

# **4 SPARTACIST**

**CANADA** June-July 1976 No. 7 \$ .25

## **DECLARATION OF FRATERNAL RELATIONS**

### **between the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile**

I

The events of 1970 to 1973 in Chile posed, and continue to pose, a fundamental test of the revolutionary capacity of all who claim to speak in the historic interests of the working class. The self-proclaimed socialists who bound the exploited masses to the "constitutionalist" officers and "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie through the Popular Unity (UP) coalition acted as a roadblock to revolution, and therefore an accomplice of counterrevolution. The first task of those who would prepare a proletarian insurrection to sweep away the bourgeois state, today in the hands of the blood-drenched Pinochet dictatorship, must be to draw the lessons of the Allende popular front. Only in this manner can the masses be broken from their treacherous reformist and centrist misleaders who paved the way for the coup of 11 September 1973. At that time the bourgeois popular front was replaced by another form of capitalist rule, the bonapartist military junta, which balances between the fractions and cliques of the middle and big bourgeoisie, reflecting the

pressure of the major imperialist powers.

Already in late 1970 the Spartacist tendency warned:

"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism is ready."

Tragically, there was no Trotskyist party in Chile to galvanize the workers around the Marxist program of class independence, and the Spartacist warning proved all too accurate.

II

As Trotsky remarked in 1935: "In reality, the Popular Front is the main question of Proletarian class strategy for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism." (continued on page 10)

# **Save the Life of Mario Muñoz!**

[We reprint below an appeal for funds issued by the Committee to Save Mario Munoz.]

The Committee to Save Mario Munoz needs financial support to carry forward the campaign that can save the life of this exemplary Chilean working-class leader, now imperiled because he devoted his life to the cause of the oppressed.

From the age of 14, Mario Munoz was a miner. As a revolutionary trade-union militant, he struggled to organize the contract miners against the brutal exploitation by the mining companies. Driven from his country by the murderous Pinochet junta, he is now being hunted down by Videla's regime in Argentina.

Unlike the prominent intellectuals or former government ministers who become targets of right-wing repression, Munoz, although widely respected by his class brothers, is not well known outside Chile. International solidarity to save the life of Mario Munoz can be built only through the systematic mobilization of mass protest and pressure.

In a matter of weeks the Committee to Save Mario Munoz has amassed an impressive list of endorsements representing broad international support from those concerned for human rights under the South American military dictatorships. Allies of the workers movement and prominent individuals from all over the world have come forward to express their solidarity with the campaign for the safety and freedom of this valiant workers' leader and his family. This widespread support flows from the recognition that Munoz, who even in the difficult and dangerous years of exile remained devoted to the cause of the Chilean masses, is a symbol of the thousands of South American political refugees who sought asylum in Argentina and are now threatened with deportation, imprisonment, torture and assassination as Videla follows in Pinochet's footsteps.

Unlike the juntas and their CIA backers, the partisans of the little-known refugees do not have unlimited budgets. The Committee to Save Mario Munoz has already spent thousands of dollars to publicize and rally international support for the campaign to save Mario Munoz. Literally thousands of telephone calls, letters, leaflets, press packets and individual visits have been made to UN and government officials, to congressional and parliamentary representatives, to trade unions and prominent individuals of the labor movements of various countries, to left and civil-liberties groups, to distinguished journalists, scholars, artists and lawyers who can help publicize this case. Under the direction of the Partisan Defense Committee [whose policies are in accordance with the political views of the international Spartacist tendency--SC] and the European-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, literature in four languages about the Mario Munoz campaign has been distributed, leaflets and petitions circulated and demonstrations organized.

If we can save the life of Mario Munoz it will be a victory not only for him and his family but for the thousands of victims of right-wing repression in South America. It will be a defeat of Pinochet and Videla, who seek the death of this defender of the working people. If we can save this one class-struggle fighter it will mean hope for thousands more.

But the possibility that Mario Munoz will live to lead again depends on the continuing campaign to mount a forceful international outcry to stay the hand of the Argentine junta's assassins and to permit Munoz and his family to find asylum elsewhere. The armed forces of two countries have orders to shoot Mario Munoz on sight. Time is short and funds are urgently needed. Building this campaign to a victorious outcome may depend on your financial support. Please make checks and money orders payable to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked Committee to Save Mario Munoz). The address is: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

**HANDS OFF MARIO MUNOZ! CHILEAN WORKING-CLASS LEADER MUST NOT DIE!  
FREE ALL VICTIMS OF RIGHT-WING REPRESSION IN ARGENTINA AND CHILE!  
STOP THE MANHUNT!**



SC Photo

TORONTO, APRIL 23: DEMONSTRATION OF THE COMMITTEE TO SAVE MARIO MUNOZ AT ARGENTINE AIRLINES OFFICE.

## Muñoz Campaign Endorsements

Hundreds of organizations and prominent individuals from four continents have endorsed the international campaign to save the life of Chilean workers' leader Mario Munoz. Among the endorsers are the following:

### CANADA:

African Liberation Week Committee  
 David Archer, President, Ontario Federation of Labour\*  
 Andrew Brewin, MP, NDP\*  
 Ed Broadbent, Leader, NDP\*  
 Canadian Arab Federation  
 Canadian Labour Congress  
 Canadian Union of Public Employees, Local 1230, Toronto  
 Denis Cassin, Nat'l Organizer, Irish Republican Clubs\*, USA & Canada  
 Florrie Chacon, Inter-Church Committee on Chile\*  
 Oduardo Di Santo, MPP, Ontario NDP\*  
 Rosie Douglas  
 Jan Duktzta, MPP, Ontario NDP\*  
 Group for Defense of Civil Rights in Argentina  
 Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire  
 Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec  
 Stu Leggatt, MP, NDP\*  
 Ligue des Droits de l'Homme  
 Bob McBurney, Shop Steward, Letter Carriers Union of Canada\*, Local 1  
 Metro Toronto Area Council of the NDP  
 Harry Rankin, Alderman, Vancouver Revolutionary Marxist Group  
 John Rodriguez, MP, NDP\*  
 R. B. Scranton, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union\*, Sudbury  
 Socialist League  
 Sudbury and District Labour Council  
 Sudbury Committee for a Democratic Chile  
 Vancouver Area Council of the NDP  
 Vancouver and District Labour Council  
 Vancouver Chilean Association  
 Gordon Vichert, Sec'y, Ontario NDP\*

### UNITED STATES:

Eqbal Ahmad  
 Daniel Berrigan  
 Noam Chomsky  
 Angela Davis, Co-Chairperson, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression\*  
 Dave Dellinger  
 Desmond Trotter Defense Committee  
 Jane Fonda  
 William Goodman, Nat'l Pres., National Lawyers Guild\*  
 Dick Gregory  
 Tom Hayden  
 Nat Hentoff  
 Salvador Luria, Nobel Laureate  
 Kate Millett  
 John Mitchell, International Rep., Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkers\*  
 Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, District 8  
 Dr. Philip Oke, UN Rep., Christian Peace Conference\*  
 James Petras  
 John Sharpe, Sec'y, international Spartacist tendency  
 Carl Shier, International Representative, United Auto Workers\*  
 Martin Sostre  
 I. F. Stone  
 George Wald, Nobel Laureate, Prof. of Biology, Harvard U.\*

### EUROPE:

Louis Althusser, Paris  
 Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, London  
 Ernst Bloch  
 Dr. Peter Brandt, Berlin  
 Carmen Castillo, Chilean MIR\*  
 H. Dubedout, Mayor, Grenoble  
 Mario Felner, Chilean Young Socialists\*, London  
 Daniel Guerin, Paris

Paco Ibanez  
 Irish Republican Socialist Party, London  
 Alain Krivine, Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, France  
 Pierre Lambert, Organisation Communiste Internationaliste\*, France  
 Miners International Federation  
 Parti Socialiste Unifié, France  
 Jiri Pelikan, Editor, Listy  
 Friedrich Precht, Chairman, Railroad Union, Austria  
 Ernie Roberts, Assistant General Secretary, Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers\*, London  
 Maxime Rodinson  
 Jean-Paul Sartre  
 Laurent Schwartz  
 Luis Vitale  
 Richard and Christina Whitecross, London

### AUSTRALIA:

Australasian Meat Industries Employees Union  
 Hon. Dr. Jim Cairns, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party (ALP)\*  
 Bob Hawke, Federal President, ALP\*, Pres., Australian Council of Trade Unions\*  
 Seamen's Union of Australia  
 Socialist Workers Party  
 Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists  
 Waterside Workers Federation of Australia

### ASIA & NEAR EAST:

Committee of Arab Students, Jerusalem Univ.\*  
 Edmund Samarakkody, Revolutionary Workers Party, Sri Lanka  
 Israel Shahak, Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights\*  
 M. Warschawski, Revolutionary Communist League (Matzpen-Marxist)\*, Israel

\*Organization listed for identification purposes only.

# Free Leonard Peltier !

More than 200 militants demonstrated in Vancouver last April 10 as part of the ongoing campaign to stop the threatened extradition of American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Leonard Peltier to the United States. Peltier, who is being held in solitary confinement at Vancouver's Oakalla Prison and has been denied bail, faces frame-up murder charges stemming from the deaths of two FBI agents on Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota in June 1975.

The persecution of Peltier is part of a concerted campaign by the FBI (with the obvious complicity of the RCMP and other Canadian authorities) to smash AIM through piling up criminal charges against its leaders, just as was done against the Black Panthers. The Trotskyist League has vigorously protested the attempt to hand this native Indian leader over to a "legal" lynch mob in the U.S., and demands freedom for Peltier and all other victimized AIM militants.

For further information see Workers Vanguard, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., 4 June 1976, and to contact the defense committee for donations and messages of support, write to Leonard Peltier Defense Ctte., Box 758, Station A, Vancouver, B. C.

**DROP THE CHARGES --  
STOP THE EXTRADITION!**

Right, AIM LEADER,  
LEONARD PELTIER.  
Below, TROTSKYIST  
LEAGUE CONTINGENT  
AT VANCOUVER  
PELTIER DEMO.



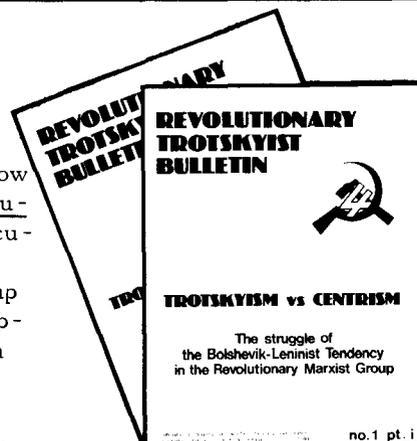
Indian Nation



SC Photo

## SPARTACIST CANADA

The Spartacist Canada Publishing Association is now undertaking a new project: the publication of a Revolutionary Trotskyist Bulletin (RTB) series that will document the history and development of the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), Canadian sympathizing group of the international Spartacist tendency. RTB#1, published in two parts, has just come out. It provides an excellent documentary history of the struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT) for Trotskyist politics in the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group. The B-LT's fusion with the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency laid the basis for the formation of the TLC in the summer of 1975. To mark the occasion of the publication of these important bulletins, Spartacist Canada is making a special subscription offer: for \$5.00, you can receive a \$2.00 subscription to Spartacist Canada and both parts of RTB#1 (a \$3.75 value). This is a limited offer, so subscribe now!



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## "Precious Opportunity" for "Credibility" ?

# RMG TURNS RAPIDLY...TO THE RIGHT

"The CLC's turn is therefore contradictory and incomplete, but on the whole positive. The CLC has, for the time being at least, made a fairly broad rupture with some key elements of business unionism...."

--"CLC Turns... Slowly," Old Mole, April 1976

Such is the Revolutionary Marxist Group's assessment of the Canadian Labour Congress bureaucracy's "strategy" for "fighting" wage controls. The CLC brass calls a "mass demonstration" for March 22, ensuring its ineffectiveness by not calling a work stoppage, and it is heralded by the RMG as a "step forward." A few top bureaucrats chime in with demagogic (and utterly unserious) calls for a one-day general strike, and the CLC bureaucracy is no longer the hidebound, pro-capitalist encrustation of yesteryear, but a "positive" force in the class struggle.

The RMG's "analysis" of the CLC's "turn" is less revealing of the CLC officialdom's real motion than of the RMG's motion to the right. These fake "Trotskyists," perhaps in retrospective self-justification for their long-standing position that "even the CLC can be pushed" (B.C. Militant, November 1975), seem to labor under the illusion that something less than a revolutionary policy could constitute "a fairly broad rupture with some key elements of business unionism." Of course this is quite consistent with the RMG's economist perspective on the trade unions, codified in the position that "we centre our themes around measures which contribute to the effective economic self-defense of the working class, which unify the working class, and which democratize the unions" (Theses on Perspectives and Orientation, adopted at the March 1975 RMG National Convention).

Thus "business unionism" is not seen as an expression of bourgeois trade unionism, i.e., the struggle to improve the conditions and terms of the sale of labor power within the framework of capitalism, but a non-"militant" policy, the upper limits of which can be pierced through impotent demonstrations and bureaucratic bluster about one-day general strikes. Perhaps all that Joe Morris requires to overcome his "contradictions" and to make a complete rupture with "business unionism" is the fraternal advice proffered by Old Mole.

The RMG's contradiction is that the Old Mole's "advice" itself in no way approaches a break with "business unionism" precisely because it is too

busy keeping in step with the bureaucrats' policies! Since its formation in 1973, the RMG has defined its task as one of "politicizing" and "penetrating" the mythical "broad vanguard as it emerges." With the recent increased militancy and leftward motion in the rank and file of the Canadian labor movement, however--particularly in response to wage controls and provincial social-service cut-backs--the RMG has perceived an opportunity to "penetrate" the mainstream of reformist trade unionism as a militant but loyal pressure group on



the bureaucracy.

One might expect a centrist organization to move left under conditions in which working-class militancy is on the rise. But the RMG has a problem. Its healthiest left elements have long since broken with centrist and left the organization to join the Trotskyist League. The very existence of the TL as a genuine Bolshevik pole--one that has already successfully regrouped the RMG's left wing--constrains the RMG to slide all the more rapidly in a rightward direction, even in opposition to the general class motion.

This is the right face of centrism. In the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR--the RMG's "sister" section in Quebec) one finds the "left" variant. The GMR's ability to present a more left image (and thus a more contradictory one) is enhanced not only by the more left milieu in which

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# RMG...

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it operates, but by the absence of a clear Bolshevik alternative to its centrism in the terrain of its political activity.

In typical Pabloist fashion, the RMG/GMR develop pseudo-Marxist "theory" and "analysis" to justify their divergent political lines and common revisionism. According to a joint statement of the GMR Political Bureau and the RMG Political Committee (Supplement to Old Mole, October 1975), the "... class struggle has overnight become visible" (perhaps it went undetected by these petty-bourgeois impressionists prior to the introduction of wage controls)! Moreover, "the reasons for the dramatic difference between Quebec and Canada lie in the increasingly rapid emergence in Quebec of a layer of hundreds of activists in the unions and other sectors who have demonstrated their ability to take direct and militant political actions in tune with the mass sentiment against the controls." The emergence of this supposed "broad vanguard" in Quebec lends the GMR's application of the Pabloist strategy a more "left" appearance than the RMG's, which has yet to "locate" the English-Canadian "broad vanguard." Superficial differences notwithstanding, the RMG and the GMR share the common Pabloist conception of abandoning the struggle for a communist program in the working class in favor of accepting the "movement as it is" and providing "realistic," but "militant," policies for it as its left flank.

This orientation is graphically illustrated by the joint leaflet of the RMG and GMR distributed at the March 22 CLC demonstration on Parliament Hill. The determining characteristic of the program which is presented in the leaflet is its syndicalist economism which projects a resolution of the economic problems of the working class within the framework of capitalism. It does this through its failure to mention the need to build a new class struggle leadership in the labor movement capable of fighting for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie without compensation and establish a planned economy. The program of the March 22 leaflet is a reformist program.

This liquidation of the essential core of the Trotskyist Transitional Program, to which the RMG/GMR hypocritically claim adherence, stems from their rejection of this program's fundamental premise: that the crisis of mankind in this epoch of capitalist decay is reduced to the crisis of working-class leadership. For the RMG, leadership is not the key question; "unity" is. And if the working class is at this time unable to undertake its objective tasks, it has nothing to do with its decades-old legacy of misleadership, but with its "lack of experience" in militant struggle. To over-

come this "inexperience," the RMG/GMR propose a series of militant forms of organization and struggle, centering on the need for "unity," and seek to pressure the bureaucracy into instigating, or at least sanctioning, these sure-fire prescriptions.

## IS JOE MORRIS AN UNCONSCIOUS RMGer?

A clear example of this method is the RMG's slogan "Prepare the General Strike." Explaining that the English Canadian working class is not yet prepared for a general strike, it postpones its call for a general strike to defeat the controls to the indefinite future, while in the meantime tail-ending the bureaucrats' impotent strategy for "fighting" the controls through mass rallies, demonstrations, and threats of a one-day general strike.

But a winning strategy to defeat the controls is necessarily counterposed to the maneuverings of the sellout labor tops--who are precisely the main obstacle to the successful implementation of such a strategy. The fight for a general strike must be an integral part of the fight to oust the union misleaders and replace them with a new leadership standing on a class-struggle program. Today, in the absence of such an alternative leadership, any general strike must be defensive in character--waged around the specific and limited objective of smashing the controls and organized in such a way as to allow for the greatest possible rank-and-file participation and control, to counteract the inevitable attempts of the bureaucrats to sell the struggle short.

The RMG's refusal to call for such a general strike now not only represents the most abject tailism of Joe Morris and Co., but is a way of blaming the working class itself for its supposed "lack of preparation." Not only does the RMG fail to point the way forward for militants striving to forge an alternative to the CLC bureaucracy, but its twaddle about endlessly "preparing the general strike" sets the organization up as a de factobloc partner of the labor "statesmen." Responding to a Trotskyist League intervention at a recent Old Mole forum, a spokesman for the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA)--which did not raise even the one-day general strike call until it was "pressured" into doing so by the verbal bluster of a number of top bureaucrats--defended the RMG's call for a one-day walkout by pointing out that it was something that the "CLC leadership can't object to."

Neither the reformist LSA nor the centrist RMG seem capable of understanding why. A one-day general strike could only serve the bureaucracy as a way of letting the ranks of Canadian labor "blow off steam." We might therefore ask the RMG if it is not to the CLC bureaucracy that the RMG is trying to prove its "credibility" when it writes that:

"... the kind of infantile and demagogic anti-bureaucratic sniping which is characteristic of many left groups is particularly dangerous at a time when the left has a precious opportunity to increase the credibility of socialist and class struggle perspectives in the labor movement"

-- "CLC Turns... Slowly," Old Mole, April 1976.

For its part, the GMR continues to call for an "unlimited general strike with occupations" for the Quebec working class, while quietly abandoning its slogan for "administrative strikes." As explained by a GMR spokesman at the above-mentioned Old Mole forum, the GMR sees the general strike as the opportunity for an experiment in "workers control" (at least in Quebec) rather than as the necessary means to defeat the wage controls. Its (former) slogan for "administrative strikes" in the public sector (especially for health workers and teachers) was not a slogan for strike action at all, but for the continued maintenance of these services under workers management, under conditions in which the bourgeois state remains intact! While the content of this slogan is still advanced by the GMR, the slogan itself has been abandoned because it has been co-opted by right-wing union bureaucrats as an alternative to a general strike. The GMR's shame-faced apology for this unfortunate "coincidence" of slogans is that the bureaucrats "rob" the slogan of its "militant content" and see the administrative-strike tactic simply as a means of "petty harrassment."

But the GMR's "reformulation" of its slogans renders the content of its "strategic line" on the general strike no more correct. Real workers control of industry arises in a situation of dual power, precisely as an expression of dual power at the factory or workplace level. But the GMR insists that a situation of dual power is not at this time on the agenda as the objective of a general strike. Thus the GMR is calling for an experiment in "workers control" (the content of which is never clearly defined) under conditions in which the working class lacks the necessary political and military instruments (factory committees, workers militias, not to mention a vanguard party) to defend itself against the inevitable repression that would be visited upon it if it undertook such an "experiment." By "upping the ante" on the objectives of a general strike and by failing to point out that a general strike of the public-sector workers must be extended to other sectors of the Quebec working class and to the English-Canadian proletariat as well (the centrally important industrial proletariat in particular), the GMR's line could only pave the way for a massive defeat.

While certain essential services (e.g., distribution of food, etc.) must be provided by the workers in the context of a general strike (organized by democratically-elected strike committees), for the general strike to have maximum impact it must be as

broad as possible and materially hurt the capitalist class and its state apparatus. The GMR's fanciful call for an experiment in "workers control" does not correspond to the immediate felt need of Quebec workers to defeat the wage controls through general-strike action and thereby to smash, in action, the Bourassa government's recent anti-strike legislation (Bill 23).

#### THE COALITION AGAINST CUTBACKS

The most accessible and congenial arenas for the mindless militancy of the Pabloists are the anti-cutbacks organizations which draw their active membership primarily from petty-bourgeois intermediary social layers. According to the Old Mole (20 February 1976), "Politically, the most significant development to date [in the struggle against cutbacks] has been the formation of the Coalition Against Cutbacks [CAC] in Toronto..." The CAC is a reformist pressure group, influenced by the Communist Party and the LSA, whose aim is to provide an alternative solution to the fiscal crisis--a tax structure that "places the costs where they belong." Or, to use the RMG's words: "The socialist solution would make the bosses pay the price. The Henderson Report says cutback. We say fight back!" ("Henderson Report: Blueprint for Reaction," Old Mole, 20 February 1976). This not-so-very-militant reformism was the sole content of the RMG's intervention in CAC rallies and demonstrations.

When the TL intervened in CAC public meetings to expose the bankruptcy of its reformist program and strategy and put forward a class-struggle alternative, the RMG sided with the LSA and CP in supporting the bureaucratic banning of TL members from CAC meetings because of its (precise!) characterization of the CAC as a "reformist roadblock" on the path of struggle to end capitalist attacks on the working class. This eagerness to silence communist critics is typical of the centrist RMG, which once banned its members from attending TL public meetings. As Trotsky noted: "A centrist always remains in spiritual dependence on rightist groupings and is inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate, to remain silent on their opportunist sins and to cover up their actions before the workers" ("Centrism and the Fourth International," 1934 Writings). This is precisely the role that the RMG now plays in relation to CAC.

"UNITY": FOR REVOLUTION  
OR COUNTERREVOLUTION?

The RMG/GMR's constant harping on the theme of "unity" begs the question of with whom and on what basis? Leninists have always seen the tactic of the united front with reformists, centrists and trade-union bureaucrats as a necessary means to

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# TROTSKY on the GENERAL STRIKE

Spartacist Canada republishes below a passage from Leon Trotsky's 1935 article, The ILP and the Fourth International, dealing with the general strike. The passage served as a preface to Trotsky's polemic against the centrist Independent Labour Party's call for a general strike to "stop war," a pacifist/utopian conception which suggested that something other than proletarian revolution could put an end to imperialist war.

Trotsky's presentation of the question of the general strike stands as a cogent Marxist corrective to the bureaucratic caricatures and centrist confusion that has characterized much of the discussion surrounding the general strike in the trade union movement and the left in both English Canada and Quebec.

In particular, the position(s) of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR), who style themselves as Trotskyists, should be contrasted to the precision and seriousness of Trotsky's discussion. Those who would aspire to be the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat should be able to offer something better than the April Old Mole's three (!) contradictory positions on the general strike in English Canada. In one and the same issue of the Old Mole, the RMG declares that a) a one-day general strike would be the "strongest [!] way" for English Canadian workers "to extend our support [to the Common Front and a possible Quebec general strike] and help defeat the controls"; b) a one-day general strike "will not eliminate the AIB," but can be supported as a "preparatory step"; c) the general strike "must be an 'unlimited' general strike" that "must only end when the controls have been withdrawn by the government."

Meanwhile, the GMR scoffs at the idea of a one-day general strike in Quebec, and declares that a "general strike with occupations" is needed without clearly defining the objectives of such a strike or the conditions for its victory.

Neither the GMR nor the RMG upholds the need for a defensive general strike of the English

Canadian and Quebec working class to meet the offensive of the Canadian bourgeoisie as centralized by its executive arm, the federal government, through wage controls and other anti-labor legislation. The GMR/RMG's confusion on the general strike, as on many other questions, is typical of the centrist politics which Trotsky combatted so tirelessly in his struggle to build the Fourth International.

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## THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF THE GENERAL STRIKE

The question of the general strike has a long and rich history, in theory as well as practice. Yet the leaders of the I. L. P. behave as if they were the first to run across the idea of general strike, as a method to stop war. In this is their greatest error. Improvisation is impermissible precisely on the question of the general strike. The world experience of the struggle during the last forty years has been fundamentally a confirmation of what Engels had to say about the general strike towards the close of the last century, primarily on the basis of the experience of the Chartists, and in part of the Belgians. Cautioning the Austrian social democrats against much too flighty an attitude towards the general strike, Engels wrote to Kautsky, on November 3, 1893, as follows: "You yourself remark that the barricades have become antiquated (they may, however, prove useful again should the army turn 1/3 or 2/5 socialist and the question arise of providing it with the opportunity to turn its bayonets), but the political strike must either prove victorious immediately by the threat alone (as in Belgium, where the army was very shaky), or it must end in a colossal fiasco, or, finally, lead directly to the barricades." ...

[Engels] differentiates ... between three cases in relation to the political strike:

(1) The government takes fright at the general

strike, and at the very outset, without carrying matters to an open clash, takes to concessions. Engels points to the "shaky" condition of the army in Belgium as the basic condition for the success of the Belgian general strike (1893). A somewhat similar situation, but on a much more colossal scale, occurred in Russia, October, 1905. After the miserable outcome of the Russo-Japanese War, the Czarist army was, or, at any rate, seemed extremely unreliable. The Petersburg government, thrown into a mortal panic by the strike, made the first constitutional concessions (Manifesto, October 17, 1905).

It is all too evident, however, that without resorting to decisive battles, the ruling class will make only such concessions as will not touch the basis of its rule. That is precisely how matters stood in Belgium and Russia. Are such cases possible in the future? They are inevitable in the countries of the Orient. They are, generally speaking, less probable in the countries of the West, although, here too, they are quite possible as partial episodes of the unfolding revolution.

(2) If the army is sufficiently reliable, and the government feels sure of itself; if a political strike is promulgated from above, and if, at the same time, it is calculated not for decisive battles, but to "frighten" the enemy, then it can easily turn out a mere adventure, and reveal its utter impotence. To this we ought to add that after the initial experiences of the general strike, the novelty of which reacted upon the imagination of the popular masses as well as governments, several decades have elapsed--discounting the half-forgotten Chartists--in the course of which the strategists of capital have accumulated an enormous experience. That is why a general strike, particularly in the old capitalist countries, requires a painstaking Marxist accounting of all the concrete circumstances.

(3) Finally, there remains a general strike which, as Engels put it, "leads directly to the barricades". A strike of this sort can result either in complete victory or defeat. But to shy away from battle, when the battle is forced by the objective situation, is to lead inevitably to the most fatal and demoralizing of all possible defeats. The outcome of a revolutionary, insurrectionary general strike depends, of course, upon the relationship of forces, covering a great number of factors: the class differentiation of society, the specific weight of the proletariat, the mood of the lower layers of the petty-bourgeoisie, the social composition and the political mood of the army, etc. However, among the conditions for victory, far from the last place is occupied by the correct revolutionary leadership, a clear understanding of conditions and methods of the general strike and its transition to open revolutionary struggle.

Engels' classification must not, of course, be taken dogmatically. In present day France not partial concessions but power is indubitably in question: the revolutionary proletariat or Fasc-

ism--which? The working class masses want to struggle. But the leadership applies the brakes, hoodwinks and demoralizes the workers. A general strike can flare up just as the movements flared in Toulon and Brest. Under these conditions, independently of its immediate results, a general strike will not of course be a "putsch" but a necessary stage in the mass struggle, the necessary means for casting off the treachery of the leadership and for creating within the working class itself the preliminary conditions for a victorious uprising. In this sense the policy of the French Bolshevik-Leninists is entirely correct, who have advanced the slogan of general strike, and who explain the conditions for its victory. The French cousins of the S. A. P. come out against this slogan, the Spartacists who at the beginning of the struggle are already assuming the role of strikebreakers.

We should also add that Engels did not point out another "category" of general strike, exemplars of which have been provided in England, Belgium, France and some other countries: we refer here to cases in which the leadership of the strike previously, i. e. without a struggle, arrives at an agreement with the class enemy as to the course and outcome of the strike. The parliamentarians and the trade unionists perceive at a given moment the need to provide an outlet for the accumulated ire of the masses, or they are simply compelled to jump in step with a movement that has flared over their heads. In such cases they come scurrying through the backstairs to the Government and obtain the permission to head the general strike, this with the obligation to conclude it as soon as possible, without any damage being done to the state crockery. Sometimes, far from always, they manage to haggle beforehand some petty concessions, to serve them as figleaves. Thus did the General Council of British Trade Unions (T. U. C.) in 1926. Thus did Jouhaux in 1934. Thus will they act in the future also. The exposure of these contemptible machinations behind the backs of the struggling proletariat enters as a necessary part into the preparation of a general strike. ■

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## DECLARATION...

(continued from page 1)

The largest purportedly revolutionary organization formally outside the UP coalition, the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement), was incapable of presenting a class opposition to the popular front. While attracting a layer of militant youth fundamentally from the petty bourgeoisie, and periodically criticizing the Communist Party (CP), the MIR never broke from the Popular Unity. Following the September 1970 elections it called on the masses to support Allende; today the MIR is part of the popular front in exile, seeking to "broaden" the class-collaborationist coalition by including even Christian Democrats. The individual heroism of many MIR militants cannot hide the political bankruptcy of these Chilean Castroites, the left cover of the popular front.

Nor did the Chilean disciples of the several self-proclaimed "Fourth Internationals" present a Trotskyist policy of irreconcilable hostility to popular frontism. The sympathizers of the "United" Secretariat (USec) were either mired in perpetual "deep entry" in the Socialist Party (the traditional graveyard for pseudo-Trotskyists in Chile) or fawningly crawling after the MIR. (In fact, the USec played a central role in creating the MIR, but this did not prevent the Castroites from summarily expelling them two years later for "Trotskyism." Such are the rewards of opportunism!) The USec supporters labeled the bourgeois elements of the UP irrelevant, alibiing the Allende regime with the label "reformist" and calling on it to carry out its own bourgeois program.

As for the two Chile groups adhering to the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" led by the French OCI, neither of them characterized the UP as a popular front until after the Pinochet coup; and the minuscule Posadista group considered the Allende regime as a "revolutionary government," a category in which it also includes the military juntas of Peru and Panama.

### III

However, some militants in Chile did seek to oppose the class collaboration of the two dominant reformist, or as Lenin said, bourgeois workers parties (Communist and Socialist). In late 1972, elements of the TRO (Revolutionary October Tendency, allied with the reformist international minority of the USec) refused to go along with a fusion with the FRT (Revolutionary Trotskyist Front, led by L. Vitale and allied with the centrist USec majority) because of the failure to resolve (or even discuss) differences on Cuba and guerrillaism, and the lack of a revolutionary policy toward the UP. Consequently, this group-

ing was immediately expelled by the central committee elected at the founding congress of the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party) amid charges of "ultra-leftism."

The expelled tendency, which became the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization (OTR), includes among its central leadership trade unionists with many years of experience leading struggles of the Chilean miners, both against the U.S. monopolies and state agencies of the Chilean bourgeoisie. Having broken with the SP, in the March 1973 legislative elections they called for votes to the Popular Socialist Union (USOPO), a split-off from the SP, while giving it no political confidence. Although the USOPO leaders were reformists, they had been forced to break with the popular front because of leftist opposition among copper miners (its base) to the UP. Shortly before the Pinochet coup leaders of the OTR were at the head of a workers march in Santiago demanding "break with the bourgeoisie."

Subsequently, in a document approved by its congress in October 1974, "A Political Defeat and the Need for a Balance Sheet," the OTR wrote:

"To say that the character of the UP was reformist means being an accomplice to the betrayals committed. . . . Thus the UP must be included in the list of the old popular fronts, the model designed to betray the working class."

### IV

At the time of the shotgun wedding which formed the PSR in November 1972, the tendency which became the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization of Chile had already experienced the unprincipled maneuvering of the competing factions of the USec. In exile, the OTR came into direct contact with the United Secretariat leadership. Although invited to the USec's "Tenth World Congress," it was informed that there would be no discussion on Chile! This was only logical for a fake-International which had formally declared the Allende regime a popular front in 1971, while none of its sympathizing groups in Chile ever held this position; and then, following the 1973 coup, posthumously rehabilitated the UP to the status of "reformist." Clearly any honest balance sheet of the Chilean events could only be a condemnation of the USec's own opportunism and failure to present a revolutionary opposition to class collaboration.

The OCI, like the USec, had termed the Allende regime a popular front (although not taking the decisive step of calling for electoral opposition to all the parties of the UP coalition) while its Chilean supporters failed to make this characterization. In discussions with the OCI, the OTR sharply rejected the former's call for a vote for Mitterrand (candidate of the popular-front Union of the Left in the 1974 French presidential elec-

tions) and opposed the OCI policy of tailing after the Portuguese Socialist Party. In 1971, after playing a fundamental role in frustrating chances for a Bolivian revolution by its capitulatory centrist policies, the OCI's main Latin American ally, the POR of G. Lora, concluded a political pact with the ousted Bolivian ex-president, General Torres. Subsequently the OCI has called for extending this alliance with the "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie to a continental scale -- a Latin American super-Kuomintang. Such treacherous policies demonstrate the appetites of these pseudo-Trotskyists to commit betrayals as monstrous as those of the Chilean SP and CP.

Coming into contact with the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), the OTR found itself in fundamental agreement with the iSt's consistent class opposition to the popular front, put forward in positions taken even at the height of Allende's popularity and expressed in the articles collected in Cuadernos Marxistas No. 3 ("Chile: Lecciones del Frente Popular"). This initial agreement was extended to include the understanding of the nature of Cuba as a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The opportunists of the United Secretariat formed their pseudo-International on the basis of capitulating to Castro's popularity among petty-bourgeois radicals, terming Cuba a healthy workers state that merely "lack [ed] the forms" of proletarian democracy. In contrast, the forerunner of the Spartacist League/U.S., the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), insisted that Cuba was a deformed workers state, and that workers democracy could only be achieved through political revolution led by a Trotskyist party. It was for defending this Marxist program that the RT was expelled by the SWP, as part of the latter's rapid degeneration through centrism to cringing social-democratic reformism. Through a discussion of the history of the international Trotskyist movement, the USec capitulation to Castroism was traced to the Pabloist liquidationism which had destroyed the Fourth International in 1951-53.

## V

Among the earlier political positions, inherited from Pabloism, which the OTR had to reevaluate, the question of guerrillaism was the most difficult. While in the TRO, the tendency which became the OTR had been strongly guerrillaist, accusing the TRO leadership of failure to carry out the decision of the USec's "Ninth World Congress" on "armed struggle" in Latin America. While the OTR had rejected peasant-based "foco" guerrilla war, it stood for guerrilla struggle by the workers.

In discussions with the iSt, the OTR came to the conclusion that Marxists must oppose guerrillaism. As the Revolutionary Tendency stated in 1963, "Experience since the Second World War

has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working class bureaucratic regime" ("Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International"). Moreover, whether in rural or urban (Tupamaros) forms, whether as Guevarism, Maoist "people's war" or in a "Trotskyist" disguise (as in the case of the Argentine PRT/ERP), guerrillaism is hostile to proletarian revolution and inevitably leads to -- or is the reflection of -- Stalinist "two-stage" conceptions if not outright petty-bourgeois nationalism.

The proletariat cannot sustain guerrilla war, for the very concept implies the absence of a revolutionary situation and the kind of irregular fighting which requires an ability to retreat rapidly. In addition to its clear class interest, it is the organization of the proletariat which gives it political superiority over the atomized peasantry. This organization is the result of the position of the working class in the structure of capitalist society; to retreat into the hills would eventually destroy the class or the class character of its vanguard.

There is no better illustration of the impotence of guerrillaism in the face of a concerted offensive by the bourgeoisie than the recent debacle in Argentina. Even though guerrillaism (both urban and rural) is more widespread, better financed and equipped, of longer duration and of more different varieties than anywhere else in Latin America, none of the guerrilla groups could lift a finger against the Videla coup or even stop the notorious AAA death squads which have assassinated thousands of leftists and workers leaders with impunity over the last three years.

The revolutionary party must, of course, take an active role in organizing the self-defense of the working masses, and the use of guerrilla tactics is often vital as a subordinate civil war tactic. However, the road to power for the proletariat is through mass insurrection against the bourgeois state; the central military organization of the uprising must be an arm of and directed by the mass organization of the working class, led by the Leninist vanguard party.

## VI

In Latin America, Castroist-inspired guerrillaism has led a generation of subjectively revolutionary militants from one defeat to another, resulting in the useless slaughter of many of the most dedicated and courageous fighters. In numerous countries, thousands of militants have been grievously misled by the Trotskyist pretensions of the Pabloists and other revisionists into capitulation before non-proletarian leaderships.

We reject the claims of the several international groupings posturing as the Fourth Interna-

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## DECLARATION...

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tional to be the continuity, either organizationally or politically, of the revolutionary organization founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. The Chilean experience has again demonstrated the bankruptcy of these pseudo-Trotskyist imposters. Those who in 1970-73 were giving a left cover to Allende's Popular Unity, only a year later were creating illusions in the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement and/or its SP and CP collaborators. After playing a central role in creating the MIR, only to be expelled from their creature shortly after, the USec repeated this disastrous course with the debacle of the guerrillaist Argentine PRT/ERP, at the same time sustaining the social-democratic PST, which politically supported the Peronist government. Only an authentically Trotskyist International, firmly based on the theory of permanent revolution and committed to destroying the authority of all the reformist and centrist misleaders of the working class, can resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership.

In view of the large number of subjectively revolutionary militants presently within the ranks of various ostensibly revolutionary organizations and the central importance of politically destroying Pabloism on a world scale, the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization and the international Spartacist tendency, in this declaration of fraternal relations, agree to undertake joint work toward the rebirth of the Fourth International. We seek to reforge the Fourth International by winning the best cadre and militants through a process of revolutionary regroupment. On the basis of the above points and agreement with the Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League/U.S., subsequently adopted by the iSt, the parties to this declaration aim at achieving the unity of the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization of Chile with the international Spartacist tendency, and in turn this will be a great step toward the formation of the International Trotskyist League, worldwide in scope.

17 May 1976

(Reprinted from Workers Vanguard, 28 May)

## CORRECTION

In the article "Fake Trotskyists Debate Labor Party Question" (Spartacist Canada, May 1976) we state that "...the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action (LSO/LSA), is expanding its political co-operation with the larger and more influential Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec...." The GSTQ is larger only within Quebec; on a Canada-wide level the LSA/LSO is substantially larger.

## RMG...

(continued from page 7)

prove that it is not the revolutionaries but their opponents who are the obstacles to united action in defense of the basic interests of the working class. In this sense it is a way of refuting the oft-heard slander that communists "sow division" within the working class. But unity in action on a principled basis must also involve complete freedom of political criticism. Unless this right is assured, revolutionaries are reduced to the role of waterboys for the reformists, their "loyal opposition," and thereby disarm themselves of the necessary means to breaking the political hold of the reformists over the working class. The RMG's conception that it can win friends and influence people by being the most vocal champion of "unity" is a clear-cut renunciation of the Leninist insistence on programmatic struggle and of the fight for revolutionary leadership. Trotsky's comments in this regard are instructive:

"Instinctively working masses are always 'for unity.' But besides class instinct there is also political wisdom. Harsh experience teaches the workers that a break from reformism is the prerequisite for real unity, which is possible only in revolutionary action. Political experience teaches all the better and faster, the more firmly, logically, convincingly and clearly the revolutionary party interprets the experience to the masses."

--Cardinal Questions Facing the ILP, 1934

While sanctimoniously preaching the need for unity, the RMG and GMR politically disunite the English-Canadian and Québécois working class through their nationalist-federalist conception of political organization (one party for English Canada, one for Quebec) and their utterly utopian conception of a road to power for the Quebec working class separate from the Canadian, indeed the North American, working class as a whole.

A revolutionary Trotskyist party in Canada would forge real unity between the Quebec proletariat and the English-Canadian working class in the struggle for a workers government which would expropriate the bourgeoisie, provide jobs for all in a planned economy (anticipated by the transitional demand for a shorter work week with no loss in pay), and eliminate all forms of racial, sexual and national oppression. The RMG and GMR, however, by capitulating to and reinforcing the economism, reformism and nationalism of the bureaucracy in the trade unions constitute obstacles to the construction of a unified revolutionary party in Canada. Their political bankruptcy must be exposed and their best cadre won to the authentic Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

# CLC...

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federal NDP, which lost heavily to the Liberals in the last election, has been taking a more "militant" stand, while underlining its continued support for wage and price controls, so long as they are "fair."

## "MILITANT" BLUSTER

As contract after contract has been torn up and "rolled back" by the AIB, trade-union leaders raised a verbal howl against de facto "compulsory arbitration" and "destruction of free collective bargaining." The protests remained mostly in the form of an "educational" campaign, however, with slogans such as "why me?" and "whatever happened to price controls?" Meanwhile several key strikes went down to defeat at the hands of the AIB because of the refusal of CLC leaders to organize effective labor solidarity. Thus the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) was sold out while its brother post office union, the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), refused to lift a finger in real solidarity. (This was only a reversal of last year, when CUPW continued to work during the LCUC strike.) An agonizingly long Canadian Paperworkers Union strike was also allowed to be ground down to defeat in total isolation.

A demonstration was called in Ottawa on March 22 to coincide with the annual presentation of the labor federation's legislative brief to the government by CLC president Joe Morris. Denouncing the controls as "callous" and "brutal," the CLC "Memorandum to the Government" nevertheless underlined its basic loyalty to capitalism by endorsing a strong Canadian position in international markets and offering the CLC's willingness "to cooperate in finding just and equitable solutions to Canada's economic problems." Despite this reformist plea, the demonstration drew 25,000 workers, and was the largest united action by the English-Canadian and Quebec working class in history.

This show of force by a determined and militant rank and file, combined with increasing articulation of demands for defiance of the controls from local unions, was becoming too much for the CLC tops to ignore without at least a pretense of militancy. In succeeding weeks, calls for a one-day general strike came from Canadian United Auto Workers head Dennis McDermott, the single most powerful individual in the CLC leadership, and Grace Hartman, leader of Canada's largest union, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE).

The CLC executive council then withdrew from the Canadian Labour Relations Council and the Economic Council of Canada, two government boards upon which it had been collaborating, and

endorsed the one-day general strike call... with the date left open. By the opening of the CLC convention, McDermott was pontificating on the "historic" decisions to be made which would "change the course of Canadian labor for all time to come."

## CLC BRASS PUSH "PARTICIPATION" SCHEME

The real strategy of the CLC tops soon became clear. Pressed by an intransigent, anti-labor administration in Ottawa and an increasingly militant, restive rank and file, they resorted to a barrage of reformist, social-democratic rhetoric. A 12-page "Labour Manifesto for Canada" was sprung on the delegates the first day in order to head off and contain the general strike sentiment within the framework of an elaborate plea for labor participation in the high councils of capitalism.

In the face of Trudeau's strident attacks, even the CLC tops have felt compelled to turn down government requests that union leaders participate directly on the AIB. Yet the "Manifesto" proclaimed a pipe dream of reordering the priorities of capitalism through equal participation between labor, business and government:

"Labour has always set the price at which it would support 'the system.'... The price of labour's future support must be an equal share in the economic and social decision-making on a national basis with the other partners--business and government."

Discussion on the general strike was relegated to the next session, under a separate "Programme of Action" which was linked to the class-collaborationist goals of the Manifesto, calling for "labour's rightful role in the national policy-making and sharing of power." Thus the "mandate" for a general strike was nothing but a vague threat--with no requirement that it ever be carried out--for the purpose of pressuring an openly anti-labor government into granting an illusory "equal share" in administering capitalism to the CLC tops. Under this formula, Morris & Co. will waste no time in betraying the struggle against wage controls and anti-strike laws in exchange for token "participation."

The sharp discussion on both the Manifesto and Programme of Action reflected growing militancy and consciousness in the ranks of the Canadian working class. Delegate after delegate rose to characterize the Manifesto as "inadequate," "suicidal," "a betrayal" and completely out of step with feelings in the local unions. Judy Darcy, a delegate from CUPE Local 1230, University of Toronto library workers, delivered a sharp denunciation of the Manifesto as "class-collaborationist" and "impossible under capitalism." She received applause for declaring that the Manifesto showed the leadership had no intention of fighting the wage controls "the way we want to fight" them.

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Canadian United Electrical Workers (UE) president C.S. Jackson, a well-known supporter of Communist Party views, declared that "labor's program never included that workers should sit down with the bosses."

On the defensive, Morris intervened from the chair to state that the phrase "social corporatism," which had come under attack as one of the Manifesto's goals, should be changed to read "social democracy"! Morris called on several members of the CLC executive council to prop up support for the Manifesto, and it passed by an unenthusiastic two-thirds majority, with virtually the entire CUPE delegation voting against.

#### GENERAL STRIKE TALK TO PRESSURE TRUDEAU

After a similar sharp discussion, the vote for the Programme of Action was overwhelming on the grounds that it appeared to mandate a general strike, and was in any event unamendable from the floor under CLC rules (Morris' interpretation apparently means that he alone can offer an amendment to a document during discussion!). Many delegates said they would have preferred a definite strike call rather than the vague "if and when necessary" in the document.

The next day the Montreal Gazette (18 May) hailed the Manifesto as "constructive," while Labour Minister John Munro opined that the CLC lacked the strength to call a general strike. The real meaning of the CLC position became clear after the convention adjourned, when the executive council met and resolved to have a long series of talks with Trudeau and the cabinet. The opinion at the meeting was that if a general strike was held, "it would not take place until the Fall" (Globe and Mail [Toronto], 22 May)!

Although Morris and Co. were firmly in control, the militant mood of the delegates nevertheless continued during the second day, when executive council proposals to change the system of representation to CLC conventions were discussed. The proposals were designed to end militant and democratic conventions once and for all by abolishing representation from local unions, replacing it with appointment directly from affiliate national unions. Opposition was widespread, with only McDermott's UAW delegation providing a solid bloc of support for the proposals, and the changes were defeated by about three to one.

Right after the defeat of the constitutional changes the delegates were treated to fraternal greetings from the AFL-CIO presented by Joseph P. Tonelli, president of the U. S. United Paperworkers International Union. The UPIU, which still retains some members in Canada following the split of the Canadian Paperworkers Union two years ago, ordered its members to cross CPU

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picket lines in the recent strike. After Tonelli was introduced, the CPU delegation led a walkout supported by about one quarter of the convention. The rest of the body listened without enthusiasm to Tonelli's standard Meanyite anti-communist tirade.

Despite the militancy expressed early in the convention, no consistent class-struggle opposition emerged on the floor. An electoral challenge was mounted against Morris by J. P. (Lofty) MacMillan, CUPE organization director and a former police "union" head from New Brunswick, who opposed the Manifesto and made a militant denunciation of the "if and when necessary" vagueness of the general strike call. However, he supported the leadership's economic policy statement containing the same class-collaborationist methodology as the Manifesto. Morris easily swept this challenge aside, whereupon MacMillan rose to insist that Morris' election be considered "unanimous"!

#### FOR A CLASS-STRUGGLE OPPOSITION!

Despite C. S. Jackson's momentary spurt of verbal militancy, delegates reflecting CP views generally expressed only a tentative opposition to the Manifesto, and refused to oppose the Programme of Action. Predictably, supporters of the fake-Trotskyist League for Socialist Action (LSA) and Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), representing the two wings of the opportunist "United Secretariat," gave their votes to the bureaucratic opposition of MacMillan. This was not at all inappropriate, since both the LSA and RMG, like MacMillan, have been pushing a one-day general strike. LSA supporters even came out to the right of MacMillan on the Programme of Action, by

supporting it on the grounds that it represented some sort of step forward, while MacMillan abstained. The LSA supporters distributed a leaflet entitled "For a one-day general strike! For an NDP government in Ottawa!" which utterly failed to distinguish them from the main-line reformism of the CLC tops.

More militant were Judy Darcy and Greg Collins, who have been mentioned favorably in The Forge, paper of the Maoist Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist). But their opposition to the bureaucratic proposals on the first day and support for an "unlimited general strike" were coupled with enthusiastic support for a series of Canadian chauvinist and protectionist resolutions which came up later in the convention. Darcy rose in support of a 200-mile territorial limit off Canadian shores using nationalist and anti-communist arguments that it was necessary to defend "our country" against the two "superpowers," in particular the Soviet Union!

A leaflet distributed by Bob McBurney, delegate from Toronto Local 1 of the Letter Carriers, was the only one that showed a correct understanding of how to wage a general strike without simply handing power to Morris and Co. to betray the strike, or directly posing the question of state power prematurely through an unlimited strike when the working class lacks a revolutionary vanguard party capable of leading it to final victory. Rejecting the CLC executive council's sellout "general strike" call, McBurney argued for a general strike which would stay out until the wage controls were smashed, and be organized by a democratically elected strike committee which would issue from a "congress of the entire union movement," including Teamsters, the Quebec CSN and other non-CLC unions. The leaflet denounced the NDP as well as the CLC misleaders, and called for a class-struggle leadership to replace both, as well as for a workers government.

Morris, Hartman, McDermott & Co. won the day at the convention, but their social-democratic

rhetoric will wear thin as soon as the ranks begin to see the dimensions of the betrayal which "partnership" schemes entail. The present CLC leadership is completely incapable of leading a struggle against wage controls, and only the building of a class-struggle leadership to oust these traitors can put Canadian labor on a course toward smashing not only the controls, but capitalism as well. ■

(First printed in Workers Vanguard, 28 May 1976)

\*Postscript: this is a factual error. Bill 22, the legislation that would ban all strikes for four years on the B. C. Railroad, has not yet been adopted.

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# CLC CONVENTION LABOR TOPS PUSH CLASS COLLABORATION, BLOCK GENERAL STRIKE

QUEBEC CITY, 22 May—The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), Canada's principal trade-union federation, held its 11th constitutional convention here this week amidst mounting attacks on the working class by the Liberal Party government of Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Demands for a general strike to break Trudeau's vicious program of wage controls had become so irresistible in recent weeks that top leaders of the CLC began calling for a one-day general strike in order to retain control of what promised to be a militant convention.

On the first day, the more than 2,400 locally elected convention delegates voted overwhelmingly to "mandate" the Congress leadership to call a general strike or strikes "if and when necessary." However, the carefully worded motion linked the tentative strike call to a class-collaborationist campaign to pressure the capitalist government to allow labor a "share of power."

The Ottawa government has been moving steadily toward a stringent wage controls program ever since the 1974 election, during which Trudeau campaigned against precisely such controls, then being advocated by the Progressive Conservatives. In October 1975 the government announced a compulsory wage controls program, which became bill C-73 (the Anti-Inflation Act) and was passed in December. The controls are aimed explicitly at holding down and reversing the wage gains of Canadian workers, who were just beginning to catch up with years of rampaging inflation through a series of militant strikes, particularly in the public sector.

The Anti-Inflation Board (AIB) set up by the legislation immediately began throwing out negotiated wage increases, without explanation and allowing no avenue of appeal by the unions. Prices, meanwhile, although supposedly held to within the limits of "costs," have continued to soar. To make matters worse, the Trudeau legislation included restrictive amendments to the Unemployment Insurance Act, making unemployed benefits harder to obtain despite continued high unemployment (7.1 percent in 1975).

National wage controls have been supplemented by wage legislation and outright strikebreaking attacks at the provincial level, particularly in

Quebec and British Columbia. In Quebec emergency legislation against teacher strikes was passed in April, and in British Columbia a rail strike was forestalled through a special law by the right-wing Social Credit government banning all B. C. rail strikes for four years! Leaders of the militant but divided Quebec labor movement were forced into reviving the dormant Common Front of unions representing public service workers to make a show of defiance of the anti-strike and wage controls legislation, but carefully stopped short of a province-wide general strike. In recent months the Common Front—composed of the Quebec Teachers Union (CEQ), the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the CLC-affiliated Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ)—has been waging a series of job actions and one-day strikes by teachers and hospital workers.

Meanwhile, the New Democratic Party, Canada's right-wing social-democratic party which the CLC



CLC PRESIDENT JOE MORRIS. Canadian Tribune

was instrumental in forming in 1961, has been co-operating with Trudeau and sabotaging resistance to wage controls in Saskatchewan and Manitoba where it controls provincial governments. The

(continued on page 13)