Department's candidate for president of the United Mineworkers of America--UMWA) who sold out the heroic coalminers' strike last winter. More recently they were out pimping for Ed Sadlowski who was taking money from liberal Democrats while various fake-leftists, like the RWL and its American sister, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), covered his left flank.

During the miners' strike the SWP organized

(continued on page 14)

## PART 2 of 2

The first part of this article which appeared in the September issue of Spartacist Canada discussed the background to the recent break by In Struggle! (IS!) with China and IS!'s eclectic and haphazard search for the origins of revisionism in the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) in the 1930's and during World War II. The theoreticians of IS! have set themselves the impossible task of trying to explain the origins of social patriotism in the CPC while continuing to defend Stalin and Dimitrov's popular front--a strategy which called for the "unity" of the working classes of North America, England, Spain and France with their "own" "anti-fascist" imperialists.

IS! posits a theory of "North American exceptionalism" to explain the outright class-collaborationism and social patriotism practised by the CPC under Tim Buck and the Communist Party of the United States (CPUS) led by Earl Browder. As part of its historical project IS! has republished a book by Fergus McKean entitled Communism Versus Opportunism. McKean's book, which first appeared in 1946, presents a "left" Stalinist interpretation of the betrayals of the CPC in implementing the popular front in Canada and argues that even after the publication of French Communist Party (PCF) leader Jacques Duclos' famous letter in 1945 (which signalled the downfall of Browder in the U.S.), the Canadian CP remained "revisionist."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Critical" Maoists and Tirana neo-Stalinists like IS! and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) in the U.S. are incapable of going to the roots of the degeneration of the CPC and CPUS because they are wedded to the Stalinist heritage that was responsible for that degeneration. Nowhere is this more striking than when such groups try to find within the Stalinist heritage ammunition for attacking the CPUS and CPC. Their favorite document is the "Duclos letter" or "On the Dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States" (Daily Worker, 24 May 1945), which attacked "a notorious revision of Marxism on the part of Browder and his supporters, a revision which is expressed in the concept of a long-term class peace in the United States..." But what were the policies of Duclos and the French Communist Party (PCF) during and following World War II?

## IS! "Investigates" WW II - Breaks with China

# The Duclos School of "Anti-Revisionism"



DUCLOS, THOREZ, MARCHAIS IN 1964

During the war the French bourgeoisie was discredited by collaboration with the Nazi occupying forces, but immediately after the dissolution of the Comintern the PCF entered the French Committee For National Liberation (CFLN) of bourgeois reactionaries de Gaulle and Giraud, thereby ensuring that the resistance would be subordinated to bourgeois leadership. At the conclusion of the war the French bourgeois order was in shambles and the French working class was armed and organized. The PCF sabotaged a revolutionary opportunity and salvaged French capitalism. Under the slogan of "One state, one police force, one army" the PCF disarmed the working class and recreated the capitalist state under de Gaulle. When the accumulated economic hardships and discontent of the working class exploded in a massive strike wave, Duclos smugly observed: "Only fools talk about a general strike now." The PCF was in the "vanguard" of the strikebreakers under the slogan of the "Battle for Production."

World War II was followed by widespread rebellions in the colonies. With five PCF ministers in the de Gaulle government including its general secretary, Maurice Thorez, who served as vice-president of the council of ministers, the PCF took



direct responsibility for the bloody suppression of independence struggles in the French colonies. Even after thousands were killed in savage repression in Algeria in May 1945, the PCF ministers remained in the government. Ironically, in that very month the "Duclos letter" denouncing Browder's "revision of Marxism" was published. One month after the butchery in Algeria, at the PCF's tenth congress, Thorez made the following crass defense of his party's openly social-imperialist policies: "A democratic France must help in the development of the Algerian nation which is in the process of being formed" (quoted in Fernando Claudin, The Communist Movement [1975] )!

But the most notorious crime of Duclos and his cronies, the great "anti-revisionist" paragons of "critical" Stalinists, was their part in the French imperialist reconquest of Indochina, even though the resistance to the French came under the leadership of the "fraternal" Stalinist Viet Minh. The PCF made no protest when French troops occupied southern Vietnam. The PCF remained silent even after the French aerial and naval bombardment of Haiphong on November 23, 1946 which massacred 20,000 Vietnamese and initiated the Vietnamese War. The PCF remained in the government and from January to April 1947 it even held the ministry of defense. The PCF ministers ratified the orders for the war sent to the French High Commissioner in Vietnam. In March 1947 when the budget for the Vietnam War came before the National Assembly for a vote, PCF deputies abstained except for those holding ministerial portfolios who voted in favor! This pro-imperialist treachery was defended by Duclos as a necessary act of "ministerial solidarity." That groups like IS! and the RCP must resort to the "authority" of Duclos in order to be able to distinguish themselves in some fashion from their New Left Stalinist competitors, the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) and the Klonskyites, speaks volumes about the political bankruptcy of "critical" Stalinism.

"SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY":  
FORMULA FOR SOCIAL CHAUVINISM

The national parochial IS! safely restricts its "critical" studies to its own "fatherland." Were it to venture outside of Canadian borders and honestly examine the policies of other Communist Parties during the 1930's and 1940's it would find that they were not behind Tim Buck and Earl Browder in revisionist crimes against the proletariat. Further, these policies were not only wholly endorsed by Stalin, they were instituted by him. The PCF, for example, by subordinating the resistance to the French bourgeoisie during the war and by disarming the workers, breaking strikes and taking responsibility for French colonialism after the war, was only loyally carrying out the agreement reached between de Gaulle and Molotov in their London discussions in May 1942.

The real cause of the degeneration of the Comintern, a degeneration which led to its liquidation in 1943, can be found in Stalin's social-chauvinist



DUCLOS LEAVES MEETING WITH DE GAULLE AT THE MINISTRY OF WAR, NOVEMBER 1945

dogma of "socialism in one country." For if the building of socialism was no longer dependent on the international proletarian revolution, but could be completed in a single, backward country like Russia, then the Comintern as an instrument for world revolution was superfluous. It could be relegated to the role of an auxiliary of diplomatic maneuver as the Popular Front in France was merely an auxiliary of the Laval Pact. Thus, when Stalin judged that the Comintern had become a diplomatic liability during World War II, it was simply buried. "Socialism in one country" is the ideology of a narrow nationalist, conservative bureaucratic caste which, like the trade union bureaucracy, rests on the real gains of the proletariat, the socialized property of the October Revolution, but has usurped political power from the proletariat.

In his critique of the draft program for the Sixth Congress of the Comintern where "socialism in one country" was adopted, Trotsky wrote:

"It will be the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social patriotism. The communist party of any capitalist country, which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses the 'necessary and sufficient' prerequisites for the independent construction of a 'complete socialist society,' will not differ in any substantial manner from the revolutionary social democracy which also did not begin with a Noske but which stumbled decisively on August 4, 1914, over this very same question."

--Third International After Lenin

The August 4 of the Third International was its sectarian paralysis and prostration before Hitler's conquest of power in 1933. Following Hitler's victory the Soviet Union, as IS! continually repeats,

(continued on page 15)

## Postal Strike...

(continued from page 1)

to four CUPW members were suspended, although later reinstated, and in Halifax both the president and chief steward of the CUPW local have been suspended indefinitely.

Canadian labor must come to the defense of CUPW. Demonstrations and protest strikes must be mobilized demanding: **DROP THE CHARGES! LIFT THE SUSPENSIONS!**

### BILL C-28; TRUDEAU GOVERNMENT TARGETS FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

The furious assault on the CUPW strike is the spearhead of the Liberal Party's stepped-up attack on all of Canadian labor. A strike wave has swept the country as workers seek to make up for losses suffered under three years of Trudeau's wage controls which held wages to six percent or less while inflation soared to ten percent. The government has replaced wage controls with open strikebreaking and a proposed continuation of wage controls in the public sector under Bill C-28. Bill C-28 provides that federal workers will be paid as a maximum the average wage scale in the private sector for comparable work. Therefore, it will drag down the wages of all workers. Two months ago Air Canada maintenance workers, brewery workers and meat-packing workers were all locked out. Five days after CUPW strikers were legislated back to work Nordair, a Montreal-based regional carrier soon to be swallowed up by Air Canada, locked out pilots (who have been without a contract for a year) when they threatened a one-day protest strike. On the same day another strikebreaking measure was rushed through Parliament to smash a seven-day strike by marine engineers which had

tied up Great Lakes shipping.

The current stagnation of the Canadian economy and the high level of unemployment combine to depress wage demands in private industry. Hence the main target of Trudeau's anti-labor offensive is the public sector. In particular, the government is going after the postal workers, the best organized and most militant workforce within the public sector. Earlier this fall postal management was faced with the spectre of a joint strike between CUPW and the other major postal union, the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC). But postal management was able to exploit the craft divisions within the postal unions by patronizing the McGarry leadership of LCUC as "responsible" labor statesmen while Parrot was cast as an "intransigent radical." This paid off for the postal bosses in September. Knuckling under to the mere threat of back-to-work legislation the McGarry leadership called off rotating strikes after only four days and penned their names to a treacherous contract well within the Bill C-28 wage limits, leaving CUPW to face postal management alone. Another bad precedent for the CUPW strike was also set in September when Toronto transit workers were legislated back to work with a measly four percent pay raise (pending arbitration)--less than the Transit Commission had offered before the strike! In Ontario where provincial government workers do not even have the "legal" right to strike (which Trudeau is presently attempting to take away from all federal government employees), the Ontario Hospital Association attempted to prevent 13,000 non-medical hospital workers from even taking a strike vote!

### BUSINESS UNIONISM VS. LABOR SOLIDARITY

Postal management made it unambiguously clear that it was not going to bargain in "good faith" with

## 31 CUPWers Indicted in Vancouver

VANCOUVER--In the wake of the militant postal workers strike, 31 members of the Vancouver local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), including union stewards and executive board members, face the threat of criminal charges for defiance of the government's strikebreaking legislation. As we go to press, criminal proceedings have already begun against local president, Lloyd Ingram and two union stewards. In addition to the 31 facing legal charges, postal management has handed down indefinite suspensions to three shop stewards (one of whom is an executive board member) for "misconduct on the picket lines." They are alleged to have blocked a post office entrance to keep postal employees organized by the Public Service Alliance of Canada off the job. Twenty-three other members of the local have received notices from management informing them that, "Your actions for the period from October 19 to October 25 are currently under review" and threatening future disciplinary action.

At a mass meeting of the Vancouver local, where

Parrot's back-to-work order was announced, a motion was passed almost unanimously protesting "to our national executive their capitulation to the dictates of the Trudeau government" and stating that the local returned to work only "under the strongest possible protest." The motion also demanded that Parrot come to Vancouver to account to the membership for the national executive's capitulation. One union leader told SC that "we could have held solid for a considerably longer time" if Parrot hadn't sent them back.

With legal action already in the works against three members of the local, there is speculation in the union that the CLC is maneuvering to have the other charges dropped--a deal which would allow the government to claim that it was being "lenient" while victimizing union leaders. The entire labor movement must come to the defense of the CUPW demanding that all charges be dropped and that any members suspended be reinstated with full back pay.■

Parrot and refused to even offer him a sellout contract to try to foist onto his ranks. The Trudeau government was determined to make a humiliating example of the traditionally combative inside workers and take back the hard-won gains of the militant 42-day nationwide CUPW strike in 1975.

The militancy displayed on the CUPW picket lines was forged in the automated hellholes of the gigantic new postal plants. Parrot kept his members working 16 months without a contract while mechanization, speed-up, harassment and the growing use of non-union labor provoked wildcat strikes at postal centers across Canada. Since the 1975 contract was signed CUPW has accumulated 56,000 unresolved grievances.

In spite of his "radical" image (cultivated by the bourgeois media and certain fake-left groups), Parrot's bargaining strategy was legalistic from the beginning. The centerpiece of this strategy was the transformation of the Post Office into a "Crown Corporation." Under a similar structure in the U. S., the postal service slashed 100,000 jobs in seven years and drastically cut back service. The only "technological change" Parrot is going to be permitted to negotiate under Trudeau's Crown Corporation is the rate at which his membership loses jobs to automation.

After the last contract expired Parrot dragged his membership through an unprecedented six months of conciliation. Finally, even when he was in a "legal" position to strike, Parrot only called the nationwide strike under the pressure of "premature" walkouts in his home base, Montreal, and other postal centers.

When they finally hit the bricks the CUPW ranks were determined to face down the Trudeau government. Their courageous defiance of the government's strikebreaking measures evoked widespread sympathy throughout the Canadian labor movement. Solidarity messages poured in from unions, municipal labor councils and provincial labor federations. Canada's largest public employees union, the 231,000-member Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), pledged financial support and the use of its offices to CUPW. Even the traditionally conservative Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) sent CUPW a militant statement of solidarity. In Quebec PSAC's national director called for backing up the CUPW strike with a general strike if necessary.

The majority of LCUC members respected CUPW picket lines and the strategic Toronto LCUC Local 1 passed a motion calling on the Ontario Federation of Labour and the Canadian Labour Congress for solidarity strike action with CUPW. Militants in United Auto Workers Local 303 at the General Motors plant in Scarborough circulated a petition calling for contingents of mass pickets to strengthen the CUPW lines and demanding that the CLC call a general strike if the government fined, fired or jailed CUPW strikers. These motions were passed at a local executive meeting on October 24. In Sud-

bury 100 striking Inco miners left their own picket lines to help beef up CUPW lines.

Militant inside postal workers looked to Parrot--the man who had called for defiance of Bill C-8 and court injunctions and who had vowed to go to jail before taking his membership back to work without a decent contract--to lead them to victory. Parrot's initial defiance of Trudeau's strikebreaking measures distinguished him from other trade-union leaders who quickly folded up their strikes under pressure from the government, and initially he was enormously popular on CUPW's mass picket lines.

But Parrot's defiance was carefully couched in terms of the most insipid bourgeois legalism. Instead of appealing to the strength of organized labor, Parrot appealed to the United Nations International Bill of Human Rights and the toothless Canadian "Bill of Rights." Instead of appealing to the solidarity of French- and English-speaking workers (demonstrated by the CUPW picket lines which were solid nationwide), Parrot appealed to the courts to rule Bill C-8 illegal because it had not been translated into French at the time it was rushed through Parliament. He even attempted to appeal to the restrictive right-to-strike clause in the reactionary Public Service Staff Relations Act (PSSRA), a clause which had been amended out of existence for CUPW by Bill C-8.

But on the turf of bourgeois legality Parrot and his clutch of union lawyers found themselves out-gunned by the government. Postmaster General Lamontagne invoked a clause in the Public Service Employment Act which permits the dismissal without appeal of public employees who "abandon" their jobs (i. e., have a seven-day "unexcused" absence). At first Parrot called Lamontagne's threat to fire 23,000 postal workers a "bluff." Indeed, the only way postal bosses could enforce mass firings was through breaking picket lines and mass scabherding. If picket lines remained solid and the Post Office remained shut, Lamontagne's threat would have remained bluster.

#### CLASS AGAINST CLASS: HOW CUPW COULD HAVE WON

The CUPW strike could only have been won on the picket lines. But the Trudeau government was determined to turn its confrontation with CUPW into a humiliating rout to open the road for attacks upon the entire labor movement. The RCMP raids on union headquarters and criminal charges against national union officials showed that the Liberals

(continued on page 12)

### Trotskyist League Directory

Toronto.....(416) 366-4107  
Box 7198 Station A, Toronto, Ont.  
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Box 26 Station A, Vancouver, B.C.  
Winnipeg.....(204) 589-7214  
Box 3952 Station B, Winnipeg, Man.

## Postal Strike...

(continued from page 11)

were determined not only to break the strike but bust the union.

From its inception the success of the CUPW strike depended on spreading the strike to other decisive sections of the labor movement, most importantly workers in the transport and communication sectors which handle the bulk of diverted postal services. LCUC should have torn up its rotten contract and joined CUPW on the picket lines in a joint strike to win a decent contract. A joint strike could have laid the basis for a merged industrial union of all postal workers, cutting across management's traditional exploitation of craft differences in the Post Office. Other government workers who have traditionally benefited from the militancy of the postal workers



OTTAWA COPS ATTACK CUPW PICKET

should also have gone out in defense of CUPW and to smash Bill C-28. Workers blackjacked back to work by measures similar to those used against CUPW (such as Toronto transit workers and the Great Lakes marine engineers) should have gone back out to stand shoulder to shoulder with CUPW against government strikebreaking and to win their own demands.

Instead of appealing to the rest of the trade-union movement to come to the defense of CUPW and attempting to turn the widespread support evoked by the postal strike into concrete acts of solidarity, Parrot relied on legalist maneuvers in the courts. By the eighth day of the strike Parrot, who was running out of legal arguments, dropped his posture of defiance. This spread demoralization throughout the rank and file who, up to that point, had looked to him for militant leadership. The RCMP raids and criminal charges amplified the broad-based labor support for the CUPW strike and reinvigorated the outraged CUPW ranks. But Parrot called off the strike and sent his membership back to work without a contract and with the threat of mass firings, fines and jail sentences still hanging over their heads.

At special CUPW local meetings convened Octo-

ber 25, the announcement that the strike had been ended provoked an uproar. In Toronto a mass meeting of the CUPW local erupted in a thunderous roar of outrage and disgust when local president Arnold Gould announced Parrot's back-to-work order. Denied even the right to vote on whether to end their strike, angry postal workers stormed out of the meeting screaming "sellout" and "our National Executive knifed us in the back." In the end the militant business-unionist Parrot proved just as incapable as the rest of the labor bureaucracy of providing a strategy to undercut CUPW's isolation and defeat the government's assault.

### CLC/NDP TREACHERY

The mass dismissal notices, RCMP raids and criminal charges against CUPW leaders clearly put a general strike on the agenda. The magnitude of the federal government's show of force against CUPW was an open declaration of war against the entire labor movement on a scale comparable to the British miners' strikes of 1926 and 1974 and the American rail strike led by Eugene Debs in 1894. Even labor's piecards could not help feeling that their own heads were also on the block. Grace Hartman, National President of CUPE, no doubt spoke for many of her fellow bureaucrats in describing her reaction to the RCMP raids when she said: "I'm getting a little scared. I can almost hear the thunder of jackboots."

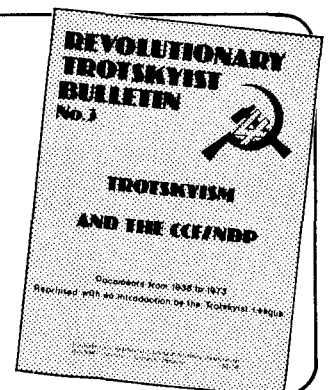
Only by spreading the postal strike to decisive sections of the labor movement and thereby posing a class against class response to capitalist government union busting could all of Canadian labor have come out ahead in CUPW's confrontation with Trudeau.

But this route to victory was blocked by the Canadian labor bureaucracy as demonstrated by the criminal silence of its official union spokesman, the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), and the strikebreaking exhortations of the CLC's "political arm," the New Democratic Party (NDP). CLC president, Dennis "Streetfighter" McDermott, revealed after the strike that the CLC's "discreet" silence was at Parrot's request because the CLC executive had opposed the strike! McDermott denounced the CUPW strike as "a charge of the Light Brigade" and observed that postal workers were on

### TROTSKYISM AND THE CCF/NDP

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a road that "leads inevitably to a general strike." And this former Canadian hack for Solidarity House was not about to risk his career as a labor "statesman" with a general strike.

McDermott's "discretion" was not shared by his cronies in the NDP. These right-wing social democrats only voted against the Liberal government's bills to break the strikes of both the postal workers and the marine engineers after first voting with the Liberals and Tories to rush the measures through Parliament. Once the bill was passed, federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent denounced the CUPW strikers for violating the "law of the land."

The CUPW strike demonstrated the need for workers to have a party that can mobilize the entire labor movement in defense of unions under attack. The parliamentary cretins of the NDP, who shrilly advised CUPW members to obey the back-to-work commands of the bosses' government, only proved once again their loyalty to the capitalists. Workers need a political leadership prepared to draw the fundamental political conclusion from the massive show of force by the capitalist government against the postal workers: the need for workers to have their own government based on the expropriation of the capitalist class.

A winning strategy for the postal strike was uniquely championed by the Trotskyist League (TL). The TL aggressively intervened with two leaflets which were mass distributed on the picket lines, at union meetings and at key industrial work locations. The first leaflet (issued at the beginning of the strike) called on other public sector unions, especially the LCUC, to go out on strike with CUPW and for CUPW to spread its strike to other sections of the labor movement, particularly transport and communication workers. On the day the RCMP raided the CUPW offices and the CUPW leaders were charged, the TL issued a second leaflet calling for a general strike against government union busting. Likewise, our supporters in the labor movement fought to translate the widespread labor support for the postal workers into concrete action through calls for the mobilization of mass contingents to beef up the picket lines, for protest strikes and for a general strike against the massive use of force by the capitalist government against CUPW. It was this kind of militant solidarity that could have prevented the serious defeat inflicted on the militant but misled postal workers. ■

## Butcher Begin...

(continued from page 2)

visit called by the Canadian Arab Federation.

The following succinct comment on the Camp David prize winners is reprinted from the November 3 issue of Workers Vanguard.

\* \* \* \* \*

When the Washington press corps heard the statement of Secretary of State Vance congratulating Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin as the joint recipients of the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize, they just laughed. It was the obviously appropriate response to what Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko accurately termed a "certain sort of joke." Indeed, it was the most ironically laughable decision since the Nobel Committee awarded the prize to "peacemaker" Henry Kissinger in 1973 after he advised the Christmas 1971 bombing raid on Hanoi.

What more appropriate winners of this prize--established by munitions profiteer Alfred Nobel--than an Iraseli terrorist known as the "Butcher of Deir Yasin," and an Egyptian militarist who is viewed as the "hero" of the October 1973 war? Nor could the Nobel Committee forget to praise the guiding spirit of Camp David, Jimmy Carter. But even the world's most dangerous imperialist is reportedly hopping mad at Begin whose decision to expand the Zionist settlements in the West Bank exposes the hoax of Camp David.

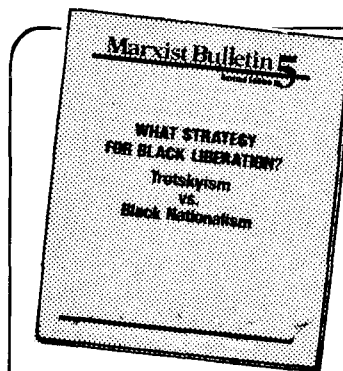
So there is much cruelty in this joke for the Palestinians, and for the Arab and Hebrew workers who are thrown into deadly battle against their class brothers by these nationalist warmongers. The phony "peace" of Camp David is meant to be built over the bodies of Palestinians as surely as the Munich "peace" was built on the bodies of the Czechs. In fact, one wonders how the Nobel Committee overlooked those other historic "peacemakers" in 1938--Hitler and Chamberlain--for their role in establishing a "framework for a lasting peace." ■

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## RWL/Parrot...

(continued from page 7)

"solidarity rallies" for the UMWA bureaucracy while the miners screamed for Miller's blood. But throughout the strike the SWP consistently opposed concrete acts of solidarity with the miners: protest strikes against President Carter's strike-breaking legislation and the hot-cargoing of scab coal. The RWL's exclusive focus on impotent "solidarity rallies" in the CUPW strike was mod-

## A Century of Crime

When reading recent exposés of the RCMP's criminal activities, it is useful to recall the history of this elite unit of the state's repressive apparatus--especially its attacks on the trade union and workers movement.

Ten years after its formation in 1873 the Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) smashed a series of strikes on the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1919, while a special squad of the--by now--"Royal" NWMP fought with the White armies in Siberia against the fledgling Russian workers state, their counterparts in Canada were instrumental in crushing the June general strike in Winnipeg. Five months later, the RCMP was formed as a national police force.

Lorne and Caroline Brown in their naive and politically flawed book An Unauthorized History of the RCMP detail the vicious strike-breaking role of these guardians of capitalist "law and order" in the Estevan, Saskatchewan coal strike of 1931 in which three miners were shot and killed. They add that the RCMP, emboldened by its success, went on to smash strikes in Cape Breton, Sudbury, Flin Flon, Blairmore, Corbin and Vancouver Island.

These uniformed scabs are still on the loose today. To cite only one notorious recent example of RCMP armed strikebreaking, in July 1976 over 200 riot-equipped cops ended the militant Alcan workers strike against the Anti-Inflation Board in Kitimat, B.C., through an early morning show of force (see SC, February 1977).

When the workers movement begins to break the shackles of the capitalists and their lieutenants in the trade-union bureaucracy, setting the stage for major class confrontations, we know full well that the RCMP will be up to its neck in midnight break-ins, frameups, provocations and outright physical assaults. Only the red flag of the victorious class-conscious proletariat can destroy and replace the scarlet and gold of the Canadian state's thieves and terrorists.

elled on the SWP's activity in the UMWA strike last winter. Like their mentors in the SWP, the RWL's aspirations to influence in the trade-union bureaucracy are limited by its insignificant social weight and lack of presence in the labor movement. At present the RWL has only two things to offer the bureaucrats: influence in a section of radical petty-bourgeois public opinion; and the ability to churn out publicity. Like the American social democrats since the 1930's the RWLers attempt to substitute their abilities as publicity agents for the bureaucrats for their lack of a base among the ranks.

The RWL billed its meeting as a "Solidarity Rally for Postal Workers" but it was nothing more than a platform to build the "militant" reputations of the men who led the CUPW strike to defeat. While the RWL scurries around setting up the chairs and adjusting the microphones for the Sadlowskis, Parrots and Davidsons the Trotskyist League takes up the task of regrouping the most class-conscious workers around a fighting program which clearly spells out the need for a break with all wings of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and mobilizes the proletariat to fight for a workers government and the expropriation of the capitalist parasites. ■

## RWL Unravels...

(continued from page 6)

founding components to harmoniously integrate and prioritize their conflicting opportunist departures from Trotskyism.

The present difficulties of the RWL are a direct result of the unprincipled fusion with which it was founded. The bitter factional fighting in the leadership no doubt accounts for the present semi-paralysis of the RWL's public work (not to mention its continuing inability to get its members to make the "turn to the working class" or even pay their pledges, sell the newspaper or buy the internal bulletins that the leadership is churning out.) At the founding conference of the RWL/LOR last year the fusion of the RMG, GMR and the LSA was hailed as proof positive of the triumph of reconciliation and brotherly love between the warring factions of the United Secretariat. Today however the future doesn't look so rosy for the partners in this three-way "marriage of convenience." ■

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## Duclos...

(continued from page 9)

pursued a policy of "peace" alright, but it was a policy of class peace with the victors of Versailles under the guise of "collective security." To defend "collective security" with France Stalin gave his full backing to the PCF crushing of the June 1936 general strike. To defend "collective security" with France in 1946 Stalin gave his full backing to PCF ratification of the orders for colonial war in Vietnam, even if this war was to be waged against the former "comrades" of Duclos, Thorez and Stalin in the Viet Minh. The PCF was always willing to oblige the social chauvinism of the Soviet Union when it corresponded to its own social chauvinism: the defense of ministerial portfolios and "La France éternelle." When the social chauvinism of the CPSU came into conflict with electoral success for the PCF, Thorez lieutenant, Marchais, discovered "Eurocommunism," "Communism in French colors" and the virtues of "independence" from Moscow.

When Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung took power, it was in opposition to the wishes of Stalin and his sycophants in parties of the by then liquidated Comintern. Stalin had already agreed with his imperialist "comrades in arms," Churchill and Truman, that Indochina was to be restored to the French and that China as an American "sphere of influence" was to go to Chiang Kai-shek. Their victories, like those of Tito and Castro, resulted in the expropriation of capital and the establishment of the economic foundations for a socialist reconstruction of society. But they also brought to power anti-working class bureaucratic regimes no different than that bequeathed to Khrushchev by Stalin or those established by the Russian Red Army in Eastern Europe. These narrow nationalist regimes scramble after modern day "Laval Pacts" and "collective security" agreements with the imperialist powers at the expense of one another in order to build "socialism" in their respective "fatherlands."

China's "Friendship Pact" with Japanese imperialism, the Sino-Soviet and Vietnam-Cambodia border wars, the Soviet military hardware and Cuban youth squandered in defense of the genocidal



SOCIALIST PREMIER BLUM AND PCF LEADER THOREZ (WEARING TRICOLOR), BASTILLE DAY, 1936

Illustration

campaigns of corrupt, capitalist army officers in Addis Ababa, "Eurocommunism" and "Browderite revisionism" are all the authentic legacy of Stalin's "socialism in one country." The legacy of Lenin's proletarian internationalism belongs only to the Trotskyists. ■

## War Measures Act...

(continued from page 16)

Left semi-Maoist organization, was taking place.

COMMUNISTS AND CIVIL LIBERTARIANS

Operation Liberté (a coalition set up by the civil-libertarian Ligue des Droits de l'Homme--LDH) has called demonstrations and meetings across Canada on November 17 to protest mounting repression. These actions are to be built around two demands: "Repeal the War Measures Act" and "Against state repression of the workers movement and all those working for social change." The Trotskyist League calls for the immediate abolition of the reactionary War Measures Act and for the unconditional defense of the right of the Québécois to self-determination. As the "tribunes of the people" Leninists irreconcilably oppose every attack on the rights of the oppressed by the capitalist state.

While the civil libertarians of the LDH appeal to abstract, "classless" democracy for the defense of the exploited and oppressed the Trotskyist League fights for a perspective of class defense of democratic rights as a weapon of working-class struggle. Unlike the phony socialists of the Revolutionary Workers League and In Struggle! who are content to hang on to the coattails of the civil libertarians, Trotskyists seek to win the advanced workers to a revolutionary perspective in the struggle for democratic rights. Only through the overthrow of the entire capitalist state apparatus and the establishment of a workers government--the dictatorship of the proletariat--can the repression of the bosses be ended. ■

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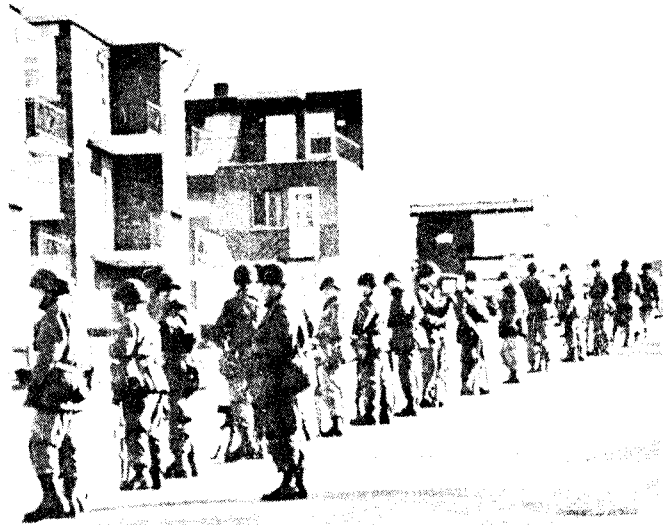
At 4:00 a.m., October 16, 1970 the Trudeau government imposed the War Measures Act on Quebec. Civil liberties were suspended and the army occupied Montreal while police rounded up over 450 labor leaders, Quebec nationalists and leftists. At the time Trudeau tried to justify the draconian measures by claiming they were necessary to prevent an "apprehended insurrection" in the wake of the kidnappings of a Quebec government official and an British diplomat by the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ).

Several federal cabinet ministers leaked details of the alleged "insurrection" to the press--the FLQ was supposedly aiming at deposing Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberal government and installing an FLQ "Provisional Government" in its place. The prime minister of this imaginary "provisional government" was supposed to be none other than Claude Ryan, then editor-in-chief of Le Devoir and today the leader of the Quebec Liberals! When all the details of the absurd story were made public even Trudeau himself found it expedient to disclaim it and charge the press and the opposition with rumor mongering (R. Haggart and A. E. Golden, Rumours of War [1971]).

Trudeau's fabricated "apprehended insurrection" should go down in history as one of the best examples of the technique of the "Big Lie" since Hitler accused the Communists of setting fire to the Reichstag. The whole purpose of this cynical invention was to provide a rationalization for the government's attacks on the nationalists, the left and the labor movement.

As Lenin said in State and Revolution: "the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another." The War Measures Act is simply the legal codification of the bosses' willingness to go to any lengths in defense of their "right" to oppress and exploit. In World War II the War Measures Act was used to outlaw the Trotskyists, the Communist Party and even the Jehovah's Witnesses! It was also the legislation which was used for the racist "evacuation" and internment of 21,000 Japanese-Canadians from the coastal areas of British Columbia in the 1940's.

In periods of relative social stability the "democratic" imperialists like to make a big show of their respect for the trappings of bourgeois legality -- "the rule of law," the "electoral process," etc. -- but as Trudeau demonstrated in October 1970 they are quite prepared to dispense with these niceties whenever they judge it appropriate. And today Canadian capitalism is showing signs of



OCTOBER 1970: TRUDEAU'S ARMY OCCUPIES MONTREAL

falling apart at the seams. The economy is in the worst slump since the 1930's, the dollar seems to set a new all-time low every day, inflation and unemployment are soaring and after three years of wage controls the labor movement is restless. Bay Street's other big worry is that despite all of René Lévesque's "moderation" and "gradualism" the Parti Québécois may end up taking Quebec out of Confederation. The federal government's response to all this is to "get tough" with the labor movement, the Québécois and the oppressed minorities.

Just last month the RCMP raided the offices of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers while the government arrested union officials and threatened the entire membership with fines and mass firings. In December 1977 a police "morality squad" raided the offices of the Body Politic, a gay journal published in Toronto. Two months earlier the Montreal cops carried out mass arrests in gay bars. The government is also trying to take advantage of the current rightward political drift in North America to harass and disrupt the left. On September 29, 50 plainclothes police armed with high-power rifles surrounded a resort in Katevale, Quebec where a seminar involving members of In Struggle!, a New

(continued on page 15)