

4 SPARTACIST

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QUEBEC NATIONALISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The following memorandum on Quebec was adopted at the last Trotskyist League Central Committee plenum.

1. Leninism and nationalism are two fundamentally counterposed political viewpoints. Thus while we struggle against all forms of national oppression, we are also opposed to all forms of nationalist ideology. A socialist world economy will provide the foundation for the gradual disappearance of national antagonisms and the voluntary assimilation of nations.

However capitalism in its period of decay intensifies national oppression and exacerbates reactionary nationalist conflicts. We stand on the principle of the equality of all nations, and support their unconditional right to self-determination. Only by upholding such a democratic guarantee against national oppression and privilege can we combat nationalist ideology and lay the basis for international proletarian unity against capitalism, unencumbered by overriding national antagonisms.

2. For colonies (e.g., Puerto Rico), the right to self-determination can only be expressed through immediate and unconditional independence. In oppressed nations within multi-national states the question of whether or not to advocate independence depends on the depth of national antagonisms between the working people of the different nations. If relations have become so poisoned as to make genuine class unity impossible within a single state power, we support independence as the only way to remove the national question from the agenda and bring the class issue to the fore. The Bolsheviks did not find it necessary to advocate independence

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MONTREAL, OCTOBER 14.

Liberation

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Quebec...

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for the oppressed minority nations in Tsarist Russia, yet Lenin did support the call for Norwegian independence from Sweden.

3. The Parti Québécois victory in the aftermath of growing national antagonisms over the language question in both Quebec and English-speaking Canada

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raises the question whether we should go from supporting the right to self-determination for Quebec to advocating its independence. The nationalist sentiment among many sections of the Quebec proletariat has not prevented Quebec workers from taking the lead in many Canada-wide labor actions, the most important being October 14, the first national general strike in the history of the North American labor movement. Except for the petty-bourgeois strata within the labor movement which are the traditional social base of nationalist movements (teachers and civil servants), there has been no discernible trend toward breakaways from the international industrial unions to Quebec nationalist unions. Pre-election polls which accurately reflected the electoral outcome found that only 18 percent of the Québécois actually desire independence. At this time we therefore continue our previous policy of advocating Quebec's right to self-determination while opposing independence. Were the question posed now in a referendum we would still insist on voting "no" to independence.

But we also recognize that the English-chauvinist reaction to bilingualism, combined with manifestations of French-language chauvinism among the Québécois (e.g., Bill 22, the air traffic controllers' strike), indicate that national antagonisms could very rapidly escalate to the point where common

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TL PLENUM DISCUSSES QUEBEC, SETS PERSPECTIVES

The third plenum of the first Central Committee of the Trotskyist League of Canada was held in late December. Attended by over 30 people, the plenum endorsed memoranda on organizational perspectives, centering on reinforcement of the TL's Vancouver Organizing Committee, and on Quebec (printed beginning on page 1), and elected an enlarged Political Bureau.

Vancouver is the most class-conscious major city in English-speaking North America. Although most of the British Columbia proletariat is concentrated in basic resource industries (such as forestry and mining) which are located outside the city, Vancouver has a tradition of militant class struggle on the docks and among government workers and is the political center of B. C. It has several important universities and colleges, left-wing immigrant communities (especially from southern and eastern Asia and South America) and almost the entire spectrum of the English-speaking Canadian left. The Trotskyist League, with only modest forces and a sustained presence only at Simon Fraser University (SFU), has already acquired authority in the city as the hard Leninist pole, in opposition to a kaleidoscope of organizations, including the NDP, Brezhnevite Stalinists, Maoists, spontaneists, anarchists, ostensible Trotskyists and Marxoid bookstore collectives.

The plenum committed the organization to providing Vancouver with sufficient forces to maintain a solid presence at SFU and to carry out systematic industrial sales and the beginnings of industrial implantation. At the same time, the plenum reaffirmed the following priorities for the TL in Toronto:

- (1) preserving a strong leadership;
- (2) sustaining the monthly Spartacist Canada;
- (3) maintaining the present modest industrialization;
- (4) sustaining work on the University of Toronto campus.

A lively discussion on Quebec centered on an assessment of the depth of nationalist sentiment in the Quebec proletariat, especially in light of the air traffic controllers' strike and the Parti Québécois electoral victory. The plenum discussion asserted the need to fight against Québécois nationalism, and especially, against English-Canadian chauvinism. This struggle must be carried into the labor movement; for example, by having unions in English Canada go on record in defense of Quebec's right to self-determination.

The participants also asserted their determination to organizationally extend the TL and international Spartacist tendency into Quebec, where the most class-conscious proletariat in all of North America is concentrated. This is an essential part of the struggle to build strong sections of a reborn Fourth International in Canada and the United States. ■

The Sadlowski Con Game



SADLOWSKI (right) WITH THE REST OF HIS "STEELWORKERS FIGHT BACK" SLATE

"The basic traditions of our union have been subverted over a period of time... We intend to restore rank-and-file control of the union."

So wrote a leading candidate for the international leadership of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) in 1965. His name: I. W. Abel.

Abel's 1965 campaign for the USWA presidency was demagogically aimed against the "tuxedo unionism" of then-incumbent David "Pretty Boy" McDonald. Today, Abel and his machine face their own "insurgent" challenge from a candidate claiming, yet again, to provide a "democratic" alternative. His name: Ed Sadlowski.

Despite the wide praise and publicity accorded Sadlowski's campaign by the left and liberal press (typified by the Socialist Workers Party's [SWP] assertion that it is "the beginning of a reform movement to democratize the American labor movement"), it is reminiscent more than anything else of Abel's 1965 joust against McDonald. Both Abel in 1965 and Sadlowski today promise more democracy and more "struggle"--and precious little more. Both have no qualms about supporting bourgeois politicians, denouncing "communist infiltrators" and using the capitalist courts to intervene in internal union affairs. In the current contest, President Abel and his handpicked successor, District 34 Director Lloyd McBride, have the backing of the bulk of the incumbent USWA leadership, along with much of the rest of the union movement hierarchy. But Sadlowski too has his "respectable" proponents, ranging from long-time United Auto Workers bureaucrat Victor Reuther to leading politicians in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

WHO IS ED SADLOWSKI?

The hype about Sadlowski in the press of various left groups creates the impression that he is a fiery militant, only recently out of the mills, who is prepared to lead the powerful Steelworkers union on a course of class struggle. Yet as president of USWA's large Chicago-Gary area District 31, Sadlowski has done nothing to fight against the massive layoffs which have hit the steel industry over the past few years. He has further vowed to abide by and enforce Abel's notorious Experimental Nego-

tiating Agreement (ENA) with the major steel companies, which takes away steelworkers' right to strike until 1980 (while demagogically claiming he would never sign another such agreement).

Sadlowski claims to hold the interests and aspirations of the rank and file close to his heart. Yet his tremendous contempt for the USWA membership has been shown on many occasions: most notably when he sought U. S. Labor Department assistance to supervise the 1974 elections which won him the District 31 presidency. Sadlowski has already called for similar Labor Department supervision of the February elections for the international presidency.

In their campaign for leadership, Sadlowski and his "Steelworkers Fight Back" slate have sought to build themselves an image as "honest" union militants ready to learn from the ranks. A campaign pamphlet readily admits that the Sadlowski slate:

"... doesn't promise 'total job security' or a 'shorter workweek'. They can't. No one can [!]. What they do promise is tough bargaining to deal with tough problems."

But "toughness" hardly makes for a class-struggle program! Such a program would be built around precisely such demands as a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, job security and unalterable opposition to the ENA and all government intervention in the union movement. It would point the way forward for the entire labor movement, in opposition to the Abels, Meanys and Morrises, by striving to build a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Sadlowski's program is characterized above all by his bureaucratic leadership of District 31, his sellout on the ENA, his use of the capitalist courts and his fulsome support for open-shop Democrat Jimmy Carter in the recent American presidential elections. A man who has had first-hand experience with Sadlowski's "tough bargaining," William McDermut, president of the Illinois Slag and Ballast Co., had this to say about his "leadership qualities":

"He was far and away the ablest union guy who

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Sadlowski...

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has come down this pike--dedicated, tireless and honest... Could he do the top job? I think he could...."

This is the same Sadlowski whose campaign is supposed to be, in the words of the fake-Trotskyist League for Socialist Action (LSA), "a historic challenge to the entrenched power of the union's bureaucratic leadership" (Labor Challenge, 20 December)!

FISSURES IN THE BUREAUCRACY

What has led almost every left organization on the North American continent to come out in support of Sadlowski? Despite the multitude of capitalist attacks on the living standards and historic gains of the working class, class struggle in North America has stagnated in the recent period. The entrenched labor bureaucracy retains its stranglehold over the union movement, with little in the way of serious organized dissent.

The only "oppositions" to appear have either issued directly out of a bureaucratic clique fight (like the palace coup of Cliff Pilkey in the Ontario Federation of Labour), or have been rapidly co-opted by one or another out-bureaucrat faker. Like the campaign of out-bureaucrat Arnold Miller in the United Mine Workers (UMW) four years ago, Sadlowski's campaign has tapped and exploited real grievances of a union rank and file shackled with a particularly venal and reactionary leadership. Undoubtedly many sincere USWA militants support Sadlowski on the basis of his "tough" talk and ver-

bal genuflections toward democracy, in the absence of a viable alternative.

But Sadlowski has absolutely no intention of leading steelworkers in a real struggle against the industry barons and their capitalist government. All his talk about "democracy"--like Abel's in 1965 and Miller's in 1973--is nothing more than a cheap peg on which to hang bureaucratic aspirations for higher office. Sadlowski in power will only be another Abel, just as Abel proved only to be another McDonald. In power in the UMW, Arnold Miller smashed wildcats and pushed through an incredibly poor sellout contract. The task of militants seeking to construct an authentic class-struggle leadership is not to foster illusions in the likes of Sadlowski and Miller, but to expose their real nature and counterpose a full class-struggle program.

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The vitally necessary new leadership can only be built in intransigent opposition to the Sadlowskis, who represent the new, slicker, post-Meanyite wing of "reform" union bureaucrats.

FAKE-TROTSKYISTS RIDE SADLOWSKI'S COATTAILS

Always anxious to pick up on a piece of the reformist action, the U.S. SWP and their Canadian co-thinkers, the LSA, have been acting as unofficial and uncritical publicity agents for Sadlowski's campaign. A recent issue of the SWP's Militant even included an advertisement for a major Sadlowski fund-raising event, where the challenger's liberal backers were asked to shell out \$100 a couple to meet Ed and other "guest personalities" and dance to a "lively polka band."

While the SWP/LSA have been most craven in their heralding of "Steelworkers Fight Back" as the way forward for the North American labor movement, other groups have sought to distance themselves from some of the more sordid aspects of the Sadlowski con game. Most notably, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), Canadian adherent of the United Secretariat majority tendency, has come out for "critical support" to Sadlowski. For the RMG, Sadlowski is only the latest in a long line of fake-militant labor leaders--ranging from Arnold Miller to Lofty MacMillan--who have merited such "critical support."

In the case of MacMillan--Joe Morris' challenger

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RMG'S BALANCE SHEET OF DISASTER

The December-January issue of Body Politic, a Toronto "gay liberation journal," contains excerpts from a fifteen-page letter by Walter Davis, described as an "active participant in the Canadian gay movement." In his letter, Davis refers to himself as "a founder and former member of the Revolutionary Marxist Group."

Walter Davis is not just another nondescript ex-RMG member who has departed the stagnating, clique-ridden organization in search of greener pastures. Davis was at one time the central organizer of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT), which during 1972-73 waged the faction fight in the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA) leading to the formation of the centrist RMG, English-Canadian adherent of the United Secretariat (USec) International Majority Tendency (IMT). He was the Canadian signatory to several IMT international documents, the RCT representative on the LSA Political Committee and a top leader of the RMG in the period following its founding. Today, demoralized by the continuous failures of the organization during its three years of existence, Davis has joined the long trail of founding members of the RMG who have wound their way out.

YOUTHFUL ILLUSIONS DIE HARD

In the atmosphere of optimism at the RMG's September 1973 founding convention, its leadership could dream that "to project tripling or quadrupling our present size over the next couple of years is certainly not unrealistic" ("Amendment to the Political Resolution"). Today, having lost about half of its founding membership and a third of its first Central Committee, the RMG is hard-pressed to become more "realistic." An "Orientation Text" submitted to the September 1976 CC plenum by Matlowe, a member of the majority leadership tendency, ruefully admits that "it was our own original inadequacies and inexperience, compounded by serious political mistakes, that has meant that overall, we have not grown numerically at all...." Another document, issued by five leaders of the group's workerist minority clique, seeks to blame the majority for "the lack of success of the RMG, its failure to grow, its failure to retain its trade-union cadre, its groping for a new course...."

The RMG's latest "new course" involves the launching next month of a new bi-weekly newspaper, ostensibly to allow the organization "to intervene more effectively into the day-to-day events of the class struggle." But the RMG is seeking to launch this fake "mass" press at a time when its stagna-

tion and organizational decomposition have brought it to a point of extreme crisis.

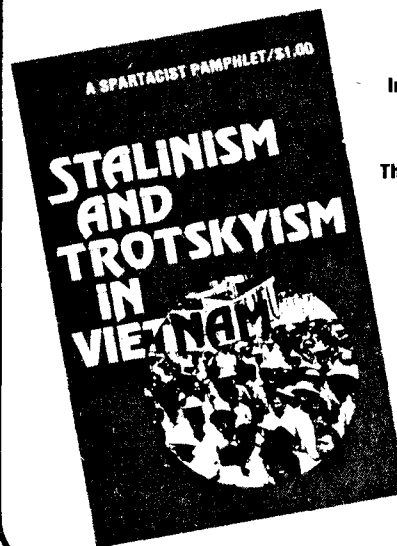
Not only has the RMG failed to grow over the past three years; today it possesses significantly fewer experienced cadre and is able to undertake significantly less sustained intervention "into the day-to-day events of the class struggle" than it could at the time of its founding. Of the RCTers who fought against the LSA's reformism and went on to participate in the formation of the RMG, sixty-five per cent are no longer with the organization. Former members of the RCT can be found today in groups ranging from Ross Dowson's Socialist League to the Stalinist Communist Party. Fifteen percent of the RCTers are today members or supporters of the Trotskyist League.

Almost no members of the RCT remain in the top leadership of the RMG, which is led in the main by ex-social democrats from the Red Circle, a left-reformist opposition caucus in the Ontario New Democratic Party. A few cynical ex-RCT workerists linger on in the group's minority tendency, which occupies its time by arguing that the dilettantish RMG membership should liquidate into the trade unions rather than into the gay and women's movements.

But RMG trade union work--insignificant at the best of times--is today virtually non-existent. The much-vaunted intervention into the postal unions, which the RMG viewed as the centerpiece of its union perspectives, today lies on its deathbed, following the recent resignation of Steve Penner from the Vancouver postal workers local for "personal reasons." This follows hard on the heels of the liquidation of all postal union work in Toronto, due to the departure of all RMG postal workers from either the organization or their jobs. Thus RMG members in the 400-strong University of Toronto library workers local are today the group's most "significant" union implantation!

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RMG...

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THE ELUSIVE "BROAD VANGUARD"

The RMG's attempt to "penetrate and politicize" the elusive "broad vanguard," theorized by the IMT to be a substitute for a Trotskyist vanguard party, has propelled the organization on a rapid rightward course. The often comic and always futile attempts of the RMG to implement the liquidationist "broad vanguard" strategy in the extremely small and backward-left milieu of English Canada have produced a balance sheet of disaster. In response to the organization's failures, various wings of the leadership are rushing to implement various panaceas--among them the "mass" Mole and the opening of "unity" discussions with the LSA. (Would the fused group's paper be called Labor Mole or Old Challenge?)

The "Orientation Text" submitted by Matlowe goes so far as to question the validity of the "broad vanguard" strategy, scapegoating it for the disasters of the past three years. Matlowe argues that the RMG's preoccupation with the non-existent "broad vanguard" has led it "to make interventions where we are the best builders (and too often the only real builders) of the struggle and yet where we failed to capitalize on that broadly evident fact. Our propaganda tasks never quite seemed to get accomplished...."

But rather than question the "broad vanguard" shibboleth per se, the "Orientation Text" merely rejects its applicability to English Canada:

"At best then, the broad vanguard concept would have to be thoroughly reworked before it would be usefully applied to our situation...."

"Both the objective and subjective conditions necessary to 'fill' the European orientation framework continue to be absent in our situation. We do not think these gaps will be filled, in the short term at least, and we cannot continue to base our orientation on their being filled in the near future."

In Europe, the "broad vanguard" strategy was a generalization of the USec's opportunist adaptation to a large milieu of centrist, spontaneist and Maoist currents, which in some cases brought a few short-term organizational gains. Today in many European countries, this strategy translates into an attempt to achieve lowest-common-denominator unifications with larger centrist and reformist forces (like the French Parti Socialiste Unifié and Lotta Continua in Italy) on a program of "critical support" to popular fronts. This is the "framework" Matlowe yearns for the RMG to "fill."

SECTARIANISM AND OPPORTUNISM

Matlowe attributes the RMG's liquidationism to its "fear of sectarianism" which created "an overall reticence to assert the political validity of the organization itself and the historic necessity of its existence." He then, however, immediately asserts:

"We reject the sectarian conception of ourselves as a miniature version of a mass revolutionary party. Nor do we think 'our principles' are every-

thing that separates us off from everyone else, nor do we pride ourselves on our purity in exteriority a la Spartacists."

Yet it is the RMG, with its one-way "dialogue" with "militants in the mass movement" which poses as a miniature version of a mass party--and not a revolutionary party at that. For a small propaganda group with no history, no influence or roots and little established presence on the left, program and principles are precisely what set it off from other organizations aspiring to working-class leadership. Lacking the Bolshevik program and principles, small centrist organizations like the RMG have no "historic necessity of existence."

The RMG reserves a special sectarian hostility for the Trotskyist League and international Spartacist tendency because of their consistent struggle for such a revolutionary program--including against the organizations of the United Secretariat. As Trotsky commented in 1935,

"Reformists and centrists readily seize upon every occasion to point a finger at our 'sectarianism'; and most of the time, they have in mind not our weak but our strong side: our serious attitude toward theory; our effort to plumb every political situation to the bottom, and to advance clear-cut slogans; our hostility to 'easy' and 'comfortable' decisions which deliver from cares today, but prepare a catastrophe on the morrow. Coming from opportunists, the accusation of sectarianism is most often a compliment."
--"Sectarianism, Centrism and the Fourth International," 1935

WHITHER THE RMG?

Rightward-moving centrist organizations characteristically prefer the company of reformists to that of revolutionaries. The departure of ex-RCT leaders like Walter Davis; the renewed romancing of the ultra-reformist LSA; and the organization's "critical support" to trade union bureaucrats like Lofty MacMillan, Len Guy and Ed Sadlowski all testify to the internal collapse and rightist backsliding of the RMG in its three years of existence.

In order to roam so far down the road to reformism, the RMG has had to purge its own subjectively revolutionary past--most notably with the March 1975 expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT), its Trotskyist opposition. The B-LT provided a thorough critique of the "broad vanguard" strategy--not on the absurd grounds of Canadian exceptionalism chosen by Matlowe's "Orientation Text," but through an examination of the decades of Pabloist liquidationism by Ernest Mandel and the rest of the USec leadership.

The future prospects for the RMG are not bright. The various panaceas sought by the leadership to overcome the group's disintegration can only lead up yet another cul-de-sac. The sole way out of the stagnant swamp that is the RMG today lies through an examination of the liquidationist foundations of Pabloist politics. Only the authentic Trotskyism of the TL and iSt can show the way forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

"IN THE SPIRIT" OF THE AIB:

Woodcock/McDermott Shaft Auto Workers

At last May's Canadian Labour Congress convention, United Auto Workers (UAW) Canadian Director Dennis McDermott led the labor bureaucracy's rhetorical charge against wage controls. Responding in particular to pressure from the ranks of his own union--which faced the prospect of imminent contract negotiations under the Anti-Inflation Board axe--McDermott vowed to lead the UAW and the entire labor movement in a fight to smash the controls.

Four months later, McDermott was one of the prime movers behind October 14, the first cross-country general strike in North American history. Dusting off his militant rhetoric for the occasion, McDermott again vowed that the struggle would not cease until the wage control program was no more.

Now, contract year between the UAW and the auto barons in the United States and Canada has come and gone--and with it has gone McDermott's anti-controls rhetoric. Under the heavy hand of the Woodcock International bureaucracy and its Canadian henchmen, UAW members were saddled with a contract meeting the interests of no-one, except the Big Three manufacturers and the governments that serve them. Woodcock/McDermott's wage "increase" of three percent a year over three years brought smiles to the faces of directors in the boardrooms of the corporations and the AIB. Announcing the Board's approval of the auto contract on December 15, an AIB spokesman praised it for being "within the spirit and intent" of the wage controls.

In line with their sellout "one-at-a-time" strategy, the UAW brass undercut the union's striking power by forcing separate groups of workers to go it alone against each company. During the month-long U. S. Ford strike last fall, General Motors, Chrysler and Ford Canada employees continued to work, and the bureaucrats even sanctioned scabbing in

some American Ford plants. Once the settlement was rammed down the throats of the demoralized U. S. Ford workers, the rest of the union gradually fell into line. When 28,000 Canadian GM employees (who faced the alternative of staying out alone with no support from the rest of the union) ratified the agreement on December 12, the bureaucrats' 1976 auto sellout was sealed.



Workers Vanguard

WINDSOR AUTOWORKERS ON OCTOBER 14 DAY OF PROTEST

The new contract will not even keep auto workers abreast of inflation, much less provide the "major and substantial" wage increase originally promised by the negotiating committee. The crown jewel of the sellout package is Woodcock's plan to "win a shorter workweek" by negotiating a few more days off with pay. This gimmick, lauded by McDermott as "knocking the hell out of the 40 hour week" (*Globe and Mail*, 8 November 1976) adds up to a total of six vacation days during the life of the contract. All this scheme "knocks the hell out of" is the auto workers, who must continue to slave 48 or more hours a week to keep their jobs. The contract does nothing to alter the long hours, inhuman working conditions, inadequate wages and high unemployment and layoff rates which face the UAW membership.

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WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 13

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Maurice Spector, the Early Communists and Canadian Nationalism

BY ARNOLD MICHAELS

While support to Canadian nationalism as a "revolutionary" strategy is no longer the vogue it was during the heyday of the Waffle/Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada in the early 1970's, capitulation to national-chauvinist ideology remains widespread on the Canadian left. The various Mao-cults support building the Canadian army as a bulwark against the "superpowers" (see "CCL [M-L]: Runnings Dogs of the Bourgeois Army," *SC*, September 1976); while reformists from the New Democratic Party and labor bureaucracy to the Communist Party continue to seek "national unity" against American imperialism.

Particularly disgraceful is the support given by two ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies to the nationalists' dogma. The Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (Canadian supporter of Pierre Lambert's French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste) raises the call for a "Canadian Constituent Assembly," which will formulate a "democratic" alternative to the British North America Act and "reconstruct the country on a new basis." Meanwhile the Socialist League (SocL--Ross Dowson's old-folks home for post-veteran Pabloites) avows that Canadian nationalism is a "progressive force."

Some groups seek historical justification for their stances in positions taken by the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) in the pre-WWII period. What is particularly galling is to see an ostensibly Trotskyist organization like Dowson's SocL attempting to cite positions of the revolutionary CPC of the early 1920's in order to justify its bankrupt reformist politics. The SocL has sought to utilize in such a manner the political views of Maurice Spector, one of the early leaders of the CPC (at one time its National Chairman) and the founder of the Trotskyist Left Opposition in Canada in 1928. In so doing, Dowson and Co. distort and falsify the basic principles of the Trotskyist movement.

A major article by Gary O'Brien in the November 1974 issue of *Forward* (based on a Masters thesis by O'Brien) slanders Spector by claiming he believed that "Canadian nationalism was a progressive force." The communist movement since Lenin has unconditionally defended the right of

nations to self-determination, and given military backing to bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalist forces fighting against imperialism. But it has done so out of a commitment to the democratic equality of nations--in order to remove the national question from the agenda, and in order to combat nationalist ideology. In the epoch of capitalist decline--and most particularly in advanced capitalist countries like Canada--nationalism can in no sense be termed a "progressive force."

THE MYTH OF THE ENGLISH-CANADIAN NATION

Canadian nationalism is used by the bourgeoisie to bludgeon the national aspirations of the Québécois (an oppressed nation within Canada) and to whip up chauvinist sentiment for economic rivalry and for



MAURICE SPECTOR (right) WITH (from left) FELLOW CPC LEADERS WILLIAM MORIARTY, TIM BUCK AND JACK MACDONALD

war. There is no distinct English-Canadian nation: only a Canadian component of the North American English-speaking nation. Trotsky noted the artificiality of the Canadian state, when he wrote in 1926:

"Canada, without offense to the British crown, is an integral part of the United States. If you consult the Annual Report of the U. S. Department of Commerce, you will discover that Canada is politely and somewhat evasively referred to as the northern prolongation of the United States,

without even the blessing of the League of Nations."
--"Europe and America"

As a separate state power, Canada exists only by virtue of the machinations of British imperialism in the 18th and 19th centuries to maintain a loyal beachhead on the North American continent against the slowly rising power of the U. S. As American imperialism gradually became the dominant world power in the twentieth century, one of the first countries over which it gained unquestioned dominance was Canada.

The early Canadian communists recognized this in the first Manifesto of the Workers Party of Canada (December 1921):

"The future of Britain's vast emporium which she fondly calls her empire, is increasingly more uncertain. . . . Canada's possible development as an industrialist capitalist power makes her more and more dependent upon the United States."

The Canadian bourgeoisie consolidated its hold over the state in 1867 with the setting up of a national government. While Canada was founded under the provisions of the British North America Act, which codified British imperial dominance, the continued formal existence of the BNA Act as the constitution governing the country by no means signifies continued British control. British imperialism has undergone a precipitous decline during the twentieth century; that a minor imperialist country like Canada is overwhelmingly dominated by the proximate and powerful United States is not so surprising.

THE EARLY CPC AND "NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE"

The early CPC directed propaganda against Canadian nationalism, but the year 1925 saw wholesale changes in the CPC's policies--in particular on the question of Canadian nationalism. The convention held that year adopted a resolution stating that "the CPC demands the repudiation of the British North America Act" and "the complete independence of Canada."

This position stemmed in large part from an erroneous analysis adopted by the Communist International (CI) the year before under the leadership of Zinoviev. He contended that Britain was the major imperialist power; therefore the CI should fight to undermine British imperialism by undertaking to extricate Canada from the Empire and its war designs.

Trotsky countered on the question by noting the growing ascendancy of the U. S., predicting that America would place Europe on "American rations." When he mentions Canada in his writings, Trotsky equates it with Australia as a former British colony seeking to carve out its existence as an independent capitalist state, but weak and therefore forced to depend heavily on major im-



Canadian Tribune

THE CPC TODAY: NATIONALISM, PROTECTIONISM, REFORMISM

perialist powers. O'Brien and Forward, however, echo the false position of Zinoviev when they say of Canada:

"Through independence, if she could break that link, the entire Empire would collapse, freeing not only the colonies from imperialism, but setting off a revolution in Britain itself."

The early CPC had opposed Canadian nationalism. However in 1924 the Stalinization of the Soviet Communist Party was well underway, and important changes had taken place in the CI. In accordance with these changes, CPC policies were revamped up and down the line. They were accepted largely due to the tremendous prestige which the Soviet leaders continued to enjoy.

O'Brien/Forward attempt to dump the 1925 line change on the lap of Spector, seeing him, and not the CI leadership, as the theoretical architect of the CPC. They further claim that the Trotskyist movement carried a Canadian-nationalist position following its expulsion from the CPC beginning in 1928.

However Spector did not actually become a Trotskyist until 1928. Moreover, in his article, "Stalinism in the Canadian Communist Party" (printed in the U. S. Trotskyist paper The Militant, 1 June 1929), Spector traces the political degeneration of the CPC back to "'Bolshevizing' measures of the Fifth Congress (1924)" under Zinoviev. In the article Spector also debunks the myth, propounded by Jay Lovestone of the American CP, that he had been responsible for the leadership of the CPC:

"Not mere modesty but the interests of historical truth, however, and the fact of the ac-

(continued on page 10)

MAURICE SPECTOR...

(continued from page 9)

tual balance of forces in the Canadian CEC [Central Executive Committee] compel me to disclaim this honour."

THE EARLY TROTSKYISTS AGAINST NATIONALISM

In 1929, following Spector's expulsion, the CPC made another about-face on Canadian nationalism, in accordance with the new "third period" line of the CI. By 1935 the by-now thoroughly nationalist and reformist CPC had readopted the "Canadian independence" slogan. This was completely in keeping with the CI's popular-front policies and has remained the position of the CPC to this day.

O'Brien's Masters thesis claims that "Spector's stand [the CPC slogan for Canadian independence] was not substantially altered by the Canadian Trotskyist movement in its early years." However the newspaper of the Canadian Left Oppositionists in the early 1930's substantiates the opposite view. In a critique of the nationalism of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, The Vanguard (16 September 1935) states:

"No word or thought here of the class nature of society. The movement is the real 'hope of all classes'. Our political institutions are under 'public control'. No conception of Canada being a link in the chain of the world economy and imperialism. Canada is to be kept 'neutral'. We will get on with our 'own' work even if the whole world goes to war. Just as 'we' will keep out of a world war so also will we keep out of the international working class movement. We will have a distinctively 'Canadian' socialism."

Needless to say, nowhere in the pages of The

Vanguard does the slogan "Canadian independence" appear. Furthermore, a statement in The Militant by Jack Macdonald, the former CPC National Secretary who joined the Left Opposition in 1932, explains how the slogan was part of the rejection of the primacy of the class line and of the theory of permanent revolution by the CI/CPC leadership:

"It will be instructive at some other time to re-trace the directives to the Canadian Party, given by the opponents of the permanent revolution in the desire to find the historical stakes that might not be 'skipped over'. These run the whole gamut, from the fight against the British monarchy, demand for constituent assembly, farmer-labour government, farmers political parties, national independence, etc., etc."

So overburdened with nationalist wistful thinking are O'Brien's "facts" that they are often simply laughable. At one point, he states that "For Maurice Spector... the national question was the most important political issue during the 1920's." Somehow, in all the articles in the Trotskyist press from 1928-38 Spector never writes one word on the "national question" in Canada.

Maurice Spector had important weaknesses as a political leader; weaknesses which led him into the Abern clique in the mid-1930's and out of Trotskyist politics altogether just prior to WWII. But his basic contribution to Marxism in Canada remains --to have been one of the key founders of the Trotskyist movement amidst the vicious attempts of the Stalinists to smash it through thuggery and slander. In building the early Trotskyist movement, Maurice Spector and his comrades struggled against the nationalist and reformist degeneration of the CI and CPC, not least on the question of Canadian nationalism.■

DEPORTATIONS...

(continued from page 16)

Peltier was moved from the general population to solitary confinement at Oakalla prison at the insistence of the FBI, even though prison officials admitted that he had been a "model prisoner." When the extradition orders were signed despite the clear case for political asylum, the government moved with lightning speed to transfer Peltier to South Dakota. And three days later the Vancouver Province (21 December) carried a sensationalist story "exposing" the AIM militant's alleged escape plots--a blatant and undocumented attempt to continue the witchhunt smear campaign against Peltier and his organization.

Yet even in the highly prejudiced atmosphere of the South Dakota courts, prosecutors have had difficulty convicting AIM militants on obvious frame-up charges. Since juries have been releasing Indian defendants, the FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs have taken the law into their own hands. Following the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee there have been at least 270 deaths on the Pine Ridge reser-

vation resulting from assassinations and shootouts.

Marxists reject both the utopian-reactionary politics of AIM and the petty-bourgeois despair and terrorist tactics of the Japanese Red Army. But Peltier and Omura are victims of reactionary bourgeois persecution and should be defended by the entire workers movement. Unfortunately, Peltier's defense was marred by the sectarianism of the AIM leadership, which demanded political support for itself and sought to exclude supporters of the Trotskyist League, who were among the first to take up Peltier's cause. During the crucial final weeks before Peltier's deportation there has been almost no public protest and the defense was restricted almost entirely to appeals to Justice Minister Ron Basford's "social conscience."

The left and labor movement and all those who defend democratic rights against reactionary repression must demand that the charges against Omura and Peltier be dropped, and that they be freed immediately!

(Adapted from an article in Workers Vanguard, 24 December 1976.)

FOR A JOINT CUPW-LCUC-GLT STRIKE!

JANUARY 4--Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) national president Joe Davidson announced on December 16 that a strike by the 22,000-member union was not imminent, despite repeated unilateral violations of the contract by postal management. Davidson had earlier hinted that CUPW might shut down the postal system for the pre-Christmas season in protest against management's implementation of a job-slashing automation plan. Instead, the issue is to be shunted off to new contract negotiations, which the CUPW bureaucracy wants to move forward to begin this month.

A full national postal strike is exactly what is needed to beat back the automation scheme and its negative effects on postal workers. But while the CUPW tops temporize, the leadership of the 18,000-member Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) is engaging in even more criminal, class-collaborationist behavior. LCUC national president Robert McGarry has been busy building a "collaborative relationship" with the union-busting boss, through official union-management discussions aimed at strengthening the Post Office at the expense of private mail couriers.

CUPW and LCUC were once among the most militant of Canadian unions. But years of bureaucratic betrayal and divisions along craft lines have undermined the strength of the unions. The new automation plan will, if implemented, lead to drastically increased harassment and surveillance, job loss and atomization of the workforce--and threaten the very existence of the unions. It can only be defeated by militant strike action, of the kind that led to the formation of CUPW in the mid-1960's in the face of a government union-busting onslaught.

Davidson, McGarry and their predecessors have not only refused to fight for one merged industrial union, but have actually forced members of each union to scab on the other's strikes! Mutual scabbing deals among postal union piecards have divided the ranks in the face of concerted government attack.

Two militants in the large LCUC Local 1 in Toronto, Bob McBurney and Larry Boyes, presented a motion at the December 16 local meeting which clearly showed the way forward against management, in opposition to bureaucratic defeatism and class-collaboration. McBurney and Boyes raised the call for a joint delegated national convention of all postal unions (in particular LCUC, CUPW and the General Labour and Trades [GLT] postal mechanics) in order to launch a joint national strike to smash



BOB McBURNEY SPEAKING AT THE RECENT ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR CONVENTION. IN THE BACKGROUND, JOE DAVIDSON.

the automation plan and achieve a merged, closed-shop union. Their motion also demanded repudiation of the bureaucrats' scabbing deals, and called for LCUC to respect the lines and join the strikes of other postal unions, both locally and nationally.

Sensing widespread support for the motion, the local bureaucrats opportunistically supported it--but only after forcing through an amendment, which stated that all its provisions must be "consistent with national policy" in order to be implemented! The self-serving nature of this amendment--which rendered the motion meaningless and unsupportable--was underlined by events at a meeting held five days before, when national president McGarry summarily rejected all demands for joint strike action.

The policies of McGarry and Co.--like those of the CUPW tops--are never "consistent" with the class interests of working people. With a strike by GLT mechanics possible as early as late January, the need to fight for a militant class struggle program--including an end to all scabbing--is vital. The bureaucrats cannot show the way forward against management attack; only a class-struggle union leadership committed to smashing the capitalist system can lead the struggle to victory. ■

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Quebec...

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class unity could be torn asunder. Although the PQ victory was primarily an anti-Liberal backlash, nonetheless it has already led to growing confrontations between Quebec and Ottawa, confrontations which will probably serve to inflame the existing national antagonisms. Thus our opposition to advocating independence now by no means precludes advocating independence in the immediate future (e. g., by the time of the PQ-proposed referendum in two years). Whether the cause of common class unity is ultimately better served within a common state power or an independent Quebec has not yet been subjected to a decisive historic test and outcome.

4. Advocacy of independence would still have the goal of combatting nationalist ideology. Independence for Quebec would hopefully lay the basis for unity on a higher level among French-speaking proletarians and their class brothers on the rest of the continent. Unlike the left nationalists, we put no stock in the reactionary-utopian strategy of fighting for a "Quebec workers republic" or an "independent socialist Quebec." The achievement of a "Quebec workers republic" is no more conceivable than a "California workers republic." The high degree of integration in the North American political economy ensures that proletarian power will only be consolidated on a continent-wide basis. Joint class struggle, not regional/national parochialism, is the road to socialist revolution in North America. The posing of a separatist road to power for the relatively advanced and militant proletariat of Quebec is particularly criminal, since the Québécois working class could play a leading role in the entire North American revolution.

5. The nationalists' demand for a unilingual French Quebec is inextricably linked to their call for independence. English is the dominant language of the North American political economy, and thus is the primary language of commerce and culture in Canada. Whatever measures may be taken in an attempt

to protect the existence of the French language in Quebec, nothing short of total independence can forestall the gradual erosion of the language, and thus of the national identity of the Québécois people. This is an iron law of social history. We oppose discrimination against French-speakers, discrimination which reinforces and inflames chauvinist and nationalist reaction in both the oppressor and oppressed nationalities. But as mankind develops toward a socialist world system, national distinctions erode away. The PQ's stated aim is for an independent Quebec which is heavily reliant on commercial and other dealings with English-speaking Canada and the United States. But an independent bourgeois Quebec which seriously sought to maintain the French language and culture would have to gravitate toward Paris, the economic and cultural capital of the French-speaking world.

6. We adamantly oppose the demand for unilingualism in Quebec--whether it is independent or not--as reactionary and chauvinist. While we recognize and seek to redress the historic discrimination against use of the French language, particularly on the job and at school, we do this by fighting for equal language rights for all, not for new discriminatory regulations. Multi-lingualism--the right of every citizen in a multi-lingual state to receive services in any spoken language--is a just and democratic solution to the language question. Unilingualism--"official" status for any single language--is a thoroughly reactionary, national-chauvinist position which places the narrow interests of one nation above the legitimate democratic rights of national minorities. Unilingualism in Quebec would also provide a perfect excuse for the denial of language rights to French-speaking minorities by English chauvinists in other provinces. It would be particularly discriminatory against the hundreds of thousands of non-French-speaking immigrants who have come to Montreal from relatively impoverished Southern European countries. Proletarian unity can only be forged through recognition of equal and democratic language rights for all nationalities.

7. So long as Quebec remains part of Canada, we seek to build a single revolutionary party throughout the country, and oppose the demand for a separate Quebec party as nationalist and Bundist. The Leninist principle is "one state power, one party"--the proletariat's struggle must be directed against the existing government, and not diverted along regionalist lines. For the same reason, we raise the call for a Canada-wide workers party, based on the unions and with a class-struggle program. This does not mean fighting for a Quebec wing of the NDP--an ultra-reformist, English-chauvinist social-democratic party with no historical roots or obvious prospects in Quebec. Rather, it means fighting for a workers party which will achieve a workers government across Canada, as part of the struggle for socialist revolution throughout North America. It is to this task that the Trotskyist League of Canada and international Spartacist tendency dedicate themselves. ■

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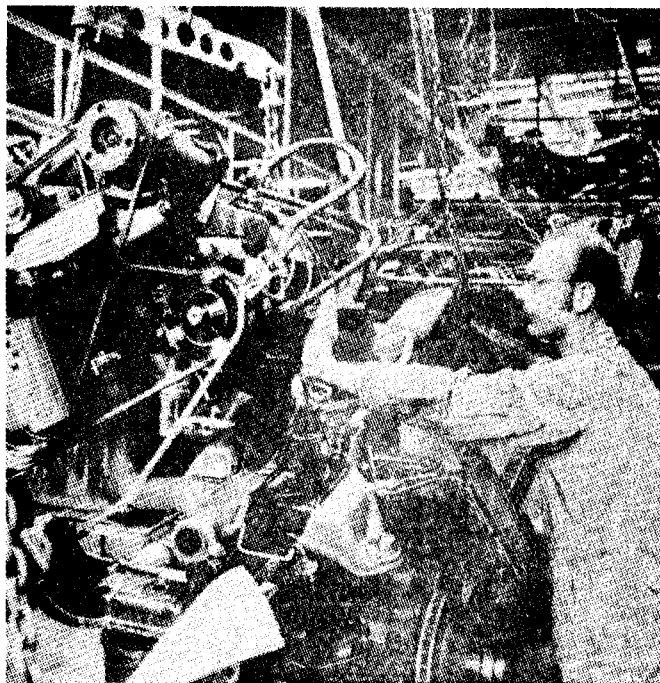
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Auto...

(continued from page 7)

Resistance to the gruelling pace and long hours has been shown by numerous recent wildcats against company harassment and overtime. Despite heavy-handed union leaflets warning the membership to "STAY AT WORK!" thousands of southern Ontario Ford workers walked off the job the day before their official November 3 strike deadline, shutting down production lines in the Oakville and St. Thomas plants. Furious at this militant defiance of his instructions, McDermott railed that those responsible for the walkout were guilty of an "act of sabotage against the union," and vowed to seek out the "saboteurs" in order to "stop it once and for all" (*Globe and Mail*, 3 November 1976).

SC salesmen at the Scarborough, Ontario, GM van plant contract ratification meeting were told



Globe and Mail

ON THE LINE AT FORD'S OAKVILLE ASSEMBLY PLANT.

of wildcats and unauthorized work stoppages in that and other GM plants. Although the union tops ordered the ranks to return to work (after an eight-hour strike!) as soon as the tentative agreement was signed, walkouts and in-plant meetings stopped production again in Scarborough, when workers demanded to know the details of the agreement and protested working without a contract.

The main obstacle to cementing the GM Canada settlement more rapidly was the union's initial demand for the reinstatement of five militants at the Ste-Thèrese, Quebec, GM plant, who were fired for their role in a ten-day sitdown strike in early September. Undoubtedly worried that industry-wide solidarity might issue from this show of militancy by a group of workers not on Woodcock/McDermott's "scheduled" list of strikers, UAW



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bureaucrats forced the Ste-Thèrese workers back to work without winning a thing. The short December GM Canada strike then won only a promise of reinstatement--perhaps in February.

The UAW tops play upon national, regional and company divisions among auto workers as part of their strategy for maintaining "labor peace." Their sellout of the militant Ste-Thèrese unionists can only reinforce nationalism and parochialism among Québécois workers. Similarly, their refusal to wage international, industry-wide strikes not only inhibits the union's ability to win significant gains, but also fosters reactionary English-Canadian chauvinism and anti-Americanism, dividing working people in the face of their class enemies.

The well-entrenched UAW supporters of the Communist Party (CP), who provide a left cover for the bureaucrats' betrayals, refused to raise the call for an industry-wide strike and at the time of the original Ford settlement echoed the bureaucracy's claims that the new contract laid the basis for a shorter workweek. Later (after all the contracts were signed!), the CP was forced to admit that the agreement is a "stand pat contract," which "some describe as the weakest contract in the union's history" (*Canadian Tribune*, 20 December 1976). Ever faithful to its bureaucratic "friends," however, the CP offers only the pious hope that in 1979 "the next UAW bargaining committee will likely be under a lot of pressure to do better."

The CP's line for 1979 echoed the call of the social-democratic International Socialists (IS) to force the incumbent UAW tops "into a half-hearted fight" in 1976 (*Workers Action*, September 1976). The IS's scheme for fighting the gruelling overtime is to support "sicking off" on Fridays. This "strategy," based on shop-floor economism livened up with adventurist tactics, merely sets militants up for victimization, as well as forcing

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Auto...

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workers to take a cut in pay.

Similarly, the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour (CPL) advocates a program based on unauthorized minority wildcats, thus tacitly accepting the bureaucrats' control over the union as unchallengeable. Like the IS, CPL's program for auto workers is simple economism, dished up with an occasional pinch of "fight for socialism" rhetoric.

The sometime left-posturing Maoist Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) (CCL[M-L]) railed against the contract sellout in the pages of The Forge and leaflets distributed at auto plants. But CCL(M-L)'s "counterposition" to the bureaucrats' three percent wage hike was to demand... "at least six percent" (leaflet, "Workers of GM: Vote No! to the Sellout Contract," undated [December 1976])! Adding a few pennies onto a sellout contract hardly shows the way forward for auto workers!

Pennies-an-hour economism, adventurism and pressuring the bureaucrats cannot provide a program for victory. In North America, only the international Spartacist tendency has put forward a clear class-struggle program for auto workers. Key demands include union control of hiring and working conditions, the right to strike during the

Sadlowski...

(continued from page 4)

at the last Canadian Labour Congress convention--the RMG felt constrained only to characterize him as "relatively progressive." However Sadlowski's

SADLOWSKI

CALLS FOR MASS LAYOFFS

(from an interview in Penthouse magazine, January 1977)

"Sadlowski: ... We've reduced labor forces from 520,000, fifteen years ago, to 400,000 today. Let's reduce them to 100,000. The coal miners went from 400,000 to 68,000.

"Penthouse: But what happens to the guys who get laid off?"

"Sadlowski: In the present structure, they find employment somewhere else. Society absorbs it."

program for USWA is so bad that the RMG is compelled to term it "not outstanding." With consummate opportunism, it counsels USWA members to

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life of the contract, a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, full uncapped COLA's and an end to overtime. Oppositional groups in UAW locals, like the Committee for a Militant UAW of Local 1364, Fremont, California, have tied these demands to a broader program calling for a struggle to eliminate the capitalist system through the expropriation of industry without compensation and a workers party to fight for a workers government. The building of caucuses based on such a program throughout the union is the task of militants seeking to oust the bureaucrats and forge a new class-struggle leadership.■

vote Sadlowski into office and then try to "control" him--for "Sadlowski out of control will only be another Abel" (Old Mole, 26 November 1976). Presumably, all that led to Abel's bureaucratic stranglehold over USWA was the unfortunate fact that he got "out of control"! Even Sadlowski's fawning reliance on the capitalist courts, which the RMG finds "foolish" and "dangerous," cannot quite quell the group's enthusiasm over his sham of "union democracy."

In sharp contrast to the fake-Trotskyist RMG, Trotsky pointed out that any call for union democracy is meaningless unless accompanied by the most uncompromising defense of the independence of the unions from the capitalist state. In "Trade Union Tactics in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940), Trotsky wrote that the struggle for democracy in the trade unions "presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state."

The schisms wracking the top USWA leadership today provide an excellent opportunity for the counterposition of a class-struggle program within one of North America's most important unions. Those pretenders to the mantle of working class leadership who have jumped onto the Sadlowski bandwagon have only further demonstrated their inability to be part of the fight for such a program.■



Workers Vanguard

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. CONTINGENT ON MORGENTALER DEFENSE DEMONSTRATION, TORONTO, OCTOBER 1973

PQ Government Frees Morgentaler

FOR FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND!

After more than six years of court battles and a year in prison, Montreal physician Dr. Henry Morgentaler was freed in early December and the charges of performing illegal abortions which had been laid against him were dropped by the Parti Québécois (PQ) provincial government. Morgentaler was first charged under Canada's restrictive anti-abortion laws in 1970 and was acquitted in three Quebec jury trials in subsequent years. But the Quebec Court of Appeal, in an unprecedented move, overturned his first acquittal last year and sent the doctor to jail with an eighteen month sentence.

The liberal outcry over this abrogation of basic bourgeois-democratic legal norms was key to the PQ's decision to release Dr. Morgentaler. The PQ--which refuses to call for the repeal of the anti-abortion laws, for fear of alienating the large Catholic voting population in Quebec--used the issue as a cheap way of reasserting its populist, reformist image. Even neanderthal reactionaries like former federal Conservative leader John Diefenbaker and some anti-abortion "right-to-life" groups applauded the PQ's decision to release Morgentaler on strictly legal grounds.

While Morgentaler's release is a victory in the struggle for women's rights, it does not represent a step toward the repeal, or even the liberalizing, of the anti-abortion laws. All anti-abortion legislation must be wiped off the books. Abortion

is not a crime; free abortion on demand, performed by qualified medical personnel, should be the democratic right of all women.

While calling for free abortion, communists also demand that safe and effective contraceptives be made widely available at no cost, that there be paid maternity and paternity leave before and after childbirth, and that free quality health care and 24-hour childcare be provided for all. In contrast, the fake-Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action (LSA), which a few years ago was active in Morgentaler defense activities, limited its intervention to demanding that the charges against Morgentaler be dropped, on occasion adding that the present anti-abortion laws should be repealed. In order to curry influence with liberals--like Liberal Party politician Laura Sabia, for whom the LSA built several speaking tours--the LSA refused to take up the call for free abortion on demand, which addresses the needs of the masses of poor and working women.

The LSA's refusal to give a class axis to its campaigns against the anti-abortion laws is consistent with its support for bourgeois feminist ideology, which refuses to recognize the centrality of the working class in the fight against all forms of special oppression. Only a Trotskyist vanguard party, rooted in the proletariat and leading all the exploited and oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution, can show the way forward to women's liberation.■

Protest the Deportations of Peltier and Omura!

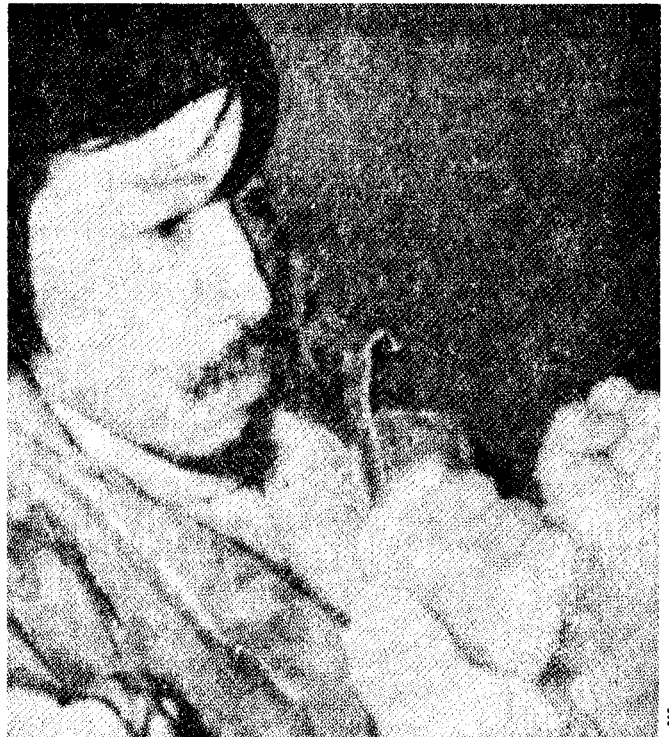
American Indian Movement (AIM) activist Leonard Peltier was extradited from Canada on December 18. He was flown by helicopter and plane from Oakalla prison near Vancouver, where he had been in solitary confinement since February, to South Dakota. There Peltier will face trial on frame-up murder charges stemming from the shooting of two FBI agents on Pine Ridge reservation in 1975.

During the same week, the Canadian government secretly deported Toshio Omura, allegedly a member of the Japanese Red Army. In Japan he is accused of involvement in the bombing of a Kyoto police station after the brutal suppression of the 1969 student rebellion. The highhanded expulsion of these two refugees from reactionary persecution reveals the repressive reality behind Ottawa's false claims of "concern for human rights."

Both deportations were carried out under provisions of Canada's reactionary immigration laws. Omura was deported under the "Temporary Immigration Act" passed in February as part of the repressive machinery that was geared up in preparation for the Montreal Olympic Games. Under this act, the immigration minister may immediately deport anyone "who in his opinion is likely to engage in acts of violence that would or might endanger the lives or safety of persons in Canada or engage in other violent criminal activity if admitted to Canada or permitted to remain therein." Once the minister has formed his "opinion" of what someone is "likely" to do that "might endanger" anyone, there need be no formal charges, no hearings, no evidence, no right to counsel, no appeal nor any other legal recourse; and, indeed, in Omura's case there was none.

The Temporary Immigration Act was scheduled to expire on December 31, and the government authorities who designed this draconian legislation have been seeking to push parliament to codify it on a more permanent basis. The summary deportation of Omura was a demonstration of how "expediently" left-wing militants can be removed. Following the secret expulsion, a spokesman for the immigration department simply dismissed out of hand the norms of bourgeois legality:

"In immigration you sometimes have to weigh the interests of national security against those of civil rights. When it comes to terrorism, Canadians seem able to realize that when national



TOP: MANACLED, TOSHIO OMURA ARRIVES AT A TOKYO POLICE STATION FOLLOWING HIS DEPORTATION FROM CANADA. BOTTOM: POLICE LEAD LEONARD PELTIER FROM OAKALLA PRISON, BRITISH COLUMBIA, TO A HELICOPTER, FOR HIS EXTRADITION TO SOUTH DAKOTA.



security is involved you can't always be too concerned about civil rights."

--Globe and Mail, 18 December

Clearly, the Canadian government, cops and bourgeois press have done their jobs for the FBI. According to Stu Rush, one of Peltier's lawyers, (continued on page 10)