

Labor Must Smash Bill C-28!

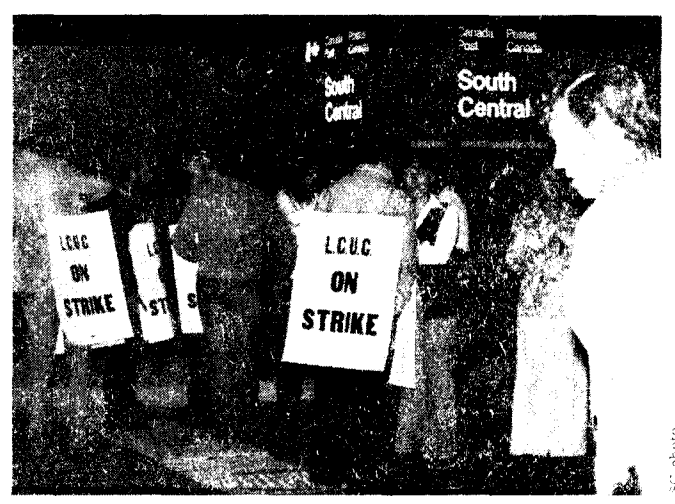
Postal Workers on the Front Lines

In an eleventh hour accord with the Trudeau government the gutless leadership of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) penned its name to a lousy contract that represents a major step backwards for postal workers and all of Canadian labor. The "tentative agreement" came after the union's rotating strikes had shut down postal operations in eight cities across Canada, including the strategic Toronto center, for four days.

The LCUC leadership came out of its backroom negotiations with the government with a settlement that stinks so bad it could have been negotiated at Camp David. The contract offer provides a wage increase so meager it will not begin to keep pace with double digit inflation; a toothless "letter of understanding" that the government will not slash jobs through speed-up; and a cost-of-living allowance (COLA) frozen at the level of May 1977 until inflation goes up another 6%.

The postal contracts are the key test for the government's plans to enforce Bill C-28, its latest "anti-inflation" wage-slashing program for public sector workers. With the rash of public employee strikes that have swept the country in the past two months (the transit workers strike in Toronto, the 10-day grounding of Air Canada when its mechanics and baggage handlers hit the bricks in August) Trudeau's wage-slashing law hinges on defeating the large, combative postal unions. If the LCUC leadership's contract is accepted the government will win round one.

Although Bill C-28 has yet to be officially sanctioned, Robert Andras, the Treasury Board president and the Post Office's chief negotiator, repeatedly stressed that the government would impose the terms of its wage restraints package, one way or the other. As it turned out, Andras's bidding was carried out by the venal sellouts in the LCUC leadership. Despite vague threats of



LCUC PICKETS TORONTO SOUTH CENTRAL POSTAL PLANT

taking "industrial action" against Bill C-28 at the past LCUC national convention, the LCUC bureaucracy negotiated a settlement in obedience to the government's wage control bill.

LCUC BUREAUCRATS CAVE IN TO TRUDEAU GOVERNMENT

McGarry's sellout exemplifies how "responsible labor statesmen" act as the agents of the class enemy in the workers movement. From the beginning LCUC national president Robert McGarry, popularly known by the bourgeois media as the "genial" postal union leader, bent over backwards to avoid a confrontation with the Trudeau government. But, McGarry's supple spine and moderation did not get him anywhere. The Treasury Board stuck to its latest wage offer while demanding a cutback in the union's COLA and offering no real protection from speed-up and job loss. Further, it refused to cough up one cent on the 19 cents owed,

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Tories Bust Transit Strike

At 12:01 a. m. September 15, the 7,000 members of the Toronto local of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) were legislated back to work by Ontario's reactionary, strikebreaking Tory government. The transit workers went on strike September 11 to do battle with the tightfisted Toronto Transit Commission (TTC).

During the four-day strike thousands of cars flooded the streets causing massive traffic jams in Canada's commercial center. Posturing as the savior of the "public," Ontario Premier Bill Davis stepped in to smash the strike. On September 14 the Tories' emergency bill legislating the ATU back to work, and carrying fines of up to \$10,000 a day for non-compliance, was passed by the legislature despite the protests of the NDP members. Davis's bill granted the strikers a stinking four per cent increase and stipulated that the final terms were to be set by a government appointed arbitrator. Of course the NDP's opposition to the strikebreaking was reserved for the hallowed halls of Queens Park (and the television cameras). It would never enter the head of any one of these "Honourable Members" to appeal to the labor movement to back the transit workers in defiance of the government's strikebreaking bill--after all these right-wing social democrats have their own sordid record of strikebreaking in those provinces where they have held power. The gutless ATU bureaucrats in turn meekly submitted to the government and ordered their ranks back to work without even conducting a vote.

Naturally the bosses' press applauded the back-to-work legislation, while a cabal of bourgeois politicians appealed for public support in their campaign to ban the right to strike for public service workers. TTC chief Michael Warren explained management's hardline stance against the transit workers with the comment, "If we accede to the union's demands, it would create a precedent for all other civic unions in the city" (Financial Post, 16 September). With the bosses on the offensive, determined to take away past union gains in contract after contract, the Ontario government's successful bid to smash the powerful Toronto ATU strike is a defeat not only for transit workers, but for all labor.

We reprint below a Trotskyist League leaflet entitled "Victory to the Transit Strike" distributed at the picket lines and posted throughout Toronto. The leaflet contains one factual error. It was the 1976 settlement, not the 1974 settlement, which was chopped by Trudeau's Anti-Inflation Board (AIB). The AIB was not created until 1975.

Victory to the Transit Strike!

For the second time in four years the Toronto Transit Commission has provoked a strike by

the 7,000 member Amalgamated Transit Union imposing hardship on thousands of commuters. The bosses' press tries to blame the union for the chaos on Toronto's streets. The Star (September 11) talks about an "exasperated" public "outraged" at the "12-cent strike." But there is a lot more at stake than 12 cents (which is the difference between the 5% annual raise the TTC is offering and the 8% the union is asking). The strike was caused by management's refusal to grant a cost-of-living allowance (COLA) to offset inflation. With inflation currently at 10%, a 5% "raise" without a COLA really means a 5% pay cut.

Like all working people, transit workers saw their paycheck shrink under Trudeau's wage controls. The so-called Anti-Inflation Board rolled back wages but turned a blind eye to outrageous price increases like the fare hike pushed through by the TTC. The "public," which the big business media is trying to turn against the strikers, is mainly composed of working people like the transit workers who have also had to make ends meet while prices soared and wages were held down. All workers should have a full, uncapped COLA to protect their wages against inflation. The transit strike is a fight that every worker has a stake in.

The TTC claims that granting the union's demands means another fare increase and further service cutbacks. It's not the union which is responsible for fare hikes and deteriorating transit but the chauffeured bankers, industrialists and their lackeys at City Hall who pull the strings on the TTC. Public transit is an indispensable service which should be safe, frequent, reliable and free of charge. Instead of gouging workers, let the cost of operating Toronto's transit be met by the banks, corporations and property speculators! Tax the bosses and make transit free!

There is presently talk of breaking the transit strike with back-to-work legislation. In 1974 the ATU stayed out for 23 days, defying Premier Davis's strikebreaking legislation for four days. Mindful of this display of militancy, the government-appointed arbitrator awarded a 32% increase over two years; subsequently rolled back to 14% by the AIB. Any attempt to legislate transit workers back to work should be met with the united response of the entire labor movement, including solidarity strikes. Anti-labor legislation, soaring profits and prices while real wages are cut, massive unemployment and deteriorating public services demonstrate the need for working people to have their own government which abolishes the parasitical capitalist class and establishes a planned economy.

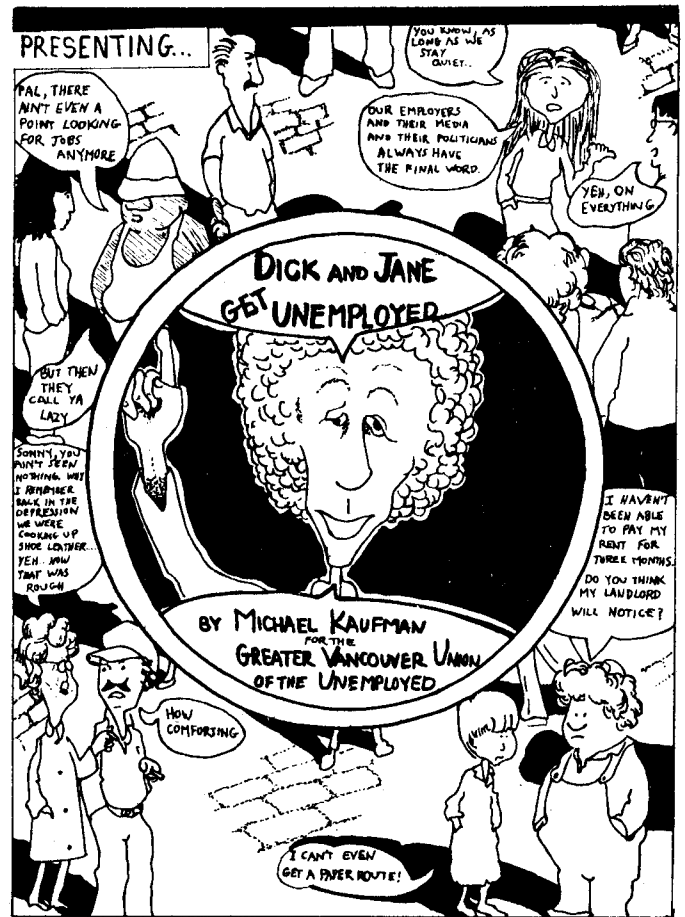
11 September 1978

RWL: Comic Relief for the Unemployed?

The September 15 public forum held by the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) on the question of unemployment was a typically dull affair. Once again the RWL demonstrated that it has nothing to offer in the way of revolutionary program. There were only the usual deadening summaries of government statistics, coupled with a "strategy" of reliance on the labor bureaucracy.

The last of the three uninspired RWL spokesmen was Michael Kaufman, a former member of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) who was billed as a "special guest" from Vancouver. Kaufman, sounding for all the world like the smug, unserious, petty-bourgeois university student that he is, tried to inject a little pathos into the meeting with melodramatic descriptions of the miseries of the unemployed. He succeeded only in making a fool of himself. The only pathetic note came during the discussion period which followed the presentation, when a burned-out ex-communist and would-be supporter of the RWL stood up and revealed himself to be deranged.

As the meeting was breaking up, Kaufman rose to his feet once more--this time to hawk a comic book on unemployment--drawn (and copyrighted!) by himself. Kaufman's comic is a reformist/workerist variation on the RMG's short-lived Jailbreak, a hippie-rap pulp sheet aimed at high school students which propounded "sexual liberation" and counter-"cultural" life-style radicalism. (See "Pabloism at Puberty," Young Spartacus, February 1975). At the forum Kaufman had to do his own advertising because this sort of RMG-style tomfoolery does not go down well with the stodgy "suit and tie" reformists of the ex-League for Socialist Action (LSA) who are presently co-partners



KAUFFMAN'S COMIX: "SON OF JAILBREAK"

with the ex-RMGers in the RWL. However, the RWL was unable to present as an alternative a current issue of their drab and insipid bi-weekly, Socialist Voice.

Besides a current issue of the RWL's newspaper, two long-time leaders of the LSA, Dick Fidler and John Riddell (the former editor of Socialist Voice) were also conspicuously absent from the forum. This was indeed unfortunate as they have no doubt both developed a keen interest in the topic of unemployment since being kicked off the RWL payroll several months ago. Perhaps Kaufman can interest them in a copy of his funny book. ■

Postal Workers...

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but not paid, on the COLA from the last contract.

Frustrated in its attempts to squeeze a few more pennies out of the tightfisted Treasury Board at

the bargaining table the LCUC bureaucracy called a rotating strike. But the bureaucrats' rotating strike gimmick was simply designed to head off a nationwide walkout. McGarry and Co. had no intention of leading a militant strike to meet the needs of postal workers.

Keeping a tight rein on the ranks the LCUC leadership called the membership out in one round of rotating strikes. Even the pitifully inadequate demands McGarry and Co. brought to the bargaining table were thrown out the window. In voting for a strike the ranks were bound from the outset to endorse the leadership's mandate, which had as its maximum demands the conciliation report by the

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Postal Workers . . .

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union's lawyer, the Wright report. Wright's slightly sweetened version of management's offer only front loaded some of the miserly wage increase, including the COLA increase owing from the last contract.

The government and the postal bosses correctly gauged the cowardice of the LCUC leadership and refused to give an inch. Andras, Trudeau's chief anti-inflation jawboner pleaded government bankruptcy and vowed the letter carriers would not get another cent. When rumblings began in Ottawa to end the rotating strikes through back-to-work legislation McGarry knuckled under, backtracking on his own terms for a settlement.

No sooner had the picket lines been pulled down in the first round of rotating strikes than McGarry found himself in the office of acting Labour Minister, André Ouellet, begging a few more crumbs. McGarry appealed to the "open-mindedness" of this capitalist politician, a stand-in for the former Labour Minister, John Munro. Munro provides a typical example of the moral character of the bosses' political representatives. He was dumped from his post after attempting to influence a judge on behalf of a millionaire landlord who assaulted a tenant with a hammer. Ouellet is an equally unsavory character. A former Postmaster General, Ouellet was unseated following a 9-day nationwide postal wildcat in 1974, sparked in Montreal, during which he made the chauvinist remark that the English-Canadian working class would never defend Quebec workers.

Based on Ouellet's past record as a "diplomat" and "friend of labor" McGarry appealed to him to get the bargaining going again so that at least he could "negotiate" a sellout rather than simply looking like Andras's puppet. Even the reactionary Toronto Sun was moved by McGarry's grovelling before the government and his desperate pleas for a contract. In an editorial the Sun chastized Andras for his hardline stand and reminded the government that it "should keep in mind that the present strike is of letter carriers, not the inside workers of CUPW [Canadian Union of Postal Workers], who harbor the bulk of zanies, self-styled Maoists and Commie Fringies giving unions and workers a bad name with their garbled down-with-everything, Capitalist-swine philosophies" (Sun, 25 September). While claiming that the LCUC tops' paltry demands were "greedy" and "out of line," the Sun, spokesman for the far-right "Fringies" of the Canadian bourgeoisie, pointed to McGarry's willingness to compromise and warned that the government's tough line "may turn the letter carriers militant."

Andras had backed himself into a corner and had to protect his credibility. But through the combined efforts of Ouellet and McGarry negotiations were resumed. In twelve hours McGarry handed away even the piddling wage increases contained in the Wright report. The miserable contract offer,

unanimously endorsed by the union's bargaining team, is virtually identical to the Post Office's last offer. McGarry and Co. are trying to sell this rotten deal to the ranks with the claim that the government came up with an extra four million dollars. The only "extra" was money the government had picked from postal workers' pockets under the last contract. Looking for an edge to push through the settlement McGarry bought back the 15 cent wage differential for the 4,000 highest level letter carriers lost under Trudeau's wage controls.

LCUC: REJECT THE SELLOUT!

McGarry is imposing "labor peace" for the government and paving the way for the successful implementation of its wage restraints program. If this contract is accepted it will be a big setback for the LCUC, which will be visited on all of labor, in particular the other major postal union, the CUPW. The CUPW ranks have been chained to the job without a contract for 16 months by their militant-talking, do-nothing leadership. Given no room to maneuver by the government, the CUPW bureaucrats are talking strike.

If the government can get the LCUC out of the way, it will go after the inside postal workers with a vengeance spelled out clearly in the Sun's editorial. Bolstered by his deal with the LCUC leadership, Postmaster General Gilles Lamontagne asked for a three year "truce" in strikes against the Post Office while the government turns it into a "Crown Corporation." Lamontagne promised a Postal Users Conference in Toronto that the government would "do everything possible" to stop a CUPW strike. Also addressing this array of corporate bigwigs and capitalist politicians was the CUPW national president, Jean-Claude Parrot, who along with the rest of the CUPW bureaucrats has been begging the government for years to "coronate" the Post Office. Amidst much gnashing of teeth and demands that the government outlaw strikes against the Post Office from the other conference participants, Parrot meekly submitted that a CUPW strike was inevitable--the government had left him no room to "compromise."

CUPW SOLIDARITY WITH LCUC

Parrot has no more appetite than McGarry for a major showdown with the Trudeau government. But at the same time as he was addressing Canada's corporate "postal users," members of the Toronto local of the CUPW were out on the streets in support of the LCUC. Close to 90% of the CUPW membership refused to cross the lines of the Toronto LCUC. CUPW members stood by the picket lines watching for scabs and appealing to the inside postal workers to respect the LCUC pickets.

Respect for picket lines, an elementary trade union principle violated by the postal union bureau-

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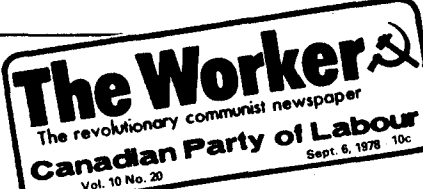
Socialist Paradise Lost and Found

In the latest in a series of dizzying political gyrations the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour (CPL) has recently decided that "socialism" is alive and well in Enver Hoxha's tiny, backward "People's Socialist Republic of Albania." Until 1971 CPL was an enthusiastic promoter of the "Chinese road to socialism" and in those days it also used to have the occasional good word for China's Albanian satellite. However, when CPL, faithfully following the line laid down by its American mentor, the Progressive Labor Party (PL), broke with China in the early 1970's Hoxha and Co. were discarded with hardly a mention. Now that the Albanians are themselves denouncing the Chinese leadership as a gang of "revisionists," following China's rapprochement with Yugoslavia (Albania's local "superpower"), CPL has chosen to once again "hold high the banner" of Enver Hoxha thought.

CPL has itself recently had a bitter falling out with its long-time senior partner and is currently engaged in a campaign in its press to denounce and expose the "revisionism" and "chauvinism" of PL. The CPL/PL wrangle began when CPL dumped PL's chauvinist, pseudo-leftist opposition to the right of nations to self-determination in order to join the chorus of fake-leftists promoting ("critically" of course) the poisonous petty-bourgeois nationalism of René Lévesque's Parti Québécois.

The CPL leadership is apparently feeling pretty isolated--and they're not being too choosy about finding some new friends. The September 6 issue of the Worker recalled with fondness how "In 1968, the Canadian Party of Labour took its name out of respect for the Albanian Party of Labour and its uncompromising fight against modern revisionism"

and even features a picture of Enver Hoxha on the front page. Whatever CPL thinks of Hoxha's record of compromise up to 1968 it can hardly claim an unblemished record for its new hero since then, as "socialist" Albania stuck with "revisionist" China through thick and thin--until China turned off the tap last July as part of its campaign to improve relations with Tito. In their letter denouncing the Chinese (reprinted in the Worker), the Albanians




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The revolutionary communist newspaper
Canadian Party of Labour
Sept. 6, 1978 10c
Vol. 10 No. 20

Socialist Albania condemns China's revisionism

Following the July announcement by the Chinese government that it was ending all aid to socialist Albania, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania have issued a public reply. The Albanians outline their differences with China which date back to Peking's "swerving" in 1962-64 during the struggle with Khrushchev. They express agreement with the principles of the cultural revolution, but say it was "more often than not... an unprincipled struggle". They bitterly oppose Nixon's 1972 visit to China and the pro-imperialist "turn" in Peking's foreign policy.

They make no effort to wipe round the Mao halo. Nor as they seem to have any use for "the gang of four" and Lin Biao, with whom their split with Peking has sometimes been associated. They continue to staunchly defend Joseph Stalin.

The statement is animated by a spirit of principle and devotion to the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. In 1968, the Canadian Party of Labour took its name out of respect for



ENVER HOXHA

CPL: ANOTHER CONTENDER FOR THE TIRANA FRANCHISE?

excortiate China's record of uniting "with the U. S. imperialists and the monopolists of Europe, with fascists and racists, kings and feudal lords, most rapid [sic] militarists and warmongers. Pinochet and Franco, former nazi generals of the German Wehrmacht and the Japanese imperial army...." Quite a list! However, strange to say during the whole time that these betrayals were being committed the "uncompromising" "anti-revisionists" in Tirana didn't deem any of them worthy of public comment, and in fact repeatedly pledged their unshakeable solidarity with the counterrevolutionary bonapartist clique in Peking.

Despite CPL's "rehabilitation" of Hoxha it remains to be seen whether he will return the favor. They join the Maoid New Leftists of In Struggle! in contending for the Albanian franchise. But for the present it appears that Tirana is backing the bizarroids of Hardial Bains' Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), who are referred to in the Worker as "professional thugs who do the police job of stirring up anti-communism." Thus the stage is set for a replay of the brawls of the late 1960's which pitted CPL goons against Bainsite zombies--except that this time they'll be battling for the privilege of representing Albanian, instead of Chinese, Stalinism in Canada. ■

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Postal Workers...

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crats' mutual scabbing deals during the 1975 postal strike, was re-established over the past year, largely as a result of the solidarity of the Toronto LCUC drivers with a CUPW walkout last December. Despite the bureaucratically engineered craft divisions separating postal workers, there was broad sentiment on the lines for a joint nationwide strike of all postal workers.

FOR A NATIONWIDE POSTAL STRIKE!

This sentiment must be translated into action! The LCUC settlement should be voted down. The CUPW is without a contract. Postal workers must counter their leaders' cringing before the government with joint mass meetings of CUPW and LCUC in every city to elect strike committees, co-ordinated nationally, to launch a militant joint nationwide strike for demands that meet the needs of all postal workers. A joint strike should fight for a joint contract to lay the basis for the merger of all postal unions (including the postal mechanics now organized in the Public Service Alliance of Canada) into one industrial union. For a joint LCUC/CUPW strike! Shut down the Post Office!

The Toronto LCUC membership, which has already forced its local leaders to withdraw from McGarry and Co.'s class-collaborationist "Inter-group" consultations with management, could be key to blowing the lid off their leadership's sellout. Angry strikers at the Toronto lines denounced the rotating strikes as "crazy." At a meeting of the Toronto local, hours before the walkout, a third of the membership in attendance stormed out in protest after a motion, raised by LCUC militant Larry Boyes, demanding that the leadership adhere to the local's position against rotating strikes and fight for a full scale, nationwide walkout, was bureaucratically ruled out of order.

At the LCUC national convention, last April, a motion by Bob McBurney, a militant shop steward from the Toronto LCUC, calling for a two-day general strike against the government's anti-labor legislation was supported by a third of the delegates despite the unanimous opposition of the national executive. Postal workers have repeatedly demonstrated their willingness to take on the government with a spirit of militancy and determination. Armed with powerful strike demands--a big pay boost; a full cost-of-living allowance; no layoffs through a shorter work week at no cut in pay; no reprisals for past walkouts and the unconditional right to strike; a closed shop--a nationwide mobilization of all postal workers could deal the decisive blow to the government's strikebreaking, wage-slashing Bill C-28. A powerful nationwide postal strike today can win the demands postal workers need and would inspire the rest of the labor movement to take on the current capitalist offensive.

The "illegal" postal wildcats of the mid-sixties, on which the unions were founded, won the right

to strike for all public employees. Today, the government, backed by its anti-labor laws and with the willing assistance of the treacherous postal union tops is challenging the postal workers' right to strike and the very existence of their unions. Many of the self-same bureaucrats who today do the government's bidding were leaders of the 1965-67 postal strikes.

OUST THE BUREAUCRATS-- FOR A CLASS STRUGGLE LEADERSHIP!

The bosses and the government had no need to turn to their courts, cops and judges to enforce their anti-labor dictums. McGarry and the LCUC leadership lived up to the name often given them by socialists--labor lieutenants of the capitalist class --and did the job for the bosses. As Trotsky stated in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

"There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations throughout the world: it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power."

The fight for the independence of the labor movement necessarily requires the ousting of the treacherous, class-collaborationist union bureaucrats who prop up the bosses' government. These labor traitors must be replaced with a leadership which will arm the labor movement with a political program that links the felt needs of the workers with the need for the proletariat to take political power and establish a workers government to expropriate the capitalists. Such a government will not be won by the right-wing social democrats of the NDP who, when in power, enforce wage controls, break strikes and pass anti-labor legislation. The working class needs a workers party that mobilizes the entire labor movement to smash such anti-labor legislation as part of the struggle for a workers government.

This attempt to ramrod a lousy contract down the throats of letter carriers threatens all of labor. Under Bill C-28 the maximum wage in the public sector would be tied to the average wage in the private sector, destroying the bargaining rights of public employees and holding down wages for all workers. All of Canadian labor has a stake in the postal workers' struggle. In the event of a nationwide postal strike, the need for labor solidarity will be sharply posed, in particular from the closely connected communications and transportation industries. Should the government attempt to break the strike through back-to-work legislation the entire trade union movement must come to the defense of the postal workers through protest strikes and other actions of concrete labor solidarity.

VOTE DOWN THE SELLOUT!
FOR A JOINT LCUC/CUPW STRIKE!
OUST THE BUREAUCRATS!
SMASH BILL C-28!
FOR A WORKERS PARTY
AND A WORKERS GOVERNMENT!

Victory to the YUSA Strike

Shut Down York!

Since September 18, one thousand technical and clerical workers at York University in Toronto have been on strike. Organized by the York University Staff Association (YUSA), these campus workers, 85% of whom are women, have been forced to hit the bricks by the administration's refusal to budge from a measly 4% offer. YUSA is demanding a 9% wage hike, which is less than they need to keep up with inflation. The administration's 4% insult has already been accepted by York's 240 physical plant workers (who belong to the Canadian Union of Public Employees) and has also been forced down the throats of the university's unorganized workers. The teaching staff are slated to be the administration's next victims.

Although only a minority of students and faculty are heeding the union's calls to respect the picket lines, the strikers have widespread support on campus. The York faculty association has declared its support for the strike. Although it has not instructed its members to cancel classes it has asked the professors to donate a day's pay to the YUSA strike fund. Many professors have suspended classes for the duration of the strike on their own initiative. All classes have been cancelled for the university's 12,000 part-time students, and the York library and all language and science labs have been shut down. Even 30 Osgoode Law School professors, who devote their lives to explaining the fine points of the British North America Act to future judges and legal shysters, have postponed classes in solidarity with the strike. In the first week of the strike the administration tried to keep the university bookstore open with part-time student scabs, but gave up after student strike supporters organized a militant picket line to confront the scabs. Off-campus trade unionists have been honoring the lines. Postal workers, bus drivers and most truck drivers are refusing to cross.

The students are generally hostile to the administration's attempts to hardline it with the union. Some 700 students attended a rally on September 26 (which was regrettably held on the wrong side of the picket lines) to demand that the administration meet the strikers' demands and settle the dispute. The meeting was called to present a petition signed by 2,500 students calling for the administration to end the strike and recognize "the just demands" of the union to York President Ian MacDonald. When MacDonald refused to appear at the rally some 250 students proceeded to occupy his offices. As we go to press about 50 students are maintaining the sit-in around the clock, demanding that the administration conclude "a fair settlement" with the union.

The Trotskyist League has participated in picket-



YUSA STRIKE RECEIVES BROAD SUPPORT

SC photo

ing and on September 19 issued a leaflet calling on students, teaching staff and other campus workers to respect and join the YUSA lines.

The text of the TL leaflet is reprinted below.

Respect the Picket Lines! Support the YUSA Strike!

Cutbacks, layoffs and higher tuition: these have been the York administration's response to the crumbling capitalist economy. For the administration it's "take-away time." Students, faculty and campus workers must stand together to fight back. Right now one thousand technical and clerical workers have been forced out on strike--just to defend their jobs, working conditions and living standards.

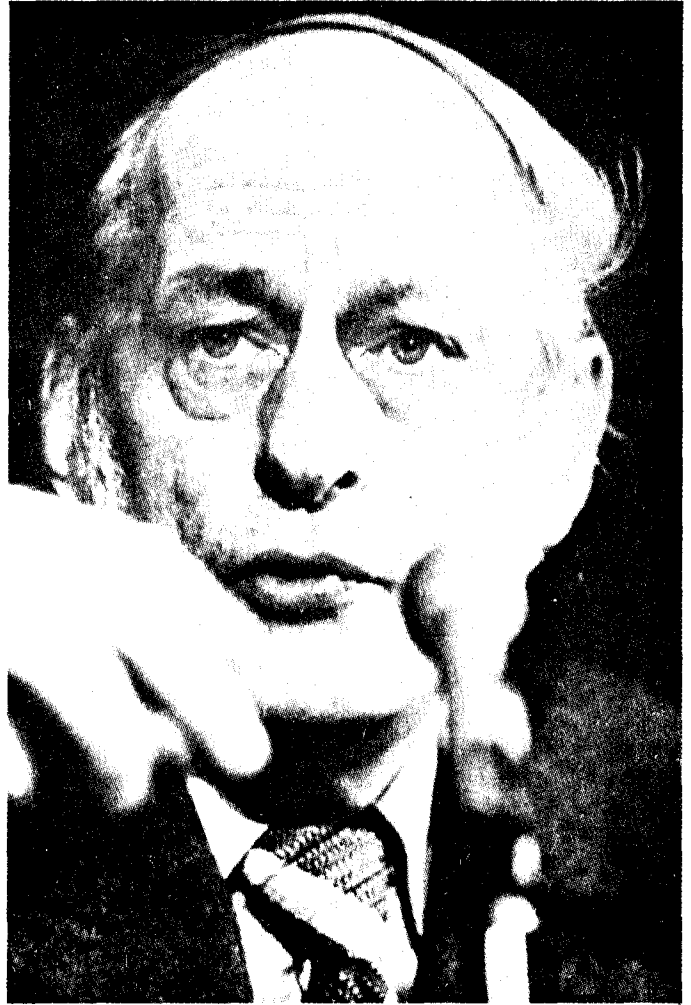
The university's wage offer is an insulting four percent. With inflation hurting all workers and students, and currently raging at ten percent, this would mean a six percent cut in YUSA members' real wages. What's more, the administration is refusing any guarantees of job security in the face of drastic cutbacks, "contracting out" and technological change. Automation should be made to serve the workforce through a shorter work week at no loss in pay.

Rather than cutbacks in education there should be expansion. Education is a public service and should be available to everyone through open admissions, free tuition and full living stipends for all students. The administration will doubtless attempt to blame campus workers for tuition hikes and cutbacks in order to pit students against the strikers. This same tactic was used during the recent Transit workers strike when a massive media campaign was launched to inflame hostility to the TTC drivers' attempts to defend their living standards. But what forced the transit workers out on strike was the issue of a cost-of-living allowance in their contract--something that every worker, including YUSA, needs. The transit workers strike

(continued on page 12)



V.I. LENIN



RENE LEVESQUE

The Last Post/David Lloyd

Exchange on Quebec

Leninism vs Nationalism

Montreal
12 June 1978
Comrades:

I am taking the opportunity of this first letter to deal with a subject which we were not able to get started on at our meeting on the tenth of this month: the national question in Quebec.

According to the Spartacist League: "Leninism and nationalism are two fundamentally counterposed political viewpoints. Thus while we struggle against all forms of national oppression, we are also opposed to all forms of nationalist ideology" [see "Quebec Nationalism and the Class Struggle," *Spartacist Canada*, January 1977]. The official position which follows is support for the right of self-determination for Quebec, while opposing its independence. For all progressive Québécois this is clean and clear support for Canadian imperialism and a denial of the fundamental right of the

Québécois to choose their political mode of existence.

Wasn't it Marx who said: "Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself as the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word" (Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*).

To be sure, as a communist I am opposed to the leadership of the Parti Québécois and its bourgeois independence. However, to the extent that the progressive forces have not regrouped and cannot present a valid alternative, the national question will remain the monopoly of the PQ and we must support it in the face of Ottawa, because the independence of the Quebec people is a necessary precondition for coming to class consciousness, for any communist revolution.

How can you think about presenting an international

point of view to a nation which does not yet perceive itself as a nation?

When the hostilities between the internal French-speaking and English-speaking groups in Quebec cease the Québécois will be able to turn toward the outside and play the role which will put them back in the international march of the proletariat.

At the moment, the national question, so often confused with the language question, absorbs all energy, to the point that French-speaking workers view the English-speaking Québécois with suspicion and prefer to ally themselves with the French-speaking bourgeoisie (the PQ) rather than the English-Canadian proletariat. Given its importance, the national question must be resolved as fast as possible.

The Spartacist League maintains that a socialist republic of Quebec is impossible. "A 'Quebec workers republic' is no more conceivable than a 'California workers republic.'" This is, I believe, a very poor understanding of the socio-economic situation of Quebec. Most probably the Republic of Quebec will be established under the leadership of the PQ and it will be bourgeois, for sure. The Quebec bourgeoisie in power will find itself isolated in the face of a combative proletariat. It will not be able to hang on very long.

Since the SL maintains that unilingualism is a totally chauvinist and reactionary nationalist position, it is enough for me to reply that it is certainly a regrettable measure, but one that is essential for our survival, imposed by the objective conditions of our existence, and I allow myself one question: How many official languages are there in France?

A few lines later you add, "Unilingualism in Quebec would also provide a perfect excuse for the denial of language rights to French-speaking minorities by English chauvinists in other provinces." To that I could reply that these rights have been refused for 121 years, even though at the time of Confederation the French-speaking population represented more than 45% of the total Canadian population. So surely they don't need the perfect excuse!*

Your position resembles that of CCL(M-L), see the Forge of 14-28 April 1978 or the review/criticism of that article in Lutte Ouvrière of 17 May 1978, page 10....

My position is conditioned by the fact that I am a Québécois and perhaps am not sufficiently objective when faced with this question. I think, however, that my opinion takes into account the real conditions and struggle of the Québécois.

A sympathizer of the LOR
who is not indifferent to the iSt,

Richard Grignon

*(1) It is enough to remember how Davis, the Premier of Ontario, very quickly withdrew a private bill which had been accepted in the House at its second reading. This private bill guaranteed public services in their own language to French speakers

in the province.

(2) Even before Law 101 went into effect, the Premiers of the nine English-speaking provinces rejected the reciprocity agreements proposed by the Québécois at St. Andrews.

15 August 1978

Dear Richard:

Please excuse the delay in our reply to your letter of 12 June. A number of events, in particular our national conference, militated against an earlier response.

It is indeed unfortunate that the national question in Quebec was not taken up in our last discussion in Montreal. Although you profess agreement with many of our criticisms of the United Secretariat's capitulation to bourgeois ideology such as feminism, it is clear from your letter that you find yourself in agreement with the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire's capitulation to the bourgeois ideology of nationalism. Moreover, it appears that you have assimilated some of the standard LOR slanders and distortions of the iSt's position on the national question.

This stands out most sharply in your statement that "for all progressive Québécois this [the iSt's position on Quebec] is clean and clear support for Canadian imperialism and a denial of the fundamental right of the Québécois to choose their political mode of existence." Yet in the sentence immediately preceding this you acknowledge that our "official position is support for the right to self-determination for Quebec, all the while opposing its independence." For Leninists the right to self-determination can only mean the right of the Québécois to choose "their political mode of existence" insofar as we are talking about the national question. The right to self-determination means the right of the Québécois to choose independence. This is hardly "clean and clear support for Canadian imperialism" which denies the Quebec nation this very right.

We are unconditionally opposed to the forcible retention of Quebec within the borders of Canada. If the people of Quebec actually choose to secede (e.g., in a democratic referendum) then we will call for the active defense of that choice, including strikes, refusal to handle military goods and other concrete actions of solidarity by the English-speaking labor movement (in the U.S. as well as Canada) against any attempt to forcibly prevent Quebec from separating.

Like Lenin, we distinguish between defending the right of an oppressed nation to independence and advocating at any particular time that an oppressed nation choose independence. To use Lenin's analogy, to advocate the right of divorce does not mean that we advocate under all conditions divorce. In his "Resolution on the National Question" written

(continued on page 10)

Leninism...

(continued from page 9)

for the 1913 conference of the Central Committee of the RSDLP Lenin states:

"The right of nations to self-determination (i. e., the constitutional guarantee of an absolutely free and democratic method of deciding the question of secession) must under no circumstances be confused with the expediency of a given nation's secession. The Social Democratic Party must decide the latter question exclusively on its merits in each particular case in conformity with the interests of social development as a whole and with the interests of the proletarian class struggle for socialism."

In "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" Lenin draws a very clear distinction between the unconditional right of nations to self-determination and the demand for secession:

"The demand for a 'yes' or 'no' reply to the question of secession in the case of every nation may seem a very practical one. In reality it is absurd; it is metaphysical in theory, while in practice it leads to subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie's policy. The bourgeoisie always places its national demands in the forefront, and does so in categorical fashion. With the proletariat, however, these demands are subordinated to the interests of the class struggle... That is why the proletariat confines itself, so to speak, to the negative demand for the recognition of the right to self-determination without giving guarantees to any nation, and without undertaking to give anything at the expense of another nation."

--Collected Works, Vol. 20, emphasis added

Unlike the bourgeois nationalist PQ and petty-bourgeois "proletarian" nationalist LOR we do not "put national demands in the forefront." Like Lenin, our position on the national question takes as primary what will advance the class struggle and promote the unity of the workers of both nations against their common class enemies. Hence, we address the historic national oppression of the Québécois in order to overcome national divisions within the workers movement and lay the basis for working-class solidarity across national lines, not to promote nationalism.

To this end, our propaganda and activity are based on what Lenin called "a two-sided task: to combat nationalism of every kind... (and) to recognize... the right of nations to self-determination, to secession." In English Canada, the oppressor nation, the fundamental duty of revolutionaries is the unconditional defense of Quebec's democratic national and language rights. Against the English-Canadian chauvinism transmitted to the labor movement by the trade union bureaucrats and the right-wing social democrats of the NDP we fight

for the unconditional defense of Quebec's right to self-determination. In Quebec, it is the task of Leninists to struggle against nationalist sentiments in the working class and to shatter any illusions of Québécois workers in the bourgeois nationalist PQ. Nationalism, whether it be of the oppressor or the oppressed nation, is a bourgeois ideology--a barrier to the class struggle.

Today, while firmly defending the right of the Québécois to secede if they choose to do so, we do not call for the secession of Quebec. We do not hold that national antagonisms have become so intense as to separate Quebec workers from "the international march of the proletariat." However, if national oppression becomes so deeply felt by the workers of Quebec as to decisively undercut working-class unity then we would advocate independence.

To say that our position is a prop for the Canadian imperialist state is to say that Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who did not always advocate independence for the oppressed nations in Tsarist Russia, were Tsarist agents--supporters of this reactionary "prison house of peoples." For us, as for the Bolsheviks, the interests of the working class and the struggle for socialist revolution are always primary. However, in your attempt to reconcile Leninism and nationalism you stand Lenin on his head with the argument that the struggle for socialism is subordinate to the national struggle.

In your letter you state that the "independence of the Quebec people is a necessary precondition for the coming to class consciousness, for any communist revolution." Your position that the fight for socialist revolution cannot begin until the "national liberation" struggle is complete is not a new one. Such a stagist theory has been the stock-in-trade of every stripe of revisionist from Kautsky to the Mensheviks to Stalin and is counterposed to Trotsky's Permanent Revolution. Hence, it is not surprising that you have opted for the nationalist interpretation of the often quoted passage you cite from the Communist Manifesto. Moreover, you have chosen to omit the two key introductory sentences in your citation.

In its entirety the passage you seek to use to bolster an argument for nationalism reads:

"The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."

--emphasis added

Within the workers movement this passage has historically been a source of controversy between nationalist reformists and revolutionary internationalists. Heinrich Cunow, a leading German social-democratic theoretician, tried to derive a specific "proletarian nationalism" from the Manifesto. Roman Rosdolosky in his "Workers and the Fatherland" (reprinted in the IMG's theoretical

organ, International, Winter 1977) points to the social patriotism and social chauvinism derived from a nationalist interpretation of this passage. Cunow used it to argue that the workers will "become the nation" through the parliamentary road to power; in its introduction to the Communist Manifesto the Austrian Communist Party used it to bolster the "anti-fascist front" and the workers' "national" defense of the fatherland; and you would use it to argue the case for Quebec independence and a "workers republic of Quebec."

Against Cunow, Rosdolovsky argues for the internationalist interpretation which alone is compatible with the theoretical and practical life work of Marx and Engels:

"When the Manifesto says that the workers 'have no country', this refers to the bourgeois national state, not to nationality in the ethnical sense. The workers 'have no country' because, according to Marx and Engels, they must regard the bourgeois national state as a machinery for their oppression--and after they have achieved power they will likewise have 'no country' in the political sense, inasmuch as the separate socialist national states will be only a transitional stage on the way to the classless and stateless society of the future, since the construction of such a society is possible only on the international scale!"

--emphasis in original

Communists approach the national question not as nationalists, but from the standpoint of what will advance the class struggle and in what way international proletarian unity can be forged as an essential condition for the victory of the world revolution and the international consolidation of socialism.

The LOR's position on the national question in Quebec to which you are obviously sympathetic is just the opposite. It approaches the national question as nationalists while attempting to differentiate itself from the PQ with its call for a "workers republic of Quebec." In your letter you object to our characterization of this demand as utopian. Yet you seem to be convinced yourself that "most probably the Republic of Quebec will be established under the leadership of the PQ and it will be bourgeois, for sure." You argue that the PQ would not be "able to hang on very long" in the face of the combative Quebec working class and that an independent capitalist Quebec would only be a transition to an "independent, socialist Quebec." But how long would the Quebec proletariat be "able to hang on" to state power if it remains isolated from its English-speaking class allies in the rest of North America faced with the most powerful imperialist country in the world?

You claim that our rejection of the demand for a "workers republic of Quebec" shows "a very poor understanding of the socio-economic situation in Quebec." But, the high degree of integration of the North American political economy and the overwhelming economic, political and military

predominance of the United States means that proletarian power will only be consolidated on a continent-wide basis. Proletarian revolution in any part of North America which fails to achieve state power in the U. S. is ultimately doomed.

The demand for a "workers republic of Quebec" is not only utopian, it is reactionary. The Quebec proletariat is today the most militant and combative in North America and could play a leading role in the North American socialist revolution. Yet the LOR calls for militant Quebec workers to break away from the mainstream of the North American workers movement and attempt to build its own workers state. For Leninists, advocating the right to self-determination is aimed at forging international working-class unity, not at fostering nationalist divisions within the working class. In an article entitled "Corrupting the Workers with Refined Nationalism," Lenin wrote:

"The class-conscious workers fight hard against every kind of nationalism, both the crude, violent, Black-Hundred nationalism, and that most refined nationalism which preaches the equality of nations together with... the splitting up of the workers' cause, the workers' organizations and the working-class movement according to nationality."

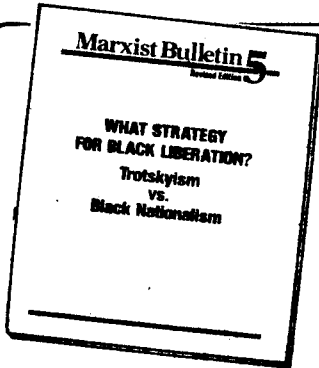
--Collected Works, Vol. 20, emphasis and ellipsis in the original

The separatist road to power preached by the left nationalists of the LOR could only lead to the defeat of the Quebec working class--a defeat which would be a setback for the entire North American working class.

On the language question, in your letter you state that the PQ's Bill 101 "is certainly a regrettable measure but it is essential for our survival." The erosion of the French language in North America, where the language of commerce is English, is undeniable. But, while defending the democratic national and language rights of the oppressed, Leninists are no defenders of "national culture." Writing in 1913 Lenin polemicized against those "socialists" who would defend the "national culture" of minority nations in the Tsarist empire:

"The proletariat, however, far from undertaking to uphold the national development of

(continued on page 12)



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Leninism...

(continued from page 11)

every nation, on the contrary, warns the masses against such illusions, stands for the fullest freedom of capitalist intercourse and welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations, except that which is founded on force or privilege."
--"Critical Remarks on the National Question," Collected Works, Vol. 20

For the bourgeois nationalists of the PQ the only way to prevent the erosion of the French language is to attack the language rights of others. You ask "how many official languages are there in France" and go on to point to the historical discrimination against the French-speaking population in the rest of Canada. Leninists are opposed to privileges for any language and to any single language being the "official" one. We are not indifferent to the real discrimination against French speakers in Quebec as well as in the rest of Canada. But, to conclude that this discrimination can only be redressed through attacking the democratic language rights of the English-speaking and immigrant communities in Quebec is to argue as a bourgeois nationalist not a proletarian internationalist. In "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" Lenin states:

"We fight against the privileges and violence of the oppressor nation, and do not in any way condone the strivings for privileges on the part of the oppressed nation."

The only democratic solution to the language question in Quebec is for full and equal language rights for all.

In closing you remark that our position resembles that of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist). This is a ludicrous amalgam. Our opposition to the call for Quebec independence derives from the interests of the working class and the class struggle; CCL(M-L)'s is based on the defense of the Canadian imperialist state from the two "superpowers." In the editorial to which you refer, CCL(M-L) is quite categorical in stating its political rationale for opposing independence:

"The separation of Quebec would make both English Canada and Quebec easier prey to these two greatest enemies of the world's people."

To preserve their credentials as "Marxist-Leninists" CCL(M-L) must of course prostitute Leninist orthodoxy on the national question to fit its social chauvinism. Hence we have found it necessary in explaining our position on the national question in Quebec to restate the Leninist position on the national question and its applicability to Quebec.

Unlike CCL(M-L) and the LOR, we fight not for "national unity" but for working class unity. The only way we can carry out this task is by fighting to unite the working class, not simply around democratic demands, but around a communist

program--the only program that can overcome the national divisions within the working class. Our optimism about uniting the entire North American working class in the struggle for socialist revolution reflects our confidence in the Leninist program, just as the LOR's capitulation to nationalism reflects abandonment of it.

Comradely,
Gary Taylor [for the Trotskyist League]

[The above letters have been printed with minor changes in punctuation and style to conform to SC editorial standards. Quotations have been checked with the original sources and corrected where necessary. Richard Grignon's letter is translated from French by SC.]

York...

(continued from page 7)

was a strike that every worker had a stake in.

YUSA has called on students, other unions and unorganized campus workers to respect their picket lines. Postal workers and bus drivers are honoring the lines. It is in the interest of all students, faculty and support staff to respect the picket lines and close down the university. A picket line means: "DON'T CROSS!" As a revolutionary Marxist organization, we recognize that the administration serves not the "university community," but the interests of the big corporations. Only under a socialist society will education genuinely serve human need rather than corporate profit.

DON'T CROSS!
JOIN THE PICKET LINES!
VICTORY TO THE YUSA STRIKE!
Trotskyist League (York) Club
19 September 1978

27 September 1978

Dear sisters and brothers,

The Trotskyist League stands in solidarity with your struggle against the wage-slashing, job-cutting, tuition-hiking York administration. As an expression of our support we enclose a financial contribution to your strike fund. We wholeheartedly endorse your stand calling on all students, faculty and support staff to respect and join your picket lines and shut down the university.

VICTORY TO THE YUSA STRIKE!

Rhonda Clinton,
for the Trotskyist League

YUSA Strike Fund
1331 1/2 St. Clair Ave. West
Toronto, Ontario
M6B 1C3

Resignation from the TL

We reprint below the statement of resignation of Murray Smith from the Trotskyist League of Canada and its Central Committee of which he was an alternate member. As someone who played an important role in the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism in Canada and as a well-known spokesman for our tendency, we publish Comrade Smith's letter of resignation as a matter of interest to our readers.

Murray Smith entered left-wing politics in 1969 as a member of the Young Socialists, the youth group of the League for Socialist Action (LSA), the reformist forerunner of the pseudo-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). One year later he joined the LSA and from 1972-73 he was the organizer of its Winnipeg branch and a member of its Central Committee. Also during this period Smith was a leader of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, a left-centrist current which opposed the LSA's gross opportunism.

Smith left the LSA in solidarity with RCT members expelled in 1973 and with them went on to form the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). Smith was a member of the RMG's Central Committee from its founding conference in 1973 until his bureaucratic expulsion as part of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT) in 1975. In the 1974 federal elections he ran as the RMG candidate for Winnipeg North Centre.

The RCT, although founded in opposition to the reformism of the LSA, was unable to transcend the framework of that fake-Trotskyist international amalgam, the United Secretariat (USec), to which the LSA belonged. As a consequence the RCT looked for a left alternative in the centrist politics of the USec's International Majority Tendency (IMT). The RMG's attempt to "integrate" itself into the IMT was the starting point for its political degeneration and the erosion of its healthiest political impulses. Smith was a founder and leading member of the B-LT, formed within the RMG in August 1974, which fought for a break with the centrism of the IMT and a return to the program of authentic Trotskyism. The B-LT was bureaucratically expelled at the RMG's March 1975 conference and went on to fuse with the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency to form the TLC in the summer of 1975. The RMG followed the logic of this bureaucratic repulsion of its left opposition and returned to the reformist fold of the LSA to form the present RWL.

The founding of the TLC was an important step forward in the development of the international Spartacist tendency and the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. But this development has not been without its uneven character. It was with this in mind that we concluded our Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency (Spartacist No. 23) with a quote from Trotsky's

"At the Fresh Grave of Kote Tsintsadze":

"It took altogether extraordinary conditions like czarism, illegality, prison, and deportation, many years of struggle against the Mensheviks, and especially the experience of three revolutions to produce fighters like Kote Tsintsadze...

"The Communist parties in the West have not yet brought up fighters of Tsintsadze's type. This is their besetting weakness, determined by historical reasons, but nonetheless a weakness. The Left Opposition in the Western countries is not an exception in this respect and it must well take note of it."

Comrade Smith concludes his letter of resignation by expressing his solidarity with the cause of socialist revolution and his hope that he may, in the future, be able to return to our movement although for some time past he has become the Karen Quinlan of Canadian Trotskyism. Such regenerations, while not impossible, are unfortunately infrequent. Nevertheless the future remains open.

14 September

Dear Comrades:

It is with a sense of both regret and relief that I hereby resign from my position as an alternate to the Central Committee and from the Trotskyist League. As I believe most comrades already know, this decision represents the outcome of a rather long process of reflection arising out of a personal and political demoralization that reaches back several years. I have concluded that this demoralization and associated problems cannot be resolved within the organization, and that my own as well as the organization's interests will be best served through my resigning at this time.

I sincerely believe that the only real chance I have of regenerating myself as a Communist lies in the course of action I have decided upon. The alternative--remaining in the organization when I have obviously exhausted my enthusiasm and have even grown rather tired of political activity--would likely end in my leaving under circumstances which could be injurious to the party and would certainly be harmful to me.

Whether I will return to the organization in the future remains, of course, an open question. I can only say that I hope I will once again find the strength and the will to devote myself to the cause which the international Spartacist tendency uniquely serves--the victory of the world socialist revolution.

To my comrades who continue the struggle, all the best. Let your efforts bring not only political victories but the personal fulfillment needed to renew your commitment and multiply your conquests.

Murray Smith

Inco...

(continued from page 16)

sents 685 workers at Inco's Port Colborne refinery) called for a strike, Stewart Cooke, director of the USWA's Ontario division and spokesman for the McBride leadership of the international, advised union members to knuckle under to the company. Cooke, who spent the last weekend before the strike closeted with Ontario Premier Bill Davis and Inco Chairman J. Edwin Carter, made his remarks the night before the strike vote--so as to cause the maximum demoralization among the ranks. Cooke's stab in the back had its effect--58% of the Port Colborne workers voted to accept the company's "take-back" offer, while Sudbury voted by a relatively narrow margin (61%) to hit the bricks. After the results were in, Cooke made a few perfunctory remarks in "support" of the strike--but the treachery of this labor lieutenant of capital has not been forgotten by the ranks. At the Copper Cliff smelter a union steward told SC that "if he comes around my picket line... I'll baptize him in that acid"--referring to a large pond of industrial waste outside the smelter.

Stephen Lewis, former leader of the Ontario New Democrats, who still sits as an NDP member in the provincial legislature, added his shrill voice to the defeatist chorus of the USWA top brass. In his new capacity as a bourgeois newspaper columnist (as well as television and radio "personality") Lewis denounced the strike as "madness."

A PICKET LINE MEANS: "NOBODY CROSSES!"

As soon as the strike was declared pickets sealed the entrances to Inco's smelter, mines and refineries. However, from the beginning the Local 6500 leadership allowed the company's security guards to cross the lines--on the grounds that these rent-a-cops (who are organized by the Canadian Union of Public Employees) are "fellow unionists." The hired thugs of the bosses (whether employed privately or by the state) should be thrown out of the unions. In any case they have no more "right" to cross the USWA lines than any other scab.

On September 26 the local leadership took the further defeatist step of opening the lines to the company's hundreds of supervisory scabs. Initially Inco sought to avoid a showdown with the well-organized and militant pickets by airlifting its scabs over the lines in helicopters. But this was both expensive and inefficient. Therefore the company threatened to get a court injunction to force open the lines. Instead of mobilizing the ranks to stop all scabbing and turn the court's injunctions into scraps of paper, Dave Patterson, Local 6500 president, agreed to let the supervisors (and hundreds more salaried clerks) walk through the lines! This treacherous leadership-sanctioned scabbing deals a heavy blow to the strike.

The Inco strikers should take a lesson from the heroic American coal miners' strike last winter. The coal bosses started out talking tough about

using their big stockpiles to starve out the miners. They were backed by the cops, the courts and every capitalist politician right up to President Jimmy Carter. But they still couldn't beat the miners. The steadfastness of the coal miners in the face of company stockpiles, police scab-herding and court injunctions pushed the mine owners to the wall. The miners went back to work with a lousy contract because they lacked the class-struggle leadership to carry their militant struggle to the victorious conclusion that was so justly theirs. Like U. S. miners' misleader Miller, Patterson, a supporter of USWA out-bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski, belongs to that "new breed" of labor fakers who occasionally talk militant but, in the crunch are always willing to do the bosses' dirty work. Patterson's response to the mere threat of a strike-busting injunction was to help bust his own strike by opening the picket lines to management and scabs.

NDP PUSHES PROTECTIONISM

The Nickel Belt's contingent of NDP parliamentarians has come out with a statement supporting the strike. While they occasionally pay lip service to the desirability of nationalizing Inco, the NDPers are concentrating on promoting nationalist protectionist schemes to "defend" the jobs and incomes of Canadian workers at the expense of workers in other countries and denouncing the Inco bosses for not being patriotic enough. The joint statement by the NDPers alleges that "The strike is against the arrogance and mobility of international capital." For the chauvinist reformists of the NDP the answer is simple: legislation to restrict the export of capital.

During the last decade Sudbury's share of the world's production of nickel has shrunk from 95% to 40%. Meanwhile USWA members have seen Inco's Sudbury workforce shrink from 18,000 to 12,000--including the mass layoff of 2,800 last winter. Inco's smaller Port Colborne plant also had its workforce cut by a third at the same time and hundreds more nickel miners were laid off at Falconbridge (a smaller competitor of Inco which is also located in Sudbury).

The Inco bosses obviously intend to use the present strike to make further inroads upon the living and working conditions of the workers. But the strategy offered by the union leaders--allowing management scabs to maintain the company's equipment while the nickel bosses improve their cash flow, as they sit back on their stockpile and prepare to starve out the strikers--provides no answers for the Inco workers. Rather than passively allowing the company to bring scabs into a struck plant--or waiting for the NDP parliamentary caucus to convince Trudeau to restrict the right of Canadian bosses to invest where they can make the maximum profit--the workers must seize the plants and the mines, throw management scabs out and demand the immediate expropriation of Inco. The Inco bosses who have sweated fat

TL Greetings to Chile Solidarity Meeting

(We reprint below the greetings delivered by the Trotskyist League to a meeting in Toronto on September 16 which was called by the Socialist Party of Chile [CNR] to commemorate the fifth anniversary of Pinochet's bloody coup.)

Comrades:

On behalf of the international Spartacist tendency the Trotskyist League of Canada brings greetings to this meeting. For five years the Chilean toilers have suffered the murderous terror of Pinochet. The junta's recent fake "plebiscite" and internal fissures demonstrate only its increasing isolation both domestically and internationally. Even Washington hypocritically wags a finger at Santiago -- for the U. S. prefers that the terror, torture and assassinations used to protect its investments be cloaked with the magistrate's black robe and the humbug of "Human Rights." But this will not disrupt the flow of bombs and bullets from the arsenals of U. S. imperialism to Chile's gorilas.

The coup was a serious defeat for the working class of Chile and the world. But unlike Nazi Germany where the fascist mass movement decapitated and obliterated the workers movement, the Chilean fascists played a subordinate role to the armed forces in bringing the junta to power. Pinochet's regime is more narrowly based than Hitler's -- the junta remains in power through brute military force. It cannot last. This means that this generation of Chilean workers will have an opportunity rarely afforded in history -- a second chance for socialist revolution.

To turn this possibility into reality the Chilean working class must have at its head the party

which draws the lessons of the defeat of Allende's Unidad Popular, or popular front. It was Allende's UP which chained the parties of the working class to the parties of the bourgeoisie; which imposed austerity on the workers to defend capitalist profits; which evicted poor peasants to defend capitalist property; which disarmed the labor movement while lavishing arms upon its future executioners, the bourgeois armed forces. While militant workers and soldiers who sounded the alarm of the impending coup were thrown into prison the UP tried to pacify the gorilas by bringing the future leaders of the junta into the government. It was the class treason of the reformist parties in the UP which paved the way for Pinochet. In 1936 Trotsky wrote: "the Popular Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism." In 1970 the Spartacist tendency warned that the UP could only lead to disaster for the Chilean proletariat. In Chile some militants who did seek a policy of revolutionary opposition to the UP went on to form the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria which fused with the iSt in 1977. The Chilean Bolshevik Party will only be formed through such revolutionary regroupments forged out of implacable opposition to all popular front illusions.

SMASH PINOCHET'S MURDEROUS JUNTA THROUGH WORKERS REVOLUTION!

Trotskyist League of Canada
16 September 1978

profits out of the workers for years have no right to compensation. Contrary to the bleatings of the Judas goats of the NDP who want to nationalize Inco in order to turn it into another Crown Corporation like Air Canada, socialists link the call for the expropriation of Inco to the struggle for a workers government which will expropriate all capitalist industry.

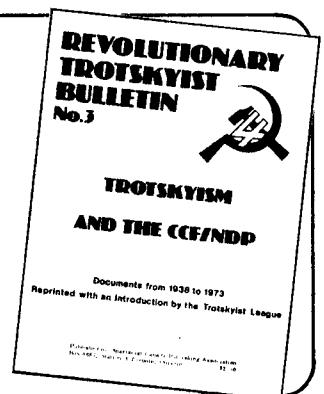
Workers at Inco's other operations at Port Colborne and Thompson must back up their brothers at Sudbury, and walk out in solidarity. The union should immediately call on all transport workers to hot cargo nickel from Inco's stockpiles and should organize strike action in USWA plants that use the struck goods. It is the duty of the rest of the labor movement to mobilize to back up plant seizures by the Inco strikers against the company, the courts and the cops. A militant response to the Inco bosses' provocations could turn the present strike from a purely defensive struggle into the spearhead of an across-the-board labor counteroffensive. ■

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Sudbury Miners Take on Inco

Seize the Mines!

On Friday September 15, 11,700 workers at Inco's huge Sudbury operation walked out, shutting down the company's gigantic Copper Cliff smelter, the mines and the refineries. It is the first strike since 1969 for the Inco workers who are members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 6500. Despite profits of some \$57 million in the first half of 1978 the Inco bosses, pleading poverty, deliberately provoked the strike. In the weeks that preceded the strike, Inco ostentatiously prepared for a long seige. Bunk beds, refrigerators, tons of frozen meat and thousands of cases of canned goods were brought in for the hundreds of foremen and supervisors who are being kept in the plants to do routine mechanical upkeep, maintain the pumps and keep a fire watch in the mines.

The company has made no secret of the fact that it has some 300 million pounds of finished nickel stockpiled--enough to supply customers for seven or eight months, while it continues to operate its mines in Indonesia, Guatemala and Thompson, Manitoba. Inco is determined to use their stockpile and the current slump in international demand for nickel to slash its wage bill in Sudbury and to take away hard-won gains from previous contracts. At a press conference called on the first day of the strike, the vice president of Inco's Ontario division, Winton Newman, welcomed the prospect of a lengthy strike claiming that it would "improve cash flow to help pay debts on the Indonesian and Guatemala projects" (Sudbury Star, 16 September).

Inco's first offer to the union was for an absolute wage freeze and a suspension of the cost-of-living allowance (COLA) won in the last contract. Given the present rates of inflation this was simply a proposal for slashing real wages by 10% a year. In management's latest offer (tabled after consultation with Ontario Labour Minister Robert Elgie) Inco offered an insulting four cents an hour increase. The COLA would be retained but union members would be cheated out of the final 24 cents an hour COLA payment due to them under the previous contract.

In the words of Inco Vice President William Correll "we're not about to pay out money and not get anything in return"--and Inco wants plenty. Inco proposes that a single full-time steward be chosen at each work location to handle all grievances. Under the previous contract a worker could choose



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three stewards to represent him at the various stages of the grievance procedure and the final hearing had to take place at the company headquarters at Copper Cliff. Workers interviewed by SC unanimously opposed the company's attempts to "rationalize" grievances as a significant attack on the union's ability to defend its members and ensure that management abides by the provisions of the contract. Many of the strikers pointed out that a single full-time grievance man would automatically be detached from the ranks, necessarily unfamiliar with many of the wide variety of industrial processes used in each refinery or mine and would inevitably be under pressure to represent the interests of his paymaster rather than the union.

USWA BIGWIGS TRY TO SCUTTLE STRIKE

The pickets know that it will not be easy to win the strike, and most are predicting that the strike will last well into the winter. Although the workers are taking on the company at a bad time they feel that Inco's aggressive attacks have left them no choice. One picket captain told SC that "They wanted this strike and now we'll have to make them choke on it. We gotta make sure that we don't do this for nothing. When they throw us a crumb we should say 'no--we want the whole slice.'"

From the outset the top brass of the USWA have openly sought to undermine the strike. While the leaders of Local 6500 and Local 6200 (which repre-

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