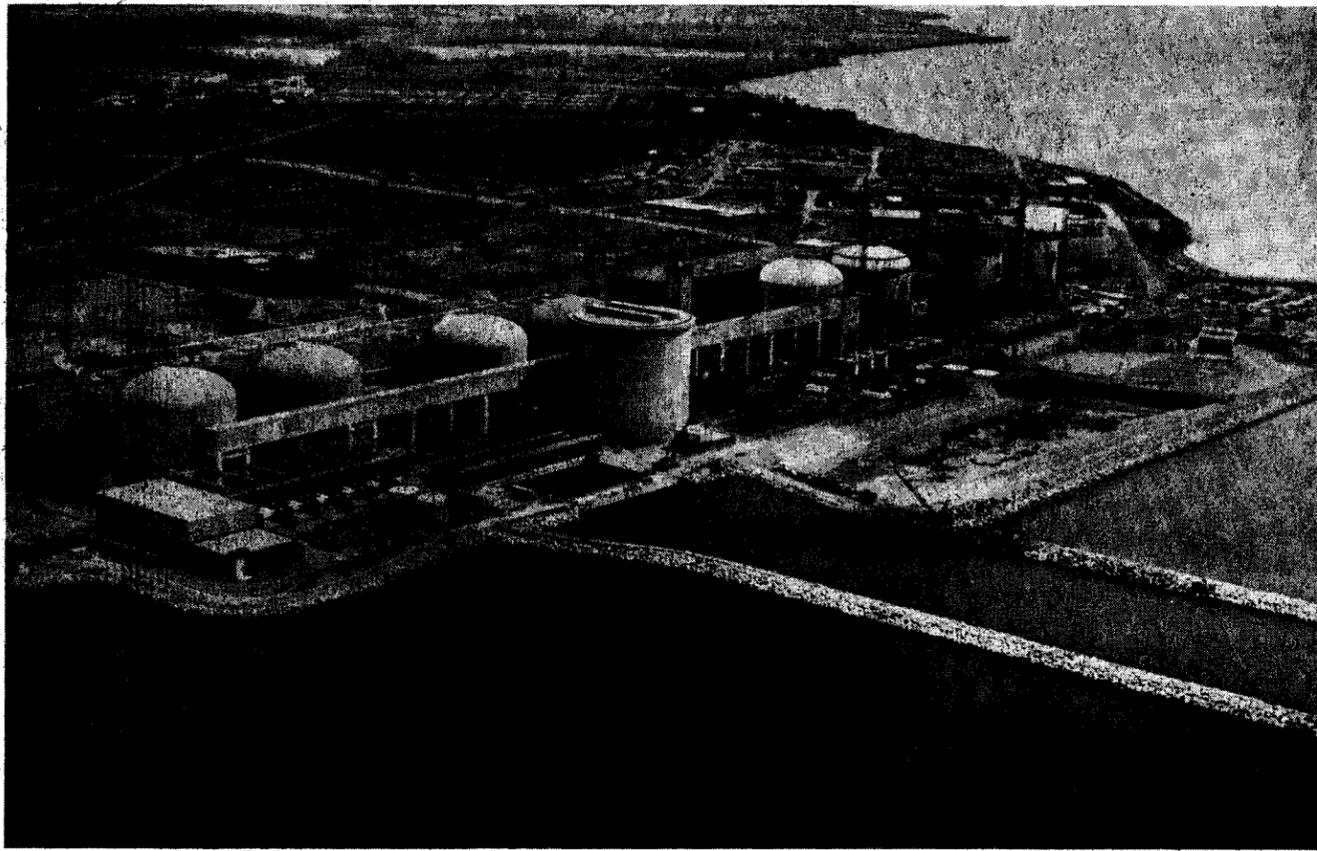


SPARTACIST

CANADA JUNE/JULY 1979 No.37 25¢

No-Nuke Reaction



PICKERING NUCLEAR POWER PLANT

Ontario Hydro

Throughout North America and Western Europe large "anti-nuke" demonstrations have erupted recently--the fallout from the near meltdown at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant in Pennsylvania. On June 2, the largest Canadian anti-nuclear demonstration to date was staged at the Darlington nuclear power site east of Toronto. More than 1,000 demonstrators, chanting "Hell no, we won't glow" assembled to protest the construction of the world's largest nuclear power station.

The protest, organized by the Non-Nuclear Network and the Toronto Greenpeace "Save the Whales" group, had the flavor of the "flower power" demonstrations of the Woodstock era. The demonstration

was endorsed by Toronto's "hip" mayor, John Sewell, who went on record in opposition to the "construction of further nuclear plants in Ontario." Ontario Hydro, the owner of the Darlington station, provided outdoor toilets to accommodate its liberal pacifist opponents. Five of the protesters parachuted into the plant site while three others, holding a banner reading "Honk for No Nukes," staged a 36-hour sit-in halfway up a transmission tower. When the protest was over 66 of the demonstrators had been arrested and charged with petty trespass.

As Marxists we support the development of new technology, including the development, construction

(continued on next page)

No-Nukes...

(continued from page 1)

and operation of nuclear fission reactors. While we give no support to those who demand a blanket shut down of all nuclear reactors, nevertheless we condemn the arrests of the anti-nuke protestors. From the point of view of the working class, these back-to-nature muddleheads have committed no crime.

THE SAFETY QUESTION

For the anti-industrial eco-faddists, the accident at Three Mile Island was it. Appalled by the social deterioration around them and the reckless pollution of the planet, these disoriented petty-bourgeois target technology as the culprit and oppose nuclear power as being intrinsically unsafe. As proponents of a socialist society based on material abundance we have a vastly different outlook than the ecological crackpots who in effect seek a return to pre-industrial society.

At Three Mile Island the accident they said couldn't happen almost happened. Three out of four "fail-safe" procedures failed and one can only wonder why the fourth and last safety procedure worked. A public told many times that they had "nothing to worry about" had plenty to be angry about. The anti-nuclear power lobby grabbed the opportunity to conjure up doomsday visions based on the false notion that commercial reactors are bombs.

We do not make light of the very real problems of safety connected with nuclear reactors. We acknowledge the inevitability of accidents in the nuclear power industry, as in all industries, and call for shutting down facilities where specific dangers exist. But to demand that nuclear power be stopped on the basis of the Three Mile Island accident is analogous to demanding that the entire coal industry be shut down because one mine had a near collapse.

Under capitalism, even an operation as technologically sophisticated as a nuclear reactor is run by the bosses the same way as a sweat shop. Who is to blame for "human error" that derives from being overworked and overtired? It is reported that the workers at the Three Mile Island reactor were forced to work for 40 consecutive days, with shifts sometimes stretching to 12 hours! The company, Metropolitan Edison, instituted a speed-up drive and disciplined workers for following prescribed safety regulations in carrying out repairs and inspections.

A U. S. presidential commission probing the accident at Three Mile Island has revealed "that operator error played an insignificant role" (Globe and Mail, 6 June). The hearings have shown that "the three most important factors in the accident were plant design, equipment faults and operator training." Moreover, the commission has established that the system does not even meet present U. S. government prescribed safety requirements. Yet it was the government's own Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) that approved the opening of the plant despite their knowledge that certain components of the plant's equipment "could not be ascertained to meet accepted criteria" (Wall Street Journal, 9 April). This approval by the NRC on December 29 allowed Metropolitan Edison to open the Three Mile Island plant before the end of the year, thus saving the giant corporation thousands of dollars in taxes.

In Canada, Ontario Hydro officials hurried to assure the public that an accident similar to the



NO-NUKERS INVADE SITE OF DARLINGTON NUCLEAR POWER STATION, JUNE 2

Frank Rooney-Socialist Voice

one at Three Mile Island could not occur at any of its plants in Ontario. While the design of Hydro's Candu systems is different, published reports and revelations by Ontario Hydro employees indicate that they are as fraught with safety problems as the U. S. nuclear reactors. In late April two operators at Hydro's nuclear plant at Bruce Point were exposed to overdoses of radiation due to faulty equipment and inadequate training.

In dealing with the very real problems of safety in the nuclear industry we demand union control over working conditions and, where there are specific hazards, shutting down dangerous facilities. But those who assume that "wide public discussion" within the framework of capitalist rule will satisfactorily resolve the question are guilty of sowing the worst utopian/reactionary/pacifist illusions.

In bourgeois society irrationality is "engineered" into even the most sophisticated technology. DC-10s

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SPARTACIST CANADA

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Anti-Labor PQ in Crisis: Nationalists on the Run

The Conservative victory in the May 22 federal elections evoked widespread speculation in the bourgeois press internationally about the viability of the Canadian bi-national state. Noting the complete rejection of the Tories in Quebec (where they won only 15 percent of the popular vote and two of 75 seats) the London Economist declared "separatist" Premier René Lévesque the real winner of the elections. Lévesque was banking on a Tory government with little support in Quebec to boost support for the Parti Québécois's watered-down, quasi-separatist program. But Lévesque had little else to crow about as he faced the PQ membership at the party congress on the weekend of June 1-3.

Lévesque's attempt to undercut the Liberals in their Quebec stronghold by throwing the PQ's support behind the right-wing nationalist Créditistes led by Fabien Roy blew up in his face. Although a number of Péquistes ran on the Social Credit ticket, the party "left-wingers" objected to the liaison. An ungrateful Roy complained after the results were in that the "millstone" of Lévesque's endorsement was responsible for the Créditistes loss of seats.

The failure of his romance with the Créditistes was the third setback for Lévesque in a month. On April 30 the Quebec Liberals, led by the Jesuit moralist from Le Devoir, Claude Ryan, swept two provincial by-elections with unexpectedly large majorities. Then PQ minister Robert Burns, a popular figure with the PQ rank and file, announced that he was resigning his post because of ill health. But Burns told reporters that he expected the PQ to lose both the referendum and the next provincial elections and said: "I don't want to be around when it happens." Scrambling to fill the breach, even Lévesque was forced to admit that the PQ would lose its referendum if it were held now.

STRIKING GOVERNMENT WORKERS PICKET PQ CONVENTION

At the PQ convention Lévesque had to sneak through a side door of the Laval University sports center in Quebec City to avoid a thousand picketing nurses and liquor store employees who walked off the job to protest the government's outrageous offer of a nickel a year wage increase. The liquor store workers and the twelve thousand nurses are only the first of the government workers that the PQ must confront in contract talks this year. Contracts with the 200,000 teachers and civil service workers represented by the Common Front, which brings together public sector workers from the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Quebec teachers association (CEQ), and the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ), expire on June 30,



LEVESQUE: LE REFERENDUM, C'EST MOI.

CP

although strike action is not expected until the fall. The government is determined to use the confrontation to demonstrate to Wall Street bankers that it can stifle the militant Quebec labor movement and balance the budget by curbing the growth of its multi-billion dollar wage bill. The government has offered only 3.5 percent annual increase and only five cents for the 25,000 lowest-paid workers, with an escalator clause pegged at half the rate of inflation. Public Service minister Denis de Belleval announced in May that "the era of the fatted calves" was over and the labor movement must learn "a sense of the possible" (Le Devoir, 22 May).

TRADE UNIONS DIVIDED ON INDEPENDENCE

The national question has been a source of con-

(continued on page 12)

"National Unity" in Shambles **Trudeau Dumped**

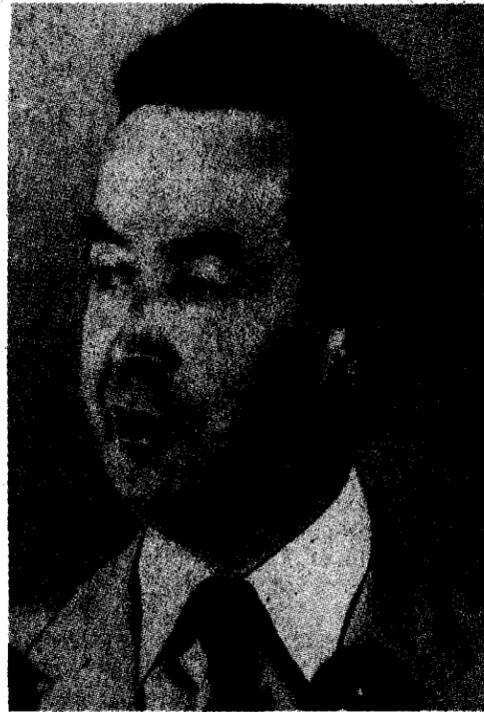
June 5--On May 22 Canadian voters went to the polls and threw out the Liberal government thus ending eleven years of Pierre Trudeau's rule. The days of "Trudeaumania" are long past as voters were fed up with double-digit inflation, eight percent unemployment and an arrogant millionaire prime minister who mocked Canadians as "greedy, lazy and overfed." In his place they now have Conservative leader "Joe Who?" Clark, a political dimwit who makes Gerald Ford look like a whiz kid.

The big issue in an otherwise unspeakably dull campaign was the national question in Quebec. Since the 1976 election of the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) provincial government, the question of Quebec self-determination and the break-up of Canada has been sharply posed. Trudeau, a bilingual Québécois, campaigned as the only man who could hold Canada together. But "national unity" had little appeal in English Canada where the vote swung to the Progressive Conservatives (PC) who emerged six seats short of a parliamentary majority.

The campaign demonstrated the increasingly sharp regional and national polarization of Canadian politics. While Trudeau puffed that it was "almost treasonable" not to see "national unity" as the main issue of the campaign, both Tory chief Clark and New Democratic Party (NDP) leader Ed Broadbent vowed to maintain the subjugation of Quebec within Confederation. Trudeau himself is hardly a champion of the national rights of the Québécois: in 1970 he instituted the War Measures Act, rounding up hundreds of trade unionists, leftists and nationalists in Quebec; and in January 1978 he made his infamous New Year's Resolution that he would not be "shy about using the sword" to suppress Quebec's right to independence. Nevertheless, ever since the Tories hanged Louis Riel in 1885, the Liberal Party has relied on a solid base in Quebec as the key to power in Ottawa.

This time Quebec voters once again turned out for the Liberals who won 67 of Quebec's 75 seats. At the same time the Liberals were pretty much wiped out of English-speaking Canada, winning only three seats west of Ontario. As usual the Anglo-chauvinist social democrats of the NDP got no support in Quebec. Joe Clark's victory without Quebec (where the PCs got only two seats) can only exacerbate antagonisms between the oppressed French-speaking nation and the federal government. The overwhelming support for the staunchly federalist Liberals in Quebec does not indicate popular sentiment for independence, however.

THE WINNER:
JOE CLARK



CP

And Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque recently confessed that if the PQ's long-promised referendum on its watered-down version of separatism were held today it would fail.

In the later stages of the campaign the Liberals realized that the "national unity" issue would not salvage Trudeau's plummeting political fortunes in English Canada. So they invented a new issue: "repatriate" the constitution. Canada does not have its own constitution because it did not have its own bourgeois revolution. As a remnant of its history as a British colonial bulwark against the American bourgeois-democratic revolution, Canada is still tied to the "mother country" by the British North America Act instituted by the British parliament under Queen Victoria in 1867. Appropriately, the election was held the day after the traditional holiday in celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday--an occasion long since forgotten in the British Isles.

As a tribute to the triviality of the election contest, the contending political aspirants were often upstaged in the media by the continuing exploits and exposés of Margaret Trudeau, the prime minister's estranged wife. In her recent "literary" contribution, *Beyond Reason*, which sold hundreds of thousands of copies during the campaign, Maggie

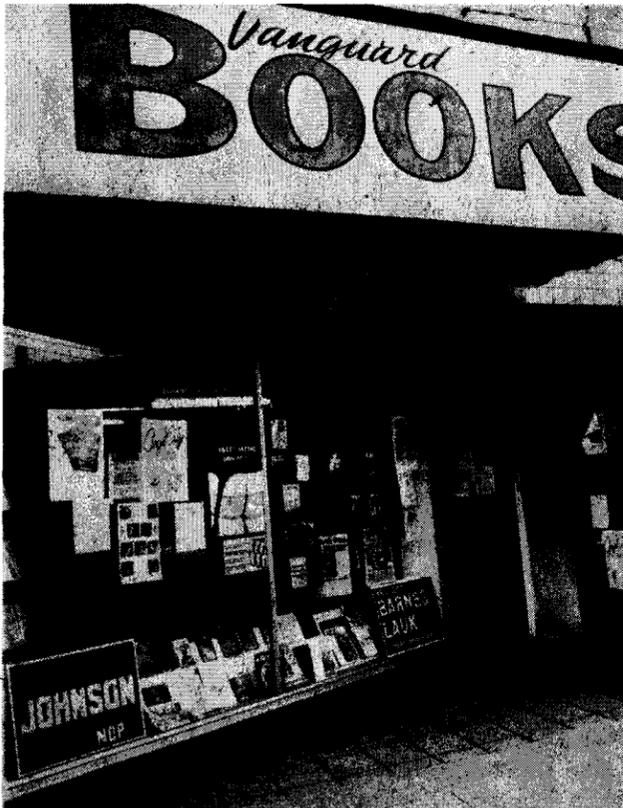
(continued on page 6)

RWL: Mud Slingers for Broadbent

The Trotskyist League's principled opposition to support to the coalitionist NDP in the federal elections evoked squeals from the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). What particularly outraged Socialist Voice's hack polemicist Richard Fidler was our correct observation in the April issue of Spartacist Canada that "The one thing that is clear about the 1979 federal elections is that the losers are going to be the millions of Canadian workers who will be stuck with playboy Pierre or dowdy Clark (with or without their would-be junior partner Broadbent) for the next few years." According to the RWL the election results show instead the "process" by which "working people move forward in struggle against the employers and their governments." The RWL polemic chastizes those "sectarians" who take a "hostile approach to labor's struggle to elect the NDP."

However simply charging the TL with "disloyalty" to Canadian social democracy (a charge we are happy to plead guilty to) doesn't make for a very strong polemic. Therefore the ersatz Quebec nationalists of the RWL, who worship what is backward and reactionary in the nationalism of the oppressed while discarding what is democratic and progressive, claim that the TL is "still reeling from the stench of its chauvinist campaign in 1976 against the right of French-speaking air controllers and pilots to speak French to each other...." Of course this "chauvinist campaign" was joined by international pilots of every nationality, including Air France pilots, who supported the Canadian air traffic controllers' strike against the introduction of French into air traffic control over Quebec. In the RWL school of slander, the French pilots are no doubt really secret, self-hating, anti-French bigots. The central issue in the strike was not language rights but air safety and the need for a standard universal vocabulary for air traffic control at international airports in which all pilots no matter what nationality, may communicate. Not only did both of the RWL's predecessor organizations support the union-busting scabbing of the Gens de l'Air against the air traffic controllers strike, but like the RWL today they advocated the suppression of English and all other languages in a unilingual French Quebec. The RWL's support to bilingualism in Quebec's airspace while demanding unilingualism on the ground is a deformed recognition that the dispute over the language of air traffic control is not an aspect of the national question.

The RWL is reeling from the contradictions (as well as the stench) of its attempts to simultaneously capitulate to the worst aspects of



VANCOUVER RWL: STOREFRONT SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

bourgeois Quebec nationalism and right-wing Canadian social democracy. Socialist Voice claims that those who oppose a vote to the English-chauvinist, class-collaborationist NDP "are simply proclaiming their own irrelevance." For workers seeking an alternative to Ed Broadbent's pro-capitalist policies, however, it is the NDP's loyal tail, the RWL, which is irrelevant. ■

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Elections...

(continued from page 4)

reveals an embarrassing tidbit of bourgeois hypocrisy. While the federal government prosecutes thousands for use of marijuana, a "restricted drug" grouped together with heroin in Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police agents were burning incense to disguise the smell when she was lighting up in the prime minister's residence.

As Trudeau, Clark and Broadbent were out on the hustings, the McDonald Commission continued its toothless investigation of RCMP criminal activity. Hearings before the commission revealed that three of Trudeau's solicitor-generals ordered or had knowledge of RCMP burglary, mail openings and use of agents provocateurs. Trudeau and his fellow Liberals kept mum, while Clark had his own simple police-state solution: lift the legal restraints on the Mounties and let these scarlet-clad terrorists and thugs do their dirty work unfettered by juridical niceties.

NDP COALITIONISM: NO ALTERNATIVE FOR CANADIAN WORKERS

In the middle of the campaign Jean-Claude Parrot, national president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), was jailed for defying the federal parliament's strikebreaking measures last October. Trudeau smashed the militant nationwide postal strike in order to pave the way for continuation of wage controls in the public sector. But just as they maintained a stony silence over the Liberals' assault on the postal workers, top leaders of the Canadian labor movement did nothing to protest the imprisonment of Parrot. The president of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), Dennis McDermott, warned that rabble-rousers might counsel workers to "storm the barricades" in defense of Parrot; he, however, advised trade unionists to instead "storm the ballot boxes" and vote NDP.

Throughout the election campaign CLC staff and organizers were assigned to campaign for the NDP. Meanwhile Broadbent, who helped Trudeau rush his bills to break the CUPW strike through parliament last October and then denounced the postal workers for defying the "law of the land," dropped the NDP's traditional demand for the nationalization of resource industries. During the campaign Sudbury miners were in the eighth bitter month of their continuing strike against the nickel barons of Inco. Even in this bastion of NDP support Broadbent had nothing more to offer the intransigent nickel miners than his "new industrial strategy" of Canadian bosses for Canadian workers.

Anticipating that neither of the main bourgeois parties would win a majority of the seats in federal parliament, the NDP offered up its services to make a coalition with either the Tories or the Liberals. As a consequence, the Trotskyist League of Canada (TL) advocated a position of conditional non-support to the NDP: until the social democrats repudiate coalition a vote for the NDP could not be an expres-

sion in any sense of independent working-class political action. In the end the NDP's moderation won it very little: in its industrial base in Ontario it lost two seats, while overall it simply regained the number of seats it had in 1972.

RWL: MUDDLED MINIMALISM

The fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL/LOR) is still searching for a magic lowest-common-denominator program to combine simultaneous capitulation to the English-chauvinist, coalitionist NDP and Quebec nationalism. It did its best in the recent elections with the slogan, "For a Workers Republic of Quebec--For a Unitary Workers Government"! In the elections the RWL stood five candidates in "safe" ridings--i. e., where they could not hurt the NDP's chances--and campaigned for a bourgeois parliamentary coalition between the NDP and imaginary "independent" candidates of the Quebec labor bureaucracy.

Like the NDP, the RWL dropped all demands for nationalization (with or without compensation) and omitted any demands for Canada to get out of NATO or NORAD. The RWL also dropped its demand for withdrawal of Canadian troops from the Near East, where under UN auspices they serve as border guards for Zionist expansionism. The RWL has even dropped paying lip-service to the Trotskyist position of military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states from imperialist attack or domestic counterrevolution which was contained in its previous electoral statements. Instead it restricted itself to supporting "the struggle of workers in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China for basic democratic rights to organize" (*Socialist Voice*, 21 May). This statement could have been made by George Meany or any Cold War social democrat from Max Shachtman to Willy Brandt. The RWL is a political maggot which has attached itself to the stinking corpse of Canadian social democracy; as such its campaign no more deserves the support of workers than does that of its host.

Paralyzed by factionalism, cliquism and cynicism, the RWL did not manage to disseminate its NDP-boasting propaganda beyond its own shrinking periphery. With only a handful of votes, its candidates placed at the bottom of the standings in four out of five ridings, trailing the Communist Party, Hardial Bains' pro-Albanian "Marxist-Leninist Party" and even the absurdist Rhinoceros Party. The post-election articles in *Socialist Voice* do not even bother to mention the fact that the RWL ran candidates!

Only the Trotskyist League fought for a Leninist policy of working-class independence and support for Quebec's right to self-determination. As we wrote in May: "In these elections no candidates deserve even critical support from revolutionaries. The working class needs a new leadership which will lead it forward in the struggle for socialist revolution. No Vote to the NDP! For a Workers Party that Fights for a Workers Government! ■"

11 Day Longshore Strike Shuts Down B.C. Ports

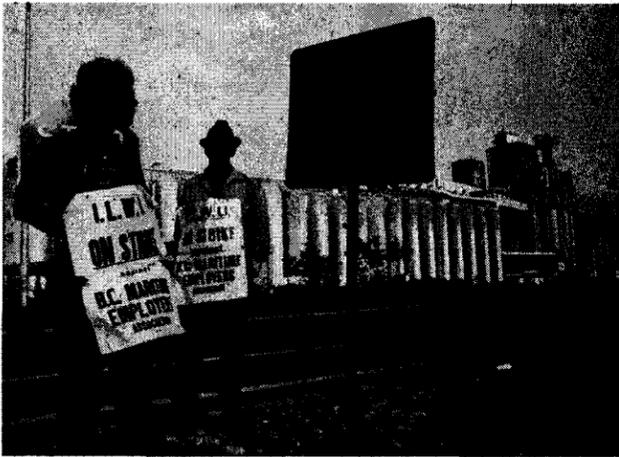
VANCOUVER, June 18--For eleven days a strike by 3,500 B. C. longshoremen, members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), tied up west coast ports. Shipments of grain, lumber and newsprint were brought to a grinding halt. Trains carrying coal and other commodities were left stranded en route between the prairies and Vancouver. Fifty loaded ships were caught in ports along the coast.

The longshore strike was sparked by an "unofficial" walkout in Chemainus on Vancouver Island on June 4. Longshoremen in the mainland ports rapidly followed suit as the frustrated union ranks, who had been without a contract for over five months, jumped the gun on their leadership's "official" strike deadline. The date set for the strike had been June 7 which would have allowed the shipping companies sufficient time to unload the ships in port and clear the docks. As one longshoreman told SC: "We need clout. We need to keep the ships in and we need to hit them hard and hit them quick. What the hell are we waiting until Thursday for? To hell with it--let's go now!"

The offer brought back by the union's bargaining committee in April had been rejected by only a single vote. Moreover, when the bureaucrats asked for a strike authorization the vote was only 75 percent. In the ILWU strike mandates are traditionally backed by 95 percent of the membership. But this year's vote was a clear reflection of widespread distrust of the leadership. Nevertheless the traditions of labor solidarity were still strong and the strike was solid.

Although short-lived, the strike demonstrated the power of the strategic longshoremen's union to shut down critical sections of the Canadian economy. The B. C. Maritime Employers Association (BCMEA) complained that the costs of the strike were "astronomical" and pleaded with the newly-elected Tory government to legislate the longshoremen back to work. In 1975, the ILWU bureaucrats knuckled under to the Trudeau government's strike-breaking legislation which broke a 27-day strike, took away the right to strike until 1977 and forced the longshoremen back to work under the terms of their old contract. The ILWU leadership attempted to exploit the real fear of another contract dictated by the government to get the ranks to accept its sellout agreement.

But, novice Prime Minister Joe Clark decided to give the ILWU bureaucrats a chance to get the ranks back to work before using strikebreaking legislation. Clark dispatched deputy labor minister, William Kelly, as a mediator. Kelly, a renegade ex-bureaucrat of the railworkers union, sat down with the BCMEA and the ILWU tops to work out an agree-



B. C. LONGSHOREMEN ON STRIKE

SC photo

ment which would swing the margin in favor of acceptance. To quell widespread opposition to a three-year contract among the union ranks the new settlement included a provision to reopen the wage package in the third year if inflation exceeds 20 percent. On June 15 a three-year contract which gives longshoremen 90 cents in each year and a cost-of-living allowance, (which one longshoreman described as "a little bit of nothing"), was accepted by a bare majority of 54 percent. In the 2,500-member Vancouver local the contract passed by only 100 votes.

Traditionally the bureaucrats have kept longshoremen in Canada and the U. S. divided by different contract expiration dates. In 1975 the Canadian longshore strike was seriously undermined when massive amounts of cargo were diverted to Washington ports. In the recent strike some Canadian bound freighters were diverted to Seattle. But the Canadian ILWU strike could have spearheaded a coastwide strike by longshoremen in Canada and the U.S. against the shipping bosses.

The 6 June issue of the Longshore Militant published by Stan Gow and Howard Keylor in the San Francisco Bay local of the ILWU, countered the international bureaucracy's treachery with a militant program of labor solidarity:

"This strike is a real opportunity. We can tear up our contract two years early and shut down the whole west coast to get what we need: Support the Canadian longshore strike! Refuse to work scab or diverted cargo in U. S. ports! Strike action to smash government strikebreaking!"

Canadian longshoremen must break the bureaucrats' hold which is paralyzing the union, throw out the rotten settlement and wage a common offensive against the shipping bosses with their U. S. brothers. ■

IS! in a Muddle

"Whatever Happened to the Comintern?"

In Struggle!
Montreal

16 June

Comrades:

In an article in the May 23 issue of In Struggle! you call upon "all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in the world" to take up the struggle for the re-creation of a revolutionary international. The article, entitled "The need for an international communist organization," charges that the great helmsman of Albanian "socialism," Enver Hoxha, "covers up serious errors committed by communists in the forties"--in particular the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943. What you fail to mention is the fact that the Comintern was dissolved on the initiative of Stalin. In any case your criticisms of Hoxha are rather suspect. Just as you had no criticisms of China's class-collaborationist "three worlds theory" until your rivals in the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) were handed the Peking franchise, we note that your recent criticisms of the leader of the Albanian Party of Labor were only made after Tirana had awarded its franchise to Hardial Bains' Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist).

Lenin took up the struggle to build a revolutionary international after the social-patriotic treachery and collapse of the Second International at the beginning of World War I. One of Lenin's greatest historical accomplishments was the creation of the Communist International. In your article you allege that "Only in 1943, when the International was dissolved, did communists break with [the] conception" of the necessity for a disciplined Leninist international. In fact, by 1943 the Comintern had been finished as a revolutionary instrument for over a decade. Its prostration before the fascist conquest in Germany demonstrated that the Comintern had become a counterrevolutionary obstacle to proletarian revolu-

tion, qualitatively no different than social democracy. In order to understand the political degeneration of the Third International under Stalin into an international agency for class treachery--codified in the "popular front" strategy of the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935--and its eventual liquidation in 1943, you must confront the struggle against this revisionism waged by the Left Opposition and Fourth International headed by Trotsky.

Stalin emerged as the leading spokesman for the privileged and increasingly self-conscious bureaucratic layer within the Soviet workers state in 1923-24. He developed the revisionist rationalization for the subordination of international proletarian revolution to the interests of this conservative, nationalist bureaucratic caste: the dogma of "socialism in one country." The corollary of this dogma, which holds that all the necessary conditions for the construction of socialism exist within the borders of the Soviet Union, was the relegation of the Comintern to the role of a diplomatic bargaining piece.

In order to consolidate his victory Stalin was forced to liquidate thousands of revolutionary cadres



FROM AMERICAN TROTSKYIST PRESS, 1938

(including Maurice Spector, the first Chairman of the Communist Party of Canada) and replace them with servile hand-raising hacks like Tim Buck. Finally, in the midst of World War II Stalin simply buried the corpse, declaring that an organization set up for the purposes of international proletarian revolution had "outlived" its usefulness in the era of "anti-fascist unity" with De Gaulle, Churchill and Roosevelt.

Trotsky accurately forecast the profoundly counter-revolutionary implications of this dogma, in his major document submitted to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 where "socialism in one country" was adopted:

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

--Third International After Lenin

While you criticize the French and Italian communist parties in the period following World War II for "hand[ing] their weapons over to their own bourgeoisie[s] and [adopting] a line of open support for the 'national reconstruction' of imperialist bourgeoisies," you shrink from the recognition that this treacherous policy was dictated from Moscow. Stalin was as frightened by the prospect of proletarian revolution in Western Europe as were his imperialist allies. A socialist Europe would be the mortal enemy of the nationalist bureaucracy Stalin represented: Stalin disarmed the West European proletariat and sacrificed the European revolution on the altar of peaceful coexistence with world imperialism. This betrayal gave the European imperialist powers a fresh lease on life and a chance to rearm in the U. S. -sponsored anti-Soviet NATO alliance.

You criticize Enver Hoxha for his "complete silence on the question of the need to rebuild a true Communist International." Yet Hoxha is just another practitioner of "socialism in one country" for whom an international of any sort would only be a troublesome and unnecessary luxury. As we noted in Spartacist Canada last December:

"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

Stalin on the Dissolution of the Comintern



"When the Executive Committee of the Comintern made its historic proposal to dissolve the International it struck from Hitler's hands one of his most potent weapons for confusing the peoples of the lands he has conquered and for fomenting discord within the United Nations....

"As Premier Stalin pointed out in his recent letter to a British journalist, the dissolution of the Communist International 'exposes the lie of the Hitlerites to the effect that "Moscow" allegedly intends to intervene in the life of other nations and to "Bolshevize" them. An end is now being put to this lie'....

"As Stalin pointed out: 'It facilitates the work of patriots in freedom-loving countries for uniting the progressive forces of their respective countries, regardless of party or religious faith, into a single camp of national liberation--for the unfolding struggle against fascism.'" (from Canada Needs A Party Of Communists!, Tim Buck, 1943--emphasis in original)

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."

If In Struggle! ever managed to get credentials in
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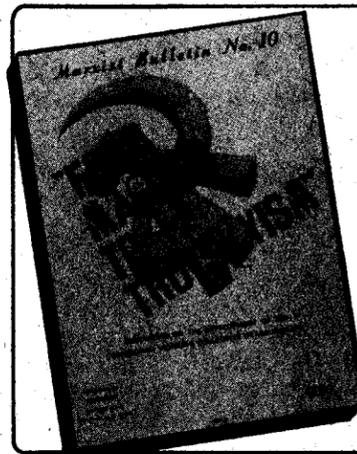
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an "international" headquartered in Tirana you would quickly lose them if you were so bold as to make even the timid criticisms contained in your recent article.

In order to seal off your members from a serious investigation of Trotskyism you have the ready-made horrible example of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL/LOR) who tie themselves in knots trying to capitulate simultaneously to Quebec nationalism, feminism, the NDP and the trade-union bureaucracy. But the RWL/LOR no more represents Trotskyism than the Communist Party represents Leninism. If you are serious about exploring the question of rebuilding a Leninist vanguard for the international proletariat you must confront Trotsky's fight for proletarian internationalism in the Bolshevik Party in the 1920's, his struggle to build a new revolutionary international after 1933 and the international

Spartacist tendency's fight for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International today.

Fraternally,
Tom Riley
for the Trotskyist League of Canada



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Maoism to Trotskyism

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No-Nukes...

(continued from page 2)

cost \$35 million apiece and even the bourgeoisie flies in them. Yet as revelations following the recent Chicago crash show, this plane is an aeronautical nightmare. But both the manufacturers and the airlines put their profit margins before safety. The "Gus Grissom theorem" retains its full force in matters of public health and safety. Grissom, a U.S. astronaut, observed that he was frightened every time he went up and reflected that all the machinery upon which his life depended was built by the lowest bidder. He was later burned to death in an accident that turned the nosecone of his rocket into an inferno.

NO-NUKERS: "KILL MINERS NOT US"

For the no-nuke freaks it is one thing to have the conventionally accepted death of the working class in traditionally hazardous jobs, but quite another to talk about the sensational possibility of an accident that can hurt "everyone." What does it matter to the anti-nukers that every year thousands die from work in the coal mines? Although in the U.S. there has not yet been even a single death attributable to a commercial nuclear reactor, it is the threat of an accident which has captured their attention. After all, radioactive winds might blow into their neighborhoods, perhaps even onto a college campus.

The protestors against nuclear power do not represent, even in a distorted fashion, left-wing politics. The eco-faddists are part of an ugly middle-class movement that is concerned that the dangerous and debilitating conditions which workers in the mines and on oil rigs have had to live with for generations, might spread to the suburbs. The anti-nuke moralism conceals a profound self-centered

indifference to the plight of the thousands of coal miners who die of black lung every year, or are buried under cave-ins or burned to death through explosions. The anti-working class character of this movement is demonstrated by Toronto mayor John Sewell's "emergency plan." This plan, which is purportedly to deal with accidents and disasters, from the fall of Skylab to nuclear meltdowns, would suspend civil liberties and institute a state of municipal martial law. It could also be used in case of such "emergencies" as strikes by city workers.

The mines are murderous for the miners, for the communities which surround them and for those who transport coal. Not only have mine accidents caused the death of some 100,000 people, but lung diseases disable and kill. The silica particles in the coal dust and the coal dust itself causes pneumoconiosis or "black lung"--from which 3,000 die every year in the U.S. alone. At the time of the Three Mile accident there was a hearing regarding liability claims for black lung victims. The miners lost! But this is of no concern to the petty-bourgeois no-nukers.

HIROSHIMA WAS NO ACCIDENT

While screaming their heads off about the ominous perils of leaky reactor cores, the anti-nuke protestors are oblivious to the tons of radioactive material the imperialists explode every year to perfect the weapons system aimed at maintaining their class rule. The most overwhelming nuclear danger confronting the world comes not from the existence of atomic power generating stations but from the possession of nuclear weapons by the imperialist powers, first and foremost the U.S. The spread of nuclear weapons among the smaller capitalist powers does, of course, increase the danger that they will be used in national wars by

desperate bourgeoisies. The threat to the world working class is obvious.

Parallel with the pacifism of the eco-faddists, the Stalinists of the Communist Party of Canada (CP) have used the emergence of the no-nuke movement to highlight the propaganda of their mentors in Moscow for détente and disarmament. The 4 June issue of the Canadian Tribune states that the CP "does oppose, and calls for a struggle to abolish, nuclear weapons--through steps such as SALT II. . . ." Trotskyists, however, understand that the answer to the dangers of nuclear war is not to be found in imperialist/social pacifist "non-proliferation" treaties or test bans, but in the destruction of capitalism by the revolutionary action of the international proletariat. Against the Stalinist's treacherous policy of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists we resolutely defend the necessity for the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam and the other deformed workers states to possess nuclear weapons. Without these weapons the U. S. would long ago have consigned Moscow, Peking and Hanoi to the fate of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Eager to be part of the liberal anti-nuke movement, the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) have dumped the defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states. Under a back page headline blaring "No Nukes are Safe Nukes!" the 30 April Socialist Voice condemns nuclear energy as a "menace" without once mentioning the "menace" of the imperialist's arsenal of nuclear weapons. Of course the RWL's demand that "all nuclear energy programs be stopped" is popular with the no-nukes.

In abandoning the defense of the Soviet Union the RWL is following the lead of its American big brother, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP outdoes even the CP with its demand that the Soviet Union "take the initiative" in disarmament. The SWP's response to the Three Mile Island accident has been to demand that nuclear energy be replaced with good old American coal. With this social-patriotic appeal the SWP echoes a section of the American bourgeoisie, in particular, of course, the coal companies. Given the huge coal reserves in the U. S., coal-based energy is favored by a wing of the U. S. ruling class, along with the SWP, who are captivated by Richard Nixon's "project independence" rhetoric.

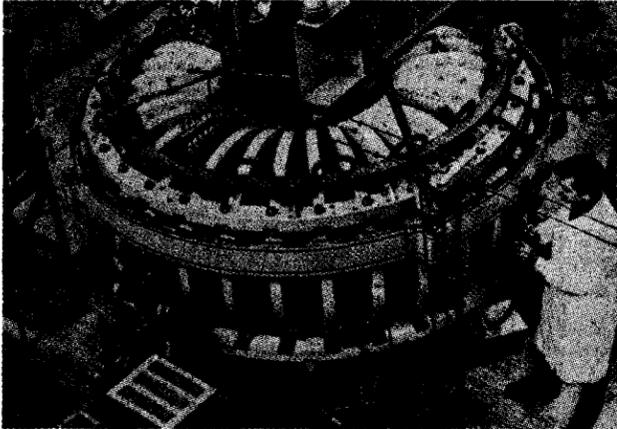
How many miners will die in accidents and from lung diseases to appease these energy preferences? How many urban lungs will be clogged with soot from burning coal and oil? What are the long-term environmental effects of putting more massive amounts of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere? The SWP prattles on about safer mines. But during the great strike wave which swept U. S. coalfields last year--a strike which revolved largely around the local right to strike over unsafe working conditions --the SWP apologized for the Miller bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers of America which stabbed the miners in the back! Today, the SWP still tails Miller in advising the capitalists to

develop coal resources. The only safe and rational production of energy will take place when the working class has expropriated the profit-gouging anarchistic capitalist system and instituted a planned economy based on the social ownership of the means of production.

Marxists stand on the side of technological progress. While refusing to take responsibility for the capitalists' energy choices, we are decidedly against those who would arrest the development of the productive forces essential to the future of mankind. Half a century ago, some sixteen years before Enrico Fermi succeeded in producing the first controlled fission reaction, Leon Trotsky said of nuclear power:

"The atom contains within itself a mighty hidden energy, and the greatest task of physics consists of pumping out this energy, pulling out the cork so that this hidden energy may burst forth in a fountain. Then the possibility will be opened up of replacing coal and oil by atomic power. This is not at all a hopeless task. And what prospects it opens up before us!"

--"Radio, Science, Technology and Society," March 1926



EXPERIMENTAL TOKAMAK AT MOSCOW'S Tass-Sovfoto
INSTITUTE OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Unleashing the energy locked in the atom's nucleus has proven an easier task to accomplish than installing the proletarian dictatorship throughout the world. As a consequence a tremendous concentration of nuclear destructive capacity is in the hands of the rapacious imperialists, making even more stark the choice posed by Engels: socialism or barbarism.

(Adapted from Workers Vanguard)

Trotskyist League Directory

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PQ...

(continued from page 3)

tinuing debate in the Quebec labor movement. The linguistic discrimination and depressed wages forced on workers in Quebec factories, mines and mills almost exclusively controlled by English-speaking Canadian and American capitalists has been a powerful force for separatist sentiment. But the experience of Lévesque's anti-labor government has turned many workers against the PQ, if not against indépendantisme. In its two and a half years in power the party which many Quebec labor bureaucrats hailed as a "friend of labor" has enacted an "anti-scab" law which gives legal protection to scabbing supervisors; has repeatedly turned its cops loose to spy on unions and break picket lines and most recently has threatened to deprive nurses of the right to strike.

While Lévesque was preaching to the converted at Laval University, on the other side of the Plains of Abraham, inside the walls of old Quebec, the CSN gathered for a special convention on the national question. (The CEQ is scheduled to hold a similar meeting on June 30, while the FTQ will discuss the national question at a conference in the fall.) One section of PQ supporters within the CSN bureaucracy, led by vice-president André L'Heureux, were only able to win the support of 25 percent of the delegates for their resolution in favor of independence (and "socialism") for Quebec. A hotly-debated proposal to demonstrate outside the PQ convention against the government's anti-labor policies received the support of a substantial minority of the delegates.

Among the backers of L'Heureux's "independence and socialism" resolution were supporters of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL/LOR). The RWL readily admits that many of the delegates that supported the motion were "trade union bureaucrats who want to pressure the PQ into being more firm on the national question and more responsive to the working class" (Socialist Voice, 18 June). However the pro-PQ bureaucrats weren't the only ones who sought to use the CSN to "pressure the PQ." In its account of the conference the RWL moaned that the defeat of the motion left the PQ "a free hand to sell its 'mandate to negotiate' option without fear of opposition from a mass labor organization that is in favor of outright independence." But it is not the task of the labor movement to pressure bourgeois nationalists to be more virulent in their anti-working class chauvinism.

The RWL/LOR propaganda for the labor bureaucrats' illusory "independent and socialist Quebec" is dangerous and misleading. It gives backhanded support to Lévesque and his labor lieutenants, while catering to the dangerous illusion that a Montreal Commune could defend itself against the military might of U.S. and Canadian imperialism in the absence of proletarian uprisings in the rest of North America.

The resolution finally adopted by the CSN convention was a vaguely worded statement which took no position on the referendum debate, leaving the field wide open for the PQ. In the words of CSN president Norbert Rodrigue, "It is not a federalist position, and no one is against independence, but at the moment the congress found that it was not opportune to take a position on this question" (Le Devoir, 4 June). Despite Rodrigue's denunciation of the independence debate as a "struggle between two bourgeoisies," all wings of the bureaucracy united to quash a proposal that the CSN take steps toward the launching of a labor party in Quebec.

NO TO LEVESQUE'S BOGUS REFERENDUM

With popular support on the wane and a major labor confrontation looming, Lévesque begged the delegates at the PQ convention to permit the government to postpone once again the proposed referendum on "sovereignty association." By appealing to the need for unity in the fight to obtain "Objectif: Oui," Lévesque managed to get a virtually unanimous endorsement for the government's timetable. Although sentiment for an immediate referendum ran high, the delegates did no more than give Lévesque a slap on the wrist by rejecting his candidate for party vice-president and electing Louise Harel who is associated with the hard-line separatist wing of the PQ.

To make itself acceptable to its creditors on Wall Street and Bay Street the PQ government has had to turn on that section of the labor movement which was its base of support in the last elections, the public sector workers. To reconstitute a base of support for the next election the PQ must increasingly exploit the national question and move politically to the right, dropping its social-democratic facade along the way. Lévesque's support for the Créditistes in the federal elections presaged the direction in which the PQ is headed.

As communists and internationalists we stand unconditionally for the right of self-determination for Quebec. We oppose the forcible retention of Quebec within the Canadian state, and therefore reject Joe Clark's proposed Canada-wide referendum on the future of the Québécois. At the same time we reject Lévesque's referendum for a mandate to negotiate "sovereignty-association" as simply an appeal for a vote of confidence in the PQ government which has nothing to do with Quebec's right to self-determination. Only a referendum which clearly posed the question of independence would be an expression of that right. Lévesque is afraid to hold a clear referendum on independence because he knows that he would lose. Instead he hopes to stage-manage a series of graduated confrontations with the federal government which will inflame national antagonisms to the point where the PQ can refurbish its claim to be the sole defender of the Quebec nation, while it continues to trash the trade unions.

If national antagonisms were to reach the point where they destroyed the possibility of common

TL Protests Repression of Iranian SWP

Reprinted below is a telegram sent by the Trotskyist League to the Iranian embassy to protest the continuing wave of right-wing repression in the Islamic Republic of Ayatollah Khomeini--in particular the arrest of nine members of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS), Iranian section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. From the beginning of the mass upsurges which were to topple the Peacock Throne, the international Spartacist tendency warned that Khomeini in power would crush the left and workers movement as ruthlessly as did the shah.

In our press we predicted that the mullah's "Islamic Republic" would mean the reimposition of the veil, the Islamic symbol of the enslavement of women; the restoration of barbaric punishments, such as flogging and amputation; and the brutal suppression of religious and national minorities. And we warned that Shi'ite clerical reaction would not spare its erstwhile supporters on the left, who marched behind portraits of Khomeini and claimed that the mullah-led movement was "progressive" and "anti-imperialist."

Our warnings were denounced by a host of supposedly socialist organizations, including the supporters of the HKS in Canada, the Revolutionary Workers League, as so much imperialist propaganda. But it was the abject opportunism of these fake-leftists which contributed to the political disarming of the masses before Islamic reaction and paved the way for Khomeini's repression. Nevertheless, now that they have fallen victim to the "Iranian Revolution" they once sang praises to, it is the duty of all those concerned for democratic rights to demand the

freedom of the HKS members.

Only a program of proletarian independence can prevent a catastrophic defeat for the Iranian working class: For a united front of all left, working class and secular-democratic forces for defense against Khomeini's Islamic sword! For an Iranian Trotskyist party! Down with Khomeini--for socialist revolution in Iran!

Trotskyist League of Canada
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

Iranian Embassy
Suite 307 and 308
85 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario

We vigorously protest the arrest of Omid Mirbaha and Mohammed Poorkavaz on May 30 and the arrest and secret detention of Mustafa Seifabadi, Hormoz Fallahi, Fatima Fallahi, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Morteza Gorgzadeh, Hamid Shahrabi and Maha Hashemi on June 1. All were arrested in Ahwaz by representatives of the local Imam's Committee, whose leadership is loyal to Ayatollah Khomeini. All those arrested are members of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS--Hezb-e Kargaran-e Sosialist). These arrests follow the savage repression and incarceration of hundreds of Arab workers in Khuzestan province. We demand the immediate release of all HKS members, Arab workers and all the victims of Khomeini's repression against national and religious minorities, women, homosexuals, the left and the labor movement.

class unity between English- and French-speaking workers we would advocate not merely Quebec's right to separation but the exercise of that right, in order to remove the national question from the agenda. But last October's militant Canadian Union of Postal Workers strike, which was solid from coast to coast, shows that the national question has not become a bar to common class unity. The CSN's rejection of pro-PQ motions and the mass picketing of the PQ convention by two sections of public sector workers shows that the militant Quebec proletariat has not permitted nationalist demagoguery to obscure the recognition of the class enemy.

But while the Quebec and English Canadian working classes are capable of engaging in common militant class struggle on the economic plane, the recent federal elections demonstrate that they are deeply divided politically. The English-chauvinist New Democratic Party is as much a bar to common working class political action as is the bourgeois

nationalist PQ. Only a workers party which champions Quebec's national rights while fighting for the unity of the English- and French-speaking proletariats of North America will be capable of leading the socialist revolution.■



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Inco...

(continued from page 16)

by workers in auto and steel. Where many public sector unions enjoy three weeks vacation after one year's service the Inco workers must put in eight years before getting similar benefits. Likewise, auto workers have had a "30 and out" clause in their contract for almost a decade.

Appealing to the "rank-and-file" rhetoric that won him the post of local president, Patterson admitted "If it hadn't been for them [the miners] we would have signed for a lot less" (Globe and Mail, 4 June). In fact Patterson did try to sign for less. But he remembers the reception he and his negotiating committee got when they returned to Sudbury in early May to sell their first deal with the Inco bosses. The local stewards body voted 100 to 2 against the offer. On May 9, 2,000 angry miners who turned up for a union meeting to hear the offer booed the bargaining committee off the stage. One miner even jumped onto the platform and took a swing at Patterson. When fighting spread throughout the hall the meeting had to be adjourned.

Patterson claims that "A lot of people are very happy deep down with this agreement." But it must be very "deep" indeed, for there were few celebrations over the contract. The stewards body rejected the second sellout by a vote of 75 to 65 but this time Patterson swung the vote in favor of acceptance by bureaucratically adding the votes of the bargaining committee. With the company's stockpiles dwindling and the price of nickel rising on the international market the miners knew they finally had Inco by the throat. If Patterson and the rest of the Local 6500 leadership had half the fighting spirit of the ranks the Inco miners could have won a lot more. But when their "leaders" came back three weeks later with a contract only slightly better than the one they had just rejected many miners resigned themselves to acceptance. It was obvious that Patterson and his crew would only negotiate sellouts. In the end, the miners were not beaten by the company, they were forced back on the job by their own misleaders.

INCO STRIKERS -- A MILITANT EXAMPLE FOR CANADIAN LABOR

At the start of the strike former Ontario New Democratic Party leader Stephen Lewis wrote in his column in the Toronto Star, "Sudbury is probably the only community in Ontario where the class struggle is alive and well." Lewis ridiculed the miners' courage and determination in striking in the face of the nickel bosses' massive stockpiles of finished nickel as "sheer madness." Stuart Cooke, USWA District 6 director tried to scuttle the strike at the last minute by advising the miners to knuckle under. (The day before the September 15 strike vote television

stations in Sudbury ran the pronouncement "Do Not Strike: Steel Director" across T. V. screens.) Inco workers at the Port Colbourne refinery and the Thompson, Manitoba mines accepted the company's terms lying down. Isolated and facing great odds the Sudbury miners stood up and fought back. They could have won much more under a leadership with some backbone, but the miners did push back the company's attempts to take away the cost-of-living allowance and undermine the grievance procedure.

The Inco strike evoked deep sympathy and support in the ranks of the Canadian labor movement. More than \$600,000 poured into the union's strike support fund from unions and labor federations across the country. In the Sudbury community itself a "Citizens Strike Support Committee" was set up. Unlike the bitter strike of 1958 where Inco combined with the Catholic Church and local politicians to organize a back-to-work movement among the strikers' wives, this time the miners' wives stood solidly behind the strike through the "Wives Supporting the Strike Committee." For the Financial Post, the mouthpiece of Bay Street, the bitterness of the wives toward Inco was "one of the most disheartening aspects of the strike":

"These women won't break. The issue has ceased to be one of contracts and cash, and more one of pride and not 'caving into the company.'"

--Financial Post, 19 May

The rejection of Inco's first offer inspired renewed declarations of support. The newly elected leaders of USWA Local 6166 in Thompson called for a conference of all local unions in the nickel industry to discuss support to the Inco strike. A thousand people attended a Montreal rally called to support the Inco strikers and striking copper miners in Murdochville, Quebec. Despite a history of animosity between Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (who represent workers at Falconbridge, Canada's second largest nickel producer) and the Steelworkers union, Mine Mill contributed \$10,000 a month to Local 6500's strike fund.

If all nickel workers, including the Falconbridge miners had gone out together, if transportation workers and metal workers had hot-cargued Inco's stockpiled nickel, the Sudbury workers would not have had to fight eight long months before they could put the squeeze on the nickel barons. If the deep and pervasive sympathy in the labor move-

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CPL: Next Year in Mecca?

The Canadian Party of Labour (CPL) managed once again to drag out its members and friends on its ever-dwindling annual May Day trek from Christie Pitts to downtown Toronto. But whereas the marches traditionally feature simple-minded economist and liberal slogans, this year CPL paid homage to its new ayatollah--Ruhollah Khomeini. Carrying pictures of Khomeini and shouting "Long Live the Iranian Revolution" these self-professed "Marxist-Leninists" revelled in their craven capitulation to clerical reaction. Perhaps next year's march will be from Christie Pitts to Mecca.



The Worker

ment for the Sudbury miners had been translated into concrete acts of solidarity, a decent contract could have been won for all nickel workers months earlier.

Even as the miners return to work, the Inco bosses know full well that their militancy and fighting spirit has not been broken. Inco has reportedly been giving its front-line supervisors courses in transcendental meditation to help them "cope" with the miners' bitter hatred for this multinational corporation.

The miners had the militancy and determination to win their battle with the mine barons. What they lacked was a leadership that could take them forward to victory. Nevertheless, many supposed "socialists" on the Canadian left try to depict Patterson and Co. as a "militant" alternative to the other business unionists. Even after the Sudbury miners had ripped up the bargaining committee's first proposed contract, the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) shamelessly continued to enthuse over Patterson's "militancy" in the pages of Socialist Voice. The RWL's opportunism was best expressed by resident workerist and all-purpose windbag, Joe Flexer, who told a sparsely attended Toronto RWL forum in May that his organization would either support the miners if they voted to continue the strike or call it a "victory" if the contract was accepted.

Patterson is part of Ed Sadlowski's self-proclaimed "maverick" camp in the USWA bureaucracy. His support to "Oilcan Eddie" in the 1977 USWA presidential campaign made Sudbury one of the few places in Canada where Sadlowski's "Steelworkers Fightback" slate picked up many

votes. But like Sadlowski, Patterson has shown that the "new breed" of aspiring bureaucrats are just as willing to sell out the ranks as the corrupt incumbents they claim to oppose.

Next month Patterson will face the membership in local presidential elections. Reportedly the stewards body has the sanction of the McBride leadership of the international to contest the president's post against Patterson. But a supporter of the McBride wing of the USWA bureaucracy, which denounced the Sudbury strike from its inception would be no "alternative" to Patterson. Class-conscious miners must draw the lessons from their long and bitter battle against Inco and struggle to build a class-struggle leadership committed to fight for a workers government that will expropriate the mining magnates and all the capitalist class. ■

Trotskyist League Class Series

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REFORMIST WORKERS PARTIES AND
CRITICAL SUPPORT, JUNE 24

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY AND THE
TRADE UNIONS, JULY 8

On June 3, the 11,700 members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), Local 6500, ended their eight and a half month strike against Inco in Sudbury. The courage and tenacity of the miners, who spent a bitter winter on the picket lines, defeated the company's attempts to take away hard-won union gains. But they returned to work with a contract which gives them far less than they could have won in their heroic battle with the nickel bosses. On his way into Inco's giant Copper Cliff refinery one worker expressed the bitterness of many when he told reporters, "The contract is no damn good. We got next to nothing for the second and third year. We should have stayed out until we got more" (Globe and Mail, 6 June).

The contract which was accepted by a vote of 5,983 to 2,869 was little different than the one which had been rejected by a 57 percent margin only three weeks earlier. The company threw a dime more into the wage package -- giving the miners a miserable 61 cents in the first year of the contract and an insulting 10 cent wage increase for each of the next two years of the pact. In addition to a cost-of-living allowance, Inco coughed up a \$300 lump-sum payment for returning to work. But this paltry sum will not even begin to make a dent in the massive debts incurred by the strikers who survived all winter on \$30 a week strike pay.

The issue of pensions was key to the rank-and-file rejection of the company's previous offer in May. Given the massive job loss in Sudbury, where the workforce was slashed by 2,800 in the mass layoffs of February 1978, a ma-

majority of the miners have spent more than ten years working under dangerous and grueling conditions underground. One of the younger miners gave this graphic description of what a lifetime in the pits does to a man:

"I've seen those old guys who work underground come to work an hour and a half early just to have time to put their pants on, they're so crippled."

--Toronto Star, 7 May

In the first contract the bargaining committee brought back to the membership for ratification the company offered a "35 and out" clause knowing full well that few miners can survive thirty-five years in the industry.

After the strikers rejected the first sellout Inco

261 Day Strike Settled

Tenacious Miners Beat Back Inco



MASS PICKET AT INCO, COPPER CLIFF, SEPTEMBER 1978.

The Last Post

acceded to the union's demand for "30 and out." But with a monthly pension of only \$600 most miners will remain chained to the job just to survive. Moreover, the "30 and out" provision doesn't even come into effect until the third year of the contract.

PATTERSON--THE SELLING OF A SELLOUT

Local 6500 president Dave Patterson claimed that the Inco settlement was a "breakthrough" that will be a pattern setter for upcoming contract negotiations of other unions. But the \$40 a week supplementary unemployment benefits after two years of service won by the Inco workers doesn't compare to the far greater benefits already won

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