

SPARTACIST

CANADA

March 1983 No. 57 25¢

Bust Union—Buster Lévesque!

For A Quebec General Strike!



Thibaut Photo Mike Phillips

Quebec City, January 29: Common Front demonstration draws 50,000 in support of striking public workers. Lévesque targets all Quebec Labor.

MONTREAL, 5 March—Quebec labor, the most combative section of the North American proletariat, is locked into a life or death struggle with the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) government headed by premier René Lévesque. Lévesque is trying to pull off a giant Reagan-style union-busting "PATCO" against Quebec's 335,000 provincial government workers. These workers have been a bastion of support for the PQ and its French-language nationalist policies. Their "reward": after months of refusing to negotiate, on December 11 Lévesque pushed through the provincial National Assembly an unprecedented union-busting measure, Bill 105. The law tears up existing contracts, reverses hard won gains in working conditions and job security, imposes a strike ban and three-year contracts that slash wages up to 20 percent and promise thousands of layoffs!

In response, an "unlimited general strike" of provincial workers was called by Quebec's "Common Front" representing 210,000 hospital workers, teachers and other provincial government employees organized

by the three major labor federations—the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ) and the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ). On January 26, 95,000 teachers walked out, soon joined by 5,000 other government workers. The 60,000 CSN hospital workers hit the bricks January 31. But they were sent back to work after only 22 hours by their leaders who reached a tentative agreement which accepted the terms of Bill 105 with only minor sweeteners. The CSN tops rammed the stinking deal through despite the overwhelming opposition of the hospital workers 800-member delegate assembly which voted in a two-day meeting to throw the sellout back in their misleaders' faces.

When CEQ leader Yvon Charbonneau tried to pass off the CSN deal as a "success for the Common Front" striking teachers responded: "Betrayal!" and asked "What the hell happened to the Common Front?" Good question. The teachers, who were the most fervent supporters of the PQ, are the sector hardest hit by

(continued on page 10)

The Long Anti-Soviet March to Oblivion

WCP Bites the Dust

Not with a bang but a whimper—the Maoist Workers Communist Party (WCP), which little more than three years ago bombastically declared itself "the general staff of the Canadian working class, the proletarian vanguard," has, it seems, just disappeared. The WCP's *Forge* was last seen in December 1982 when a report on a Quebec conference of its then-remaining members was introduced under the heading "Months of Paralysis" with the statement:

"For the past three months, the party has been gripped by a profound crisis which went to core [sic] of its fundamental beliefs."

Indeed it seems the only thing that was debated was not whether to liquidate but how.

Many delegates rose to call for the dissolution of the WCP declaring they were going to quit anyway. Others hankered after some good old "M-L" unity with "other progressives" as a way to stem their demise. In the end apparently a "new minimal basis of unity" was decided upon. Minimal indeed—no one has seen hide nor hair of these Maoist Cold Warriors since.

The WCP is walking down a well-trodden path to Maoist oblivion. The past two years have seen the spectacular collapse of North American Maoism. Klonsky's pro-Peking Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) in the U.S. bit the dust. Last May *In Struggle!* threw in the towel. In the pages of the *Forge* some put the crisis down to "the weaknesses in the development of Marxism and the problems of socialism" (19 November 1982). In Toronto the closing of the WCP's bookstore was explained away as "due to financial difficulties."

But the real source of the WCP's decline is to be found in its links to the ruling bureaucracy of the Chinese deformed workers state and its deepening alliance with U.S. imperialism. Since its inception, on every key international issue—from Angola to Afghanistan to Poland—the WCP saw its task as stiffening the resolve of Western imperialism to fight the "main enemy," Russian "hegemonism." In 1976 they denounced the junior partners of U.S. imperialism in Ottawa for not adequately arming against "Soviet social imperialism" and ran a photo in their press of a Canadian destroyer chasing a Soviet fishing trawler with the caption: "Despite the weaknesses which the Canadian bourgeoisie imposes upon it, the Canadian navy makes an effort to defend our coast!" (*Forge*, May 1976).

As their role as anti-Soviet Cold Warriors, somewhere to the right of the liberal bourgeoisie, increasingly turned the WCP into an isolated and despised sect, the crisis set in. In a desperate effort to revive

the organization, Mao's "three worlds theory"—the "theoretical" underpinning of Peking's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism—was supplanted by "harsh criticisms of what became known as the 'three chauvinisms'—towards women, Québécois and proletarians" (*Forge*, December 1982).

Guided by the Stalinist dictum that the family is



From the pope's Polish Solidarność to the CIA's Afghan "freedom fighters" WCP beat drums for anti-Soviet war drive.

the "fighting unit for socialism" together with its anti-gay bigotry and one-time call to strengthen the Canadian army whose troops had occupied Montreal in 1970 under the War Measures Act—doubtless the WCP was a cesspool of chauvinism. But the "three chauvinisms" theory was the codeword for a headlong rush into the feminists' "Moral Majority"-style "anti-rush" campaign. And at the same time Quebec premier René Lévesque was out-Reaganning Reagan with his massive, unprecedented union-busting laws the WCP was making ritual "self criticisms" of its "sectarian" attitude towards bourgeois nationalism for not calling for a "yes" vote in Lévesque's 1980 referendum!

Deeply discredited by China's counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism and demoralized by the prospect of hard struggle in the right-wing political climate of Cold War North America, the degenerated Maoists of the WCP go with the tide of reaction. For our part we certainly shed no tears for the passing of those cynical anti-Soviets who loyally parroted every line of their Peking masters, from supporting the CIA-backed 1975 South African invasion of Angola to cheering on China's 1979 attempt, in collusion with U.S. imperialism, to teach Vietnam

(continued on page 9)

Avenge Victims of Dutch Nazi Luitjens!

VANCOUVER—A convicted Nazi war criminal works at the University of British Columbia. Jacob Luitjens (a.k.a. Jaap Luitjens), a botany instructor at UBC, was sentenced in *absentia* in 1948 in Holland to 20 years imprisonment as a Nazi collaborator responsible for the murders of a German army deserter and a Dutch resistance fighter. Luitjens—who the Dutch authorities say is in the top 15 of their 52 most-wanted Nazi war criminals—was a member of the Landwacht, a paramilitary force of the Dutch Nazi movement. These Nazis served in the round-ups and mass arrests of thousands of Jews, workers and resistance fighters who were deported to the death camps at Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Sobibor.

In a recent TV interview (28 February) a former leader of the Dutch resistance from the Roden area, now living in Vancouver, told CBC's Harry Phillips that Luitjens was on the top of the list "of people who were the most dangerous in our area." Luitjens was first recognized in 1980 by a former Dutch resistance member who lived in Victoria. The Dutch authorities demanded his extradition but were turned down by the Canadian government. Now, famed Nazi-hunter Simon Weisenthal is pushing for a second attempt to have Luitjens extradited to Holland.

Meanwhile the bourgeois press has been trying to pass off this Nazi war criminal as a kindly, aging man who is a "Christian" to boot. Several UBC students, faculty and administrators have been quoted referring to Luitjens as a "good teacher" and "a tremendous man," and one complained to the *Vancouver Province* (27 February), "It was all so long ago and it was during the war. Why don't you leave him alone?" Nazi vermin like Luitjens are not harmless old men. Their crimes can never be forgotten!

In 1941 a heroic general strike was staged in Holland against the deportation of over 400 Jews. After it was broken by the SS and Dutch Nazis with threats of executions and a ban on all meetings, the Dutch Nazis together with the SS stepped up the full scale deportation of Dutch Jews to Nazi concentration camps. By 1945 four out of every five Jews who had inhabited Holland at the beginning of the war were dead. Today, in response to moves for his extradition Luitjens (who refuses to comment on his activities in Nazi-occupied Holland, to say where he was from 1945 to his 1961 arrival at UBC or to have his picture taken) complained, "There is no justice."

Indeed there isn't. It is an elementary matter of justice as well as a measure of self-protection for the workers movement and all the oppressed that Luitjens be sent back to Holland to be tried by a jury of the families of his victims and the survivors of the Nazi death camps. No confidence can be placed in the will or capacity of the so-called Western democracies to bring Luitjens to justice. For over three decades the Dutch government allowed Pieter Menten, a former German SS sergeant and Dutch national who was responsible for the murder of hundreds of Jews in Poland, to live in peace establishing himself as a respected millionaire and a considerable power in Dutch politics.

As for Canada, even the staid editorialists of the *Globe and Mail* had this comment:

"Infamous Nazis such as Martin Bormann and Klaus Barbie sought sanctuary in tropical climes after the Second World War. But among Hitler's lesser

henchmen, Canada beckoned as a haven where they might quietly live out their days, unbothered by troubling memories."

—8 November 1982

There are an estimated 1,000 Nazi war criminals living in Canada, and *not one* has ever been prosecuted or extradited. It took the Canadian government nine years after a 1973 formal West German request to move to extradite Helmut Rauca, wanted for the mur-

Bettman Archive



Nazi war criminals should be tried by their victims.

der of 11,584 Lithuanian Jews. That case is tied up on appeal. Left completely untouched are the likes of Luitjens and Dmitri Kupiak, accused by the Soviets of mass executions in the Lvov region during World War II. A haven for Nazi war criminals, Canada all but closed its doors to the victims of fascist terror, allowing only 5,000 Jews into the country between 1933 and 1945. Said one official: "None is too many."

After World War II, the victorious "democracies" actively recruited Nazi war criminals to serve as intelligence operatives in their anti-Soviet Cold War drive. The case of Klaus Barbie, the Butcher of Lyons, hired by the U.S. government immediately after the war at \$1,700 a month and later smuggled out of Europe on Red Cross travel documents, is only the most recent example of protection of and counter-revolutionary collaboration with the Nazi killers. The Canadian bourgeoisie in their role as the junior and jackal partners of U.S. imperialism have done their

(continued on page 15)

Spartacist Canada

Published by the SPARTACIST CANADA PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X6

Editorial Board: O. Stephens (editor), S. Peters (production manager), J. Clancy

Circulation Manager: B. Owen
Business Manager: M. McPherson

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

Forward to San Salvador! For Workers Revolution in Central America!

The overthrow of the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua in July 1979 opened a revolutionary crisis in Central America. Today, as U.S.-instigated military aggression against the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime in Managua escalates, as Salvadoran leftist guerrillas put the genocidal government troops on the run, civil war is spreading throughout the region. From Washington, the Reagan administration has vowed to "draw the line" against Communism across the isthmus. And as the puppets totter, their imperialist masters grow increasingly desperate, raising the danger of massive direct American intervention. Accordingly, the question of what strategy and program are necessary to defeat such powerful enemies—the most dangerous imperialist power in history and some of the bloodiest landlord-capitalist ruling classes—takes on global importance. A socialist revolution beginning in El Salvador could arouse the sleeping giant of the Mexican proletariat, send shock waves throughout the continent and shake the North American colossus to its core.

The guerrilla fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) have recently scored dramatic battlefield victories. In early February, as rebels rolled through Usulután province in south-eastern El Salvador, an imperialist "expert" in San Salvador commented, "If things don't change, within four months the government is going to lose this war." The taking of Berlín, the second largest city in Usulután, by the guerrillas made it clear to all that the leftist insurgents could win the war. The Trotskyist League says, "Forward to San Salvador!"

But the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders of the FMLN and the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) want to call off the war, pleading with the liberal "doves" to pressure Reagan for a "political solution" to the conflict in Central America. Here the leading voice for a "negotiated settlement" is Ed Broadbent, leader of the right-wing social-democratic NDP. The NDP does not disagree with Reagan over "stopping the spread of communism" in Central America, it only differs over *how* to stop it. The social democrats' call for a compromise "political solution" is by their own admission designed to *prevent* socialist revolution, by replacing unstable military dictator-

ships with governments capable of diverting popular discontent into reformist channels.

The social democrats and their fake-left camp followers want the leftist insurgents to end the war thus preserving capitalist rule in El Salvador. The Trotskyist League stands with the worker and peasant masses fighting to win their liberation from capi-



Leftist guerrillas after taking village in Usulután. Forward to San Salvador!

UPI

talist oppression and we warn that gains won at tremendous cost on the battlefield must not be used to promote a sellout deal at the bargaining table. A military defeat of the genocidal army is necessary to open the way to workers and peasants governments throughout Central America and the socialist reconstruction of the devastated isthmus.

In early February, 1,600 U.S. troops joined 4,000 Honduran soldiers in war "games" near the border with Nicaragua. The operation is the largest yet in a series of military exercises in the Caribbean basin, previously carried out with the full assistance and participation of Reagan's junior partners in Ottawa who have lent their voice to discussions of joint operations against Cuba and Nicaragua and participated in NATO naval maneuvers. The most recent maneuvers, held only ten miles away from Nicaragua's border, established the forward bases and logistical support network for an invasion by counterrevolutionary mercenaries (*contras*) backed by Honduras

and the U.S. The Trotskyist League demands "Reagan/Trudeau: Hands Off Central America and the Caribbean!"

The petty-bourgeois Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) is not committed to the defense of either proletarian or capitalist property forms. With 60 percent of the Nicaraguan economy in the hands of private businessmen, and the governing apparatus shot through with bourgeois elements, there is a powerful pro-capitalist "fifth column" at work. An effective defense against the all-sided counterrevolutionary onslaught requires the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and a drive to spread socialist revolution throughout Central America.

Break with the Popular Front!

In the midst of the spectacular battlefield gains in El Salvador, FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora held a press conference in Washington on January 19 to call for "unconditional negotiations." He made clear that the Salvadoran opposition coalition does not seek to win the war but to end it. Most recently, in the town of Corinto (Morazán), currently controlled by the rebels, Comandante Miguel of the Resistencia Nacional group reportedly told a rally, "At any moment we are prepared to lay down our arms and end this war" (*Washington Post*, 25 January).

For the Salvadoran working masses and the guerrilla fighters who have already shed so much blood fighting to liberate their people from the rule of a rapacious oligarchy and their jackbooted killers, this would mean disaster. But for the liberal bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians of the FDR/FMLN the purpose of the struggle is to achieve some cabinet seats for themselves, so they can forestall the brewing social revolution by legislating reforms. Military victory—the destruction of the butcher army, the core of the capitalist state apparatus—is necessary in order to open the way to the overthrow of bourgeois rule.

The FDR/FMLN leaders are the shadows of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie, whose role in the popular-front coalition is to act as guarantors of capitalist rule. (Dr. Guillermo Ungo's predecessor as head of the FDR, Enrique Alvarez Córdova, was a scion of one of the "14 families," the coffee barons who have ruled the country for the last century.) And the opposition has repeatedly held out the offer of an alliance with Napoleón Duarte's Christian Democrats. (Butcher Duarte was the head of the murderous junta for the first two years of the present civil war!) But the answer is not simply to dump the Ungos and Zamoras. The entire FDR/FMLN popular front is pledged to the program of reforming (and saving) Salvadoran capitalism. The real force for revolution throughout Central America is the working class. And it is notable that throughout the last offensive, from October 1982 to the present, the leftist rebels have not attempted any kind of actions by the workers in San Salvador or elsewhere. Moreover, both of the significant setbacks suffered by the FMLN (the failed general/"final" offensive of January 1981, and the regime's phony elections of March 1982) were due to the fact that no systematic effort was made to rouse the urban masses. Yet the Salvadoran proletariat has not been passive and apolitical. On the contrary, it was a series of general strikes and mass demonstrations during 1978-80 that laid the basis for the present struggle. These were met with bloody repression. But rather than being defeated, the militancy of the Salvadoran masses was dissipated in an endless series

of actions lacking any strategy for a revolutionary working-class seizure of power.

Already some of the imperialist press is predicting a government defeat in El Salvador. The *Baltimore Sun* (1 February) quotes a "Western source" saying that by midyear, "The army will be intact in the barracks, but the guerrillas will control the countryside." Nevertheless, the battle of San Salvador is key, and in this the combative Salvadoran workers are decisive. Even in spite of the present bourgeois popular-



October 1979. Current FDR leader Guillermo Ungo (center) in Jimmy Carter's "human rights" junta. Now Ungo's FDR offers to ally with butcher Duarte of the Christian Democrats.

front leadership of the left, an urban insurrection could develop into a revolutionary crisis. As workers seized the factories and besieged the barracks, a revolutionary communist leadership would be the fundamental element for victory. A Leninist-Trotskyist party, built on the program of permanent revolution, would seek to mobilize the masses for the formation of soviets, as the organizational basis for a proletarian revolution and a workers and peasants government.

The Trotskyists are intransigent opponents of a negotiated sellout, and of the reformist capitalist program which leads to it. Where the FDR/FMLN calls for maintaining "free enterprise," we call for expropriation of the bourgeoisie (not just the aristocratic oligarchy). Where the FDR/FMLN calls for implementing the land reform decreed by the Christian Democratic-military junta, communists call for agrarian revolution—seize the haciendas! And unlike the petty-bourgeois nationalists, who dream of a "Free El Salvador" in cooperation with an "enlightened" U.S. imperialism and its Canadian junior partner, a Trotskyist party would seek to spread socialist revolution to all corners of the region. This could transform Central America from Uncle Sam's back yard into the vital link uniting socialist revolution throughout the Americas.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard*
Nos. 323 and 324, 11 and 25 February

SPARTACIST PAMPHLET

Class war in El Salvador: From La Matanza massacre of 1932 to the front line of Reagan's Cold War.

(40 Pages, \$1.00)

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Canada Publishing
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6



From the Barricades to the Parti Québécois

Lessons of the 1972 Quebec General Strike



Jailing of Common Front leaders Laberge, Charbonneau and Pepin sparked general strike in Quebec.

"We must assume that what has been happening these past few days in Quebec is not representative of public feeling generally, for if it were a major part of Canada would be on the verge of revolution."

—*Globe and Mail*, 13 May 1972

For eleven days in May 1972 the ruling class and their media mouthpieces throughout North America quaked in their boots in the face of the near-insurrectionary general strike that rocked Quebec. Enraged at the imprisonment of the leaders of Quebec's three major union federations by the provincial Liberal government of Robert Bourassa, thousands of workers across Quebec downed their tools and staged spontaneous walkouts. As town after town fell to the control of striking workers a state of virtual dual power was created.

The Bourassa government was thrown into a state of desperate hysteria to preserve its rule, prime minister Pierre Trudeau screamed that Quebec union leaders were out to "destroy the country" and then-Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) head Donald McDonald chimed in, "they're not strikes, they're revolutions." The 1972 general strike in Quebec did raise the question of political power. But in the absence of a revolutionary proletarian leadership the combativity dissipated. Hatred for the Liberal regimes

both in Quebec and Ottawa (where Trudeau had imposed the War Measures Act in 1970) combined with mounting resentment over the national oppression by arrogant and chauvinist English-speaking Canada was channeled, especially by the union leadership, into votes for the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ).

In 1972 speaking from the opposition bench in the National Assembly PQ leader René Lévesque commented:

"Of course, if one is not to be narrow-minded, one must be sympathetic to the cause of the workers in our society, but...we must not forget that the PQ will perhaps find itself as the boss at the negotiating table... We must strike a balance between the demands of the workers and the possibility that the PQ might be in power during the next negotiations."

—*Labor Challenge*, 8 May 1972

Today that is right where the PQ is, pushing a massive PATCO-style union-busting attack against the militant and combative Quebec labor movement.

From the opposite side of the bargaining table Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ) president Louis Laberge has recently been mouthing off about calling all of Quebec labor out in a general strike against the PQ union-busters with the invocation, "Just re-

member what happened in 1972." Indeed everyone from Laberge to Lévesque remembers all too well what happened then, and to a man—from the labor misleaders to the labor haters—all have been desperately trying to avoid a repeat of this massive proletarian uprising, unprecedented in North American history.

"By Authority of the Workers of Quebec"

In late 1971 the FTQ, the Quebec Federation of Teachers (CEQ) and the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) formed the Common Front of Quebec's public sector workers to negotiate with the Bourassa government. On April 11, 1972 after months of government stonewalling and hardlining, Common Front workers walked out in an "unlimited general strike." But ten days later the union tops caved in to strikebreaking legislation and ordered the ranks—who had voted to stay out—back to work. This did not placate the government, which sentenced the three Common Front leaders—Laberge of the FTQ and CEQ president Yvon Charbonneau (both today in the same positions) as well as then-CSN president Marcel Pepin—to a year's imprisonment.

The powerful industrial proletariat was the first to respond to the jailings. On May 9 a motorcade of unionists taking Laberge, Charbonneau and Pepin to Quebec City to turn themselves in had barely left Montreal when thousands of International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) members from Montreal, Trois Rivières and Quebec City staged a spontaneous walkout.

The same night in Sept-Îles, a mining town in northern Quebec run by the Iron Ore Co. of Canada, a cop attack on a demonstration of angry unionists sparked massive meetings where workers voted overwhelmingly to strike. By the next day this town of 27,000 was being run by striking longshoremen, railway workers and miners—the roads were barricaded, the airport shut down and the occupied radio station broadcast union bulletins.

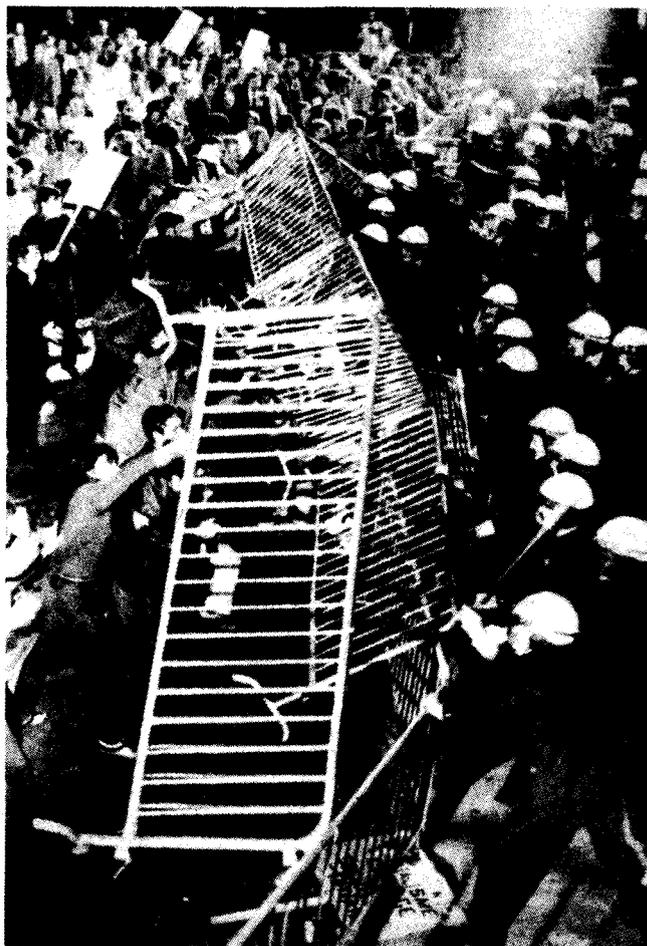
In the following days workers in other company towns across Quebec followed suit. Asbestos miners in Thetford Mines walked off the job followed by the town's public sector workers—together on May 11 they staged a 10,000-strong demonstration. In St-Jérôme 23 factories were shut down as well as hospitals, schools and other public services. At the request of the United Auto Workers union in the nearby town of Ste-Thérèse, strikers from St-Jérôme picketed the GM plant there. Over 2,000 auto workers who usually stayed in the plant for lunch poured out the gates, refusing to cross the St-Jérôme workers' picket when they returned. A GM executive who attempted to enter the plant was told "No one goes in. There's no work today." When he asked "By what authority?" he was told "By the authority of the workers of Quebec" (*Globe and Mail*, 13 May 1972).

In Chibougamau the walkout was sparked by angry wives, some of them teachers and hospital workers, who marched to one of the mines to pull their husbands off the job. By May 12, the fourth day of the strike, nine towns had been occupied by striking workers, over 80,000 construction workers were out across the province, teachers and hospital workers continued to walk out (occupying one Montreal hospital), transit mechanics and 8,000 municipal workers had struck in Montreal. And this was only the tip of the iceberg; the number of factories, hospitals, schools and towns shut down was impossible to keep

track of as wave after wave of angry workers stormed out.

Several radio stations were taken over. From Sorel, Quebec came the following broadcast:

"This is CJSO, the voice of the workers. The next song we are going to play is called 'Adieu.' We dedicate it to all the workers who for the past two



La Presse strikers battle cops, Montreal 1971. Lévesque said he'd "rather live in a South America banana republic" than a Quebec dominated by the "ranting and raving of labor leaders."

days have said 'adieu' to their bosses and the unjust policies of the government."

—*The Gazette*, 13 May 1972

Meantime the bourgeois press churned out article after article denouncing the "lawlessness" and "violence" being fomented by a supposed "radical minority." But on May 12 the media's anti-labor diatribes were stopped for the day as workers from *Le Devoir* and *La Presse* walked off the job. Together with workers from Montreal's other two French-language papers they visited the *Gazette* and the *Star* "requesting" that they shut down production—a request that management couldn't refuse.

The next day the *Gazette* (13 May 1972) hysterically editorialized:

"We were forcibly closed by that minority of the labor movement which has been driving workers

(continued on page 8)

1972...

(continued from page 7)

off the job in various other parts of the province, seizing radio stations, committing acts of vandalism and generally attempting to impose their will with violence and threats of violence."

But everyone from the Liberal regimes in Quebec and Ottawa to the capitalist media to the bosses' labor lieutenants in Quebec and English Canada knew that this was no action by some "lawless minority" but a largely spontaneous and well-disciplined working-class uprising that fundamentally challenged the capitalists' class rule. (The most violent incident throughout the strike happened in Sept-Îles when a Liberal Party organizer drove his car into a picket line killing one picketer.) For the most part the cops were unable to quell the walkouts and occupations as was pointed out in this account of the 1972 strike: "...actions were so widespread that police adopted a policy of non-intervention. Their power was too thinly spread. If they provoked a confrontation in one area, they wouldn't be able to contain the snowballing effect. For once, the police were too weak to provoke violence" (quoted in *Quebec: A Chronicle 1968-1972*).

Coming to the desperate realization that it was quickly becoming the "minority" the Bourassa government increasingly tried to impose its "will with violence." Liberal president Lise Bacon sent out a secret telex ordering local party associations to recruit town thugs and hoodlums to vigilante squads (called "law-abiding citizens committees") to attempt to break the strikes and occupations. A phony anti-strike meeting of a minority of construction workers (most of whom were in fact small-time contractors) was held under the leadership of at least two Liberal Party organizers in an arena rented by the Montreal Association of General Contractors.

But in the end it was not the Liberal government, its cops, courts and vigilante squads or fake back-to-work meetings that stemmed the tide of the 1972 general strike in Quebec. It was the return-to-work orders that came from the jailed Common Front leaders in Orsainville prison on May 17. They appealed for an end to the strike in the name of a "negotiated settlement" with the government. And what a settlement it was. Late in 1972 the Liberal government passed Bill 89 outlawing all public sector strikes as

well as transport, maritime, rail or air strikes and then proceeded to jail, once again, the three Common Front leaders (who had been released on appeal in May).

From the Barricades to the Parti Québécois

During the strike great play was given by the bourgeois press to a three-man split in the CSN executive. One of the three, Emile Dalpe, a former defeated Liberal candidate, charged that the unions were being taken over by "ideologists whose ideas can only lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat..." (quoted in *Labor Challenge*, 5 June 1972). But the ideas of the nationalist Quebec labor tops, for all their manifestos on "socialism," lead not to the "dictatorship of the proletariat" but to the rule of the nationalist union-busting PQ, who were swept to victory in 1976 and again in 1981 with a significant labor vote.

The flames of nationalism were only fueled by the role of the English-chauvinist misleaders of labor in English-speaking Canada who went out of their way to isolate and denounce the 1972 general strike all the while virulently campaigning for "national unity." At the height of the strike the executive issued the following report to the CLC convention:

"It is, therefore, essential that the Congress and its affiliated unions oppose those elements, in any part of Canada, which advocate the destruction of Confederation or a reduction of the federal powers as a means of pursuing selfish regional aims."
—*Globe and Mail*, 15 May 1972

A token motion supporting the "bargaining aims" of the Common Front was passed unanimously but then-CLC president Donald McDonald made perfectly clear the CLC's opposition to the general strike: "...the CLC is not interested in and will not be party to any attempt to overthrow a democratically elected government" (*Globe and Mail*, 15 May 1972). Speaking from the CLC podium in 1972 former (now dead) federal NDP leader David Lewis solidarized with the jailing of the Common Front leaders. If the judge had given them 30 days instead of a year, he opined, the massive labor upsurge could have been avoided.

Fake-Trotskyists Push Nationalism — Canadian and Québécois

If the CLC labor traitors used the 1972 general strike to wave the maple leaf and the Quebec labor tops the *fleur de lys*, the fake-Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO—forerunner of the Revolutionary Workers League) did both. Throughout the course of the strike their paper, *Labor Challenge*, was filled with articles such as an interview with their leader Ross Dowson entitled "Will Trudeau fight U.S. domination?" (8 May 1972). As for Quebec the LSA/LSO's minimal coverage was completely overshadowed by long-winded polemics against the "Canada firsters" of the Communist Party going under headings such as "In Defense of Québécois Nationalism" (24 April 1972).

The LSO's consistent nationalism didn't win them a whole lot of labor support but they did manage to attract the likes of one Reggie Chartrand. At the height of the general strike their youth press, *Young Socialist* (May-June 1972), ran an interview with Chartrand who said, "...I, along with members of the LJS and LSO organize demonstrations for the French language and the independence of Quebec." In 1980 Chartrand along with his ultra-nationalist thugs in the "Chevaliers de l'indépendance" confronted leftist contingents in the May Day demonstration

ජනවසිසව

පාර්ලිමේන්තු කාලය දීර්ඝ
කිරීමට විරුද්ධ වෙමු!

සු.දාන්.පී. ප්‍රතිගමනවය
පරාජය කරමි!

ஸ்பார்டாகிஸ்ட்

1982 மீதான அலுவலியை எதிர்த்து
மனரொழுமின்றத்தின் ஆயுதமான
நிடிபடித்தை எதிர்ப்போம்!

ஜி.கே.க. பிற்போக்குத் தனித்தை
தேற்கடிக்கத் தயாராவோம்!

Lanka Spartacist
(Sinhala) No.5

Illangai Spartacist
(Tamil) No.2

10 Rs./\$1

Order from:
Spartacist League/Lanka
33 Canal Row
Colombo 01 Sri Lanka

or
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116 USA

with chants of "Long Live the Independence of Quebec" and "Death to Communism"! So much for the progressive character of Québécois nationalism.

The LSA/LSO believed that their more-nationalist-than-the-PQ program would lead to overnight growth. It didn't. Instead in the aftermath of the 1972 general strike the splits in various amorphous New Left nationalist lash-ups in Quebec gave birth to first the eclectic New Left Maoists of In Struggle! (IS!)-headed up by former FLQer Charles Gagnon-and later the more hardline anti-Soviet Maoists who became the Workers*Communist Party (WCP). Both groups were anti Québécois nationalism-the WCP from the perspective of anti-Sovietism while the cowards of IS! even refused to defend their former comrades in the FLQ. A little more than a decade later both groups, who at one time claimed thousands of members, have bit the dust-shipwrecked on the shores of the Cold War of which both organizations were truly the "vanguard" (see article this issue).

Not Bourgeois Nationalism but Proletarian Internationalism!

The 1972 Quebec general strike was the most explosive political event in the history of the North American labor movement. At the same time it was a dramatic example of what Trotsky called the crisis of proletarian leadership. Thousands of workers spontaneously take to the streets, occupy and run whole towns in a struggle that goes far beyond all craft and union divisions. For example the Quebec construction workers who walked out en masse were earlier deeply divided by the mutual raids of the CSN and FTQ; later they would be the target of the notorious Cliche Commission, a union-busting attack carried out in the name of fighting labor "corruption."

In 1972 the determined militancy and combativity of the Québécois proletariat was pushed to the limit, to the point that what became brutally clear was the need for a proletarian internationalist program and leadership. At the time one couldn't have found a more left-talking bureaucracy than the Quebec labor tops, who were busily turning out manifesto after manifesto calling to smash capitalism and build socialism. But for all their socialist rhetoric 1972 proved that they were as loyal lieutenants of the capitalist class as their Meanyite counterparts in the leadership of North American labor. But where the nationalist Quebec labor bureaucrats used 1972 to build labor support for the bourgeois-nationalist PQ the Maple Leaf jingoists heading up the English-Canadian labor movement attempted to keep the general strike from spilling over into their own ranks through orgies of chauvinism.

The dramatic rise of groups like the WCP and IS! in the aftermath of 1972 demonstrated that many workers, students and others looked to the left for a new leadership in opposition to Québécois nationalism.

They didn't find it in these groups whose anti-nationalism was forged in anti-Sovietism. Few turned to the LSO, who summed up the 1972 Quebec general strike with the comment: "Far from contradicting the radicalization of Quebec workers, this rise in support for the PQ, a bourgeois party, simply confirms what we have said about the nationalist character of the workers' struggle (*Labor Challenge*, 5 June 1972). Various centrists and syndicalists who wanted to strike a more left-wing pose seized upon the 1972 strike to promote their utopian nationalist strategy for an "independent and socialist Quebec."

The Quebec labor tops channeled the labor battles of the early 1970s into votes for Lévesque's PQ, which today is attempting to trash Quebec labor with strike-breaking attacks, in particular on government workers, which would do Ronald Reagan proud. In this crucial labor showdown Quebec workers must draw the lessons of 1972. What is desperately needed is a proletarian internationalist leadership that can win this militant and combative working class to the perspective of multinational revolutionary class unity in which it is destined to play a leading role. Alone on the left the Trotskyist League of Canada has fought for this perspective, unconditionally defending Quebec's right to independence and at the same time fighting against Québécois nationalism. The road forward to the national and social liberation of the Quebec working masses lies in the united proletarian struggle for North American socialist revolution under the leadership of a Bolshevik Party. ■

WCP...

(continued from page 2)

a "bloody lesson." And the WCP in English Canada attracted some of the worst of this genre.

But in Quebec the organization once claimed close to 2,000 members many of whom were undoubtedly won to the WCP's opposition to Quebec nationalism (which was born not out of any perspective of revolutionary class struggle but anti-Sovietism). Those who looked to the WCP for answers to the burning questions of national and social oppression got instead anti-Sovietism, demoralization and depoliticization. Against those disintegrating Maoists who march to the drum of Cold War reaction and still others who look for refuge in bourgeois nationalism, it is the revolutionary internationalist program of the Trotskyist League, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, that can lead the way forward to North American socialist revolution. ■

Trotskyist League Directory

Toronto
Box 7198 Station A
Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26 Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

**Trotskyist League
Public Office Hours**

Saturdays 1:00 - 5:00 p.m.
Suite 502, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto
Phone (416) 593-4138

Subscribe!

Women and Revolution

Journal of the
Spartacist League/U.S.
Women's Commission

\$.50 single issue
\$2/4 issues

Order from:
Spartacist Publishing Co.,
Box 1377, GPO, New York,
NY 10116

Women and Revolution
Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League, U.S.

International Women's Day 1983

Dr. Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis: A Man Who Saved Millions of Women	Ireland/Britain: Catholic Caste Targets Irish Women
Canada: Delayed Dr. Huggarene Against Anti-Abortion Frenzy	France: Mitterand's MfW Order Spurs Struggle
Australia: Life in a Remote White Imperialist Enclave	Spain: Spain's Francoist Anti-Abortion Drive
Italy: Women's Procession Rocks Italy	West Germany: No to Kinder, Küche, Kirche!
Sri Lanka: Women Workers' Fight Key to Revolution	U.S.: Wall America Explores?

Quebec...

(continued from page 1)

Bill 105. They are targeted for the loss of 11,000 jobs.

After three weeks the "unlimited general strike" had been limited to the teachers. Then on February 17, the PQ came down with the most vicious piece of strikebreaking legislation in Canadian history—Bill 111, a provincial version of the War Measures Act (last used in 1970 by Prime Minister Trudeau to occupy Quebec). With this slave-labor law Lévesque outdid even Maurice Duplessis—the man who ruled Quebec for 18 years with the iron hand of clerical reaction, corruption and savage strikebreaking, including the decertification of the Montreal teachers union in 1949 (and the man whose statue was taken out of storage by Lévesque).

Bill 111 outlaws any strikes, slowdowns or work-to-rule actions through to December 1985, threatening massive fines (estimated at \$10 million per day) and firings as well as the loss of three years seniority for each day of any teacher's action and six-month cancellations of union dues checkoffs. Explicitly suspending even those bourgeois-democratic rights supposedly guaranteed under the Quebec Human Rights Charter and the Canadian constitution, the law demands that penalized teachers are to be presumed guilty unless proven innocent!

The response to Bill 111 was immediate. And Lévesque, who had boasted that this legislation would "end the illusion that the unions are capable of smashing the government," was worried that it would prove precisely the opposite. Striking teachers voted massively to defy the law. Civil liberties organizations, the Quebec Bar Association and even bourgeois editorialists denounced it. Parents and students joined the picket lines as did teachers from English Canada who crossed the river from Ottawa to Hull.

A Montreal transit worker whose leaders were jailed for defying previous strikebreaking legislation told *Spartacist Canada*, "I wish the teachers would ask us to go out on strike. We would." Dockers in Lauzon sent a protest statement, particularly significant as it was the dockers of Montreal who spearheaded the near-insurrectionary 1972 Quebec general strike. As Bill 111 started to ignite protest from Quebec's powerful industrial proletariat the specter of another 1972—when workers took over the company towns built around mines, pulp and paper mills and industrial plants—temporarily stayed the PQ's hand in coming down with the full force of the law. Lévesque didn't have to worry, his nationalist labor lieutenants in the leadership of the Common Front were just as scared of another '72 as he was. So they ditched the strike.

On February 20 the teachers union leaders waved the white flag and called a three-week "truce." Speaking before a National Assembly committee on March 3, CEQ president Yvon Charbonneau publicly accepted Bill 105's wage cuts asking that in return the PQ guarantee job security and present-level workloads! At the same time Charbonneau offered to call off the teachers' planned renewal of the strike set for March 14.

While the pro-PQ union tops desperately look for a "negotiated settlement" with Lévesque's labor haters the PQ is trashing the Common Front unions. Over 23,000 charges have been laid against workers who defied Bill 105! And Lévesque like Reagan when he smashed PATCO is not just targeting government workers but all of Quebec labor. What he has in store was demonstrated on January 28 when the president of the Montreal transit workers union was sentenced

to a jail term of 120 days and four executive board members to 60 days each, for joining a Common Front one-day general strike last November.

The outcome of this confrontation with the Common Front is a life or death matter for Quebec's industrial unions as well. If Lévesque can get away with trashing the Common Front, which constituted a bastion of support for the PQ, he will have no hesitation in going after Quebec industrial workers, when unemployment in this province is the highest in Canada outside the



Premier René Lévesque, PQ nationalist labor-hater.

UPC

Maritimes. Common Front workers cannot rely on the nationalist sellouts who head the unions to win this crucial showdown with the PQ union busters. Mass meetings are needed to elect strike committees to resume the strike, to organize mass picketing and to turn the strike into a general strike by extending it to Quebec's powerful industrial proletariat. Shut down Quebec!

Labor Must Break With Quebec Nationalism!

The militancy and combativity of Quebec labor that erupted in its most massive form in the 1972 general strike and mounting resentment over national oppression was channeled by the labor tops into the PQ, sweeping Lévesque to power in 1976 and 1981. In 1977 FTQ president Louis Laberge introduced Lévesque to a union gathering as "The Premier, our premier, everybody's Premier!"

But now a Common Front demonstration of 50,000 called in front of the National Assembly on January 29 saw workers carrying placards which read: "Duplessis-Lévesque: Like Father, Like Son!" "Lévesque, Pinochet" and "Lévesque, Fascist." Before the strike began there was a move in the teachers union to expel union members who as PQ delegates in the National Assembly voted for Bill 105. And at the January 29 demonstration Charbonneau denounced 40 former unionists who sit on the PQ benches as "René-gades!" The bureaucrats are reaping the "rewards" of their years of support to the PQ. But this critical showdown

between Quebec labor and the PQ provides an unprecedented opportunity to win this militant labor movement to a perspective of multinational revolutionary class unity where it is destined to play a *vanguard* role.

Lévesque has of course always been a notorious labor hater. In 1971, a year of mounting class struggle in Quebec, Lévesque stated he would "rather live in a South America banana republic" than a Quebec dominated by the "ranting and raving of labor leaders" (quoted in *Quebec: A Chronicle 1968-72*). But the reason that "Pinochet" Lévesque is now trying to introduce a banana republic standard of living for the Quebec working class is the same reason that Trudeau imposed wage controls on federal workers and Reagan has gone after every sector of the American public that does not own a substantial piece of the *Fortune* 500: the crisis of American imperialism, of which Canada is a junior imperialist partner, and the respective ruling classes who see no other way out than strikebreaking and union-busting at home and the anti-Soviet war drive abroad. Lévesque can wrap himself up in the *fleur de lys* of "Sovereignty-Association" but as a servant of the capitalist system in this period he marches to the same drummer as Reagan and Trudeau.

In spite of its pro-PQ leadership, the Quebec proletariat has repeatedly spearheaded nationwide labor actions including several postal strikes and the 14 October 1976 one-day general strike against Trudeau's wage controls. Today, were the Common Front to beat back Lévesque's union-busting, especially if it brought out Quebec's resource-based industrial proletariat, this could ignite a Canada-wide labor offensive against Trudeau's wage controls on federal workers and the massive layoffs and takebacks that have been imposed on the Canadian proletariat in mining centers like Sudbury.

In English-speaking Canada, the refusal of labor tops or the wretched social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) to defend Quebec's right to self-determination has been a barrier to bi-national class

unity. In 1972 the now-deceased longtime leader of the NDP, David Lewis, supported the jailing of the Common Front leaders. More recently the NDP has been in an uproar over the PQ's application for admission to the Socialist International. In a moment of unbridled hypocrisy, one leading NDPer, citing the PQ's Bill 105, queried, "Do you think that a socialist party would do a thing like that?" The PQ responded: What about Mitterrand! This was apt as well as diplomatic: the PQ could have mentioned the NDP's massive strike-breaking in British Columbia in 1975 or declaration of wage controls in Manitoba in 1976 which won the NDP premier for that province, Ed Schreyer, the post as her Majesty's loyal servant, the governor-generalship in Ottawa. But there is a fundamental difference between a bourgeois-nationalist party like the PQ and a bourgeois workers party like the British Labour Party, French social democracy or even the ultra-reformist NDP. The latter organizations rest on the institutions of the working class and while they can break strikes and impose vicious austerity measures, they cannot destroy the organized labor movement, especially the trade unions, without destroying themselves. The PQ, however, can turn around and break the unions that have been its most fervent supporters.

While unions in English Canada have sent messages of solidarity to the Common Front strike, militants must demand that these unions go on record demanding that the War Measures Act be abolished, that federal intervention by Trudeau on the side of the PQ government, especially the use of troops, will be met by a general strike of all Canadian labor, and for the unconditional right of Quebec to self-determination.

The fake left capitulates either to Canadian social democracy or Quebec nationalism but the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), the Canadian suburb of Barnestown, USA (a.k.a. Socialist Workers Party), capitulates to both. While declaring their undying loyalty to the English-chauvinist NDP the RWL complains that the PQ is not nationalist enough! The RWL's *Socialist Voice* (24 January) complains "rather

(continued on page 12)

Toronto LCUC Militants:

"Defend Quebec's Right to Independence"

At the February 17 general membership meeting of Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Local 1 the executive presented a motion of token solidarity with then-striking Quebec teachers. In an attempt to put some teeth into this motion, LCUC militant Audrey Minton raised an amendment calling for the abolition of the War Measures Act (used in 1970 to arrest hundreds of Quebec trade unionists, among others) and for the unconditional defense of Quebec's right to independence. These demands should be elementary for any trade unionist in English Canada who genuinely defends democratic rights.

Before any discussion on this important amendment could take place however, Jim Turnbull, a long-time supporter of the Albania-lovers of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), cynically played to the despicable English-chauvinist elements of Local 1. He appealed to them to rule the amendment out of order, claiming it was

a diversion! Throughout the discussion on the bureaucrats' motion (which passed overwhelmingly) Turnbull repeatedly interrupted militants who spoke against the draconian War Measures Act and who defended Quebec's national rights. After the meeting he physically threatened a union militant who challenged his craven politics. The frenzied refusal of Turnbull and his political mentors to support the crucial demands raised by this amendment place them squarely in the camp of arrogant English-Canadian chauvinism and racism.

Quebec workers have historically been the most militant in North America but their forcible subjugation by English Canada is a barrier to binational class unity. The basic democratic rights of the Québécois must be defended and indeed championed by English-speaking workers if this unity—key to the victory of socialist revolution in North America—is to be forged.

Quebec...

(continued from page 11)

than confront Ottawa and the corporations which are totally hostile to the aspirations of the Québécois and are responsible for the crisis, the Parti Québécois is carrying out their goals and their work." And the RWL holds up to the Quebec proletariat the example of...the Canadian Chrysler strike!

This strike occurred only after Canadian UAW director Bob White worked hand in hand with UAW president Fraser to sabotage a company-wide strike against Chrysler. After five weeks Canadian Chrysler workers won a tiny raise and a lousy contract that doesn't keep up with inflation, doesn't close the gap with the other Big Three, doesn't close the gap with U.S. Chrysler workers due to the devaluation of the Canadian dollar, and introduces a new tool for layoffs and harassment called absentee control. The only value to the comparison is that Lévesque figures Quebec is in the same financial shape as Chrysler and he's chairman of the board. The real point about the Chrysler strike is the necessity for U.S./Canadian working-class unity given the integrated nature of their economies, especially when dealing with the same company! The Chrysler strike could only have been won if black Detroit had taken the lead. And this is an important lesson indeed for the Quebec working class.

The Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), sympathiz-

ing section of the international Spartacist tendency, has uniquely fought for the perspective of binational revolutionary class unity in which the combative Quebec proletariat must necessarily constitute a vanguard in socialist revolution throughout North America. The TLC warned that the PQ's rise to power would produce exactly what Lévesque has wrought: a vicious anti-labor government that uses the *fleur de lys* to dupe the workers while he cuts their throat. The TLC has fought for the right to independence for Quebec, not because separation would be "progressive" but because the forcible national subjugation of Quebec by English Canada is a barrier to the class unity of the English-speaking and French-speaking proletariats of North America. The demand, however, for an "independent Socialist Quebec" raised from time to time by confused Québécois centrists and syndicalists, is utopian. No strategy based on separatism—including the utopian "socialist independence"—can truly show the way forward for the working masses of Quebec. A social revolution in Quebec, a Quebec "Commune," would necessarily have to be extended throughout North America or it would be crushed. The proletariat of Quebec will find their social as well as their national liberation only within the framework of a continental socialist revolution, and must look for its leadership to a reborn Fourth International.

—Adapted from Workers Vanguard
No. 323, 11 February

Québec...

(suite de la page 16)

constitué le coeur du soutien au PQ et à sa politique nationaliste "francophone." Leur "récompense": après des mois de refus de négocier, Lévesque avança le 11 décembre à l'Assemblée nationale une mesure sans précédent de cassage de syndicat: la loi 105. La loi rend lettre morte les contrats existants, revient sur des acquis durement gagnés sur les conditions et la sécurité du travail, impose un contrat de trois ans interdisant la grève, pouvant couper les salaires jusqu'à 20% dans un pays où l'inflation est souvent de 10%, et promettant des milliers de congédiements!

En réponse, une "grève générale illimitée" des ouvriers de la province a été appelée par le "Front commun" du Québec représentant 210.000 travailleurs des hôpitaux, enseignants et autres employés organisés par les trois plus importantes confédérations syndicales—la Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN), la Confédération des enseignants du Québec (CEQ) et la Fédération des travailleurs du Québec (FTQ). Mais

jusqu'à présent la grève a été limitée à 95.000 enseignants, en grève depuis le 26 janvier, et 5.000 autres fonctionnaires. Les 60.000 travailleurs hospitaliers de la CSN sont partis en grève lundi 31 janvier. Mais ils retournèrent travailler 22 heures plus tard lorsque leurs dirigeants parvinrent à une tentative d'accord avec le gouvernement du PQ, accord qui acceptait la loi 105 avec seulement des retouches mineures. Néanmoins, dans une assemblée qui s'est tenue pendant deux jours, les 800 délégués des travailleurs hospitaliers votèrent en grande majorité pour repousser cet accord pourri et le jeter à la tête des dirigeants de la CSN. L'annonce du rejet de l'accord fut accueillie avec des acclamations telles que: "Nous voulons sortir" et "Ensemble nous vaincrons." Mais en revenant sur le vote de la grève les bureaucrates tentent désespérément de faire continuer le travail aux travailleurs hospitaliers.

Quand Yvon Charbonneau, dirigeant de la CEQ, essaya de faire passer l'accord de la CSN pour une "victoire du Front commun," des enseignants en grève répliquèrent: "Trahison!", et ils demandèrent "Bon sang, où est passé le Front commun?" Bonne question. Les enseignants, qui étaient les plus fervents partisans du PQ, représentent le secteur le plus

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the
Spartacist League

SUBSCRIBE! \$5/24 issues

(Includes Spartacist)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Province _____

Postal Code _____ Phone _____

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co.,
Box 1377 GPO, New York, N.Y. 10116

SPARTACIST CANADA

Subscribe \$2/10 issues

(Includes Spartacist)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Province _____

Postal Code _____ Phone _____

Order from/pay to: Spartacist Canada Publishing Association,
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario

durement touché par la loi 105. Ils sont menacés de perdre 11.000 emplois.

Les grèves du "Front commun" sont considérées comme "illégal" d'après la loi 105. Mais jusqu'à présent Lévesque s'est appuyé sur ses lieutenants ouvriers à la tête du Front commun, qui se démènent pour tenter de briser eux-mêmes la grève. Le cabinet du PQ dispose d'une autre arme: une législation qui imposerait des congédiements massifs et des amendes contre les grévistes et éliminerait la déduction automatique des cotisations syndicales. Ces projets de loi constituent les mesures antisyndicales les plus vicieuses que l'on ait connues depuis Maurice Duplessis, qui a dirigé le Québec pendant 18 années avec la main de fer de la réaction cléricale, de la corruption et du cassage brutal des grèves, et qui décerta le syndicat des enseignants de Montréal en 1949. Déjà le PQ a déposé des milliers de plaintes qui signifieront le paiement d'amendes massives pour les grévistes, leurs syndicats et leurs permanents. Une police équipée contre les émeutes appuie les instructions de Lévesque comme quoi tout ouvrier qui défend une ligne de piquetage contre les scabs sera congédié immédiatement. Ce que Lévesque a en réserve pour le mouvement ouvrier québécois s'est particulièrement illustré le 28 janvier, lorsque le président du syndicat des employés du transport à Montréal et quatre membres du bureau exécutif ont été condamnés respectivement à 120 jours et 60 jours de prison. Ils furent condamnés parce que les 21.000 membres du syndicat des employés du transport, qui, l'année dernière, étaient sans contrat pendant des mois, avaient rejoint une grève générale de 24 heures organisée par le Front commun le 10 novembre dernier.

Les leçons de la grève générale du Québec en 1972

Lévesque ne propose pas encore d'emprisonner les grévistes et les dirigeants du Front commun parce qu'il se rappelle fort bien les conséquences de mesures similaires en 1972. Le Front commun s'était constitué dans cette période en vue de négocier avec le gouvernement provincial, alors Libéral, de la ville de Québec de Robert Bourassa. Bourassa emprisonna les dirigeants du Front commun alors même qu'ils avaient décommandé une grève de 10 jours du secteur public face à une législation de cassage massif des syndicats. Deux des dirigeants du Front commun d'alors, Charbonneau de la CEQ et Louis Laberge de la FTQ, sont toujours aux mêmes postes aujourd'hui. Bien que les ouvriers du Front commun reprissent le travail, l'emprisonnement de leurs dirigeants entraîna immédiatement un débrayage spontané des milliers de débardeurs de Montréal appartenant à l'Association internationale des débardeurs (ILA). Le débrayage de l'ILA s'étendit au prolétariat industriel du Québec, concentré dans un groupe de villes construites autour de mines, d'usines de pâte à papier, de papeteries et d'autres industries. Comme les ouvriers occupaient ces villes et entreprises, une situation de quasi double pouvoir fut créée.

Lévesque, tel Reagan lorsqu'il a démolit le syndicat PATCO, ne prend pas seulement pour cible les fonctionnaires mais tout le mouvement ouvrier québécois. L'issue de sa confrontation avec le Front commun est aussi une question de vie ou de mort pour les syndicats industriels du Québec. Si Lévesque peut réussir à écraser le Front commun qui constituait un bastion du PQ, il n'aura aucune hésitation à faire de même contre les ouvriers industriels du Québec, au moment où le chômage dans cette région, et en particulier dans les industries vitales du secteur primaire, est

le plus élevé en dehors des provinces maritimes de l'est. Les travailleurs du Front commun ne peuvent faire confiance à leurs dirigeants syndicaux pro-PQ pour gagner cette épreuve de force contre les briseurs de syndicats du PQ. L'assemblée de délégués de la CSN montre bien qu'il faut des meetings syndicaux de masse pour élire des comités de grève afin de mettre en oeuvre l'appel à la grève du Front commun,

Maous/Gamma



Le premier ministre René Lévesque: ennemi nationaliste des syndicats.

afin d'organiser des lignes de piquetage de masse pour défendre la grève et afin de la transformer en une véritable grève générale en l'étendant au puissant prolétariat industriel du Québec. Paralysez le Québec!

Le mouvement ouvrier doit rompre avec le nationalisme québécois

La grève générale, en particulier contre le brisage des grèves et des syndicats par le gouvernement, soulève la question du pouvoir politique. Mais en l'absence d'une direction révolutionnaire prolétarienne, la combativité de la grève générale de 1972 était retombée. La haine pour les Libéraux à la fois à

(suite page 14)

SPARTACIST

Organe du marxisme révolutionnaire

Spartacist, édition française
\$.75

Commande:
Spartacist Canada Publishing
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6

Déclaration de la tendance spartaciste
L'ennemi principal est dans notre propre pays!

Vive Rosa Luxemburg! 2
La offensive de l'URSS communiste à l'Occident 4
Contre le nationalisme de la "petite Australie" 10

Le St. Patrick, nos amis Reagan 14
Action ouverte pour chasser Reagan 14
1000 manifestants à Chicago 16
Victoire contre les nazis 35

Québec...

(suite de la page 13)

Ottawa (où Trudeau avait imposé la Loi sur les mesures de guerre en 1970) et à Québec, combinée au mécontentement croissant provoqué par l'oppression nationale exercée par le Canada anglophone chauvin et arrogant, a été canalisée, surtout par la direction du Front commun, vers le PQ propulsant Lévesque au pouvoir en 1976 et en 1981.

Et maintenant on peut voir dans la manifestation du Front commun de 50.000 personnes appelée devant l'Assemblée nationale le 29 janvier des ouvriers portant des pancartes: "Duplessis-Lévesque: tel père, tel fils!", "Lévesque, Pinochet" et "Lévesque fasciste!" Avant le début de la grève, il y avait un mouvement dans le syndicat des enseignants pour en exclure des membres syndicaux qui, en tant que députés du PQ à l'Assemblée nationale, votèrent pour la loi 105. Et à la manifestation du 29 janvier Charbonneau dénonça comme "René-gats" 40 anciens syndicalistes siégeant avec le PQ. Les bureaucrates sont en train de récolter les "récompenses" de leurs années de soutien au PQ. Mais cette épreuve de force cruciale entre les travailleurs québécois et le PQ fournit une occasion sans précédent de gagner ce mouvement ouvrier combatif à une perspective d'unité de classe révolutionnaire multinationale dans laquelle il est destiné à jouer un rôle d'avant-garde.

Lévesque, bien sûr, a toujours été notoirement connu pour sa haine anti-ouvrière. En 1971, année de montée de lutte de classe au Québec, Lévesque déclarait qu'il "préférerait vivre dans une république bananière d'Amérique du Sud" plutôt que dans un Québec dominé par les "déclamations et divagations des dirigeants ouv-

riers" (cité dans *Quebec: A Chronicle 1968-72*). Mais la raison pour laquelle Lévesque-"Pinochet" tente maintenant d'introduire un niveau de vie d'une république bananière pour la classe ouvrière québécoise est la même raison pour laquelle Trudeau a imposé le contrôle des salaires aux travailleurs fédéraux et pour laquelle Reagan s'est attaqué à tout le secteur du public américain qui ne possède pas une tranche importante de la Fortune 500: à savoir, la crise de l'impérialisme américain, de son partenaire subalterne—l'impérialisme canadien—et des classes dirigeantes respectives qui ne voient aucun autre moyen de s'en sortir que celui du cassage de grèves et du brisage de syndicats à l'intérieur de ses propres frontières et celui de la course à la guerre antisoviétique à l'extérieur. Lévesque peut se parer de la fleur de lys du "Mouvement Souveraineté-Association," mais en tant que serviteur du système capitaliste, dans cette période, il marche au même pas que Reagan et Trudeau.

Malgré sa direction pro-PQ, le prolétariat québécois a souvent lancé des actions ouvrières à l'échelle nationale, y compris plusieurs grèves des postes et la grève générale de 24 heures du 14 octobre 1976 contre le contrôle des salaires de Trudeau. Aujourd'hui si le Front commun repoussait le cassage des syndicats de Lévesque et surtout s'il mobilisait le prolétariat des industries du secteur primaire du Québec, cela pourrait provoquer une offensive ouvrière à l'échelle du Canada contre les congédiements massifs et la reprise d'acquisitions au prolétariat canadien dans les centres miniers comme Sudbury.

Au Canada anglophone, le refus des directions syndicales ou du misérable Nouveau parti démocratique (NPD) social-démocrate de défendre le droit du Québec à l'autodétermination représente un obstacle pour

Protest Letter:

RWL Supporter Targets East Indian Leftist

Revolutionary Workers League
3540 Commercial St.
Vancouver, B.C. V5N 4E9

On 17 January at a public meeting on El Salvador at the Laquena cafe on Commercial Street one of your supporters, whose name is unknown to us, staged a provocation against an East Indian supporter of the Trotskyist League, charging at him with fists raised. An outright physical assault was prevented only by the intervention of a more burly TL comrade. Dissuaded from his attack your supporter, upon entering the meeting, turned and threatened our East Indian friend with a statement to the effect, "Next time I'll smash your face."

Such actions are a violation of the most elementary norms of workers democracy. But particularly in the climate of racist reaction so rampant in B.C. your supporter's actions are even more despicable. Hooded and robed KKKers parade the streets of Vancouver "visiting" left-wing bookstores, a cross is burned in front of the Sikh temple, East Indians are beaten, murdered by these racist scum. Meanwhile, your cowardly "macho" friend singles out a small East Indian leftist who he obviously saw as an easy, vulnerable and "legitimate" target for violence!

Violence and exclusionism are the methods of the

politically bankrupt, unable to answer revolutionary politics. These practices have a logic—fear of open political debate before the socialist and working-class public. Thus in your effort to defend the counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność—the only "union" Ronald Reagan and pope Wojtyla ever loved—your Toronto branch excluded the Trotskyist League from its "public" meetings. The RWL has participated in a number of goon squads in an attempt to suppress, isolate and exclude our revolutionary Trotskyist politics. Now your leader Jack Barnes has publicly and formally denounced Trotskyism in a speech that was an outright declaration of what has been the reality for years.

On 22 January we protested your supporter's contemptible racist attack to Bonnie and Cheryl, two members of your executive. Your response? A goon squad physically barred TL supporters from attending your "public" Socialist Forum on Quebec February 5 and promised to do so in future, fatuously claiming that the TL "disrupted our last meeting." Thus you lie and employ goons in defense of the indefensible. We intend to take whatever means necessary to defend our democratic rights and to protect our friends and supporters.

Jane Clancy
for the Trotskyist League

1 March 1983

l'unité de classe binationale. En 1972 celui qui fut longtemps le dirigeant du NPD, David Lewis, aujourd'hui décédé, soutint l'emprisonnement des dirigeants du Front commun. Plus récemment il y a eu beaucoup de bruit dans le NPD sur la question de la demande du PQ d'être accepté dans la Seconde Internationale. Dans un moment d'hypocrisie effrénée, un dirigeant du NPD, citant la loi 105 du PQ, posa cette question: "Pensez-vous qu'un parti socialiste ferait une chose pareille?" Et le PQ répondit: Et Mitterrand alors? C'était aussi juste que diplomatique: le PQ aurait pu mentionner les importants brisages de grève du NPD en Colombie-britannique en 1975 ou le contrôle des salaires imposé à Manitoba en 1976 qui permit au premier ministre du NPD pour cette province, Ed Schreyer, d'obtenir le poste de serviteur loyal de sa majesté: gouverneur général à Ottawa. Mais il y a une différence fondamentale entre d'une part un parti nationaliste bourgeois comme le PQ et d'autre part un parti ouvrier bourgeois comme le parti travailliste anglais, la social-démocratie française et même le NPD ultra-réformiste. Ces organisations reposent sur l'organisation de la classe ouvrière et bien qu'elles puissent briser des grèves et imposer des mesures d'austérité, elles ne peuvent détruire le mouvement ouvrier organisé, en particulier les syndicats, sans se détruire elles-mêmes. Le PQ peut lui, par contre, attaquer et briser les syndicats qui ont été ses plus fervents partisans.

Les syndicats du Canada anglais ont envoyé des messages de solidarité à la grève du Front commun, mais les militants doivent s'adresser à ces syndicats pour qu'ils demandent en même temps l'abolition de la Loi sur les mesures de guerre, et pour qu'une intervention fédérale de Trudeau aux côtés du gouvernement du PQ (et en particulier l'utilisation des troupes) soit accueillie par une grève générale de tout le mouvement ouvrier canadien, et pour le droit inconditionnel du Québec à l'autodétermination.

Les pseudo-révolutionnaires capitulent devant soit la social-démocratie canadienne, soit le nationalisme québécois; mais la Ligue ouvrière révolutionnaire (LOR), la banlieue canadienne de Barnestown, Etats-Unis (connue sous le nom de Socialist Workers Party), capitule devant les deux à la fois. Tout en déclarant sa loyauté éternelle au NPD chauvin anglais, la LOR se plaint que le PQ ne soit pas suffisamment nationaliste! *Socialist Voice* (24 janvier) du LOR se lamente que "plutôt que de confronter Ottawa et les trusts qui sont totalement hostiles aux aspirations des Québécois et qui sont responsables de la crise, le PQ satisfait à leur but et effectue leur travail." Et la LOR offre comme modèle au prolétariat du Québec... la grève de Chrysler au Canada!

Nazi Criminal...

(continued from page 3)

bit in shielding and protecting Nazi mass murderers.

Today the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan (who have walked hooded and robed down the streets of Vancouver) is a domestic adjunct of the renewed Cold War. Just as the capitalists keep the native fascists in reserve, to be unleashed against insurgent workers and all the oppressed, they also keep the old Nazi killers around. Instead of serving the Third Reich they continue their anti-Communist subversion on behalf of a so-called Free World. And their benefactors are not just the U.S. ruling class but the "nice guy" Canadian imperialists. Only victorious workers revolution will bring justice by wiping the fascist murderers from the face of the earth. ■

Cette grève a eu lieu seulement après que Bob White, directeur des Travailleurs Unis de l'Automobile (TUA) canadien, a travaillé main dans la main avec le président des TUA, Fraser, pour saboter une grève à l'échelle de toute la compagnie contre Chrysler. Après cinq jours de grève les ouvriers de Chrysler au Canada ont obtenu une minuscule augmentation ainsi qu'un contrat misérable où les salaires ne rattrapent pas l'inflation, qui ne rattrape pas les Trois Grands, qui ne rattrape pas les ouvriers de Chrysler aux USA du fait de la dévaluation du dollar canadien, et qui introduit une nouvelle arme pour congédier et harceler appelée *contrôle des absences*. Le seul intérêt à la comparaison est que Lévesque pense que le Québec est dans le même état financier que Chrysler et qu'il en est le directeur-général. Le véritable point au sujet de la grève de Chrysler, c'est la nécessité de l'unité des classes ouvrières canadienne et américaine vu le caractère intégré de leurs économies, d'autant plus quand il s'agit de la même compagnie! La grève de Chrysler pouvait être victorieuse seulement si le Detroit noir en prenait la direction. Et c'est une leçon très importante surtout pour la classe ouvrière du Québec.

La Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), section sympathisante de la tendance spartaciste internationale, a été la seule à lutter pour la perspective de l'unité de classe révolutionnaire binationale dans laquelle le prolétariat québécois doit nécessairement constituer une avant-garde pour la révolution socialiste dans toute l'Amérique du Nord. La TLC avait prévenu que la montée au pouvoir du PQ donnerait exactement ce que Lévesque a fait: un gouvernement viscéralement anti-ouvrier qui utilise la *fleur de lys* pour tromper les ouvriers et en même temps leur couper la gorge. La TLC a lutté pour le droit du Québec à l'indépendance, non parce que la séparation serait "progressiste" mais parce que l'assujettissement national forcé du Québec par le Canada anglais est un obstacle à l'unité de classe des prolétaires anglophone et francophone d'Amérique du Nord. Cependant la revendication d'un "Québec socialiste indépendant," avancée de temps en temps par des centristes et des syndicalistes québécois confus, est utopique. Aucune stratégie basée sur le séparatisme—incluant l'utopique "indépendance socialiste"—ne peut montrer réellement la voie pour les masses ouvrières du Québec. Une révolution sociale au Québec, une "Commune" au Québec, devrait nécessairement être étendue à toute l'Amérique du Nord, sinon elle serait écrasée. Le prolétariat du Québec ne trouvera sa libération sociale aussi bien que nationale que dans le cadre d'une révolution socialiste à l'échelle du continent, et il doit chercher sa direction dans une Quatrième Internationale reforgee. ■

Le Bolchévik

Publication de la Ligue trotskyste de France

\$.50 chaque numéro

Commande:
Spartacist Canada Publishing
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6

LE BOLCHEVIK

Pour la défense militaire de l'URSS!
Aucune Mission dans la détente!

Le coq antisoviétique au Bundestag

Les O.S. contre l'Etat-patron



A bas Lévesque, briseur de syndicats!

Pour une grève générale au Québec!



Tribune Photo Mike Phillips

Le 29 janvier: La manifestation du Front commun attire à Québec 50.000 personnes au soutien des travailleurs du secteur public en grève. Lévesque prend pour cible tous les travailleurs québécois.

L'article suivant publié pour la première fois dans *Workers Vanguard* n° 323 (11 février) a été traduit pour *Spartacist Canada* par nos camarades de la Ligue Trotskyste de France. Depuis cette publication, le gouvernement du Parti Québécois nationaliste bourgeois de René Lévesque a ajouté encore une autre loi d'esclavage à son arsenal de cassage des grèves: la loi 111, une version provinciale de la Loi sur les mesures de guerre. En matière de cassage des grèves, cette loi est la plus vicieuse de l'histoire canadienne. Elle suspend même ces droits démocratiques bourgeois qu'on prétend garantir dans le Charte des droits et libertés de la personne du Québec et la constitution canadienne. Ainsi interdit-elle jusqu'au 31 décembre 1985 toute grève, ralentissement ou action diminuant les activités normales en respectant scrupuleusement chaque règle de travail, sous peine de lourdes amendes, congédiements, perte de trois ans d'ancienneté pour chaque jour d'action. S'y ajoute l'annulation pour six mois des déductions automatiques des cotisations syndicales. La loi 111 vise à briser les syndicats d'enseignants du Québec qui étaient encore en grève, et elle prend pour cible tous les travailleurs québécois.

Initialement, les enseignants en grève ont voté massivement en défiance de la loi, tandis que s'amplifiait le soutien à leur lutte créant ainsi une épreuve

de force décisive; mais les bureaucrates syndicaux traîtres ont annoncé une "trêve" de trois semaines en cherchant désespérément une "solution négociée" avec le PQ qu'ils n'ont pas obtenue. Et en ce moment les chefs nationaux des syndicats fanfaronnent à propos d'une grève générale de tous les travailleurs du Québec contre les briseurs de syndicats.

Les travailleurs du Front commun ne peuvent faire confiance à leurs dirigeants syndicaux pro-PQ pour gagner cette épreuve de force au Québec contre Lévesque. Il faut des meetings syndicaux de masse pour élire des comités de grève afin de mettre en oeuvre l'appel à la grève, d'organiser des lignes de piquetage de masse et de transformer la grève en une véritable grève générale en l'étendant au puissant prolétariat industriel du Québec. Paralysez le Québec!

* * * * *

MONTREAL, 7 février—Le mouvement ouvrier québécois, qui est la partie la plus combative du prolétariat d'Amérique du Nord, est confronté à une lutte à mort contre le Parti québécois (PQ), parti nationaliste bourgeois dirigé par le premier ministre René Lévesque. Lévesque tente de venir à bout, à la manière de Reagan contre le syndicat PATCO, de 335.000 fonctionnaires de la province. Ces travailleurs avaient

(suite page 12)