

4 SPARTACIST

CANADA Oct. 1975 No. 1 \$20

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE HOLDS FOUNDING CONFERENCE

The Trotskyist League of Canada was founded in late summer with the goal of constructing the party of proletarian revolution in Canada. In this country where reformism, centrism and New Leftism have for years masqueraded as Marxism-Leninism the TLC proudly claims the mantle of authentic Trotskyism, that is, revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. The founding of the TLC represents an important event in the continuing growth of the international Spartacist tendency and a genuine step forward towards constructing the world party of socialist revolution.

The TLC Founding Conference marked the culmination of a successful fusion between the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency and the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, expelled left opposition of the Revolutionary Marxist Group. This principled programmatic fusion, along with the parallel development of recruitment of individuals out of the Pabloist and left milieus in Toronto and Vancouver, laid the basis for the Founding Conference.

One-third of the founding membership were previously members of the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) in Canada --primarily its centrist affiliate, the Revolutionary Marxist Group. This section of the TLC membership includes one comrade who was a full member of the RMG Central Committee, two others who were members of an RMG Local Executive and a total of seven comrades who were founding members of the RMG.

Previous membership in the League for Socialist Action (LSA), reformist affiliate of the USec, was also represented. Another third of the Conference attendees were previously part of the RMG periphery, attending its study classes and other activities. Thus, most of the founding membership comes to the iSt having had experience in or around ostensibly Leninist organizations.

The founding of the TLC thus confirms once again the correctness of the revolutionary regroupment tactic pursued by the iSt. Even the USec has been

(continued on page 2)

Introducing SPARTACIST/Canada

Spartacist/Canada is dedicated to the Marxist principle that truth is revolutionary. In this spirit, the spirit that permeates the press of our international tendency, Spartacist will seek to expose the treacherous lies of the bourgeoisie, to bring to our readers an understanding of the irreconcilable class antagonisms that characterize capitalist society, and to put forward the program, strategy and tactics necessary to realize the victory of the international proletariat.

As a communist tool of intervention, Spartacist will bring the politics of proletarian revolution into the left and workers movement, continuing the Leninist tradition of merciless criticism of those who claim to stand for the interests of the working class but betray those interests in practice.

Spartacist will focus on events and questions of importance to the Canadian socialist revolution: the fight for industrial unionism under communist leadership; militant opposition to all forms of racial

and sexual oppression, including the oppression of native people, racist immigration policies and the unequal social and economic status of women; communist intervention on the campuses and in the various student movements; and the struggle for a revolutionary workers party that will fight for a workers government.

Spartacist No. 1 is a special double issue of 16 pages, including a reprint of the founding document of the international Spartacist tendency, the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency." We project the regularization of our press frequency in the near future. With determination and revolutionary optimism, Spartacist commits itself to assisting in the construction of the world party of socialist revolution. Forward to the International Trotskyist League and to the reforging of the Fourth International! ■

Special Double Issue

(continued from page 1)

forced to acknowledge the success of the iSt's regroupment orientation; the Italian USec section, for one example, admitted in its press that the B-LT took with it 10 percent of the RMG's total membership (Bandiera Rossa, 25 May 1975).

The TLC adopted its name as an expression both of its political program and current tasks. As a component national grouping of the iSt, the TLC is committed to the earliest possible launching of the International Trotskyist League, nucleus of a reborn Fourth International. As part of this international perspective, the TLC seeks to establish itself as the clear pole of revolutionary Trotskyism within the Canadian left--through exemplary work in the trade unions, on the campuses and around important issues such as immigration, racism and defence of the workers movement and the oppressed against bourgeois attacks, and by exposing the various opportunist tendencies in Canada which falsely claim to represent Trotskyism, particularly the RMG and LSA.

ORIGINS OF THE RMG

In 1971-72, a left opposition crystallized in the LSA, at that time the only affiliate of the USec and also for many years the only visible ostensibly Trotskyist organization in Canada. The Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT) came into existence in part as a left reaction to the LSA's accelerated adaptation and capitulation to feminism, the social-democratic New Democratic Party and Canadian nationalism, and in part as a result of the attraction exerted by the "revolutionary" posturing of the LSA's factional opponents within the USec, primarily its French and British sections, the Ligue Communiste (presently the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire) and the International Marxist Group, respectively.

Subjected in its formative stages to ferocious and hysterical bureaucratic repression by the LSA leadership, the RCT did not seek political allies on a positive and clear program but on a negative basis: hostility to the LSA's class-collaborationist "mass campaign" politics, rejection of the LSA's tail-endism and liquidationism toward the NDP, and even cliquist antagonism toward the LSA's "regime."

Seeing that the European sections of the USec, the core parties of what is presently the International Majority Tendency (IMT), shared this program of "negative differentiation" from the LSA and that these organizations appeared to be enjoying some real successes, the RCT simply embraced the centrist politics of the USec majority, without seriously investigating them or studying the history of the USec and other tendencies considering themselves Trotskyist. With the expulsion/split of the RCT and its fusion with two other groups, the Red Circle and the Old Mole (an inchoate left-reformist caucus in the NDP and a New Left student group respectively), the Revolutionary Marxist Group was founded in 1973.

From its inception, the RMG allied itself with the "extremist" wing of the IMT which was opposed to conciliating the LSA and its American co-thinkers, the Socialist Workers Party, and which argued for the immediate implementation of democratic-centralist norms on an international basis within the USec.



spartacist canada

SESSION OF TLC FOUNDING CONFERENCE.

THE RMG IN SEARCH OF THE "BROAD VANGUARD"

The RMG made no investigation of the Bolshevik-Trotskyist heritage embodied in the documentation and practice of the early Communist International and Trotsky's Fourth International. Instead, it squabbled internally over the "correct" application of the IMT's revisionist politics to the Canadian political situation. The first two years of the RMG's existence have thus been marked by a rather comic and futile effort to "locate," "crystallize," "politicize" and "penetrate" the elusive "broad vanguard" that the USec majority insists is in the process of emerging everywhere under the impact of the irresistible "new rise of world revolution."

The essence of the "broad vanguard" methodology is substitutionism, i. e., seeing the possibility or likelihood for other classes or forces than the working class--the only consistently revolutionary class in capitalist society--to be the central and leading element in a socialist revolution. A parallel deviation from Marxism underlies the "new rise of world revolution" theory which, in its objectivism, denies the need for a politically self-conscious working class--embodied in a mass Leninist party --to intervene in the historical process and make the revolution happen.

Flowing from these two basic revisions of Marxist methodology come a series of opportunist errors in practice: rejection of the centrality of program in the construction of the revolutionary organization in favor of a policy of unprincipled and impotent propaganda blocs; rejection of the Transitional Program of the Fourth International as the basis for communist work in the trade unions in favor of economist trade unionism; and rejection of the Bolshevik conception of a communist women's movement as a section of the revolutionary party in favor of the feminist-inspired notion of an autonomous women's movement.

The RMG's opportunism and sectarian hostility to interventions and united-front proposals made by comrades of the Spartacist League/US were instrumental in breaking a number of militants away from

(continued on page 12)

Letter Carriers Convention Usurped by Bureaucrats and Boss

CRUCIAL ISSUES of MAPP, MERGER and SCABBING IGNORED

For militant workers who believe that the trade unions should serve their interests, a union convention--the highest body of the union--should be an event where the burning questions confronting the workers can be democratically discussed and policies arrived at that will guide the union's struggle to defend the interests of its membership and of the working class as a whole.

This is particularly important at the present time when the state is escalating its attacks on the trade-union movement. For example, the work of the Cliche Commission (whose recommendations led to enactment of laws placing Quebec construction unions in effective government receivership) and the enforcement of the Public Service Staff Relations Act (which bans certain government workers from striking and prohibits the negotiation of "technology" in collective bargaining) are two related components of the bourgeois state's current attempts to undermine the independence and power of the trade unions.

The recent national Convention of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), held in Niagara Falls from 25 to 29 August, neither provided a framework for the necessary democratic discussion nor gave serious consideration to crucial issues facing the workers--such as anti-labor legislation and the need for unity of all postal workers through a democratic union merger with the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW).

"CLEANING UP" THE EXECUTIVE

Ironically, outgoing LCUC President Roger Decarie spoke very much to the point in his opening remarks to the Convention: "Our union has survived up till now...but I think it's a miracle...especially in the last three years... The time has come to do a good clean-up in this Exec. Committee...." The time certainly had come to clean out Roger Decarie and other bureaucrats of his ilk and replace them with a leadership committed to a class-struggle fight. Instead, the "shake-up" in the National Executive consisted merely of the replacement of three of the five incumbent Executive Board members with three equally rotten new bureaucrats who do not have to bear personal responsibility for the sins of their predecessors.

Bob McGarry, a bureaucrat whose reputation is no better than Decarie's, managed to put together enough blocs to get himself elected President. None of the candidates for National Executive Board, including McGarry, made so much as a single piece of election propaganda, preferring instead to run on the basis of back-room deals, patronage and their reputations as consistently rotten business union-



spartacist canada

BRYCE MACKASEY, SELF-PROCLAIMED "FRIEND OF LABOR." WITH "FRIENDS" LIKE THIS...

ists. For example, McGarry and the rest of the new Executive members unanimously supported the wretched 1975 contract negotiated by the Decarie "team"--a settlement which Decarie in his opening remarks termed "a good one for the employer"!

McGarry's first act as President, at the Convention's final session, was to propose salary increases for himself and the other full-time officers. It was discovered, however, that a quorum was not present. Despite a halt in proceedings and some desperate corridor hunts by the bureaucrats for the frustrated and bored delegates who had gone elsewhere, a quorum could not be established and the motion had to be tabled to a mail referendum of the membership.

The Convention proceedings were organized to suppress democratic discussion. Motions could only be presented that had first been passed locally, all motions were rewritten by a Resolutions Committee into "composite" form--a procedure essen-

(continued on next page)

(continued from page 3)

tially for the purpose of laundering left-oppositionist motions, and a majority vote by the delegates was required to challenge the Committee's recommendations and hold a floor debate. Thus, all minority views were stifled.

**FOR A DEMOCRATIC MERGER
OF LCUC-CUPW! NO RAIDING!**

The Convention dealt exhaustively with a host of structural changes based on bureaucratic jockeying for power, consciously ignoring the key questions of merger and MAPP. Industrial unionism is a crucial issue for postal workers, seriously weakened in their struggles by their division into two large, competing unions, the LCUC and the CUPW. A democratic merger of these two unions would be an important step forward in strengthening the power of postal workers.

Rather than struggling to achieve merger, the union leadership is working against it, putting the interests of bureaucratic "turf" power over the interests of the rank and file. Decarie congratulated himself and his fellow bureaucrats for disaffiliating from the Council of Postal Unions, a bloc between CUPW and LCUC for the purposes of contract negotiations, and thus severing even the very partial unity which this had represented.

The bureaucrats did approach the question of "merger" from their own viewpoint, proposing a motion to redefine LCUC membership in the union constitution, eliminating the section which excludes from membership the categories of mail handlers, postal clerks and mail dispatchers (presently CUPW members), thereby leaving the way open for raiding the CUPW, as justified by the LCUC constitution.

The consequence of such bureaucratic behavior is the creation of further divisions among postal workers, along bureaucratic "turf warfare" lines. A "successful" raiding of the CUPW would mean that the thereby weakened union would be even less able to defend the workers remaining in it. Management is then placed in a better position to enforce lower wages and worse working conditions on the weaker union--a situation which opens the way for greater attacks on all unions and the working class as a whole.

This barely disguised proposal for raiding was opposed by numerous delegates, particularly those from Quebec. However, it was uncritically endorsed by one Roger Annis, a Toronto delegate whose views are supported by the Revolutionary Marxist Group. In typical shortsighted manner and consistent with the RMG's bent for tail-ending the union bureaucrats, Annis motivated his position on the grounds that he supported the "unity" of all postal workers! Although Annis later admitted privately to a Spartacist reporter attending the Convention as an observer that he was having a few doubts as to whether or not he had in fact supported raiding, he dismissed it as an essentially inconsequential question.

**DOWN WITH THE BUREAUCRATS' MUTUAL
SCABBING AGREEMENTS!**

While the bureaucrats were unable to avoid the passage of a censure motion against the past National Executive for scabbing on the union's office staff

last spring, they did manage to avoid any discussion of the criminal mutual scabbing agreement which the LCUC National Executive was a party to with the CUPW sellout leadership earlier this year. This is of particular importance as a possible CUPW strike looms this fall. The terms of this deal pave the way for the defeat of any strikes and can only deepen the already serious craft-unionist rift which exists between the CUPW and LCUC memberships.

FIGHT MAPP-PSSRA!

Another key question facing LCUC members in the next period is management's plan to introduce MAPP, a massive automation program which would result in widespread layoffs, increased workloads and speed-up for letter carriers and postal drivers. A successful struggle against MAPP would entail a fight to smash the repressive anti-labor legislation embodied in the PSSRA. The fact that automation was never discussed is an indication of the bureaucracy's desire to win acceptance of MAPP among LCUC workers by posing it as a threat to CUPW workers "only."

BUREAUCRATS PAY HOMAGE TO THE BOSS

Although the LCUC brass did not see fit to discuss the question of automation/layoffs, one of their "special friends" whom they invited to address the Convention, Post Master General Bryce Mackasey, was not so cautious.

(continued on page 13)

ABONNEZ-VOUS SPARTACIST édition française

10F les 4 numéros

Contenu du No. 9:

- **Purge à la LCR pour délit d'opinion**
- **Lettre aux BP et CC de la LCR**
- **Déclaration de la Fraction Bolchévique-Léniniste pour la Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale**

écrire à

**Bruno Porquier
B.P. 57
95120 Ermont
FRANCE**

**Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, New York 10001
USA**

Not Liberal Dead-Endism But...

A CLASS STRUGGLE FIGHT AGAINST RACIAL OPPRESSION!

The anti-immigrant campaign of the government and the bourgeois media has moved into high gear over the last few months with the successful deportation of the majority of the 1,500 Haitians from Montreal, the continuing attempts to deport black radical Rosie Douglas, and the carefully-orchestrated national publicity campaign to drum up support for the Green Paper racist immigration policy.

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.

This increase in racist and chauvinist attacks has given rise over the past year to several self-proclaimed "anti-racist" organizations in Canada all purporting to provide a strategy for struggle against racism and national oppression. While differing widely in their origins, these organizations all share one fundamental characteristic: not one of them holds that the only consistent anti-racist fight must be an anti-capitalist one. Every one of these groups, in particular the Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression (AARPR) and the International Committee Against Racism (INCAR), uphold some variant of "militant anti-racist" program which is in fact reformist.

Only the Trotskyist League of Canada (and its predecessors, the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency and the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency) fights consistently for a class-struggle strategy against racial oppression, at the same time seeking to unite in action the broadest possible forces opposed to the racist offensive. In demonstrations and public meetings in Toronto and Vancouver, TL comrades have protested the deportations and the Green Paper, while raising calls for full citizenship and trade-union rights for all foreign workers, jobs for all through a sliding scale of wages and hours, and for a united labor/racial-minority defense against racist attacks. In further counterposition to INCAR and AARPR, the TL has pointed to the need for a revolutionary workers party to overthrow capitalism and lay the material basis for ending racial oppression.

INCAR: LIBERALISM AND GANGSTERISM

The International Committee Against Racism is the latest of the liberal front groups of the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour, an organization which has engaged in wretched liberal "anti-racist" work for the last few years. INCAR is both sectarian to the point of gangsterism (having on several occasions physically excluded from demonstrations supporters of opponent tendencies on the left) and moralist and sub-reformist in its approach to anti-racist work.

(continued on page 6)

NDP Gov't Orders Mass Arrests DEFEND THE B.C. NATIVE MILITANTS!

VANCOUVER--On 18 and 19 July over 70 native militants from the Mount Currie Band and another band at Gold River were arrested by the RCMP, which physically removed road blockades set up to protest government harassment and failure to settle long-standing land claims. These explicitly political arrests, aimed at stopping growing militancy and political action by native people in B. C. and across Canada, came following a direct order from the Attorney-General's department of the provincial New Democratic Party government.

Revolutionaries call for unconditional defense of all native militants under attack by the capitalist class. All charges against the arrested militants must be dropped! While recognizing the courage

shown by the B.C. native militants, it is necessary to argue against the futile strategy of small-group confrontations with the bourgeois state to achieve reforms and democratic rights. It must be pointed out that complete liberation from racial and national oppression can only be achieved by linking such struggles to the proletarian fight for socialist revolution.

The Vancouver local of the Trotskyist League has written to the Mount Currie Band expressing the TL's solidarity with them against this vicious government attack and enclosing a financial donation for legal defense. Additional messages of support and financial assistance for defense should be sent to the Mount Currie Band, c/o Native Study Group, P. O. Box 35663, Station 'E', Vancouver, B. C. ■

(continued from page 5)

INCAR calls upon the government to "deport racists," unmindful of the fact that any such act by the bourgeois state's repressive apparatus will only be used as a precedent against the left and workers movement. INCAR's most recent reported activity in Vancouver has been to charge the local Unemployment Insurance Commission with racism for its discriminatory dealings with an East Indian applicant and, presumably as part of INCAR's "fight back" strategy, to demand of the UIC that "an apology be made for the inconvenience" (The Worker, 6 September)!

CPL/INCAR's entire strategy is based upon a fundamentally idealist premise: that "fighting racism" consists at root of eliminating "bad ideas." Unable to draw the class line or comprehend the materialist root of racial oppression, INCAR is compelled to gyrate wildly between the poles of liberalism and sectarianism. A recent polemic in the CPL's paper, The Worker (21 June) states its intention of "smashing the Trots and anyone else who gets in the way" of INCAR's work, at the same time affirming that "INCAR is not a communist organization, but it accomplishes the job of fighting racism. It does the job." The CPL thus invites liberals and bourgeois elements to smash communists in its declared "fight against racism."

Racial oppression is woven into the fabric of capitalist society and will only be completely rooted out with the victory of the working class in its struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Those who seek to "fight racism" by lining up with liberals against those who seek to smash racism via a class-struggle strategy commit the worst kind of betrayal against the very oppressed races and nationalities they claim to champion, for liberation from this oppression depends on creating a conscious link between these oppressed groups and the proletarian struggle against capital.

RMG-LSA'S "ALLIANCE" AGAINST TROTSKYIST 'ANTI-RACIST' POLICIES

The Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, formerly the Committee Against the Deportation of the Haitians (CADH), is the outcome of an attempt by the Canadian representatives of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group and the reformist League for Socialist Action, to construct a "broad" national counterweight to INCAR.

The AARPR differs from INCAR not in program, but in its less overtly sectarian veneer. Supposedly contained within the Alliance in various cities are, in addition to the RMG and LSA, the social-democratic Independent Socialists, the ultra-nationalist Canadian Liberation Movement, the Black Workers Alliance of Toronto and even the pro-Moscow Communist Party (AARPR Monthly Newsletter, July 1975).

But the presence (at least formally) of such a wide array of political organizations by no means makes the Alliance so blessedly "non-sectarian" as its components profess. In fact the various groups involved are "united" around a minimalist liberal program and a non-aggression pact designed to stifle political differences and exclude communist criticisms. The AARPR is today both an unprinci-

pled and inherently unstable propaganda bloc and a reformist political organization aspiring to possess all the requisite paraphernalia (membership cards, dues and so on).

From the outset, the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency (and, following its expulsion from the RMG, the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency) attended meetings of the CADH/AARPR in Toronto to propose united-front actions against the deportations of the Haitians and Rosie Douglas. Proposals to this effect, which would have guaranteed all participating organizations the right to express their own political views in the context of united action, were presented by the CCiSt in February and again in April and June.

The CCiSt comrades pointed out that in order to involve the entire left and labor movement, participation in a united front must not be conditional on the acceptance of any particular political program. On all occasions the RMG and LSA rejected such proposals for Leninist united fronts, recognizing that to grant equal rights to communists might make their sought-after political alliance with petty-bourgeois nationalists, trade-union bureaucrats and bourgeois politicians more difficult to achieve.

Recently the Toronto Alliance adopted for the first time both an official programmatic statement ("9 Point Program") and a series of organizational rules for participation in its meetings and activities. The two were intimately related: meetings were henceforth to be open only to those "individuals and groups which accept the basis of unity of the Alliance." Observers were to have three meetings to decide for or against entering the Alliance, during which time they could be granted or deprived their speaking rights "by a mere majority show of hands of those Alliance members in attendance" (motion passed at AARPR meeting, 21 July).

In this manner the unabashedly lowest-common-denominator Alliance program was to be bureaucratically protected against communist criticism. Following the adoption of the program and organizational rules the CCiSt and B-LT withdrew from further participation in Alliance meetings, denouncing the sectarian maneuvering and reformist strategy of the organization while reaffirming their intention to engage in principled united-front action with all anti-racist forces.

The AARPR "9 Point Program" includes an assortment of democratic demands, designed to accommodate each bloc component sufficiently to forestall an early rupture in the organization. A series of demands for equal rights and defense of those harassed by the bourgeois state is garnished with a more "militant" classless slogan for unconditional solidarity with Caribbean liberation struggles and a final reformist call for winning the labor movement to the Alliance's anti-racist strategy, i.e., winning the labor movement to reformism. At no time is a broader perspective of revolutionary class struggle posed.

The AARPR wants to "end police brutality" (a demand its component groups have repeatedly raised at demonstrations) without having to struggle against the bourgeois state and at no time recognizing the necessarily "brutal" role of the capitalists!

armed guardians. While it is necessary to call for jailing of police engaged in specific acts of violence against oppressed groups and the left and workers movement, the generalized slogan "end police brutality" implies that the police can be reformed. In place of such illusory reformist slogans, Trotskyists point to the need for mobilizing independent labor/racial-minority defense against attacks by the state.

The AARPR also wishes to cover its left flank and thus "supports the right to self-defense against racist attack" for racial minorities. However, in the absence of a perspective for a labor/racial-minority mobilization against such attacks, the "defense" recommended by the Alliance can at best be only partially and temporarily effective and at worst a formula for a potentially disastrous race riot.

The Spartacist tendency has consistently argued for a class defense, mobilizing the power of the organized working class behind the victimized minorities. In Chicago a labor/black defense guard was in fact established by a UAW local at the instigation of the Labor Struggle Caucus, an opposition group in the union whose views are supported by the Spartacist League/U. S.

Without a conception recognizing the centrality and potential social weight of the organized proletariat, the AARPR is left only with a tacit and basically impotent alliance between racial minorities and the small and isolated left groups: "We are available to assist national minority workers in organizing both self-defense and political mobilizations against these racist attacks" ("9 Point Program").

The Alliance's attitude toward the trade unions is well summed up in the final statement of its "Program": "We will work actively in solidarity with unions which take progressive stands against racism." In the absence of a strategy of fighting for political leadership within the unions on a class-struggle program, this can only be a formula for uncritically tailing left-posturing "anti-racist" bureaucrats like the CSN's Michel Chartrand (a speaker at Alliance-sponsored events in the past).

WHAT STRATEGY TO FIGHT RACIAL OPPRESSION?

The key to the fight against racial oppression is the struggle for communist leadership of the working class, a struggle which must include the ouster of the incumbent pro-capitalist leadership of the trade unions and other mass workers organizations. Racism and national chauvinism are inextricably rooted in the material conditions of capitalist society. Those whose perspectives are tied to the defense of capitalist property relations (like the New Democratic Party and the union bureaucracy), or whose program is limited to reforming bourgeois laws and fighting "bad ideas" (such as the AARPR and INCAR), are simply unable to lead a successful fight against racism.

Within the strategic perspective of breaking down racial barriers and uniting the class around a communist program, the use of the Leninist united-front tactic is extremely important for building a broad-based defense for specific campaigns and in



DEMONSTRATION IN MONTREAL AGAINST DEPORTATION OF HAITIANS, EARLY 1975.

providing an arena where communists can struggle to win new forces to the only program that can defeat racial oppression--the program of proletarian revolution.

Racism is a trans-class phenomenon and the communist organization as--in Lenin's words--a "tribune of the people" seeks to fight it whenever it raises its ugly head. This fight stems both from opposition to the suppression of democratic rights and in recognition of the necessity to unite workers along class lines, breaking down racial, national and sexual divisions. Thus, there is of course no question of "waiting for socialism" before fighting against racism.

What is crucial is that this fight be linked up now to the class fight against capital. Otherwise it remains but one more futile utopian effort that frustrates, demoralizes and wastes the valuable energy of militants genuinely seeking an end to these evils. Liberal moralism and those faint-hearted, short-sighted revisionists in the left movement who seek to adapt to it are nothing but obstacles in the fight against racial oppression. A revolutionary proletarian strategy is the only way to eliminate this vicious outgrowth of class society. ■

Basic Documents of the IST

Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency

INTRODUCTION

We reprint below the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency," the founding document of the international Spartacist tendency. The 1974 "Declaration" was necessarily written in the light of a historical background originating in the United States. The Spartacist tendency has long struggled to transform its living internationalist commitment into a truly international organization.

From the time when the "Declaration" was written, the IST has made a qualitative leap to functioning sections and sympathizing groups in Europe and Canada. Out of the political struggles described below, the following organizations of the IST have emerged: the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (Trotskyist League of Germany), the Oesterreichische Bolshewiki-Leninisten (Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists), the Ligue Trotskyste de France (Trotskyist League of France), the Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia (Spartacist Nucleus of Italy) and the Trotskyist League of Canada. These organizations proudly take their place in one democratic-centralist international tendency alongside the Spartacist League of the United States and the Spartacist League of Australia/New Zealand, the original signers of the "Declaration."

1. The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand and the Spartacist League of the United States declare themselves to be the nucleus for the early crystallization of an international Trotskyist tendency based upon the 1966 Declaration of Principles and dedicated to the rebirth of the Fourth International.

2. In a half dozen other countries parties, groups and committees have expressed their general or specific sympathy or support for the international Spartacist tendency, as have scattered supporters or sympathizers from a number of additional countries. Among these groups and individuals are comrades, in both Europe and Asia, possessing many years or even decades of experience as cadres of the Trotskyist movement.

3. The Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency, a small Marxist wing of the "United Secretariat," centered on the United States and with supporters in

Australia and elsewhere, has seen its spokesmen expelled from their national sections and parties for seeking to express their views within the United Secretariat, that deeply factionally divided and unprincipled conglomeration of reformists and revisionists, latter-day Kautskys, Bukharins and Pablos. If the main contenders in the United Secretariat are united in their common and not-so-veiled class collaborationist appetites, they are deeply divided between the electoralism and placid neo-populism of, e.g., the American Socialist Workers Party and the guerrilla-terrorist enthusing of, e.g., the French ex-Ligue Communiste. These differences reflect far more the differing national milieus and resulting opportunist appetites than they do any questions of principle. The recently concluded "Tenth World Congress" of the United Secretariat refused to hear or even acknowledge the appeal of RIT comrades against their expulsion. The RIT forces are now making common cause with the Spartacist tendency. They are but a vanguard of those who will struggle out of the revisionist swamp and toward revolutionary Marxism. Already in France an oppositional Central Committee member of the former Ligue Communiste has broken from the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (recently formed by Rouge) in solidarity with the views of the RIT.

4. In Germany senior elements from the centrist and now fragmented left split from the United Secretariat in 1969 are being won to the Spartacist tendency. They are regrouping around the publication Kommunistische Korrespondenz. In Germany three inextricable tasks are posed for Leninists: to programmatically win over subjectively revolutionary elements from among the thousands of young left social democrats, centrists, revisionists and Maoists; to fuse together intellectual and proletarian elements, above all through the development and struggle of communist industrial fractions; to inwardly assimilate some thirty years of Marxist experience and analysis from which the long break in continuity has left the new generation of German revolutionary Marxists still partially isolated.

5. In Austria, Israel, Canada and elsewhere similar splits, followed by revolutionary regroupment and growth, are occurring. In Austria the initial

nucleus came from youth of the United Secretariat section. The "Vanguard" group of Israel is the last still united section of the old "International Committee" which split in 1971 between the British Socialist Labour League's wing led by Gerry Healy (with which the American Workers League of Wohlforth is still united despite friction) and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste led by Pierre Lambert which subsequently lost most of its international support--i. e., with the Bolivian Partido Obrero Revolucionario of G. Lora and the European groupings around the Hungarian, Varga, both breaking away. If the "Vanguard" group amid this welter of disintegration is still unable to choose between the counterposed claims of Healy and Lambert, it did produce and promptly expel a principled and valiant counter-tendency to both. In Canada youth from the Revolutionary Marxist Group's Red Circles are being drawn to Trotskyism. Everywhere unprincipled formations are subjected to the hammer blows of sharpened capitalist crisis and upsurge in the class struggle.

6. In Ceylon where the historical consequences of Pabloist revisionism have been most fully revealed, only the Revolutionary Workers Party, led by the veteran Trotskyist, Edmund Samarakkody, has emerged with integrity from the welter of betrayals perpetrated by the old LSSP and which were aided and abetted by the United Secretariat, its unspeakable agent on the island, Bala Tampoe, and the craven Healyite "International Committee." The RWP has been compelled to seek to generalize the revolutionary Marxist program anew from Marxist class-struggle principles.

7. The Spartacist tendency is now actively working for the immediate convening of an international conference to politically and geographically extend the tendency and to further formalize and consolidate it. The tendency organizing nucleus will seek to work in the closest collaboration with sympathizing groups, particularly in continuing and assuring a broadly-based and full written and verbal discussion process leading to this international conference.

In the pre-conference interim the tendency organizing nucleus assumes political and organizational responsibility for the prior international resolutions, declarations, open letters and agreements for common work of its present constituent groups. These documents notably include: "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," 14 June 1963; Statement to the 3rd Conference of the International Committee, 6 April 1966; Letter to the OCRI and French OCI, 15 January 1973; Letter to Samarakkody, 27 October 1973; the historical analyses: "Genesis of Pabloism," "Development of the Spartacist League [of New Zealand]," and "The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon"; and the agreements endorsed at the interim international conference held in Germany in January 1974.

8. Both the present "United Secretariat" and the former "International Committee" despite their respective pretensions "to be" the Fourth International, as a necessary condition for their fake "unities," have chronically mocked the principles of internationalism and of Bolshevik democratic centralism as their different national groups or nationally-



based factions have gone their own way--ultimately in response to the pressures of their own ruling classes. Thus until the English and French components of the ex-"International Committee" blew apart, the International Committee operated explicitly on the proposition that "the only method of arriving at decisions that remains possible at present is the principle of unanimity" (decision at the 1966 London International Committee Conference). Since then the Healyites have substituted the naked Gauleiter/Führer principle as their mockery of democratic centralism. The other, OCI-led, wing of the ex-IC retained the contradiction of launching the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, which was supposed to initiate political discussion on the basis of the 1938 Transitional Program, while simultaneously seeking to build new national sections. Both such hypothetical sections and the Organizing Committee itself therefore labored under a basic ambiguity from the outset, but the Organizing Committee's disintegration, into sharply counterposed elements all of whom swear by the 1938 Program, has left its practice stillborn.

Today, following the just concluded "Tenth Congress" of the United Secretariat, its American supporters, being themselves in the Minority internationally, threaten their own national minority, the Internationalist Tendency (which belongs to the international Majority), by declaring:

"The Socialist Workers Party proclaims its fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International but is prevented by reactionary legislation from affiliating to it. All political activities of members of the SWP are decided upon by the democratically elected national leadership bodies of the SWP and by the local and branch units of the party. Unconditional acceptance of the authority of these SWP bodies is a prerequisite of membership. There are no other bodies whose decisions are binding on the SWP or its members." [our emphasis]

--SWP Internal Information Bulletin #4, April 1974, from Introductory Note, 17 April 1974

9. This apparently naked assertion of national independence by or toward organizations in the United States is not unique and has a specific history. Thus the American Healyite publicist, Wohlforth, declares in his pamphlet, "Revisionism in Crisis":

"With the passing of the Voorhis Act in 1940 the SWP was barred from membership in the Fourth International by law. Ever since that time the SWP has not been able to be an affiliate of the Fourth International. So today its relationship to the United Secretariat is one of political solidarity just as the Workers' League stands in political solidarity with the International Committee."

The "Voorhis Act" passed by the American Congress in 1940 has been used as a convenient excuse for revisionists to more openly display their concrete anti-internationalism than is convenient for their co-thinkers elsewhere.

This act, while ostensibly aimed centrally at domestic military conspiracies directed by foreign powers, was actually intended, as was the overlapping "Smith Act," to harass the American Communist Party, then supporting the Hitler-Stalin Pact. A key provision states: "An organization is subject to foreign control if... its policies or any of them are determined by or at the suggestion of... an international political organization" (political activity being defined as that aimed at the forcible control or overthrow of the government). Such organizations were to be subject to such massive and repetitive "registration" requirements as to paralyze them, quite aside from the impermissible nature of many of the disclosures demanded. Thus it was similar to the later "Communist Control Act" which was successfully fought by the American CP. But the "Voorhis Act" with its patently unconstitutional and contradictory provisions has never been used by the government--only by revisionists.

10. Today the United Secretariat Majority makes loud cries in favor of international unity and discipline i. e., against the SWP's views and conduct, but it was not always so. When the forerunner of the Spartacist League tried to appeal its expulsion

from the SWP to the United Secretariat, Pierre Frank wrote for the United Secretariat on 28 May 1965 that:

"In reply to your letter of May 18 we call your attention first of all to the fact that the Fourth International has no organizational connection with the Socialist Workers party and consequently has no jurisdiction in a problem such as you raise; namely, the application of democratic centralism as it affects the organization either as a whole or in individual instances."

After Frank gave the Spartacists his answer, Healy publicly expressed sympathy for the Spartacists' plight, charging in his Newsletter of 16 June 1965 that Frank "ducks behind a legal formula for cover." But when Healy's own ox was gored by the SWP's publication of the embarrassing pamphlet "Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International," Healy's SLL threatened violence and/or legal action ("Political Committee Statement," 20 August 1966 Newsletter) against any who circulated the pamphlet in his England. Shortly he used both--the Tate affair! Healy claimed as the basis for his threats the self-same fear of the Voorhis Act on behalf of Wohlforth and the Spartacists. But the Spartacist then replied:

"We for our part reject the SLL's solicitousness on our behalf. The Voorhis Act is a paper tiger--never used against anyone and patently unconstitutional. For the Justice Department to start proceedings against a small group like ours or the smaller and less threatening [Wohlforthite] ACFI would make the government a laughing stock, and Healy knows this. He is aware that for years the SWP has hidden behind this very act to defend its own federalist idea of an International."

--Spartacist #7, Sept.-Oct. 1966

11. More currently, however, as in the United Secretariat Majority's "Again, and Always, the Question of the International" (by Alain Krivine and the self-same Pierre Frank, 10 June 1971, SWP Inter-

4 SPARTACIST

canada

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

Single issues: 10¢

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

Printed in a union shop by union labor.

national Information Bulletin #5, July 1971) they attack the public formulation by Jack Barnes, SWP National Secretary, that "the principal condition for international organization" is "collaboration between leaderships... in every country." To this idea Krivine and Frank counterpose "the International, a world party based on democratic centralism." And later this Majority Tendency (in IIDB Volume X, #20, October 1973) notes that the Minority, in flagrant contradiction to Barnes' and Hansen's previously expressed views, declares, "we will do our utmost to construct a strong [international] center," and the Majority concludes that "actual practice leaves no doubt: the [Minority] faction would be for a 'strong center' if it were able to have a majority in it." And most recently the same United Secretariat Majority asserts that behind the acts of the SWP-based Minority "lies a federalist conception of the International which contradicts the statutes and the line adopted by the [Tenth] World Congress" (17 March 1974, IIDB Volume XI, #5, April 1974). The United Secretariat Majority ought to know. They made this accusation in commenting on a Tenth Congress joint Minority-Majority agreement so flagrant in mutually amnestying every sort of indiscipline, public attack and disavowal, organizational chicanery, walkout and expulsion that the Majority also had to offer the feeble disclaimer that these "compromises adopted at this World Congress should in no way be taken as precedents" and that "the exceptional character of these measures is demonstrated, moreover, by the unanimous adoption of our new statutes" (which formally contradict the real practice!). Yes indeed, for opportunists and revisionists basic organizational principles are not of centralized, comradely, even-handed and consistent practice but just boil down to the simple matter of whose ox is gored. This is the organizational aspect of Pabloism.

If today the United Secretariat promises to back up its own friends in the SWP should action be taken against them, the point to be made is not the United Secretariat's dishonesty and hypocrisy per se, but rather the shattering of the United Secretariat's pretensions (like those of the International Committee) to be the Fourth International. They both trim their avowed organizational principles through expediency for petty advantage just as and because they do the same with their political principles and program.

12. The international Spartacist tendency is just that, a tendency in the process of consolidation. But from its international outset it declares its continuing fidelity already tested for a decade in national confines to Marxist-Leninist principle and Trotskyist program--Revolutionary, Internationalist and Proletarian.

The struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International promises to be difficult, long, and, above all, uneven. But it is an indispensable and central task facing those who would win proletarian power and thus open the road to the achievement of socialism for humanity. The struggle⁰ begun by L. D. Trotsky in 1929 to constitute an International Left Opposition must be studied. Both despite and because of the differing objective and subjective part-

iculars and with ultimately common basis then and now there is much to be learned especially as to the testing and selection of cadres in the course of the vicissitudes of social and internal struggles.

The giant figure of Trotsky attracted around itself all sorts of personally and programmatically unstable elements repelled by the degenerating Comintern. This led, together with demoralization from the succession of working-class defeats culminating in the second World War, to a prolonged and not always successful sorting out process. It is a small compensation for the lack of a Trotsky that the Spartacist tendency has little extraneous, symbolic drawing power at the outset. But a decade of largely localized experience shows no lack of weak or accidental elements drawn temporarily to the tendency. The only real test is in hard-driving, all-sided involvement in living class struggle.

As L. D. Trotsky noted in "At the Fresh Grave of Kote Tsintsadze," 7 January 1931:

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

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

[The draft Declaration adopted by the Political Bureau of the SL/U. S. and a representative of the Central Committee of the SL/ANZ, 22 May 1974; accepted by the Central Committee of the SL/ANZ, 7 June 1974; declared to be in force following concurrence with it at the European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency, 6 July 1974.]■



**FOR THE
REBIRTH
OF THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL!**

(continued from page 2)

the RMG's periphery and membership in the direction of the Spartacist program. These comrades became the nucleus of the Canadian Committee of the iSt, formed in the spring of 1974.

THE BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST TENDENCY OF THE RMG

The Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT), formed in August 1974 as an indigenous left-wing oppositional tendency of the RMG originating in Winnipeg, waged a consistent struggle against the RMG's right-wing degeneration by calling for an immediate split between the IMT and the SWP/LSA-supported "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" of the USec and a rejection of the IMT's centrist politics in favor of a return to the program of Trotskyism.

The focal points of the B-LT's struggle were the necessity for international democratic centralism, for a serious communist intervention in the trade unions centered on the construction of caucuses based on the Transitional Program, and rejection of the IMT's Pabloist positions on key international questions--including the IMT's political support for petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces in South America, failure to call for political revolution to oust the bureaucratic regimes in the Cuban and Vietnamese deformed workers states, and support for popular frontism.

Pointing to the development of the Pabloist liquidationist current within the Fourth International in the early 1950s as the root of the USec's political errors and degeneration, the B-LT argued that the IMT had given up the struggle for independent Trotskyist vanguard parties and had redefined the role of "Trotskyists" as one of pressuring the reformist misleaders of the working class to the left and seeking "adequate" substitutes for the vanguard party in the revolutionary process. At the March 1975 convention of the RMG, the B-LT was expelled on an explicitly political basis, proving that the RMG's "assimilation" of the methodology of the IMT included not only its political positions, but its bureaucratic organizational practices as well.

The expulsion of the B-LT was probably the most important political event of its kind in the history of the Canadian left since Maurice Spector's expulsion from the Stalinized Communist Party in 1928.

Following this expulsion, the CCISt and B-LT opened a period of joint work and discussion which revealed that the apparent programmatic congruity of the two organizations was complemented by a common assessment of the current tasks of revolutionary Trotskyists in Canada.

IST RECRUITMENT IN VANCOUVER

In a parallel development, individuals from the campus and left milieus (the latter with a history as sympathizers of the RMG) were recruited by the iSt in Vancouver, beginning in the winter. The Vancouver comrades energetically carried out exemplary work on the Simon Fraser University campus and around issues of importance in Vancouver, in particular, making a propagandistic intervention in the British Columbia strike wave that provoked a polemic against the CCISt in the Communist

Party newspaper, the Pacific Tribune. The Vancouver comrades' work against deportations and the Green Paper racist immigration policy of the government was written about antagonistically by The Worker, paper of the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour.

The fusion of the CCISt and B-LT means that the heritage and experience of the B-LT's fight against Pabloism becomes the common property of the new organization. Along with the recruitment of the Vancouver comrades, this development represents a deepening of the iSt's roots in the Canadian political terrain and lays the basis for stabilizing a fighting Bolshevik propaganda league in Canada.

PROJECTIONS OF THE TLC CONFERENCE

A central theme of the TLC Conference was the need to counter the chronically New Left functioning of ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Canada, notably the RMG, by the re-establishment of Bolshevik standards of professionalism in all aspects of the life of the revolutionary organization.

While the LSA has had to liquidate its Winnipeg branch and shift the frequency of its youth paper back to a bimonthly from a monthly and the RMG has yet to produce a press with a regular frequency, the CCISt has experienced rapid growth in the last year and, as the TLC, expects to capitalize on that growth in the period ahead, publishing a regular press in the near future and expanding the work of the past year.

Greetings were delivered to the Conference by fraternal delegates from the Ligue Trotskyste de France, the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands, the Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia, and the Spartacist League of the United States. A Central Committee was elected, signifying the emergence of the TLC as a national democratic-centralist organization.

Taking its place within the ranks of the international Spartacist tendency, the TLC has a heavy responsibility to the Canadian working class--and to the re forging of the Fourth International as the indispensable instrument of the world proletariat's coming victory. Forward with the work of the Trotskyist League of Canada! ■

SUBSCRIBE TO **Young Spartacus**

Monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

\$2
11 ISSUES

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal St. Station
New York, New York 10013

(continued from page 4).

All self-respecting militants should have been outraged that these sellouts invited the boss to their Convention--this arch-enemy of the workers whose lackies in Ontario suspended LCUC drivers in Toronto last February for refusing to scab on the Public Service Alliance of Canada strike and who fired 58 CUPW union militants and brought 1,000 scabs into the Montreal Post Office to break a strike there in May.

Liberal Party Cabinet Minister Mackasey first assured his audience that they and he were both "working...for the same set of objectives" and then went on to state that LCUC members should not worry about layoffs and job loss due to automation but rather they should gladly join with management in its attempt to "rationalize" the postal service in order to compete with private couriers. He also lectured the delegates on the necessity to obey all of the bosses' laws, particularly the PSSRA.

QUEBEC WORKERS WALK OUT ON MACKASEY

At the beginning of Mackasey's speech about 30 of the 468 delegates--primarily from eastern Quebec--walked out in protest, and loudly sang "Solidarity Forever" in the hall during Mackasey's lecture. Decarie, in disgusting subservience to the

boss, led a standing ovation in salute to Mackasey and then viciously attacked those class-conscious militants who had walked out in protest as "savages."

The sole Convention delegate whose views are supported by the League for Socialist Action, one Brian Duhig, in an outrageous anti-working-class display consistent nevertheless with the shameless reformism of the LSA, enthusiastically joined in the standing ovation for Mackasey with Decarie. To his credit, Roger Annis, along with one other Toronto delegate, walked out with the Quebec workers, an action standing in contradiction to his stance on raiding and general pronounced tendency to tail the bureaucrats.

FOR A CLASS-STRUGGLE LEADERSHIP IN THE LCUC!

The naked reformism of the Decarie/McGarry leadership as well as the capitulation and confusion of the would-be "Marxists" in the union clearly points to the necessity for a class-struggle alternative within the LCUC. Such a leadership must resolutely oppose all forms of anti-labor legislation and state intervention in the trade unions and must recognize that the fight for a democratically-merged industrial union of all postal workers is an essential part of the struggle to defend the real interests of postal workers. It must stand for the expropriation of the entire capitalist class, for workers control of industry and for the replacement of the present government of a handful of capitalist agents by a workers government.■

Build the Weekly

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____
 Zip _____ Phone _____

Workers Vanguard (includes *Spartacist*)
 \$5/48 issues \$2/16 issues

Young Spartacus *Women and Revolution*
 \$2/11 issues \$1/4 issues

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co.
 Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

Subscribe Now!

SUB DRIVE SPECIAL:

\$6 for 48 issues of **WORKERS VANGUARD**, and 11 issues of **YOUNG SPARTACUS**

SUBSCRIBE

Name _____
 Address _____
 City/State/Zip _____

\$1 *Make checks payable/mail to:*
 4 issues SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
 Box 1377, GPO
 New York, N.Y. 10001

Women and Revolution

(continued from page 16)

NDP program as one to be taken up by the Tories-- indeed as the campaign progressed Davis was forced to adopt key planks in the NDP's arsenal of populist reforms, such as a rent review board empowered to lower the rate of rent increases.

As early election night returns pointed toward a Conservative-led minority government with an NDP Opposition, Davis moved quickly to take up Lewis' implicit offer of support to a PC government willing to implement certain NDP policies. He praised the social-democrats' "constructive" campaign, pointedly remarking that "if this same kind of constructive approach is carried forward into the Legislature, we can look forward to progressive government" (quoted in Globe and Mail, 19 September). Lewis was quick to respond, pledging to approach the new Legislature "in good faith" and promising that the Conservative government "can last as long as the government meets the needs of the people of Ontario" (quoted in Toronto Star, 19 September).

Thus the ground has been laid for a revival of the 1972-74 corridor coalition, this time on the provincial level rather than federally, this time with the right-wing bourgeois party, the Tories, rather than the Liberals, and with son Stephen taking the reins of class-collaborationist policies from father David.

A number of bourgeois journalists have been predicting that the NDP's strategy is not a long-range coalition, but a goal of bringing down the government in six to nine months. The NDP is maintaining the "clever" politician's evasiveness on its future strategy and such analyses are simply speculative. No doubt the NDP will behave in accordance with the "realities" of political power maneuvers and may very well seek power in its own name in Ontario in the next year. However, so long as its approach is a tacit coalition with the Conservatives, it is the task of communists to expose this class collaboration for the betrayal that it is.

CONDITIONAL OPPOSITION TO THE NDP

Communists can give critical electoral support to reformist workers parties running in their own name --not as some kind of "prize" for their class betrayals, but as a tool to expose them. Critical support to workers candidates or running one's own candidates in bourgeois elections in no way implies parliamentary illusions; rather, communists seek to use election campaigns and, if elected, parliamentary debates, to spread revolutionary propaganda and, in particular, to win the base of reformist and centrist organizations over to the program of proletarian revolution.

Critical support to the NDP in the 1972 British Columbia elections would have been a valuable tactic, enabling Marxists to exploit the contradiction between the NDP's stated intention to act in the independent interests of the working class and its betrayals once in office.

When a reformist workers party enters a government coalition with bourgeois parties, however, this contradiction is suppressed. The organic tie to the bourgeoisie that such coalitions represent means that the crucial question of class independence cannot be addressed through a critical-support tactic, but only by a policy of conditional opposition to the workers parties in the class-collaborationist bloc.

Such blocs are not always formal, as were the Chilean Unidad Popular under Allende and the French Union de la Gauche, but can also take the form of tacit pledges of support to a bourgeois party, as in the federal NDP's 1974 corridor-coalition strategy. Communists must call upon workers parties within actual or tacit alliances to break with the bourgeois parties as a precondition for even the most critical support.

The NDP has not repudiated the policy of bourgeois coalitionism which it most clearly stated in the 1974 federal elections. In fact the party's July national convention implicitly confirmed the coalition policy by electing Edward Broadbent as the new party leader, a prominent member of the NDP's right wing who actively participated in the 1972-74 bloc.

Broadbent symbolizes the rightward motion of the NDP in recent years, from the expulsion of the left-reformist Waffle caucus in Ontario in 1971 to the 1974 electoral policy. Disgruntlement within the party was reflected in the fact that Rosemary Brown, a black feminist from British Columbia and a relative unknown in leading NDP circles, came in as a surprise second to Broadbent in the elections.

The election campaign of the Ontario NDP was based on the same strategy of bourgeois coalitionism as the 1974 federal campaign, even if less overtly expressed and despite Lewis' disavowals of any intent to enter a more formal coalition. In this context it would have been folly to consider critical support a useful tactic in this election.

A far more useful policy, one that would have made an impression on the workers disgruntled with the party's class-collaborationist strategy and with their current economic situation, was a call for conditional opposition centered on the demand that the NDP repudiate coalitionism. This was the position of the Trotskyist League of Canada, as outlined in a 12 September statement distributed at NDP rallies and meetings of left groups during the week prior to the elections.

CANADIAN LEFT ON THE ELECTIONS

This position of conditional opposition was not, however, adopted by any of the ostensibly revolutionary groups on the Canadian left. The Communist Party, rather than directly addressing the question of the NDP, ran 33 of its own candidates on a call for the election of a "wide progressive bloc" to include everything left of the Conservatives, that is, an explicit call for a popular front. The CP thus did not represent an independent class pole in the elections and in no way merited support.

The ostensible Trotskyist groups all called for some variant of "critical" support to the NDP. The third-campist Independent Socialists (sometime self-proclaimed Trotskyists, depending on which member one talks to) and the Canadian-nationalist Socialist League both cast themselves in the role of pushing the NDP to the left, the IS pointing out that the NDP in power means progress in the fight against inflation and unemployment (Workers Action, 15 August 1975), and the Soc. L paying homage to the NDP's wretched program which they claim "clearly challenges the priorities of big business" (Forward, September 1975).

The Revolutionary Marxist Group has covered

itself with a more left, and essentially self-contradictory, veneer this election period, calling for an NDP vote with "no confidence," running through a list of the NDP's betrayals and then posing the question to which they clearly do not know the answer themselves: "After all this, why vote NDP?" ("NDP the Solution?," undated RMG leaflet, distributed in September). The RMG's only answer is--"in order to show what side of the class fence we're on"--precisely what the NDP's coalitionist policy prevents an NDP vote from showing.

CRITICAL SUPPORT TO THE LSA CANDIDATE

The League for Socialist Action, reformist co-habitant with the RMG in the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," was the only left organization besides the CP to run a candidate in the name of its party in the elections. The platform of Robert Simms, LSA candidate in Brampton, was yet another variant of the minimum/maximum program so dear to the social-democrat's heart.

Prior to the final plank calling for socialism (the maximum demand), the LSA program outlines a series of reform (minimal) demands which in no way can provide a bridge to the stated ultimate goal. Among the more outrageous of these is the demand that "large corporations... be nationalized and subjected to social control in a system of socialist economic planning"; this demand goes on to suggest a rather short "initial list of sectors that should immediately be taken out of the hands of private interests," implying that other sectors can be considered "later" (our emphasis).

Unlike Trotsky's demand for the expropriation of all capitalist industry without compensation and for workers control, these demands are nothing but reformist "advice" to the bourgeois state; they blur the class line and spread illusions about gradual approaches to socialism. This approach is of a piece with the rotten reformism of the British Labour Party.

Unlike the Socialist Workers Party, the LSA's co-thinkers in the United States, the LSA has no community control planks in its electoral program. Existing in a country with a reformist labor party, the LSA finds its niche in tail-ending the social democracy, rather than adapting to petty-bourgeois radical forces, the forte of the SWP. The "critical" support the LSA extended to the NDP in the recent election had the character of the friendly disagreements of a would-be comrade-in-arms.

Despite the reformist nature of the LSA's program and its support to the NDP, the LSA was the only organization in the campaign which represented an independent working-class pole. For this reason, the Trotskyist League called for a vote to the LSA candidate, while pointing out that the LSA's overall program of reformism contradicts and will work against the political independence of the working class, that is, will betray the class in practice.

The compromise of labor's interests in favor of political blocs with the lackeys of the bourgeoisie is the strategy for working-class defeat. In Portugal today thousands of worker militants face a possible bloodbath at the hands of rightist reaction, because of the popular-frontist strategy of the Stalinists and social democrats and the adaptation to this popular frontism on the part of ostensible Trotskyists.

In a situation where much more is concretely at stake than in the recent Ontario elections, the logic of the politics of the LSA, RMG and IS can be seen in Portugal where their fraternal groups, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista and the Partido Revolucionario do Proletariado, have joined an explicit class-collaborationist alliance, the so-called "revolutionary" or "popular united front" (see Workers Vanguard, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., 12 September). Only the working class, independent of the bourgeoisie and conscious of its historical role under the leadership of an authentic Trotskyist vanguard, can lead a victorious socialist revolution.■



trotskyist league

CLASS SERIES

TORONTO:

International Student Center, U. of T., 8 p.m.
For Further Information, Call: 366-4107

- 1/ Oct. 1 TROTSKYISM AND THE CRISIS OF
REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP:
SPAIN AND PORTUGAL
- 2/ Oct. 15 COMMUNIST WORK IN THE TRADE
UNIONS
- 3/ Oct. 29 CHILE AND POPULAR FRONTS
- 4/ Nov. 12 COMMUNISM AND THE WOMAN
QUESTION
- 5/ Nov. 26 CLASS STRUGGLE AND RACIAL
OPPRESSION

VANCOUVER: Box 26, Stn. A.

For Further Information, Call: 299-5306

- 1/ Sept. 21 WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY
LEADERSHIP?
- 2/ Oct. 5 PERMANENT REVOLUTION VS.
SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY
- 3/ Oct. 19 POPULAR FRONTS IN THE 1930s
AND TODAY
- 4/ Nov. 2 STALINISM AND THE RUSSIAN
QUESTION
- 5/ Nov. 16 PABLOISM AND THE
DEGENERATION OF THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
- 6/ Nov. 30 TROTSKYIST WORK IN THE
TRADE UNIONS
- 7/ Dec. 7 THE INTERNATIONAL
SPARTACIST TENDENCY