

# 4 SPARTACIST

CANADA SEPTEMBER 1977 No. 19 25¢

## Stop the Anti-Labor Drive!

**No Strikebreaking, No Wage Controls — No Deals With Trudeau!**

AUGUST 26--Early this month, the federal government brought down the axe on the three-day-old air traffic controllers' strike, forcing the 2,200 controllers back to work and enforcing a wage settlement within Anti-Inflation Board constraints. With this strikebreaking act, the Liberal regime added another page to its sordid history of attacks on the labor movement. As he was preparing to push through the emergency legislation, Transport Minister Otto Lang threatened more in the future: from now on, in cases where a shutdown would "damage the nation seriously," the government would "have to seriously consider whether that right to strike is at all appropriate" (Globe and Mail, 8 August).

Today between one- and one-and-a-half million workers across the country are unemployed. Inflation is pushing relentlessly back up toward double figures, while wage controls remain intact, driving down the real wages of the working class. Gov-

## QUEBEC LABOR...6

ernment spending on health and education has been slashed, bringing layoffs and deteriorating social services; unemployment benefits have been further restricted; the new reactionary immigration law is now on the books, scapegoating immigrant workers for the economic crisis and threatening the security of all non-citizens.

The labor movement is under attack, and the gov-

ernment intends to exploit the growing right-wing climate in North America to intensify that attack. At stake are some of the most fundamental rights of the union movement, gains which were won through decades of bitter struggle against the capitalist class--above all the legal right to strike.

Just before the government legislated the controllers back to work, Globe and Mail Ottawa columnist Geoffrey Stevens described current Liberal thinking on the question:

"The liberalism of the 1960's has given way to the conservatism of the 1970's. People--and it's not just a few unrepentant Adam Smiths in the business community--are fed up...

"But it is equally true that, if they had not done it 10 years ago, the Liberals would not today give federal workers the right to strike. There is no reason to assume that the Liberals won't, if the provocation is great enough, roll back that right. Otto Lang is merely saying publicly what many responsible politicians are thinking and saying privately."

--Globe and Mail, 9 August

## BOMBAST AND BETRAYAL

One year ago, as they prepared to mount the October 14 day of protest against wage controls, the leadership of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) was vowing to lead the labor movement in a massive counter-offensive to beat back the Liberals' attacks.

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**For Postal Workers'  
Unity Against  
Anti-Union Attacks!**

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Globe and Mail

## ANTI-LABOR DRIVE...

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On October 14, more than a million workers walked off the job, shutting down industries from coast to coast and demonstrating the tremendous potential power of the organized proletariat.

But where are CLC President Joe Morris and his cronies today, after another year of controls and increased anti-labor attacks? No more for the talk about general strikes and defiance of government legislation; since last October, the CLC tops have busied themselves with sellout negotiations with the Trudeau government aimed at "giving labor a voice" in the inner sanctums of capitalist power. While Morris and Co. engaged in backroom parleys with Trudeau over tripartism, strike after strike went down to defeat at the hands of the employers and the AIB, and the pent-up militancy of the Canadian working class was dissipated.

United Auto Workers (UAW) Canadian Director Dennis McDermott called out the ranks on October 14, and not a car rolled off the assembly lines in Canadian auto plants. Only weeks later, autoworkers were saddled with a sellout contract which an AIB spokesman praised for being "in the spirit" of the controls. The labor bureaucrats passed this pro-controls "spirit" on from union to union, and workers across the country were forced to accept contracts under the AIB ceiling.

While impressionistic fake-lefts like the Revolu-

tionary Marxist Group and League for Socialist Action (today "fused" into the Revolutionary Workers League) claimed that through the day of protest the labor tops were ushering in a "new period" of militant class struggle, the Trotskyist League pointed out at the time that the bureaucrats had the opposite intention. As we wrote in SC No. 9 (October 1976):

"Rather than being a prelude to further anti-controls strike action, October 14 is intended-- if Morris and Co. have their way--as a final 'militant' fling to assuage the anger of combative unionists before the curtain is lowered on labor's active resistance to the controls."

Unfortunately, since the day of protest Morris and Co. have had their way. Following record numbers of strikes in 1975 and most of 1976, the capitalist press has been gloating about the newly "peaceful" labor scene, and hailing the success of the AIB in quelling union unrest.

### STRIKEBREAKING AND "DE-CONTROLS"

Only days after the air traffic controllers had been bludgeoned back to work, Trudeau finally presented his "de-controls" package to the CLC bureaucrats, offering them a measure of "consultative" tripartism in exchange for acceptance of voluntary pay restraints. The proposed deal was so obviously and insultingly anti-labor that even the servile hacks of the CLC officialdom felt compelled to reject it.

With the failure (for now) of their tripartite schemes, some union leaders are preparing to dust off their fake-militant anti-controls speeches for another round of rhetoric. But their record continues to be one long series of betrayals.

The historically-militant B.C. labor movement has been demoralized and pounded into passivity. It is still suffering from the twin blows of wage controls and NDP government mass strikebreaking,

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# Government Targets CUPW

## For Postal Workers' Unity Against Anti-Union Attacks!

AUGUST 27--Since the breakdown in negotiations between the militant-posturing leadership of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) and postal management an hour after they began last May, management and its friends in the bourgeois media have been out for the blood of CUPW leaders Joe Davidson and Jean-Claude Parrot. Assailing the CUPW leadership as a pack of "irresponsible militants" victimizing the public through repeated mail stoppages, an editorial in the Toronto Sun, local mouthpiece of right-wing reaction, called for the decertification of CUPW and its replacement by a more "responsible" union. Anticipating the possibility of another postal strike, Postmaster-General Jean-Jacques Blais has blamed the CUPW bureaucrats for the poor postal service, threatening that the Post Office may well go under in the event of another walkout.

Besides being the target of almost-daily attacks by the bourgeois press and postal management's union-busting automation drive, CUPW also finds itself increasingly isolated within the Canadian labor movement--its leaders' militant rhetoric an anathema to the staid business-unionists atop most unions. Caught between the limited right to strike and the government's ultimate design to remove the right to strike for "essential" public service workers, and with little solidarity from the rest of the union movement, the combative CUPW ranks today face a dangerous situation. A massive national postal strike is necessary, if postal workers are to beat back management's job-slashing automation scheme, but such a strike can only win if other unions--particularly those representing other postal workers--stand beside the 22,000-member CUPW.

In the past the other major postal union, the 18,000-strong Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), fought alongside CUPW, winning the legal right to strike during the "illegal" wildcats of the mid-sixties. But in 1974 CUPW opted to split the Council of Postal Unions due to differences of "approach" with the LCUC, thereby destroying what was the perceived basis for joint struggle.

Since that time the leaderships of both unions have signed mutual scabbing deals, CUPW has raided the LCUC and each has sought court injunctions over certification rights. These criminal intra-bureaucratic squabbles have exacerbated the craft divisions between the two unions, undermining the workers' unity and further isolating CUPW. When the Ottawa CUPW local went out on strike



Financial Times  
COUNCIL OF POSTAL WORKERS--FORMER JOINT CUPW-LCUC BARGAINING AGENT--STRIKING THE VANCOUVER POST OFFICE IN THE EARLY 1970's.

earlier this summer against the use of casual labor, its picket lines were crossed by LCUC members.

### McGARRY EMBRACES BOSS...

While CUPW is villified by the Sun as a "rogue union" and Davidson and Parrot are portrayed as flaming zealots, the press has nothing but favorable mention for LCUC National President Robert McGarry. "Moderate" McGarry has spent the past several months consorting with the boss under management's class-collaborationist system of union-management problem-solving consultations, the Intergroup Development Scheme. Designed to promote more co-operative relations between labor and management, Intergroup Development has "worked" so well that McGarry and Co. reached a tentative contract settlement with management without even calling a strike vote or informing the ranks what the union's demands were!

Gone are the days when, according to McGarry, "we would start bargaining after the contract ended, talks would drag on for six or eight months, and we would end up with no alternative but to close the system down" (Financial Post, 23 July). Placing his faith in the boss to resolve the workers' problems, McGarry applied for conciliation ten days before the last contract expired. Unfortunately the "neutral arbiter" agreed to by union and management had far exceeded the legal age

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# CUPW...

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for conciliators (being over 70), and was rejected by the Public Service Staff Relations Board. Undaunted, and in dire pursuit of his no-strike policies, McGarry opted for... mediation. The mediation board proposed a tentative contract settlement which was unanimously endorsed by the National Executive and Treasury Board and praised by the anti-labor federal government.

The tentative contract (still subject to ratification as we go to press) allows management to pursue its union-busting automation scheme without opposition. Besides cutting jobs and worsening working conditions for inside postal workers, an increase in processing will mean speed-up in delivery for LCUC carriers and couriers, through the use of corner boxes, incentive schemes, re-organized routes and attacks on the walk-evaluation system. The contract proposal offers no protection against job loss, a measly 51¢ an hour wage hike for most workers (but only 37¢ for the highest classification!), and a cost-of-living clause that is unlikely to activate for at least seven months.

Should McGarry manage to force this sellout contract on the demoralized ranks, not only will CUPW be further isolated in its contract struggle, but the LCUC ranks may well lose money, with inflation hovering just under 10 percent. Furthermore, the contract is subject to the approval of the wage control board, which could easily roll back the raise from 8 to 6 percent--and McGarry has done nothing to prepare the ranks to fight a

rollback. The LCUC contract stinks, and must be voted down!

## ... WHILE PARROT SEEKS ROYAL COMMISSION

While McGarry has enjoyed the boss's company and prepared his sellout contract, ex-CUPW President Davidson and his successor Parrot have repeatedly turned down management's invitations to Intergroup Development meetings--only to pursue an alternate route of class-collaboration. Last month's CUPW convention in Halifax passed a number of militant resolutions--notably recognizing Quebec's right to self-determination and calling for a national strike if fired postal workers in Montreal, Ottawa and Sherbrooke are not rehired before the next contract is signed. Yet the lynchpin of the CUPW bureaucrats' strategy to fight management's union-busting offensive was a resolution calling for a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the administration of the Post Office.

Appealing for a government commission to expose postal management as the real obstacle to improved postal service, Davidson and Parrot hope that the P. O. will be turned into a crown corporation, thus putting workers under the Canada Labour Code. This demand is only one in a series of sellout strategies aimed at sidestepping the reactionary Public Service Staff Relations Act (PSSRA), which prohibits negotiations over technological change and severely limits the right to strike. Never having fought to smash this piece of anti-labor legislation, Davidson and Parrot seek merely to replace it with the more "progressive" Canada Labour Code--which, while allowing for negotiations over technological change, is almost identical to the PSSRA in its restrictions on the right to strike.

The kowtowing of the CUPW leaders to bourgeois legality stands in sharp contrast to the militancy of postal workers in the 1960's, when the legal right to strike was won through an "illegal" walk-out. The employers' anti-labor laws can only be beaten through a united, militant struggle of all postal workers to smash the PSSRA.

Yet a motion calling for a merger with the LCUC was overwhelmingly defeated at the CUPW convention. Claiming that there are deep ideological differences between the two unions, the CUPW leadership denied the need for joint struggles by the two unions. However numerous incidents of CUPW-LCUC labor solidarity have given the lie to this criminal policy. Notably, the firing of an LCUC worker in New Brunswick last spring prompted a walkout by the entire Atlantic region--with CUPW voting to respect the picket lines--and the fired worker was rehired almost immediately.

Management has used the gradual introduction of technological change--hitting the more concentrated and industrialized CUPW inside workers first, while affecting LCUC carriers and drivers later--to help exacerbate the divisions among postal workers. Courting McGarry while Davidson and Parrot are tarred and feathered is another element in the government's union-busting strategy.

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Vanguard Party

But the crucial issues of speed-up and job-loss affect all postal workers, and should serve as a key unifying factor in the fight against the boss and for merger.

**FAKE-LEFT TAILS BUREAUCRACY**

The self-dubbed "left-wing" at the CUPW convention--in the person of supporters of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) (CPC [M-L]), and the Canadian Party of Labour (CPL)--consistently towed the line for the bureaucrats. In addition to endorsing the call for a Royal Commission, Richard Anstein, president of the Halifax local and supporter of the views of CPC(M-L), won a place for himself in the national bureaucrats' hearts by strongly speaking against the motion for merger. His loyalty to business unionism having been tested, Anstein was a close runner-up for the position of second General Vice-President in the elections to the National Office.

As for the economist CPL supporters, their "friends in high places" also did quite well for

themselves in the elections, with Andre Beauchamp, former president of the Ottawa local, capturing the national executive vice-presidency. Last year Beauchamp lent his support to another contender for a vice-presidency, endorsing CPL supporter Peter Liebovitch in his bid for vice-president of the Toronto local. Beauchamp wrote Liebovitch a letter of endorsement which praised him for support for the National Office during the long 1975 postal strike. Following this strike, CPL issued one of its periodic "self-criticisms" for past economism and tailing the national bureaucracy. It declared that, contrary to past illusions, CPL had no "friends in high places." But Beauchamp was there to lend a helping hand to his fake-militant "friends in lower places" when they needed support.

In a generally favorable article covering the convention, CPL's paper The Worker attributed the "most positive steps taken by the convention" to "the line carried by CPL members through the convention." According to The Worker, the motion recognizing Quebec's right to self-determination was the fruit of three years' hard campaigning by CPL. This is simply a bald-faced (and transparent) Stalinist lie. Until an abrupt 180-degree line switch earlier this year, CPL forcefully upheld the disgusting chauvinist position of denying Quebec's right to self-determination!

**REFORMIST "OPPOSITIONS" AND CLASS-STRUGGLE LEADERSHIP**

The history of CUPW has witnessed the rise and fall of numerous left oppositional caucuses, from various formations supported by the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) to CPL's Postal Action Committee. Yet the would-be militants in CUPW have in general not fought for the necessary full class-struggle program, and have thus tended to be sucked into supporting the militant-talking CUPW bureaucracy. Particularly in a union where the leadership puts forward (though wages no real fight for) such demands as 30 for 40, a closed shop and union veto over the introduction of technological change, opposition caucuses based solely on democratic demands and union reform can only serve as stepping-stones for out-bureaucrats on the make.

The various attempts of the fake-Trotskyist RMG to piece together lowest-common-denominator reformist opposition caucuses in CUPW stand as a salutary example of what not to do. All the opportunist maneuvers of the RMG to cohere some kind of opposition in the Toronto CUPW local (once touted as the organization's most important trade union arena) went bust when the group's chief supporter fled the RMG and rushed into the local leadership, minus program. Having learned all the wrong lessons from its failures, the RMG has today found a home in the new Revolutionary Workers League under the tutelage of the League for Socialist Action--an organization whose trade

**STOP ATTACKS ON CHILEAN REFUGEES!**

Attempting to demonstrate that "human rights" are being restored in Chile, General Pinochet "abolished" the infamous National Intelligence Directorate--better known as the DINA--early last month. But whatever name they may parade under today, the bloodthirsty military police of the junta continue to round up workers and leftists in Chile, and to stalk Chilean refugees around the world.

On July 21, the Montreal Chileans' Association reported a break-in and ransacking of its offices on St. Lawrence Blvd. Montreal municipal police called in to investigate claimed they could find no signs of a break-in, even though the office was in great disorder. Two members of the Chileans' Association stated that they believed the break-in was the work of DINA agents.

At an August 24 news conference in Toronto Gabriel Parada, spokesman for the Popular Unity in Canada, charged Pinochet's thugs with responsibility for a series of attacks on and threats against Chilean exiles in Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton. Refugees in Calgary reportedly received threats that their families in Chile would "suffer" for their involvement in anti-junta activities. According to the Association of Chileans in Winnipeg, four Chilean leftists in that city have been kidnapped, interrogated and beaten during the past month.

The Trotskyist League protests the persecution and harassment of Chilean refugees and opponents of the blood-drenched junta. Hands off the Chilean exiles! Full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers! Down with Pinochet's reign of terror! For workers revolution in Chile!

## Quebec Labor At The Crossroads

# BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM OR CLASS STRUGGLE?

Two events in mid-summer highlighted the volatile situation in the Quebec labor movement. In late July, strikebreaking thugs shot and wounded eight strikers at Montreal's Robin Hood flour mill, provoking cries of outrage, demonstrations and messages of solidarity from union locals across Quebec and English Canada. Yet only days later, French-speaking air traffic controllers, members of the Association des Gens de l'Air, scabbed on the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers' Association (CATCA) strike at all but two Quebec airports, in protest against CATCA's opposition to bilingual air traffic control.

Last year's CATCA strike against the forced introduction of bilingual air traffic control was waged over the legitimate issue of air safety (see SC No. 8, September 1976). But the hysterical orgy of English-Canadian chauvinism associated with the strike helped deepen the already existing rift along national lines in the Canadian labor movement. The elevation of the Parti Québécois (PQ) to power last fall and the subsequent reactionary "National Unity" campaign in English Canada have further enflamed the poisonous national antagonisms among Canadian working people.

The deeply-felt need for working class unity against the bourgeoisie's anti-labor offensive is an important factor in undercutting national divisions. The massive turnout by workers from both Quebec and English Canada on October 14 was one example; more recently, the Montreal millworkers' strike, directed against an Anti-Inflation Board rollback, has become a symbol of the fight against wage controls and strikebreaking throughout the country.

Similarly, despite the scabbing by Gens de l'Air members outside Montreal, this year's CATCA strike (and subsequent work-to-rule) over wage issues was solid both in English Canada and at Quebec's two main airports (Dorval and Mirabel), where half the controllers are French-speaking. When faced with a common attack by a common enemy (like the AIB), the potential for united labor struggle by Québécois and English-Canadian workers remains strong.

Leninists defend Quebec's right to independence in order to combat chauvinism and lay the basis for forging effective unity among proletarians of both Quebec and English Canada. Should national antagonisms between English- and French-speaking working people become so strong as to preclude such unity within a common state power, then in-

dependence for Quebec may be the only way to achieve proletarian unity. We remain in any case adamantly hostile to the PQ's nationalist ideology, which seeks to co-opt the French-speaking working class into "National Unity" Quebec-style, and thus to divide it from its English-Canadian class brothers.

### THE PQ'S "PRO-LABOR" FRAUD

When it sat on the opposition benches in the Quebec National Assembly, the PQ occasionally gave verbal support to some of the labor movement's social and economic demands (particularly those demands which dovetailed with its own program, such as making French the primary language of work). Now that it is in office, striving to unite the Québécois nation around bourgeois nationalism, the repeated and violent industrial conflicts which have characterized Quebec in the past decade are a threat to its entire political perspective.

Lévesque is attempting to demonstrate "responsibility" to those whose sanction he requires to succeed in constructing an independent bourgeois Quebec--above all the American ruling class. Therefore he can ill afford substantial concessions to working-class voters who comprise much of his electoral base. The PQ chose the aftermath of the Robin Hood shootings to unveil its proposed reform of the Quebec Labour Code, Bill 45, which it hopes will both appease its supporters in the labor bureaucracy and ensure their co-operation in reining in the powerful and militant Quebec labor movement.

The Quebec labor tops have attempted to portray the PQ to the ranks as a "friend of labor." Following the PQ's election last fall, unionists called on the new labor minister to enact legislation promised during the election campaign against the use of scab labor during strikes. However, in response, Bill 45 contains ineffectual sops, intended to draw attention away from the bitterly anti-union clauses in the rest of the bill.

As PQ Labour Minister Pierre-Marc Johnson noted regarding the so-called "anti-scab" section of the bill: "The purpose of this measure is not to close factories automatically the moment a lockout or strike begins" (*Le Devoir*, 30 July). While the bill forbids the hiring of new workers during a strike, it would guarantee a company's "right" to use supervisory staff and non-striking employees from other bargaining units to replace struck labor. Bill 45 will not stop strikebreaking. Only militant

mass pickets--prepared for defense against the violence of the capitalists' hired armed thugs--can effectively shut down a plant to win a strike.

Under the new law, the Labour Minister would have the authority to end any strike which has in his opinion "passed reasonable limits" and to impose compulsory arbitration (*Le Devoir*, 30 July). Union constitutions would have to conform to new requirements for secret ballots in elections and strike votes, a provision which would be enforced by government inspectors and the courts. These provisions would accord the government far-reaching and dangerous powers to meddle in union affairs, powers which would only be used to the detriment of the union movement.

The anti-labor provisions of the bill were ignored in the hue and cry raised by the opposition parties and the employers. The bosses' Conseil du Patronat du Québec (CPQ) flooded the newspapers with letters and articles denouncing the "irreparable infringement" upon "this fundamental principle, which recognizes a company's absolute [!] right to hire staff even during a strike" (*Gazette [Montreal]*, 5 August). The CPQ demands increased restrictions on the rights of labor in order to drive the wages of Québécois workers even further below the Canadian average.

Most union leaders praised the bill, while objecting to some of its provisions. Fernand Daoust, secretary-general of the Fédération des Travail-

leurs du Québec was typical, calling the proposed legislation "essential preliminaries to a healthier social climate and better industrial relations in Quebec. We are delighted" (*Montreal Star*, 30 July).

"BASIS FOR A NEW SOCIAL PEACE"?

The PQ has similar hopes. Introducing the bill, Johnson claimed it "aims to establish the basis for a new social peace" (*Le Devoir*, 30 July). Through this new labor legislation the PQ hopes to obtain the co-operation of the union brass in dampening the militancy of the Quebec labor movement. With the "anti-scab" law in place, the labor tops can argue that militant strike tactics are no longer necessary, while the new investigative powers will be ideal tools to discredit or purge militants from the unions. Quebec workers must not be misled by the rhetoric. Bill 45 is anti-labor, and must be opposed intransigently by the entire union movement.

Bill 45, like the recent Quebec language legislation, aims to increase popular support for the PQ as the political leadership of the entire Québécois nation. Lévesque's attempt to temper the volatile Quebec labor movement through sham "concessions" and nationalist/populist rhetoric is a trap for Quebec workers--"uniting" them with their class enemies, while further dividing them from their proletarian allies in the rest of North America. Only fighting unity between French- and English-speaking workers can effectively combat the anti-labor attacks of the capitalist class. ■

## VICTORY TO THE MILLWORKERS' STRIKE!

The brutal July 22 shooting of eight striking workers at Montreal's Robin Hood Mills plant by hired company goons has been met by a broad movement of labor solidarity. More than 4,000 militants marched behind five of the wounded strikers on July 28 in a mass protest demonstration called by the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN). Unions across the country have sent donations to the strikers and the families of the wounded workers. The following letter of solidarity was sent by the Trotskyist League:

"Dear brothers and sisters,

"The Trotskyist League of Canada wishes to express its solidarity with your courageous struggle against Trudeau's wage freeze and your steadfastness in the face of the savage actions of those committed to its enforcement--the hired thugs of the state and the company. Your strike should act as an inspiration to all workers and should be supported with the militant solidarity of the entire labor movement. We enclose a contribution to your strike fund as an expression of our support. Victory to the Millworkers' strike! Smash the AIB!"

To send donations and messages of solidarity, write: Robin Hood Millworkers Union, c/o CSN, 1001 rue St-Denis, Montreal, Quebec.



WOUNDED MILLWORKER BEING CARRIED TO SAFETY FOLLOWING COMPANY GOON SHOOTING. Canadian Press

## Shotgun "Unity" for Canadian Pabloists

# RMG, GMR Surrender to Reformism

On August 7, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) (Canadian representatives of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat's [USec] centrist International Majority Tendency [IMT]) once again found themselves a home with the reformist League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO).

Despite a great deal of internal resistance and opposition, the leaderships of the RMG and GMR succeeded in pushing through a fusion with the LSA/LSO at their conventions in Toronto and Montreal.

The reunification of the RMG and GMR with the organization from which they split in 1972-73 was hailed by all three groups as an "historic occasion" for Canadian Trotskyism. But far from being historic (or having anything to do with Trotskyism), the coming together of the RMG, GMR and LSA/LSO into the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) is but a new page in the USec's book of unprincipled combinationism.

Five years ago, a large minority of the LSA/LSO --at that time the sole Canadian representative of the USec and the only visible Trotskyist organization in Canada--insurrected against the reformist politics of the leadership. While their fight was deformed and partial, many of the comrades who split to form the Quebec GMR and English-Canadian RMG did so out of a commitment to find the road to authentic Trotskyism.

The early GMR and RMG denounced the LSA/LSO and its American big brother the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as "reformist" and "lost to Trotskyism," and looked for leadership to the European-based IMT leadership. Their perspective was "the reconstruction of the Fourth International in North America" ("The Struggle in the Fourth International," document adopted by the North American IMT groups in July 1973). But, unable to transcend centrism, the only thing the RMG and GMR have succeeded in "reconstructing" is the LSA/LSO.

At their 1973 founding convention, the youthful impressionists of the RMG predicted that their organization would triple or quadruple in size within two years, and that the LSA/LSO would collapse like a house of cards. Now those heady, left-leaning days--when the RMG and GMR were the epitome of New Left petty-bourgeois polyvanguardism, parading under banners reading "One Solution, Revolution" and "Armed Struggle, the Only Road"

--are but a fading memory. Wracked by a series of internal crises, intense factionalism and dramatic line changes, the RMG and GMR moved rightward. By earlier this year--thanks in large measure to the "unity" maneuvers of their hoped-for saviors in the IMT leadership--the leaders of the two organizations had buried their hammers and sickles in order to re-embrace the social-democratic "Trotskyism" of the LSA/LSO.

YET ANOTHER "NEW PERIOD"

Of course, the mutual forgiving of sins and meeting of minds between former bitter factional opponents had to be accompanied by a suitable rationale. Well-trained in the school of Pabloist objectivism, the leaderships of the RMG and GMR offered their somewhat uneasy ranks the proclamation that a "new period" of turbulent class struggle had been ushered in by the October 14 general strike and the November 15 electoral victory of the Parti Québécois. And since the RMG, GMR and LSA/LSO had all managed to come out with approximately the same line on these two "historic occasions" (in itself something of an historic occasion), what better reason could there possibly be for fusion?

While in general this was accepted by the RMG and GMR ranks as as good a basis as any for "unity" a dispute polarized the first day of the RMG convention over which of the two dates was the more "historic." At loggerheads over this "burning" issue were the hereditary chieftains of the RMG's two main cliques, Central Committee (CC) members Bret Smiley and Joe Flexer. In his "Political Resolution" report to the convention, Smiley--self-styled Alain Krivine "superstar" of the RMG--asserted that November 15 was far and away the more decisive blow to the Canadian state. In the ensuing discussion Flexer (the CC's resident work-erist) denounced Smiley's report as "provocative" --"obviously" October 14 was the more important of the two. No consensus could be reached, so the report was tabled. (Later, however, Smiley was to emerge a clear victor, as Flexer was forced off the new organization's incoming Central Committee, much to his displeasure.) The altercation over the "Political Resolution" having been put aside, the RMG leadership temporarily united in an effort to force fusion down the throats of the membership.

In his fraternal greetings from the USec to the

convention, IMT leader Charles Michaloux hailed the Canadian fusion as part of an international rapprochement between the competing wings of the USec--the IMT and the SWP/LSA/LSO's misnamed "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF). As the enormous differences between the IMT and LTF become more excruciatingly obvious every day, both sides are intent on pursuing "unity" at all costs, in the hope of somehow justifying the existence of such a grotesque parody of Trotsky's Fourth International. Fusions have already occurred or are reportedly about to occur between IMT and minority groups in Mexico, Spain and Australia--all countries where the USec groups split along factional lines in the early 1970's. Michaloux heaped scorn on those who would term the USec a rotten bloc and seek to deny its "Trotskyist" legitimacy, calling the fusions "a living denunciation of the sectarians."

In reality, the fusions are a living denunciation of Leninism. Only two years ago the IMT and LTF took positions on two central issues which put them on opposite sides of the barricades. In both cases the LTF found itself standing on the side of the U.S. State Department--professing a scandalous neutrality during the South African invasion of Angola, and shamelessly apologizing for the Portuguese social democrats' CIA-funded anti-communist mobilization against the Communist Party. The RMG's international mentors, on the other hand, tailed the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA in Angola and the Stalinist-supported Portuguese Armed Forces Movement.

Today, the two wings are moving to dismantle their factions in preparation for the USec's "Eleventh World Congress." But the opportunist appetites of the IMT and LTF leaderships remain fundamentally counterposed, and with another major escalation of class struggle the two sides will again be at war.

With the rise of popular frontism in southern Europe over the past few years, the IMT has increasingly turned away from the amorphous "student vanguard" to orient toward "broad" coalitions of organizations standing to the left of the

Communist Parties. Through their participation in the popular-frontist Italian Democrazia Proletaria, the French "far-left" electoral bloc and most recently the Spanish Front for Workers Unity (FUT), IMT groups have sought to pressure the Stalinists and social democrats to the left--all the while giving "critical" support to these reformists' popular-frontist alliances.

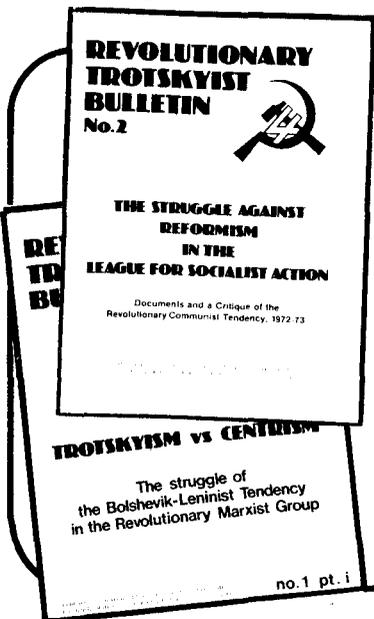
Meanwhile Joseph Hansen's SWP seeks to cultivate an image of "respectability" in the eyes of its own bourgeoisie, with appetites to become the mass party of American social democracy. The road has already been paved with numerous SWP betrayals: from repudiation of revolution in the bourgeois courts, through braintrusting fake "opponentist" trade union bureaucrats, to effectively renouncing military defense of the Soviet Union.

**"BUILDING THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL"  
BY BUILDING THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL**

While the SWP seeks to become the American version of the Canadian New Democratic Party, the LSA has historically sought to give the NDP some of the SWP's "socialist" veneer. For many years the LSA/LSO's central political slogan was "Win the NDP to Socialism!" In recent years however the LSA/LSO has lowered its sights somewhat--now aiming simply to "Build the NDP!" This ostensibly "dramatic" line change was offered to the RMG leadership as evidence that the LSA/LSO had moved to the left since the split of its long-time leader Ross Dowson in 1974.

The early RMG adamantly rejected the LSA/LSO's pro-NDP cretinism. Its desire was to build the Fourth International, not the Second. But by late last year, as the organization met with failure after failure, the leadership had begun searching frantically for some excuse to liquidate the RMG back into the LSA/LSO. Thus the RMG's top leaders seized on a few hypocritical "self-criticisms" by the LSA/LSO leadership for its extremely right-wing NDP line under Dowson, taking them as good coin, and finding them sufficient justification for fusion.

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## Canadian Pabloists...

(continued from page 9)

While the RMG leadership shied away from raising the slogan "Build the NDP" at the convention, it had no qualms about supporting the content of this slogan: a call for NDP governments throughout the country. Just how, given the extreme weakness of the NDP in much of the country, could an NDP government be elected? For the time-tested social-democratic sycophants of the LSA/LSO, the answer is obvious: by building the NDP through increasing its influence in the working class. In a pre-convention discussion bulletin, LSA/LSO Organizational Secretary Art Young noted that any remaining differences with the RMG over the NDP question were "differences not over line, but over the application of the line," and commented: "I don't see any difference of substance between this document [the RMG leadership's position paper on the NDP] and the position of the League on the so-called 'build the NDP' dispute" ("A Basic Agreement on the NDP," Joint Internal Bulletin No. 4, June 1977).

The extent of agreement between the leaderships on this question was underlined by RMG National Secretary Bob Mills in his convention report on "Social Democracy and the English-Canadian Workers Movement." To the delight of the assembled LSA/LSOers, Mills stated that, in the RMG Political Committee's opinion, the Canadian working class will not go forward to socialist revolution until it has become "completely disillusioned" with the NDP in power. Therefore, according to Mills, the central demand of revolutionaries must be for an NDP government.

Mills's report, which incorporated some of the worst rationalizations used by the LSA/LSO to justify liquidation into the NDP, provoked the most heated and confused debate of the entire RMG convention. Liquidating one's organization is, after all, as we have noted before, not without its hesitations and agonies; and not all RMGers were as willing as their National Secretary to swallow in one gulp the LSA/LSO's NDP line. In a last-ditch effort to hold onto some of the RMG's threadbare leftism, two opposition tendencies gave counter-reports following Mills's presentation.

Choking on the thought of calling for NDP governments everywhere and always, one oppositional clot sought to sweeten the pill by suggesting that the NDP government slogan be raised in only four provinces (B. C., Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario), but not federally! The other report correctly opposed the NDP government slogan, offering in its stead, however, a call for critical electoral support to the NDP under most circumstances (implicitly including periods, like today, when NDP coalitionism with bourgeois parties should preclude even the most critical support from Leninists).

During the discussion many delegates grudgingly supported the leadership's position ("I support the document but..."), while complaining that Mills

was beginning to sound like a typical LSA/LSO hack. After various counterpositions and amendments were withdrawn by their movers, resubmitted by other delegates and then withdrawn again, most of the opposition had worn itself out, and the Mills position was carried by 26 votes to 2, with 4 abstentions.

### OPPOSITION TO "FAST FUSION"

Like the vote against the NDP line change, the actual vote against fusion was quite small (only two delegates to the RMG convention voted against, while one other RMG delegate and two from the GMR abstained). Nevertheless, this did not reflect the depth of rank-and-file discontent over what was widely recognized as a shotgun wedding with the LSA/LSO. Without a large turnout of international USec honchos to ram through the "unity" offensive, the opposition would likely have been larger.

The RMG and GMR leaderships decided quite early on that they had "no principled political differences" with the LSA/LSO--after all, both agreed that the USec was the continuity of the Fourth International, and what more could possibly be required! But a large reservoir of resentment against the leaderships of both organizations was created, due mainly to the rapid-fire pace at which the fusion was forced through.

Less than two months before the convention date, the RMG and GMR leaderships announced to the ranks that the fusions--originally scheduled to occur only pending the success of a long period of joint work--would instead come immediately after the August conventions. Clearly the need for a shotgun fusion was motivated by growing discontent with the idea of fusion in sections of the ranks, and by recognition by the RMG/GMR/LSA/LSO leaderships that a lengthy period of "joint work" would only widen the groups' differences.

Right away, oppositional clots sprung up across the country against the leadership's "fast fusion" proposal. Doubtless desiring more time to mull over their organization's failures before actually committing political suicide, disgruntled elements grouped around various tendencies arguing for fusion at Thanksgiving, at Christmas, or--for the more "militant"--Easter weekend.

By convention time, all oppositions had been predictably whipped into line, save two: the small "Principled Fusion Tendency" (PFT) of the RMG, which opposed the fusion as unprincipled; and a rank-and-file "Working Group" of the GMR, centered on its trade unionists and its CEGEP (community college) students. The Working Group was a hodgepodge of disaffected and unhappy elements--ranging from left-wingers repelled by the LSA/LSO and by the GMR leadership's rightward motion, to feminist and gay-liberation lifestylists, to extreme Quebec nationalists upset that the group was abandoning its Bundist position for a separate Quebec section of the USec.

The only unifying factor in this melange (which by convention time included forty percent of the GMR

membership) was its opposition to the leadership's bureaucratic "fast fusion" tactics. Yet not a single member of the Working Group could muster a "no" vote when the hands were raised for fusion--let alone present anything remotely resembling a programmatic critique of the GMR and LSA/LSO leaderships.

"PRINCIPLED FUSION TENDENCY"

Thus the delegates of the RMG's Winnipeg-based PFT were the only ones to vote against the fusion. Substantially smaller than the Working Group, the PFT was however almost as confused and eclectic. Among its supporters were hardened feminists and anti-feminists; "native nationalists" and anti-nationalists; some who supported the IMT, others who rejected it as opportunist. The only thing holding the PFT together was a well-placed revulsion for the LSA/LSO.

Yet even on this question the position of the PFT was extraordinarily muddled. In its original founding declaration the tendency came up with a rather



Old Mole

HAMMERS AND SICKLES ADORN THE STAGE AT 1974 RMG FEDERAL ELECTION RALLY. AT THE MICROPHONE, ALAIN KRIVINE.

novel characterization of the LSA/LSO as "revolutionary centrist." When this was withdrawn, PFTers split on the issue--some condemning the LSA/LSO as reformist; others characterizing it as centrist.

In the PFT's anti-fusion report to the convention, the RMG leadership was attacked for capitulating to the LSA/LSO on a series of questions--the most notable being the NDP and international democratic centralism. The report challenged the RMG's "closet leftists" to "come out," warning them that after the fusion they would face a "block of three" against left oppositionists: the RMG leadership, the LSA/LSO leadership and the LSA/LSO's hand-raising ranks. However the triumvirate did not wait until after the convention to coalesce--the PFT was attacked heavily, and the "closet leftists" stayed in the closet.

The PFT's reports and documents were a potpourri of confused and contradictory left-Pabloism, harkening back to the "good old days" of the early RMG. Yet, as the tendency was quick to discover, such positions had become anathema to the RMG in its death throes--another uncomfortable reminder of its "ultraleft" youth.

When a PFT document attempted to point to the international differences in the USec and the unprincipled maneuvers of the international faction leaderships, the RMG Political Committee's response was to mock the document's author, who "obviously pours [sic] over the fine print of all manner of relatively unimportant bulletins of the International with a magnifying glass" (Matlowe, "In Response to Eugene and the PFT," Joint International Information Bulletin No. 10, July 1977). For the consummate cynics in the RMG leadership, "pouring over" the voluminous pages of prose turned out by its own international leaders is obviously irrelevant.

"FLEXIBLE" FEDERALISM

The concern with international democratic centralism during the pre-convention discussion and at the convention was not limited to the PFT. As befits such latter-day Kautskyites, the SWP and other LTF sections openly demand a federated "International," in which they are allowed to control all aspects of political work in the countries where they have a majority. Obviously, this demand does not sit too well with the ex-members of the RMG and GMR--now a minority in the fused organization.

In his greetings to the GMR convention, the USec's Michaloux stated that the IMT could not accept in theory, even if it had to in practice, a breakdown in democratic centralism to the level of federalism. He went on to argue that international democratic centralism could not be viewed in the same way as national democratic centralism--one must be "flexible" internationally, and each national section could not be expected to apply "to the letter" every decision of the International leadership. As members of the RMG and GMR paled before Michaloux's scarcely-veiled defense of the federalist status quo, the LSA/LSO and SWP leaders in attendance glowed in approval.

The dispute over international democratic centralism also produced a revealing insight into some of the problems facing the new organization. The RMG leadership, attempting to explain to the ranks why all the many IMT-LTF differences were being swept under the rug in the rush for fusion, wrote in a pre-conference bulletin:

"RMG members have been quite concerned about how the disagreement between the LTF and the IMT on the application of international democratic centralism would affect the functioning of the new organization. What will we do, for example, if the new organization is divided roughly equally on a key international issue? The Political Committees do not think that it is useful to try to establish some abstract formula to deal with such possible future controversies... We will deal with such problems if and when they arise."

--RMG National Bulletin, Vol. 7, No. 21, 8 June 1977

And, beyond the manifold differences over international questions, despite the RMG and GMR's

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## Canadian Pabloists...

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rightward motion enough differences persist on domestic questions to ensure that the new RWL will have its hands full. Already, unable to resolve their differences over interventions into the pro-abortion movement (the RMG called for "free abortion on demand," while the LSA/LSO deemed this "sectarian"), the new organization has simply resolved, for the time being, to carry two banners on abortion demonstrations.

### CAPITULATE... OR LEAVE

Given time, the RWL will come to possess a clear and consistent political line--that of the ex-LSA/LSO. But in its early period, before the heterogeneous ranks of the RMG and GMR have been sorted out, the new organization promises to be rather spectacularly unstable and subject to internal rebellion. Particularly in Quebec, where disgruntlement about the fusion and distrust toward the right-wing LSA/LSO leadership is widespread among former GMR members, the new group is in for a great deal of immediate internal difficulty.

As the LTF regains control over the USec's work in Canada, it will doubtless move to pack potential factional allies into the new organization. Thus leading representatives of the social-democratic Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ), affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI), attended the fusion conferences as fraternal observers.

In recent years, the SWP and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (the OCRFI's leading section) have found an increasing degree of programmatic agreement, and the LTF has been pushing for the OCRFI's admission to the USec. Here in Canada, the GSTQ--a group which has stood to the right of the LSA/LSO on the NDP question--would be of great service to the ex-LSA/LSO leaders of the RWL in their drive to purge the new organization of alien left-wing elements.

The PFT's summary report to the RMG convention warned the membership to make sure that they would have tendency rights inside the fused organization. Denouncing the SWP as an undemocratic organization, the PFT demanded an accounting for the bureaucratic expulsion of the pro-IMT Internationalist

Tendency (IT) in 1974. This challenge drew a large round of applause from the convention--with the exception of the LSA/LSO, of course.

But there will be no accounting, for the SWP has no retrospective qualms about the IT affair. Shortly after the expulsions were carried out, the SWP put them to good use--citing them in a bourgeois courtroom as evidence that it harbored no violent, terroristic or revolutionary aims. The ITers were eventually allowed to crawl back into the SWP on their bellies--political cripples destroyed by the USec's revisionist modus vivendi. Would-be left oppositionists in the RWL can expect no better treatment than that meted out to the IT.

### LENINIST FUSIONS VS. UNPRINCIPLED COMBINATIONISM

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has been built largely through fusions, many of them with left-oppositional currents in the USec who found their way to Trotskyist politics--like the RMG's Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, expelled at its March 1975 second national convention. More recently the iSt has consolidated principled fusions with the Chilean Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria and with a Los Angeles-based group of comrades from the gay left, the Red Flag Union.

These fusions, unlike the unholy marriage of the RMG, GMR and LSA/LSO, came as a culmination of a period of hard programmatic struggle for the principles of Trotskyism. Thus, rather than paralyzing the new organization by presenting it with a swamp of permanent factions, tendencies and cliques, while political differences are either buried or "sorted out over time," these fusions have driven the iSt forward in its struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

As Lenin wrote:

"Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is unity of Marxists, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism."

--"Unity," April 1914 (emphasis in original)

The RMG and GMR were of course no more Marxist than their reformist USec partners. But by junking their past opposition to reformism, these opportunists and renegades are only assisting in the creation of a larger obstacle to the building of a genuine Trotskyist party. The one-time centrists and New Leftists of the RMG and GMR will either be swallowed by the more experienced and effective reformists from the LSA/LSO, or they will (in one way or another) find themselves exited from the RWL.

In a leaflet distributed at the RMG's second national convention in 1975, the Spartacist tendency noted that the group's future prospects were not bright: it was "genuinely an organization without a future." The comrades of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency showed the way out of the revisionist swamp to Trotskyism--others, repelled by the USec's maneuvers and unprincipled politics, will follow. Unable to come to the revolutionary program, the RMG and GMR have surrendered themselves to reformism. We shed no tears for their passing. ■

## LE BOLCHEVIK



LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DE FRANCE--  
SECTION SYMPATHISANTE DE LA TENDANCE  
SPARTACISTE INTERNATIONALE 2f.

Dans le numéro 5, mars 1977:

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# CUPW...

(continued from page 5)

union work consists of building "build the NDP" caucuses and pimping for all manner of pro-capitalist bureaucrats.

A real alternative to the fake militants in the CUPW bureaucracy and sellout "Intergroup" McGarry must be built on the basis of a clear class-struggle program. Such a program would call for beating back management's union-busting offensive and the automation threat through a joint strike of all postal workers to win a single master contract, thus laying the basis for a merger of all postal unions. In opposition to all anti-labor legislation and collaboration with the bosses--from Intergroup Development to the Canada Labour Code to tripartism--militant postal workers must fight for the independence of the unions from the capitalist state and for the unconditional right to strike. Against chauvinism and all attempts to divide the ranks along national lines, the call must be raised for Quebec's right to independence.

One militant in the large Toronto LCUC local, shop steward Bob McBurney, has fought around a program including such key demands during the past pre-contract period. McBurney's calls in the local's June membership meeting for the union to hold open negotiations, for no contract/no work and no conciliation, for a full national strike for a closed shop, full COLA and shorter workweek at no loss in pay and for strikes against any Anti-Inflation Board rollbacks, were attacked by local Chief Steward and CPC(M-L) supporter Jim Turnbull as "utopian." But such a program, far from being "utopian," is the only one that can lead to victory.

Turnbull's friends in the LCUC and CUPW bureaucracies refuse to lead the necessary militant struggle because their perspectives--Davidson's and Parrot's "radical" veneer notwithstanding--are limited to pro-capitalist business-unionism. Caucuses must be built in both CUPW and LCUC which go beyond simple economism, putting forward a political program like that fought for by McBurney--a program which ties the fight against the capitalists' attacks to the need to forge a workers party to smash capitalism and bring the proletariat to power. ■

# ANTI-LABOR DRIVE...

(continued from page 2)

while the B. C. Federation of Labour leaders engage in bureaucratic clique fights and do all they can to prevent strikes.

In Toronto, an agonizingly long strike by 3,200 building-trades workers in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) has dragged on for over two months, bringing construction to a halt throughout the city. The union has raised the call for a shorter workweek to eliminate the massive unemployment among electrical workers--but in the absence of a call for no loss in pay, this amounts to negotiating for a pay cut. Furthermore, despite the fact that IBEW workers are striking plants and construction sites throughout the city, the union bureaucrats have refused to throw up picket lines to help mobilize support from other workers, and not a hand has been lifted in solidarity by leaders of the rest of the Toronto-area labor movement. In fact other unionists, including UAW skilled tradesmen in area auto plants, are being instructed by their "leaders" to scab on the electricians' strike by performing electrical work previously contracted out to IBEW members.

The defeatist and class-collaborationist policies of the labor bureaucracy have succeeded in eroding many important historical traditions of labor militancy and solidarity--the kind of militancy and solidarity that built the powerful industrial unions during the 1930's. Furthermore, the bureaucrats' sellouts have also allowed the government to proceed virtually unimpeded with its strikebreaking and union-busting assaults.

Only class struggle was able to win the gains the union movement has today; only class struggle can defend and extend them. To smash controls and strikebreaking, the labor movement must launch a militant program of struggle, including demonstrations and other protest actions, up to and including a full general strike. The present union leadership, however, has no intention of leading such a fight.

Under capitalism, gains made and reforms won by the working class are always reversible. The incumbent labor fakers, all of whom are committed to defending the bosses' rule, must be ousted by a new militant class-struggle leadership, which will not spend its time negotiating sellout deals with the capitalists. Rather such a leadership will fight consistently for the interests of the working class, around demands such as:

- for a sliding scale of hours--shorten the workweek to provide jobs for all at no loss in pay;
- for a full sliding scale of wages to combat inflation;
- against tripartism and all other forms of class-collaboration;
- for a workers government--build a workers party, not to manage the capitalist economy (like the NDP), but to bring the working class to power and appropriate the bourgeoisie.

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## Rightist Reaction...

(continued from back page)

ness interfering in the private lives or public entertainments of the citizenry! All laws proscribing freedom of expression, sexual behavior, gambling, prostitution and other so-called "crimes without victims" must be abolished.

### HOMOSEXUALITY AND PROSTITUTION

In this context, a distinction must be drawn between homosexuality and prostitution. Unlike prostitution, homosexuality is no more a symptom of social degradation than heterosexuality.

In contrast, as a social phenomenon prostitution is criminal; but the prostitutes are not the criminals, they are the victims. Many of them, particularly in periods of economic downturn such as today, are simply women driven into the streets in search of a means of livelihood.

As Engels explained in The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, the function of prostitution is the reverse side of the coin from

iticians who revile "sin and smut" by day while availing themselves of such services under cover of night, communists truly intend to put an end to the degrading institution of prostitution and to mete out proletarian justice to the pimps and their accomplices.

"Body-rubs," enjoying sexual partners of the same sex and reading Penthouse are not the only issues at stake in the current campaign to clean up Yonge Street. Behind all the bigoted trash in the Sun about "perverts" and "deviants" lies a pernicious repressive conclusion. The broader objectives of the anti-Yonge Street crusade are summarized in a 10 August Sun editorial:

"Body joints and hookers are sleazy and unaesthetic. But they aren't the key issue in the Jaques murder--capital punishment is...

"Far better to abolish capital punishment for all murders except murders of perversion, involving sex, children, torture. (And maybe death for terrorism--but that's 'war,' and another matter.)"

--emphasis in original

The Sun lauded the frenzied mobilization of more than five thousand demonstrators which tore through the downtown area on the night of August 9, chanting slogans for more police power and carrying signs demanding "Death to all perverts!" and "Bring back capital punishment!" Although most of the frenzied vigilante mob were Portuguese immigrants, other Portuguese community organizations were quick to dissociate themselves from the violent tone of the demonstration. According to the Portuguese Community Movement, 90 percent of the city's Portuguese organizations did not endorse the action, and most of its participants were there "out of sympathy for the family and not because they were thirsty for blood, revenge, or capital punishment" (Toronto Star, 12 August).

While this is undoubtedly true, the presence of a significant number of potentially fascistic elements on the demonstration cannot be denied. Given the economic decline and increasingly repressive social climate, immigrants are facing stepped-up attacks. Isolated and vulnerable, sections of the immigrant communities feel the pressure to assimilate more rapidly and completely into the dominant society as a means of protection against discrimination, and thus to embrace reactionary prejudices against other oppressed minorities.

### THE SPECTRE OF STATE TERROR

The slaying of a youth is precisely the kind of issue the right-wing likes to use in order to mobilize support for more police powers and capital punishment. Many ordinary citizens--including working people--who would probably oppose these aims under other circumstances, have been driven into the arms of reactionary forces. The current anti-Yonge Street mobilization does not only threaten the democratic rights of homosexuals, lead to the harass-

## Women and Revolution



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the artificial and hypocritical monogamous ethic of the nuclear family (the basic unit of economic and social organization under capitalism). In this sense prostitution is necessary to bourgeois rule. Following the abolition of capitalism and the introduction of socialized planning, it will be possible to replace the obsolete and repressive nuclear family. Thus prostitution will no longer serve a social function in a socialist society, and will be eliminated under proletarian rule.

But while Marxists are not hostile to prostitutes, we have nothing but disgust for the social scum who fill their coffers through the exploitation of prostitutes--pimps, "madams" and their police associates. Jean Pasqualini's Prisoner of Mao describes how, when the Red Army captured China's major cities in 1949, the pimps and prostitutes were both rounded up; the pimps were lined up against the wall and shot, while the prostitutes watched. Whatever the bureaucratic deformations of the Chinese revolution, that act of revolutionary terror was not one of them. Unlike the hypocritical bourgeois pol-

ment of prostitutes and invite further state interference into the private lives of the population. It is laying the groundwork for a further escalation in the bourgeoisie's current drive to the right--for attacks on the labor movement and the oppressed, for more police powers, for capital punishment. It offers a foretaste of stepped-up state terror, and raises the spectre, should the capitalists deem it necessary, of the growth of fascism and/or the imposition of martial law.

The strengthening of the repressive state apparatus can be the only outcome of a successful crusade to clean up Yonge Street. While prostitutes are harassed, corrupt cops will continue to take payoffs from pimps and the underworld, and the brothel and body-rub operators will just move to another part of town. Although we defend the right of the suspects currently being held for the Jaques murder to a fair trial--a near-impossibility given the present hysteria, we condemn this slaying as brutal and disgusting.

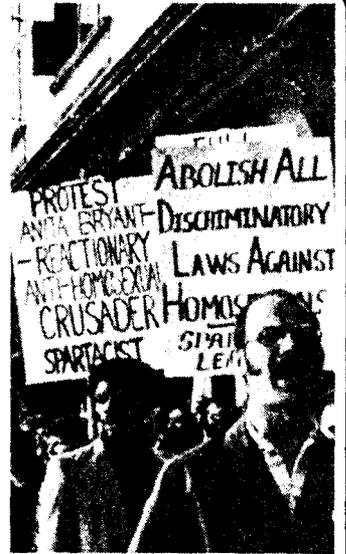
Capitalism is in its death agony, and prostitution and crazed killers are a product and a symptom of this decadent and sick society. The Toronto Sun lusts for the blood of the "homosexual killers" of Manuel Jaques. Yet reactionary, racist and chauvinist bourgeois organs like the Sun are--together with the social system they defend--responsible for creating the diseased social climate which engenders crimes like the Jaques murder. Hypocritical bourgeois moralists and bible-thumpers rail against the "filthy" prostitutes for selling their bodies. Yet, in capitalist society with its cash nexus, prostitution is the model for all social and economic relationships.

Any support to the movement to clean up the "Strip" can only be support for strengthening the state which serves the class responsible for decadence and degradation--the bourgeoisie. While Stalinist bigots like the Communist Party leap onto the "clean up Yonge Street" bandwagon, calling for increased censorship and the shoring up of reactionary "anti-smut" laws, the Trotskyist League defends the democratic rights of the population and calls for combatting the reactionary backlash.

We do not, of course, "support" everything that happens on Yonge Street--the sex joints and "girlie movies" are crudely exploitative of women, and the all-pervasive buying and selling of sex only underlines the sickness of capitalism. But today an issue is clearly posed: Yonge Street is being singled out as the focal point for an attack on the democratic rights of homosexuals and of women forced to work as prostitutes. These people are being scapegoated for the evils of a society which must be transformed through socialist revolution; and the savage murder of the Jaques youth has become the take-off point for a foul, reactionary mobilization.

STOP THE ROUND-UP OF PROSTITUTES!  
 FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR HOMOSEXUALS!  
 NO CENSORSHIP! NO CAPITAL PUNISHMENT!

Spartacist  
 League/  
 Red Flag Union  
 Fusion Forum



Workers Vanguard

# From the Gay Left to Trotskyism

The Red Flag Union, formerly the Lavender & Red Union, and the Spartacist League/U. S. announce the principled Leninist fusion of their respective tendencies behind the program of revolutionary Trotskyism.

For the RFU fusion is the culmination of two years of political struggle and reorientation which brought it from being a "gay liberation communist" organization sympathetic to Maoism to a definitive break both with sectoralism and with the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country."

The fusion exemplifies the process by which the vanguard communist party will be built and underscores the role of the party as the tribune of all the oppressed.

As one RFU spokesman stated, "I am a communist who happens to be a homosexual. I have one and only one political identity--as a fighter for the proletarian revolution."

VANCOUVER  
 Britannia Library (1661 Napier Street)  
 Saturday, October 1 at 7:30 pm  
 Simon Fraser University - to be announced  
 For further information phone 291-8993  
 WINNIPEG  
 University of Winnipeg - Tuesday, October 18  
 TORONTO  
 University of Toronto - Saturday, October 22  
 York University - Tuesday, October 25  
 HAMILTON  
 Monday, October 24

Times and locations to be announced  
 For information phone (416) 366-4107, or write  
 Trotskyist League, Box 7198, Stn A, Toronto

# SPARTACIST CANADA

## From Dade Co. to Yonge St.--

### Rightist Reaction

### Threatens Democratic Rights

TORONTO, August 26--The murder late last month of 12-year-old shoeshine boy Manuel Jaques on Toronto's Yonge Street "Strip" has unleashed a far-ranging witchhunt against the city's homosexual population and sex shops. "Liberal," "hip" Toronto, with its facade of leniency towards prostitutes and gays, has been gripped by an ominous reactionary backlash since the boy's sexually-assaulted body was found on the roof of a Yonge Street sex shop on August 1. Politicians and bourgeois newspapers have called for increased censorship, while widespread cries have been raised for bloody vengeance to be taken against the four men arrested in connection with the murder. Repeated police raids have forced several Yonge Street sex shops to close, and stepped-up cop harassment and beatings by gangs of lumpen punks have left the downtown gay bars and the parks nearly deserted.

The Jaques murder has facilitated the local acceleration of a generalized rightward shift in public opinion throughout North America, giving reactionary bigots like Anita Bryant and her ilk more fertile ground on which to spread their poison. Bryant's success in mobilizing right-wing sentiment to repeal a Dade County, Florida, ordinance prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals has already set a dangerous precedent for the further reversal of basic democratic rights.

It is in this context that the hysteria around the murder is being exploited by reactionary forces. There is a justifiable outrage over the apparent sexual assault and drowning of a young boy--outrage which should be directed against the social system which produces psychopaths and murderers and turns sex into a commodity. But this outrage has instead been used to exploit the most backward prejudices among the population and to mobilize thousands for the most reactionary aims--more

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#### Building the Leninist Vanguard--

Spartacist League/Red Flag Union Fusion Tour  
-- see page 15

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police powers and the return of capital punishment.

In Ontario, where copies of sex magazines like Penthouse are regularly stopped at the border and withheld from the population, a campaign to protect the masses from the "evils" of body-rub par-

lours and homosexuality has long been underway. For weeks before the murder, local media and politicians had been crusading for a "cleanup" of the Yonge Street "Strip," an area on Toronto's main street heavily populated with sex shops, "girlie movie" joints and gay bars.

The general outrage over the slaying supplied the media with the necessary emotional ammunition to



Toronto Sun  
REACTIONARY MOBILIZATION AGAINST YONGE ST. "STRIP."

wage an all-out offensive against the "Strip." The campaign against "immorality" and "deviance" was intensified. The ultra-reactionary Toronto Sun published the names of customers and employees arrested in raids on the body-rub parlours. It also attacked and slandered Toronto's homosexual community, repeatedly referring to the "homosexual murder" of Jaques to imply that the murder is somehow typical of homosexual activity.

One aim of this holier-than-thou moralistic crusade is for heightened state censorship of pornography and of personal relationships between consenting individuals. The blood-drenched bourgeois state, reeking with moral hypocrisy, has no business-  
(continued on page 14)