

SPARTACIST

CANADA

March 1976 No.5 \$.25

KEY LABOR STRUGGLES AHEAD

Strike Against the Wage Controls!

FEBRUARY 10--Faced with the most severe attack on the trade-union movement in decades, top leaders of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) have been making uncharacteristically "militant" noises of late. CLC secretary-treasurer Donald Montgomery noted on February 5 that organized labor's frustrations with the arbitrary decisions of the Anti-Inflation Board (AIB) were creating an explosive situation, and he "expect [ed] the storm

to break in late March" (Globe and Mail, 6 February).

The following day CLC vice-president Shirley Carr called for AIB chairman Jean-Luc P  pin's resignation at a labor-management public seminar in Halifax, while president Joe Morris told the Winnipeg convention of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) that "our opposition [to the federal wage controls] is total and complete and we will not back off." Morris went on to threaten the Manitoba and Saskatchewan New Democratic Party governments with the withdrawal of labor's support unless they repudiated their endorsement of the Liberals' wage restraint program (Globe and Mail, 7 February).

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Trudeau has, to the chagrin of more pragmatic and right-wing elements in the Liberal Party (and to the delight of sundry federal Conservative leadership hopefuls seeking easy potshots at the "socialist" millionaire PM), continued his philosophical ruminations about "the failure of free enterprise" and the "hard choices" facing the people of Canada in the years ahead. Trudeau's Galbraithian ramblings are simply an attempt to conjure up an ideological rationale for the drastically increased degree

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Labor Challenge

35,000 QUEBEC WORKERS DEMONSTRATED AGAINST WAGE CONTROLS IN NOVEMBER.

*Their Man
in Havana... pg. 8*

Maoists Front for Angolan Anti-Communists --

STOP CPC(M-L) GOON ATTACKS!

On February 8 about 35 goons from the Maoist Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) physically assaulted members of the Trotskyist League, Revolutionary Marxist Group and the League for Socialist Action who were selling newspapers outside a CPC (M-L)-sponsored public forum on Angola at the University of Toronto. One *Spartacist Canada* salesperson had her nose bloodied in the attack, while others among the dozen or so newspaper sellers narrowly escaped injury at the hands of the Maoist thugs.

This totally unprovoked, frenzied attack is no isolated incident of hooliganism on the part of the CPC (M-L) Stalinists, who have a long history of cowardly violence in the service of reformist politics against opponent tendencies within the workers movement. Last spring, for example, members of CPC (M-L)'s front group, the "Anti-Imperialist Alliance," at the University of Waterloo attempted to physically break up a forum given by the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency (predecessor of the TL), while only last month CPC (M-L)ers publicly threatened to "break both legs" of a member of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière at the Université du Québec in Montreal.

RUNNING-DOG LACKEYS OF PEKING MARCH WITH PRETORIA

CPC (M-L) felt the need to "protect" its Angola forum from left-wing criticism for reasons which are obvious. Defending China's explicit alliance with U. S. imperialism and the racist South African regime to support the anti-communist National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) against the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is no easy task for ostensible communists.

The Chinese deformed workers state has repeatedly denounced "Soviet social imperialism" as the "main enemy" in Angola, and *Peking Review* (9 January 1976) has gone so far as to claim that the Soviets, by their military support to the MPLA, "are the arch-criminals responsible for the intervention by the South African racist regime in Angola"! This policy has concretely translated into Chinese shipments of tanks and heavy artillery to both the FNLA and UNITA, as well as a team of Chinese military advisers to train FNLA units. As Peking's loyal running-dog lackeys in Canada,



TOP, CPC (M-L)'S PRO-IMPERIALIST "COMRADE" JONAS SAVIMBI. BELOW, SAVIMBI'S UNITA TROOPS WITH SOLDIERS FROM THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME.



CPC (M-L) must attempt to swallow whole and convincingly regurgitate the counterrevolutionary Chi-
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The Fraud of Canadian Nationalism

Review

by John Masters

IMPERIALISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN CANADA

By Steve Moore and Debi Wells

SHOULD SOCIALISTS SUPPORT CANADIAN NATIONALISM?

Education for Socialists series

The news lately has been filled with Canadian-American squabbles over such "critical" questions as cable television broadcasting, the ratio of Canadian to American commercials viewed within Canadian borders, and the Canadian content percentage of publications qualifying for certain taxation breaks on advertising. Meantime the Canadian and American governments seem quite able to maintain a mutually satisfactory working relationship on the oil pipeline and other projects of real meaning to the capitalist profiteers on both sides of the border. Thus, while the heyday of Canadian-nationalist sentiment of a few years back has waned somewhat, it is still touted in various liberal and petty-bourgeois circles.

Two recent ostensibly Trotskyist publications are worthy of serious attention--the pamphlet published by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) because of its attempts to cover over a history which should be exposed, and the work by Moore and Wells (declared sympathizers of the Revolutionary Marxist Group at the time the book was published, who have since joined the organization) because of its serious critique of left nationalism culminating, however, in an apology for two-stage revolution in the underdeveloped countries.

COVERING UP THE LSA'S ADAPTATION TO CANADIAN NATIONALISM

Should Socialists Support Canadian Nationalism? is a series of documents published in the interests of the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA) by their American co-thinkers, the SWP. The series, dating from the 1972-73 faction fight which wracked the LSA, is designed to cover up a long and inglorious history of adaptation to national chauvinism by the Canadian adherents of the revisionist "United" Secretariat.

LSA leader Dick Fidler's fairy-tale introduction to the documents seeks to convince those without access to the historical facts that the core of the LSA national leadership has "consistently challenged" Canadian nationalism wherever it has reared its ugly head. According to Fidler's account, early in 1972 the LSA Political Committee

was temporarily deluded by one or two of its leading members into adopting a position that Canadian nationalism is a progressive phenomenon, worthy of uncritical tailing in the same manner that the LSA brought up the rearguard of the feminist, native and Québécois nationalist movements. "Less than three weeks later, however," Fidler claims, the PC supposedly corrected itself and waged an intransigent struggle against the Canadian-nationalist tendency led by Ross Dowson, until the latter split away to form the Socialist League in 1974.

This attempt at sweeping under the carpet the LSA's years-long record of support to the class-collaborationist "national liberation" strategy of the New Democratic Party "lefts" is belied by even a cursory examination of the organization's publications of the late sixties and early seventies. For example, in a major 1968 political resolution, published as a pamphlet entitled Canada U. S. Relations, the LSA leadership claimed:

"... this brand of 'nationalism' far from uniting the nation behind the bourgeoisie, far from smearing over class lines, is tending to unite the overwhelming majority of all other classes and subclasses [?!] against the bourgeoisie."

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DICK FIDLER.

Labor Challenge

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The March 1970 Young Socialist Forum, newspaper of the LSA's youth organization, lauds the "anti-imperialist sentiment expressed in the word 'Americanization'" and praises the struggle against "the Americanization of the Canadian university." The headline of the 13 September 1971 Labor Challenge bleats "End U.S. Domination of Canada!", and goes on, in an article authored by John Steele and the self-same Dick Fidler, to call for a program to "come to grips with the necessity for Canada to break with U.S. imperialism." Steele and Fidler even chide right-wing social democrat David Lewis for being insufficiently nationalist. Throughout this entire period the LSA's propaganda is dotted with the key adaptationist slogan: "For an Independent and Socialist Canada."

Today, with no mass petty-bourgeois nationalist movement to tail, the LSA answers the rhetorical question posed by their bulletin with a resounding "no," and Fidler's attempt to rewrite history is solely motivated by a desire to score factional points against the social-chauvinist outfit of his ex-comrade, Dowson. For revolutionaries, the facts of this period of LSA history are important for another reason.

The LSA was for this entire time the only visible ostensibly Trotskyist formation in Canada. The absence of any clear Trotskyist pole which could provide a Marxist understanding of class relations and revolutionary strategy in Canada during the entire period of decomposition of the New Left was one of the key reasons behind the subsequent welter of confusion surrounding basic tenets of Marxist theory. The fact that much of the Canadian left is still asking itself whether or not it should embrace nationalism as a strategic road to socialism in an advanced capitalist country gives eloquent testimony to its political poverty.

NATIONALISM:

A REACTIONARY BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

For Trotskyists, the answer to the question so hotly debated in academic Marxoid and Stalinist circles is obvious. Beginning from Lenin's analysis of the imperialist epoch as a period of irreversible capitalist decline, when socialism is concretely on the agenda as the only solution for all humanity, Trotskyists never embrace nationalism, a bourgeois ideology which was progressive only during the historical period of growth of capitalist class society. While defending the right to national self-determination of oppressed nations, Trotskyists unceasingly point out that the democratic task of national liberation cannot be achieved by the bourgeoisie, but only by a proletarian-led revolution to overthrow capitalism.

In an advanced capitalist country, even one as obviously of the second rank as Canada, support to nationalism in any form can only be reactionary. Not only would such nationalism be criminally

divisive of international working-class unity, but it would inevitably be used by the capitalists to garner support for the "national interest" in international trade wars and inter-imperialist conflicts. The position of sundry Stalinists and social democrats that nationalism in Canada can have an "anti-imperialist dynamic" will inevitably lead them, in the appropriate social circumstances, to a class betrayal as great as the support of the German social democracy for war credits in 1914 or the chauvinist ramblings of the western Communist Parties in support of the imperialist Allies in WWII.

CANADA: AN IMPERIALIST POWER

Steve Moore and Debi Wells' book is worth attention, if only because it is the first substantial ostensibly Marxist work in years which attempts to provide a serious critique of the Canadian left-nationalists' analyses and strategy. Moore and Wells demonstrate through statistical data that Canada, far from being the "colony" the left nationalists would like to see, is a secondary imperialist power in its own right, and that the Canadian bourgeoisie, centered in finance capital, transport, primary industry and certain manufacturing sectors, is by no means a weak and helpless puppet lacking its own class interests.

A tight interpenetration of the Canadian and American economies definitely exists, but unlike those reformist "socialists" who therefore deduce their task to be the cementing of an alliance with an "anti-imperialist" sector of the Canadian bour-

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SPARTACIST
CANADA

PUBLISHED BY THE SPARTACIST CANADA
PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, BOX 6867,
STATION A, TORONTO, ONTARIO

Editorial Board: Murray Smith, Tom Riley,
Cathy Nason, John Masters

Production Manager: Peter Moreau
Circulation Manager: Phyllis Mooney

Subscriptions: \$2.00/year (11 issues)

Opinions expressed in signed
articles do not necessarily
express the editorial viewpoint.

Printed in a union shop by union labor.

Sellout Union Tops Latch on to Insurance-Hike Issue

B.C. Demos Protest Rate Hikes

VANCOUVER--Less than a month after assuming office, British Columbia's new Social Credit government unveiled the first phase of its program of "fiscal responsibility" by boosting average auto insurance rates charged by the provincially-owned Insurance Corporation of British Columbia (ICBC) by an astronomical 140 percent. The Socreds' insurance rate hikes must be seen in the context of a general drive by the capitalist class to offset the effects of their current economic difficulties at the expense of the living standards of the working population through slashing social services (education, welfare, unemployment insurance), while forcing down wages through the federal government's wage controls and, when necessary, through direct strikebreaking (such as Bill 146, with which the Socreds' social-democratic New Democratic Party predecessors in Victoria forced 60,000 workers back to work on October 7 of last year).

The Socreds' rate hikes have provoked a storm of protest actions across B. C., which the B. C. Federation of Labor (B. C. Fed) and the NDP (barely disguised as the "Concerned Citizens' Association") have attempted to cash in on by calling a series of public demonstrations, some drawing as many as 10 to 15 thousand people. The organizers have carefully restricted the protests to two sub-reformist demands: (1) that the rate hikes be limited to "only" 20 percent (!) and (2) that the government raise whatever additional revenues are required by increasing gasoline taxes! The rallies themselves have followed a familiar format--ritual denunciations of the Socred government, appeals to the electorate to vote NDP next time, and admonitions by the bureaucrats to the crowd to behave in a "responsible" manner.

UNION BUREAUCRATS: FEELING SAFER WITH "CONSUMER" ISSUES

It is significant that the B. C. union brass, which so meekly submitted to ex-Premier Barrett's strikebreaking Bill 146 in October, and which has yet to do a thing to oppose Trudeau's wage controls, has chosen to mobilize sections of its base for the anti-rate-hike demonstrations. These professional sellouts apparently feel that the pop-

ular, consumer-oriented character of the rate-hike issue provides a sufficient guarantee that the protests will not go beyond the narrow bounds of parliamentary lobbying. At the same time, the labor skates are no doubt hoping that a show of pseudo-militancy in opposition to the rate hike will do something to refurbish their image with rank-and-file trade-union members, who have been bearing the brunt of the capitalists' austerity program.

The labor bureaucrats and the NDP have insisted on separating the rate increase from the broader question of the Trudeau wage freeze. As if to underline the classless, "popular" character of the protests, the bureaucrats have actively solicited participation in the demonstrations by representatives of the two miniscule non-Socred bourgeois parties in the Provincial Legislature, the Liberals and the Conservatives.

However, despite their best efforts to channel the ICBC protests into the dead-end of peaceful demonstrations, petition campaigns and lobbying, the bureaucrats are evincing a certain nervousness about the possibility of the protests going beyond the narrow limits they have in mind. There has already been some indication of pressure developing in the base of the trade unions for work stoppages and even some talk of a general strike to oppose the new rates.

In B. C. where the social weight of the proletariat vis-à-vis the petty bourgeoisie is relatively greater than in much of the rest of Canada, and where there is a long history of militant trade unionism, there is every possibility that the anti-insurance hike protests could set off a round of much sharper struggles than the B. C. Fed pie-cards would like to see. This has prompted the labor hacks to repeatedly disavow any intention of using the strength of the trade unions in the dispute, and to pledge themselves to do their best to hold the protests within "responsible" bounds.

YCL SINGS OUT AGAINST RATE HIKES

The only political current to the left of the NDP with a substantial trade-union base in B. C., the Communist Party (CP), has fallen into line behind the B. C. Fed bureaucracy, and is enthusiastically promoting the sub-reformist campaign of the labor tops. The CP's main contribution to the campaign has been to provide Young Communist League (YCL) members (masquerading, along with NDPers, as "Concerned Citizens") to do the donkey work of collecting signatures on petitions, and

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so on. At one of the rallies the YCL also provided a choir, which regaled the participants with the "ICBC blues" and other timely ditties!

RMG: TOWARD A DRIVERS' AND WORKERS' GOVERNMENT?

The petty-bourgeois impressionists of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) are trying hard to present a more radical face in the anti-rate-hike campaign. In order to sustain the momentum of the protests, the RMG proposes a "mass boycott of ICBC. If thousands of drivers refuse to pay and begin taking public transportation on March 1, the pressure on the government will mount rapidly" (RMG leaflet, 8 February).

In the same leaflet the RMG also put forward supplementary "new tactics... which go beyond the protest rallies, including forms of civil disobedience (mass cavalcades of cars and trucks to tie up traffic, overloading of buses, etc.)" The RMG's boycott and civil disobedience schemes are not only counterposed to one another, but run clearly contrary to any proposal for labor action to force the Socreds to back down. For all their talk of "broadening" the mobilization, and despite their criticisms of the B. C. Fed/NDP game of parliamentary pressure politics, the RMG's proposals boil down to a utopian, impossibilist, New Left version of the same single-issue, consumerist strategy being promoted by the trade-union bureaucrats.

The ICBC rate hikes constitute one of a series of attempts by the bourgeoisie to saddle the poor and working people of B. C. with the effects of the current worldwide capitalist economic crisis. Rather than fight for a smaller rate hike or no rate hike, the demand must be raised for free full-benefit car insurance and programs to construct free mass transportation throughout B. C., a province sorely lacking in adequate public transportation systems. A successful fight against the rate hikes must be linked to a labor mobilization to smash the wage controls and reverse the massive government cut-backs in social services.

The refusal of the B. C. labor brass to undertake a serious fight against the current government attacks on working people underlines the necessity for trade-union militants to begin to build a class-struggle opposition within the unions, dedicated to ousting the current set of pro-capitalist piecards. Such a movement must be firmly based on a program which goes beyond simple "bread-and-butter" trade unionism, and must clearly pose the historic necessity for the working class to wrest political and economic power from the capitalist parasites. ■

CPC (ML)...

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nese line--a difficult task indeed, even for those as adept at the technique of the "big lie" as the camp followers of "Chairman" Hardial Bains.

The featured speaker at the Toronto meeting was none other than Jeremiah Chitunda, the representative of UNITA to the United Nations (!), who sought to convince the gullible that "the present fight in Angola has nothing to do with communism or anti-communism" (The Varsity, 11 February 1976). The TL certainly has no illusions that the victory of the MPLA, FNLA or UNITA, all petty-bourgeois-nationalist formations hostile to the independent interests of the working class, would lead to the formation of a communist Angola, or of a workers state of any kind. However, the war in Angola today is not limited to a narrow, fratricidal conflict between these three movements--it has become an internationalized war-by-proxy between the forces of U. S. imperialism and the degenerated workers state in the USSR. In this context communists must call for the military victory of the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist-led forces.

SAVIMBI'S ADMIRATION SOCIETY: FROM PCDN TO THE JOHANNESBURG STAR

Yet the pages of CPC (M-L)'s People's Canada Daily News are adorned with homages to the UNITA-FNLA "alliance" and bourgeois states in the right wing of the Organization of African Unity, along with giant pictures of UNITA leader "Comrade" Jonas Savimbi, recently praised by the white racist Johannesburg Star as Angola's "man of the hour." These are the reactionary politics CPC (M-L) seeks to cover with vicious and cowardly gangsterism.

The TL upholds the democratic right of all tendencies within the workers movement to express their political viewpoint--gangsterism and exclusionism à la CPC (M-L) is a policy which can never contribute to the achievement of Marxist programmatic clarity, and ultimately serves only the interests of the bourgeoisie. The TL, however, is by no means a pacifist organization--its members are quite prepared to defend their rights against Stalinist thugs, in order to continue exposing renegades and revisionists by counterposing the proletarian-revolutionary program of Trotskyism. Stop the Stalinist gangster attacks--for full democratic rights within the workers movement! ■

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE Directory

TORONTO (416) 366-4107
Box 222, Station B
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B. C.

FOR U.OF.T. GOVERNING COUNCIL

VOTE COMMUNIST!

VOTE IRENE ALLISON!

In early February the University of Toronto Trotskyist League Club announced that it was fielding a candidate for election to one of the two part-time undergraduate seats on the Governing Council. The TL candidate, Irene Allison, is running on a full program of revolutionary class struggle--directly counterposed to the reformism and careerism of her various opponents.

The Governing Council, established in 1971, is responsible for "the government, management and control of the University and University College, and property, revenues, business and affairs thereof...." (The University of Toronto Act). This body, supposedly representing all campus "constituencies," is in fact nothing other than an agency of the capitalists and their hirelings on campus. Of the 50 Governing Council members, 16 are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, 8 are alumni, 2 are Presidential appointees and the Chancellor and President both sit ex-officio.

By fostering the illusion that the Council gives students, faculty and campus workers a democratic "say" in the running of the University, the bourgeoisie hopes to channel campus-based struggles into the dead-end road of parliamentarist

cretinism. Like the impotent Students Administrative Council (home for aspiring student bureaucrats, careerists and cliquists), the august Governing Council of capitalist financiers and industrialists is nothing but a sham.

ABOLISH THE GOVERNING COUNCIL!

The TL is not running a candidate in this election in the hope of gaining a position from which to somehow "reform" the unreformable Council. Rather, candidate Allison is using the campaign platform to spread the ideas of Marxism and to win students, teachers and campus workers to the program of proletarian socialist revolution. Abolish the Governing Council!--For student-teacher-worker control of the University!

U. of T. is an elite institution which serves a specific function in capitalist society--to train government administrators, industrial managers and propagators of bourgeois ideology. The TL campaign points the way toward smashing this class bias of the university through a struggle for no tuition, open admissions and full living stipend for all students.

The vicious slashing of social services proposed in the Ontario government's Henderson Report (see SC, February) clearly demonstrates that the cause of the current cutbacks at U. of T. and other universities is off-campus--it lies in the deep-going crisis of capitalism. Students are not a class, but a heterogeneous grouping generally reflecting the social views of the petty bourgeoisie. Transients removed from production, students wield little social power. Only the working class, through its relationship to the means of production has the ability to fundamentally change society by overthrowing capitalist class rule.

In the fight against cutbacks students must link up with the tremendous striking power of the working class through labor-student mobilizations against cutbacks, wage controls and layoffs. The TL campaign is emphasizing this class-struggle perspective for smashing capitalism, and thus laying the material basis for ending all forms of social oppression--including racism, sexism and the special oppression of youth.

For students seeking a way out of the decaying rot that is capitalism, the campaign at the U. of T. offers the opportunity to fight for a revolutionary alternative. Join the campaign activities of the TL--attend the election meetings, contribute funds, hand out literature and VOTE COMMUNIST! VOTE IRENE ALLISON! ■



trotskyist league

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THEIR MAN IN HAVANA



TRUDEAU'S TRIP WAS IN THE SERVICE OF CANADIAN IMPERIALISM. CASTRO LOOKED OUT FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE RULING BUREAUCRACY OF THE CUBAN DEFORMED WORKERS' STATE.

Prime Minister Trudeau's visits to deformed workers states in recent years have preceded important changes in American diplomacy. His visit to Peking in 1971 occurred a short time before the first Nixon visit, and his visit to Cuba was planned when it had become clear that Washington was projecting some level of renewed diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba, a move which the American imperialists have felt compelled to postpone in the face of Cuban military involvement in Angola. Such a U. S. policy change may very well take place after the November 1976 Presidential elections, especially if a coalition government or a "neutralized" MPLA government is established in Angola by then, as the liberal bourgeoisie hopes.

These visits by Trudeau, in light of the very close economic relations between Canada and the United States, have led some observers to believe that Trudeau is no more than Kissinger's errand boy. But this is not really the case. Trudeau is running his own operation; while it is not in sharp conflict with the U. S., neither is it identical with U. S. interests. Through his maneuverist "Third Option" foreign policy of seeking "wider international relations as a counterweight to U. S. influ-

ence" (Time Canada, 9 February), Trudeau seeks to pressure the U. S. into more favorable economic attitudes toward the Canadian bourgeoisie and to widen Canada's imperialist horizons in the face of declining American economic power.

While there are no illusions on the part of the bourgeoisie that Canada can transcend its position as a secondary imperialist power, nor that it can free itself from considerable dependency on the U. S., it can hedge its bets through economic deals with other countries. While the Cuban visit has drawn the most attention, it is to be noted that Trudeau's tour included important economic talks in Venezuela and Mexico, and that Trudeau is presently involved in negotiations with the European Common Market toward the establishment of a special relationship with Canada.

The split within the Canadian bourgeoisie over Trudeau's visit--manifested in stormy Parliament sessions and critical newspaper editorials--is not over the trip itself, but its timing, i. e., that it took place during the Cuban involvement in Angola. Robert Stanfield, leader of the Progressive Conservative Party and the Parliamentary Opposition, declared that Trudeau's visit to Cuba creates the impression that Canada "does

not take very seriously" the entry of Cuban troops in Angola on the side of the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) (Globe and Mail, 30 January).

While the PC's would like to have postponed this visit until the Cubans were out of Angola, the Liberals hurried to ensure Canadian imperialism's interests in Cuba before the U. S. re-established its links to the island. Maclean's magazine (9 February) quotes a Canadian "senior trade official" as saying, "We have to assume the Cubans will normalize in their position with the Americans. It is no secret that we want to consolidate our position before that happens." The same article reports the words of an "external affairs officer" to the effect that Canada "certainly wouldn't benefit by U. S. competition."

CUBA: GOLDEN GOOSE FOR CANADIAN IMPERIALISM

Economic relations between Canada and Cuba go back to the last century, after the Spanish-American War, when the Royal Bank established branches in Cuba, followed later by the Bank of Nova Scotia. When in the beginning of 1960 Castro nationalized the Cuban economy, the Royal Bank and the Bank of Nova Scotia were nationalized but, unlike many other concerns, they were compensated.

Canada never participated in the Organization of American States blockade against Cuba, even under PC Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, and continued to maintain full diplomatic relations with Havana. However, the penetration of Canadian capital into Cuba began again only in 1971, in the same year in which Trudeau made his trip to China, and to Europe to seek closer relations with the Common Market. While the activity of Canadian capital in Cuba is limited in its scope, it is not only expanding but is very profitable for the Canadian bourgeoisie.

While Canada has a huge trade deficit with oil-rich Venezuela, its balance of trade with Cuba is quite favorable. In the first nine months of 1975 Canada sold Venezuela \$163.1 million worth of goods, buying from Venezuela \$862.2 million worth in oil. During the same time period, Cuba purchased \$200 million in goods from Canada, while Canada bought \$70 million worth of sugar and fish from Cuba.

Seventeen years after the petty-bourgeois Castroist guerrillaist movement took power and 15 years since the nationalization of the economy, Cuba has made enormous progress in the economic, education and health fields--in comparison to conditions under the Batista regime. Nevertheless Cuba is a very poor island with little industrialization and were the Soviet Union not supporting it at \$1 million a day, its situation would soon be catastrophic. For this reason the Castroist bureaucracy is more than happy to have trade relations with imperialist countries, even second-

rate ones like Canada--especially when such deals include a \$60 million project to modernize inadequate harbor facilities in Havana and other ports (it is not uncommon for ships to wait in Havana for weeks before being unloaded, due to the lack of mechanized docks).

While the imperialists are willing to trade with workers states as long as there is enough profit in it, their ultimate aim is to restore capitalism in these states. Leninists do not advocate nationalist autarky, i. e., we do not believe that it is possible to build socialism in a single country, not to speak of a country that is a small, essentially one-crop island. We therefore do not object to the establishment of diplomatic and economic relations with imperialist states, as long as this remains a maneuver to gain time, until the workers will take power in those countries. The trouble with Castro, as with all Stalinists, is that he pursues diplomatic and economic relations with imperialism as a strategy, trading the interests of the working class (for socialist revolution) for diplomatic achievements which seek to maintain "peaceful coexistence" and the privileged position of the bureaucracy. Castro himself made this quite clear during Trudeau's visit.

PROMISES NEAR THE BAY OF PIGS

The most important talks between Castro and Trudeau took place on a small island not far from the Bay of Pigs, a name that has entered history as the place where the counterrevolutionary imperialist attempts to restore capitalism were defeated. Castro promised his Canadian visitor that even after a Cuba-U. S. detente is established, the share of Canadian capital in the imperialist exploitation of Cuba will not be diminished. At the same time, Castro took advantage of the talks to indicate to Washington that Cuba looked forward to only the friendliest of relations with the U. S.: "Mr. Castro told Mr. Trudeau he hoped that, in time, the United States would have as much confidence in Cuba as it has in Canada" (Globe and Mail, 30 January).

In his visit to Chile prior to the military coup, Castro provided proof that the U. S. could count on him as a "reasonable" head of state. Castro's main efforts in Chile were to lend his authority to attempts by the Allende popular front to subordinate the working class to this capitalist government. Allende's policies opened the door to rule by the present murderous military junta.

Thus, while the U. S. is unhappy with Cuba's present role in Angola, it has not gone unnoticed that Castro has never carried out his threats of the early sixties to foment revolution in Latin America and elsewhere. Of course these days he does not even make the verbal threats. Cuba's aid to the MPLA represents assistance to the Soviet bid for political influence in Angola. It is because the struggle in Angola has become essentially a

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 proxy war between the U. S. -South Africa and the Soviet Union that the Trotskyist League calls for military victory to the Soviet-backed MPLA in the present conflict. But the program of the MPLA is not socialist revolution, but for a bourgeois Angola under MPLA leadership. Thus the TL remains completely antagonistic to the MPLA politically, and points to the very real possibility that the MPLA's allies in the future could easily be U. S. imperialism. Were Cuba to give substantial aid to subjectively revolutionary workers in Portugal or Spain, the U. S. would react with something qualitatively stronger than its current expressed dissatisfaction.

While the U. S. presently has no illusions in the international revolutionary fervor of Castro, it will not have complete "confidence" in Cuba until a successful counterrevolution would restore capitalism there. Castro understands this point, but must act according to his position as leader of a bureaucratic caste--afraid of socialist revolutions that would inspire not only the international working class in the capitalist countries to expropriate their bourgeoisies, but would inspire the workers in Cuba itself to oust the parasitic bureaucrats. Castro's only possible "strategy" is to convince the imperialists that the use they can make of Stalinism is more important than a Cuban capitalist restoration. Castro perhaps forgets that Allende also sought to convince the Chilean capitalists and American imperialists that the popular front could serve them better than Pinochet.

PRO-MOSCOW STALINISTS HAIL TRUDEAU'S TRIP AS BOON TO CANADIAN CAPITALISM...

The Canadian pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) was very enthusiastic over Trudeau's trip, which it saw as the path for peace and independence for... Canadian imperialism! An editorial in the CP's newspaper, the Canadian Tribune (14 January) declared:

"But trade should not be the only consideration on the Trudeau trip. Building Canada's relations with countries of Latin America and the Caribbean--and particularly with countries pursuing development independent of U. S. domination--is important to peace, development

and self-determination in the whole hemisphere, Canada included."

* Independence for imperialism? Peace between imperialism and workers states? When the imperialists cannot find peace among themselves, as shown by two world wars? These self-proclaimed "Leninists" do not find the occasion often to refer to Lenin's analysis of imperialist wars as rooted in the capitalist system of production, and that the only way to prevent such wars is through international socialist revolution.

...WHILE PRO-PEKING STALINISTS DENOUNCE TRIP AS DISSERVICE TO SAME

At the other end of the Stalinist spectrum is the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) [CPC (M-L)], an organization which makes so much use of the Stalinist technique of endlessly repeating big lies that its glassy-eyed members even believe the lies themselves. CPC (M-L) has the "opposite" position of the CP; it thinks that Trudeau's visit was not a good thing--because it did not benefit... Canadian imperialism!

CPC (M-L) supports Peking's alliance with the U. S. and South Africa in their backing for the anti-Soviet groups, UNITA and the FNLA, in Angola, calling the pro-imperialist leader of UNITA "Comrade Savimbi" in its press. CPC (M-L)'s editorial on Trudeau's visit to Cuba characterizes Cuba as a Russian colony and Trudeau as the running boy of the U. S. and the Soviet Union:

"...one of Trudeau's tasks on his visit [is] to finalise the details of this bribe [i. e., giving economic aid to Cuba]. So while serving Washington, his visit often reflects the ambitions of the Soviet Union--to use detente to further penetrate U. S. -dominated Canada through its colony Cuba."

--People's Canada Daily News, 28 January

The logic of this imaginative position places CPC (M-L) to the right of the PC's on the question of Trudeau's trip and amounts to a call on the Canadian bourgeoisie to blockade Cuba. While the anti-Soviet rantings and ravings of the Maoists in China make some sense in that they serve a material interest, i. e., defending the bureaucracy's privileged position, the antics of the student-based CPC (M-L) resemble little more than an amateur clown show.

It is not the place of revolutionaries to favor or oppose Trudeau's trip. We do not see ourselves as policy advisors to Canadian imperialist interests. What is important is to recognize the character of this trip--as a mission in the service of Canadian imperialism. With the exception of the Stalinists who toady to their masters in the Moscow or Peking bureaucracies, those remaining "radicals" who defend Canada against U. S. imperialist "oppression" should have some of the smoke cleared out of their heads by Trudeau's tour made explicitly in the interests of Canadian capital penetration abroad.■

VANCOUVER FORUM

CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY/ANGOLA

Joe Drummond
 National Committee,
 Spartacus Youth League/U. S.

Simon Fraser University March 2, 1976
 For more information call: 299-5306

Morgentaler...

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reproduction and maintenance of labor power at minimum cost to the bourgeoisie.

Free abortion on demand is not a simple bourgeois-democratic right, but does contain within it a very real threat to the power of the family as a conservatizing force against proletarian struggles. The demand for free abortion should be coupled to demands for the socialization of "women's work," e.g., free 24-hour child care under parent control and paid for by the employer or the state, free dining and laundry facilities.

Thus the right to free abortion on demand is not an isolated issue but is integral to the struggle for women's liberation from centuries of oppression. But this oppression is a byproduct of class society and today its special character is shaped by the demands of capitalist interests. The fight for women's liberation must be linked to the proletariat's struggle to overthrow capitalism, the only path to emancipation for all the oppressed.

One of the few ostensibly socialist groups to date which has publicized the recent events of the Morgentaler case is the pseudo-Trotskyist League for Socialist Action (LSA), "official" Canadian section of the "United" Secretariat. The LSA's work around the Morgentaler case since it began has been a model of reformist cretinism. In the first actions supporting Morgentaler in 1973, the LSA overdid itself in single-issueism by limiting its demands to "Free Dr. Morgentaler, drop the charges," not only refusing to link this campaign to the demand for repeal of the abortion law, but polemicizing against those who did want to make this link for their failure to understand the dynamics of single-issue campaigns:

"It is clear that the defense of Dr Morgentaler is closely related to the abortion rights struggle--in fact, he is being victimized primarily because of his part in that struggle....

"But to conclude therefore that the defense campaign should also call for repeal of the abortion laws, is to make a serious misjudgment as to the tasks and character of the defense campaign.

"The main purpose of the defense campaign is to prevent the Quebec courts from convicting and sentencing Dr. Morgentaler....

"... [the] viewpoints [in favor of adding the 'repeal' demand] suffer from a common error --underestimation of the power of a mass campaign to affect the course of this case."

--Labor Challenge, 8 October 1973

As even the liberal Morgentaler himself has sought to become a symbol for a fight to repeal the law, the LSA has recently added "Repeal the abortion laws" to the other two demands (Labor Challenge, 2 February 1976), bringing up the rear-guard of social-reform struggles, as usual. The LSA still does not raise the call for free abortion

on demand, failing to take up the slogan which addresses the interests of poor and working women. Young Socialist (February-March 1976), newspaper of the LSA's youth group, notes that the acquittal of Morgentaler is still "a far cry from 'abortion on demand'" but fails to call for free abortion. Furthermore, the LSA/YS nowhere attempt to link up the Morgentaler/abortion issue to the larger questions of female oppression.

Insofar as the LSA deals with the woman question as such, its framework is feminism and pressure-group reformism. In an article criticizing the government's failure to keep its promises for International Women's Year (IWY), the LSA indicates the lessons which should be drawn from this:

"Women did not stand idly by while the federal government carried out its IWY snow job. 1975 saw several important protest actions organized by women to back up their demands. Many women saw through the government's fraud. They concluded that women cannot rely on government agencies to end their oppression, but can count only on their own organized strength to force action on their demands."

--Labor Challenge, 19 January 1976, emphasis added

The class question and the need for proletarian leadership do not enter into the minds of these social democrats, who prefer to wallow in petty-bourgeois sectoralism. Not only does the LSA support a sisterhood-is-powerful line, but claims that women united can make the government do a better job for them ("force action on their demands")!

Communists must agitate for free abortion on demand by competent medical personnel, for the massive dispensation of safe and effective contraception and against forced sterilization. At the same time, we insist upon extensive maternity benefits--paid maternity leave before and after birth, free quality health care for all and free 24-hour child care. While it is necessary to fight now for abortion-law repeal, reforms are always reversible under capitalism. Only in a genuinely socialist society can gains for women be consolidated, maintained and extended. ■

CORRECTIONS

In the article "Origins of Canadian Pabloism" (SC, February), RWP Internal Bulletin, 1942, is incorrectly given as the source for the quote: "Political action of the Canadian workers has taken a reformist detour. Today's expression of working-class independent political action is the CCF." The correct source is SWL Internal Bulletin, 1942, as quoted in Ross Dowson, CCF: Tasks and Perspectives.

Due to an error in production, three photographs appeared in SC, February, without photo credits. All three are Globe and Mail photographs. ■

Paperworkers' Strikes Continue...

(continued from page 1)

of government policing of the labor movement.

While Canadian bourgeois interests continue to squabble about the extent of state control over the economy, about the relative merits of Trudeau's three-year (or longer) wage-controls program versus Opposition Leader Robert Stanfield's call for an immediate wage freeze, and the demands of various economists and industrialists for drastic cuts in government expenditures, the entire capitalist class is united on the central issue. If the Canadian economy is to swing out of its continuing recession conditions (marked by a record \$800 million trade deficit for 1975), the burden of the economic hard times must be shifted onto the backs of the working class.

OUT OF THE ECONOMIC MIRE?

The importance of the primary-resources sector to Canadian capital delayed somewhat the initial effects of the international economic downturn in this country. But this same factor, coupled with a high increase in unit labor costs relative to Canada's trading partners and competitors (particularly the United States) has correspondingly delayed even a relative, temporary upturn of the type experienced by American capitalism during late 1975.

Now, with the outlook for the international capitalist economy over the next year much bleaker than formerly predicted by (relatively) optimistic bourgeois pedants, the less myopic of Canadian forecasters are worried that the "recovery" of Canadian capitalism may not last beyond the third quarter of this year. The quite natural structural "tilt" of Canadian capitalism toward heavy reliance on basic resources and Canada-U. S. trade is not something that can be readily changed. But the power of the Canadian labor movement (which won wage settlements in pre-October 1975 averaging an annual 17 percent, compared with 8 percent in the U. S.) is something which the Canadian bourgeoisie feels can (and must) be combatted.

ATOP A VOLCANO

The left-posturing of the labor bureaucracy and the worries of the capitalists have a common root. Both are firmly committed to the maintenance and well-being of Canadian capitalism and private ownership of the means of production; yet each must respond to different pressures. While the capitalists must in this period unleash ever more direct attacks on working people in order to bolster their profits, the labor tops are compelled to put up at least a minimal show of defending the interests of their base of support, the union

rank and file.

Thus while rhetorically denouncing the austerity program as an attack on the entire working class, Morris and his cohorts can continue to "reasonably" discuss more "equitable" controls with government and management in the friendly confines of the tripartite, class-collaborationist Canada Labor Relations Council. In the words of Shirley Carr, the labor tops are "genuinely concerned to find a co-operative solution to the present economic difficulties" (*Globe and Mail*, 7 February)--their problem is one of ensuring that the seething anger of the Canadian working class does not explode in an upsurge that would challenge the confines of bourgeois legality and thus threaten their privileged position in the labor bureaucracy.

Unless they can successfully co-opt workers' hatred of the wage-controls program into legalistic, reformist channels, or convince the government to moderate its overt attacks on the working class, the labor bureaucrats could find themselves sitting atop a simmering volcano before the year is out. 1976 is a major bargaining year for Canadian labor, and talk of defiance of both the guidelines and the AIB and its administrator's edicts is in the air.

Today, various paperworker locals from the prairies to the maritimes are continuing strike action which began, in some cases, as long as seven months ago, with demands which have been rejected in advance by the AIB. Industry-wide negotiations involving 95,000 railway workers grouped in the Associated Railways Unions (ARU) and 173,000 Quebec public and para-public employees have stalemated, and strikes are expected in both cases. Later this year the United Auto Workers will face the Big Three industrial giants in simultaneous negotiations with the UAW in the U. S.

Any one of these struggles could, despite the "moderating" attempts of the union bureaucrats, spark a major labor counter-offensive to smash Trudeau's wage-control program.

CPU: UP AGAINST THE AIB

The AIB hit the national headlines last December 17 when it announced the first significant rollback of a wage increase in a major national industry, by refusing to endorse the 23.8 percent increase negotiated in October between Irving Pulp and Paper Ltd. of New Brunswick and employees in the Canadian Paperworkers Union (CPU) and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). The board announced that it would not accept first-year increases in the pulp-and-paper industry of more than 14 percent, and ordered the unions involved to pay back the "excess" earnings

Rail, Quebec Common Front Next?

of Irving workers. When the company, worried about its own "labor relations" image, announced on January 24 that it would contest the ruling, AIB regional director Jack Biddell warned that both company and unions would be subject to stiff lines should they fail to comply with administrator Donald Tansley's decision.

Half of the 50,000-member CPU was out on strike against various pulp-and-paper companies across the country when Trudeau announced the wage-controls program last October. The only significant area not affected was British Columbia, where 7,200 striking CPU members and 5,500 others in the breakaway, Canadian-nationalist Pulp, Paper and Woodworkers of Canada (PPWC) had been legislated back to work a few days previously under the terms of the then New Democratic Party government's strikebreaking Bill 146.

The Irving settlement, while providing for substantially less than the CPU's initial \$2-an-hour pay-hike demand, would have maintained the paperworkers' historical wage relationship with woodlands workers and provided a standard for settlements across the country. The CPU leadership has at no time made a serious attempt to set in motion a genuinely nationally-coordinated strike of all paperworkers nor has it ever sought to mobilize an explicit struggle against the wage-controls program; rather they were content to plead for "exemption" from the guidelines because of this historical relationship. But by ordering its precedent-setting rollback, the AIB forced the CPU into a head-on confrontation with the legislation.

UPIU: SCABBING ON THE STRIKE

CPU members, many of them in small, single-industry towns, have carried on this lengthy strike with virtually no strike fund--in fact, some have received as little as \$20 from the union during the entire walkout! Apparently the CLC leadership feels the hundreds of thousands of dollars it has collected for its anti-controls "educational fund" to date are better spent on inane and ineffectual "Why me?" advertising campaigns than on support to a real struggle against the government's attacks.

The major responsibility for this situation rests, however, with the Tonelli leadership of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU). When the CPU "amicably" separated from the UPIU in June 1974, UPIU president Joseph Tonelli promised the new union that it would get a proportionate share of the \$12 million in assets held in the New York head office by the international: "...we're not going to weaken you by taking your local assets away" (Toronto Star, 7 June 1974). Had the UPIU leadership come through on its pledge, the CPU

would have had an additional 1.5 to 2 million dollars to serve as a real financial base for backing up a fight against the wage controls. Yet no money has been forthcoming.

But the treachery of the UPIU leadership does not end there--today the rump UPIU Canadian membership of 3,500 is scabbing on the CPU strike! While the rest of the industry has been shut down, UPIU-organized work sites in Ontario and Manitoba have continued operating, either through memoranda of understanding with the companies or through agreements for minimal interim wage increases. At the Abitibi Paper Company's Thunder Bay mill, where both unions have jurisdiction, UPIU members remained on the job when the CPU struck last July, and were thus eligible to receive unemployment insurance benefits when the company shut the plant down.

In the face of the concerted company/government/AIB attack and actions tantamount to sabotage from other sectors of the labor movement, the CPU's solid front is beginning to crumble. In late January 3,500 Quebec workers settled with the Eastern Canada Newsprint Group for terms within the AIB's stated guidelines. A similar settlement has more recently been reached with Bowaters in Cornerbrook, Newfoundland, and an agreement with the provincially-owned Manitoba Forest Resources Ltd. has also been announced.

But while the strength of the walkout has been somewhat dissipated, the strike remains a focal point for the struggle of Canadian labor against the wage restraints. Numerous locals in Ontario and Quebec have overwhelmingly rejected company offers within the AIB guidelines, and in Toronto on 17 January 130 delegates representing 10,000 Ontario CPU members voted to refuse to return to work until after the AIB has announced that it will not attempt to force a rollback of any increase in excess of 14 percent.

NATIONAL STRIKE LOOMS IN RAIL

Even more worrisome to the bourgeoisie is the potential national strike of 16 rail unions grouped for bargaining purposes into the ARU. Despite the lack of a valid contract since the beginning of the year, the rail union tops continued their secret negotiations with Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways right up to the breakdown of talks at the end of January--and then asked (!) Labor Minister John Munro to intervene under the terms of the Canada Labor Code. But despite the ARU negotiators' ultra-legalist tactics, the companies and unions are far apart and a strike is expected by spring.

Unlike the CPU bureaucrats, the ARU leadership is not seeking "special status" exemption from the

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wage ceiling through a legal reading of certain minutiae in the Anti-Inflation Act, but is announcing in advance its intention to defy Trudeau's program and the AIB. The rail moguls have struck a similar rigid pose, offering only a reported 9.5 percent increase over a one-year contract, and refusing to even consider demands in excess of the allowed maximum.

Several times in recent history (the last instance was during the ten-day walkout of late August 1973) the railway unions have launched militant strikes across the country, only to be forced back to work following the bureaucrats' capitulation to government strikebreaking legislation. While Labor Minister Munro and the rest of the federal Cabinet undoubtedly hope to avert a strike--which could serve as a militant national focus for struggle against the wage controls--through a sellout "compromise" agreement like that of early 1975, the government will certainly be prepared to use its strikebreaking weapon once again if and when the unions walk out.

FOR A PROVINCE-WIDE GENERAL STRIKE IN QUÉBEC !

The most volatile of all the struggles shaping up is undoubtedly that of the newly-regrouped Common Front of close to 200,000 Quebec government workers in the Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec (FTQ), the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN) and the Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec (CEQ). The first major public-sector negotiations in the province since the May 1972 general strike (the largest in North American history, in which workers effectively seized political power in a number of small towns for several days) have been continuing sporadically since last May, although the Liberal Bourassa government did not even bother to present its wage offer until November, after the federal wage-control program had already been announced.

The Quebec working class has exhibited in recent years a level of combativity beyond that of any other sector of the labor movement in North America, and this has been reflected in repeated insistent demands for a provincial general strike against the wage controls. Despite the attempts of the "militant" labor tops to derail this militancy into class-collaborationist channels through support to the petty-bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois, motions supporting a general strike were adopted by meetings of the CSN Central Councils, CEQ teachers in Montreal and (albeit as an "ultimate weapon") by the FTQ's December convention. There have been enough militant "threats" made by Quebec union bureaucrats; workers must call now for a province-wide Quebec general strike to smash the wage controls!

Demonstrations against the wage controls of upwards of 35,000 workers have been held in Montreal, and the new Common Front struggles, should they lead to the expected strike action, could provide a major focus for the fight of all Canadian labor against the bosses' offensive. As

in the rest of Canada, however, the main obstacle to success will be the attempts of the labor bureaucracy to both undercut the necessary militancy and foster illusions in the ability of political fakers like the NDP and the PQ to act in the interests of the working class.

The bureaucrats' chosen "political leader" in Quebec, PQ chief and former provincial Liberal cabinet minister René Lévesque, has already said his piece on the issue of wage controls: In an article in the 17 October 1975 issue of Le Jour, Lévesque praised the position of Conservative (!) Party leader Robert Stanfield in the October 1974 elections for an immediate mandatory wage freeze, since "he had the courage to propose at the time measures of anti-inflationary control"!

As for the social-democratic NDP, the fraudulence of its "working-class alternative" is becoming more apparent with every day, as even hide-bound social democrats like Joe Morris are compelled to disassociate themselves from some of the actions of the more right-wing sections of the party, particularly its Manitoba and Saskatchewan sections. The Manitoba Schreyer government was one of the first in the country to announce its "reasonable effort" to cooperate with Ottawa in implementation of the wage controls, while Allan Blakeney and the Saskatchewan NDP have made plans for their own provincial equivalent to the federal scheme and are in the process of working out a one-year formal agreement with Trudeau on so-called "anti-inflation" wage restraints.

But while the CLC heavies can threaten to pull back from electoral and financial support to the NDP, even the bourgeoisie understands this to be no more than bluster. The trade-union bureaucracy has no intention of actually breaking with the social democracy, which, despite various tactical differences, well expresses its reformist political interests.

Morris dislikes as much as the capitalists the sight of 5,000 trade unionists demonstrating outside the Saskatchewan Legislature while NDP bureaucrats and Liberal financiers tsk-tsk in unison within. But what he would prefer is not a genuine class-struggle alternative--the only force which could wage an unequivocally successful struggle against the anti-labor legislation--but a more "progressive" set of NDP fakers.

Last November, before Parliament had officially adopted the wage-control legislation, Shirley Carr warned the government: "...massive non-compliance, including strikes, may take place if the bill is not withdrawn" (Globe and Mail, 19 November 1975). Carr's statement was not one of programmatic intent on the part of the CLC bureaucracy, but rather an objective appraisal of the situation. Instead of raising the necessary call for strikes to smash the wage controls, the CLC leadership has put forward a variety of milktoast schemes centering on "educational" campaigns to influence elected officials and the "public."

The building of a genuine alternative to the Shirley Carrs and Joe Morris and their "left"

Québécois mirror-images, the Louis Laberges and Marcel Pépins, is an urgent necessity--and the key struggles which the Canadian labor movement will face over the next several months could, given revolutionary intervention, lay the basis for the growth of a class-struggle tendency in the trade unions.

A real class-struggle alternative cannot be built otherwise than through a struggle within the unions for a full program of transitional demands which point the way toward socialist revolution and a workers government

Militant workers must struggle to build caucuses within the unions on a program for the expropriation of capitalist industry and proletarian political power. Only a revolutionary workers party can lead the entire working class in its struggle for power, sweeping aside the capitalists and their social-democratic agents in the NDP and the labor bureaucracy. ■

CDN. NATIONALISM...

(continued from page 4)

geoisie in order to repatriate capital from the American multinationals, Moore and Wells correctly recognize that this interpenetration simply means that the struggle for socialist revolution in the two countries will be tightly linked. In fact, because of the overwhelming dominance of the stronger American state, it is scarcely possible that a successful proletarian revolution could survive north of the 49th parallel without a corresponding social overturn to the south.

A North American workers state would seek to break down the artificial border between Canada and the United States, which exists not because of evolved differences between Canadian and American "nations," but because of specific historical circumstances stemming primarily from the role of the British imperial "mother country" in the 18th and 19th centuries. The possibilities for the further development of the entire continent on the basis of a planned, centralized economy would be tremendous.

Moore and Wells conclude that "...left-nationalism leads to alliances with the bourgeoisie and the dropping of the socialist program in the first stage of the two-stage revolution." This is correct; however--and this is the overriding problem with the book--the authors come to this conclusion on an empirical basis, rather than as an application of a Marxist, programmatic approach. In this manner they accept to a large degree the false methodology of the reformists they seek to attack, by upholding a strategy for revolution in countries where national oppression at the hands of imperialism authentically exists, a strategy which could only lead to a bloody defeat for the masses of workers and peasants.

The authors quote approvingly from the program adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (CI) in 1928 in order to justify their

position for a one-stage revolution in advanced industrial countries like Canada.

But the same section of the program which they approvingly quote for its assertion of the necessity of proletarian revolution in imperialist countries upholds a perspective of two-stage revolution for colonial and semi-colonial countries like China and India! It was precisely the application of this perspective to China the year before, when the CI instructed the Chinese Communist Party to liquidate its organization into the "national liberation struggle" being waged by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, which led to the defeat of the second Chinese revolution at the hands of their erstwhile bourgeois "allies."

Thus Moore and Wells condemn the nationalists not for their departures from the Marxist program of class independence and international proletarian revolution, but for their failure to understand the real place of the Canadian state in the international imperialist system. For example, they chide a Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) warning of the supposed "left error of one-step revolution," not for its reformist, Maoist world view, but because "apparently, the CPC (M-L) never adjusted to the idea that they are in Canada and not in China"! Presumably, two-stage-revolution schemas would be fine elsewhere...just not in Canada, please.

Ironically, it was the rejection by two leading North American communists of the very document Moore and Wells take as their authority, namely, Stalin and Bukharin's 1928 CI program, that laid the basis for the founding of the international Trotskyist movement. James P. Cannon and Maurice Spector, leaders of the American and Canadian Communist Parties, respectively, successfully smuggled back to North America copies of Trotsky's critique of the program, which they had received as members of the Sixth Congress Program Commission and with which they had both rapidly reached agreement.

This document of Trotsky (published today in The Third International after Lenin) was a damning critique of the CI program of class collaboration which flowed from the un-Marxist, Stalinist-Bukharinist theory of socialism in one country. In counterposing the Leninist program of proletarian internationalism, Trotsky lucidly exposes the anti-revolutionary character of nationally-centered programs:

"On August 14, 1914, the death knell sounded for national programs for all time. The revolutionary party of the proletariat can base itself only upon an international program corresponding to the character of the present epoch, the epoch of the highest development and collapse of capitalism.... In the present epoch, to a much larger extent than in the past, the national orientation of the proletariat must and can flow only from a world orientation and not vice versa. Herein lies the basic and primary difference between communist internationalism and all varieties of national socialism." ■

Morgentaler Retrial Set for March

Drop All the Charges!

Repeal the Abortion Laws!

Free Abortion on Demand!

On January 20 the Quebec Court of Appeal upheld the second jury acquittal of Dr. Henry Morgentaler. Two days later a new trial was set for March 1 on the charge for which Morgentaler was serving an 18-month jail sentence. The 52-year-old doctor was acquitted of a first abortion charge in November 1973 in a Quebec jury trial. The state took the unprecedented move of appealing the acquittal to a higher provincial court, the Court of Appeal, which overturned the jury's decision and convicted Morgentaler. This was upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada in March 1975.

The uproar in liberal circles around the reversal of a jury acquittal by a higher court, the second jury acquittal on another charge, and the many demonstrations and other publicity accorded the case led to the order for retrial. But this is not yet a victory in the fight against Canada's reactionary abortion laws--which allow abortions to occur only after a hospital committee determines that the mother's life or health is in danger and which provide for sentences of up to life imprisonment for convicted abortionists.

It is an outrage that the twice-acquitted doctor must go through the ordeal of another trial. Victim of a savage witchhunt in which his clinic was closed down and his medical license suspended, Morgentaler has already had one heart attack since proceedings were begun against him.

Morgentaler should never have been tried at all. Abortion is not a crime, but a medical right of every woman. The call must be raised for unconditional freedom for Morgentaler, and the return of his medical license. The reactionary law which led to his imprisonment must be wiped off the books. Abortion must be made available to all women, not just the rich, for whom it has always been accessible, legally or not. Free abortion on demand! Free quality health care for all!

ABORTION AND BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

Laws prohibiting abortion have historically been used as a prop for the reactionary ideology which helps maintain bourgeois rule. The ideology which sanctifies the family unit above all other human

relationships and the mother's "sacred" duty to bear and care for children has been used to cut across class comradeship, in the setting up of a first loyalty to one's "private" unit of shelter and nourishment. Maintaining women as "homebodies" serves to add forces to the reserve army of the unemployed who can be pulled into the workforce when capitalism needs them and dumped back into the home where they "belong" when labor is plentiful.

The ideology of the "natural female role" serves to strengthen sexual divisions within the working class. The proletariat's real interest is in the integration of women into the workforce, not in the creation of an army of family-loyal conservative wives who can be used against workers' militancy in strikes. In addition, the family unit plays a central economic function under capitalism: the

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DR. HENRY MORGENTALER MUST BE FREE!
BUT THE PATH TO WOMEN'S LIBERATION
IS NOT THROUGH LIBERAL PACIFISM BUT
THROUGH CLASS-STRUGGLE POLITICS.