SMASH WAGE CONTROLS -

FOR A GENERAL STRIKE !

"No" to Tripartism! For a Class-Struggle Leadership in the Unions!

TORONTO, October 17--More than a million workers walked off the job across Canada last Thursday in the largest political strike in North American history. The forest industry in British Columbia ground to a halt, mining stopped in many single-industry towns across northern Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec, and not a single car rolled off the assembly lines in Canadian auto plants as trade unionists participated in the one-day general strike called to protest the Trudeau government's program of wage controls.

Joe Morris, president of the 2.2 million-member Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), which called the "day of protest," termed the strike an "inspiring victory" for the labor movement in its struggle against the government's attack. However, even within the limits (imposed by the reformist union bureaucracy) of a token work stoppage/protest, the size and impact of the strike were much less than they should have been.

Thousands of CLC members remained on the job, under orders from national and/or local union leaders. Thousands more broke ranks to scab on the strike, many of whom might instead have supported the protest if it had been more solidly organized and given a sharp political focus. Thus most railway workers, teachers and government employees stayed on the job, while steelworkers and postal workers went to work in many cities despite professed support for the strike from their national union leaderships.

While the day of protest was an important, if partial, demonstration of the potential power of the Canadian working class, it did little more than inconvenience the capitalists for a single day, and the wage control program remains intact.

Particularly criminal was the union bureaucracy's failure to mobilize the ranks for the local demonstrations held in nearly 100 cities from Victoria, British Columbia, to St. John's, Newfoundland. Although 200,000 workers stayed off



SC Photo PROTESTING WORKERS RALLY IN TORONTO, OCTOBER 14.

the job in Toronto, only 8,000 showed up at the main protest rally at Queen's Park. Only 2,000 of a projected 10,000 rallied on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, while 2,000 and 6,000 respectively marched in the auto and steel centers of Windsor and Hamilton, where local bureaucrats had likewise predicted crowds five times their actual size. (continued on page 2)

wage controls...

(continued from page 1)

Even the largest of the local rallies in Montreal and Vancouver drew substantially fewer demonstrators than expected. In all, only about 150,000 of the million-plus strikers participated in the organized protest actions--a poor turnout directly attributable to sabotage by the union bureaucrats. For example, United Auto Workers Canadian Director Dennis McDermott told auto workers the night before the protest that he wasn't "so interested in demonstrations," and that they should "go home and drink beer and watch television if you want" (Toronto Star, 16 October).

The Liberal government's wage control program was introduced on 14 October 1975 in order to deal with the effects of the international capitalist economic crisis on Canada by forcing down the real wages of the working class. The three-year program limits maximum wage increases to 8 percent in the first year and 6 and 4 percent in subsequent years, well below the real rate of inflation. Already hundreds of negotiated wage gains have been rolled back by the Anti-Inflation Board (AIB), while prices and corporate profits continue to rise unchecked.

The trade-union movement responded to the government's attacks with piecemeal protests against the controls. But due to bureaucratic misleadership by the CLC hierarchy--the strategy was to attempt to pressure Trudeau into making the controls program more "equitable"--a whole series of isolated strikes (most importantly by postal workers, paper workers and Quebec government employees) went down to defeat. Compelled to put up a show of militancy by growing rankand-file discontent, the CLC leadership finally called for a mass demonstration in Ottawa last March, which was followed by another in Toronto in April. Although poorly organized, the demonstrations each drew upwards of 20,000 militant unionists.

By the time of the CLC's national convention last May, Morris & Co. were facing great pressure to call a nation-wide general strike as the only way to defeat the controls. The bureaucrats responded by temporizing on the general strike call, announcing that it would come "if and when necessary," and explicitly tying it to a class-collaborationist programmatic document entitled "Labour's Manifesto for Canada." The Manifesto, which was adopted by a two-to-one vote at the convention (including the support of the Stalinist Communist Party), openly projected tying the unions to the bourgeois state through tripartite governmentbusiness-labor boards to achieve what the document called "social corporatism."

After a series of meetings with Trudeau and the federal cabinet over the spring and summer months --during which time local strikes against the controls continued unabated--the CLC tops were compelled to exercise their mandate and called the walkout on the first anniversary of the introduction of controls. The action was to last only a token 24 hours, and even the term "general strike" was avoided, as October 14 became a mere "day of protest."

Although this was the first nation-wide general strike in North American history, such actions as the day of protest are by no means uncommon in certain European countries (notably France and Italy), where the bureaucracy often uses one-day work stoppages to allow a combative rank and file to blow off steam in a relatively harmless fashion. Now that the day-long protest is over, Morris and his fellow bureaucrats are prepared to resume their sellout closed-door negotiations with the Trudeau government over labor representation on government boards.

But despite all its bureaucratically induced short-



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comings, the October 14 strike demonstrated the real possibility for the Canadian labor movement to defeat wage controls through a militant general strike which would stay out until the government is compelled to remove them. Several strong union towns across the country were completely shut down by the strike. In Sept-Iles, Quebec, about 17,000 workers reportedly stayed off the job --virtually every worker in town--and even nonunionized shops were forced to close for the day. Roving groups of picketers successfully cut off bus service in Vancouver, and no daily newspapers appeared in the West Coast metropolis.

The capitalist class must be backed off from its wage-slashing by a general strike which would shut down major industry, not just for a day but until the controls program is defeated. To combat inflation and unemployment there must be a struggle for full cost-of-living allowance and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay (a sliding scale of wages and hours). This is the kind of militant (continued on page 13)

Uof T Library Workers Sold Out Maoist Union Leader Forges "Unity "... with the A.I.B.

"Organize the unlimited general strike!" exhorted the banners of the Maoist Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) on the October 14 day of protest. A CCL(M-L) leaflet distributed at the Toronto demonstration that day denounced the sellout union bureaucrats and called upon striking workers to "continue the struggle on October 15 and after."

But while thousands of Canadian workers sought to continue struggling against Trudeau's wage controls and the Anti-Inflation Board on October 15, the same cannot be said of the CCL(M-L). Less than twenty-four hours after the one-day strike was over, prominent CCL(M-L) supporter Judy Darcy was urging University of Toronto library workers to accept a sellout contract proposal which even she felt would be acceptable to the AIB.

Citing the need for "unity" in the finest tradition of every union bureaucrat from Joe Morris on down, Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Local 1230 president Darcy rejected a strike out of hand, and convinced a demoralized membership to accept a contract with the university which was virtually identical to the one they had overwhelmingly rejected three weeks before. Seeing that even the reputedly "communist" local leadership was unwilling to wage a fight, the ranks acquiesced to a pact providing no recognition of seniority, no protection against job loss through attrition, and an insulting nine percent wage increase.

Darcy's sellout stands in stark contrast to CCL-(ML)'s attempt to project a "left" image on "domestic" trade union questions. Perhaps in an effort to compensate for the blatant class-collaborationism of their international positions--flowing from their uncritical support to Peking's counterrevolutionary, pro-U.S. foreign policy -- CCL(M-L) has vociferously denounced the labor officialdom and railed against "right opportunism" and trade union economism in the pages of The Forge. At last May's Canadian Labour Congress convention, Darcy and her CUPE 1230 co-thinker Greg Collins seemed among the most militant of all the delegates, as they denounced the CLC bureaucrats' class-collaborationist Manifesto, argued for a general strike to smash the wage controls and called for a new, class-struggle leadership to replace the incumbent union tops.

Closer to home, however, Darcy's left-posturing on the questions of wage controls and the Manifesto gives way to the <u>realpolitik</u> of business unionism. Unwilling to struggle against wage controls in her own union's contract negotiations, Darcy was also noticeably silent on the class-collaborationist character of the local version of "tripartism"--a joint union-management job evaluation committee which was originally one of the contract demands agreed to by the university.

A small, isolated campus union like the 400-member CUPE 1230 can win relatively little without the support of other workers on the campus and of the rest of the labor movement. One of the key struggles that must be waged is for a single campus-wide union encompassing all non-administrative university employees--from maintenance workers to professors--which would greatly strengthen the workers' ability to achieve significant victories.

But the objective weakness of CUPE 1230 today is no excuse for agreeing to a rotten contract without even attempting a fight! Far from laying the basis for strengthening and unifying the ranks for the broader struggle against wage controls, as Darcy would have it, such a capitulation can only foster further defeatism and passivity in the membership. The only "unity" achieved by the new CUPE 1230 contract is unity with the AIB.

Militant rhetoric is cheap for those ex-New Left Maoists of CCL(M-L) and its competitor In Struggle!, who have lately shifted leftward under the impact of intensified social struggle. To quote Stalin, paper will take anything written on it--<u>The Forge</u> and CCL(M-L) leaflets may bellow all they want about "organizing" general strikes by continuing to "struggle." But the only thing CCL(M-L)'s "exemplary communist workers' leader" can organize is yet another victory for the wage control program-with no struggle at all.



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RMG: Scabs to the Finish CAMPUS WORKERS' STRIKE ENDS AT S.F.U.

VANCOUVER, 26 October--The campus workers' strike at Simon Fraser University is over, and-only seven weeks too late--the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) has finally decided that "the time has come...to shut down the campus and cease to be pawns in the administration's game" (The Peak, 22 October).

On September 8 maintenance-trade workers set up a picket line at the university entrance to support their demand for wage and hours parity with workers at other British Columbia universities. The strike ended nearly two months later with the workers winning a pay increase only .2 percent above the administration's original offer.

Throughout its long strike the union's picket line was respected by over 600 clerical workers at SFU and by outside workers such as bus drivers, Teamsters and postal workers. From day one of the strike, however, RMG members crossed this picket line regularly. Their rationalizations varied. At first it was "because the union said we could." Indeed the union bureaucracy had adopted the losing strategy of "overloading the facilities," but no militant trade unionist--much less a serious communist --would use the position of a pro-capitalist union leadership as an excuse to scab.

The next excuse devised by the RMG to avoid respecting the picket was "We're doing strike-support work on campus." This "support work" consisted of urging students to complain to the Board of Health about unsanitary campus conditions and begging the administration to "negotiate in good faith." At no time did the RMG issue a single leaflet urging students to respect the lines and shut down the university, nor did they put forward such a position verbally in any of the mass meetings in which they participated on campus.

At a recent RMG forum on wage controls the dishonesty of these excuses was fully exposed as Trotskyist League supporters and others lambasted the RMG for its shameless scabbing. A TL speaker pointed to the RMG's hypocrisy in calling for labor solidarity to fight wage controls while they themselves scabbed at SFU. She reiterated the TL's principled position that a picket line represents the class line --not to be crossed--and noted that the article on SFU in the RMG's Old Mole (October 1976) neither called for the university to be shut down nor mentioned that RMGers were daily crossing the lines. Under the gun, the RMG could only squirm and repeat its tired, shallow, cynical excuses: "The unions weren't strong enough; the students weren't politicized enough; we didn't want to abandon the students to administration propaganda; the union said we could."

So it is no wonder that after seven weeks of scabbing and public embarrassment the RMG finally noticed that its opportunism had not paid off in easy popularity, but instead had completely backfired. Thus the day before the strike was settled, the RMG published a letter in the SFU student newspaper, proposing nothing less than...a one-day closure of the university! If this were done, you see, "the Administration would begin 'to suffer' [quotation] marks in original] and settle the strike." And, "If one day is not enough then we can close it again"! This pathetically inadequate response to the threatened defeat of the strike is refuted in the last paragraph of the letter itself, which cites the case of a janitors' strike at McGill University in Montreal: because of an immediate total shutdown of the campus, the McGill strikers had to stay out only four days.

For seven weeks Trotskyist League members and supporters consistently called on students and nonunion campus employees to respect the picket lines and shut down the university. While regularly marching on the lines and staying off campus for the duration of the strike, the TL pointed to the need for one campus union encompassing all campus employees including teaching staff. A strike committee with a student component should have been initiated by the union, to prepare a campus shutdown, including teaching staff and students. Such a committee might very well have laid the basis for a campuswide union.

To students we say: every university administration serves the capitalist ruling class, whose interests are opposed to those of all the exploited and oppressed. Only the working class has the social power and interest to smash this ruling class and replace it with a workers government which would create a rationally-planned economy.

Lacking similar power, students can attack capitalism only by allying with the working class around a revolutionary program. The very <u>least</u> demonstration of a sincere desire to change society is to respect a picket line. Those like the RMG who prostitute the name of revolutionary Marxism by scabbing on workers' struggles have nothing to offer students seeking an alternative to capitalist society.

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Free the Imprisoned Worker Militants in Poland!

TORONTO, 29 October--One hundred people attended a public meeting here tonight in defense of Polish workers victimized by the Gierek government following the strike wave which took place last June. Thousands of workers walked off the job, halting production throughout the country when the regime threatened massive food price increases of between 30 and 100 percent. After 24 hours of strikes and demonstrations the government backed down, issuing an edict which proclaimed that the hikes had merely been a "proposal for discussion." Later the government tried to push through scaled-down increases for meat products only, but by mid-September it had abandoned all plans for price rises before 1978.

Addressing the meeting, Joe Meslin of the United International Hatters Union, Montreal CSN (Confederation of National Trade Unions) representative Michel Dansereau and Marko Bojcun, spokesman for the Committee to Defend Polish Workers, spoke of the massive wave of repression which has swept the country since June. Following the government's announcement that the price increases would not be immediately implemented, thousands of demonstrating workers were brutally dispersed by the police. In the aftermath of the strikes, hundreds were arrested and interrogated.

According to Bojcun, over 1,000 worker militants are currently interned in Poland. Those who have already been tried and sentenced for their role in the June events have received savage prison sentences, to be followed in some cases by indefinite terms of detention in "centers for social readaptation"--a previously unheard of form of detention and punishment invented to deal with the current situation. Hundreds of factory workers have been temporarily suspended from their jobs and will be allowed to return to work only if they agree to a reduction in salary. Intellectuals who have supported the workers (including the well-known Polish oppositionist Jacek Kuron) have been drafted into military service.

Trotskyist League supporters, speaking during the discussion period at the meeting, pointed to the urgent need to defend the right of workers in Poland (and in all the other degenerated and deformed workers states) to strike against arbitrary anti-working class measures imposed by the selfserving Stalinist ruling bureaucrats. But unlike the platform speakers, the TLers argued that the deformed workers states embody important historic gains for the international proletariat--any campaign for defense of democratic rights in these countries must be coupled with a call for their defense against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution. Despite the parasitic bureaucratic castes which have politically expropriated the masses of working people, these states maintain collectivized property forms, a state monopoly of foreign trade and centralized economic planning--the foundation upon which a socialist society can be built.

But these gains can be effectively defended and extended only through proletarian political revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, to oust the privileged bureaucrats. The institution of workers democracy in Poland and the rest of the Sino-Soviet states is a key component of the international struggle for socialist revolution which will be waged by a reborn Fourth International.

The international campaign to free the jailed worker militants can be of great importance in developing a Trotskyist party in Poland. The dissident intelligentsia has reacted strongly on behalf of the imprisoned workers, and support for the victims of the bureaucracy's austerity program is widespread in the West European labor movement. The Gierek regime is on the defensive in Poland and internationally. If the Stalinist rulers are compelled to free these workers, the effect in raising the morale and combativity of the proletariat throughout East Europe will be enormous. Free the imprisoned Polish worker militants!



PABLOISTS' FAKE "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL": NO ROOM FOR TROTSKYISM

In September the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) marked the third anniversary of its founding convention with a Central Committee plenum. One month later the RMG's newspaper, the <u>Old</u> <u>Mole</u>, announced that the plenum had resolved to begin an open discussion on the "revolutionary program."

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The naive observer might wonder how the RMG, Canadian adherent of the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), has managed to avoid such a discussion over the past three years, and indeed on what political basis the group was founded in the first place. One might also wonder why an organization claiming to adhere to democratic-centralist organizational norms has chosen to make this a public discussion in the pages of the Old Mole.

Taking the cue from its European USec mentors-in particular Ernest Mandel and the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR)--the RMG has spent the first three years of its existence in an often comic and always futile search for the Canadian version of the "new mass vanguard," which Mandel would have his supporters "penetrate and politicize" as an "adequate" substitute for the Leninist vanguard party. In Europe this liquidationist project has taken the form of support to popular frontism and attempts at lowest-common-denominator unifications with larger centrist and socialdemocratic forces on an explicitly non-Trotskyist program. In Canada, with the entire left much smaller and the tempo of class struggle weaker, the RMG's attempt to emulate its European con-

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THE UBIQUITOUS MOLE OF <u>ROUGE</u> (25 OCTOBER 1974): FRENCH LCR PROJECTS "SERIOUS" PUBLIC SELF-IMAGE.

frères has brought nothing but organizational stagnation.

Three years after its founding as a left split from the official Canadian USec section, the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA), having lost close to half its founding membership and with few accomplishments to boast of, the RMG is looking for new schemes to overcome this very obvious stagnation. In addition to announcing its public discussion on program, the RMG has also trumpeted its intention to transform the <u>Old Mole</u> into a twicemonthly paper early next year.

ANYTHING BUT TROTSKYISM ...

In fact the RMG already has a program of sorts, albeit an eclectic one: the Pabloist liquidationism of the United Secretariat, which is based on the explicit <u>rejection</u> of Leon Trotsky's <u>Transitional</u> <u>Program</u>. The idea of putting this revisionist program up for public discussion and "refinement" by the Canadian left in the pages of the <u>Old Mole</u> is designed not to achieve Leninist clarity and precision, but to further adapt to the whims and vagaries of the supposedly emerging new mass vanguard.

The sham discussion on program and the move towards a fake "mass" press have their inspiration in recent moves of USec groups in France and other countries. The French LCR, the "showpiece" section of the USec majority, has long been in the habit of allowing its many internal tendencies to publicly express their disagreements in the pages of its newspaper. But while <u>Rouge</u> readers have long been able to enjoy the spectacle of each LCR clique denouncing the others for opportunism, the

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only principled opposition to emerge arguing for an authentically Trotskyist program, the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction (now fused with the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency) was rapidly expelled and its ideas outlawed (see <u>Workers</u> <u>Van-</u> <u>guard</u>, 23 May 1975).

Today the LCR is in hot pursuit of the local embodiment of the new mass vanguard, the left socialdemocratic Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU). But the LCR's lust has so far been unrequited; while Alain Krivine and Co. strive for a grand Pabloite fusion, the PSU is seeking to enter the popular front Union of the Left formed by the reformist Communist and Socialist parties and the bourgeois Left Radicals. In a recent debate with PSU leader Gilbert Hercet, the LCR's Krivine could only throw his hands up in despair, exclaiming: "Toward the revolutionists read, the LCR you take a very hard line. You demand fundamental agreement. With the reformists you are satisfied with a partial agreement on how the city governments should be run" (quoted in Intercontinental Press, 4 October 1976).

In a magnanimous display of "non-sectarian" liquidationism, IMT leader Ernest Mandel made it clear in an interview with <u>Politique Hebdo</u> (10-16 June 1976), that if the only obstacle to the unity of the LCR and PSU is the former's affiliation with the "Fourth International," or its occasional identification with a "bearded individual named Leon Trotsky," then the LCR would be quite willing to renounce both. As if it were possible to achieve principled agreement on a communist program without reference to these "names" and "labels"!

The LCR's immediate perspective is to construct a French version of Italy's Democrazia Proletaria, the "far left" electoral bloc which acted as a tail to the popular-frontism of the Italian Communist Party in last summer's elections, and which included the Italian USec section. The LCR hopes that such an electoral bloc with the PSU, and hopefully other groups as well, will lay the basis for an "organizational rapprochement," i.e., fusion.

Lenin's Communist International and Trotsky's International Left Opposition and Fourth International were built on granite programmatic foundations by drawing what Lenin called "firm lines of demarcation" between the revolutionists on the one hand and the reformist betrayers and centrist vacillators on the other. Today, in its search for a Canadian equivalent of the PSU and Democrazia Proletaria, the RMG is attempting to apply a "lesson" on party-building (taught by a leadership claiming to represent the continuity of the Fourth International) which stands in direct counterposition to all Trotsky's work in the 1930's.

Meanwhile the reformist opposition to Mandel within the USec, the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its Canadian satellite the LSA, is lining up its own extra-USec bloc-partners for use in an eventual split. As part of its romance with the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the



Fourth International (led by the right-centrist Organization Communiste Internationaliste [OCI]), the SWP has taken to alluding more frequently to the issues which precipitated the 1953 split in the Fourth International between the Pabloist International Secretariat and the orthodox minority, the International Committee (IC) composed of the SWP, pre-OCI French group and the Healy tendency in Britain. The cravenly reformist SWP of today is opportunistically recalling its revolutionary past in the early IC to show that the USec majority's politics are directly traceable to the Pabloist liquidationism which took hold in the Fourth International in the early 1950's.

CRITICIZING PABLO TO DEFEND PABLOISM

In keeping with its cultivated "non-dogmatic" posture, the IMT's response has been to argue that, in fact, the International Committee was correct on all essential questions in 1953, but that by the time of the 1963 SWP-International Secretariat reunification the rump IC had totally degenerated. In a new "theoretical" supplement to Red Weekly called Battle of Ideas (October 1976), British International Marxist Group leader Alan Jones affirms fundamental agreement with the anti-Pablo Healy group's orientation in the early 1950's. An earlier article by Michel Lequenne in the LCR's Combat Communiste (May-June 1976 put forward a similar position in regard to the French IC group, supporting it in the split over the Pabloist group of Pierre Frank, present-day "old man" of the LCR.

But the IMT's new-found "solidarity" with the International Committee of the 1950's is disingenuous. As is obvious from its current practice, there has been no break with the Pabloist strategy

The Meaning of Two Revolutions

HUNGARY 1956: THE FIRST WORKERS POLITICAL REVOLUTION AGAINST STALINISM

The following article, written by Shane Mage, is reprinted from the December 1957 issue of Young Socialist, the American Trotskyist youth paper.

November 7, 1957--Forty years ago today the Russian workers and peasants overthrew the landlords, bankers, and militarists who had ruled Russia for centuries. In place of the old rulers they constructed a new kind of state. The rich and well-born were cast down from the Olympian heights of power. And in their seat--the workers' council, the democratically elected soviet of workers deputies, the world's first socialist government. November 7. 1957--One year ago today the Hungarian workers and peasants were fighting a losing battle against foreign tanks. They strove for what the Russian workers had conquered 39 years earlier: freedom, a socialist government, the rule of their own workers' councils. And the foreign military forces which crushed their revolution claimed to do so in the name of--socialism and the Russian revolution!

What a cruel, cynical joke of history this seems to be! The Hungarian revolution is hailed lyrically by the rulers of the "West," the worst enemies of socialism and of the Russian revolution. The men who surrounded the infant Soviet Republic with a "cordon sanitaire" of steel and fire. who hailed



BUDAPEST 1956: DETERMINED WORKER MILITANTS WERE DEFEATED BY THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY STALINIST BUREAUCRACY.



MAO SOCIALIZES WITH KHRUSHCHEV (TOP LEFT), AS RUSSIAN TANKS OCCUPY BUDAPEST TO CRUSH THE WORKERS SOVIETS (BOTTOM LEFT). WHILE STALINIST BUREAUCRATS JOINED HANDS AGAINST THE HUNGARIAN WORKING CLASS, THE TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT CALLED FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE OCCUPYING FORCES WHICH PUT DOWN THE PROLETARIAN REVOLT. KHRUSHCHEV CLAIMED THAT THE UPRISING WAS THE WORK OF FASCIST AGENTS SEEKING TO RESTORE CAPITALISM, BUT THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS OF HUNGARY THEMSELVES ENSURED THAT THE FEW (BUT POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS) PRO-CAPI-TALIST ELEMENTS SEEKING TO USE THE CRISIS FOR THEIR OWN REACTIONARY ENDS WERE CRUSHED. THE STATUE OF STALIN WHICH STOOD IN THE CENTER OF BUDAPEST WAS PULLED TO THE GROUND (RIGHT), WHILE PORTRAITS OF LENIN WERE CARRIED THROUGH THE STREETS BY MILITANT WORKERS.

Hitler and Mussolini as bulwarks against Bolshevism, who stood by with smiling "neutrality" while Franco murdered freedom in Spain, whose hands are still stained by the crimes of Algeria, Suez, Guatemala--the "Free" world gleefully hands its poisoned bouquets to the freedom fighters of Hungary. And at the same time, under the light of an artificial moon the conquerors of Budapest toast the Russian revolution.

But the story does not end there. The heritage of the Russian revolution is proving to be a curse to the Kremlin bureaucrats who have stolen it as well as to the capitalists who have always fought it. Today young minds throughout the Soviet bloc are looking back to the Russian revolution, and demanding to know the <u>truth</u>: the true facts about the revolution, its leaders, and causes of its degeneration; and the true ideas which inspired the revolution. What they are finding and will find is a more deadly weapon than all Khrushchev's missiles--the simple idea that the working class can and should rule society through its own elected representative bodies, the workers' councils.

In their revolution, the Hungarian workers put this idea into practice, and created their own councils as organs of political power. Their revolution was, in the highest sense, a continuation of the Russian revolution. The identity between these two inspiring historical events cannot be expressed better than it was by the workers' council of Dunapentele in an appeal to the Russian soldiers:

"Your state was created at the cost of bloody fighting so that you could have freedom. Today is the thirty-ninth anniversary of that revolution...the Hungarian people are fighting desperately for the same rights you fought for in 1917.

"Why do you want to crush our liberty? You can see that it is not factory proprietors, not landowners, and not the bourgeoisie who have taken up arms against you, but the Hungarian people, who are fighting desperately for the same rights you fought for in 1917."

PABLOISTS...

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of <u>pressuring</u> non-revolutionary forces to the left instead of fighting for an independent revolutionary party. So why the self-criticism?

While carefully-worded criticisms of the "individual" Michel Pablo (who left the USec in 1965 and is presently a member of the PSU) are included in these historical reappraisals, what emerges is an assertion of solidarity with the weakest aspects of the IC's practice, not with its healthy defense of Trotskyist orthodoxy. For example, Healy is praised in <u>Battle of Ideas</u> for breaking with the "sectarian traditions of British Trotskyism" and liquidating into the Bevanite left wing of the Labour Party. Alan Jones lauds such headlines in the Healy group's <u>Socialist Appeal</u> as "Bevan Gives Lead that Workers Want: Socialist Planning is the Only Answer" and "Left Must Press the Offensive."

At the same time, the IMT is attempting to prove that the differences between the Pabloists and the International Committee in the 1950's were never really that great. This too fits into the IMT's "unity of the left" mania. The notion of a "family of Trotskyism" is Mandel and Co.'s answer to the SWP's tendentious criticisms of the IMT and its political predecessors in the Pabloist International Secretariat. In this way, the IMT hopes to head off a definitive split in the United Secretariat which could damage its pretentions to being on the verge of a qualitative breakthrough.

A "MASS" MOLE ?

To find an analogue for the coming "mass" <u>Mole-</u> the other key aspect of the RMG's latest turn--we need only examine the case of the Australian Communist League's (CL) <u>Militant</u>. Following a recent brief upsurge in labor militancy around the sacking of the country's Labour government, the tiny CL decided the time was ripe to achieve overnight mass influence in the Australian working class through a weekly newspaper. The first few months of the "weekly" have seen new <u>Militants</u> appear every 10-14 days, with shoddy technical quality and worse political content, and a total organizational decomposition inside the CL.

Despite the fact that the <u>Old Mole</u> has never been able to achieve a <u>monthly</u> frequency in its several years' existence, the RMG is now seeking to project a dynamic image of growth by announcing its intention to bring the paper out bi-weekly. The new <u>Mole</u> is as likely to succeed as the RMG's coming discussion on program is likely to bring clarity on the way forward for revolutionaries in Canada.

TROTSKYISM, NOT REVISIONISM!

Incredibly enough, at the RMG's October 22 forum in Toronto, where the organization invited the entire Canadian left and "particularly the far left" to participate in its programmatic discussion, the chairman announced a new rule limiting other left tendencies to <u>one</u> speaker during the discussion period. This blatant violation of workers democracy--designed to limit debate among competing political tendencies, and aimed in particular at the Trotskyist League--points to the utter hypocrisy of the RMG's fake "non-sectarianism."

A revolutionary organization cannot be built through "mass" gimmickry or fake "unity" between tendencies with vastly differing political viewpoints. A significant number of the RMG's founding cadre have come to recognize this, and have rejected Pabloism in favor of the authentic revolutionary politics of the Trotskyist League.

A group of these comrades, who fought inside the

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RMG as the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT) during 1974-75, provided in their documents a clear understanding of the crisis of the United Secretariat and put forward a clear and cogent revolutionary program in opposition to the centrism of the USec/RMG majority. For expressing these political views, the comrades of the B-LT were bureaucratically expelled.

Today, the RMG moans that it "has not been immune" from certain "weaknesses":

"It has correctly understood the need for a revolutionary party, but it has had a very superficial understanding of the centrality of the revolutionary programme for the building of such a party. This has been reflected in the propaganda and political orientation of our organization." --Old Mole, October 1976

When the B-LT called for a discussion of the central programmatic issues facing the United Secretariat at the last RMG convention, the leadership rejected the proposal out of hand as not "relevant" to the organization's central concerns. The RMG's new-found concern with program in no sense represents a new openness to authentic Trotskyism. Rather it is an attempt to better apply and justify the IMT's bankrupt Pabloist politics on the Canadian terrain.

Wandering Back to the LSA: RMG Repudiates its Own History

"The combined work of the internal and external wings of the RMG have provided the subjective factor to hasten the collapse of the LSA. The wrecking operation is virtually complete, although it would be erroneous to think that the League will simply shrivel and die immediately. It will probably continue to exist as a tiny sect with a considerable apparatus for some years. "However, as a national organization that can pose a serious long term obstacle to the development of a Trotskyist organization in Canada, the LSA is finished...."

--"Organization Report," adopted unamimously by the RMG Political Committee, [Internal Discussion Bulletin], Volume 1, 19 August 1973

"From the standpoint of the International and the collective interests of Trotskyists in Canada, the ideal solution is the political and organizational unification of all supporters of the Fourth International.

"... we propose the opening of a political discussion with the LSA around the central issues which divide us.... We are not proposing fusion discussions with the LSA at this stage. We are instead calling for a first step to be taken: the development of a political dialogue, leading in the first instance to political clarification."

--"Relations with the LSA," 30 August 1976, document from the September Central Committee plenum of the RMG At the time the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT) split from the League for Socialist Action to become the core of the Revolutionary Marxist Group in 1973, the RMG Political Committee wrote that the LSA had undergone an irreparable "reformist degeneration." Today the RMG, stagnant and wracked by endless internal crises, has announced its intention to undertake discussions aimed at achieving reunification with this same LSA. Similarly, the Quebec-based Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire has entered into negotiations with the LSA's Quebec wing, the LSO.

In its two-year internal struggle against the socialdemocratic LSA, the RCT produced cogent, if partial, critiques of the League's bankrupt positions on several important questions. "Deep entrism" in the NDP was rejected in favor of selective fraction work around a "full program" in order to "destroy it." A "revolutionary communist" intervention into the women's movement was counterposed to feminism. The LSA's bureaucratic internal life was characterized as "Stalinist." In the summer of 1973, in opposition to the conciliationist position of the European leadership of the United Secretariat International Majority Tendency (with which the RMG was in general solidarity), the future RMG leadership called for "the reconstruction of the Fourth International in North America."

Yet today the RMG--having undergone a transformation from the left-centrism of its early days to today's right-centrism--explicitly repudiates its own heritage in order to cosy up once again to the

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TROTSKYISM VS. CENTRISM

The centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group is calling for an open discussion of the "revolutionary program" in the pages of its newspaper. If the RMG were truly concerned about presenting its readers with an authentic revolutionary program, it would print these documents - the documents of the Trotskyist Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency which it expelled in 1975. But it isn't, and it won't. <u>Revolutionary Trotskyist Bulletin</u> No. 1 (parts one and two) is available at \$4.00 a set (including postage) from: Spartacist Canada Publishing Association, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario.

RMG Repudiates...

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LSA it once so vociferously denounced. A document on "Relations with the LSA" from the last RMG CC plenum states:

"The positions of 1972-73 (when the splits occurred) no longer provide an adequate definition of our differences with the LSA. In fact the RCT had partially or fully incorrect positions on most of the issues around which it struggled. This does not imply that all of the RCT's criticisms were incorrect, nor that the LSA majority's positions were correct. Rather the RCT's ultra leftism (a characterization which has been informally accepted for some time, but never formally codified in documented form) usually took the form of a knee-jerk reaction to the more extreme forms of rightism and opportunism characteristic of the LSA majority. But this does not negate the extent of the RCT's errors--most of which have been rectified in the development of the RMG."

The RCT did make certain important "errors" and had various "partially or fully incorrect positions" on several issues in its fight within the LSA. But these errors stemmed primarily from its alliance with the petty-bourgeois centrists of the IMT, whose non-Trotskyist positions adopted by the RCT included support to guerrillaism in Latin America and to sundry "progressive third-world" Stalinists, from Fidel Castro to the Vietnamese Communist Party. The present-day RMG, in recoiling from the supposed "ultra leftism" of the RCT, is rejecting its <u>best</u> aspect--its healthy impulse to struggle against the ossified reformism of the LSA and the sincere openness of a large part of its membership to authentically revolutionary politics. In order to arrive at its present position vis-à-vis the LSA, the RMG has literally had to exorcise its own subjectively revolutionary history.

The CC plenum document itself clarifies the central reason for the organization's ability to move to the right so rapidly; it recalls that "almost immediately after the formation of the RMG, a small group within it began to evolve towards Spartacism, leading to its break with the Fourth International [sic]." This "small group," the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, led by founding members of the RMG, was supported by ten percent of the organization at the March 1975 conference. The expulsion of the B-LT at the convention ensured that the RMG's rightward motion would continue unhampered by uncomfortable voices from the past.

While the RMG and LSA continue their endless cycle of maneuverist and unprincipled politics, only the Trotskyist League and the international Spartacist tendency have presented an authentic Trotskyist alternative. Those militants seeking the real political lessons of the struggle which led to the creation of the RMG should look to the consistent revolutionary program and practice of the TL. The RMG, in its rush toward reformism, may reject its own history; the TL, however, recognizes that the RCT's fight against the LSA was, in its best aspects, an important part of the struggle to reforge a Trotskyist party in Canada.

Asylum for Leonard Peltier!

The Leonard Peltier Defense Committe has announced that Peltier's recent appeal of an order for his extradition to the United States has been rejected. American Indian Movement militant Peltier is wanted in South Dakota for alleged connection with the shooting deaths of two FBI agents involved in the armed occupation of the Pine Ridge reserve by police, military and government authorities following the 1973 confrontation at Wounded Knee. The Committee urgently requests that letters and telegrams demanding asylum in Canada for Peltier be sent to Ron Basford, Minister of Justice, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario. The following is a telegram sent by the Partisan Defense Committee, an anti-sectarian class struggle defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/U.S.

"We vigorously protest the denial of Leonard Peltier's request for political asylum in Canada. Peltier must not be extradited to the United States where he faces a frame-up murder charge with no chance of a fair trial if he lives to stand trial at all. Peltier's case is only one example of the persecution of the militant Indian movement that is occurring on both sides of the border. We demand: Hands off the Indian militants! Asylum for Peltier! Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, U.S.A."

CORRECTION: The October SC incorrectly stated that telegrams demanding asylum for Peltier should be sent to Francis Fox, Minister of Justice. In fact, as mentioned above, the federal Justice Minister is Ron Basford. (Francis Fox is Solicitor-General.)

wage controls...

(continued from page 2)

class-struggle action which should be labor's response to Trudeau's wage controls--not the token protests and class collaborationism of the CLC bureaucrats. But this requires a class-struggle leadership that can prepare the working class for the political battle of taking on the bourgeois state.

The social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) supported the one-day general strike only in order to channel the struggles of the working class back into the safe confines of parliamentary cretinism. Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis addressed what was billed as the centerpiece rally of the entire day of protest outside Queen's Park in Toronto, with the message that labor must "move from protest to politics." Lewis called for a return to "the route through the ballot box," and pontificated that "if you want to change objectionable politics, then you have to change the government."

The real answer to capitalist attacks does lie in "changing the government"--but not the parliamentary small change of switching from direct big-business rule through the Liberal Party to slightly more prettified capitalist rule through the NDP. There must be a struggle to build a revolutionary workers party which fights to smash the

QUE. ELECTIONS...

(continued from page 16)

conditions. However it was also an action in defense of a <u>unilingual English</u> air traffic control lexicon in a social context where English unilingualism is associated with national oppression. The insensitivity to Quebec's national oppression manifested by the CATCA/CALPA union leaderships permitted English-Canadian chauvinist elements to exploit the strike to fight the basic democratic, though inadequate, reforms of the federal government's bilingualism policy."

--SC No. 8, September 1976

The massive chauvinist outcry in English Canada which the air traffic controllers' strike intersected has led to an increase in nationalist sentiment throughout Quebec society. At one point over the summer months the pro-separatist PQ received the support of 43 percent of the respondents in a province-wide opinion poll, while the incumbent Liberals had only 33 percent. But the PQ's policies on the national and language questions are no more in the interests of the working class than are its openly anti-union positions on what the bourgeoisie euphemistically terms "labor relations."

The democratic solution to the language controversy in Quebec schools is bilingual instruction in a single state educational system jointly controlled by students, teachers and workers. Similiarly, in the factories and offices facilities must be probourgeois state and replace it with an authentic workers government. Only this government can really eliminate the ravages of inflation and unemployment, by expropriating the capitalists and establishing a rationally planned socialist economy.

A general strike by its very nature poses the necessity of an independent political mobilization of the working people around their class interests. However, so long as it is saddled with a pro-capitalist, reformist leadership, the working class cannot emerge victorious in a head-on attempt to overthrow the bosses' state. Consequently, the aims of a general strike call in Canada today must be necessarily limited and defensive. Militants must raise the demand for a CLC-initiated congress of the entire labor movement to launch a full general strike to smash the wage controls.

Unlike the bureaucratically controlled October 14 action, a powerful and effective general strike must be controlled by the rank and file through elected national and regional strike committees, in order to ensure that the struggle is not stopped short. Thus the fight for such a general strike goes hand-in-hand with the struggle to oust the Morrises and McDermotts and replace them with a class-struggle leadership which can truly show the way forward for the Canadian working class.

(First printed in Workers Vanguard, 22 October.)

vided for communication in both major languages and all discrimination on the basis of language ended. Those, like the PQ and sundry left nationalist organizations (and even the ostensibly Trotskyist Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire and Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière), who would deny this basic democratic principle ensure that the national antagonisms which divide the Canadian proletariat will continue to fester, and perpetuate the isolation of the militant Québecois workers from the rest of the North American working class.

Marxists resolutely combat all forms of national oppression or privilege. However we recognize that the development of the productive forces of society--which places the socialist emancipation of humanity on the agenda--also breaks down national barriers, thus presaging the gradual disappearance of nations under socialism. While presently opposing the exercise of the separatist option, we recognize the right of Quebec to national self-determination. The PQ's bourgeois independentism will not in any sense contribute to the liberation of the French-Canadian working class from national oppression and capitalist exploitation--only the smashing of bourgeois rule throughout the North American continent can lay the basis for a socialist future and ensure full democratic rights for oppressed minorities.

BREAK WITH THE PQ!

At an October 25 press conference Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ), (continued on page 14)

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4

justified his support to Lévesque and the PQ on the grounds that it was the party which stood closest to the workers' interests. But the PQ in power would be every bit as ruthless in suppressing the struggles of the working class as are Bourassa's Liberals today. The union tops' support to the PQ stems not from ignorance about its real nature, but from their fear of the growing movement among militant workers for a workers party.

The current anti-union campaign in Quebec which is now being carried into the electoral arena by Bourassa, Lévesque and Co. must be met by the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions and with a fighting class-struggle program. Such an independent working class alternative would not limit itself to electoralist politicking, but would resolutely lead the struggles of the proletariat forward to a workers government.

Marxists support the genuine independent political mobilization of the Québecois working class. But the proletariat's <u>political</u> struggle must be directed against the existing capitalist state power (as the struggle against wage controls makes so clear). This political struggle cannot be confined to a single province just as it cannot be confined to a single factory. As long as Quebec remains in Canada, Québecois workers must struggle for a workers government in Ottawa, not just in Quebec City. But this is a struggle they have in common with the English-speaking working class--a struggle which can be victorious only through the closest unity of the proletariat of both nations.

"WORKERS REPUBLIC OF QUEBEC"?

The demand raised by the GMR for a "workers republic of Quebec" is both utopian and reactionary. It is utopian in that it implies that proletarian power will be consolidated independent of the English-speaking majority of the North American working class and without smashing U. S. and Canadian imperialism. It is reactionary in that by implying a separatist path to proletarian power for Québecois workers it denies the iron necessity for united class struggle in all of North America. Such

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VANCOUVER....... (604) 291-8993 Box 26, Station A Vancouver, B.C. united class struggle is the only road to liberation, even for Quebec's proletariat--the most advanced militant working class on the continent.

Precisely because of their enhanced class consciousness, the separation of the Québecois workers from the more backward English-speaking working class in the U.S. and Canada can only be to the advantage of capitalism and to the utter detriment of proletarian class struggle. The Trotskyist League seeks to build a workers party which fights for a workers government in all of Canada, while at the same time recognizing Quebec's right to independence.

FOR A QUEBEC NDP?

But this does not mean that Québecois workers should strive to build a provincial wing of the English-Canadian New Democratic Party. The NDP has never had any significant influence in Quebec, because of its right-wing strikebreaking policies and its blatant insensitivity to the national oppression of the Quebec people. (It does not recognize Quebec's right to self-determination). It is by no means inevitable that the combative Quebec proletariat will pass through a period of support to the NDP's brand of social democracy in the process of breaking from the parties of capital.

Nevertheless the TL draws a class distinction between the NDP and the Parti Québecois. The former is a party with a <u>contradictory class character</u>, having simultaneously a pro-capitalist program and leadership and a real base in and dependence on the labor movement (at least in English Canada). It is a bourgeois workers party.

On the other hand the PQ is a <u>bourgeois party</u> to which some union bureaucrats may pay allegiance, but which is not based on the labor movement. Particularly in key industrial areas like Southern Ontario and British Columbia, the NDP must be split along class lines--i.e., the proletarian base must be won to a revolutionary program--in order that a revolutionary party may be built. This is by no means the case with the PQ.

Unlike the Ligue Socialist Ouvrière and the Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ--an affiliate of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International), authentic Trotskyists do not seek to build the influence of the rotten, English-chauvinist NDP-particularly in a situation where it lacks any kind of mass working class support. Thus the GSTQ's project of reviving the moribund provincial NDP (which has never come close to winning a seat and didn't even bother to run in the last election) to field twenty candidates in a joint campaign with a GSTQ-led oppositional union formation, deserves no support from militant workers. While condemning intransigently the betrayals of the pro-PQ labor tops, militants must reject the GSTQ/NDP's tenth-rate electoralist maneuver, which is aimed at creating another roadblock to forging a classstruggle and class-conscious political leadership for the workers movement.

free all class-war prisoners in spain!

TORONTO--Chanting "Hands off the Spanish left!" about 35 militants marched in a picketline demonstration outside the Spanish Consulate on October 22. The united-front picket, called to protest the arrests in Madrid of Alain Krivine, a leader of the French section of the United Secretariat (USec), and several others, was organized jointly by the Trotskyist League, Socialist League and Revolutionary Marxist Group. The League for Socialist Action, official Canadian section of the USec, did not bother to participate in its own name, although three Labor Challenge salesmen were present.

Krivine was arrested along with Spanish USec leader Jaime Pastor, his wife Lucia Gonzales Alonzo, Spanish Communist Party Central Committee member Lucio Lobato, lawyer Miguel Castell and Pierre Jouet, another member of the French USec group. The arrests took place following an October 19 discussion at Madrid University of political repression under the late Spanish dictator Francisco Franco. Krivine and Jouet were "invited to leave Spain, " i.e., expelled, while as we go to press the four others remain in custody.

Since the death of Franco last year, the terror of the Spanish political police has continued. Virtually all workers organizations remain illegal. In addition to the draconian suppression of demonstrations and public meetings by the Guardia Civil and riot police, arrests of militants of left-wing organizations are a regular occurrence.

In May the Barcelona police announced that they had broken up and arrested the district committee of the PORE (Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain), which is affiliated with Michel Varga's "International League Reconstructing the Fourth International" (LIRQI). A LIRQI statement announced that the arrested militants were brutally tortured in order to extract phoney "confessions" and that they were held incommunicado for five days. Days later a print shop of the Communist Organization of Spain--Red Flag (OCE-BR) was raided and three persons arrested. Even the ultra-reformist Communist Party of Spain, which is striving to demonstrate its "respectability" to the Spanish bourgeosie by calling for the unity of the entire "democratic" opposition in the popular-frontist Democratic Co-ordination Committee, faces harrassment and remains officially illegal.

In opposition to the treacherous class-collabor-



ationist strategy of the Communist and Socialist parties--the same strategy that paved the way to bloody defeat in the civil war of the 1930's-the Trotskyist League contingent raised the call, "No popular front illusions--For workers revolution in Spain!" The TL spokesman at the rally following the demonstration pointed to the urgent necessity of forging an authentic Trotskyist vanguard in order that the heroic struggles of today's Spanish working class may be carried forward to socialist revolution. The international Spartacist tendency, standing in defense of all the class-war prisoners, victims of the Francoist terror which continues under the rule of King Juan Carlos, has consistently upheld the need for working class independence in the struggle against capitalism.

FREE PASTOR, GONZALES, LOBATO, CASTELL AND ALL VICTIMS OF THE FRANCOIST TERROR! DOWN WITH JUAN CARLOS--FOR A WORKERS REPUBLIC IN SPAIN! FORGE A SPANISH TROTSKYIST PARTY-- FOR THE REBIRTH OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

FOR A WORKERS PARTY WITH A CLASS-STRUGGLE PROGRAM! Union-Busters Battle in Quebec Elections

When the Trudeau government introduced its wage control program last October, Conservative leader Robert Stanfield was not the only bourgeois party chief to maintain that the controls were long overdue. Parti Québecois (PQ) leader René Lévesque joined the anti-labor chorus when he wrote that, in his opinion, Stanfield had been right the year before, "because he had the courage to propose anti-inflationary control measures at the time" (Le Jour, 17 October 1975).

The same René Lévesque averred in 1971 that he would rather live in a South American "banana republic" than in a Quebec dominated by the "ranting and raving" leaders of the province's three trade union centrals. Yet once again this year most of these "ranting and raving" labor bureaucrats are calling for their membership to support the PQ in the November 15 provincial elections.

As in the United States, where working people face a "choice" between Republican Gerald Ford and "open-shop" Democrat Jimmy Carter this fall, the election in Quebec is mainly a battle between pro-capitalist union-busters. Robert Bourassa's ruling Liberal Party has announced that legislation banning strikes in the public sector and taking government control over union elections will follow a hoped-for re-election. Meanwhile Lévesque's opposition PQ has vowed to reduce drastically (and "calmly," if possible) Quebec's strike rate--the highest in North America and second highest in the entire world.

No matter which party wins the election, the Québecois proletariat will lose. But whether the federalist Liberals or the nationalist Péquistes take power after November 15, the volatile social crisis convulsing French Canada will continue. Rocked by years of proletarian upheaval (which led to a near-insurrectionary general strike in 1972), and facing increasing disgruntlement from both the Francophone and Anglophone communities for its controversial language legislation, the scandal-wracked Bourassa government is in trouble. Sensing the possibility of an upset victory, the nationalist PQ has played down its occasionally strident separatist rhetoric, in favor of a posture as the "responsible" guarantor of Quebec bourgeois interests.

The Liberal Party's language legislation (Bill 22) codified French as the sole official working language in the province, while simultaneously maintaining a separate English-language school system for Anglophones, to which others have severely restricted access. Bill 22 has aroused the opposition of both non-French-speaking workers (particularly immigrants in Montreal) seeking the access to better job opportunities which education in the English language provides, and by Québecois nationalists, most of whom seek to make Quebec an independent unilingual French state.

The summer air traffic control dispute brought the language question to the fore once again. Enraged by the federal government's acquiescence to the demand raised by the striking pilots and controllers for the maintenance of a unilingual English air traffic control system in Quebec, the



LÉVESQUE AND BOURASSA

Le Devoir

nationalists have declared that federalism is finished and that only an independent Quebec can defend French language rights. All the major political parties in the province supported the breakaway Association des Gens de l'Air which opposed the strike and called for the institution of bilingual air traffic control.

As we stated in <u>Spartacist</u> <u>Canada</u> shortly following the strike:

"The air strike was a supportable job action in defense of a standardized communications system which in an internationally integrated industry is a genuine question of safety. The strike was also a defense of the right of workers to bargain and strike over safety and work