

SPARTACIST

CANADA DEC. 1978 / JAN. 1979 No. 32 25¢

OFL, BC Fed Tops Back McDermott

Dump the Labor Traitors! Defend CUPW!

Everyone expected fireworks at this year's conventions of the Ontario and the British Columbia Federations of Labour as the big wheels of the labor movement--in particular Dennis McDermott, head of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC)--attempted to alibi their betrayal of the heroic postal workers' strike last October. McDermott made his entry into the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) convention on November 14 "escorted" by ten goons. Upon taking the podium he proceeded to launch into a table-thumping tirade against "outsiders" stirring up trouble among unionists and "ideological ego trippers" in the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW).

The McCarthyite atmosphere for McDermott's red-baiting frenzy was carefully prepared by his fellow bureaucrats in the OFL. While Sam Fox, president of the Metropolitan Toronto Labour Council railed against the "bastards and vultures who hang around with their papers," OFL marshals patrolled the halls to throw out leftists caught distributing literature to the delegates. But the postal workers were the real targets of McDermott's furious assault on "reds" which covered everyone



McDERMOTT AND PILKEY AT OFL CONVENTION SC photo

from the "Baader-Meinhof gang" to the so-called "permanent obstructionists" in the CUPW. When Paul Heffernan, chairman of the strike committee (continued on page 6)

Australian Communication Workers: "Hands Off CUPW!"

Throughout the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) strike the Trotskyist League underlined the particular importance of extending the strike to Canada's transportation and communication workers who handled the bulk of diverted mail. Today while the Canadian trade union tops, who did nothing to defend the CUPW during the strike, are trying to cover for their treachery with empty "solidarity" motions, Australian postal and communication workers have shown the way forward.

In an inspiring gesture of international working-class solidarity the Australian Postal and Telecommunications Union sent a telegram to Prime Minister Trudeau warning:

"...if any penalty is taken against the Canadian Union of Postal Workers or its members arising out of the recent dispute, then the union will consider the imposition of a ban on communication between Australia and Canada."

Letters

Once Again on Quebec Nationalism

Montreal
16 September 1978
Comrade:

This is in response to your letter of 15 August. The accusation of supporting Canadian imperialism by denying the right of independence for Quebec originated from an article in *Le Bolchevik* (March 1977). I am therefore happy to learn that your position has changed since that date and that you do recognize the right of independence for Quebec. Your unconditional stance against any kind of Canadian military intervention in the case of secession proves your international solidarity with the people in struggle.

I think, however, that you too strongly emphasize the importance of the PQ's referendum. This referendum is organized by a bourgeois party in the framework of bourgeois legality with all the attendant risk, if not certainty, of manipulation. The result of the referendum will not represent the opinion of the Quebec working class. The national question will be determined in the context of the proletarian class when the trade-union bureaucracy can no longer resist the pressure from the militant ranks and must launch the debate within the trade unions, then within the larger political organizations which bring together all the unionized workers, or it will not happen.

I don't think that to support the wishes of the Quebec people to survive and to reconstitute a nation state is social patriotism. This is only a step toward the world proletarian revolution and the abolition of the nation state. It is clear that to attain this goal each people must begin by conquering their own bourgeoisie with their own forces and with the aid of communists in all countries.

I am fully in agreement with you when you say that the bourgeoisie uses to its own ends the present antagonism between English and French speakers. To recognize this fact, however, is not sufficient. It is necessary to surpass this fact and to resolve the problem to the advantage of the class struggle.

The formation of a Socialist Republic of Quebec is the only means of giving the French-speaking people the economic, political and ideological support necessary to resist the assimilation which threatens them. At the point when their survival

is assured, the antagonism between the French- and English-speaking people will diminish for lack of objective support....

I recognize the ambiguity in my letter of 12 June. It is, in effect, false to pretend that national liberation is the prerequisite for the emergence of class consciousness on the part of the proletariat. This may be understood as social patriotism. What I maintain is that the defeat of the Quebec proletariat (and not that of the Quebec bourgeoisie) on the level of national liberation would result in a serious demoralization, would break the unity of the working class and would set us back 20 years on the politi-



G.P. Photo

800 MOHAWKS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST LEVESQUE'S BILL
101 LAST SEPTEMBER

cal plane. The national question in Quebec is synonymous with the survival of the French community which makes this struggle so important. If it is necessary to follow the road of assimilation, we will roll back the possibility of socialist revolution two or three generations. This would be totally against the interests of the working class. By the same token, do you think that it would be in the interests of the working class to actively promote the incorporation of English-speaking Canada into the United States of America? I don't think so. It is quite evident that the proletariat has no country... in a communist regime. Which is not the present case. In order for it to be so, it is necessary to develop the productive forces and not to go against them. One cannot arbitrarily abolish nationalist sentiments in an individual any more than one can abolish the state. Both will disappear to the extent that communism takes hold.

I find your phrase that the Quebec proletariat will be isolated from its American brothers inconceivable. Isn't that a nationalist interpretation of the class struggle? The world economy and all of

(continued on page 14)

SPARTACIST CANADA

Published by the SPARTACIST CANADA PUBLISHING
ASSOCIATION, Box 6867 Station A, Toronto, Ontario

Editor: Tom Riley Circulation Manager: C. Ames
Production Manager: R. Kirk Business Manager: D. Weinrib

Signed articles do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.
Printed in a union shop by union labor.

Jailbreak Generation Still Kicking

RWL's "Sexual Politics"

Michael Kaufman enjoys sex most when he "feminizes himself." Overheard snippet of conversation? Graffiti in the Louis Riel Bookstore washroom? No, this was one of the highlights of a recent class on "Sexuality in Class Society" given by Kaufman and fellow Revolutionary

as the naive might have expected, the political side, but rather the male side. He began with a little presentation on "Why I am a socialist," contrasting himself with stodgy "old school" socialists whose main concern was with the economic and political conditions of the masses. Kaufman's "main conception" he explained was "the transformation of humanity"--a conception so urgent that it cannot wait for the socialist revolution. People have to begin to do "what feels good" now, Kaufman told his audience. He then proceeded to describe what makes him "feel good" and revealed that he felt best sexually when he "feminized" himself and "felt vulnerable." To set the stage for an "uninhibited discussion" among the women Burstyn proposed that the men in attendance be excluded and encouraged them to go and have their own "uninhibited" chat with Kaufman.

The "liberated" sexual revolutionaries of the RWL have not confined their activities to Toronto. On November 16, the Vancouver local of the RWL held a forum entitled "Real Confessions." The evening commenced with a dramatic reading from a story in *True Confessions* magazine by two RWLers. The RWL's guest speaker then proceeded to read a presentation filled with purple passages, lurid titles and narrative summaries that all seemed more designed to titillate the audience than to elucidate any particular thesis. She also threw in an autobiographical account of her own sexual evolution from the age of twelve. What politics there were in the presentation were saved for the last five minutes when the speaker made a few vacuous remarks about the desirability of binding Marxism and feminism together "in a relation of revolutionary synthesis."

The activities of the "True Confessions" faction can only further strain the uneasy detente between the reformists of the ex-League for Socialist Action (LSA) and the former members of the right-centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) who are presently cohabitants in the RWL. The staid NDP-builders of the LSA would never have stood

(continued on page 12)

REAL Confessions and false consciousness

SPECIAL GUEST SPEAKER: LINDA GRANT, teaching assistant in the Simon Fraser University English Department

True Confessions, Real Confessions, Intimate Story-- these magazines, read especially by young and working class women, form an important component in the capitalist media's treatment of women. Grant has been researching their meaning and influence in the oppression of women.

Only a desperate woman would do what I did
THE UNNATURAL SEX ACT THAT SAVED MY MARRIAGE
There was no other to turn him on.

THE SEX PROBLEM NO ONE TALKS ABOUT!

THE NIGHT I FOLLOWED MY WIFE

I can't believe what I saw!

L. STORIES

I double-crossed him & now MY LOVER IS COMING BACK TO PUNISH ME

THURSDAY-NOV. 16-8:00 p.m.

SOCIALIST FORUM 1208 Granville

A WEEKLY FORUM FOR DISCUSSION AND DEBATE IN THE WORKERS MOVEMENT
Students and Unemployed 50¢ Phone ahead for childcare
Contributions \$1 (0)
ORGANIZED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

UNNATURAL ACTS WON'T SAVE THE MARRIAGE

Workers League (RWL) member, Varda Burstyn.

Burstyn was the keynote speaker at the event, which was held under the auspices of the anemic, armchair New Leftists of Toronto's Marxist Institute. She prefaced her talk with the admonition that nobody should get the impression that she was not a Marxist. The reason for this disclaimer became apparent as she proceeded to give a long, rambling pseudo-Freudian/Reichian discourse on sexuality in "heterosexual monogamic" society. Paying lipservice to Marxism with occasional references to the function of the family in class society, Burstyn concluded with an exhortation for "personal self-expression" as part of the struggle for a "non-sexist society" to nurture the growth of a "flowering non-deformed person."

Just how far off that goal is for the RWL was evidenced by the next speaker. Michael Kaufman rose to give "the other side of the question," not

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the
Spartacist League

24 issues—\$3; Introductory offer (6 issues)—\$1

—includes *Spartacist*

Order from/pay to: SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
Box 1577 G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001

TL Confronts Strikebreaker Broadbent

The opening session of the Ontario NDP Women's Conference held in Toronto on November 18 set the stage for a face-to-face confrontation between the Trotskyist League (TL) and Federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent over his party's treacherous role in the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) strike. Broadbent had been invited to ad-



Globe and Mail

BROADBENT:
I GOT MY HEAD
SCREWED ON
STRAIGHT!

dress the conference on the NDP's parliamentary struggle for "women's rights." But his platitudinous tribute to "sexual equality" was shattered during the question period when a conference participant asked why he had exhorted the striking postal workers to obey the government's strike-breaking back-to-work legislation.

Apparently feeling that his credentials as a "democratic socialist" had been called into question, Broadbent leapt to the microphone to respond. "Any good social-democratic party must have its head screwed on straight," he explained. For the "good social democrats" of the NDP, respect for the sacred institution of parliament and prostration

before bourgeois legality are the hallmarks of "straight thinking."

No sooner had Broadbent finished his "defense" of the NDP's back-stabbing of CUPW than a TL spokesman took the floor and confronted this labor traitor head on. Denouncing Broadbent as a lawyer for the bosses she argued: "The postal workers had the courage and the militancy to defy the legislation. And their strike could have been won through its extension to the rest of the labor movement," had it not been for the active sabotage of Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) top Dennis McDermott, Broadbent and the rest of the Canadian labor establishment.

Sharing the platform with Broadbent was the national president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Grace Hartman, who managed to discourse at length on the present round of government attacks on public sector employees without mentioning the Trudeau government's smashing of the CUPW strike. When confronted with the treacherous betrayal of the CUPW strike by her cohorts on the CLC executive board, Hartman muttered that she had been "out of town" when the decision was made to knife the postal workers. Following the TL intervention, Hartman and Broadbent conferred on stage and decided not to attempt a response. They stand doubly condemned by their silence. ■

Victory to the INCO Strike!

As their strike moves into its third month, the 11,700 workers on strike against Inco in Sudbury have dug in for a long battle against the profit-hungry nickel bosses. The miners' wives are standing four-square behind them, the Sudbury community has formed a committee to support the strike and hundreds of thousands of dollars have poured into the miners' strike fund from unions across the country. We reprint below a solidarity statement sent to the Inco strikers by the Trotskyist League.

1 December 1978

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

The Trotskyist League of Canada wishes to express its solidarity with your courageous struggle against International Nickel. Your stand against company attempts to take away hard-won gains should be an inspiration to all labor. Militant strikes by mineworkers in both Britain and the U. S. have demonstrated that steadfastness and labor solidarity are essential to winning strikes. Enclosed is a contribution to your strike fund. Victory to the Inco strike!

Donations and messages of solidarity can be sent to: USWA Local 6500, 92 Frood Rd. W., Sudbury, Ontario.

Hands Off Topless Waitresses

Frank Drea, the former Ontario Minister of Correctional Services who gained notoriety for removing bacon and eggs and coffee from the diet of Ontario's prison population and vowing to make Ontario's jails tougher than those in Georgia (famous for their chain gangs) is once again in the limelight. This time Drea, now Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, is campaigning to make topless waitresses "cover up." On his first day in his new job Drea bombastically ordered topless bars to cover up their waitresses within five days "or else." Drea was left looking the fool when it was revealed that he does not have the authority to enforce his ultimatum. Now he has undertaken to bring in legislation to give Ontario municipalities the right to require waitresses to be covered up.

The Ontario Federation of Labour, at its recent convention in Toronto overwhelmingly passed a motion to endorse Drea's cover up campaign. (Among those voting in favor of this reactionary puritanism was a well-known supporter of the International Socialists.) The motion to endorse the Tories' campaign against "sin" was motivated by Heather Richards, national secretary of the Canadian Air Line Flight Attendants Association who described the routine sexist harassment of women in the airline industry and supported the motion as a means of defending the "human dignity" of young women forced to work as topless waitresses.

The fact that many women are economically compelled to sell sex and/or their physical appearance is an important aspect of the special oppression of women. But legislating a return to the hypocritical puritanism of the Victorian era is not an answer to the oppression of women under capitalism. The bourgeoisie's "morality" legislation (banning obscenity, pornography, prostitution, gambling and other "crimes without victims") only provides a license for police harassment. Marxists firmly oppose all interference by the capitalist state in the private consensual activities of the population and seek to mobilize the labor movement and all those concerned about the defense of democratic rights to oppose the right-wing puritanical crusade of hypocritical bigots such as Frank Drea and Anita Bryant.

The special oppression of women is rooted in the need to preserve and maintain the straightjacket of the nuclear family--the basic social unit of capitalist society. The obverse of the domestic enslavement of women within the family is the development of a market for women as sexual commodities. Only with the overthrow of capitalism by the working class and the development of the social and economic prerequisites for the replacement of the oppressive nuclear family as the basic unit of society will it be possible to put an end to the oppression of women. ■

TL Demonstrates Against "Socialist" International

VANCOUVER--On November 2, a spirited contingent of Trotskyist League members and supporters demonstrated against the latter-day Noskes and Scheidemanns gathered in Vancouver for the first congress of the "Socialist" International held outside Europe. The congress brought together such world-famous "socialist" front men for imperialism as Willy Brandt, Olof Palme, Shimon Peres and Mario Soares (the former heads of state of West Germany, Sweden, Israel and Portugal), as well as an assortment of their backwoods cousins from the NDP. Also in attendance were delegates from the Voice of America's Eastern European social-democratic exile parties.

Over sixty years ago the great German communist leader Rosa Luxemburg referred to international social democracy as a "stinking corpse." We look forward to the victory of the international proletarian revolution which will give this corpse the burial it so richly deserves.



TL PICKETS "SOCIALIST" INTERNATIONAL

SC photo

CUPW...

(continued from page 1)

of the Toronto local of the CUPW, rose on a point of privilege following McDermott's red-baiting attack, he was set upon by the bureaucrats' thugs.

The postal workers' courageous battle with the strikebreaking Trudeau government and the treacherous betrayal of their strike by the misleaders of the Canadian labor movement dominated both conventions. In his opening remarks to the delegates in Toronto, OFL president Cliff Pilkey tried to deflect the blame for the abandonment of the postal workers by the labor brass by charging that "the Liberals turned their guns on the Canadian Union of Postal Workers." But when the government "turned its guns" on the CUPW, sending the RCMP in to raid CUPW offices and arresting CUPW leaders, Pilkey, McDermott and the rest of the labor traitors turned their backs. In his address to the B. C. Federation of Labour (B. C. Fed), McDermott asked rhetorically why the CLC leadership was unanimous in its decision not to support the postal workers. Before he could answer his own question a delegate shot back "because they're all Uncle Toms."

While the postal workers were locked in combat with the Trudeau government, McDermott and Co. refused to lift a finger. But in the ranks of Canadian labor thousands of workers expressed their sympathy and support for the postal workers. When the strike was crushed, McDermott broke his silence and condemned the CUPW for defying Trudeau's back-to-work legislation, an act which provoked the anger and contempt of trade unionists across the country. Among the more militant sections of the labor movement this "labor statesman" is known and despised as the number one spokesman for the traitorous trade-union bureaucracy that stabbed the postal workers in the back.

In an attempt to offset some of this hostility, McDermott felt compelled to "defend" his treachery to the delegates at the OFL and B. C. Fed conventions. In a letter to OFL delegates McDermott declared that the postal workers could never have won in a confrontation with the government. But what McDermott and the rest of the labor bureaucracy really feared was that the militancy and determination with which the postal workers defied the bosses' strikebreaking laws might spill over to the rest of labor. Claiming "that nothing short of a general strike would have sufficed" to back off the government, McDermott denounced this as "the road to anarchy...which will, at best, leave the

labor movement in total disrepute and, at worst, create nationwide havoc and the possible destruction of the movement we have struggled so long to build."

THE QUESTION OF A GENERAL STRIKE

A general strike in defense of CUPW would not have destroyed the labor movement--it could have enormously strengthened it. It would have shattered the "class peace" which the bosses' labor lieutenants "have struggled so long to build." All of Canadian labor had a stake in the postal workers' struggle. The CUPW strike was a crucial battle in the government's attempts to enforce wage controls on all government workers. With the powerful backing of the rest of the labor movement through mass pickets and solidarity strikes the CUPW strike could have been won, turning the tide on Trudeau's strikebreaking, union-busting offensive.

This was the strategy for victory put forward in Trotskyist League (TL) leaflets distributed to CUPW members on the picket lines and to other trade unionists at their union meetings and workplaces. The RCMP raids and the criminal charges against CUPW national executive board members were an open declaration of war against the entire labor movement. In response, the TL called for a general strike to defend the embattled postal workers.

Such a class-struggle strategy for the defense of the CUPW is as alien to the fake-socialists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) as it is to McDermott. At the OFL convention RWL trade-union supporters agreed with the trade-union tops that "a general strike would have been difficult" and claimed that in any case it was a "non-issue." Instead these would-be braintrusters for the bureaucracy counterposed a call for a string of impotent protest rallies and demonstrations.

The OFL bureaucrats turned thumbs down on even these weak-kneed proposals for the defense of the CUPW. On the first day of the convention a toothless resolution asking that the government drop the charges against CUPW was rammed through. While the communications workers in Australia have threatened to cut off all mail and telecommunications with Canada if the government proceeds with its charges against CUPW, the OFL bureaucrats' "defense" motion called for no concrete action from the Canadian labor movement.

DEFEND CUPW!

Now that the CUPW strike is over, the postal bosses and the government are going after the postal workers with a vengeance. Even while the OFL convention was still in session, the RCMP was pounding on the doors of office workers employed by CUPW in an attempt to gather information against the union leadership. Letters threatening discipline and suspensions have been received by CUPW members across the country (in the Toronto area alone

Trotskyist League Directory

Toronto.....(416) 366-4107
 Box 7198 Station A, Toronto, Ont.
 Vancouver(604) 733-8848
 Box 26 Station A, Vancouver, B.C.
 Winnipeg.....(204) 589-7214
 Box 3952 Station B, Winnipeg, Man.

24 workers have been suspended and four hundred others have been reprimanded and threatened with future action). The president and chief steward of the militant Halifax local have been fired.

Meanwhile the government is proceeding with criminal charges against five members of the CUPW's national executive board and four regional directors. Their trial has conveniently been postponed until April, which will ensure that the mail keeps moving during the Christmas rush and also provide an opportunity for the Trudeau government to demonstrate its ambition to tame the trade unions in time for the federal elections.

The government is out for blood! The labor movement must act now to oppose the victimization of CUPW militants. An emergency resolution calling for actions in defense of the CUPW, passed by the stewards body of the Toronto local of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) on November 9 was submitted to the OFL convention. The motion, put forward by LCUC shop steward Bob McBurney, called on the OFL "to organize a one-day work stoppage of all its affiliates within 10 days to protest the victimization of CUPW and demand: Hands off the CUPW! Drop the charges! No reprisals!" But the bureaucratic tops of the OFL made sure the motion never made it on to the convention floor.

PURGE THE LABOR TRAITORS!

While the government presses home its attack on CUPW, McDermott is creating the atmosphere for a McCarthyite purge of trade-union militants and "reds" from the labor movement. In press interviews McDermott warned against the insidious influence of "a cadre" in the CUPW and their supporters in the rest of the labor movement. McDermott's red-baiting provided grist for the anti-communist propaganda mills of the bosses' press. A lead editorial in the notoriously reactionary and anti-labor Toronto Sun entitled "Bravo McDermott" praised McDermott's life-long struggle against communism. The Toronto Globe and Mail, a more staid mouthpiece of the bosses, also praised McDermott's decision to "stand firm" on behalf of the "rule of law"--i.e., for the right of the capitalists to outlaw the right to strike and victimize union militants.

The ranks of Canadian labor do need to give the union movement a thorough housecleaning and purge the McDermotts and the rest of the sellouts who sit atop the labor movement. But McDermott must not be the only target. It is easy for other bureaucrats to bolster their own credentials by taking pot shots at McDermott. Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labour and a member of the CLC executive council now claims that he opposed the CLC's abandonment of the postal workers. But where was he when CUPW was under attack? Sitting on his hands like the rest of the country's trade-union aristocrats.

McDermott fully deserves the hatred and contempt of trade-union militants. But the opposition to him is being translated into support for CUPW national president Jean-Claude Parrot. At the B. C. Fed

convention delegates who booed and jeered McDermott rose to give Parrot a standing ovation. But despite his initial defiance of the government's back-to-work legislation Parrot proved in the course of the strike that he was no more capable of successfully winning a confrontation with the government than the reactionary piecards of the CLC. Throughout the strike Parrot appealed to bourgeois legality rather than trying to mobilize militant support from the rest of the labor move-



PILKEY'S GOONS MOVE IN ON CUPW DELEGATE

SC photo

ment. In his speech to the B. C. Fed Parrot demonstrated his fundamental commitment to the same program of reformist business unionism as McDermott and, like the CLC president, he spent much of his time exhorting the delegates to redouble their efforts on behalf of the strikebreaking NDP.

Union militants must draw the lessons of the bitter defeat of the postal workers' strike, and build a leadership armed with a program to take on the bosses and their government. A class-struggle opposition within the unions must be built to pose an alternative leadership to the treacherous pro-capitalist bureaucrats who sabotaged the CUPW strike. McDermott and the other labor misleaders scream about "outside" influences in the labor movement. But they are the ones who represent the interests of outside forces--the capitalist class. Workers need a class-struggle leadership that consistently champions their interests against the employers. Such a leadership must set itself the task of forging a workers party which, unlike the strikebreaking, English-Canadian chauvinist NDP will lead the struggle to overthrow the exploitative capitalist system and establish a workers government.■



New Albania

"CHEEK TO JOWL WITH THE PEOPLE, A PLEASANT AND HEARTY TALK AT THE SYCAMORE-TREE AT MASHIKULLORA"
 (CAPTION FROM ALBANIA TODAY)

BU, CPC(M-L), CPL, IS!

Albania: Last Hope for Stalinists Without A Country

One of the most peculiar developments in the Canadian left in the past year has been the scramble by four Stalinist sects for a place in the rising sun of Albanian "socialism." Canadian Maoists were confused and disoriented by the ouster of the "Gang of Four" (the faction in the Chinese Communist Party which was most closely identified with Mao) as well as China's decision to award the franchise to the servile toadies of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) [CCL(M-L)]. Behind the adulation of primitive Albania as a Marxist-Leninist Shangri-la and the coronation of Enver Hoxha as the new "M-L" pope lies the desperate search of disinherited Stalinists for a new spiritual fatherland.

The narrow, anti-internationalist realpolitik of the Stalinist bureaucracy is embodied in the dogma of "socialism in one country." "Socialism in one country" has nothing in common with socialism as Marx conceived of it, but it certainly does need its one country. Since the Soviet Union has somehow become "social imperialist" and China under Hua/Teng is allegedly taking the "capitalist road," there is not a great deal left to choose from in the way of a "glorious socialist fatherland." Thus, the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) [CPC(M-L)], the tiny Bolshevik Union (BU) and In Struggle! (IS!) are left with the sheep pastures of Albania to inspire and guide their vicarious national socialism. Joining them in their new-found enthusi-

asm for Albania-Canada friendship societies as the hallmark of "internationalism" is the Canadian Party of Labour (CPL), which broke with China in 1971.

While Hoxha's new-found friends and admirers are all ready to swear their allegiance to "Socialist Albania," they have little in common apart from Canadian parochialism and mutual denunciations. While they all hold to a subjective analysis of class relations which posits that "capitalism" can be restored at any moment, without a social counter-revolution, by the mere "wrong ideas" of the political leadership (as supposedly happened in the USSR after Stalin's death), Canada's Hoxhaphiles hold widely divergent positions on how "capitalism" has been or is being restored in China. The eclectic New Left semi-Maoists of IS!, who were the last to give up China, maintain that the process of "capitalist restoration" is just beginning. CPC(M-L), a group which has a well-deserved reputation on the left as the psychotic semi-cult of Chairman Hardial Bains upholds the "Gang of Four" and claims that with their removal the bourgeois forces in China gained the ascendancy. CPL, which during the last seven years failed to even notice the existence of "Socialist Albania," maintains that Mao himself was the leader of the "capitalist roaders" in China.

However, the prize for the most imaginative treatment of the problem has to go to the Bolshevik Union. After spending the last several years "proving" that they alone correctly understood the directives of the "Marxist-Leninist" headquarters in Peking, the micro-sect BU now announces that capitalism was never overthrown in China. The BU claims that the social revolution of 1949 which expropriated the bourgeoisie was a bourgeois-democratic revolution! The Stalinoid sophists of the BU are no doubt cooking up a "line of demarcation" to explain why they mistook capitalism for socialism until now. While they're at it they might also explain how it was that the wily Chinese capitalists managed to fool even such expert "Marxist-Leninists" as Joseph Stalin and Enver Hoxha.

Another thorny problem for many of Hoxha's new devotees is the official endorsement by the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor (PPS) of CPC(M-L) as the "vanguard of the Canadian proletariat." Thoughtful members of CPL, IS!, and the BU may well wonder why the world's "greatest living Marxist-Leninist" would select a group of "social fascists" and "police provocateurs" (for this is how Bains's rivals characterize CPC[M-L]) as his representative in Canada.

Hoxha's new disciples have lost no time boning up on their Albanian history--a subject which is close to the hearts of the intensely nationalistic bureaucrats in Tirana. Last month the BU and CPC(M-L) joined with the "glorious Albanian people" to celebrate the victory won by Skanderbeg (Albania's

Joan of Arc) over the Turks in 1443! Hoxha's seventieth birthday was also marked recently in the pages of the various publications of his supporters --but unfortunately due to certain "M-L" principles about joint work with "social fascists" and "police agents" they were unable to co-sponsor a birthday party for their hero.

"SELF-RELIANCE" ALBANIAN STYLE

As in the period leading up to the 1960 split with the Soviet Union, the Albanian leadership prepared for its break with China by increasingly emphasizing the need for "self-reliance." It is not an accident that its major proponents are Albania's Enver Hoxha and North Korea's Kim Il Sung. It is also useful, at times, to large "socialist" powers which are reluctant to share their resources with smaller "brother" countries. Thus, when U. S. imperialism escalated its military intervention in Vietnam in 1965, Mao preached "self-reliance" to North Vietnam and the NLF as it cut off its meager military aid. "Self-reliance" is an anti-internationalist and counterrevolutionary corollary of "socialism in one country" which condemns backward and impoverished countries to remain backward and impoverished.

Despite important economic advances since the Hoxha regime took power after World War II, Albania remains the poorest nation of Europe. Its economic structure rests primarily on agriculture and travellers report that Albania is one of the few countries where traditional peasant dress is still worn by much of the population. Whatever advances the Albanian economy has enjoyed have come almost exclusively through foreign assistance. Imports from the USSR ran at double the rate of Albanian exports until 1960. From 1960 until last summer China occupied the dominant position in Albania's foreign trade, but its actual assistance was far more limited than Russia's.

Even according to the rare official economic statistics, wages in agricultural collectives were only 20 lek (approximately one dollar) a day in 1970. Streets and railroads are built by young people in what the PPS euphemistically refers to as "socialist education" which in reality amounts to unpaid forced labor. Under such backward conditions, "self-reliance" can only result in a worsening of the conditions of "socialist life" for the masses of Albanian workers and peasants.

TITO/STALIN/MAO'S LITTLE BROTHER

The split with China last summer represents the third time in three decades that Enver Hoxha has broken with his "socialist" benefactor. The Albanian Party of Labor was formed in 1941 under the aegis of Tito's Yugoslav Communist Party, and Hoxha's "National Liberation Front" seized power in 1944 as an adjunct of the Yugoslav partisans'

(continued on page 10)

Albania...

(continued from page 9)

victory over the Nazi occupation forces.

The PPS saw its first task as the establishment of a "people's democratic government in an Albania that has been liberated from fascism" (Jan Myrdal, *Albania Defiant* [1976]). This classic Stalinist popular-front policy could not, however, be real-

pretensions" and suspected that Tito planned to convert Albania into one more Yugoslav republic, abrogated all treaties with the "superpower" next door. Pro-Yugoslav elements of the PPS were purged and for the most part physically liquidated. Among them were Koci Xoxe, ex-major general and former vice president and interior minister. As could be expected in Albania, infamous for its tradition of blood feuds, there was a regional/

clan aspect to the purge. Xoxe and the other purge victims were members of the northern Ghegs, while Hoxha is a southern Tosk (the other major language group).

Unlike the split between Moscow and Peking, Albania remained a faithful follower of the Kremlin, serving after 1948 as a military base for the Soviet fleet. But in the Sino-Soviet split Hoxha allied himself with Peking for reasons having nothing to do with "peaceful co-existence." Albania at first equivocated on the differences between Peking and Moscow, allying itself with China only when it became clear that a continued alliance with the Soviet Union would necessitate rapprochement with Yugoslavia.

Even before the formal break, the PPS had been busy expelling pro-Soviet party members, among them several political bureau members. When in 1961 Khrushchev attacked Hoxha's "savagery" in executing central committee member Liri Gega, the Albanian leader retorted that as head of the secret police she had personally executed several other CC members by hitting them over the head with a sledge hammer.

Perhaps central committee members are no longer demoted with sledge hammers but once again Hoxha's break with his foreign patron was preceded by a political purge in the top ranks of his own party. The Seventh Congress of the PPS, held in the fall of 1976 as tensions

The Albanian people are working even harder to build socialism

Pressure, blackmail, blockades, encirclement and even the end of economic and military aid to Albania — none of that scared us! explained the workers at the TIRANA factories in Tirana, as they produced the last piece necessary for an assembly line installed mainly in Albania. This is their reply to the "hungry government" disavowed in July by all economic and military aid to vacillate Albania and to recall its experts. The latter left, either taking the plans to the workers, they were participating in with them, or else just burning them. But instead of discouraging the working class, this has only served to stimulate their ardor.

From all over the country, telegrams and letters of support have been pouring in for the central committee of the Party of Labour of Albania (PLA).

When we saw the letter (1) declared the workers and the cadres from the Elbasan steel complex, "we felt as if we had written it ourselves. It really expresses the feeling of the people as a whole. The workers of this important industrial complex have vowed to finish building the complex despite the withdrawal of a foreign aid. The workers from the Vau i Dejës and Enxerë factories clear same pledge. The 100,000 workers of the PLA are working off the work up.

In the mines of coal on the Lirin, the workers are also working hard. In the Burrez factories, the workers have made light industries, and the farmers in labour in many factories.

Seventieth birthday of great Albanian Communist



Enver Hoxha

October 16, 1976 is the 70th birthday of the great Albanian Marxist-Leninist Enver Hoxha. He was born on the coast of Corchira, and in the early years was quickly

The Worker

The revolutionary communist newspaper

Canadian Party of Labour

Vol. 10 No. 22 Oct. 24, 1976 10c

IN STRUGGLE!

For the Canadian Proletarian Party

No. 126 (June 11 to 17 September 1976)

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION



THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

An Ancient People Tempered in a Thousand Battles



Hail the second anniversary of the historic Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania



PEOPLE'S CANADA DAILY NEWS

ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA (MARRIST-LENINIST)

COMPETING CANADIAN HOXHAITE RAGS

ized in practice for lack of bourgeois forces willing to ally with it. As an adjunct to the Yugoslav revolution and in the context of Soviet hegemony in the rest of Eastern Europe, the peasant-dominated PPS created a deformed workers statelet. The extension of the Yugoslav revolution to Albania was also impelled by the existence of a million-strong Albanian minority in southern Yugoslavia.

After driving out the Nazis, Tito set up a customs union with his Albanian satellite and coordinated economic planning for the two countries. However, when Stalin broke with Tito in 1948, Hoxha, who resented Yugoslavia's "great power

with China were beginning to surface, rubber-stamped the removal of several top government leaders. Among the disgraced leaders were the agricultural minister, the economics minister and the chief economic planner. In part the dismissal of key economic officials derived from Albania's worsening economic situation: from 1970 to 1974 production of foodstuffs stagnated despite the expanding population. However several Western newspapers identified the purge victims as supporters of a pro-Peking line. This latest purge and the lockstep flavor of the Seventh PPS Congress indicate that Hoxha remains firmly in the saddle and the rule Albania's

threadbare bureaucracy remains undisturbed by even the slightest token of workers democracy.

LOCATING THE PRIMARY CONTRADICTION

There had always been a shading of difference between the foreign policies of Albania and China. Thus Hoxha attacked the Soviet Union not only for its explicit policy of peaceful coexistence with U. S. imperialism, but also for its tacit approval of the Shah's repressive internal policies in the early and mid-1960's and for Soviet complicity in the destruction of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965 because of its confidence in the "anti-imperialist" Sukarno. However during its 18 years as a Chinese client the Albanian leadership remained discreetly silent about Mao's support to Iran's butcher and the equal responsibility of Peking for the disaster in Indonesia. In a letter addressed to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) after the cessation of Chinese aid last July, the Albanian leadership suddenly revealed that the Chinese have "joined the dance of imperialist alliances and rivalries for the redivision of the world." The leadership of the CCP is charged with "instigat[ing] imperialist world war," attempting to extend its influence in the so-called third world and uniting "with the US imperialists and the monopolists of Europe, with fascists and racists, kings and feudal lords," etc., etc. Yet in their letter to the CCP Hoxha & Co. don't venture an explanation of their repeated oaths of "solidarity" with the counterrevolutionary bureaucrats in Peking who were committing the atrocities which they enumerate.

In the period which preceded the open break between Tirana and Peking the Albanians began to make increasingly sharp criticisms of China's "Three Worlds Theory." Against Peking's position that "social-fascist" Russia is the "more aggressive" and "more dangerous" of the two "superpowers," Hoxha continued to maintain that both "superpowers" are equally dangerous. This line has been eagerly seized upon by Maoists in North America and Europe embarrassed by Peking's increasingly explicit alliance with U. S. imperialism against the USSR. Even the servile Chinese sycophants of CCL(M-L) who took Peking's line to its logical conclusion and demanded that the Canadian state strengthen its armed forces have found it necessary to camouflage their social patriotism by (temporarily) dropping this demand in order to retain a bit of credibility in the radical milieu.

A HOXHAITE INTERNATIONAL?

At the Seventh Congress of the PPS Hoxha hinted at the formation of an "M-L" international. He spoke of the "quite useful activity" of the Comintern "at the time of Lenin and Stalin," while downgrading its role to mere "cooperation" of the national parties, which "naturally" must be independent and not "receive orders from one another" (Roter Morgen, 13 November 1976). Hardial Bains has certainly been doing his best to promote such a development.

Last April CPC(M-L) sponsored an "Internationalist Rally" which attracted a dozen-odd pro-Albanian groupings from around the world. However, it remains extremely unlikely that any Hoxhaite international will ever see the light of day. To actually build an international requires either a combination of material inducements and a powerful repressive apparatus (as Stalin ruled the Comintern), which Albania would be hard put to supply; or it requires a political struggle for a common line, a condition which is precluded by the narrow nationalism which is as integral to Stalinism as are the schisms which result when their various nationalist appetites come into conflict. The bureaucratic centralism of Stalin's Comintern could only be enforced through the terror of the GPU. The democratic centralism of the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, the organizational framework in which genuine internationalism flourished, is anathema to all varieties of Stalinism. Enver Hoxha will hardly permit in his "International" what he cannot tolerate in his own "party" without jeopardizing his bureaucratic rule.

The assortment of former Sinophiles who have forsaken the rulers of the Forbidden Palace in order to sign up as front men for Enver Hoxha's tiny, backward "socialist paradise" rightfully deserve the derision of the rest of the left. It is one thing to believe that Stalin's Russia would overtake the West in a decade, or even that China could catch up in 50 years; it is ludicrous to think that Albania could be anything other than an impoverished backwater without aid from the most advanced industrial powers. (Khrushchev was reportedly so struck by Albania's backwardness that he advised its leaders to forget about industrialization and stick to sheep and olives).

The counterrevolutionary policies of both the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies have become increasingly clear to would-be revolutionaries throughout the world. Yet the Albanian bureaucratic ruling clique, while it has broken with its Peking benefactors, can only oscillate from one overlord to another. Revolutionary leadership for the international proletariat can only come through a struggle against all the Stalinists, through political revolution from Tirana to Moscow and Peking, and by the reorganizing of the Trotskyist Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

SPARTACIST

CANADA

SUBSCRIBE! \$2/10 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City/Province _____ Phone _____

Make check out/mail to: Spartacist Canada Publishing Association, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto

IS! : Five Years Old but Nothing to Celebrate

There was very little for Charles Gagnon, Secretary-General of In Struggle! (IS!), to celebrate at the 26 November meeting organized by his followers in Toronto to mark the group's fifth anniversary. Despite a few "revolutionary folksongs" in the program, a festive mood could hardly have been expected from the small crowd--two-thirds of which was composed of political opponents of IS! Faced with such a crowd, Gagnon tried to lull them to sleep with a long, rambling discourse on the virtues of socialism sprinkled with vague observations on the current political situation in Canada, descriptions of IS!'s work, and references to the fact that the struggle for socialism is indeed long and hard. However, even the meeting chairman's stalling and his bureaucratic ruling that political opponents of IS! were only to be allowed one speaker each could not prevent discussion on the subject of interest to all--IS!'s position that capitalism is being restored in China without a social counterrevolution.

As IS!'s brand of muddleheaded Maoist doublethink is increasingly exposed as a poor substitute for Marxism, the leadership seeks refuge in a further retreat into Canadian parochialism. Gagnon told the Toronto meeting that just as he had never taken Mao's word as holy scripture, he was not now prepared to offer Enver Hoxha a blank check. Asked how he could be sure that IS! in power would not be taken over from inside by capitalist roaders, as the communist parties in China and the Soviet Union supposedly have been, Gagnon replied that it was impossible to answer that question in five minutes. The next speaker was from the Trotskyist League:

"Comrade Gagnon could not answer the question asked by the speaker before me in five minutes nor could he answer it in five hours because he cannot explain the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern. In Struggle! attempts to blame Tim Buck and Earl Browder for nationalist and social-chauvinist policies during World War II but they were in fact just carrying out Stalin's line. On its fifth anniversary In Struggle! is just as confused and nearly as parochialist as when it was founded. The confusion is evidenced by the chair who hasn't got the line straight on China yet. There was no mention in Gagnon's speech of the need for a North American revolution and no international perspective was put forward.

"We of the Trotskyist League have always maintained that there is no fundamental difference between the Soviet Union, China, Albania

and the deformed workers states of Indochina and Eastern Europe. While these countries are not capitalist and we defend them against imperialist attack, what is needed is a political revolution to oust these bureaucracies and bring the working class to power. Today In Struggle! is claiming that China is on a capitalist path--but Mao and the Chinese Communist Party have consistently betrayed the world working class, not just since China cut off aid to Albania and put forward the "Three Worlds Theory." The Chinese Embassy in Chile closed its doors to the victims of Pinochet's bloody junta; China has consistently supported NATO in efforts against the Soviet Union; and China has hailed the shah of Iran as a great "third world" leader. Today In Struggle! points to Albania as the socialist fatherland. Unfortunately the "great Marxist-Leninist" Enver Hoxha has given the franchise to CPC(M-L), a group which In Struggle! claims is "social fascist." It's funny that a "great Marxist-Leninist" like Enver Hoxha cannot tell the difference between "social fascists" and genuine Marxist-Leninists. The problem is that it is necessary to build an international proletarian party that recognizes that the bureaucrats from Tirana to Moscow must be overthrown through political revolution." ■

RWL...

(continued from page 3)

for such nonsense. But the RMG harbored a whole layer of personalist/life-stylist New Leftists whose politics are determined by whatever is currently in vogue among a certain sector of petty-bourgeois bohemians: surrealism, Reichianism, polymorphous sexuality, etc. These were the people responsible for Jailbreak, an infantile bulletin for high school students that labelled teachers "dinosaurs," demanded "school facilities in which we can make love whenever we please" and invited students to discuss their personal problems with the RMG.

The Jailbreak gang's antics did not sit well with the RMG's workerist elements, let alone with the LSA. Consequently these little self-indulgences were kept under wraps for a while after the fusion. But today with the different cliques and factions demanding free rein in their "sectors of intervention," Kaufman, Burstyn and the rest of the Dionysian "swingers" in the RWL are singing their hymns to personal liberation once again. The ex-LSAers can only hope that nobody hears them. ■

Ford...

(continued from page 16)

local government workers to tanker drivers, power workers, British Leyland car workers and the miners--had slapped down wage claims, scornfully rejecting Callaghan's 5 percent limit. Had they been brought out on strike alongside the Ford workers, Phase Four would have been smashed to pieces. But the bureaucrats feared above all else a wave of militant strikes which would have been a head-on challenge to the Callaghan government. Thus the Ford workers were criminally left to stand alone.

T&GWU chief negotiator Ron Todd palmed the final offer off to the workers by claiming that it was "the best we can achieve." But the settlement contained the same 9.75 percent basic rise which had been rejected three weeks before--an increase even smaller than that won by Ford workers last year. The only "concession" supposedly won since the last offer was a "softening" of the provisions concerning the "attendance allowance" which knocked the total maximum package up to 16.5 percent. This "allowance" was really nothing more than the reintroduction of penalty clauses thrown out in 1969--a combination of the speed-up productivity deal and a no-strike "bonus" stopping "unofficial" strikes on the line.

Demoralised, broke (strike pay was a mere 6 pounds a week) and having no alternative leadership, the ranks voted to return to work, but there was no enthusiasm for the settlement--as one striker put it: "...we have the companies blacked out right through Europe. It's the best position we have ever got them in, and we could have got more" (Guardian, 23 November).

For the past two days Callaghan has been attempting to salvage his credentials as the bourgeoisie's best bet for keeping the working class in line. He has threatened to impose government sanctions on Ford, primarily as a warning to other companies which may be considering large wage offers.

However, there are still large sections of the organised union movement which are pursuing wage claims far beyond the 5 percent limit. Late last week, the miners union reaffirmed that it would continue its fight for a 40 percent pay increase.

In order for the working class even to recoup the losses in its living standards sustained in four

years of Labour's wage controls, it is necessary for all sections of the workers who have wage claims pending--especially the miners, the Leyland workers and local government employees--to come out together in strike action.

What is needed is a class-struggle leadership of the labour movement, capable of championing united working-class strike action as the way forward for smashing wage controls. Such a leadership would fight for a programme to provide a proletarian alternative to the endemic crisis of British capitalism: a struggle for the smashing of the capitalist state and the creation of a workers government.■

Ford Oakville Militants Back British Strikers

The Ford strikers were up against not only the company but the Labour government as well. Like the New Democratic Party in Canada the British Labour Party is a reformist social-democratic party, dependent on union support, which claims to be the political arm of labor but is in fact fundamentally committed to the preservation of the capitalist system.

At an October 14 union meeting, militants in UAW Local 707, Ford Oakville, distributed a leaflet linking the British Ford workers' struggle to the fight against wage controls in Canada and the U. S.:

"Ford UAW members and the entire labor movement in North America have a real interest in the victory of the British Ford strike. President Carter is trying to impose 'voluntary' wage guidelines on U. S. workers. Prime Minister Trudeau wants to continue wage controls in the public sector through Bill C-28 which can only drag down the wages of all workers. Carter and Trudeau have already won the first round by imposing lousy settlements on the postal workers in the U. S. and Canada. If the British Ford strikers are able to defeat Labour's wage controls, this can only aid workers in the U. S. and Canada in their battles with the wage slashing policies of Trudeau and Carter."

The leaflet contained a motion demanding that:

"In solidarity with the British Ford strikers UAW Local 707 should immediately send a financial contribution to the strike funds of the British Ford workers; and calls upon the upcoming conference of the Ontario Federation of Labour to do the same; and this Local calls upon the UAW International to black work diverted from struck British Ford plants to plants in North America."

Correction

The second part of "IS! Investigates WWII--Breaks With China" in the November issue of SC erroneously stated that Stalin, Truman and Churchill decided that "Indochina was to be restored to the French." In fact Indochina was not to be returned to the French but was supposed to fall under the tutelage of Chiang Kai-shek, a client of U. S. imperialism.

Quebec...

(continued from page 2)

North America is very strongly integrated, and the proletariat of the various nations, Quebec, Canada, USA, will know how to face a common enemy.

. . .

Your critique of Bill 101 leads me to believe that your information on this law comes from the most reactionary English-language press. This law does not attack the fundamental rights of the minority of English speakers or immigrants. On the contrary, it guarantees them. Bill 101 limits itself to guaranteeing the survival of the French-speaking community while defending future immigrants, pressured by objective economic conditions, against being assimilated into the English-speaking minority.

. . .

Richard Grignon
[Translated from French by SC.]

30 November 1978

Dear Richard Grignon:

Your letter of 16 September simply reiterates the arguments advanced in your previous letter of 12 June in favor of a nationalist, rather than a Leninist, resolution of the national question in Quebec. Obviously you are shopping around for a program in defense of Quebec's national culture. We suggest you write René Lévesque.

You claim to have detected a "line change" in our position on Quebec. But the accusation of denying the right to independence "originated" from your misreading of the article in Le Bolchevik, which places the question of independence within the framework of our unconditional support to and advocacy of Quebec's right to self-determination, i. e., its right to independence. The sentence you are probably referring to states, "At this time we therefore continue our previous policy of advocating Quebec's right to self-determination while opposing independence." The claim that "advocating Quebec's right to self-determination" means denying Quebec's right to self-determination could only be derived from a dishonest or careless reading of the document.

As for your claim that we "too strongly emphasize the PQ's referendum" we are at a loss as to where you discovered this "emphasis." The only reference to a referendum in our last letter was: "If the people of Quebec actually choose to secede (e. g., in a democratic referendum) then we will call for the active defense of that choice..."

A referendum is merely one of the means whereby the question can be democratically resolved

(e. g., Norway's separation from Sweden). Another way the question can be resolved is when the populace of an oppressed nation "pick up the gun" to fight for independence, as in Eritrea. We note that the FLQ has yet to develop a mass base in Quebec. As for the PQ's referendum, there is so little support for independence that Lévesque has gone from promising a vote on separation to proposing a referendum to authorize the PQ to negotiate "sovereignty association" at the next premiers' conference.

Whether or not Leninists advocate independence for oppressed nations within multinational states depends on the depth of national antagonisms between the working people of the different nations. The most combative sectors of the Québécois proletariat are undoubtedly sympathetic to nationalism. There is no question that the struggle against their national oppression has fueled the militancy of the Québécois working class. But this has not decisively undercut the possibility of common struggle with the working class of English Canada, as was demonstrated most recently by the nationwide Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) strike.

The postal workers stood shoulder to shoulder across national lines against their common enemy --the strikebreaking Trudeau government. Quebec workers played a leading role in the postal strike as they have in the past. Along with several CUPW locals in English Canada, the Montreal postal workers hit the bricks in the "premature" walkouts which forced the national leadership to call a nationwide strike.

There was no split in the union along national lines during the strike and in the aftermath there has been no movement for a nationalist breakaway postal workers union. The only nationalist interpretation of the defeat was made by the president of the Montreal local, Marcel Perrault. To cover for his enforcement of the national executive's back-to-work orders Perrault called for support to the PQ's "sovereignty association" as the road to victory for Quebec postal workers. But union militants in both English Canada and Quebec are directing their fire against McDermott and the CLC leadership for knifing the postal workers in the back.

Had there been a split in the union along national lines or were there a discernable trend in the Quebec labor movement toward breakaways from the national and international trade-union centrals, it could be cause for us to reevaluate our position. If it was evident that national oppression had become so deeply felt by the Québécois working class that the possibility of common class struggle with the workers of English Canada was precluded then we would be obliged to call for independence. But the nationwide CUPW strike was a living confirmation of our position that national antagonisms have not become so tense as to be a barrier to joint class struggle.

In the event that we are compelled to call for independence we would regard the failure to achieve working-class unity within the framework of a

unitary Canadian state as a setback to the cause of North American socialist revolution. The creation of another state border in North America could only serve to further divide the proletariat just as the border between the U. S. and Canada, even in the context of a highly integrated industrial economy, constitutes a real barrier to common class struggle. Moreover, the border between English Canada and the United States is completely artificial. Although we would oppose the imperialist annexation of Canada by the U. S., we do not recognize English Canada as a separate nation from the U. S. Canada consists of two nations within one state power (French- and English-speaking) while the English-speaking nation of North America bridges two state powers, the U. S. and Canada.

Like the "left" nationalists of the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire/Revolutionary Workers League, you call for a "Workers Republic of Quebec." This demand is a nationalist trap for the militant Quebec working class which could potentially play a vanguard role within the North American proletariat as a whole. The development of the class struggle is indeed uneven and therefore the demand is

dangerous. Proletarian revolution may begin in Quebec, but it can only be consolidated on a continental basis. Quebec City is not the seat of state power north of the St. Lawrence. The capitalists maintain their class rule through the Pentagon and its junior partners in Ottawa. An isolated attempt to seize power in Quebec could only be a brief, if heroic, adventure.

On the question of Bill 101, our information can be found in the pages of the PQ's language bill: "As for those who come to settle in Quebec after the adoption of the Charter, wherever they come from and whatever their native tongue they will have to send their children to French schools." Lévesque's message to new immigrants to Quebec is "speak French or get out!" Your defense of Bill 101 only underlines your commitment to the bigoted defense of your own "national culture," not to the cause of democracy, much less socialist revolution.

Fraternally,
Gary Taylor,
for the Trotskyist League

Defend Body Politic

On January 2, a year after the Toronto offices of Body Politic were raided by a combined unit of Ontario Provincial Police and Toronto's "morality" squad, Pink Triangle Press and its three directors go on trial. The defendants, publishers of Canada's most widely circulated gay liberation magazine, are charged with possession of "obscene" material and use of the mails for the distribution of material which is "obscene, immoral, indecent or scurrilous." During the jackboot raid last December 30, cops confiscated twelve crates of documents, including subscription lists, ostensibly to find "evidence" relating to charges that had not yet been laid! (See Spartacist Canada, February 1978).

The gestapo-type police raid on Body Politic was an outrageous violation of freedom of the press as well as a blatant attempt to intimidate the gay community. The attempt to suppress the paper, victimize its publishers and terrorize its subscribers was so clearly an attack on democratic rights that a wide variety of organizations and individuals have rallied to the defence of Body Politic.

Perhaps troubled by the over-zealousness of the morality squad and the support Body Politic received, the courts have been postponing the case for months. While the trial date was being pushed back, the state has attempted to bulwark its case against the newsmagazine. The October issue of Body Politic blew the whistle on an attempt by a Catholic priest, Reverend Brad Massman, to find representatives from gay religious groups to testify for the cops. Massman, notorious for his anti-

porn ravings, is press officer and director of the Archdiocesan Office of Social Action. Body Politic gives a detailed account of Massman's overtures to gay religious leaders.

In one case there was a follow-up visit from Sergeant Mike Jennings of "Operation P," the municipal morality squad. Both the police and the Catholic Church have so far been unsuccessful in finding gay community spokesmen to take a stand against Body Politic.

The October Body Politic also reports that in a routine examination of bank records over the summer, Body Politic Collective members discovered that a copy of a search warrant served on the bank June 28 had been left in their file. The warrant authorized police to search for records pertaining to "bank statements, debit and credit memos, cancelled cheques, deposit slips, signature cards [and] minutes of directors for Pink Triangle Press . . ." Body Politic was, of course, never informed that the search had taken place.

If convicted, the directors of Pink Triangle Press could go to jail and the organization could be heavily fined, threatening the very existence of Body Politic. Defense costs for the upcoming trial are estimated at \$10,000.

**DROP THE CHARGES! NO CENSORSHIP!
FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR HOMOSEXUALS!
ABOLISH THE "MORALITY" SQUAD!**

Contributions for the defense costs can be sent to: The Body Politic Free The Press Fund, c/o Cornish, King, Sachs and Waldman, Barristers and Solicitors, 111 Richmond Street West, Suite 320, Toronto, Ontario, M5H 3N6.

British Ford Workers Bust 5 Percent Wage Limit



FORD WORKERS PROTEST GOVERNMENT WAGE LIMIT DURING RECENT STRIKE

LONDON, November 27-- Fifty-seven thousand workers at Ford Motor Company plants in Britain returned to work last Friday after a nine-week strike won them a 9.7 percent increase on basic wages. The size of the pay hike, while not even enough to keep up with Britain's rate of inflation, was not good news for Prime Minister James Callaghan and his Labour cabinet--it is nearly double the 5 percent limit set under Phase Four of the government's wage control programme. Paying no heed to Callaghan's pleas for yet more "austerity" sacrifices, the Ford workers showed that workers can beat the Labour government's wage controls through determined strike action, whereas without a strike they would have gained nothing more than the government-approved 5 percent which management originally offered.

However, at bottom the strike result was not a victory but a defeat for the Ford workers--they could have won much, much more, had it not been for the treachery of the union bureaucrats "leading" the strike. Saddled with a strike which had been forced upon them by spontaneous mass walk-outs from the plants on September 21, the Amalga-

mated Union of Engineering Workers and Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU) bureaucrats throughout adopted a strategy of "containment." They managed both to prevent the strike from spreading to other workers and to sell out both of the key demands in the original claim. The first--a 25 percent pay rise, which would merely have brought workers' real wages back to where they were four years ago--was nowhere near attained; while the second, a call for a 35-hour working week, was completely ignored by the union negotiators after the first week of the strike.

The workers showed great militancy in the early days of the strike--militancy fueled by four years of vicious assaults on the standard of living of the British working class by the Labour government. But in the end Callaghan's cronies in the bureaucracy were able to force a demoralised workforce to accept a contract virtually identical to the one they had already rejected three weeks before.

This sellout need not have happened. The road to victory was clear from the start. Section after section of the organised union movement--from

(continued on page 13)