

SPARTACIST

CANADA Jan. 1976 No.3 \$.25

NEW REACTIONARY IMMIGRATION LAWS LOOM

Hands off Douglas, Offley and Kurek !

There have recently been ominous signs that the governmental "debate" on the Green Paper immigration policy is drawing to its (foregone) conclusion, that is, the writing of new stringent immigration acts designed to "keep Canada white"-- and "safe for (bourgeois) democracy" by preventing "reds" from getting in or staying in. Particularly significant have been the anti-Arab campaign in the Globe and Mail in late October and the recent news coverage about pressure being exerted

by some immigration officials and the police to increase the use of "national security" certificates, designed to get rid of "subversives."

The usually staid and respectable Globe and Mail, Canada's major liberal-bourgeois newspaper, poor man's analogue to the United States' New York Times, published a series of vicious, yellow-journalist anti-Arab smear articles beginning on October 27 with the front-page scare headline,

(continued on page 12)'



TL CONTINGENT AT ANTI-DEPORTATION DEMONSTRATION, DECEMBER 6.

SC Photo

NDP Routed in B.C...7

UNION TOPS CAVE IN TO ANTI-LABOR OFFENSIVE

For Strikes to Smash the Wage Controls!

Amid escalating rank-and-file demands for militant action against Trudeau's wage-controls program, the three major provincial labor centers all held annual membership meetings during November and December. The conventions of the Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec Federations of Labor should have provided an opportunity for union members in the key industrial regions of the country to map out a strategy to decisively smash the government's anti-labor offensive. Instead, union militants were treated to a show of bureaucratic stage-management, as the provincial labor tops sought to suppress any and all opposition to their passive, no-win strategy.

Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL) president David Archer made front-page headlines across the province at the beginning of November, when the text of his opening address to the Federation's 19th annual convention was leaked to the press a few days early. The bourgeois media quoted in horror a section of Archer's speech which called upon unions to continue bargaining as if the controls did not exist, be "prepared to resist and, if necessary, to suffer whatever penalties that resistance entails."

Archer "clarified" his remarks at the 4 November opening session by affirming the OFL executive's support to the Canadian Labor Congress' (CLC) legalist scheme to oppose the controls by lobbying the federal government and conducting an "educational campaign." Calls by militants from the convention floor for a program of strike action against the controls were ignored, as the OFL tops cut off discussion of their wage-controls resolution after only one hour with many speakers still waiting at the microphones.

During the same week, leaders of the B. C. Federation of Labor (BCFL) were preoccupied by the unpleasant chore of convincing dissatisfied delegates to their convention to give all-out support to the strikebreaking NDP provincial government in its campaign for re-election. In the process of covering up NDP premier Dave Barrett's three years of anti-labor betrayals, the BCFL bureaucrats also attempted to sweep under the table his support (with "criticisms") of the federal wage restraints.

As in Ontario, the main left cover to the bureaucrats' toothless anti-wage-control strategy came from supporters of the views of the reformist Communist Party, who rhetorically denounced Trudeau's policies, in the name of a class-col-

laborationist "anti-monopoly coalition" and support to the CLC-backed "alternative." This perspective was most clearly stated by OFL delegate C. S. Jackson, president of the United Electrical Workers, who ended a rousing, demagogic speech with a call for a "mass lobby to Queen's Park [the Ontario Legislature]" around the CLC's grovelling program.

FTQ THROWS SUPPORT TO PARTI QUÉBÉCOIS

Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ--Fédération des Travailleurs du Quebec) president Louis Laberge donned, as is his wont, more "militant" garb than his bureaucratic *confrères* in English Canada, threatening to call a province-wide general strike against the wage controls. After much debate, delegates to the FTQ convention in early December passed a vague resolution which called for pressure tactics aimed at convincing the government to withdraw its legislation, while leaving the general strike in reserve as the Federation's "ultimate weapon."

This relatively "left" posture was designed to camouflage the FTQ tops' other important move of the convention--a decision to give full support to the petty-bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois in the next provincial election. Thus Laberge and company demonstrated once again the hollowness of their "anti-capitalist" rhetoric by directly tying militant Québécois workers to a petty-bourgeois party, rather than struggling for a workers party on a class-struggle program.

Despite a bumbling inability to actually pull its Anti-Inflation Board into functional shape, the government has demonstrated, particularly in the postal dispute, its intention to enforce the wage-restraints program. Today, they are preparing to move against striking Toronto teachers; tomorrow it will be railworkers and Quebec government employees.

The labor statesmen who are bleating their opposition to the program are the same bureaucrats who stood idly by while Postmaster-General Bryce Mackasey saw to the smashing of the Post Office strike. Only a militant program of strike action against the wage controls, presented as part of a class-struggle strategy to oust the Archer-Laberge labor tops and replace them with a genuinely anti-capitalist leadership, can ensure the defeat of Trudeau's anti-labor schemes. ■

'FOUR DAYS' OF LIBERAL CONFUSION- AARPR CONFERENCE FLOPS

TORONTO--The so-called "Four Days Against Racism," a conference sponsored by the Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression (AARPR) on December 4-7, produced four days of organizational bedlam, liberal moralism and sectarian refusal to debate the strategy and program for the fight against racism. For the pseudo-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), the dominant force in the AARPR, the conference signified not only a gigantic failure for the reformist project in which it had invested so much political capital in recent months, but also a clear turn to the right in terms of its own political perspectives. Whether the Alliance will survive this debacle remains to be seen. The RMG has emerged from the fiasco as a thoroughly discredited and cynical band of opportunists whose only "principle" seems to be intransigent opposition to the Trotskyist program.

The total failure of the conference to plan for any concrete actions against racial oppression, much less to develop a program and strategy to prosecute the struggle to the end, came as no surprise to the Trotskyist League. In a leaflet distributed at the conference, the TL observed:

"...the evolved 'common strategy' which the Alliance/RMG project as the outcome of their conference is not the programmatic cohesiveness which follows a definitive clarification of political differences, but the liberal/moralist fake 'unity' which comes from papering over these differences....far from being

a Leninist united front for common action, the Alliance is a bloc for political propaganda which is explicitly committed to a lowest-common-denominator reformist program."

(See SC No. 1, October, for a fuller critique of the AARPR program.)

The efforts of the Alliance/RMG to limit discussion to the implementation of their reformist program were frustrated throughout the conference by the consistent political struggle for a revolutionary, working-class perspective waged by members and supporters of the Trotskyist League.

TL: WIN NATIVE PEOPLE
TO SOCIALIST PROGRAM!

At the Thursday night session on native struggles, the TL, in contrast to the RMG and all other would-be revolutionaries in attendance, refused to accept the liberal notion that it would be "arrogant" for the "white left" to express differences with the invited native speakers, who, unhappily for the RMG, turned out to be rather conservative substitutes for the originally slated speakers, Louis Cameron and Tom Keesick, who failed to appear. The new speakers put forward a classless program of reforms without the benefit of militant rhetoric as camouflage. The full extent of the RMG's expressed political differentiation with the native speakers concerned the anti-working-class character of their demand to close down Dryden Chemical as a solution to the problem of mercury poisoning. Otherwise, the RMG was enthusiastically uncritical.

TL supporters, speaking from the floor, were alone in insisting that, while it was necessary to support reform demands that bettered the situation of native people, the only way to eradicate native oppression was through a socialist revolution in which native people would play a supportive role in relation to the working class. As against the utopian call for "self-determination" for a people who do not constitute a nation (a slogan strongly supported by the RMG), TLers argued for winning native people to a socialist perspective and for linking up their fight for liberation to the proletariat's fight against capitalism. (See "Native People in the N. W. T.," this issue, for a more complete discussion of the native question.)



SC Photo

"ARTWORK" AT UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA. RMG SHOWED SIMILAR "SERIOUS" ATTITUDE AT AARPR CONFERENCE.

(continued on page 4)

AARPR...

(continued from page 3)

MARXISM VS. UTOPIANISM ON IMMIGRATION

The featured speaker at the Friday night session on "Immigrant Labor and the Green Paper" was Tariq Ali, a leader of the fake-Trotskyist International Marxist Group (IMG) in Britain and darling of the RMG. Like the RMG, the IMG supports the centrist majority faction of the international rotten bloc known as the "United Secretariat." The purpose of Ali's speech was to lay the basis for winning the AARPR to the RMG's position of "open immigration." (With typical reformist, front-group logic, the RMG has gone to great pains developing a minimal program for the AARPR, so that "honest militants" are, presumably, first recruited to the Alliance and, as individuals become "ready," the RMG springs its maximum demands at them.)

Ali's argumentation in favor of "open immigration" implicitly viewed immigration as a non-transgressible democratic right. Responding to a TL spokesperson who pointed out that the democratic right to immigrate is sometimes superseded by higher democratic principles or class questions, Ali demagogically argued that the TL position constituted a sophisticated apology for discriminatory immigration policies. This filthy slander is given the lie by the consistent work the TL has done opposing racist, anti-communist and anti-working-class deportations, and in fighting against any immigration laws based on national, racial or sexual discrimination (see "New Reactionary Immigration Laws Loom," this issue). The TL does not support the general slogan "open immigration" because it is a utopian demand that spreads illusions about the nature of the bourgeois state.

Under capitalism, there are instances in which revolutionaries would actively oppose an "open immigration" policy: in a situation where right-wing refugees of a victorious social revolution are seeking asylum; in a case where the bourgeoisie is importing foreign workers with the express purpose of using them as scabs; in a situation as in Palestine in the 1930's and 1940's where a country is being flooded by another people whose goal is to dispossess the indigenous nation in order to establish a new exclusionist state, and so on.

Therefore, while revolutionaries oppose the quota system of bourgeois immigration policy and protest its fundamentally discriminatory and class-biased character, they must counterpose a series of concrete demands that specifically benefit the workers movement and the oppressed ("Open the Doors to Jewish Refugees" in the 1930's and 1940's, "Open the Doors to Chilean Refugees," "Close the Doors to Vietnamese 'Gusanos'," "No to the Deportation of the 'Illegal'

Haitian Immigrants," "Hands Off Rosie Douglas," etc.). The key general demand underlying these concrete demands is "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers! No Deportations!" Unfortunately, the TL was not permitted to respond to Ali's slanders at the Friday night session (one of the largest at the conference, with an attendance of 150-200), being advised instead to raise the question again in the Saturday afternoon workshops.

AARPR WRECKS CONFERENCE DAY RATHER THAN DEBATE TROTSKYISTS

The workshops, however, were cancelled at the last minute. The Alliance-sponsored noontime demonstration against the Green Paper and the deportation of Douglas was poorly attended, demonstrators numbering around 70. The RMG had been able to mobilize only about half of its Toronto membership for the event (after all, it was a little chilly outdoors...), and the disciplined TL contingent made up about 40 percent of the total forces. Following the picketing, the AARPR Steering Committee met briefly and then announced to those who had been demonstrating that if the workshops proceeded they would turn into (oh, no...) debates with the TL, given the "unfavorable" relationship of forces, and were thus being cancelled!

In an act of supreme political cynicism and cowardice, the AARPR/RMG preferred to sabotage the conference agenda and waste the time of those who had come out to attend the workshops, rather than risk a political debate with the TL which could have clarified the key issues of the struggle against racism in Canada.

TL HOLDS SUCCESSFUL FORUM

Angered by this burèaucratic maneuver, many of the independents who arrived for the workshops later attended the TL forum on "Racism, Deportations and the Class Struggle." About 45 people listened to speakers from the Trotskyist League, the Spartacist League of the United States and the Labor Struggle Caucus of United Auto Workers Local 6 in Chicago address the questions of racial oppression, immigration and labor/black defense against racist attacks from a class-struggle perspective. The three talks were followed by about two hours of lively political discussion in which everyone present was given the opportunity to voice his or her views freely.

RMG TAKES BARAKA TO TASK FOR "SECTARIANISM"

But the RMG's catastrophes were not over yet. The Sunday evening session, the last of the conference, completed the rout with the conference organizers running away from a debate with their own invited speaker, Imamu Amiri Baraka,

(continued on page 15)

DEMO AGAINST BUTCHER SPINOLA

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE TAKES INITIATIVE

TORONTO--On November 23 more than 200 militants demonstrated in protest against the visit of General Antonio de Spinoia, butcher of the peoples of Angola and Guinea-Bissau and aspiring Pinochet of Portugal. Demonstrators chanted slogans in English and Portuguese against the former Chief of Staff of Portugal's armed forces, who spoke to an audience of several hundred at the St. Lawrence Centre in a meeting sponsored by the CIA-backed "Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal." The anti-Spinola demonstrators were faced outside by a hostile crowd of nearly 1,300 right-wing Portuguese.

Spinola had been touring North America for a few weeks, speaking in centers of Portuguese immigration and negotiating further imperialist backing for his plans for a Chile-style restoration of bourgeois "order" in Portugal's volatile political situation. A Lisbon newspaper, Diario de Lisboa, recently reported that international monopolies have created a \$250 million slush fund to finance a Spinolaist right-wing coup, which would have as its goal the crushing of the combative Portuguese workers movement.

His tour took him to several U. S. cities, where he was met by protest demonstrations built in large part by the Spartacist League of the United States. Upon learning of Spinola's projected visit to Toronto, the Trotskyist League of Canada immediately issued a call for a united-front protest demonstration which was widely distributed throughout Toronto, including in the large Portuguese immigrant community. Shortly after the TL issued its united-front call the CP-supported Committee for a Democratic Portugal (CFDP) announced a separate demonstration for the same time--suggesting that Trotskyists would be excluded and that the demonstration would be "politically disciplined."

But the TL did not allow the Stalinists' sectarianism to prevent a forceful showing of united opposition to the butcher Spinola. When the TL showed up with a well-organized presence--clearly the largest single contingent at the demonstration besides the CFDP--the Stalinists made no attempt at exclusion.

INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS: OPPORTUNISM AND HYPOCRISY

The only other left group with an organized contingent at the demonstration was the Independent Socialists. Fifteen ISers carried placards reading

"Down with Spinola--Viva Portugal," "Spinola--Fascista," "Reaction Will Not Pass--Down with Spinola," "Canada Out of NATO--NATO Out of Portugal," "Victory to the MPLA" and "Support the Portuguese Revolution."

The first three liberal-nationalist slogans were identical to those carried by the CFDP contingent. The key questions of popular frontism, illusions in the "left-wing" bourgeois military officers and the need to split the army were not broached by these social democrats masquerading as revolutionaries.



TL CONTINGENT OPPOSES BUTCHER SPINOLA, NOV. 23

SC Photo

This is hardly surprising, as the IS' favorite Portuguese group has signed the 25 August popular-front agreement and supports the "left" wing of the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement; such is the meaning of the IS slogan, "Support the Portuguese Revolution."

That the IS raises the slogan, "Victory to the MPLA" (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), is consistent with its dishonest opportunism. Holding the erroneous, anti-communist position that Russia is state-capitalist-imperialist, the IS refuses to stand for defense of the USSR against imperialist attack. Yet when it comes to other Stalinist or Stalinist-backed formations (which the IS recognizes as such) that are very popular in petty-bourgeois radical circles, these consummate hypocrites change their tune. Thus the IS' counterpart in the U. S. called for victory to the NLF in Vietnam. The newest recipient of the IS' support is the petty-bourgeois MPLA, cur-

(continued on page 6)

SPINOLA...

(continued from page 5)

rently backed militarily by the supposedly "imperialist" USSR.

The TL calls for military support to the Soviet-supported MPLA, which is currently engaged in a struggle against the armies of UNITA and the FNLA; both of these latter groups are being backed militarily primarily by the United States and South Africa and, to a lesser extent, China. Essentially, the deformed Chinese workers state is presently playing the role of back-up man for an imperialist power play in Angola. At the same time that the TL calls for military support to the MPLA, it gives it no political support whatsoever, recognizing that the MPLA's bourgeois program does not differ qualitatively from that of the other Angolan "liberation" movements.

RMG AND LSA PLAY OSTRICH

The two main ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in Canada, the Revolutionary Marxist Group and the League for Socialist Action, failed to mobilize their members for this demonstration which was both of extreme political importance and in danger of right-wing attack. The RMG initially tentatively accepted the TL's call for a principled united front with freedom of propaganda, indicating only that it wanted to be sure the CP-supported "united front" would be politically exclusionary. The RMG apparently satisfied itself that this was the case and then decided in favor of cowardly liquidation, sending only token, unorganized forces without placards or banners, to the CFDP demonstration. For its

4 SPARTACIST canada

PUBLISHED BY THE SPARTACIST CANADA PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, BOX 6867, STATION A, TORONTO, ONTARIO

Editorial Board:

Murray Smith, Tom Riley, Cathy Nason

Production Manager: Peter Moreau

Subscriptions: \$2.00/year (11 issues)

Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Printed in a union shop by union labor.

part, the LSA elected to remain home in sectarian abstention.

In sharp contrast to these groups, the spirited TL contingent of 20 raised chants drawing a clear class line in the struggle against reaction and for workers power in Portugal. While the IS demanded "Support the Portuguese Revolution" and the Portuguese Democratic Association raised the reactionary-pacifist and implicitly class-collaborationist call for "No Civil War" in class-polarized Portugal, the TL carried placards and chanted such slogans as "Break with the MFA--Workers to Power in Portugal," "Smash Spinola--For a Military Bloc to Stop the Rightist Coup," "Split the Army, Arm the Workers--No Popular-Front Illusions" and "No to the 'MFA-People Alliance' --Class Against Class in Portugal!"

Several of these chants were taken up by Portuguese militants on the picket line, particularly toward the end when the demonstration marched from the St. Lawrence Centre to the front of the Royal York Hotel where TL spokesman Murray Smith addressed a section of the rally. About 40 people listened to Smith criticize those groups, such as the CP and the IS' and RMG's Portuguese fraternal organizations, which have politically supported sections of the MFA and left-posturing, strike-breaking capitalist governments. Smith called upon aspiring Portuguese revolutionaries to struggle for a program of class independence and workers revolution. Only a revolutionary Trotskyist party, which draws upon the lessons of working-class history, can guide the victory of the Portuguese proletariat and do away with the General Spinolas of this world. ■

SUBSCRIBE!

SPARTACIST CANADA

Name: _____

Address: _____

City/Province: _____

Telephone: _____

Enclosed is \$2.00 for 11 issues (one year).
Make check out/mail to: Spartacist Canada
Publishing Association, Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario.

NOW MONTHLY

NDP ROUTED IN B.C. ELECTIONS

Right Wing Victorious in Aftermath of Social Democrats' Betrayals

On December 11, British Columbia's first New Democratic Party government was swept out of office by the bourgeois Social Credit Party after three years of social-democratic rule. The NDP lost 20 of the 37 seats it had held in the 55-seat Provincial Assembly, as the right-wing Socreds capitalized on the collapse of the provincial Liberal and Progressive Conservative organizations to grab 36 seats and return to power. NDP Premier Dave Barrett suffered the personal embarrassment of losing his home riding of Coquitlam to one George Kerster, an unknown Socred used-car dealer (pending the outcome of a recount).

Barrett and the NDP chose to fight the election on their demonstrated ability to provide "strong leadership for B. C."--i. e., their ability to control the province's volatile trade-union movement. Gone was the anti-capitalist rhetoric of the old, oppositional days, as the NDP fastidiously cultivated a campaign image of such "reasonableness" as to compel even the bourgeois media to encase the party's "socialism" in quotation marks.

The Socreds and the big-business dailies no longer sought to play up their usual anti-labor theme against the NDP in this election, however--and for good reason. After the government's passage on October 7 of Bill 146 which smashed the strikes of 60,000 workers in the biggest single strikebreaking act in B. C. history, no one in the province (least of all those unionists legislated back to work!) would have swallowed the old story about Barrett being a "puppet" in the hands of the trade-union leadership.

Ironically enough it was Barrett's very success in "taming" the B. C. labor movement that contributed to his downfall. With the once-powerful trade-union movement in a state of disarray and demoralization brought on by the NDP's attacks and the labor tops' failure to respond, the social democrats' period of usefulness to the bourgeoisie had come to an end. In addition, the NDP's anti-labor policies undercut its support among its historical electoral base, the B. C. working class. Where the 1972 campaign featured widespread active campaigning by trade unionists on the NDP's behalf, this year endorsement by the union bureaucracy was formal and unenthusiastic, while rank-and-file support was passive and cynical at best.

The Socred campaign capitalized on the fact that

the NDP had had the misfortune of holding power during three years of deteriorating economic conditions, marked by increasing unemployment and inflation. By regrouping Liberal and Conservative supporters (including four of their seven MLA's) who sought to forge right-wing "unity" in order to prevent the NDP from gaining a second term of office, a refurbished version of the party that governed B. C. for more than two decades before 1972 was able to increase its popular support from 31 to 49 percent and return to power.

TL: NO VOTE TO THE NDP STRIKEBREAKERS!

The Trotskyist League propaganda in the elections was aimed at those advanced workers who were disgusted by Bill 146 and the other strikebreaking activities of the NDP government. The TL's intervention in the campaign, which included mass leafletting and a public forum in Vancouver on December 6, centered on the call for no electoral support to the NDP strikebreakers and clearly posed the necessity of a revolutionary alternative to the social democrats' anti-working-class treachery.

Revolutionaries approach bourgeois elections with the perspective of breaking workers from their loyalty to reformist betrayers like the NDP in order to win them to a revolutionary program. In the 1972 election, when the masses of workers believed that the NDP would rule in their interests and because the party was running organizationally independently of the bourgeoisie, the best way of exposing its true nature would have been through a tactic of critical support aimed at putting it in office and exposing its betrayals in practice.

The recent election, however, took place under very different circumstances. The NDP had been in power for three years, during which time it repeatedly attacked the most elementary rights of the trade-union movement. Following Bill 146, the true nature of the social-democratic NDP has been amply demonstrated--the B. C. working class has today very few illusions in the NDP's capacity or intention to consistently defend workers' interests and only votes NDP in the absence of a genuine alternative. NDP campaign speeches at many union meetings, notably the B. C. Federation of Labor convention, were marked by walkouts of

(continued on page 13)

NATIVE PEOPLE IN THE N.W.T.

A MARXIST ANALYSIS

The Northwest Territories came into prominence in the news last year with reports that the Arctic Gas Company planned to pass a 2,500-mile-long oil pipeline from Alaska to the northwestern United States, across the Mackenzie Valley. This plan has met with resistance from the native people of the Northwest Territories who have demanded that the federal government sign a treaty recognizing native rights to the land on which they are now living before any work on the Canadian pipeline begins.

Taking into account the natural richness of the Northwest Territories, there is not any way that the natives by themselves will be able to prevent the profit-hungry gas companies from taking it over. According to the Geological Survey of Canada there are more than 28 billion barrels of oil and over 343 trillion cubic feet of natural gas in the area.

In August 1974 in a meeting in Fort Good Hope the "Federation of the 60," a roof organization of native people's brotherhoods in the Northwest Territories (so called because of the 60° parallel



RCMP RIOTS AT NATIVES' DEMONSTRATION, PARLIAMENT HILL, SEPTEMBER 1974.

passing between the old and new Northwest Territories), raised the demand that the government grant them 435,000 square miles as recognized native territory. The slogan they raised--"Land, Not Money"--expresses their opinion on the arrangement arrived at between the U.S. government and the native people of Alaska, and between the Canadian government and the natives of James Bay.

Alaska, whose native population is today estimat-

ed at over 75,000, was sold to the American bourgeoisie by the Russian autocracy in 1867; the opinion of the native people living there was of course not solicited. Around 1966 it became apparent to the Alaska Native Association that large land tracts on the northern slope of the Brook Range were being opened to oil and gas companies. The Association began lobbying the U.S. Congress for their rights to the land, hoping to get a good bargain from the Nixon administration.

Three bills centering on land claims were presented to Congress in 1971: S35, sponsored by the reactionary Henry Jackson, requesting 10 million acres; S835, sponsored by Fred Harris, requesting 40 million acres; and S1571, introduced by the Native Association, asking for 60 million. All of these bills were voted down; instead the natives were granted compensation for the land--\$962.5 million to be parcelled out to the natives by 12 regional corporations set up by the government. This was the precedent that the Liberal federal government used in James Bay.

NATIVE LAND CLAIMS TO THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

The demand for 435,000 square miles in the Northwest Territories may appear to be a large request, but this is no more land than the natives are presently living on and making their livelihood from. The fact that such a small population requires such a large amount of territory for subsistence reflects on the inefficiency and waste of the primitive mode of production.

Marxists, however, must defend the natives' democratic right to retain the land they are living on and using, as against the greedy plans of the gas and oil companies to use it for their own profit motives. We defend the natives' claims not because we have any illusions about the value of the primitive mode of production but because we know that if the capitalists are permitted to drive the natives off the land, the natives' situation will be qualitatively worsened. There can be no illusions that the capitalists will adhere to some benign plan to better the natives' plight once the land has been secured for the pipeline. The meaning of bourgeois "charity" is dramatically illustrated by the wretched situation prevailing in the ghetto-reservations set up for native people.

Unlike many liberals and pseudo-revolutionaries, Marxists do not romanticize the life of native people in the Northwest Territories. The only

way out of their extreme poverty is full integration into the Canadian workforce and a linking of the struggle against the oppression of natives to labor's struggle against capital. It is necessary to support any reforms leading even minimally toward integration, pointing out that full integration is not realizable under capitalism. In Canada, native people have long served the function of a reserve army of labor, to be used when labor is scarce and shunted back to the welfare and unemployed rolls during times of economic crisis such as the present. The focus of a fight to integrate native people into the workforce must be the trade unions; militants must call for full employment through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, programs to organize the unorganized and to recruit minorities for previously exclusive job categories and skill-upgrading courses.

A NATIVE NATION IN THE NORTH ?

Last year, the then-president of the Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood, James Wah-Shee, motivated land claims with Canadian-nationalist arguments, e. g., it will be in Canadian national interests to allow natives to retain their way of life and, furthermore, that the pipeline is not a Canadian project (Globe and Mail, 27 November 1974). This past summer, the Brotherhood shifted its arguments, claiming that the Northwest Territories should be given the right to self-determination.

This turn toward "native nationalism" was no doubt at least partly motivated by the federal government's answer to the natives' Canadian-nationalist arguments, namely, that the oil pipeline project would have a "90 percent Canadian content... especially in engineering and administration" (Globe and Mail, 26 January 1975). In a meeting at Fort Simpson from 17 to 23 July the Brotherhood's Joint Assembly announced the existence of the Dene Nation composed of four tribes: the Loucheaux, Dogrib (Wah-Shee's tribe), Slavey and the Chippewah.

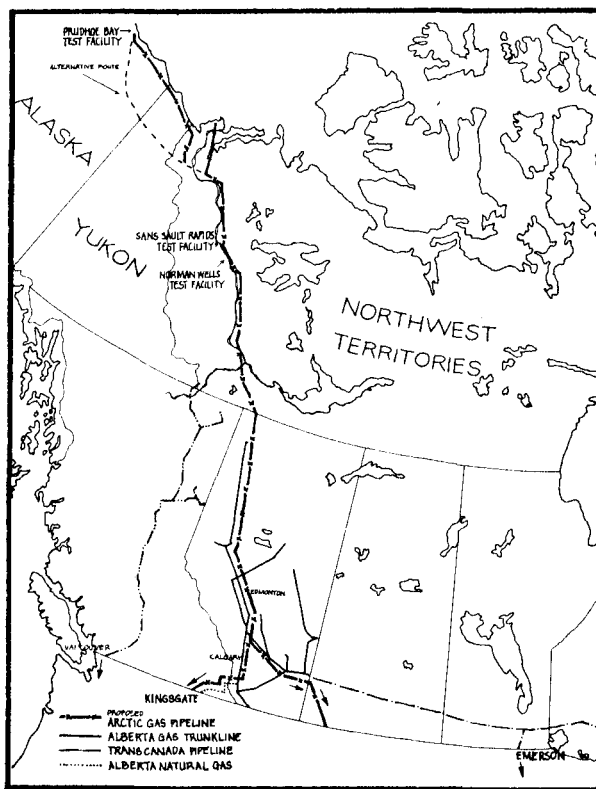
While Marxists can defend native land claims as long as they do not involve forced transportation of non-native populations or infringe upon democratic rights of non-natives in the area, we can in no way defend the utopian-reactionary idea that the natives of the Northwest Territories compose a nation that should have the right to self-determination.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS

The appearance of nations in history was not caused by nationalist ideology or nationalist feelings; rather, nationalist ideology developed in order to justify bourgeois interests at a time when the atomized political-economic units of feudal production stood counterposed to development of capitalist industrialization and a market economy.

In 1913, Stalin under Lenin's tutelage outlined

certain criteria that characterize a nation: common territory, language and culture and a potentially separate political economy. These are not arbitrary criteria, but reflect the aspects characterizing the historical development of nations. The native tribes never went through a historical period of national development, but have remained at the pre-capitalist, pre-feudalist, pre-slave-economy stage of tribalism. The various tribes have widely different languages and cultural patterns, and the atomized economic life of tribalism,



based on the primitive mode of production, hardly lays the basis for a unified separate political economy. Natives in the Northwest Territories are not a nation, but a segregated racial caste, existing outside of the production process.

It is important to distinguish between defense of native land claims and ownership of the area's oil and natural gas deposits. Some of the "theorists" of native nationhood have pointed to the rich natural resources to prove that the Territories have the basis for an independent political economy. As has already been demonstrated, this is utopian nonsense: the natives have neither the capital, nor the means of production nor the skilled labor to exploit the oil and gas to their benefit. And even without the mystification about "nationhood," any classless call for native expropriation of the oil along with the land has nothing whatsoever to do with Marxism and is merely a call for the creation of a native bourgeoisie to exploit and oppress the native masses. It is necessary for workers in the oil and gas industries to call for proletarian

(continued on page 10)

NATIVE PEOPLE...

(continued from page 9)

expropriation of those industries and workers control; this demand must be extended to ownership and exploitation of the natural resources upon which the industry depends.

NATIVE "ZIONISM"?

There is a partial analogy in the natives' situation to that of blacks in the U. S. who are also a racial caste, but are however generally integrated into the working class, at the bottom. Another analogy, in terms of drawing political lessons (without suggesting any parallel in terms of historical development) is the situation of the East European Jews at the end of the 19th century and into the 20th. The Jews, who were not a nation but a caste, had been forced out of production by the bourgeoisie and were heavily persecuted; the only real solution for them was assimilation, a solution which was linked to the success of a socialist revolution.

Instead the "solution" that was found was through the growth of the reactionary ideology of Zionism and the establishment of the state of Israel, a state based on the class oppression of the Jewish and Arab proletariat and the national oppression of the Palestinians and itself a potential death trap for the Jews. In no way has it "solved" anything. The victory of the Zionist movement was due to the horrible defeats of the working class in the 1930's, which opened the way for WWII and the establishment of Israel.

Today reactionary-utopian ideologies like Zionism find reflection in such movements as U. S. black nationalism and the nationalism of native people in Canada. That historical tragedies are replayed in history as farce is an expression oft-used by Marxists. While it is remotely conceivable that certain unusual circumstances could lead to a black "Zionist" state within North America (e. g., via a successful military invasion of the U. S. by another major imperialist power and a subsequent "balkanization"), such historical possibilities are worse than jokes in relation to the miserably poor, atomized tribes of native people in Canada. In addition to the impossibility of creating a "national" entity of native people, such an entity would be face to face with the Canadian advanced industrial society and its culture, not with an underdeveloped, poor-peasant economy like that of the Palestinians.

Native people in Canada suffer severe oppression, but the way out of it is not through pie-in-the-sky native "Zionism" or romanticization of a life of poverty, but through integration into the workforce and a militant, classwide struggle against the oppression of all racial and national minorities.

REGIONAL AUTONOMY

Marxists do not advocate regional autonomy under capitalism. Such "regional autonomy" (like "community control") is merely a class-collaborationist call for the development of a native bourgeoisie and concomitant policing apparatus. It is put forward by careerist petty-bourgeois elements in the native community who seek to better their own position at the expense of their fellows by convincing them that oppression by native capitalists and native cops is nicer than the current situation. Panting at the heels of such careerists are opportunist left organizations like the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) which supported a resolution calling for native cops in native communities at the November Ontario Federation of Labor convention.

In a workers state, however, it would be correct to grant regional autonomy, if requested by the area population, in places like the Northwest Territories. At the same time, the workers state would set up programs seeking the full, voluntary integration of native people into the production process. Such programs would not try to do away with the unique elements of native culture, but would seek to preserve them for the benefit of society as a whole.

This was the policy of the Bolsheviks toward the nomadic tribes in Siberia, e. g., the Turkish-speaking Kazakhs. The Soviet government granted regional autonomy to Kazakhstan, in contrast to the Stalinist policy of forced assimilation.

THE PSEUDO-TROTSKYISTS ON THE NATIVE QUESTION

The League for Socialist Action, which belongs to the reformist wing of the international rotten bloc known as the "United" Secretariat, is the most consistent advocate of native nationalism. In a pamphlet written by Dick Fidler in 1970 entitled Red Power in Canada, the LSA demonstrates in the most cynical way its endorsement of the mystical-idealist Bauer school of Austro-Marxism (which advocated "cultural autonomy," understanding "culture" to be basically psychologically-derived) in its rush to endorse the Indian Brotherhood's program for policing the ghetto-reservations of the bourgeois state:

"But, some socialists [e. g., V. I. Lenin] might object, surely you are not saying that the Indians constitute a 'nation'? Don't they lack the normal attributes of a nation as it is commonly understood? They have no common territory, no common language, no distinct viable economic life and their cultural and historical traditions, while picturesque, have little relevance to a complex industrial society. Or so the argument goes...."

The LSA answers the question it poses for itself by denying the Marxist definition of nationhood: "Regardless of this or that formal criterion, the key question is how the Indians see themselves." With such a criterion, it is no wonder that the LSA goes beyond the Pabloist division of the world into three epicenters to the discovery of yet a fourth. The 3 November 1975 Labor Challenge reprints admiringly the Dene Nation's declaration of its right to self-determination:

"...we the Dene are part of the fourth world, and as the people and nations of the world come to recognize the existence and rights of the people who make up the third world, the day must come and will come when the nations of the fourth world will come to be recognized and respected...."

It would be a mistake to believe that the only damage the LSA's perspective can cause is the transformation of Marxist theory into bizarre mysticism. The only perspective in fact that the LSA can offer the isolated native tribes is a race war whose outcome would be native genocide.

The RMG tails the more radical nationalists, rejecting the LSA's position that "consistent nationalism is revolutionary" in favor of "nationalism plus anti-capitalist rhetoric is revolutionary." In an effort to make political capital out of the issue of mercury poisoning in the Dryden area, the October 1975 Old Mole notes correctly that this poisoning is the result of the murderous profit drive of the capitalist Dryden Chemical, Pulp and Paper Industries. But instead of offering a program to link the native people's struggle against this oppression to the working-class struggle for socialist revolution, the RMG hails native nationalism as part of the "anti-capitalist" struggle:

"...militant natives like Tom Keesick of the Ojibway Warriors Society no longer are willing to wait for the government or passive sympathy. They have begun to organize active support and are doing it in the context of a rising national native people's movement struggling for its right of self-determination. For them the fight against the Minamata disease is not just one more issue on the bandwagon for pollution reforms--instead it takes on a clearly anti-capitalist character." --emphasis added

No matter how much the RMG claims that the "Fourth International" stopped being Pabloist when Pablo left, it continues the objectivist methodology of Pablo which holds that petty-bourgeois forces can substitute for the working class and that any group fighting against its oppression (no matter what its program) has some automatic anti-capitalist "dynamic." While Pablo-supported movements like the Algerian FLN were able to take power and govern a bourgeois state (contrary to Pablo's prediction that the FLN would lead the Algerian socialist revolution), the natives are not even in a position to carry out an "independent," "nationalist" struggle.

Furthermore, far from the "progressive," "anti-capitalist" character the RMG ascribes to the native struggle for "self-determination," the struggle as presently defined is based on a program for native people to go backward--the idealization of the natives' present way of life, the demands for native bureaucrats to replace existing government bureaucrats and the mystical conceptions of nationhood are a block to liberation for native people. Marxists seek to break native militants from this strategy of stagnation and historical retreat, and win them to the proletarian fight for socialism.

The Leninist party, as the tribune of the people, fights against all aspects of the oppression of racial and national minorities and women. It is necessary to support reforms that may even minimally benefit native people, such as increased welfare benefits and unemployment insurance, better housing, food subsidies, and so on. At the same time it must be pointed out that when the government grants such reforms, it is only with an eye toward preventing the genuine liberation from oppression that can only come from an alliance between such oppressed layers and the revolutionary proletariat. Petty-bourgeois careerists and honest, misled militants who call for regional autonomy or national self-determination only play into the hands of bourgeois politicians who hope to maintain racial and national antagonisms in their efforts to prevent unity of the oppressed.

The key to fighting the oppression of native people is a fight within the trade unions for full employment through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, organization of the unorganized, an end to discrimination in hiring and firing, and the development of special minority recruitment and skill-upgrading programs. The current reformist bureaucratic union tops will never carry out such a program. It is necessary to construct class-struggle caucuses in the unions that will pose as an alternative leadership and will fight for workers interests--for expropriation of industry, for workers control and for a genuine workers government.

The construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party is key. Only under the leadership of such a party can a class-struggle fight against the reformists be carried out. A Trotskyist party would develop special methods of work for recruitment of native people and other racial and national minorities and for work among these oppressed sectors. In Canada a revolutionary party would need to construct a special section to carry out work among native people, a section which would be organizationally independent but politically subordinate to the party. The road to the liberation of the oppressed is not through the creation of a multitude of pseudo-vanguard organizations, but through the creation of one proletarian-revolutionary vanguard party which will unite under its banner all the oppressed, linking their struggles to the key struggle of labor against capital. ■

PHILIP RICHARDS AND SUSAN CARLSON

Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

"RCMP Probes Plot to Support Terrorists at Olympics." The long article, which announced the discovery of a "conspiracy by at least 14 Arab Canadians to assist in an act of terrorism at the Olympic games in Montreal next year," was replete with lurid, unsubstantiated reports casting suspicion on all Arab organizations in Canada and, at least by implication, all Arab-Canadians and other Arabs in Canada. There was not one single hard fact in the entire article.

This was followed the very next day by a major article concerning legislation about to go for approval before the Cabinet which would "give immigration officers power without right of appeal to refuse entry to any foreigner they suspect of terrorism." Immigration officers would be able "to turn back a visitor without recourse to legal counsel or formal deportation hearing" (Globe and Mail, 28 October). This article was featured alongside follow-up stories on the Arab "plot," which was also alluded to in the former article.

OLYMPIC GAMES: PRETEXT FOR NEW ANTI-"TERROR" LAWS

The anti-"terror," anti-Arab campaign could serve to kill two birds with one stone, simultaneously raking up sentiment against racial minorities and "subversives." This filth only makes explicit the somewhat veiled racism of the Green Paper, which speaks of preventing population problems and urban tensions, keeping unskilled labor from flooding Canada and "adding" to its unemployment problem, preserving Canadian bilingualism and so on down the list of algebraic formulae for a racist, anti-communist immigration policy. The coming Montreal Olympic games provide the Canadian government with a convenient excuse for passing legislation which can then be used in a widespread manner against all "undesirables."

Shortly after the "Arab plot" series and reports of proposed stricter border-entry legislation, news reports appeared describing sentiment in official quarters for broadening the usage of "national security" certificates. The issuance of such a certificate does not automatically mean deportation, but it takes away the Immigration Appeal Board's right to admit on "humanitarian or compassionate grounds" (e.g., if the applicant's spouse, parents or children reside in Canada, if deportation would bring severe hardship to the applicant in the country to which he/she is to be deported) any applicant who endangers the "national interest" (Globe and Mail, 5 November). Canadian law--presently--has more pretty twists and turns than the expressly anti-communist U.S. statutes, but the laws are used to the same end if --up until now--not as frequently as in the U.S.

Since the provision regarding "national security" certificates became law in 1967, approximately 45 have been issued, 15 for involvement in "organized crime" and the rest, twice as many, for "subversive activities" (Globe and Mail, 5 November).

HANDS OFF DOUGLAS, OFFLEY AND KUREK!

It is this law which is being used in the current, well-known government campaign to deport black militant Rosie Douglas (see "Hands Off Rosie Douglas!", SC, November-December), in the lesser-known cases of Will Offley and Paul Kurek, and in numerous other cases which have not been publicized.

Will Offley left the U.S. in 1966, out of his opposition to the Vietnam War. In 1971 he was granted citizenship by a local court and this was overturned by the Secretary of State in 1973 on grounds that Offley was a threat to "national security"--no detailed explanation has yet been offered. Offley has been active in the Canadian left for years and is currently a declared supporter of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). Having renounced his U.S. citizenship in 1967, he cannot return to the U.S. As a stateless landed immigrant, he cannot leave Canada, as he has been refused every form of travel document issued by the Canadian government.

It is in the interests of the entire left and workers movement and all members of racial and national minorities to demand that Will Offley immediately be granted full Canadian citizenship! (A Will Offley Defence Committee has been formed and financial donations and offers to assist in publicizing the case can be made by writing to the Committee, c/o Sociology Department, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.)

Paul Kurek received landed immigrant status in 1970; he too was among the anti-Vietnam War immigrants from the U.S., though he did not renounce his U.S. citizenship. In April 1971 he was arrested during a Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) demonstration in Montreal against the Vietnam War and was convicted of "illegal assembly" (Globe and Mail, 14 March 1975). Kurek has stated that he has never been a member of CPC(M-L). In 1972 he was ordered deported from Canada for "national security" reasons. His lawyer, Paul Copeland, told an SC reporter that, despite the long court case, Kurek was deported on 31 October 1975. Kurek has a wife living in Canada who is a landed immigrant eligible for citizenship in August. The Kureks' two-year-old son is Canadian-born. Kurek's case is still being appealed in the courts. The call must be raised to reverse the deportation order and grant full Canadian citizenship to Paul Kurek!

FOR BROAD, MILITANT DEFENSE CAMPAIGNS!

The Trotskyist League has sharp political differ-

ences with the "third-worldist" reformism of Douglas, the Maoist reformism of CPC(M-L) and the centrist pseudo-Trotskyism of the RMG. Nevertheless we recognize attacks on these groups as attacks on the left as a whole and stand in resolute solidarity with them against the bourgeoisie. This is the elementary duty of all organizations in the workers movement!

It is not enough to fight such cases in the courts; the courts are instruments of bourgeois rule, not objective agents of "justice." While it is necessary to use the courts, the focus of defense campaigns must be broad mobilizations through demonstrations and other activities of the left and workers movement and other oppressed and exploited layers of the Canadian population. Gaining active support from the trade unions is of particular importance. Suffice it to point out that the widespread publicity from demonstrations and other activities in defense of Rosie Douglas has been significant in achieving delays and new appeals and preventing, thus far, his deportation. The Kurek case had been little publicized and his recent deportation was on the same grounds of "national security" now being used in the Douglas case.

SC pointed to the reasons for the step-up in deportations and the move toward stricter immigration laws in its October issue ("Not Liberal Dead-Endism But... A Class-Struggle Fight Against Racial Oppression!"):

"In the face of economic crisis, capitalists internationally are seeking to 'export' their unemployment, get rid of political 'undesirables,' and divide along racial and national lines a working class forced to bear the brunt of the economic hard times. National and racial minorities in Canada--immigrants, blacks, native people--are being scapegoated to prevent a united struggle of the labor movement against the bourgeoisie."

The government's Green Paper, the Globe's anti-Arab campaign, the recent reports of stiffened immigration laws against "non-whites" and "reds," and the attempts to deport or deny citizenship to militants like Douglas, Offley and Kurek should flash like a neon danger sign in the face of workers, left militants and minorities. It is necessary to mount bold, broad campaigns to beat back these racist and anti-communist attacks. ■

NDP ROUTED...

(continued from page 7)

militant workers who only three years ago were greeting Barrett with standing ovations.

Barrett himself put his finger on it: "What we want to know is if the people are ready to back us on tough action" (Vancouver Province, 10 November 1975)--the crucial issue in the B. C. elections was strikebreaking. A call for a vote to the NDP on December 11 could only have been seen as a

call to give the Premier the mandate he sought--to continue to enact anti-labor legislation and break strikes. Support to the social democracy in this election would have been a position of mindless tailism, having nothing in common with the Marxist tactic of critical support.

OPPORTUNISTS COVER FOR BARRETT

Predictably, most of the ostensibly socialist organizations in B. C. did fall mindlessly into line behind the B. C. Federation of Labor bureaucracy in supporting the re-election of the NDP. The largest of these organizations, the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP), ran 13 candidates on its familiar anti-monopoly program which essentially amounts to a call for the creation of a popular-front government composed of the CP, the NDP and the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. The TL gave no support to these Stalinist reformists nor to their class-collaborationist program.

Both wings of the dis-"United Secretariat" in Canada, the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA) also ran candidates in the elections, at the same time calling for a vote to the NDP.

As a small social-democratic propaganda group in a country which already has a mass social-democratic party, the small-time Kautskyites of the LSA had to content themselves with being the best waterboys for the treacherous NDP bureaucrats. The LSA's program highlighted a call to "win the NDP to a socialist course," and also contained a list of reforms intermingled with vague references to the desirability of achieving socialism at some point in the indefinite future. The LSA's electoral campaign boiled down to an attempt to convince the workers of B. C. that socialism could be achieved by a two-stage struggle: first, replacement of the current leadership of the NDP with a more "progressive" set of fakers and, second, to vote these new improved social democrats into office.

The RMG's election campaign reflected its strategic perspective of tailing the episodic motion of various non-proletarian and reformist "mass movements." The RMG election program was a compendium of specially tailored reformist programs for each of the "sectors" to which they were hoping to appeal (women, students, immigrants and native people), garnished with a few references to a "democratically-controlled workers government."

Insofar as the RMG addressed the working class, it was to counsel that the capitalist offensive against the labor movement could best be met by pressuring the trade-union bureaucracy: "... the B. C. union brass will have to be pushed very hard [!] to adequately [!] respond to federal and provincial anti-labor policies" (B.C. Militant, December 1975). In a wilfull capitulation to the anti-communist prejudices of the masses, the

(continued on page 15)

Postal Strike...

(continued from page 16)

for Vancouver where it was narrowly against. While the vote in Ontario was generally in favor of the settlement, there were a number of exceptions, notably the local in the predominantly working-class township of Sudbury, which voted to reject the settlement.

The CUPW tops refused to take the lead in a mobilization of organized labor against the controls, making no attempts whatsoever to obtain support from other unions. For its part, the rest of organized labor made no moves to defend the striking inside postal workers. The Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) carried out its previously arranged mutual scabbing agreement with the CUPW and crossed picket lines early in the strike while there was still a mail accumulation and later to deliver government pension checks. The Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) sat in criminal passivity during most of the strike, only entering the picture late, as a "mediator," in order to facilitate the CUPW's wholesale acceptance of the boss's cutthroat offer. The CLC raised not a murmur during Mackasey's vicious, explicit campaign to break the CUPW through scabherding.

EXPEL THE SCABS FROM THE UNION!

Barred from voting in all locals were those who had scabbed during the strike. In some locals, e.g., Vancouver, those who had scabbed were suspended from the union. Peter Whitaker, president of the Vancouver local, declared that the scabs will not be taken back into the union, because "a scab's a scab" (Montreal Star, 1 December). This anti-scab position is correct: militants must fight in their membership meetings for expulsion from the union for the small percentage of workers who became strikebreakers, i.e., who crossed the class line and sided with the bosses during the strike.

BUREAUCRACY'S HISTORY OF BETRAYAL

When the CUPW strike began, the Trotskyist League issued a national leaflet entitled "Victory to the CUPW Strike! For Strikes to Smash the Wage Controls!" outlining the strategy for a successful strike and the breaking of the controls. At the 2 December ratification-vote meeting in Toronto, the TL distributed flyers urging the workers to "Vote 'No' to the Sellout" (the TL distribution was reported in the 3 December Globe and Mail). The TL leaflet detailed the union tops' history of betrayal that led to the proposed settlement:

"If CUPW should go down to defeat, responsibility lies primarily on the shoulders of the Davidson/Parrot national leadership and their

local henchmen, who did nothing to prepare the union ranks for the difficult struggle with the government which they were facing. Late last year the bureaucrats disaffiliated from their joint bargaining agent with the LCUC, the Council of Postal Unions, subsequently launching an abortive raiding drive on LCUC drivers and carriers. This left postal workers divided and without contractual protection in the face of MAPP. The CUPW-LCUC tops' turf war led them to enact a criminal mutual scabbing agreement for the current strike, rather than launching the necessary joint struggle for one contract as a step toward a democratic merger."

The leaflet dealt with the opportunist, short-sighted behavior of various ostensible union oppositionists, including supporters of the economist Postal Action Committee (PAC) and the pseudo-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), who rushed to support Davidson's initial radical-sounding program, failing to point out that it provided no real solution to the casuals problem, dealt only inadequately with automation and put forward no perspective for struggle against anti-labor legislation or for merger--precisely the four most important issues facing the CUPW membership! Furthermore, these so-called "oppositionists" failed to warn the ranks that even the bureaucrats' inadequate but militant-sounding program would never be really fought for--based on the union tops' consistent history of betrayal.

PAC, RMG SUPPORTERS VOTE "CONFIDENCE" IN BUREAUCRACY

Thus at the 8 November Toronto local meeting, according to workers interviewed by SC, members of PAC and supporters of the views of the RMG voted confidence in the national union leadership (!), while voting correctly not to return to work. These stumbling tailists failed to see that the ranks' lack of confidence in the union bureaucracy stemmed from its series of cowardly capitulations to Mackasey in the negotiations. A class-struggle opposition in the CUPW would have voted not to return to work, "no confidence" in the leadership, and demanded open negotiations with a new, democratically elected union negotiating team.

Throughout the strike the TL has repeatedly pointed to the program necessary to defend the union: for a closed shop and union hiring hall (no "casual," non-union labor!), for a full cost-of-living escalator in addition to the 71 percent wage increase, for the right to strike during the life of a contract, abolish anti-labor automation schemes, for automation plans to benefit the workers, not the capitalists--linked to the demand for full employment through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, down with all anti-labor legislation such as the PSSRA, for a democratic merger of all

postal unions, for abolition of all wage guidelines, and for the rehiring at full back pay of the Montreal workers fired last spring for protesting the use of casual labor. To win these demands, it would have been necessary to call an immediate national strike of all postal unions, to demand that labor leave the class-collaborationist federal Labor Relations Council, and to mount a campaign mobilizing organized labor for strike action against the wage controls.

Postal workers must learn the bitter lessons of this betrayal by the bureaucrats and the no-win actions of their left hangers-on. An alternative leadership must be constructed, a leadership that will fight intransigently on a class-struggle program in defense of proletarian interests, a program calling for expropriation of all capitalist industry without compensation, for workers control and for a genuine workers government. ■

AARPR...

(continued from page 4)

who, in a comparatively "refreshing" performance when contrasted to the RMG, refused to liquidate his Maoist politics one iota in favor of cozying up to his would-be Trotskyist sponsors. The final speaker of the four-day conference, Baraka briefly alluded to his assigned subject, racism, by noting that it is rooted in imperialist capitalism. He then proceeded to unfurl his Maoist, third-worldist program and analysis of the contradictions of imperialism, characterizing the contradiction between the "third world" and the "super powers" (the U. S. and the USSR) as the "principle contradiction," singling out the USSR for special attack as a "social-imperialist" power, and calling for a pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet regime in Angola.

After constructing a platform for this booster of Stalin and arch-anti-Trotskyist, Bret Smiley of the RMG and Tariq Ali could only respond with incredulous whines about "sectarianism" and by explaining the "incompatibility" of political debate with the united front! While throwing in a few criticisms of Chinese foreign policy, neither of these wretched posturers who besmear the banner of Trotskyism answered Baraka by calling for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism or denouncing Baraka's slanderous characterization of the USSR as an imperialist super power. Neither did they attempt to expose the wretched record of Baraka's Congress of Afrikan People in attempting to build popular-frontist alliances with black Democrats in the U. S.

No TL supporters were recognized from the floor. The discussion was cut short when a Maoist supporter of Canadian Revolution attempted to speak from the floor. The TL vigorously defended his right to speak, but all he managed to say before the meeting was summarily adjourned was that "the Trotskyist League are the only true Trotskyists" and "the RMG is a bunch of chicken-shits afraid to debate." It was a fitting epitaph to the conference. ■

ndp routed...

(continued from page 13)

RMG roundly denounced the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies of China and the USSR, ignoring the Trotskyist position, namely, unconditional defense of these states against imperialist attack and political revolution to oust the bureaucrats.

While pointing out that neither the LSA nor the RMG represented a revolutionary alternative, the TL called for critical support to their candidates as the only way in which working-class militants could register both an anti-capitalist and anti-strikebreaking vote in the election. However, as the TL noted throughout the campaign, these groups, with their reformist electoral programs and support to the NDP strikebreakers, can in no sense provide the necessary revolutionary alternative to social-democratic cretinism. Only a Trotskyist vanguard party, forged in hard programmatic struggle against the current reformist misleaders of the working class and their opportunist hangers-on, can show the way forward for the working class in B. C. and across Canada. ■



trotskyist league

CLASS SERIES

TORONTO:

Call: 366-4107

Jan. 14 COMMUNIST WORK IN THE
TRADE UNIONS

Jan. 28 THE DEFORMED WORKERS
STATES

Feb. 11 THE NATIONAL QUESTION

VANCOUVER:

Call: 299-5306

Jan. 25 PORTUGAL: Toward Revolution
or Counterrevolution?

Feb. 8 MAO'S BLOCK WITH NATO:
Chinese Foreign Policy in the '70's

Feb. 22 THE NEAR EAST

March 7 THE NATIONAL QUESTION
IN QUEBEC

LONGEST POSTAL STRIKE SCUTTLED

CUPW Tops Set Precedent of Betrayal on Wage Controls

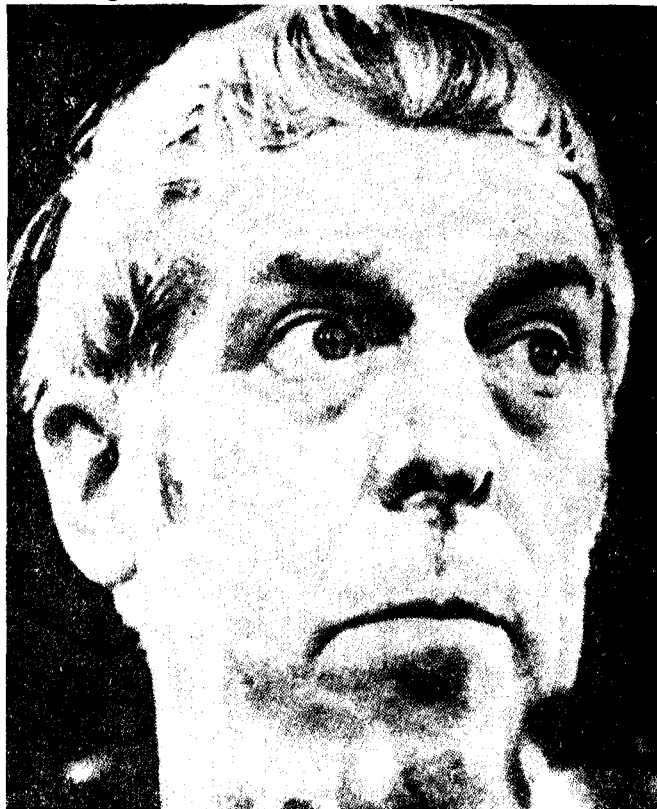
The longest postal strike in Canadian history ended on 2 December as members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) returned to work for the evening shift. The slim majority vote to return, 51.8 percent nationally, gave dramatic testimony to the criminal sellout policy of the union bureaucrats. Had the leadership carried out a militant fight, not only would the CUPW strike have been solid and powerful, but it could have spearheaded a national labor mobilization to smash the wage controls through strike action. Instead, the leadership chose, in the first few weeks of the strike, to capitulate on issue after issue, leaving Postmaster-General Bryce Mackasey in a strong position to slam the door on their final "hold-out" demand of a wage hike that would surpass Trudeau's federal guidelines. The union ended up settling for essentially the identical package offered by Mackasey at the beginning of the strike, thus setting a precedent of betrayal in the first round of labor resistance to the incomes policy.

Not only did the bureaucrats agree to the original Moisan conciliation report's wage offer of 38 percent over 30 months, but they also gave in on the key issues of casual labor and automation, agreeing to the use of casuals in "emergency" situations ("emergencies" like the Christmas season, for example) and making grievances around automation subject to binding arbitration 45 days after filing. The reactionary Public Service Staff Relations Act (PSSRA) which prohibits collective bargaining on technological change thus remains intact.

The end of the strike was marked by a last-minute maneuver on the part of the CUPW national executive designed to hang on to some modicum of authority in the betrayed ranks. Following the union negotiating team's announcement of a settlement (a team led by CUPW national vice-president Jean-Claude Parrot), national president Joe Davidson announced that the national executive board was counselling union members to reject the settlement. The blatant hypocrisy of this maneuver was clearly evidenced by the absence of any split or announced differences between Parrot and Davidson, the failure of the leadership to mount

any real campaign for a "no" vote, and the fact that, for the most part, local union officials took a neutral stand on the vote or coupled advice to vote "no" with a reminder that there was no more money for strike pay.

Nationally, the vote to return in most locals had either a slim majority or failed by a slight margin, the exceptions being the militant Montreal local (70.5 percent for rejection) and the Toronto local (80 percent for acceptance, according to Post Office officials) where the government/media campaign to divide the ranks and push the more



CUPW PRESIDENT JOE DAVIDSON.

backward workers to scab was most vigorously applied and obtained the most results. Otherwise, the voting was against a return to work in many places in the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec province and generally in favor in the West, except

(continued on page 14)