

Manifesto for the Labour Movement

Dump McDermott!

**Dump the bourgeois policy
in trade unions!**



**The Marxist-Leninist Organization
of Canada IN STRUGGLE!**

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Cover photo: It's through united resistance, not support for the NDP, that the working-class movement will win victories. The Dalhousie strike in Nova-Scotia where 1,800 workers and students supported the striking maintenance staff with picket lines, like the one organized on January 24, 1979, is dynamic confirmation of this.



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Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada
IN STRUGGLE!,
Legally registered with the Bibliotheque Nationale du Quebec
Third quarter 1979
Supplement to the newspaper IN STRUGGLE!

Much has happened in the past two years

What is IN STRUGGLE!

As a Marxist-Leninist Organization, IN STRUGGLE! is firmly dedicated to the struggle for the creation of a proletarian party in Canada. A proletarian party able to orient and lead the immediate struggles of the working class towards the realization of its fundamental interests — the struggle to overthrow the bourgeois State and build socialism.

The proletarian party should not be mixed up with just any other "workers party" or with such parties as the PQ or the NDP that put on their overalls each time they talk to the workers but rush to put on their tuxedos when they show up in front of the money men. As we get to know their wardrobe, it becomes harder and harder to fool us!

The proletarian party cannot be created outside the workers' movement but within its struggles. It's in the heart of class struggle that Marxist-Leninists intervene to rally the most advanced workers to proletarian ideology, thus laying the foundations of such a party.



The situation in Canada is unsettled, to say the least.

Workers and active trade-unionists, concerned about the future of the labour movement in Canada and interested in better working living conditions for Canadian workers, can only agree with this observation.

One crisis measure after the other

"We are on the eve of an economic recession." This has once again become a favourite theme for a broad spectrum of editorialists and expert economists. Not long ago the Conference Board of Canada, that influential research centre for employers, announced that the rate of economic growth next year would be no more than 1.5%, less than half of this year's rate.

The situation is even more acute in the United States, where the recession hit several months ago and where there has been an absolute drop in production. Inflation continues at an annual rate of 13.1%, while average productive capacity has dropped 8.7% — the most substantial drop in eleven years. Factories have 6.1% fewer orders on their books. Nor are the effects limited to the traditionally weak sectors of the economy like clothing and footwear. Leading and traditionally strong industries like the auto, petro-chemical, aluminium and synthetics industries are also affected.

The inevitable repercussions of the U.S. recession on the Canadian economy are not too difficult to predict. The specialists are already forecasting a difficult period for the auto, metal and forest industries. For Canadian workers, it means more inflation and more unemployment. The Conference Board is not in the least backwards about pointing this out: "The buying power of workers will shrink in the coming year..."! What could be clearer?

This situation is proof that the Trudeau government's attempts to cure the economy over the past few years have been a disastrous failure. At the First Ministers' Conference in 1978, all the provincial governments — Social Credit, NDP, Parti Quebecois and Progressive Conservative — agreed wholeheartedly with the federal Liberal government about the need for cutbacks in social services and related sectors. It was necessary to reduce public spending, which was "much too expensive", and they lost no time in pinpointing the culprits: the budgets in health, education, housing, family allowances, unemployment insurance and... the wage package for workers in

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the public sector. The first ministers were all very taken with a new catch-phrase, "average comparability between wages in the public and private sectors", and made it their motto. Since the February conference it has become very popular, although some people, preferring to state matters more explicitly, simply talk about a wage freeze for public sector workers! The amounts saved were to be redirected where they could play a more "dynamic" role in the creation of jobs and relaunching the "economy". In other words, they wanted to pursue the same policy of the wage freeze... but under a new wrapping.



Do you know how the PQ government answered workers on strike to defend their right to organize at Commonwealth Plywood near Montreal in Quebec? This so-called pro-worker party unleashed its police on the strikers to protect a small capitalist, William Caine, who refused workers their fundamental right to form a union.

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The labour movement foots the bill

Workers soon realized the implications of these "new" measures. In August, 1978, the federal government announced cuts to the tune of \$4 million in public spending. In September, 1978, the "new" Cullen measures resulted in 263,000 unemployed losing their right to unemployment insurance benefits. Another 400,000 were affected in varying degrees by reductions in the amounts of their benefits. Young people and women were especially hard hit.

Funds for Native people were frozen. Federal civil servants were informed that 5,000 of them would lose their jobs in the short run, and that the State was preparing to freeze the wages of the others, "lucky" enough to still have jobs. The programme of bilingualism in the federal civil service was tossed out the window, and 500 language teachers fired. Bill C-12, "to amend the Supplementary Retirement Benefits Act", did away with cost-of-living bonuses for retired civil servants. Bill C-10 abolished indexation of family allowances. The budget of the Ministry of National Defence, on the other hand, was upped by \$333 million to a total of \$4127 million. Within this budget, the share allocated to "defence" against domestic threats was substantially "improved"!

Workers in every province have been offered ridiculously low wage increases of 4 to 6%. Cost-of-living (COLA) clauses and job security are under attack on all sides, while the rates of both inflation and unemployment continue to hover around 8 and 9%.

The same policies have been applied by municipal councils and school boards. A municipal budget freeze in Vancouver threatens to cost many workers their jobs. In Montreal, 800 blue collar workers have been warned that they will probably be fired. In Toronto, the jobs on the chopping board are those of teachers for immigrant children...

Another First Ministers' Conference was held in the end of November, 1978. According to the final press release, **"The first ministers consider that the goals adopted as a basis for concerted, middle-range action at their last meeting in February are still**

valid goals." In short, despite their differences, all levels of government are in perfect agreement as to the methods to be used to saddle the workers with the burden of the crisis.

To back it all up: repression

The different levels of government suspected that the people might not be exactly overjoyed about the "new" crisis measures. So they readied an arsenal of openly repressive legislation to control the workers' revolt and make them accept the measures.

Almost all the provincial governments have come up with various tailor-made "essential services" acts. In British Columbia, Bill 92, which was followed by Bill 46, declared all municipal employees and education workers "essential". In Alberta, the "essential services" act was called Bill 41; in Quebec, Bills 50 and 59; in Nova Scotia, Bill 73. All of them were designed to limit the right to strike of public sector workers as much as possible.

"Right to work" laws are another weapon the bourgeoisie would like to add to its arsenal. The governments of Manitoba and British Columbia have been trying to pass "right to work" legislation for some time now, with an eye to using them to weaken unions as the U.S. government has done in many States. They would outlaw "union shop" and "closed chop" clauses, and thus allow workers to refuse to belong to the local union in their factory while continuing to benefit from the working conditions won by the unionized workers.

In Nova Scotia, the proposed "Michelin Bill" stipulates that unless a union in the manufacturing sector organizes all the plants owned by a given company throughout the province, no union will be certified in any of the factories. Hardly a subtle attempt to prevent workers from organizing!

The same policy prevails at the municipal level. Last March, the Dartmouth municipal council passed a resolution against the right to strike in the public sector. The Metro Toronto Council wanted to pass a municipal "war measures" act. It undoubtedly wanted to prevent "disasters" like demonstrations that are a bit too militant, picket lines that are a bit too solid, and so on.

Again, just recently in New Brunswick, the province's six municipal councils endorsed a resolution asking the provincial government to withdraw the right to strike in "essential services". When you realize what is covered by their definition of "essential services", it is easy to see what they are aiming at...

Nor has the federal government been dragging its heels. Some months ago, it reintroduced Bill C-28 under the new name of C-22, an act to institute the "average comparability of total remuneration". In plain English, it means a wage freeze. The act would exclude from the bargaining table an issue as vital as the wages to be paid to 400,000 workers in the federal civil service. Even if this draft is tabled, the principle of "average comparability" hangs like the sword of Damocles over the heads of civil servants. The Trudeau government was also responsible for the infamous Bill C-8, voted barely 24 hours after the 23,000 postal workers walked out on a legal strike and which deprived them overnight of their fundamental right to strike.

To those whom it may concern: the State has given ample warning — workers who are too combative will simply be deprived of their union right, and even their union, if they dare hold their heads high and fight back.



Fleck workers in Ontario did not flinch when faced with police brutality on the picket lines. Their determination and courage remained strong as the Ontario Provincial Police tried to "convince" them that their fight for union recognition was not worth it.

All the democratic rights are under attack

The governments have not limited themselves to attacks on labour's rights. All the most basic democratic rights have come under attack recently. Bill C-26 was introduced to give the R C M P the legal right to open mail, in the name of "national security". The new legislation on electronic eavesdropping (Bill C-176) authorizes surveillance of anyone, again in the name of our cherished "national security". The new "Human Rights" Act (Bill C-25) forbids citizens access to police files on them... once again in the name of "national security"!

The recent act to control firearms considerably restricts the right to possess them. In particular, it excludes those "whose antecedents indicate violent behaviour". Police files undoubtedly include dossiers on the "violent behaviour" of most combative workers!

Then again, there is the act "concerning criminals seeking refuge in Canada". Anyone guilty of "violations of the law on riots and illegal assembly" is liable to be extradited, without any right of appeal. This law is a permanent threat for any Chilean, Iranian or Haitian immigrant who has been the least bit involved in the struggle to better their peoples' fate.

Meanwhile, workers learn that the R C M P has a detailed plan for infiltrating local post offices in British Columbia, and that a liaison committee involving R C M P officers and B.C. labour bureaucrats has for years been sticking its nose into all aspects of trade-union business. Workers have also learned that the Kitchener-Waterloo police force, in Ontario, has a tactical squad specialized in beating up people, and that the Canadian Armed Forces has an elite company, the Airborne Regiment, specially trained in tactics of repression, crowd dispersal and riot control. According to a private in this regiment, "The Airborne is the best, so if there were trouble in Quebec, they'd be the first to go."

The armed forces also have a network of close to 2,000 informers and agents infiltrated in various unions like the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) and the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU). Unions in Quebec have

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learned that 450 agents of the Quebec Provincial Police are at work on "Operation Public", an operation designed to perfect their knowledge of the state of trade-union forces in the public sector in Quebec on the eve of negotiations with the Parti Quebecois government. Workers also learned that through the taxes they pay, they footed a \$2 million bill for the operations of the McDonald Commission, including \$50 to \$100 an hour for lawyers' services and \$1000 a week for the commissioners, only to be told that security services need to be reformed to "legalize what is now illegal"!

And in Ontario the **R C M P** uses health insurance files to trace individuals "suspected of being political extremists". They have learned that courses are being organized for employers all across the country by specialised agencies like the Advanced Management Report in Vancouver to "keep out unions".

At the same time, women workers at the Fleck company near Toronto, Ont. were struck in the chest and thrown into ditches by the Ontario Provincial Police. Injured workers in Ontario were clubbed because they dared to demonstrate for their rights. Workers fighting for the right to belong to the union of their choice at Commonwealth Plywood, near Montreal, were charged by the Quebec Provincial Police. Loggers at Fort Frances, in northern Ontario, were shot at point-blank range. The R C M P attacked the picket line of strikers at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, and arrested eighteen workers and students. A striker at Adams Laboratories, again in British Columbia, was stabbed repeatedly by a scab. Women workers at Puretex, in Ontario, had to strike to force the company to eliminate the cameras that followed their every move, even in the washrooms. Workers at MLW-Bombardier were threatened with revolvers by security guards. Postal workers were subjected to lie detector tests and hypnosis. The president of the Confederation of Canadian Unions (CCU) was beaten to a pulp by goons. The CNTy was ordered to pay the Reynolds Aluminum monopoly \$10 million in damages and interest. In less than two months, trigger-happy policemen in Ontario gunned down a young Black, a young Greek, a young "delinquent" and a retired railworker.

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Racists and fascists are crawling out of the woodwork everywhere

While the shootings of workers are treated as minor incidents and relegated to the back pages of the papers by the mass media, chauvinists like Richardson or Van Der Zalm, who call the Quebecois "frogs", and organizations like One Canada or Canadian Ex-Servicemen for One Canada, financed by big business, get front-page coverage in the English-language news media for their hysterical attacks on the rights of the Quebec nation, a danger for "this great and beautiful democratic country". The **Toronto Sun**, a major Toronto daily, has ties with half-a-dozen fascist newspapers and thirty-odd ultra-right wing groups. The **Toronto Sun's** co-editor collaborates with the Canadian Intelligence Service, a news service that provides information and articles for most of Canada's fascist groups and publications.

The Ku Klux Klan canvasses door-to-door for recruits in Halifax. The Young Canadians for a Christian Civilization, a veritable throwback to the worst aspects of the Inquisition, attack freedom of expression. The Mouvement reformiste social (Social reform movement) preaches a Quebecois version of the purity of the White race. Renaissance International and newspapers like **Speak Up** in Toronto proliferate and campaign against everything democratic in the country.

What can the people do in such a situation?

This is what the labour movement has lived through in the past two years. This is the reality of a capitalist crisis that is getting worse, a crisis that the capitalists are trying to make the workers pay for, a crisis that means more unemployment, galloping inflation, repeated attacks on the rights of labour and racist propaganda campaigns whose goal is clearly to weaken, divide and silence the labour movement.

The outlook for the labour movement today is basically still the same. The only difference is that the newly-elected Clark

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government openly proclaims its intention of pursuing and accentuating his predecessor's policies. It promises more cutbacks in the civil service, more subsidies for private industry, more restrictions on democratic rights...

So what can people do?

This Manifesto is the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE's response to this question. It sets forth the orientation that the labour movement in Canada can and must adopt if it is to progress in its struggle to defend and win new rights, to make the enemy, the Canadian bourgeoisie and its State, back down, and to build its forces towards the overthrow of the capitalists and their system of exploitation.

The situation faced by the labour movement today is a difficult one. The problem is therefore all the more urgent. Will the Canadian labour movement grow stronger in the coming years? Will it move forward in its struggle? Or will its enemy emerge victorious? This is what is at stake in the struggles in the months and years to come.



Postal workers dared defend their rights and refused to hand over their right to strike. So the State responded by attacking them time and time again. The 23,000 postal workers and their union were legislated back to work against their will. They were hit with injunctions, provoked by the RCMP on their picket lines. The union's offices throughout the country were raided by the RCMP. Their union leaders were prosecuted, condemned to jail, and imprisoned.

Two years of struggle



The labour movement has not meekly endured the repeated attacks over the past two years that aimed to saddle it with the burden of the crisis and weaken and silence it. The labour movement has waged a multitude of battles on all fronts, without any let-up.

Immediately after the end of the wage freeze, the labour movement resumed the battle to regain what it had lost under the Wage Control Act. Some of the most numerous of workers' struggles in the past two years have been the struggles for wage "catch-up" and cost-of-living clauses. Public sector workers, including hospital workers, have been especially involved in this struggle. In Quebec, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Ontario and Saskatchewan, workers have organized sitdown strikes, study sessions, rotating walkouts and wildcat strikes to force employers or the State to concede raises in pay that allow them to live decently. This demand has been central in the private sector as well, where it has been put forward by workers at CN-CP, pulp and paper workers in British Columbia and autoworkers.

The struggle to organize unions has also mobilized broader and broader sectors of the labour movement. Bell telephone operators have gotten rid of their company union. Seven thousand farmworkers in British Columbia are organizing right now. Bank workers across the country have begun to join unions.

Elsewhere, the focus is on preserving the union and forcing the employer to recognize it. Notable examples include the struggle of the workers at Commonwealth Plywood, in Ste. Therese, near Montreal; that of the loggers who work for Boise Cascades in Kenora and Fort Frances, in Ontario and the workers at Fleck, near Toronto; the resistance of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, in British Columbia, which the State has been trying to eliminate for years and years; the on-going battle of the Maritimes Fishermen's Union for full recognition; and the public works employees in Nova Scotia, represented by CUPE, who fought for real bargaining power for their union.

Still other struggles were chiefly directed against cutbacks in personnel and layoffs. Federal civil servants launched a movement of resistance to cutbacks in the government's bilingualism programme. Teachers and immigrants in Toronto, backed by public support, demanded a halt to all cutbacks. Again in Toronto, public service workers enlisted public support in their attempts to keep Lakeshore Psychiatric Hospital open. At the Fry Cadbury plant in Montreal, 500 workers fought for months

against the company's decision to turn them out into the street like worn-out machinery. June 14, 1979, 500 Ontario public service workers demonstrated in Toronto against cutbacks in social services. Participants included members of CUPE and the Ontario Public Service Employees Union, with support coming from the Social Affairs Federation of the CNTU. In Bathurst, New Brunswick, workers and unemployed demonstrated together in February 1978 against cutbacks in unemployment insurance benefits. In Moncton, the Labour Council and the Maritimes Fishermen's Union helped organize similar demonstrations.

The State's attacks on labour's rights have not gone unanswered. Federal civil servants from all parts of the country were involved in resistance to Bill C-28 (later renamed Bill C-22), which would have imposed the principle of "average comparability of total compensation" (i.e., between the public and private sectors). In British Columbia, where Bill 46 rides roughshod over the right to strike of nearly all public sector workers on the pretext that they are all "essential", rallies organized in a dozen cities in February and March 1979, mobilized thousands of workers in the public sector and in private industry as well, including woodworkers and fishermen. In Quebec, the PQ's Bill 50, banning strikes in the public sector unless there was prior agreement between the parties on essential services and a court decision governing their application, again provoked the workers' anger. In June 1978, for example, hundreds of Quebec provincial civil servants blocked entrances to government buildings to protest this bill.

Unity is growing

The unity of the working class has also made considerable progress in the last two years. The postal workers' struggle to regain their rights and the strike of the INCO miners in Sudbury (Ont.) were exemplary in this respect.

In the INCO strike, for example, the miners at Falconbridge Nickel doubled the amount of their union dues to support their fellow workers on strike. Another notable feature of this strike was the involvement of the strikers' wives in the struggle

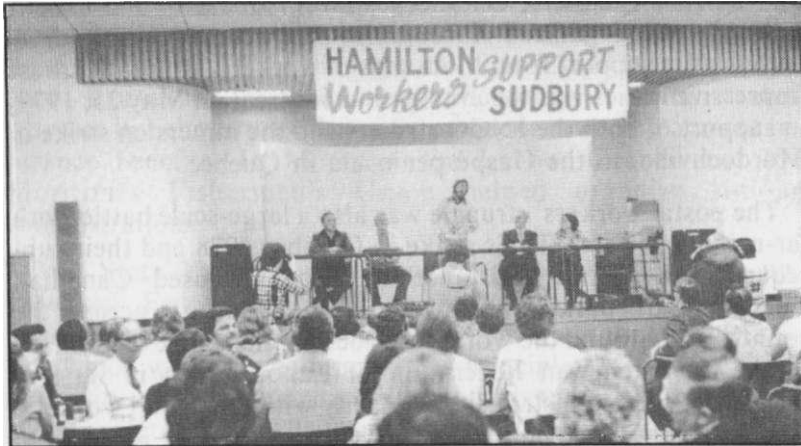
alongside their husbands. The creation of the Wives Supporting the Strike Committee was a major step forward towards the victory of INCO miners. On another level, solidarity and benefit rallies were organized throughout the country and drew enthusiastic support from thousands of workers. One of the most impressive rallies was the evening in Montreal on May 25, 1979, in support of both the INCO strikers and the miners on strike in Murdochville, in the Gaspé peninsula in Quebec.

The postal workers' struggle was also a large-scale battle, with far-reaching effects. Their strike in October 1978 and their subsequent courageous resistance to attacks roused Canadian workers and sparked a movement of solidarity across the country and around the world. October 25, the entire convention of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour, then in session, turned out to demonstrate its solidarity with the postal workers. And Regina was the only place in Canada where the RCMP did not dare to search the offices of the postal workers' union. After the postal workers were forced back to work, messages of support flooded in on all sides. In the labour conventions held later, the postal workers and their leaders were given standing ovations. Many conventions, and notably those of the Saskatchewan and B.C. Federations of Labour, voted resolutions supporting the postal workers and condemning McDermott and the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) executive's attitude in the postal struggle. Solidarity meetings were organized throughout the country, in Vancouver, Ottawa, Montreal, and so on. In Toronto, more than 600 workers attended a solidarity rally for the postal workers and INCO strikers in January 1979. Autoworkers, public sector workers, and a postal worker from Montreal took part in the rousing meeting.

And these are only two of the most important examples of the tide of growing solidarity in the workers movement.

Many labour bodies, including the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), the United Auto Workers (UAW), the Steelworkers and the Saskatchewan and B.C. Federations of Labour, have voted to recognize the Quebec nation's right to self-determination. This is an important means of bringing the

workers of the two nations closer together and uniting the Canadian working class.



The INCO miners' strike, like the postal workers' strike, developed one of the broadest movements of solidarity to sweep the country in recent years. Benefit rallies like the one held in Hamilton were also organized in Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Prince Albert, Montreal, Ottawa, and many other cities. As the INCO strikers often repeated: "Our victory would have been impossible without this solidarity."



The wives of the INCO miners stood beside their husbands during the strike and organized a support committee. Their work and determination were essential elements for the victory of the Sudbury mines. On February 16 1979, the Wives Supporting the Strike Committee organized a community supper where food was supplied by the National Farmers' Union.

Nevertheless, however numerous and courageous these struggles may be, they too often remain isolated and scattered. The growing movement of unity has not taken on the proportions it should have. It is also true that some of these struggles were lost. Instead of losing ground, the State and the capitalists emerged stronger than ever. Why? How can the labour movement's weaknesses be explained?

The labour movement is led by a handful of sold-out bureaucrats, more concerned with collaborating with the bosses and financing election campaigns for Broadbent in Canada and Carter or Kennedy in the United States than with organizing the defence of the workers' interests and leading the resistance to the attacks of the State and the capitalists. With leaders like that, it is no wonder that the labour movement has weaknesses! It is worth taking a closer look at just how they behave, for there are many lessons to be drawn.

Two years of struggle, two years of solidarity



In British Columbia, the strike of the Simon Fraser University support staff to defend their right to organize was supported by students, teachers, civil servants, and other workers from several unions. March 22 1979, the R C M P stormed the picket lines and arrested 18 workers. The SFU 18 support committee was then set up to defend the arrested workers.



In the Western provinces, public service workers and hospital workers have waged continuous struggles especially against cutbacks and to defend their right to job security. Above, striking workers at the Red Deer General Hospital in Alberta denounce cutbacks in personnel that threaten their job security.



In Quebec, the capitalists and their State are systematically attacking many of the workers' acquired rights like cost of living allowances (COLA). Workers in the public and private sector are struggling to maintain COLA clauses in contracts. Above, in July 1979 members of the Federation of Aluminum Unions on strike in Jonquiere demonstrate to defend their demands.



In Ontario, cutbacks in education, health and other social services have been at the heart of many struggles, particularly in the public service. Above, members of the Ontario Public Service Employees' Union demonstrate against the closing of the Seneca College daycare centre in Toronto.

Workers have resisted attacks on their rights

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Federal civil servants saw their right to negotiate threatened by Bill C-28 that was soon renamed Bill C-22. They demonstrated their anger by organizing demonstrations throughout the country.



Throughout the country, workers rose to oppose the State's attacks on their rights. In British Columbia, resistance was particularly strong. Tens of thousands of public and private sector workers participated in rallies against the disgusting Bill 46 that puts practically all of the province's public service workers in the "essential services" category, thus depriving them of their right to strike.

Where have the CLC leaders' policy gotten us?



One thing is obvious: the policy of the current leaders, from McDermott on down, have not gotten the labour movement very far at all. In fact, they have been responsible for setbacks.

Elected as president of the CLC at the last convention, McDermott prided himself on his militant past as Canadian head of the U A W and promised great progress for the labour movement. For the sake of this cause, he and his buddies on the executive of the CLC succeeded in getting the trade-union movement to endorse the proposal of unprecedented support for the NDP in preparation for the upcoming federal election as its sole plan of action. McDermott started out all gung ho for tripartism with the Trudeau government (just as his predecessor Joe Morris had been). He has since changed his tune — a development that is probably not totally unrelated to the growing resistance to any kind of tripartism in the labour movement.

But McDermott had a miracle solution to replace tripartism. Since the Liberal government refused to listen to labour, the labour movement had to become involved in the election. It had to defeat the Liberal government and elect instead the NDP, "our" party, the "party of the workers" — the party with which labour could then implement tripartism and "industrial democracy".

It was also for the sake of moving forward the cause of the labour movement that the CLC leaders opposed the clear and unequivocal recognition of Quebec's right to selfdetermination during the CLC's last convention!

It did not take the labour movement long to see what the path of electoral support for the NDP meant for McDermott. In the interview on the C T V programme **Question Period**, in June 1978, McDermott declared: **"We have too many strikes and those strikes are of much too long duration and whatever we can do to civilize that process we will do."** (Canadian Labour Comment, June 30, 1978) A company president couldn't have put it more clearly!

Remarkable! McDermott, this mighty strategist of the labour movement, resorted to the bourgeois media to reveal his master plan: to maximize the electoral chances of the NDP, strikes, 26

labour disputes and "social disorders" in general had to stop! Social peace and harmony was necessary!

How to put words into practice

It was not long before dear old McDermott began to practise what he was preaching, allowing workers to see, **in practice**, what his fine speeches really meant. This opportunity came with the struggle of the postal workers, whom McDermott had already denounced at the 1978 convention in these terms: **"You can't do anything with people like that unless you lay them down on a psychiatrist's couch for 15 or 20 years."**

McDermott did not lay the postal workers down on a psychiatrist's couch, however; he did worse than that. By the fall of 1978, the postal workers had been without a collective agreement since July 1977. They were threatened with an efficiency and cost-cutting programme, and were thoroughly fed up with the State's constant provocations. They therefore democratically decided to take action and use the only weapon they had left: their right to strike. Less than 24 hours after they walked off the job, Parliament passed a special law ordering them back to work. But the 23,000 postal workers decided to defy the legislation and pursue the struggle. They held out for eight days against injunctions, fines, threats of imprisonment, harassment by the RCMP, and so on.

Meanwhile, where was McDermott and the executive of the CLC?

They were waiting for the postal workers to be mowed down. Yet, according to the leaders of the postal workers, the CLC executive had been fully aware for months of the difficult situation faced by the postal workers and the government's manoeuvres to crush their resistance. Now the postal workers were standing firm, and the labour movement, impressed by the courage of these workers, was gearing up all across the country to support them. McDermott could no longer afford to remain silent: what would happen to his carefully-planned strategy of electoral support for the NDP if the entire Canadian labour movement

organized in support of the postal workers in an illegal strike to make the State back down? After that, workers would no longer be convinced they needed the NDP to defend their rights!

So October 25, at the very moment the postal workers desperately needed the support of the entire labour movement to continue their struggle, McDermott prepared to make a public statement disavowing the struggle of the postal workers and stating his opposition to any CLC support for them. However, the events of October 25, the RCMP attacks on CUPW offices across the country and the postal workers' hasty return to work faced with the threat of massive firings, all made the shameful speech he had been preparing unnecessary.



"A determined labour leader" (Readers' Digest)

"We only hope the RCMP lawbreakers will be treated in the same strict and punitive way as Mr. Parrot when their turn comes to be prosecuted.

"If the government hoped we'd storm the barricades, they are mistaken. Any attempt to counter this government action by an overreaction on the part of workers would just play into the hands of the Liberal government." (**Canadian Labour**, May 25, 1979). So said Dennis McDermott following the sentencing of J.C. Parrot, the postal workers' leader! Determined, isn't he? It is indeed difficult to be more determined to... betray the working class!

Opportunist to the very marrow, McDermott condemned the RCMP attack on the postal union. But the terms in which he did so say a great deal about his way of thinking: "**I myself and half the country heard the CUPW leadership openly on television and elsewhere counsel their members to defy the law. So I don't quite see what more evidence the RCMP needed.**" (**Canadian Labour Comment**, November 10, 1978) In other words, the RCMP did not need to search CUPW locals since the State already had all the evidence it needed to convict the postal workers and crush their union! And he's supposed to be a labour leader!

Speaking at the convention of the B.C. Federation of Labour a few weeks later, McDermott summed up the strike in this way: "**Nothing short of a general strike by the entire labour movement could have forced the federal government to back down in its fight with the postal union.**" (**Canadian Labour Comment**, December 8, 1978) Yes, he himself admitted it!

In just a few short weeks, the Canadian labour movement had been given a very concrete demonstration of what the strategy of support for the NDP really meant: outright sabotage of struggles, direct support for the State in its attempts to crush workers who are a bit too militant. It was a lesson and a warning for any who might be tempted to follow in the footsteps of the postal workers.

A stab in the back for the postal workers and full speed ahead for tripartism!

At the same time as the postal workers were driven back to work, to the great satisfaction and relief of both the CLC leadership and the capitalists, the existence of a committee composed of representatives of the employers, the government and the CLC came to light. This tripartite committee, called a task force, had been meeting for months to study the state of Canadian manufacturing in 23 different industrial sectors. The labour movement only learned about the existence of this committee when it made public its report. The introduction of the report conveyed the pride of the participants in some good work well done: "**This is the first such major, national joint effort by**

business and labour in Canada's history..." (Canadian Labour Comment, November 10, 1978)

Despite the report's pretensions, this is in fact not the first time that employers and labour bureaucrats have worked together like this. Nevertheless, it is true that the well-known "workers" like Shirley Carr, Gerard Docquier, Sam Fox, Ken Rose and Mike Rygus who sat on the committee have something to be proud of. You see, this committee, with its perfect "unanimity of viewpoints", advocated the creation of a **permanent tripartite body** to oversee the healthy development of industry!

Six months earlier, McDermott himself had said: "The delegates to our convention in Quebec City made it perfectly clear they don't want the Congress messing around in any formalized kind of tripartism." (Canadian Labour Comment, June 16, 1978) McDermott explained, however, that there was no reason to get upset about the existence of this committee since it had not been "formalized".

Thus the labour movement learned a little bit more about the CLC leadership's marvellous strategy: although their strategy has no place for support for struggles like that of the postal workers, it can accommodate tripartism very nicely... as long as it is not "formalized"!

A vast, carefully orchestrated campaign

All McDermott's high-ranking lieutenants in the various unions and labour federations throughout the country lent him a helping hand in getting the labour movement to swallow the bitter pill of his betrayal of the postal workers and accept his strategy of support for the NDP.

As early as the convention of June 1978, the leaders of the New Brunswick Federation of Labour launched an urgent appeal for support for the NDP's next election campaign. It should also be pointed out that this same union brass caused the Acadian delegates to leave the convention in disgust because, once again, their national rights had been denied: none of the convention documents were translated into French, their mother tongue.

At the congress of the Canadian division of the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, held in Montreal in October 1978, the leaders promised concrete support for the NDP. These same leaders, along with the leaders of the other unions at CN-CP, later used demagogy and the most despicable kinds of anti-democratic manoeuvres, including fraudulent balloting, to force a majority of railworkers to swallow a rotten three-year contract that denies them any catch-up in wages and leaves them defenceless in the face of the companies' cost cutting plans.

CANADIAN LABOUR CALLING



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While the capitalists, their State and police were savagely attacking the labour movement, what was the CLC leadership doing? McDermott and his pals were busy putting all their energy and the CLC's money into the election campaign. They followed Ed Broadbent, NDP leader, all over the country and stood beside him on each and every podium to sell "their" party to the working class.

At the convention of the B.C. Federation of Labour, the new president Jim Kinnaird promised the NDP the Federation's active support in the next election. OFL president Cliff Pilkey made the same promise at the convention of the Ontario Federation of Labour, also held in November 1978. At the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour convention, the newly-elected N. Hunt called for closer ties with the NDP.

In January 1979, H. Kotsuik, president of the Alberta Federation of Labour, announced: **"Briefs to cabinet and phone calls to ministers aren't working. (Really, now!!! — ed. note) We need people in the legislature who will support the programmes of the labour movement and those people are members of the NDP."** (Canadian Labour News, Feb. 2, 1979).

In March 1979, CUPE's national executive council publicly pledged that union's support for the NDP. The list goes on and on...

Every which way you turn, labour leaders seemed to be repeating the same refrain: "The labour movement has to give active support to its political arm, the NDP. That is the solution for its problems." The groundwork for the campaign had been carefully and thoroughly laid. The stage was set for the next phase — the practical organization of the election campaign.

As soon as the federal election was called, the staff and financial resources of the CLC were placed entirely at the service of the NDP to elect as many MPs as possible for this party. The chances of the different "workers" candidates were precisely calculated and carefully weighed. Telephone chains were organized to contact the **2,000,000** CLC-affiliated trade-unionists and their families. McDermott criss-crossed the country tirelessly to promote the NDP. Parallel to the NDP's official campaign, he campaigned to channel the workers' anger at the Trudeau government, the government that had decreed wage controls, into support for NDP candidates.

Meanwhile, Broadbent bent over backwards to make himself a name with Canadian capitalists. He was overjoyed when the **Toronto Star**, one of the country's most influential bourgeois newspaper, decided to back the NDP leader, praising his "sense of responsibility". In short, things were working out just fine.

During the same period, however, the postal workers were saddled with a collective agreement that was a giant step backwards to conditions five years ago. Their leaders were tried and convicted. The railworkers were forced to accept a bad contract, despite their attempts to develop a movement of resistance to the tentative agreement cooked up by the companies and the union brass. Three hundred language teachers in the federal civil service were fired. Strikers at the Endako Mines in British Columbia had to fight the bosses, the scabs and the RCMP all at once. Striking loggers at Fort Frances and Kenora were confronted with 200 Ontario Provincial Police officers.

**... but they supported
the INCO strikers...**

"But McDermott and his friends did behave differently in the INCO strike. CLC leaders supported that strike, at least..." At first glance, it would seem that these leaders finally behaved like good trade-unionists in this strike.

Yes, but only at first glance. When you look a bit closer, things were not so straightforward.

The first stage. When the INCO miners began their struggle, staunch NDPers tried to convince them not to strike. "INCO is in much too strong a position, you are much too weak. Wait until your representatives are elected to Ottawa or Queen's Park, and they'll straighten out INCO." That was the line of people like Cliff Pilkey and Sam Fox.

When it became obvious that the workers were not going to listen to them and that they were winning growing support from the labour movement, these NDP labour leaders decided to jump on the bandwagon. "After all, if workers realize that they are strong enough to make a multinational back down, what will happen to us and our programme of electoral support for the NDP?" And anyway, it's a good election issue: Canadian workers versus the big multinational... It fits in with the NDP programme, which, as we all know, opposes multinational, or at least foreign multinationals.

And so the second stage began. From then on, one labour

bureaucrat and NDP MP after another came and walked the picket line at INCO, preferably accompanied by photographers whenever possible, and shook hands with "ordinary" strikers. On several occasions, McDermott and other top CLC brass appealed for support for the "poor" INCO strikers, abused and mistreated by a big bad multinational. Can you really call that genuine support? Rather, it was a hypocritical attitude resulting from purely electoral considerations that had nothing in common with the militant support the INCO strikers got from the entire Canadian labour movement. This same electoral consideration lead them to their "strategy" of fighting against unemployment with their slogan in the battle being: solve unemployment with you ballot"!

**Fortunately,
we've got the NDP
to defend us**

The labour movement has been told time and again that it no longer needs to fight to defend its rights since the NDP, its political arm, is there to defend it in Parliament. So it is very pertinent to ask: just how has the NDP defended the workers?

One has to admit that in the last while the NDP's reputation with workers has been somewhat tarnished, in particular by its attitude towards wage controls. In the provinces where the NDP was in power, workers had a chance to see what the NDP meant in practice by "defending the interests of the workers"! A brief review of some of the exploits of this "workers' party" is very instructive.

**The NDP has a strange way
of defending
the labour movement**

This is the least that can be said when one remembers that the NDP governments in Manitoba and Saskatchewan zealously implemented wage controls in their provinces right after the federal government passed the Wage Control Act in October 1975. In Manitoba, Schreyer, who advocated the wage freeze,

hurriedly signed an agreement with Trudeau to put the province under the jurisdiction of the federal "wage and price control programme". In the meantime, Saskatchewan premier Blakeney set up his own "anti-inflation" board. In both provinces, thousands of workers had their wages rolled back as a result of these measures. Although these are two of the most flagrant examples, they are nevertheless not the only exploits of the NDP in power.



It's easy to understand why...

Griffen Steel strikers. Workers should understand that this was all done in their interests, watchful eye of two RCMP bodyguards. After all, didn't his good friend Trudeau appoint him Governor-General, making him the first "socialist" to hold such an important position? Yes indeed, there is ample reason to be proud! Especially when one knows how hard he worked to get there. For example, even though it "broke his heart", he was "forced" to freeze the wages of Manitoba workers and to send in the police against the Griffen Steel strikers. Workers should understand that this was all done in their interests. And if he agreed to be Governor-General, it is also to defend the interests of the working class. As one worker noted: "With friends like that, who needs enemies?"

The NDP's exploits

In British Columbia

In May 1978, Dave Barrett, former NDP premier in B.C., claimed, **"This party has never been as united as it is right now. The party no longer has to talk about theory and dreams. Instead, it can talk about how good conditions were when the NDP was in power."** (*Canadian Labour Comment*, June 16, 1978)

It is true that discussions of the NDP in British Columbia should no longer remain on a strictly "theoretical" level; its record in office provides ample food for thought. Nevertheless, one is justified in wondering: whom were conditions "good" for when the NDP was in power?

The NDP was elected on a promise to abolish the repressive anti-strike laws passed by the Social Credit. But the NDP itself proved not to be shy about adopting "emergency legislation" and amending the labour code to weaken the B.C. labour movement.

In 1973, the NDP government modified the labour code to create mechanisms obliging all the unions in a given sector to negotiate a master agreement covering all the workers in that sector. With Bill 11, it set up the Labour Relations Board, giving the government full powers to interfere in negotiations. The same bill enabled the government to exclude farmworkers and fishermen from those covered by the right to organize. In August 1974, it passed a law "to maintain essential services" that forced the pulp and paper workers, clerks, truckers and firemen back to work. In 1975, its law "to extend the collective agreement" ordered 70,000 workers on strike in the food industry, the pulp and paper industry, the distribution of propane gas and the provincial railway corporation to resume work. More than ten unions were affected by this legislation,

which forbade any work stoppages for at least 90 days. During the fishermen's strike in 1974, it issued an injunction against the United Fishermen and Allied Workers to prevent them from protesting the unloading of scab boats. And in 1975, it ordered construction workers not to picket a construction site they were trying to organize in Vancouver.

— In Manitoba

The NDP government in Manitoba sent in the police to assault striking office workers at the University of Manitoba in 1975. In 1977, the same government unleashed its police against the strikers at Griffen Steel, in Winnipeg.

In these conditions, it is not very difficult to understand why Schreyer, that great "socialist", was appointed Governor-General of Canada by the Trudeau government. As his friend Broadbent pointed out: **"He has already made a distinguished contribution to Canada..."** (*Canadian Labour News*, Jan. 5, 1978) "Distinguished", indeed — a "socialist" who freezes workers' wages and sends in his police against their picket lines!

— In Saskatchewan

In 1971, the Saskatchewan NDP campaigned by denouncing the Liberal Party's Bill 2, which authorized compulsory arbitration in "essential services". In 1975, the NDP was in power and passed Bill 24, forcing the strikers at the Saskatchewan Power Corporation to go back to work on the pretext that this Crown corporation was an essential service! The same year, 15,000 government employees walked off the job when the NDP refused to meet their demands. Between 1973 and 1976, liquor board employees, nurses, hospital

workers, Hydro workers and others also had to strike to force the NDP government to recognize their just demands. Women workers at the Wescana Hospital in Regina fought for four years to make the government apply in practice a law passed in 1973 guaranteeing equal pay for equal work, with no discrimination between men and women. In February 1978, the workers belonging to the Saskatchewan Government Employees' Association demonstrated in front of the legislature to protest the two-year contract imposed by the government, which froze pay raises at 7.6% and 6%.

In May 1978, the NDP passed an education act that deprived teachers of any possibility of negotiating hiring criteria, curriculum or pedagogical methods. The act empowered school boards to demand arbitration when they considered it "advisable" — and the arbitration was to be binding. In June 1978, the members of the Saskatchewan Union of Nurses struck for a decent raise in pay. The NDP got them to go back to work, and in return promised that the wage dispute would be settled by binding arbitration. In April 1978, workers in the dairy industry went on strike. Three days later, the NDP Solicitor-General suggested that the workers be subjected to arbitration if they did not go back to work that very day!

In September 1978, 1,100 construction workers on strike since May 15 had to go back to work without a collective agreement. The NDP decided there should be a conciliation board and a "cooling-off" period... thus giving the contractors ample time to weaken the union.

The NDP enthusiastically supports plans for uranium extraction in northern Saskatchewan that will definitely have disastrous consequences for the Native peoples who live in the area. The Native people are furious, and because of this decided to boycott the last election.

In April 1979, the 1,000 workers at IPSCO, which is partially owned by the NDP government, had to strike before the company would budge from its initial ridiculous offer of a 4%

increase in the first year of the contract. During a television programme last June, the Blakeney government asked Clark to settle the B.C. dockers' strike, which had barely begun, as quickly as possible — so as not to hold up the flow of wheat to overseas markets.

Today, the NDP wants to introduce a new bill, Bill 88, that would oblige all construction unions to negotiate jointly with the employer associations as members of a single association. Any decision made by this association would be binding on all the member unions. The pressure tactics of the various unions would be considerably reduced. The bill has already been condemned, in particular by unions in the public sector that fear the bill might eventually affect them as well.

This brief outline of the NDP's action indicates how this party defends the workers' interests when it is in power!





In Saskatchewan and everywhere else, public sector workers have to fight to force the employer-government to recognize their demands. Above, members of the Saskatchewan Government Employees Association (SGEA) walked off the job in February 1979 to force the "socialist" government to negotiate seriously.

But it's different on the federal level...

"Just because the NDP has made mistakes in the provinces is no reason to oppose it federally," McDermott explained at the 1976 CLC convention. Perhaps. But how has the NDP behaved on the federal level? More recently, McDermott claimed: **"The best recent Parliament that we had was the one from 1972 to 1974 when the New Democratic Party held the balance of power"**. (*Canadian Labour News*, Dec. 21, 1978) What exactly did this "best recent Parliament" do?

On August 23, 1973, the 56,000 non-operating railworkers went on strike all across the country. Parliament was in recess, but was hurriedly called back into session to pass emergency legislation to break the strike. The railworkers were stuck with an imposed contract, as well as compulsory arbitration in the event of subsequent disputes. Disgusted and fed up, 1,800 workers demonstrated in Ottawa. Meanwhile, what was the NDP doing?

Far from condemning the very existence of a law that openly violated the right to strike, David Lewis (who was then leader of the NDP) told the House of Commons: **"... Parliament has a duty to the people of Canada and to the public interest, and that there comes a point in a strike such as a national railway strike at which members of Parliament must take the responsibility of making certain that rail operations are resumed so that the harm, the difficulties, the hardships, caused by strikes are ended."**

What it boils down to is a lengthy, roundabout attempt to justify a despicable attack on the right to strike! For the sake of its image, the NDP voted in favour of a PC amendment for a wage increase of \$0.34 instead of \$0.30. What a remarkable sense of justice! For a measly four cents, the NDP was ready to sell out the workers' right to strike.

Its attitude was the same when the bill on electronic eavesdropping was introduced in the House of Commons. Once again, instead of staunchly condemning any legalization of this tool for repressing unions, it focused on the details of how the legislation would be applied.

And at the CLC convention in 1974, the same David Lewis had the nerve to ask workers to be "reasonable" in their demands, after a period (December 1972 to December 1973) during which workers had seen the cost of living rise by 9%, while the cost of food jumped 17% and that of meat 29%.

So much for the "best recent Parliament". It was an anti-working-class Parliament, just like all the others.

Where was the NDP during the postal strike?

That is all a thing of the past, however — according to some

people, at least. Today, things are different. Take the postal strike, for example. Didn't the NDP defend the postal workers when they were attacked? Let's see just what happened when emergency legislation abolished the postal workers' right to strike.

What did the NDP do? Did it step forward and call upon the entire labour movement to mobilize in defence of this basic and invaluable right? No. But then again, it probably thought McDermott should have done it. McDermott didn't, though — he undoubtedly assumed that since the NDP was there it would look after things. Marvellous co-ordination! So the NDP "courageously" stayed put and defended the postal workers in the House of Commons. How?

One might have assumed the NDP would launch a full-fledged attack on the bill and demand that the government respect the right to strike, a fundamental right. But the NDP was much more subtle. It instead moved a series of amendments to correct the bill's "oversights". Now, an ordinary worker might not understand how a law that comes right out and deprives you of your right to strike can have "overlooked" much; he tends to think it is simply a rotten law that should be defeated. But that is hardly a subtle way of thinking! A "pro-worker" MP worth half his salt is much more refined than that.

This is how John Rodriguez, NDP MP for the Nickel Belt, justified his party's position on the back-to-work bill: **"It is our duty to take as much time as is necessary to add clauses that will make workers less upset about being forced back to work by compulsory arbitration."** Subtle, eh? In other words, the NDP told the government that it was just as crude as the workers. Of course they had to deprive the postal workers of the right to strike and impose compulsory arbitration, for the sake of the higher interests of the nation, but they should have taken more care to smooth over the awkward spots so as to make it more acceptable to the postal workers.

Stanley Knowles, one of the NDP's grand old men, was much more explicit about the NDP's real intentions. This is what he said. **"Mr. Speaker, I do not think we need to get into a procedural hassle over all of this. It is perfectly obvious that we in**

this party are doing our best to make improvements in this bill, but it is not our intention to put any procedural blocks in the way of the House dealing with the bill tonight if it wishes to do so. If the government were to ask for unanimous consent to complete the bill tonight, giving us a chance to move amendments to other clauses in committee of the whole, I believe the government would find that so far as we are concerned there would be that unanimous consent and this procedural battle could end." Once again, a very long-winded way of saying that the NDP agreed with the basic thrust of the bill but that it would like to be able to move a few amendments so as to save face with the workers. That is how the NDP defended the postal workers.

This comes as no surprise when one remembers what Broadbent himself said in April 1977, when the government broke the air traffic controllers' strike: **"As I previously declared, if you examine the half a dozen legislations presented before the House of Commons you will realize that my Party supported over half of them. We never supported the right to strike as a "sacred" right that could not be touched in any way, under any circumstances. Such is not the case. Sometimes, as I have said, public interest demands a change, demands that certain rights be exchanged for others."**

The problem with this kind of argument is that it sounds like Trudeau or Clark. What else do the Liberals and the Tories say to justify their attacks on workers' rights? They never announce that they are doing it to help out private industry or the multinationals. No, when these governments crush workers' struggles by depriving workers of their rights, it is always in the name of the "public interest". In other words, Broadbent says that he rates workers' rights no higher than do the Tories or the Liberals. So perhaps Mr. McDermott should explain once again just what the difference is between his party and Trudeau's or Clark's party.

This makes it easier to understand why when McDermott spoke on the CKSO radio station in Sudbury last May, he let slip that if an NDP government were elected, it would govern the country "in the interests of the population as a whole", which could mean "new wage controls and restrictions on the right to

strike". But in that case, Mr. McDermott, why be so keen on replacing the Liberals or the Progressive Conservatives for the NDP, since you yourself admit that there is not really any difference?

McDermott's cynical remarks come as no surprise. He was talking about a party that has always tailed after the Liberals, not only in the repression of labour's rights but also in the outright denial of the rights of the Quebec nation. In December 1978, this same "workers' party" gave full support to the Liberal government's Bill C-9, which would have empowered the federal Parliament to organize a country-wide referendum, in any province at any time. This was in practice a denial of the Quebec nation's right to decide its own future.

This is the party that McDermott and Co. have been hounding the labour movement to support for the last two years. It is this "labour" party that in the last election again bent over backwards to convince the capitalists that it was a plausible and useful alternative, in short a "responsible" party.

Worse yet, McDermott and Co. would like the labour movement to round out its support for this party by abandoning all its struggles, staying nice and quiet and waiting patiently for the NDP to come to power. They might as well suggest that the labour movement attach the millstone to its own neck and dive in!

Now that the NDP has gained ground in the last federal election, and promised not to behave "irresponsibly" and to listen to Clark before taking any hasty action, the CLC brass have resumed their crusade with renewed zeal. Their message for Labour Day in Ontario suggests what is to come: **"During April and May of this year, thousands of trade-unionists talked to millions of their brothers and sisters and brought them the message: the NDP — there is no other way... But we can't kid ourselves. With a membership of over two million, we could and should have done better. Too many failed to grasp the message..."** This is exactly the same sermon as McDermott gave just after the federal election. **"We, the crusaders of the NDP, are resuming our campaign to bring the gospel to the heathen in the labour movement who have not yet been converted to the virtues of social**

democracy...". At the same time, he stressed the point that his relationship with the new conservative government had been, up to now "frank and friendly"!

It is high time the labour movement put a stop to this campaign!



"The discussion was open and friendly but neither party promised anything very precise." This is how McDermott described his meeting with Prime Minister Clark in June 1979. This is all he could say about a government that is certainly "open" to cutting 60,000 jobs in the public service and to lending a helping hand to private enterprise. According to McDermott, these actions are of the "friendly" type!

The same line with some fancy window-dressing

You have to give McDermott and his buddies credit for one thing: their preferences are no secret. They are collaborators who would like nothing better than to collaborate with all the governments. The only problem is that not all the governments want to collaborate with them in the same way.

There are others in the labour movement, however, whose ultimate aim is the same but who wrap it all up in some fancy window-dressing to make it seem more attractive. These people tell us that we need "rank-and-file mobilization", that we need to "radicalize struggles", that we need "a strong trade-union movement"... But at the same time, they tell us we should continue to support the NDP, that we should "give it some left-wing allies" and force it to "move left". These people criticize the NDP because, sometimes, it wavers and takes stands that are "a bit too right-wing". But, they hasten to add, if we criticize it and urge it properly, it will right its policies and move a little less to the right...

These people are groups like the Communist Party of Canada (CP) and the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). They were notably at work in the INCO strike and the postal workers' struggle. They, like the NDP, repeated that INCO had to be nationalized; the only difference was that they said it should be done right away, instead of waiting until the NDP is in government. They also repeated that the way to solve the postal situation was through "proper management", with the creation of a Crown corporation. It has been said that New Democrats are Liberals in a hurry; these people are New Democrats in a hurry.

During the election campaign, they continued to call upon the labour movement to pin its hopes on the election of "left-wing" NDP, CP or Trotskyist candidates. Their newspapers devoted page after page to expounding on how workers' rights would be better served with "left-wing" candidates. **"Dump Trudeau and Clark, we need our own government,"** headlined the May 21 issue of the **Socialist Voice**, the RWL's English-language paper. **"It's time to say no! No to Trudeau and Clark! The NDP, better... but**

not good enough," proclaimed **Workers' Action**, organ of the International Socialists, last May. **"Make it count — vote NDP,"** trumpeted the front page of the May issue of **Forward**, the paper of another Trotskyist sect in English Canada. **"Neither Trudeau nor Clark!"** was the front-page slogan in the **Tribune Ouvriere** (March 1979), the voice of the Groupe socialiste des travailleurs quebecois, a Quebec variety of Trotskyists.

The CP's election appeal was published on the front page of the May 21 issue of the **Canadian Tribune**: **"Communists, trade-unionists, self-employed farmers, and New Democrats are needed to make a reality of a progressive majority responsive to the needs of workers."** All in all, many variations on the same melody: "The NDP isn't perfect, but it is better than nothing." In other words, these people played 100% the game of the CLC and NDP bureaucrats.

But does this strategy serve the interests of the labour movement? Of course not! While the attention of Canadian workers was entirely focused on support for the NDP, the labour movement's battles remained scattered and isolated. In the meantime, there was no let-up in the attacks of the capitalists and their State specially against the postal and public sector workers.

In Quebec, are things much different?

In Quebec, workers are "lucky" enough to have a government that prides itself on its "bias in favour of workers", even if it still isn't sure whether or not it is social-democratic. For three years now, workers in Quebec have been able to appreciate just what this "bias in favour of workers" means.

First of all, there was the notorious anti-scab law (Bill 45). The PQ government is very proud of it. It is so effective that the workers at Commonwealth Plywood fighting to have their union recognized were out on the pavement for a year and a half while the scabs worked inside the factory. And when the workers were finally rehired, only some of them got their jobs back — because half of the scabs had more seniority than most of the strikers,

and the law stipulated that workers should be rehired according to seniority, regardless of whether they were scabs or strikers!

The workers at Nacan, in Boucherville near Montreal, have "luckily" also been covered by the anti-scab law: for a year now, the law has sanctioned the company's efforts to run the plant with supervisory personnel from Nacan operations elsewhere in North America filling in as scabs, while the workers continue to picket the factory gate.

In August 1978, the PQ government signed an agreement with the federal Liberal government giving the provincial government a decisive role in choosing its immigrants. In fact, the Couture-Cullen agreement grants Quebec immigration officers arbitrary powers. They are now empowered to make on-the-spot evaluations of a foreign citizen's "personality"!

The PQ also has its very own "essential services" act, Bill 59. This act requires that a list of essential services be filed six months before the collective agreement runs out and the union acquires the right to strike. The law sets specific dates for the beginning and end of pre-negotiations procedures, the negotiations themselves, and the tabling of union offers.

In the construction industry, the PQ's new system provides each worker with a hiring classification certificate. Under the system, only the hours of work accumulated by Quebec residents count for the classification, which means that Quebec residents have priority over workers from other provinces. As was to be expected, the manoeuvre divided construction workers and angered workers in Newfoundland, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, many of whom come to Quebec to work.

In October 1978, the PQ introduced a bill on health and safety on the job. The depth of the PQ's concern for the health and safety of workers can be gauged by the fact that the legislation would not give the union the right to stop work when safety will be seriously in doubt. The decision will be left solely to the individual worker, at the mercy of any pressure applied by the bosses.

In December 1978, the PQ presented Bill 94, "for the protection of goods and persons in case of disaster". This bill gave the

government full powers to search without warrants, force persons to follow orders, impose mandatory curfews, promote the re-establishment of services...in case of disasters. And, given that some people are rather quick to decide that demonstrations, occupations and strikes are "disasters"...

In March 1979, the unions discovered they were so protected by this "favourably biased" government that they found themselves obliged to denounce a vast operation instigated by the Quebec Provincial Police to spy on workers in the public and semi-public sector — coincidentally, at the very time these workers began negotiations with the government.

Since April, this government has been making public sector workers offers so "favourable" to them that many offered less than current acquired rights like COLA clauses and job security, gained by workers in previous struggles. To thank the government for their very "favourable" attitude, provincial civil servants and nurses, in particular, have used, for months now, walkouts, rotating strikes and numerous study sessions to try and make the government revise its ridiculous offers. At the PQ's last convention, 1,000 angry workers showed up to demonstrate in protest.



Two tripartite economic summits, nine sectorial conferences: the labour bosses in Quebec just love to sit down at the same table with the capitalists and their government that "favours" them so. Above, in the middle, QFL leader Louis Laberge, who is on a sub-committee of the Quebec Planning and Development Board. This board was created to evaluate and prepare... the economic summits. We see him here with his good friends Paul Desmarais, president of Power Corporation, and Rene Levesque during the first economic summit in 1977.

In Quebec, the labour bureaucrats lick the PQ's boots

While scrupulously respecting the PQ's bill on essential services, the CNTU took the opportunity, last spring to raid Local 298 of the Service Employees International Union of Canada, which it accuses of being undemocratic. For its part, Local 298 tried to raid the CNTU because, it said, workers were fed up with strikes in every round of negotiations. In the middle of bargaining, at a time when the workers of the Common Front have a vital need for unity, labour bureaucrats on both the "left" and the right encourage division among workers — to the great pleasure of their "friend" the PQ.

During the Cadbury workers' battle to prevent the plant from shutting down, a CNTU staffer tried to start a nationalist slogan, "Unemployment for the Quebecois, profits for the English!" going on the picket lines. People like him even went so far as to suggest that Cadbury should close its factory in Whitby, Ontario, instead of the Quebec plant because fewer workers would be laid off. What a great way to fight unemployment! Their line means the division of the workers. That is what nationalism leads to!

Last spring, the Quebec Federation of Labour (QFL) brass endorsed the White Paper on health and safety on the job. According to them, this document **"was a great step forward, and we agree(d) with its major orientations"**.

At the Steelworkers' convention in November 1978, Jean Gerin-Lajoie made an eloquent appeal in favour of sovereignty-association. Then, when a delegate moved a resolution aimed at freeing the Steelworkers from the control of U.S. bureaucrats, the grand independentist Gerin-Lajoie cut him off and denounced him as "communist".

Nationalism, undemocratic behaviour and collaboration go hand-in-hand. At a meeting after the postal workers were forced back to work in October 1978, Perreault, who is president of the Montreal local of CUPW, summed up the lessons of the struggle: "vote the right way in the PQ's referendum". And when some postal workers suggested proposals for action based on the

experience of their fellow workers in Vancouver, the same Perreault replied that "he wouldn't stand for being organized by outsiders". Once again, division of the workers proved to be the distinguishing characteristic of the nationalists.

When you see people acting like this, you can understand why they were so proud of participating in the PQ's economic summits alongside the capitalists, and why people like Louis Laberge of the QFL and J.G. Morin of the CNTU are pleased to belong to the board of directors of the National Productivity Institute of Quebec along with the bosses of Alcan and Noranda. As the name of the institute suggests, this allows them to ensure that the productivity of Quebec workers is competitive with that of workers in the rest of Canada and elsewhere.

You can understand why they were furious when hundreds of workers demonstrated their anger at the last convention of the PQ. Union leaders like Michel Bourdon of the CNTU certainly made quite a scene of themselves when they crossed the demonstrators' picket lines to take their seats with top party brass in the PQ convention hall. These nationalists do their best to sabotage struggles, divide workers and persuade them to collaborate with the PQ.

You can also understand why these same people sabotaged the movement in defence of democratic rights and freedoms that was emerging around Operation Freedom in the popular and labour movement in Quebec. They have no interest in combatting political repression, since they themselves are active agents of the bourgeois State in the ranks of the labour movement.

Two paths: To reinforce capitalism or to struggle to end it?



Workers are more and more conscious of what the PQ government's "bias in favour of workers" really stands for: a government with a "bias in favour of capitalists". Above, provincial civil servants demonstrate in June 1978 against Bill 50, which in practice denies their right to strike. Below, workers demonstrate during the PQ's last convention in June 1979.



Why don't these people — the social democrats from the CLC and the NDP or from the CNTU and the PQ in Quebec, and those who claim to be a bit further "left" — clearly defend the need for the labour movement to unite and battle with all its might to improve its situation, defend its acquired rights and win new ones? Why do they even sabotage (there is no other word for it) the workers' struggle? Why do they subordinate this struggle to their strategy of election participation and alliances to get themselves elected or to their strategy of support to "their" government?

All these people insist, with a few minor variations here and there, that the "right-wing" and pro-capitalist Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments have to be defeated and replaced by an elected "left-wing" government that would really serve the workers, through nationalizations, economic planning, an "industrial strategy", the civilizing of the multinationals, and so on. This would pave the way, slowly but surely and painlessly, to a "democratic" socialist society.

Workers have been heavily bombarded in the past few years with different variations on this same basic programme. Let's briefly review them.

Many variations on the same tune

The NDP has been saying for a long time that to achieve socialism, it is necessary to **"place all resource industries under public control. This would sometimes mean outright public ownership, sometimes joint participation with private industry ... plan investment so more resources are processed in Canadian plants by Canadian workers..."** (People Matter More, 1974 Programme of the NDP, p. 4)

This is what these people mean when they refer to the "industrial strategy" that the social democrats in the labour movement, most notably, have recently been defending with renewed vigour. In November 1978, McDermott summed up the policy pursued by him and his ilk at the head of the CLC in these words: **"The CLC believes in national economic planning and development of a national industrial strategy. We want substantial labour**

input in the development of our future." (Canadian Labour News, Nov. 1978)

The Communist Party of Canada's viewpoint is essentially the same, although perhaps even more nationalist. It holds that what we need is **"a fight for public ownership of Canadian resources and Canadian enterprises, and the takeover of multinational holdings, for independent, sovereign development to keep jobs in Canada."** (Canadian Tribune, Nov. 13, 1978, p. 3) That's in the short run. In the long run, the CP works for the election of **"a democratic, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist people's govern..."** that will make possible **"the democratization of the State apparatus, the armed forces, police, civil service, judiciary and penal institutions"** and **"democratic control by the State"** (The road to socialism in Canada, programme of the CP, pp. 46 and 51).

The Trotskyist variation on this same basic policy deserves some attention as well. As we have seen, the Trotskyists support the election of a social-democratic government (what they call a "bourgeois-workers" government).

This is probably how the Trotskyists hope to **"provide a bridge between the current level of consciousness and struggle of the masses and the revolutionary consciousness necessary in order to have a socialist revolution"**. This is the basic meaning of their well-known **"transitional programme"** which will **"package a series of demands that start from the objective needs of the masses and their present level of consciousness but which will lead the masses to understand through their experience of fighting for their realization that the bourgeois State must be destroyed"** (Socialisme et liberation nationale, la lutte contre l'Etat canadien, Editions d'avant-garde, 1978, p. 13). To put it somewhat more clearly, the Trotskyists' strategy boils down to this: the workers are influenced by the NDP, so we should continue to urge them into the open arms of the social democrats; support "transitionally" the NDP; and when the workers have been let down often enough by this "bourgeois-workers" party, they will come to realize that the Trotskyists were right!

And these people who are in perpetual "transition", have the nerve to pretend that they are fighting for proletarian revolution! Their kind of strategy can only result in hitching the workers in-

definitely to the coattails of the social-democratic NDP. The Trotskyists call that "starting from the objective needs of the masses".

Applying this same logic to the national question, the Trotskyists wind up supporting independence for Quebec because the workers vote for the PQ, while in English Canada the same Trotskyists support the NDP, which in turn opposes Quebec's right to self-determination, because the workers in English Canada vote NDP. And they call that "working for the unity of the Canadian labour movement"! It is hard to conceive of more vulgar opportunism.

In Quebec the nationalist union bosses ultimately defend an economic programme that is the mirror reflection of the CLC labour bosses' programme. For instance September 12 1978, the CNTU published a document entitled **Pour faire face a la crise** (To deal with the crisis). The solution suggested by the subtitle: **"The development of a new policy of investments planned in accordance with Canada's and Quebec's urgent industrial requirements"**.

And finally there are those who condemn the social-democratic union bureaucrats and the NDP as bourgeois but who in practice defend policies that are curiously similar to the policies of those whom they denounce so heatedly.

Take for example, the CPC(M-L). This self-styled party of the proletariat invites workers to **"build an advanced social system, genuinely independent, authentic and without crisis"**. Broadbent says the same thing. Its concern for achieving an "independent" social system is easy to understand; it also affirms that **"the U.S. imperialists control over 80% of the leading sectors of the economy; in political affairs, they directly interfere in the political affairs of Canada and dominate the State... and in military affairs, the domination is total."** In other words, since Canada is dominated by U.S. imperialism (Broadbent would say the multinationals), we need a political line that will enable us to build a "genuinely independent" Canada. There is nothing more Broadbent can add: both are in full agreement.

Last but not least, there is the Canadian Communist League

(Marxist-Leninist) (CCL(M-L)). The League considers that the Canadian economy is much too weak. It was also the League that sounded this warning note on the sad state of "our" economy: **"The weaker the Canadian economy is, the easier it will be for the American superpower to mount political pressure on Canada..."** (The Forge, Sept. 8, 1978) More recently, the League lamented: **"As long as foreign monopolies control most of our energy industry, Canada's vast resources will be used to boost their profits and not to meet the country's needs."** (The Forge, August 10, 1979).

The League simply echoes the CPC(M-L), the CP and the NDP in telling us that if "we" want an "independent Canada", we need a "strong" economy that will control our energy resources to "meet the country's needs". This makes it easier to understand why the League applauds every example of trade between Canada and any other country apart from the United States and the U.S.S.R., why it comments favourably on the development of Canadian foreign investments, and why it is so worried about the dismantling of Petro-Canada, which would sell out Canadian interests to U.S. imperialism. What the League wants is the "reinforcement" of the endangered Canadian economy.

It all adds up to a lot of people who are worrying about the fate of "our poor" economy and "the country's needs". What is most striking, however, is that all these people who are in agreement as to the need to strengthen the Canadian economy are the same people who use infiltration, lies, packed meetings, and even physical violence to take over the leadership of unions and crush all opposition to their manoeuvres. They are the same people who claim to "mobilize the rank-and-file" and "intensify" economic struggles at the same time as they sabotage unified resistance to the State's attacks on democratic and trade-union rights. The League, for instance, applauded the Quebec labour bosses' sabotage of the united fightback against repressive laws that was developing in the popular and labour movement around Operation Freedom.

Where does all this lead us?

Let's review the chief arguments of all these people and see where they lead us.

*// the right people are elected,
they can make the State
serve the people:*

FALSE

History and current events in our country and around the world all prove the very opposite. Take the case of Chile, for example. Allende was elected head of government, backed by a "left-wing coalition". He, too, wanted to bring about "democratic socialism" by nationalizing companies here and there, but without changing things too drastically, too quickly. But did the election of a left-wing government in Chile make it possible to "democratize" the armed forces and the police? If the question is answered honestly, the answer has to be no. Since its beginnings, the Chilean armed forces have been an instrument of repression in the service of the reactionary classes and imperialism. These same armed forces crushed in a bloodbath the Allende government and the thousands and thousands of workers who had been deluded into believing that with a little patience socialism could be brought about quietly and peaceful-

The opportunists have a ready-made answer: "Chile is a long ways away. It is an underdeveloped country. In a democratic, industrial country like Canada, things are different." These same people not so long ago were swearing up and down that Chile was a model democratic country, living proof that socialism could be achieved by electing a "left-wing" government. They were still saying it one month before the coup d'etat.

But what about the advanced countries? When social democrats are elected, do they really "democratize" the State? In Great Britain, when the Labour Party was in power it succeeded in doing what no government in the service of the capitalists had managed to do. With its carefully cultivated

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image as the "workers' friend" and with the solid support of corrupt union leaders, the Labour Party succeeded in getting the labour movement to accept voluntary wage controls in return for a sustained fight against inflation.



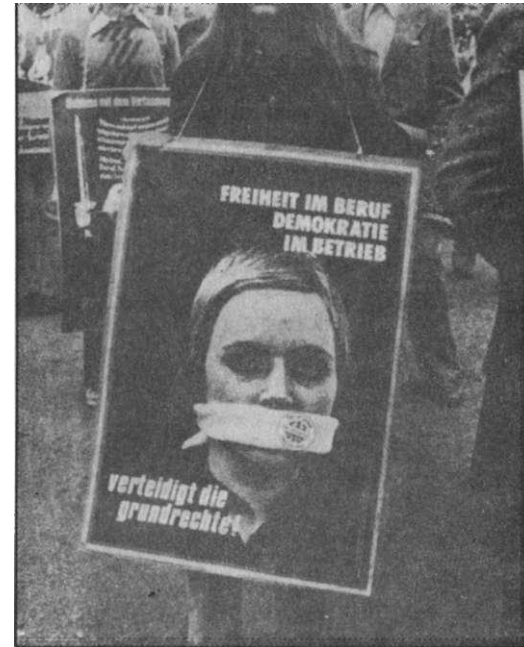
Police in Britain were very "democratic" indeed under the social democrats. In the photo, police protect a fascist demonstration and attack immigrant workers who protested against the reactionaries.

The results? Wages were frozen for three years, from 1974 to 1976. During this period, the average rate of inflation did not drop below 13%, while the rate for 1975 hit 24.2%. During the same period, the number of families living below the poverty line rose from 1.4 million to 2.3 million. And while there were 575,000 unemployed at the beginning of 1974, there were more than 1.4 million in September 1977.

When workers demanded raises in pay that would let them catch up somewhat with inflation, when they demanded a decent minimum wage, they had to strike to make their "friends" in the Labour Party listen to them. But when hundreds of thousands of workers walked out to back up their demands in February 1979, what did this great friend of labour have to say in reply? **"Unrestrained use of free collective bargaining opens the door to collective anarchy. I wouldn't think twice about crossing a picket line if I thought it was the right thing to do."** Truly a great friend of labour speaking!

When the Labour Party lost the election in May, the workers found themselves once again confronted with a Conservative government that also wants to control wages, but through the use of open repression. So what's the point of social democracy?

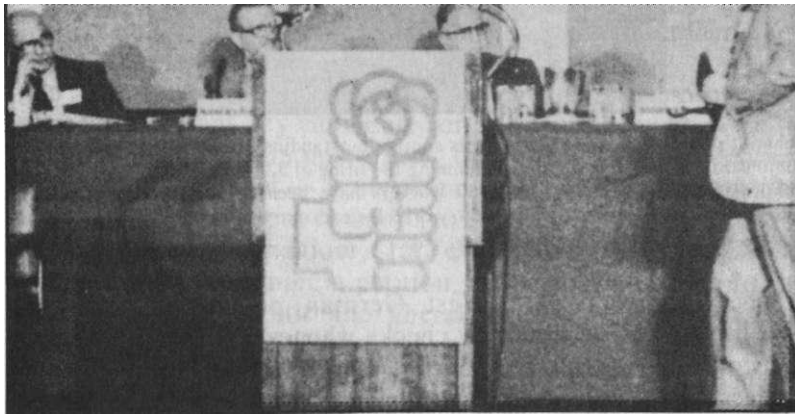
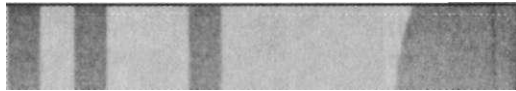
In Schmidt's social-democratic West Germany, the State is so "democratic" that any candidate for a job in the civil service — on the railways, in the post office, the schools and universities, for radio or television — is investigated as to his past history by the "democratized" police and civil servants. He must account for any suspect behaviour, for example participating in a demonstration or signing a petition, that might be construed as challenging "democratic and liberal order". Any current civil servant who is judged to be not "democratized" enough by his employers and who is suspected at all of "subversion" has to prove his innocence.



Schmidt's "socialist" West Germany is another outstanding example of democracy. The demonstrators in the photo are condemning the firing of 3,000 State employees for their political beliefs. Since 1972, 180,000 workers have been investigated by the police. "Freedom on the job! Democracy at work! Defend our basic rights!" These are the slogans on the demonstrators' signs.

The "democratized" West German police can throw up roadblocks and run identity checks whenever it pleases. Labour legislation in social-democratic West Germany allows union leaders to sign agreements with the employers without consulting the workers and without any obligation to have the agreement ratified. If any workers decide to protest, the union leaders are free to complain about them to the bosses and have them fired. Indeed, what else can be expected from labour leaders like Loderer, president of the most powerful union in West Germany, and Vette, president of the West German Union Confederation,

who are both members of the Trilateral Commission, where they help Carter, Vance and Brzezinski work out a long-term strategy for U.S. imperialism? The West German labour code also includes a so-called "incompatibility" clause, which provides for the exclusion from his union of any worker belonging to an allegedly "subversive" political party or group. "Socialist" West Germany certainly has some great "democratized" laws! McDermott would like to model Canadian legislation after them, and you can understand why: he dreams of the day when he will be able to collaborate without having to account to workers for his actions. You can also understand why he is so eager to have the NDP elected.



In the photo, McDermott on the podium at the convention of the Socialist International, held in Vancouver in November 1978. He was very proud to be in such "distinguished" company, with the likes of Leopold Senghor and Simon Peres. Senghor is a great socialist with poetic inclinations who also tends to throw all revolutionaries and progressive people who challenge his authority in jail. Peres, a great social democrat, is a solid supporter of the Zionist State of Israel who denies the Palestinian people's right to exist. Birds of a feather...

But getting back to Canada. Ask the workers at Robin Hood in Quebec, at Morris Rod Weeder in Saskatchewan or at Griffen Steel in Manitoba if the police and the courts under the NDP and the PQ are any different than under the Liberals or the Tories. Ask them if the police attack more gently or if the judges are more understanding when the social democrats are in power. Under left-wing "socialist" governments, centre-left governments or the Trotskyists' "bourgeois-workers" governments, the workers are still faced with the same repressive laws, the same reactionary judges and the same brutal police. When these supposed people's governments are in power, the workers have no choice but to struggle to force them to respect their rights and struggle to win new gains.

Nationalizations are the solution

workers need:

FALSE

This has been a popular argument in the last while, especially during the INCO strike and the postal workers' struggle. "If INCO were nationalized, things would be different. The company wouldn't be so arrogant", "When the Post Office becomes a Crown corporation, it will be easier to negotiate with the employer". The phrases have been repeated so often they almost seem self-evident. But are they really?

CN has been a "publicly controlled" company for a long time now. What has that changed for the workers? Over the last twenty years, thousands of railworkers have been laid off to cut costs and meet the efficiency requirements of the management of this "public corporation". In the shops, workers still have to put up with the same arrogant foremen breathing down their necks day in and day out, the same speed-ups and the same attacks on labour's rights as do the miners at INCO or the workers at Ford. And when it comes time to negotiate new collective agreements, their employers are just as intransigent as the bosses at INCO. CN workers have to strike, just like INCO workers, and brave the police, injunctions and "emergency" laws, just like any other group of workers, when they fight to defend their rights.

In March 1979, at a public conference in Sudbury called

"Nationalize INCO; how do we do it?", a British immigrant talked about the mines nationalized by the Labour government in Great Britain. He referred to some interesting figures: in 1957, there were 710,000 coal miners in Great Britain; in 1973, only 264,000 were left. More than 400 mines closed down in the 1960s. Under a Labour government, the miners were "lucky" enough to get a daily wage instead of piecework rates — but it cost some of them a 20% cut in pay. Meanwhile, productivity rose 100%. Since 1947, there have been 7,000 miners killed in the mines, and 32,000 seriously injured, while thousands more have died of lung diseases. The British coal miners are "lucky" indeed to belong to a "publicly controlled" company.

Workers at Hydro-Quebec, Ontario Hydro, B.C. Hydro and DeHavilland in Ontario, as well as the miners at DEVCO in Cape Breton, have such ideal working conditions they have to strike to make their bosses negotiate seriously.

The Post Office? If making a "private" company into a "public" company through minor changes in management doesn't really change anything for the workers, what can the postal workers hope to expect from a Crown corporation? All they can look forward to are attempts by the "new" managers to impose cost-cutting efficiency plans, and to achieve this, attempts to abolish the postal workers' rights and eliminate their union, just as any other "publicly controlled" employer would try to do. Workers have nothing to expect from capitalist companies, whether or not they are nationalized. The reason is simple: all these companies are created, financed and developed for one reason only — to serve the capitalists.

*What we need is a new
industrial strategy that will
enable us to develop a planned
Canadian industry
— the only way to solve the crisis:*

FALSE

Our good social democrats intend to develop this industrial strategy by helping to create a truly **Canadian** (or **Quebecois**, if

they come from "la belle province") manufacturing sector. To put it another way, they want to limit the power of foreign companies and help stimulate the growth of our "very own" companies. They seem to think that it is better to have to deal with a Canadian capitalist than a foreign capitalist. The response may seem obvious, but it is still worth while to ask the question: in what way are workers at Domtar, MacMillan Bloedel, B.C. Forest Products, Brunswick Pulp and Paper or Consolidated Bathurst (to name only Canadian pulp and paper companies) any better off than workers at GM or Pratt and Whitney? Didn't forest workers in British Columbia have to wildcat last spring to force the companies to agree to their wage demands, despite the fact that the companies, all good Canadian citizens, had just announced they had made fabulous profits?

Even if the entire economy was "Canadianized", what difference would that make for the workers? The U.S. economy is to the best of our knowledge, controlled by Americans. Has that prevented layoffs, inflation, industrial diseases or accidents on the job in the United States? Are American workers any better off than their Canadian counterparts? Once again, workers will still have to fight to force the capitalists to recognize their just demands, whether the companies are Canadian or foreign, whether or not the economy is "Canadianized".

But let's continue. Broadbent and his friends have indeed been complaining about Canadian companies' lack of patriotism. In January 1979, Broadbent declared: "**Canadian corporations, banks and government agencies are investing more and more money outside Canada.**" (*Canadian Labour News*, Jan. 19, 1979) According to him, they should invest a little more here at home so as to create jobs here in Canada. "We have to put Canada to work," he was fond of saying during the federal election campaign.

But this raises another question: how are Broadbent and his ilk going to convince the companies to invest here rather than elsewhere? No one can question that a company — be it Canadian or foreign — that closes down here and sets up shop elsewhere does so because it is following the money. It is not because it is unpatriotic nor because it likes the look of workers

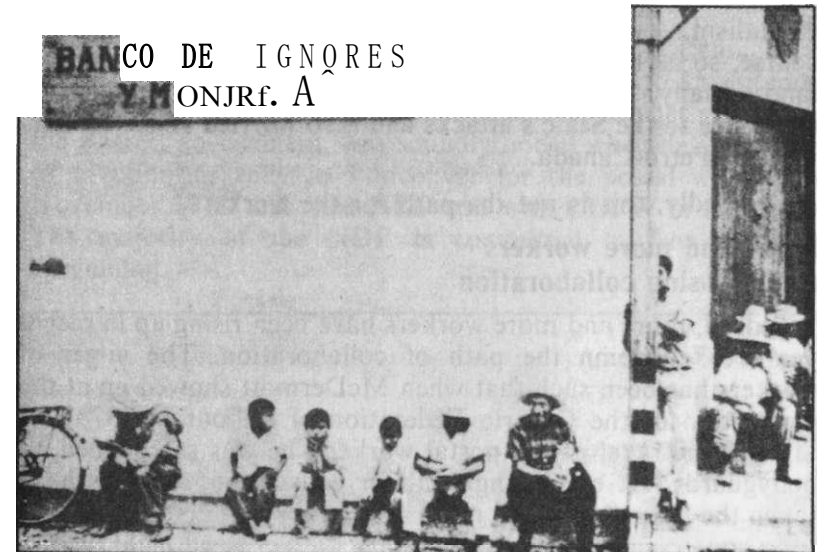
elsewhere better. No, it is simply going where the climate for profits is best. This leaves the NDP one of two choices. Either it forces the companies to stay in Canada and reinvest in sectors that are not particularly profitable, which would mean directly threatening — oh! horror! — these companies' competitive position and rate of profit in order to defend the interests of the workers. Or else it creates conditions favourable enough to interest Canadian capitalists in investing in Canada. In other words, the NDP can either attack the frantic fight for profits that is the very root of the anarchy of the economic system, which would mean attacking the capitalists' very *raison d'être*; or else it can work to strengthen Canadian capitalism.

The NDP is not against profits; it is not against capitalists. Back in 1961, the NDP promised in the programme adopted at its founding convention: "True free enterprise has been suppressed. **The NDP will give genuine private enterprise a better chance of succeeding by ensuring stable economic growth.**" (our translation from the French) Since its founding, it has continued to repeat this promise on a regular basis. Nor have we any reason to doubt it on this point.

It is easy to see what this means for the workers. If Canadian capitalists are to be interested in investing in Canada, and if they are to play a more "dynamic" role in the economy in relation to foreign multinationals, then the working class will be gagged, reduced to silence, disarmed and milked for every ounce it is worth so that "our" Canadian capitalists can grow, become competitive and set out to conquer new markets around the world.

When you look at things in this light, you can understand why it is in the interest of both right-wing and "left-wing" social democrats to leave the RCMP, the provincial police forces, the courts, the legislature and the armed forces basically as they are, while telling workers that they can be "democratized". You can understand why it is in their interest to nationalize foreign multinationals. Their "industrial strategy" for the development of a "strong and independent economy" is a strategy for the development and reinforcement of Canadian capitalism. It requires that they take over certain foreign companies and "democratize" the

police and the courts. In practice, it requires that they **retain** the bourgeoisie's repressive arsenal, and even that they improve it — and that is what all their reforms tend towards.



No matter what Broadbent and McDermott may say, Canadian capitalists aren't investing abroad to "aid" the peoples of "underdeveloped" countries. If foreign investment is one of their major concerns, it is quite simply because "our" capitalists crave for profits. This reality, the reality of Canadian imperialism, is what social democrats are doing their best to hide from the working class.

When you realize what these people's programme really is — not the programme they talk about in conventions, but the programme they defend in practice — you understand why they act the way they do every day. You understand why McDermott stabbed the postal workers in the back and went all out to whip up electoral support for the NDP. You understand why when the NDP — like the PQ — is in power, it is at the very least unenthusiastic about supporting workers' struggles, and sometimes even openly opposes them; why it passes law after law to restrict workers' rights and their capacity to fight back; why it sends in the police against strikers. You also understand why it is ready to support certain struggles — provided this promotes its electoral programme and wins it votes in the labour movement.

You understand as well why, despite all their pompous talk of

"mobilization", "resistance" and — why not? — even "revolution", the CP and all the varieties of Trotskyists ultimately seek to convince workers that they should ally with the NDP, with those who want to strengthen Canadian capitalism... even though they continue to criticize the NDP, of course, so as to preserve their "left-wing" image. You understand, finally, why the League sabotages all movements of resistance to the State's attacks and is so worried about the survival of Petro-Canada.

Decidedly, this is not the path for the workers.

More and more workers are opposing collaboration

Indeed, more and more workers have been rising up in recent years to condemn the path of collaboration. The anger of workers has been such that when McDermott showed up at the convention of the Ontario Federation of Labour in 1978 just after his betrayal of the postal workers, he was surrounded by bodyguards. At every single labour convention, workers have taken the floor to demand more democracy and defend the need for a concrete plan to resist the State's attacks and build the unity of the working class.

On many occasions when workers have gathered together, the NDP and its ardent defenders in the labour movement have been challenged. At the Labour Day rally in Toronto in 1978, where Broadbent put in an appearance and made a speech, a worker called out: **"There's a lot of talk about ballot box, but what about immediate action to defend the unemployed? What does the NDP do after the INCO layoffs? Nothing!"** In a meeting to mobilize against Bill C-28, A.I. Stewart, president of the Public Service Alliance of Canada, and Cliff Pilkey, president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, were booed. A letter carrier told them, **"We will not defeat this bill through the ballot box, but through picket lines and mass action."** At the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour convention, labour bosses were unable to prevent the adoption of a resolution in defence of Quebec's right to self-determination. And when the labour bureaucrats invited former provincial minister of labour Fitzgerald to speak at the same convention, the entire CUPW delegation walked out.

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At the convention of the CNTU labour council in Quebec City, council leaders were unable to block a resolution advocating **"concrete support and unity with workers affiliated with other labour bodies and with all workers in Canada"** from being passed. Forty per cent of all delegates at the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour convention were opposed to any support for the NDP. And Colin Gabelman, a former cabinet minister in the Barrett government, was soundly booed when he announced to a solidarity rally in Vancouver for the postal workers in November 1978 that **"the NDP was with CUPW in the strike. The majority of the NDP is committed to free collective bargaining."**



Loggers at Boise Cascade in Kenora and Fort Frances, with the support of their wives on the picket line, decided to continue their strike despite advice from Stephen Lewis of the NDP, who urged them to accept binding arbitration. While the battle of the Fleck workers against the scabs was in full swing, this same Stephen Lewis declared: "The right of non-striking workers to cross picket lines should not be removed." (*Globe and Mail*, June 1, 1978) And back in 1973, the same Stephen Lewis convinced the teachers to abandon their strike. A "good" friend of the workers, eh?

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In December, 1978, loggers in Kenora and Fort Frances were on strike against Boise Cascade, which wants to bring back the piece work system. Former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis advised them to accept compulsory arbitration and end their struggle. The loggers turned down his advice. During the same period, public sector workers in Quebec affiliated to the three major labour bodies (QFL, CNTU and the CEQ — the teachers' union) reconstituted a common front, despite the attempted sabotage by certain leaders. The divisive policy maintained by the leaders of the independent unions in the Quebec public sector, like those of the Quebec Government Employees Union or the Federation des infirmiers et infirmieres du Quebec (the Quebec federation of nurses), is being contested as workers in these unions express more and more clearly their desire to become more closely involved with the Common Front.

In April 1979, workers exposed and condemned RCMP infiltration of unions in British Columbia. The secret police had created an "ad hoc labour liaison committee" whose members included union leaders like McIntyre, Donnelly, Munroe, and so on. This liaison committee was endorsed by Joe Morris, then head of the CLC, when it was set up in 1974.

In April 1979, McDermott had some trouble convincing workers at the convention of the Prince Edward Island Federation of Labour to adopt his strategy of election support for the NDP. Taking a different tack, the delegates decided to support workers on strike at Perfection Wood in Charlottetown by raising financial support for them and organizing a boycott of this company's products. They then ajourned proceedings to go and join the strikers' picket line.

At the last convention of the New Brunswick Federation of Labour, Acadian and English Canadian delegates called upon the federation to take up the struggle against national oppression. As an Acadian from the fishermen's union explained: **"We are not looking for division, we are looking for unity. If you want to work with us, you have to do so based on equality."** Several delegates condemned the chauvinism of their leaders, who opposed an amendment guaranteeing equal status for French and English in the federation. The amendment passed anyway,

thanks to English-speaking workers who supported the Acadian delegates.

At the recent convention of the Public Service Alliance of Canada, a movement of opposition to the policy of collaboration, chauvinism and undemocratic methods of functioning of this unions's leaders began to emerge within the ranks of the union.

In many cases, the workers' desire to struggle has only been bottled up through the use of lies, the dirtiest kinds of undemocratic manoeuvres and hysterical anti-communism on the part of the NDP's most ardent allies in the labour movement. The most striking and revolting example is undoubtedly the way the union bureaucrats managed to get the CN-CP railworkers to accept the rotten offer of a three-year contract. The movement of resistance to the contract was so strong that, despite all their divisive manoeuvres and verbal and physical attacks, many workers rejected the contract and have continued to fight it. Another revolting example can be found in the tactics used by the leaders of the International Wookworkers of America and the Canadian Paperworkers Union in British Columbia to get the workers to accept a contract that was far from satisfying their initial demands. The workers had already demonstrated their determination with wildcat strikes in June 1979.

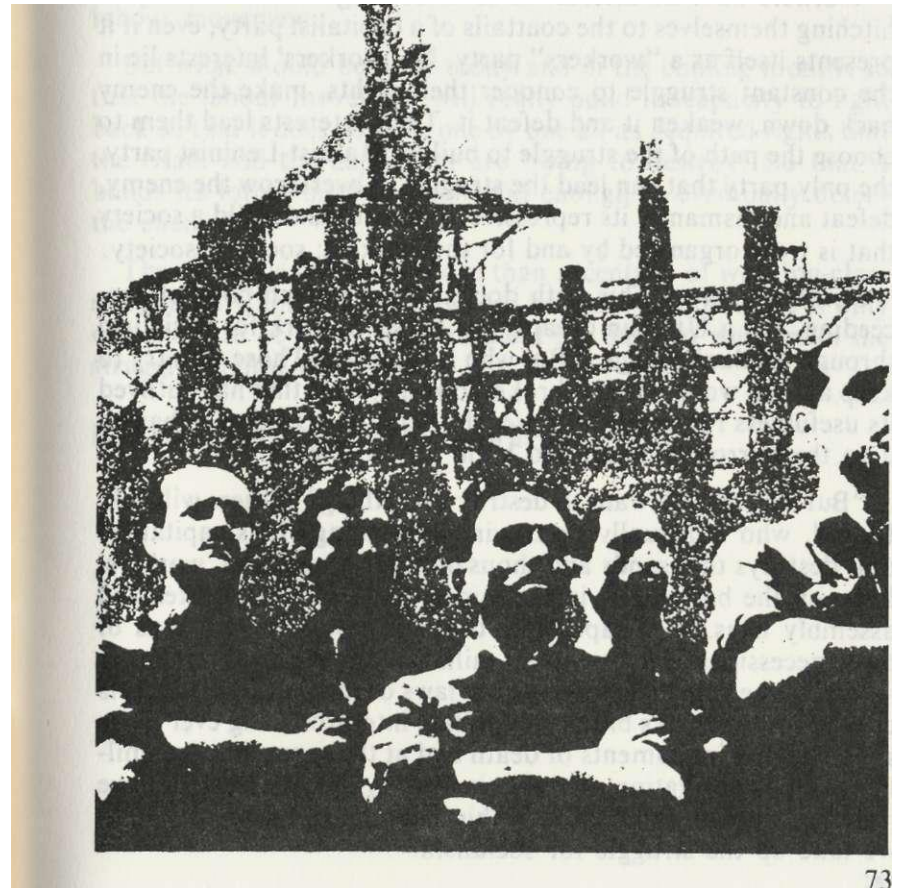
In the summer of 1978, machinists at Air Canada twice rejected tentative agreements concluded between their bosses and the leaders of the International Association of Machinists (AIM). To get the machinists to accept the agreement, Mike Rygus of the AIM finally insinuated that the eastern section of the machinists was thwarting the decision of the western section. Once again, the choice weapon was division.

Workers at DeHavilland, in Ontario, were forced back to work after the U.S. leaders of the United Auto Workers refused to accept the results of two successive democratic votes by the workers in favour of continuing the strike. In its fight to organize workers, the SORWUC (Service, Office and Retail Workers Union of Canada) has to confront both the solid opposition of the bosses and the many roadblocks put in its way by the CLC,

which comes along and tries to organize bank workers already organized or about to be organized by SORWUC.

McDermott's repeated betrayals have provoked a level of anger and revolt rarely seen before in many sectors of the labour movement. The attitude of the NDP is also raising more and more questions, even among those who voted for this party in the last election because "it's the best there is". And the conciliatory attitudes, to put it mildly, of the left-wing sweet talkers of the CP, the Trotskyists, the CPC(M-L) and the Canadian Communist League are causing workers to stay away from these groups.

**Workers have
only one choice:
to struggle to put
an end to capitalism**



Workers have no interest in seeking to replace the Liberals or the Tories to reform and "democratize" the State that was built and is maintained to crush the people. No, workers' interests lie in destroying and getting rid of Capital's whole repressive arsenal.

Workers have no interest in replacing private industry with public industry shackled by the same market forces, or in replacing U.S. capitalists with Canadian capitalists equally hungry for profits. No, workers' interests lie in struggling to get rid of all capitalists and their system of misery, in struggling to put an end to all exploitation of man by man.

Workers have no interest in collaborating with the enemy or hitching themselves to the coattails of a capitalist party, even if it presents itself as a "workers" party. No, workers' interests lie in the constant struggle to conquer their rights, make the enemy back down, weaken it and defeat it. Their interests lead them to choose the path of the struggle to build a Marxist-Leninist party, the only party that can lead the struggle to overthrow the enemy, defeat and dismantle its repressive apparatus and build a society that is truly organized by and for the workers: socialist society.

Some will say: "This path does not have much hope of succeeding. It's a Utopian dream. It's better to work for socialism through gradual change." But who is Utopian? Those who try to keep an old, worn-out and broken-down system that has outlived its usefulness running? Or those who want to get rid of it, banish it to the horror museum and build a new one?

"But why do you want to destroy everything?" others will ask. Indeed, who is actually destroying everything? It is capitalism that destroys thousands and thousands of human lives, workers' lives, on the battlefield, in the mines, on construction sites and assembly lines. It is capitalism that destroys tons and tons of basic necessities at a time when millions lack the vital minimum — all for the sake of respecting the laws of the marketplace. It is capitalism that sinks billions of dollars into producing ever more sophisticated instruments of death and at the same time lets millions die of starvation. So who is destroying? It is because we have had enough of all this, all this destruction and misery, that we take up the struggle for socialism.

This conclusion becomes inescapable when one realizes that the system under which we live is entirely devoted to making a minority richer and richer, at the expense of the vast majority: that this minority of exploiters can only hang onto power by the use of repression, lies and the fear that it tries to instil and perpetuate in workers: and that this minority will never freely abandon this "blessed" system that keeps it rich.

This is why we have to reject all the "solutions" put forward by people who tell us; "The old system can be patched up and painted over, and with a new leader it will still work." We have to throw these people and their political parties — all committed to perpetuating the old capitalist system — right out of the labour movement.

But what should be done today and in the coming months so that the labour movement will really build its capacity to fight back so that it does not lose one by one all its acquired rights that the State and the capitalists are trying to destroy? So that it builds its forces until it's powerful enough to eventually defeat the enemy?

The choice is clearcut. More than a century of working-class struggle in Canada and elsewhere has proven that there is only one thing to be done: **work to build the unity of workers in the struggle against their enemy.**

But what does this mean in practice

Refuse to bear the burden of the crisis!

**Build united resistance to the
repressive measures of the State!**

Throughout the country, workers, unemployed people, welfare recipients, working-class women, housewives and students are refusing to be saddled with the burden of the capitalist crisis. They are demanding wages sufficient to live decently, without getting poorer day by day. They are resisting layoffs and shutdowns because they have a right to work. They are resisting budget cutbacks in health, education and social affairs because they have a right to the services that their mothers and fathers before them won from the State through long and bitter struggles.

Wherever possible, we must build support for all these struggles that are being waged by more and more workers and sectors of the people. This support is all the more important because it is a way to strengthen unity between men and women, between organized and unorganized workers and unemployed workers, and between students and workers.

Demand cost-of-living clauses, job security, health and safety on the job! Fight cutback, layoffs and shutdowns! Demand work or a guaranteed minimum income! Demand the repeal of the Cullen Act!

Workers trade-union rights and organizations are under full-fledged attack from the State. If they lose these rights and allow their unions to be crushed, they will lose all means of fighting back. So the fightback against these attacks is a key battle for the entire labour movement. Workers in the public sector are under special attack right now, and support for their struggle is therefore of the utmost importance. Increasing numbers of workers in the private sector are realizing that if public sector workers lose these rights, they themselves may well be the next to be classified as part of the "essential services".

**Defend the absolute equality
of languages and nations in Canada!**

Division is the capitalists' favourite weapon for weakening workers and keeping them at their mercy. It is in the capitalists' interests to practice discrimination, cultivate racism and oppress nations and national minorities. The time has come for the labour movement to take up the just demands of nations and national minorities in Canada. If workers do not recognize exactly the same rights for each other, how can they possibly build genuine, solid and lasting unity? With the coming referendum, it is all the more important for the labour movement to make its voice heard.

The interests of the labour movement lie in the equality of languages and nations, in the right of oppressed nations to decide their own future, in opposition to any and all forms of discrimination based on the nation or national minority to which someone belongs, and in opposition to any and all forms of racism.

**Support the struggles of workers
and peoples around the world
against imperialism,
especially Canadian imperialism!**

The entire world is racked by revolutionary uprisings of workers and peoples. They have had enough of savage oppression, fascism and exploitation. They are fed up with serving as cannon-fodder in wars that only serve to divide up the world and its resources among the imperialists and their allies.

Internationalist support has nothing to do with the laments of union bureaucrats about the "sad fate of people in the underdeveloped countries, crushed by the iron heel of fascist dictatorship". The human rights crusade can be left to Carter and U.S. imperialism.

This tearful oratory is in fact a way of camouflaging the complicity that exists between these bloody fascists and our Canadian capitalists, who can no longer decide whether they should invest in Chile or Indonesia or elsewhere... In sum, it is a way of covering up the odious face of Canadian imperialism, which gladly co-operates with just about all the most reactionary and fascist regimes throughout the world. It is understandable that people who try to convince Canadian workers that "our" bourgeoisie is "weak" and "poor" enough to need our support are not very interested in bringing this international reality to light.

Finally, if the social democrats all weep over human rights and peace that is such a "distant reality", it is because it is a way of hiding the community of interest that exists between the struggle of Canadian workers and the struggle of people dominated by imperialism, including Canadian imperialism. Canadian workers have the same interests as those who are fighting imperialism in their own countries. Their enemy is the same.

**Make trade unions real
workers' defence organizations!**

This means refusing division in the labour movement. There must not be division between unions in Quebec and unions in the rest of the country, or between unions affiliated with the CLC and independent Canadian unions. UNITY is essential — unity based on the equality of languages and nations, unity that opposes all the divisive manoeuvres of those who try to build themselves bureaucratic strongholds within the trade-union movement and use unions as a stepping stone to the posts they covet in the capitalist State apparatus.

This means combatting the union bureaucrats who try to have their policy of betrayal and collaboration accepted by manipulating the unions and using the most underhanded kinds of manoeuvres to defeat their opponents. The same social democrats who act like real little dictators in their unions are the first to denounce fascist regimes... with crocodile tears.

Unions must truly reflect the will and determination of the workers. And the workers are the ones who must clean up their organizations and rid them of all the scum in leading posts. The State has no business interfering here. How could the State clean out the corrupt leaders in the unions when it relies on these same leaders to get us to swallow its crisis measures?

Unions controlled by the workers are organizations that do not tolerate any interference from the State, the enemy's repressive machinery. They are organizations that do not tolerate infiltration by the RCMP or other similar armed forces, and that do not associate with that kind of people. They are organizations led by leaders able and determined to defend them against all enemies, leaders who respect each members's right to express his point of view freely and abide by the decisions of the majority, leaders who will not desert as soon as the going gets rough.

Unions controlled by workers are organizations that do not

take orders from Washington or Detroit. They are organizations that control their finances and that can hold their elected leaders accountable for the things they do and the stands they take. They are organizations that defend the workers' policy, that oppose all forms of tripartism, that rely on the broadest possible mobilization of their forces, that work constantly to broaden support for their struggles and that encourage the greatest possible unity among workers in confronting the common enemy. They are organizations that refuse to line up behind any pro-capitalist party, even if it has a left-wing varnish. They are organizations that refuse to follow the parties that want the labour movement to take up a policy of support and reinforcement of Canadian capitalism.

Workers have no interest in supporting the NDP or any other bourgeois party. The only solution is to struggle today to resist the attacks of the capitalists and prepare to overthrow them.