

4 SPARTACIST

CANADA December 1976 No. 11 \$.25

Defend Quebec's Right to Self-Determination!

Not Bourgeois Nationalism But Proletarian Internationalism!



20,000 STRIKING WORKERS MARCH THROUGH MONTREAL, OCTOBER 14.

Tribune Ouvrière

Hatred and disgust for the corrupt Liberal Party regime in Quebec City, and particularly for Premier Robert Bourassa, led to the surprise victory of the bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) in the November 15 provincial elections. Although the longstanding Québécois nationalism of large sectors of the Quebec workers and middle class was no doubt inflamed by the English-chauvinist backlash against Trudeau's federal bilingualism policies, PQ Premier-elect René Lévesque took great care to play down separatism during the campaign and the PQ victory was not, in the main, a vote for independence.

The new government is committed to keeping Que-

bec within Confederation until a referendum on separatism is held in two years' time. But the elevation to power for the first time in Quebec's history of an explicitly pro-separatist party will engender an immediate confrontation over the national question with English-speaking Canada and the federalist Liberal government in Ottawa. Since the Québécois working class is the most militant on the entire continent, the intersection of the democratic

(continued on page 2)

BC Fed, OFL Conventions... 8

Quebec...

(continued from page 1)

questions of language and national rights in Quebec (which will be brought into sharper focus by the PQ victory) with the proletarian class struggle is of tremendous importance to the fight for socialist revolution throughout North America.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

As has often been the case in Quebec politics, the language question provoked more heat than any other issue in the election campaign. Immigrants and English speakers showed their dislike for the Liberal government's Bill 22 language legislation by deserting in droves for other parties, who promised to restore their right to freedom of choice in language instruction at Quebec schools. (Bill 22 had required demonstrated competency in English in order for children to enter the English-language school system.) Meanwhile more extreme elements among the Québécois nationalists continued their campaign for the abolition of the English schools altogether and the establishment of a unilingual French Quebec.

There is real linguistic discrimination against French speakers in Quebec, as well as in French-speaking enclaves in the rest of Canada. This is a consequence of the overwhelming dominance of English as the language of commerce in the North American political economy (including in Canada). Quebec is a highly integrated component of this political economy; whatever measures (short of total national independence) are taken to strengthen the French language in Quebec, this dominance of English will remain.

Marxists are completely opposed to all discrimination against the use of French in Quebec (and the rest of Canada)--be it on the job or at school. We stand for full and equal language rights for all --including the Québécois--as part of our struggle

against all national and linguistic privilege.

On the other hand, the Québécois nationalist demand for French unilingualism is itself profoundly discriminatory. This demand would create a ghettoized unilingual enclave on the banks of the St. Lawrence, one which is completely cut off from the rest of North American society. Such a step would be against the interests of the working class --not only the non-French-speakers, but also the French speakers, whose access to the mainstream of the North American political economy and cultural life would be forcibly curtailed. Even if Quebec were a separate state power, we would adamantly oppose the demand for unilingualism as undemocratic and chauvinist.

Opposition to national privilege means opposition to privileges for any language, and to any single language being the "official" one. It means the right of any nationality to receive instruction in the language of its choice. Capitalism in its period of decline provokes a resurgence of national and linguistic antagonisms; the only democratic solution to the language question in Quebec is for equal language rights for all.

INDEPENDENCE AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The presence of an avowedly separatist party on the government benches in Quebec City poses the question of independence for Quebec more sharply than ever before. Even though pre- and post-election opinion polls have claimed that only a small minority (less than 20 percent) of Québécois actually favor Quebec's secession from the rest of Canada, a strong nationalist (though not necessarily separatist) sentiment does exist throughout Quebec society. The November 15 vote may well lay the basis for a dramatic increase in support for independence.

As the PQ seeks greater autonomy for Quebec through an increase in provincial powers, the federal Parliament will oppose handing over any significant powers. The inevitably sharp conflicts between the staunchly federalist Liberal Party regime in Ottawa and the PQ, combined with the upsurge of anti-French chauvinism in the Western provinces, could bring the situation to a boiling point. Trudeau's Liberals--or, for that matter, virtually any other Ottawa government--would adamantly oppose independence, because Quebec's secession would seriously threaten the very existence of Confederation.

Marxists by no means regard bourgeois Canadian Confederation as sacrosanct. The establishment of an independent Canadian state under the 1867 British North America Act carved an artificial separate country out of the northern half of the continent. This both artificially divided the English-speaking North American nation and codified the oppressed minority status of the French-speaking Québécois (who were denied their right to independence). The plea for the "national unity" of Canada raised by Trudeau and Co. (and echoed by the NDP and the labor officialdom) in order to deny Quebec's right to self-determination is undemocratic and reactionary to the core.

4 SPARTACIST

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One of the most fundamental tasks of revolutionaries in English Canada is to fight for Quebec's unconditional right to self-determination, i. e., its right to independence. Leninists must unalterably oppose any federal government move to prevent the exercise of this right--be it by citing constitutional barriers or the results of a fake Canada-wide referendum on separatism, or by militarily occupying Quebec (as it did in the wake of the October 1970 FLQ terrorist attacks).

As in the case of the language question, the Leninist position on the national question is based on op-



Ottawa Citizen

PQ SUPPORTERS CELEBRATE ELECTION VICTORY.

position to all forms of inequality or privilege. For Leninists, upholding the democratic right to self-determination is a means of combatting the bourgeois ideology of nationalism. The struggle against unjust national privilege is aimed at eliminating national antagonisms, the objective basis of popular support for nationalism. Only the defense of the right to national self-determination can ensure that all-pervasive nationalist obstacles are removed so that the vital class questions may be brought to the fore.

In the case of colonies like pre-WWII India or Puerto Rico today, the right to self-determination can be realized only through immediate and unconditional independence. In multi-national states like Canada the question of political independence is placed on the agenda when national antagonisms decisively cut across the class struggle. At such a point Marxists go beyond upholding the right to self-determination and actively advocate independence.

For example, Lenin argued that it was necessary to support the call for the independence of Norway from Sweden early this century. National antagonisms between the Swedish and Norwegian working people had become so envenomed that breaking the oppressive tie of a common state power was the only way to lay the basis for genuine class unity.

Should conflicts over the language question, im-

migration policies, use of federal troops and other issues escalate national tensions in Canada to a similar point, then we would be obliged to demand independence for Quebec. However, given the high degree of integration of the North American economy and the potential leading role of the militant Québécois proletariat in the North American socialist revolution, the failure to achieve class unity within the framework of the present single state power in Canada would represent a setback for the working class. A large share of the blame for this defeat would rest on the shoulders of the chauvinist leadership of the English-speaking working class, which arrogantly refuses to recognize the national oppression of the Québécois.

Although the most combative sectors of the Quebec proletariat are undoubtedly sympathetic to the nationalist program, they have also played a key role in sparking many recent cross-Canada labor actions. Quebec workers notably spearheaded militant action by the entire Canadian proletariat against Trudeau's wage controls. Recent postal and railway strikes began on the initiative of Montreal locals of country-wide unions. With an independent Quebec, important links among workers of both North American nations such as international and cross-Canada unions might well be lost, thus retarding the struggle for proletarian power. Despite the wishful thinking of the left nationalists, the road to socialist revolution for the Québécois proletariat lies alongside, not apart from, its class brothers and sisters in English-speaking North America.

LABOR FAKERS FRONT FOR LÉVESQUE

In spite of their demonstrated militancy and class-consciousness, Quebec workers remain without an independent class party--thanks above all to the left-talking but class-collaborationist union bureaucrats. The leadership of all three labor centrals either openly or tacitly called for support to the PQ in the November 15 elections. Former Liberal Cabinet minister Lévesque "reciprocated" by reaffirming the PQ's refusal to accept financial donations from the labor movement, on the grounds that to do so would undercut its ability to deal "squarely" with the unions. Indeed, having the PQ in power is no victory for the working class--given the opportunity, Lévesque and Co. will be every bit as ruthless against the unions as Bourassa.

From the Quebec Federation of Labour's (FTQ) Louis Laberge, to Norbert Rodrigue of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the Quebec Teachers Federation's (CEQ) Yvan Charbonneau--all the labor tops affirm the necessity of a labor party "some day." But for now, they all agree, the workers are not "ready"--so they should "prepare" by voting PQ!

The main oppositional current which has been campaigning in the unions for a labor party is the Regroupment of Union Militants (RMS), a formation which is uncritically supported by the ostensibly Trotskyist Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du

(continued on page 4)

Quebec ...

(continued from page 3)

Québec (GSTQ). The RMS has a reformist lowest-common-denominator program calling for the independence of the labor movement from the state, united labor action and a labor party. Its broader (but equally reformist) program for the labor party is supposedly based on "demands expressed by the workers themselves"--i. e., economist demands upheld by the bureaucrats.

The RMS is nothing more than a pressure group on the incumbent labor tops (especially the more "left" ones), which seeks to induce them to build a labor party on their own program. In the recent elections, the RMS went so far as to set up an electoral bloc with the tiny and discredited rump of the social-democratic Quebec NDP--on the latter's program.

But Quebec workers do not need a party of small-change electoralist reformism like the one the RMS seeks to provide. Nor do they require a nationalist laborite "alternative" to the PQ: a separate Quebec workers party, a Quebec-separatist NDP combining the worst elements of social-democratic cretinism

and petty-bourgeois nationalism. The political struggle of the working class must be directed against the existing state power; so long as Quebec remains a part of Canada, Québécois workers must fight in common with their English-speaking class fellows for a workers party which will achieve a workers government for the entire Canadian proletariat.

The achievement of state power by the working class--both English and French--in Canada and the United States will open the road to the further economic and cultural development which has been blocked by capitalist society in its death throes. The Marxist program is an internationalist one: for the gradual disappearance of nationalist ideology and the voluntary assimilation of nations. However the full and voluntary assimilation of nations is possible only under socialism; capitalism in the imperialist epoch can only exacerbate nationalist antagonisms and heighten national oppression, to the detriment of the proletarian class struggle. Only the most consistent defense of democratic national and language rights--based on the principle of the equality of nations--can lay the basis for welding the vitally necessary international proletarian unity against capitalism. ■

Quebec Leftists in the Elections

In the November 15 elections, five organizations attempted campaigns which claimed to provide a left-wing working-class alternative to the Parti Québécois. Almost all were mired so deeply in either blatant class collaboration or support to the worst aspects of national chauvinism, as to be unworthy of even the most critical electoral support.

The tiny and ossified pro-Moscow Communist Party of Quebec (PCQ) ran 15 candidates on its usual popular-frontist program of allying with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, in this case the PQ. The October 22 issue of the PCQ's Combat raised the call for a "mass workers party strong enough to put pressure on the PQ with a view to an alliance with it."

A microscopic grouplet pompously self-described as the "Quebec Workers Party" (PTQ) stood a few of its members on a reformist program mainly notable for its bizarre refusal to recognize any kind of referendum on separatism... except one sponsored by the United Nations!

MANEUVERS OF THE OSTENSIBLE TROTSKYISTS

The three main ostensible Trotskyist organizations in Quebec all stood candidates in the elections in one way or another: the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

(LSO) and the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) each ran candidates in their own name, and the GSTQ participated through its "full support" to the NDP-RMS alliance. All three groups have of late been engaged in intricate "unity" maneuvers with one another, which produced some rather interesting alignments during the election campaign.

The GSTQ (which is affiliated with the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International [OCRFI] of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste) had until recently been on a course toward fusion with the LSO, the Quebec supporters of the reformist United Secretariat (USec) minority tendency. While that romance seems to have cooled (the LSO was invited, but refused, to run a candidate on the NDP-RMS ticket), the LSO and its fellow USec grouping, the centrist GMR, have announced that they have begun discussions aimed at promoting their unification.

The various maneuvers also have an international component. A pact signed in Europe on October 19 by the USec and OCRFI leaderships (and intended to apply to all national sections) stated that each recognized the other as "revolutionary," whatever tactical differences might exist between them. This pact was shown to be worth the paper it was written

(continued on page 11)

Stop Healyite Thug Attacks!

Ever since the launching of their paranoid slander campaign against American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack last year, the political bandits of Gerry Healy's "International Committee" have escalated their practice of physical violence against opponent tendencies within the workers movement. In the last few months the Australian Healyites of the Socialist Labour League have engaged in particularly violent gangsterist attacks against several groups, from the pro-Moscow Socialist Party to the Australian SWP and the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ). The SL/ANZ and SWP are circulating a joint protest statement (reprinted below) against an assault last October 17, in which the Healyites injured several members of both organizations outside a "public" meeting at the Sydney Trades Hall. (For full details of the attack, see Australasian Spartacist, November 1976.)

Here in Canada, members of the tiny Healyite grouplet known as the Workers League (WL) have carried out a number of unprovoked attacks on Trotskyist League members and supporters selling newspapers on the University of Toronto campus. These attacks culminated in a brutal and senseless assault by WL goons on a Workers Vanguard salesman and another TL supporter in Sidney Smith Hall on Monday, November 29.

Two WLers repeatedly slandered and pushed the TL supporters, who had apparently incurred their anger by attempting to engage them in political discussion. Unwilling and unable to defend their political views through rational argument, the two WL members called on a third goon, who immediately upon entering the Sid Smith lobby launched a wild assault on the two TL supporters. Aided by



HEALYITES DISRUPT RECENT AUSTRALIAN SWP MEETING, WAVING SLANDEROUS "INDICTMENT" OF HANSEN, NOVACK.

the two others, the WL goon repeatedly punched and kicked the TL supporters, all the while cop-baiting the TL, before an audience of about 50 astonished students. After defending themselves against the assault, the TL supporters left the building rather than continue a confrontation which might provide an opportunity for police intervention in the workers movement.

Beginning with their well-known gang beating of United Secretariat supporter Ernest Tate in London ten years ago, the Healyites have accumulated a scandalous record of both Stalinist gangsterism and calling the cops to suppress their leftist opponents. Of late the incidence of such attacks has increased, in line with the Healyites degeneration into an almost pathological cult. This goon violence discredits the entire left; these outrageous violations of workers democracy must be stopped!

A STATEMENT AGAINST VIOLATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Reports have come to our attention that Socialist Labour League (SLL) members have used physical violence against members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Spartacist League (SL). It has been reported that several members of the SWP and the SL were set upon and severely beaten in a completely unprovoked attack outside the Sydney Trades Hall on October 17. Other reports of intimidation of sellers of Tribune, Direct Action, Australasian Spartacist and The Socialist in the past months and the disruption of SWP public meetings have also disturbed us.

These incidents lead us to make this statement in favor of the free exchange of differing views within the labor movement without fear of physical reprisal from anyone. Taking such a stand certainly does not mean repudiating the right of self-defence against violent attacks. It means making clear that differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by fists or other weapons. Any attempt to do so simply provides openings for police and other enemies of the workers movement to tear us apart.

Further, it certainly does not help us oppose the Government's use of violence against us if some of us use it against people who may not agree with our points of view. These attacks must stop and we must respect each other's democratic rights if we are to have an environment where there can be progress in the struggles of the oppressed.

We call on all individuals and organisations of the labor and radical movements to support this stand and add their signature to this statement.

SC urges readers to send statements of protest against the Australian attacks and endorsements of the above statement to: Bill Logan, Box 3473, GPO, Sydney 2001, Australia.

The RMG's "Democratic" Fraud

The following leaflet was issued by the Trotskyist League Toronto local and distributed at an RMG forum on China, held on November 12:

At tonight's forum, spokesmen for the Revolutionary Marxist Group will be attempting to analyze the bureaucratic power struggle presently raging in China, and to counterpose to bureaucratic rule a regime based on workers democracy. They will speak of the need for open debate between differing political tendencies and denounce those who would try to suppress the free expression of political viewpoints within the workers movement.

Closer to home, however, these armchair partisans of "workers democracy" have rather different standards. Henceforth, according to a letter to the Trotskyist League which is reprinted below, the RMG intends to deny opponent political tendencies which are present at its public forums the right to participate freely in floor discussions. Groups other than the RMG (in general, only the TL) are to be permitted only one speaker, while RMGers and independents can speak as often as they wish. In the manner of Stalinist historians rewriting history, the RMG brazenly claims that this new policy, announced for the first time at its last forum, "has always been" the norm. (Like, Mao's wife "has always been" a "capitalist roader," etc., etc.)

What the RMG has always been known for is its political cynicism and cowardice in refusing to defend its bankrupt politics in open debate. Therefore the RMG finds it easier to apologize for its "failure" to distinguish between TL members and supporters than to cope with its real failure--its inability to answer political attacks even within the protective confines of its own forums.

Why today's need to further stifle debate in such a heavy-handed manner? Recent RMG internal documents give a picture of a self-admitted "crisis" which is wracking "the organization from top to bottom." A document submitted to the last Central

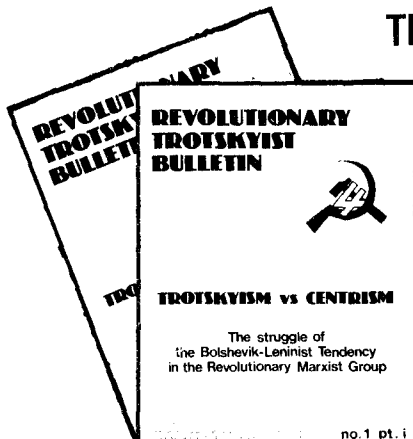
Committee plenum by five CC members lays out the elements of this crisis:

"It is impossible to explain 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, by referring to the activities of some secret faction, or by talking about the lack of development of the secondary leadership, or by pointing to some 'lull' in the class struggle."
--"For an Early Convention"

The solution to this crisis cannot be found inside the fake-Trotskyist RMG. Stagnating and clique-ridden, having lost a large proportion of its original membership (largely to the Trotskyist League), the RMG leadership is attempting to come to grips with the situation in the inimicable Pabloist fashion: unprincipled organizational maneuverism combined with ham-handed bureaucratism. Having expelled the one tendency that showed a clear way forward for the organization early last year (the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, since fused into the TL), the RMG has extended its internal suppression of Trotskyist politics to its "public" events. Simultaneously, it has rejected its own early, subjectively revolutionary history as a left split from the reformist League for Socialist Action in order to enter on a re-fusion course with the self-same LSA (see "RMG Repudiates its Own History," *Spartacist Canada* No. 10). The right-centrist RMG is on the road to reformism, and wishes not to be reminded of the communist principles it has betrayed.

A Leninist party can only be built on granite political foundations through a struggle for programmatic clarity against all those who usurp the banner of Marxism and mislead the working class. Unable to defend its ever-changing, indefensible politics, stewing in a crisis of its own making, the RMG today seeks to further isolate its members, supporters and contacts from the consistent revolutionary pro-

TROTSKYISM VS. CENTRISM



The centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group is calling for an open discussion of the "revolutionary program" in the pages of its newspaper. If the RMG were truly concerned about presenting its readers with an authentic revolutionary program, it would print these documents--the documents of the Trotskyist Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency which it expelled in 1975. But it isn't, and it won't.

Revolutionary Trotskyist Bulletin No. 1 (parts one and two) is available at \$4.00 a set (including postage) from: Spartacist Canada Publishing Association, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario.

gram of the Trotskyist League and the international Spartacist tendency. The assertion that each political tendency should organize its own public meetings to present its own political views to workers in suitably cloistered surroundings, rather than engaging in ongoing programmatic struggle, betrays both an elementary misunderstanding of Leninism and a profound contempt for the working class (which is presumably incapable of understanding political differences). A Trotskyist party cannot be built through cynicism and political cowardice.

We have a standing offer (which has been repeatedly refused) to debate the RMG, on the topic and occasion of its choice. We also intend to continue our participation in the discussions at RMG public forums, which we insist should be conducted on the principles of workers democracy, without bureaucratic gag-rules. We further invite all RMG members and supporters to participate in the discussions at our own public events, where they will have every opportunity to argue for their political views. Only authentic Trotskyism can withstand full and open political debate; in exercising its supposed "right" to deny this debate, the RMG is aping the worst traditions of Stalinism.

November 7, 1976
Executive Committee
Trotskyist League of Canada

Dear Cdes,

This letter is to re-aquaint [sic] you with our policy regarding speakers from other political tendencies at our public forums. Our policy is, and has always been, to allow one speaker from each political tendency to participate in the discussion portion of our forums, except where a decision is taken beforehand or at the discretion of the chairperson to allow more than one. We should like to reaffirm that the purpose of our public forums is to present our political views to workers and all others interested in these views. The purpose of our forums is not to pro-

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vide a platform for other opponent political tendencies. These other tendencies are of course free to organize their own public meetings for the same purpose.

We would also like to take this opportunity to extend our apologies to you for failing to observe this stated policy at our last forum (October 22, 1976). This failure on our part obviously stems from the difficulty faced by our chairpeople in distinguishing between your "members" and your "supporters". In future we will try to ensure that a bona-fide "member" of your organization is allowed to speak.

Yours very truly,
Executive Committee
Toronto branch of the RMG

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AND THE LEADERSHIP by LEON TROTSKY

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B.C., Ontario Labor Conventions:

PEP RALLIES FOR THE NDP

1

Bureaucratic Showdown in B.C. Fed

Coming off a year which saw some of the most massive struggles in the history of the Canadian labor movement, one might expect that the conventions of the two largest English-Canadian provincial union federations would generate sharp discussion on the way forward against wage controls and other capitalist attacks. Instead the annual meetings of both the British Columbia and Ontario Federations of Labour were marked by bureaucratic rifts in the top leadership, which totally dominated proceedings and shoved the vital issues facing the workers movement into the background. None of the contenders for the Number One positions in the B. C. Federation of Labour (B. C. Fed) and its Ontario counterpart even came close to presenting a militant class-struggle program for the labor movement. Instead, all the candidates stood on one form or another of class-collaborationist business unionism, and supported policies which are selling out the struggle against Trudeau's controls and other anti-labor attacks.

While Cliff Pilkey, the candidate of the powerful Auto and Steelworkers' unions, managed to unseat incumbent Ontario Federation of Labour president David Archer (see below), the mid-November B. C. Fed convention in Vancouver saw Len Guy retain his position as federation secretary-treasurer (the most influential office in the B. C. labor movement). Guy withstood a challenge from Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) regional education director Art Kube, who was backed by the provincial leaderships of the powerful International Woodworkers of America (IWA), B. C. Government Employees Union (BCGEU) and the Steelworkers. These unions united in their unsuccessful attempt to oust Guy ostensibly because they found his policies and statements as B. C. Fed leader too "militant." They particularly criticized his refusal to give total carte blanche support to the provincial New Democratic Party (which Guy would prefer to support with criticisms).

The rift between the Guy majority and the IWA-led minority began during the summer 1975 strikes in the forest industry (the backbone of the B. C. economy). The IWA had initially entered into a common front strike agreement with the two pulp workers' unions (one of which is not a B. C. Fed affiliate), but broke off the pact in order to await the results of an inquiry into the state of negotiations which had been commissioned by the

then-NDP provincial government. The pulp unions were thus left to strike alone, with many IWA workers forced to scab.

Guy and the rest of the B. C. Fed leadership gave



ART KUBE



LEN GUY

Pacific Tribune

verbal backing to the striking unions' position and unsuccessfully pushed for the IWA to join the strike. After it had dragged on for some months, the "socialist" NDP government passed strike-breaking legislation to force an end to the walkout -- legislation to which the IWA bureaucrats gave backhanded support, while the Fed leadership blustered its intention to defy it for awhile, before meekly acquiescing.

The differences between the two factions amount to this: Kube and the IWA leadership support the normal business-unionist policies of scabbing and giving-in to capitalist attacks without a fight. So does Guy, but he would prefer to dish out a bit of "militant" rhetoric first. Kube wants to crawl after the strikebreaking NDP on his belly; Guy prefers crawling on his knees.

As if to emphasize their fundamental identity, the leadership of both factions led their followers in a standing ovation for NDP leader Dave Barrett when he arrived to address the convention. Barrett's appearance at last year's convention, which followed hot on the heels of his government's strikebreaking legislation, was met by catcalls and walkouts by a large portion of the delegates, who were fed up with the NDP's right-wing social-democratic policies. This year, with the NDP back on the opposition benches, Barrett and Co. can afford rather more "pro-labor" demagoguery.

No mention was made at the convention of the need to smash the province's anti-union Labour Code (of which the NDP was the architect). Nor, with the Guy-Kube bureaucratic circus stealing the spotlight, did the question of the fight against wage controls receive much attention. The entire discussion on the question (at a 5-day convention) was squeezed into a half-hour period between Barrett's speech and

a lunch-time adjournment! After perfunctory debate the convention overwhelmingly adopted a BC-GEU resolution which "challenged" wage controls on the grounds of their supposed "unconstitutional" nature!

The large and influential B. C. wing of the Communist Party (CP) uncritically hailed the leadership of Guy in its paper, the Pacific Tribune, and the many CP supporters who spoke at the convention claimed that support for the incumbent secretary-treasurer meant support for "unity" and "militancy". The Pacific Tribune favorably quoted the assertion by delegate Dave Werlin that "the issue is whether or not this federation is going to fight anti-labor legislation no matter who introduces it" (19 November 1976).

Werlin and others argued that support for the Guy leadership meant support for such a policy. But rather than fight to smash the NDP's Labour Code, Guy issued only a token protest before dropping the issue. Rather than lead a general strike against NDP strikebreaking last fall, Guy led only a one-day rhetorical charge before slinking back to his office. Rather than show the way forward against federal wage controls, Guy tailed behind the sellout policies of the CLC leadership.

The only militant opposition to Guy and Kube at the convention came from a group of postal workers, members of the Vancouver local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW). In contrast to the disgraceful performance of the CP supporters, they sought to distance themselves from both bureaucratic camps, refusing to back either in the initial dispute over the outgoing executive's report. They also denounced the abject capitulation of the entire

B. C. union leadership in the face of Trudeau's wage controls and counterposed the need for an "unlimited general strike."

Yet even these militants failed to meet the final test of the convention. According to a member of the delegation, all the Vancouver CUPW delegates --including Steve Penner, a prominent supporter of the views of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG)--agreed to cast ballots for Len Guy as a supposed "lesser evil." This opportunist collapse before the "militant" pretensions of the incumbent B. C. Fed leadership is consistent with the tailist strategy of the RMG. RMG trade union supporters also backed the candidacy of "militant" Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) bureaucrat Lofty MacMillan for CLC president at the May convention, and are presently building "insurgent" bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski's campaign for the international leadership of the Steelworkers' union. In Vancouver, RMG members went so far as to cross picket lines set up by striking maintenance workers at the recent Simon Fraser University strike--a position even Len Guy would be able to denounce as scabbing!

Kube admitted to an SC reporter just before the election that between him and Guy "there is no difference in policy whatsoever." "Left"-posturing notwithstanding, the B. C. Fed leadership race was at root a clique fight among pro-NDP, pro-capitalist bureaucrats. Opportunist support to a candidate who provides no militant alternative whatsoever can never be part of the fight to forge an authentic class-struggle leadership for the labor movement.

2

Palace Coup in the OFL

David Archer was dumped from the presidency of the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) on November 23 in a palace coup engineered by bureaucrats from the United Auto Workers (UAW) and Steelworkers' unions, the OFL's two most important affiliates. Cliff Pilkey, UAW political education director and a former NDP MPP, unseated Archer by 983 votes to 681, thanks to a machine-like mobilization of local UAW and Steel bureaucrats and loyal rank and filers to the convention. Close to 500 of the 1900 delegates arrived at the convention on the morning of November 23, stayed just long enough to elect Pilkey, then left again before lunch. According to several reports, Auto and Steel union goons strong-armed delegates into voting for Pilkey, by warning that any UAW or Steelworkers member had to uphold the official policy of the union in the elections.

The changing of the guard atop the 800,000-member OFL will not lead to any fundamental shift in policy. The new Pilkey regime is committed to exactly the same class-collaborationist program that the Archer team pushed for years. Archer and Pilkey alike supported all the official policy state-



STEPHEN LEWIS ADDRESSING OFL CONVENTION. DAVID ARCHER APPLAUDS, LEFT.

ments at the convention, including "Labour's Declaration of Principles and Social Purpose," a widely-publicized provincial counterpart to the Manifesto of the May CLC convention.

Like its CLC counterpart, the OFL "Declaration of Principles" seeks to channel the struggle against federal wage controls into support for tripartite government-business-labor boards, which would

(continued on page 10)

OFL...

(continued from page 9)

shackle the unions to the capitalist state. But unlike the Manifesto, which proposed a direct decision-making role for the CLC without the NDP, the OFL document firmly set its tripartite proposals within the context of total reliance on the NDP parliamentarians as labor's "political arm."

In addition to playing out the leadership battle, the convention served as a pep rally for the provincial NDP, which is likely to face the incumbent Tories in an election sometime next year. When they addressed the political education committee rally on the opening night, provincial leader Stephen Lewis and other NDP MPP's were given a rousing ovation. The few delegates who raised criticisms of the party's record at any point during the convention risked widespread bureaucrat-initiated booing and hissing.

Speech after speech from labor leaders at the convention claimed that the NDP provided a real alternative for the working class of Ontario. Yet only one year ago Stephen Lewis was supporting the Conservative regime of Bill Davis in the Ontario Legislature! Lewis's first promise after the September 1975 elections led to a Tory minority, was that his party would "make minority government work" by not voting in such a way as to bring down the Conservatives. Like his father David--who had the federal NDP support the Trudeau government from 1972-74 in Parliament--Stephen Lewis's record is one of selling out the independence of labor's party to the bosses. Such independence should be a minimum basis for even the most critical support to a reformist party like the NDP.

Because the bureaucratic clique-fighting dominated the convention, most substantive issues received very little attention, and left-wing anti-bureaucratic opposition was generally weak. Delegates from the 14,000-member Sudbury Steelworkers' Local 6500 raised a brief stir by their adamant opposition to salary hikes for the president and secretary-treasurer, and "left" bureaucrat Lofty MacMillan railed occasionally about the need for more "militant" policies, while voting for virtually every executive-sponsored resolution.

Supporters of the CP spent most of their time proving their basic loyalty to the Archer regime, while building the token presidential campaign of Gordie Lambert, St. Catharines and District Labour Council president. Lambert received 135 votes on a program which claimed to provide an alternative to both Archer and Pilkey, but called for nothing more than a lobby on the Ontario Legislature:

"... confronting every sitting member on the issues that effect the lives and well-being of the workers and their families. Their positions will be carefully recorded and published in their ridings so that the voters can decide on whether they should be returned to Queen's Park or be discarded..."

As an "alternative" to grovelling reliance on the NDP, this policy, to say the least, leaves something to be desired! Supporters of the CP "disting-

guished" themselves by voting against none of the central executive policy statements.

The handful of delegates supporting the views of the fake-Trotskyist RMG and League for Socialist Action essentially blended into the convention mainstream and were not particularly notable for anything. Two delegates did however stand out as fighters seeking to point the way to militant class struggle.

CUPE Local 1230 delegate Judy Darcy--who identified herself from the floor as a supporter of The Forge, paper of the Maoist Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist)--spoke mainly to the issues of wage controls, tripartism and the NDP, calling for a rejection of class collaboration and for a general strike to smash the controls. However, Darcy's anti-controls rhetoric rang rather hollow, since in her capacity as CUPE 1230 president she recently pushed her local to accept a contract which both union and management felt would be within the Anti-Inflation Board guidelines.

Darcy's calls for struggle against capitalism were equally empty, given The Forge's much-vaunted position that the "entire Canadian people" (including the capitalists) must unite against threats from the two "superpowers," the United States and Soviet Union. This class-collaborationist stance dovetails neatly with both the leadership's anti-communist railing against the "totalitarian" Soviet degenerated workers state, and the use of anti-Americanism by top Canadian bureaucrats of unions like the UAW. The latter employ Canadian nationalist arguments in an attempt to justify their refusal to wage international industry-wide strikes against the bosses on both sides of the border.

The only delegate who consistently argued for class-struggle policies was Bob McBurney from Local 1 of the Letter Carriers Union. McBurney spoke several times from the floor, as well as issuing a leaflet entitled "Only Class Struggle Can Beat the Bosses' Attacks!"

McBurney called for dumping the incumbent leadership--not in favor of a Pilkey or a Lambert, but for a leadership with a class-struggle program. He argued that class-collaborationist maneuvers like the Manifesto or its provincial equivalent could not serve the interests of the working class--because capitalism cannot be reformed, but must be overthrown and replaced by a workers government.

While the bureaucrats did nothing more than wallow in the "spirit of October 14," McBurney fought for a strategy which would continue the struggle against wage controls--a general strike--rather than abort it. He also urged the labor movement to fight for such important policies as industry-wide strikes, the right of self-determination for Quebec, no reliance on the NDP and an end to its maneuvers with the bosses' parties, for a sliding scale of wages and hours and the expropriation of industry without compensation.

At the November OFL convention (as at the B. C. Fed meet), the bureaucrats won the day. But the time will come when a class-struggle leadership will sweep them from office and lead the struggles of the working class to final victory. ■

Quebec Leftists...

(continued from page 4)

on by the Quebec campaign, as the GSTQ found itself unable to give even critical support to the "revolutionary" GMR, while the GMR returned the favor by opposing the GSTQ's political vehicle, the NDP-RMS bloc. The only "unity" the three groups found was around support to the ultra-nationalist campaign of the LSO. (The LSO magnanimously responded by critically supporting both the NDP-RMS and GMR.)

The GMR had good reasons for refusing to back the NDP-RMS ticket, which was based on a lengthy reformist program calling for such things as "higher taxes on profits" in order to secure more "balanced" economic development. Its "counterposition" to bourgeois Quebec nationalism was bourgeois Canadian nationalism: a call for a constituent assembly (!) in order to "democratically" establish a new Canadian constitution independent of the British crown. Predictably, the NDP-RMS campaign was a total fiasco, winning only a small number of votes.

LSO TO IMMIGRANTS: LEARN FRENCH OR LEAVE

While the GSTQ was building its mini propaganda vehicle for right-wing social democracy, the LSO was making verbal criticisms from the left while glorying in the most chauvinist aspects of Quebec nationalism in its own campaign. Although the LSO's election supplement (*Libération*, November 1975) is superficially somewhat left-wing, its real character appears in a prominent section entitled "For a French Quebec."

The LSO's main objection to the Parti Québécois is that the latter is not really nationalist enough. The "consistent nationalists" of the LSO--who have made French unilingualism their central demand for years, even after most bourgeois nationalists have lost interest--are particularly vehement against the PQ for its pledge to "re-establish freedom of choice of the language of instruction for the children of immigrants who have already arrived in Quebec."

The LSO denounces this opportunist genuflection toward democracy by the vote-seeking PQ from the standpoint of "consistent" reactionary national chauvinism:

"The candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière does not have the same worries, since the LSO unconditionally defends the linguistic rights of the French-speaking majority...."

"The LSO proposes a single, secular and French school system. Everyone would have to study in French, with a choice, obviously, of studying second languages, including English...."

The non-French speaking population of Quebec is no narrow, privileged white Rhodesian caste, but encompasses a full 20 percent of the population (35 percent in Montreal), including tens of thousands of working people. Yet the LSO's proposal for all those who refuse to make French their first language immediately is to drive them into the sea or into English Canada! Even the Tsar was often less crude in his chauvinist Great-Russian language policies in the Ukraine. The LSO's reveling in national bigotry is the most notable aspect of its campaign. This by itself is enough to preclude even the most critical support to its candidate.

CRITICAL SUPPORT TO THE GMR

While the GMR also calls for a unilingual French school system, beginning at the secondary level, its support to the more reactionary aspects of Quebec nationalism is always circumspect and qualified. Thus the GMR's English-Canadian sister section (the RMG) is compelled to allow "the need to make bilingual provisions for the local needs of national and linguistic minorities" in a predominantly French Quebec (*Old Mole*, July-August 1976). Where the LSO denounces the PQ primarily for not being resolutely separatist, the GMR attacks Lévesque's party for being capitalist, a treacherous Kuomintang of the "colonial" bourgeoisie.

The GMR's central political slogan is "For a Workers Republic of Quebec," and its fantasies of an independent road to power for the Québécois proletariat are replete with visions of Cuban- and Vietnamese-style guerrillaist armed struggle. This separatist strategy for the working class is both utopian and reactionary: utopian because it dreams of a consolidation of proletarian power in one part of North America, and reactionary because it re-

(continued on page 12)

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ABONNEZ-VOUS

Quebec Leftists...

(continued from page 11)

jects the necessity of joint class struggle throughout the continent.

The militant Québécois nationalism of the GMR's election program is further elaborated in a pamphlet ("Pour la République des Travailleurs du Québec," 1976), which announces:

"The liquidation of the more or less corrupt bureaucracies of the international unions cannot be achieved except by a break with the American centers and the taking in hand of these unions by the Quebec unions themselves. That is to say, the reorganization of trade unionism on an industrial basis inside a United Labor Federation of Quebec."

Even while Quebec remains a part of Canada, the GMR calls for nationalist breakaways from the powerful international unions, abandoning any hope of struggling within them to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats. Similarly, the GMR calls for a "revolutionary workers party" of Quebec, rather than a cross-Canada party. In fact the very existence of the GMR as a separate organization from the English-Canadian RMG is an expression of Québécois nationalism, contrary to the Leninist principle of "one state power, one party."

The GMR program calls for immediate nationalization of multi-national corporations, without compensation and under workers control; for a general strike against the wage controls until they are withdrawn; for a revolutionary workers party and no vote to the bourgeois parties. Its central thrust is contradictory, both for petty-bourgeois nationalism and for working-class independence pointing toward the achievement of proletarian power within a utopian-nationalist framework. Even with its strong component of separatism, the GMR was the only left-wing formation to draw such a class line in the campaign. Therefore the Trotskyist League called for critical support to the candidates of the GMR in the November 15 elections. ■

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U.S. Authorities Bar Mandel

On November 24, the visit of United Secretariat leader Ernest Mandel to Canada was prevented by the American State Department, which refused to issue him a transit visa through Miami airport. Mandel was to spend only two hours in a transit lounge in Miami on his way from Colombia to Montreal, where he was scheduled to address four public meetings on the world economic crisis and the situation in China. Mandel has in the past been barred from the U. S. under the provisions of the reactionary McCarran-Walter Act, which "prohibits the issuance of a visa to anyone who is or has been a member of the Communist Party or a communist-controlled organization." The refusal of the Washington authorities to allow him into an airport transit lounge (where the possibility of "subverting" U. S. citizens is hardly in question) is typical of their reactionary anti-communist harassment, and once again belies their oft-stated "democratic, humanitarian" pretensions.

The actions of the State Department were denounced in a November 24 press conference in Montreal, where a joint protest communique was issued by the GMR, LSO, GSTQ, the Central Council of the CSN and other organizations. The LSO representative also read a separate protest from the American Socialist Workers Party, and a representative of the Trotskyist League read the following statement on behalf of the TL and the international Spartacist tendency:

"The Trotskyist League of Canada and the international Spartacist tendency denounce the refusal of the U. S. State Department to allow Ernest Mandel, well-known leader of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" to spend even two hours in a transit waiting room as a gross infringement of his elementary democratic rights and as an attack on the workers movement as a whole."

Despite our many differences with the politics of Mandel and the United Secretariat, we urge all our readers to join in the protest against the actions of the American government.

PROTEST THE BAN ON ERNEST MANDEL!

SMASH THE McCARRAN-WALTER ACT!

Maoism...

(continued from page 16)

"moderates" (Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and now Hua). However the continual purges of yesterday's "radicals" as today's "capitalist roaders" are the source of much confusion. The difficulty in figuring out exactly what the "radicals" and "moderates" are fighting about arises from the fact that there are no fundamental differences between them. Both are equally committed to the maintenance of bureaucratic rule and the denial of proletarian democracy to the Chinese masses.

There is nevertheless a history of conflict from which these labels arose, which dates back almost two decades to the "Great Leap Forward." This adventurist policy pursued by Mao--which sought to bring the backward Chinese economy up to the level of the capitalist West in only 15 years through an unprecedented militarization of labor--brought the country to the brink of economic collapse and resulted in the loss of much of the Chairman's authority.

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In an attempt to recover lost prestige and defeat his factional opponents, Mao allied with Marshal Lin Piao's army in the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," mobilizing student and peasant youth (the Red Guards) on the basis of anti-bureaucratic demagoguery. His opponents, led by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping in turn mobilized their own forces (often factory workers, as in the case of the 1966 Shanghai strikes) to counter the Red Guards.

From this period there has stemmed a general impression of an opposition between "radical" mass mobilization/mystification policies and "moderate" ones based on modern technology and material incentives. Mao's egalitarian rhetoric of this period helped extend the influence of Maoist organizations in the West, as groups like the precursor of CPC(M-L) experienced growth on the basis of widespread support for what was regarded as an anti-bureaucratic struggle by the Red Guards. In fact, the differences which existed in the Cultural Revolution were basically a reflection of the fac-

tions' differing clienteles (Mao's peasant/army base, Liu's association with industry and the state bureaucracy) and neither side was supportable from the point of view of proletarian democracy.

After the Cultural Revolution ended in 1967, Mao maintained his leading role by shameless maneuvering between the various power blocs. In the early 1970's most of the former "capitalist roaders" purged during the Cultural Revolution were reinstated, while Mao's prominent allies (such as Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta) were themselves purged.

The purge of Lin in 1972, while dramatic and unexpected, nevertheless carried the moral authority of Mao and Chou. Without the godlike word of these two bureaucratic chieftains however, Maoists around the world find themselves in a quandary over the arrests of Chiang Ching and her followers. While seeking to apply Mao's non-Marxist teachings about "class struggle" continuing under China's "socialism," the various organizations are unable to agree on either the issues in dispute or on whom to support.

CPC(M-L): CHINA ON THE CAPITALIST ROAD?

For CPC(M-L) (the largest and, until recently, the only significant Maoist organization in Canada) the problem is compounded by the fact that the present victims are precisely those who helped lead the Cultural Revolution and were among Mao's closest allies. Maoists who memorized their "Little Red Book" lessons well learned that capitalism was restored in Russia with a speech made by Khrushchev. For those CPC(M-L)ers who still parrot what they were taught by their mentors in the Cultural Revolution, the thought that Hua could be the Chinese Khrushchev must send cold shivers up and down their political spines.

This fear is reflected in the pages of People's Canada Daily News. With Mao no longer around, CPC(M-L) is having difficulty deciphering whether China is on the "capitalist" or "socialist" road. In an article entitled "Class Struggle in China" we are informed that:

"Various comrades and friends have asked us our views as to whom do we support. The issue is not whether to support this leadership or that; the issue is which road for China."
--PCDN, 17 November

While confusion reigns as to whether or not Hua is the candidate of capitalist restoration in China, CPC(M-L) is having trouble swallowing the accusation that the "Gang of Four" are. Not only have prominent members of CPC(M-L) upheld Chiang Ching and her cohorts as faithful followers of Mao Tse-tung thought, but an article in the November 18 PCDN goes so far as to dismiss the charges against them as "unserious fabrications."

Haunted by the spectre of Teng Hsiao-ping (who,

(continued on page 14)

Maoism...

(continued from page 13)

no longer condemned as a "capitalist roader," is now making his way back up the party hierarchy) CPC(M-L) continues to hedge its bets on the characterization of China under Hua. Fearing the worst, however, it has of late been lining up strongly behind the "infallible" leadership of Enver Hoxha's Albania. Hoxha's recent emphasis on more "self-reliance" for his tiny statelet--an apparent move to distance relations with the new Peking regime--is construed by CPC(M-L) as a warning signal to beware Hua's claim to be the legitimate heir of Mao. If the purge of Chiang and her associates comes to be seen by CPC(M-L) as a counterrevolution against Maoism, Hoxha will become the only authentic claimant to the mantle of Mao Tse-tung, and Albania will be the sole surviving bastion of "socialism"--threatened by the imminent danger of the three (?) superpowers.

**EN LUTTE! PLAYS
OSTRICH, CCL(M-L) HAILS HUA**

The ostrich award for reticence on the recent events in China must undoubtedly go to the eclectic Maoists of En Lutte! In the nearly two months since the purge of the "Gang of Four," En Lutte! has managed to carry not a single word on the situation in China! When individual members of the organization are asked for elucidation, they can do no more than refer to Peking Review, while

adding that they do not necessarily agree with its analysis.

While CPC(M-L) leans toward Chiang and En Lutte! says nothing, CCL(M-L) has been the only major Maoist organization in Canada to openly solidarize with Hua. Following the death of Mao, CCL(M-L) made the unforgivable error of sending a message to the new Chinese leadership which included a specific note of condolence to "comrade" Chiang Ching (The Forge, 9 September). Undoubtedly in an effort to atone for this crime, the November 4 issue of The Forge expressed confidence that the new leadership "will remain faithful to the revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung."

Insofar as Maoism represents Stalinism (bureaucratic rule based on collectivized property forms) adapted to Chinese nationalism, the claims to continuity of all the bureaucratic contenders for power are correct. The continuity of Mao's "line" can be seen in the fulsome support given by every major Chinese political figure to the Great Helmsman's counterrevolutionary foreign policy. In this sense, the confidence of the Peking cheerleaders of CCL(M-L) is not misplaced.

It was Mao who alongside Khrushchev cheered on the Russian tanks which crushed the Hungarian revolution in 1956. It was Mao who encouraged the Indonesian Communist Party support of Sukarno, leading to the bloody murder of 500,000 workers and peasants in 1965. It was this same Mao who, along with the rest of the Chinese leadership, cemented political blocs with bloody dictators from Pinochet to the Shah of Iran and backed up South African troops in Angola, all as part of the burgeoning China-U. S. alliance against the Soviet Union. Those who claim the continuity of Maoism claim the responsibility for these crimes against the international proletariat.

The Chinese working masses have no interest in throwing their support behind any of the bureaucratic factions contesting China's leadership today. In the face of the violent power struggle in Peking, the working class needs a program to unite it against all sections of the bureaucracy in the Chinese deformed workers state--a program centered on proletarian rule through soviet democracy and international extension of the revolution. A key element in such a program is communist unity in the defense of China, the Soviet Union and all the other bureaucratized workers states against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. This task requires the construction of a Chinese Trotskyist party, section of a reborn Fourth International. To that party will fall the leadership of the struggle to sweep from the Forbidden Palace all the heirs to Mao, and to forge the soviets through which the Chinese working people will wrest power from the bureaucratic usurpers and establish their regime of workers democracy. ■

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Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!



About 40 people attended a Trotskyist League forum in Vancouver on November 20, entitled "Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International." The presentation was given by James Robertson, a member of the Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). Among those at the forum were supporters of the League for Socialist Action (LSA), Canadian adherents of the United Secretariat minority faction, and the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP)/Radical Women of Seattle, a group which unsuccessfully attempts to fuse the counterposed ideologies of Trotskyism and feminism. The two FSP representatives came to Vancouver especially to attend the forum.

In his talk Comrade Robertson outlined the political programs and histories of the various misleaders of the working class--from the social democrats through the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Stalinists to the various tendencies falsely claiming the banner of Trotskyism--and clearly demonstrated why these parties can only betray in the event of a proletarian uprising. He emphasized the choice facing mankind: a third world war fought with nuclear weapons or socialist revolution. The iSt strives to resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership by reorganizing the world vanguard party, the Fourth International, through regroupment with other political tendencies or sections of them on principled programmatic bases.

A lengthy and spirited discussion followed the talk, in which about 20 people spoke on a wide range of topics. The LSA supporters were, however, conspicuously silent. Despite being challenged by a number of TL supporters, they were apparently unable or unwilling to defend their reformist politics.

Several TLers also attacked the political positions of the FSP--a Seattle-parochialist group today somewhere in the orbit of the centrist United Secretariat majority tendency--citing in particular their bankrupt trade-union "strategy." The FSP calls for the formation of feminist caucuses and supports dual unionism as means of winning workers to "socialist-feminism." Despite being granted extra speaking time by the forum chairman, the FSPers were unable to defend their positions, and merely ended up repeating points they had already made.

Comrade Robertson concluded the forum by reiterating the iSt's intransigent revolutionary opposition to all aspects of bourgeois ideology--including feminism, which rejects the primacy of the class line. Only the reborn Fourth International, armed with the Trotskyist Transitional Program, can lead the working class to power, thus laying the material basis for ending all forms of exploitation and oppression.

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MAO'S HEIRS SQUABBLE IN CHINA

Maoism in Crisis

A nationwide day of mourning was declared for China's Mao Tse-tung--all government buildings were closed, all flags flown at half-mast; the only bourgeois regime to bestow such honors on Mao. Some "third world anti-imperialist" regime, or one of the "non-aligned" nations? No, this tribute came from Pinochet's Chile, one of the most hated, reactionary blood-soaked military dictatorships in history.

The death of Mao has provoked a major crisis in the Maoist movement internationally. But the loyal followers of Peking are not primarily upset over Pinochet's condolences or those of imperialist mass-murderer Richard M. Nixon. Following Peking's alliance with the South African army and the CIA against the MPLA forces and Cuban troops in Angola last year, most Maoist groups have learned to swallow the more and more open China-U.S. pact against the supposed "main danger," the Soviet Union.

Rather, what has set off the present crisis of Maoism is the internecine bureaucratic feuding which followed the Great Helmsman's death on September 8. The purge of Mao's widow Chiang Ching and other "radical" leaders--accused by the new "moderate" Hua Kuo-feng leadership of being "capitalist roaders"--has sent shock waves through the Maoist movement. In the absence of the stable point of reference represented by Mao's personal authority, Maoist organizations have found themselves unable to explain the latest purge of the "radicals" whom only yesterday they cheered for mopping up "rightist" Teng Hsiao-ping.

Some "critical" Maoist groups in Europe--notably the German Kommunistischer Bund, the French Révolution group and the Swedish Forbundet Kommunist--have openly broken with the Hua leadership and come out in defense of Chiang Ching's purged "Shanghai Group." Here in Canada, the Mao-worshippers of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) (CPC [M-L]) appear to be heading in the same direction. The most craven China Friendship Society types like the U.S. October League and the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) (CCL [M-L]) have (at least for the time being) swallowed the line of Peking Review and hailed the new leadership of Hua and Co. Others, like the Quebec-based En Lutte! group, have simply stuck their heads in the sand, hoping that the problem will go away.

THE FICTION OF "RADICALS" VS. "MODERATES"

Reports in the bourgeois press of the feuding in the Forbidden Palace explain Chinese politics in terms of "radicals" (including Mao himself, Chiang Ching and the rest of the "Gang of Four") versus

(continued on page 13)



TOP: THE FLAG OF U.S. IMPERIALISM UNFURLED FOR NIXON'S 1972 PEKING VISIT. BOTTOM: WALL POSTER DEPICTS "GANG OF FOUR" SKEWERED BY BAYONETS.