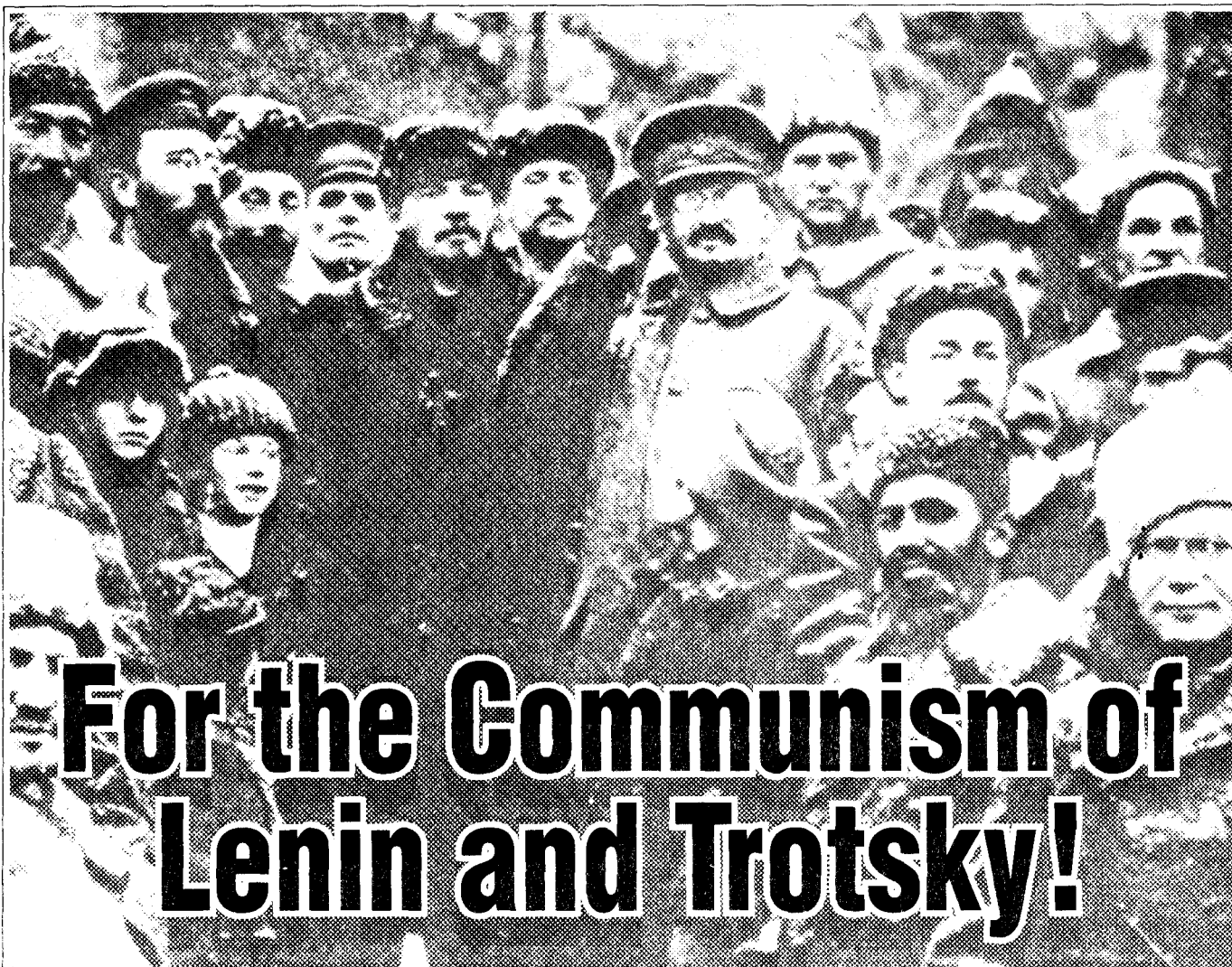


SPARTACIST

CANADA

Nov./Dec. 1990 No. 81 50¢

— SPECIAL REGROUPMENT ISSUE —



V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, leaders of the Russian Revolution, on its second anniversary in Moscow's Red Square.

L.Y. Leonidov

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Introduction

For Revolutionary Regroupment— For Lenin and Trotsky's Communism!

In this issue of *Spartacist Canada* we are publishing the statements and documents of militants who have recently been won to the banner of authentic Leninism as embodied in the Trotskyist program of the International Communist League. These include a group of comrades from the Young Left Movement of Poland, a tendency from the English-Canadian affiliate of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, a long-time member of the Communist Party both in Canada and Israel, founding cadre of the Morenoite tendency in Mexico, and a group of young Irish revolutionaries who came over to our politics, particularly in counterposition to the centrists of the Irish Workers Group/Workers Power.

The collapse of Stalinist rule has caused a wave of confusion, demoralization and disintegration among the Communist parties internationally who like the imperialists have long equated "Communism" with the rule of the bureaucracy. At the same time it has demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of the various international pretenders to the program of Trotskyism whose politics have, for at least the last decade, been animated by the Third Camp equation of Stalinism with imperialism. Caught in the grip of Cold War anti-Communism they championed every movement hostile to the Soviet degenerated workers state—from CIA-backed Islamic reaction in Afghanistan to Solidarność' counterrevolution in Poland.

As we noted in May 1989 in declaring the foundation of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist): "Stalinism has created millions of anti-Communists and the general level of identification of human progress with the idea of communism stands at a relative low point. Yet as the workings of capitalist imperialism create millions of new subjective communists around the globe, the absence of genuinely communist leadership is acutely felt by many and the program of Leninist internationalism can be put forward with great impact." Our regroupment of militants who come from a variety of different backgrounds and political experience stands as powerful confirmation of the impact of this program.

A key impetus in launching the ICL was the overwhelming

response to the Partisan Defense Committee's campaign to raise desperately needed funds for civilian victims of the bloody onslaught by the CIA-backed *mujahedin* in the Afghan city of Jalalabad. Literally tens of thousands of people around the world, particularly among immigrant communities and women as well as dissident Stalinists who felt bitter and betrayed by Gorbachev's withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, gave to this campaign.

As we said at the time, better for the Red Army to have continued its honorable fight against imperialism in Afghanistan than to have to fight counterrevolution within the borders of the Soviet Union. The bitter fruits of Gorbachev's policy of "appeasement" can be seen in the counterrevolutionary nationalist movements in the Baltics who openly appeal to the imperialists for assistance. Now, 700 miles from the borders of the Soviet Union the U.S. is heading a massive imperialist expeditionary force in the Persian Gulf. And the Kremlin criminally endorses the U.S.-led war moves against Iraq!

The events of the past year, particularly the destruction of the East German deformed workers state, brought would-be communists in other organizations face to face with the counterrevolutionary implications of their politics, leading the comrades who have now joined our organization to look back to the heritage of Trotsky's struggle to preserve and carry forward the Bolsheviks' program of revolutionary internationalism. Our intransigent defense of the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution against the imperialists and their social democratic lackeys and against the perversion and betrayal of the workers gains by the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies impelled these comrades to see the ICL as the only authentic communists.

In the early 1980s, decades of Stalinist lies, corruption and bureaucratic economic mismanagement had driven the bulk
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Resignation from the Canadian CP

"I Leave Because I Am a Communist"

We reprint below a letter of resignation from the Communist Party of Canada by Yossi Schwartz, a six-year CPC member in Toronto, distributed to delegates at the party's national convention on the weekend of October 5-8.

Following the line of CPC leader George Hewison, the Toronto convention voted to abandon even a reference to "Marxism-Leninism," and to single-mindedly focus on "left unity" with the wretchedly right-wing social-democratic New Democratic Party. A "left" opposition around Ontario party leader Liz Rowley expressed mild opposition to some of the most blatantly liquidationist aspects of Hewison's "new thinking," while veteran former CPC leader Bill Kashtan showed a bit more fight but offered only nostalgia for "better times" in the past.

In contrast, Schwartz has been fighting for the revolutionary alternative of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevism. He had been a supporter of the international Spartacist tendency (now International Communist League) for a period in the 1970s, but then returned to the Stalinist fold. Recently, he became prominent within the Canadian CP in opposing Gorbachev's pro-capitalist "market reforms" and appeasement of imperialism. In a letter to the CPC's *Canadian Tribune* (29 January), Schwartz called for "a revolutionary working class party based on Leninist internationalist principles to replace both wings of Stalinism" as the answer to escalating nationalist antagonisms in the Soviet Union. The paper's Gorbachevite Moscow correspondent Fred Weir responded by denouncing Schwartz's call for a return to Leninism as "ultra-left purism, voluntarism and authoritarianism" (*Canadian Tribune*, 12 February).

In February Schwartz initiated a petition signed by 21 "members and friends of the Communist Party of Canada" denouncing East German (DDR) prime minister Hans Modrow and his Socialist Unity Party (SED) for supporting capitalist

reunification of Germany (see page 4). Before resigning, he distributed a document he had fought for as a delegate at the Ontario provincial conference two weeks earlier titled "A Call to All Communists." We reprint this document as well, beginning on page 5.

The CPC today is a demoralized wreck, as much of the membership has simply voted with their feet in the past year and quit. What is left is rapidly on the road to full-fledged social democracy. With Stalinism collapsing in its death agony, the program of Trotskyism is ever more clearly the only road to a communist future.

* * * *

Toronto, October 7, 1990

Members of the Communist Party:

I am resigning from the CPC. The shameful document "The Communist Party and A New Decade" is just another indication of the further degeneration of the CPC into the camp of social democracy.

I first joined the Communist Party of Israel in 1963. Throughout my time in Israel, I was an active defender of national rights for the Palestinian people. When the Communist Party split in 1965 I went with the Sneh group, but when this group supported Israel in the 1967 war I left the organization. Following this, I investigated and was won over to the views of Trotskyism.

In 1980, I rejoined the Israeli CP and four years later joined the Communist Party of Canada. The victory of the Vietnamese Revolution, despite its Stalinist leadership, had a great impact on my decision to rejoin the party. Although I was fully aware of the many betrayals of the working class that had been

(continued on page 4)



Spartakist



Spartacist banner at East Berlin anti-fascist demonstration, 30 December 1989: "For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg! For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party! Spartakist Workers Party of Germany uniquely fought against capitalist reunification."

Petition Against the Sellout of East Germany: "For Workers Councils to Defend the DDR"

The news that Hans Modrow, D.D.R. Prime Minister, backed by the reformists in Moscow, announced his party's support for the reunification of Germany, and announced a concrete plan for this idea on the condition that the new unified Germany stayed neutral, hits us very hard.

A unified Imperialist Germany is a real danger not only to the Soviet Union but to the whole world. Why then is the S.E.D. ready to capitulate without any struggle? Why does the current Soviet leadership support this capitulation?

There is no other possible alternative, they are likely to argue, and point out Romania as an example of what may happen if the S.E.D. would oppose the wishes of the people.

This however is false. Unlike the situation in some bureaucratically deformed workers states, the best and most conscious workers in East Germany has shown their will to get rid of the Stalinist bureaucracy but do not support capitalist restoration.

On January 3, over 250,000 workers responded to the Nazis defiling of graves of Soviet Soldiers by [a] mass demonstration in Treptow Park. On January 14, once again more than a quarter million militant workers rallied

in Berlin supporting Socialism.

These actions constitute vivid evidence that the political revolution in the D.D.R. can lead to a genuine worker Democracy based on workers and Soldiers councils. Such an event will electrify the working class and its allies everywhere in the world, in the same way that the 1917 October revolution did.

Why then does the S.E.D., supported by the reformists in the USSR, prefer to capitulate?

Is it possible that they are afraid of the Workers' political revolution more than they are afraid of the Imperialists taking over East Germany?

We the undersigned declare unambiguously, our opposition to any sellout of the DDR. Let our position that the SED break immediately all negotiations for capitalist restoration, our call for the building of workers councils in defence of the DDR, be known not only to the Canadian workers but to the SED and the German working class.

—21 members and friends of the
Communist Party of Canada,
February 1990

CPC Resignation...

(continued from page 3)

carried out by the Stalinist parties internationally, the victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants over U.S. imperialism led me to believe that it was possible that the Communist Party could be an instrument for the victory of the working people over the capitalist exploiters. Moreover, unlike the Trotskyists whose numbers were small, the CP could claim it had more "influence." But as history has proven repeatedly, and as has been proven to me through bitter experience in the last years, *program is decisive*.

Like many other comrades in the party I have felt bitter and betrayed by Gorbachev's repeated sellouts to the imperialists—from the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan to handing over the DDR to the Fourth Reich. Once again, I found the only answers and the only program to defend the interests of the working people and oppressed internationally in the revolutionary politics of Trotskyism. The total capitulation of the leaders of our party, who want to abandon anything remotely resembling "communism" as they crawl before the social democrats, is simply the completion of a process that began many years ago. Comrades, this organization hasn't had anything to do with the struggle for communism for decades.

I leave this party not merely because of its past anti-working-class positions, nor only because it has been an instrument in the service of the Soviet bureaucracy rather than of the working class, but because this party is incapable of analyzing its past and returning to the revolutionary road of Lenin and Trotsky. I leave this party because it is an *obstacle* on the road of the working-class socialist revolution, because it

refuses to struggle against the sellout of East Europe and the threatened destruction of the Soviet Union as a workers state. The 500-day program of economic restructuring offered by Yeltsin and accepted by Gorbachev is no less than a program for capitalist restoration.

This final crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy is rooted in the long history which began with the political counterrevolution led by Stalin in 1924. I encourage comrades to read my previous documents on this subject. This crisis is the result of the policies of class collaboration and so-called "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism which necessarily followed the Stalinist bureaucracy's theory of "socialism in one country." I firmly believe that only working-class political revolution led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party can save the Soviet Union.

I leave the Communist Party of Canada as well because this party is shamefully tailing the imperialists against Iraq. In a word: I leave the CPC because I am a Communist.

I leave in order to join the historical struggle of building the urgently needed communist International. Today this means fighting to reforge the Fourth International established by Leon Trotsky in 1938 as the continuity of the Third, Communist International established in 1919. The only organization fighting for this is the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), whose Canadian section is the Trotskyist League.

I call on all members of the CPC who refuse to serve the capitalist class, those who see themselves as Leninists, to join me in this historical struggle.

Join the International Communist League!

—Yossi Schwartz
Lakeshore Club

A Call to All Communists

This document was first distributed at the Ontario provincial convention of the Communist Party on September 22-23.

* * * *

Dear Comrades:

The Communist Party of Canada is at a crossroads. The alternatives posed are either destruction or total capitulation. I argue for another alternative, the program of genuine communism: Trotskyism. I urge those comrades who, despite past capitulations and anti-working class positions carried out under the name of the CPC, want to be Leninists to join with me. Better sooner than later when you face the bitter prospect of a simply "personal" existence or of a lifetime of servility to the social democrats.

George Hewison, Fred Wilson and their co-thinkers want to junk even a pretense of Leninism in order to become "born again" social democrats in the shadow of the NDP. But they cannot be fought in the fashion of the Bill Kashtan/Liz Rowley CC minority, who while making vague left criticisms share the same basic politics. As comrades know, I have been fighting for more than a year for a fundamentally different road. I have written several documents and letters on the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, Stalinism and "socialism in one country," and their relation to the current crisis in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and in our party. Last December *Forum* published one under the title "A Return to Leninist Principles Needed." I repeat this today, and with added urgency.

Like many of you, I became a Communist in order to carry forward the class struggle against capitalism, to wage that struggle in a revolutionary manner, so the working class can seize state power and do away with the horrors of capitalism. Hewison & Co. call that outdated. Kashtan/Rowley want to retain a nostalgic connection to *words* like "Marxism-Leninism," "Communist," etc., without recognizing that their *content* in our party has, for a very long time, been totally alien to the teachings of Marx and Lenin.

The only road forward for those who want to fight for com-

munist lies through a complete change of our program and practice. We must recognize that the CPC has not, in practice, been a truly Leninist—that is, revolutionary communist—party for many decades. We must fight for the program of the October Revolution, the program that Stalin abandoned and fought against as he carried out his bureaucratic counterrevolution—the program for *world socialist revolution*. And we must recognize that it was the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky which, from the mid-1920s on, in the midst of slander and persecution, carried forward the fight for Leninism in the USSR and internationally.

A COMMUNIST PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE

We need a party with a truly communist and internationalist program of struggle—something offered by neither the Hewison right wing or the neo-Stalinist "old guard."

1. Against the imperialists' drive to war in the Persian Gulf!

The *Tribune* (August 13) shamefully supported the U.S.-led blockade of Iraq in an editorial, "Containing Saddam." It even endorsed the imperialists' armed intervention, so long as this is sanctioned by the UN. The CPC thus placed itself in the camp of imperialism in the Persian Gulf! George Hewison's August 24 report to the CC tries to put a "left" face on this shameful position, saying "U.S. adventurism must be stopped." But the party *still*, scandalously, refuses to call for withdrawal of imperialist troops or opposition to the blockade.

By publicly endorsing Bush's war moves, Gorbachev (and, in their own small way, Hewison & Co.) are actually *legitimizing* Washington's pirate-like grab for oil in the Middle East, which threatens mankind with a Third World War. The result of Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism is a massive U.S. military build-up against a "Third World" country—and less than 1,000 kilometers from Soviet borders. Hewison appeals for "a new post-cold war approach to international

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Lenin (standing) and other delegates to the First Congress of the Third International, Moscow, March 1919.



no credit

To All Communists...

(continued from page 5)

relations...that disputes between nations are settled through negotiations, and not through naked aggression." But the so-called "end of Cold War" has *heightened* imperialist aggression, which is now tightening the noose around the USSR with planes, ships and hundreds of thousands of troops!

Hewison calls for recalling Parliament to voice opposition to U.S. "foreign policy" and for a diplomatic solution through

CANADIAN TRIBUNE

Containing Saddam

The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq is being condemned by world public opinion and rightfully so. Nothing can justify the use of military force in the settling of interstate conflicts. That there were serious emerging differences between Iraq and Kuwait there is no doubt, but the way of big power politics must be abandoned.

It has been the example of just such politics that led the Saddam Hussein government to think it could act with impunity in the Persian Gulf. Iraq has long basked in the support of its two superpower friends. The Soviet Union had supplied Iraq with arms throughout the long and bloody Iran-Iraq war. Washington clearly backed the latter as its warships patrolled

EDITORIAL

CP press (13 August) supports blockade of Iraq, equates USSR with U.S. imperialism.

the UN. But imperialism is not an optional "policy" to be determined by debate among capitalist politicians. It is the final stage of capitalism which in its death agony is driven to wars, as Lenin said, "for the division and redivision of the world." Real communists look to rallying the working class against their "own" imperialist rulers who send working people to die for the imperialists' interests. We say: U.S., Canada out of the Persian Gulf! Break the blockade of Iraq! We point out that it was under UN auspices that "peacekeepers" (including Canadian troops) were sent against the workers and peasants of Korea and the Arab masses of the Middle East. And it is under UN auspices that the U.S. is carrying out its invasion today.

For many years Moscow squandered military aid on the butcher Saddam Hussein, who murdered his opponents from the Kurdish people to Iraqi Communists. Yet today, when the issue is an imperialist war build-up against this underdeveloped country, Gorbachev is crawling before George Bush. A truly communist government in the Soviet Union would right now be giving *military support* to Iraq to help defeat Washington's war plans.

2. Fight capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe!

Last January, 21 CPC members and supporters issued a Petition denouncing Gorbachev's support to German reunification. We warned: "A unified Imperialist Germany is a real danger not only to the Soviet Union but to the whole world," and asked: "Why then is the SED ready to capitulate without any struggle? Why does the current Soviet leadership support this capitulation?" We pointed to actions like the 250,000-strong protest against the defiling of graves of Soviet soldiers

in East Berlin, and noted that: "The best and most conscious workers in East Germany has shown their will to get rid of the Stalinist bureaucracy but do not support capitalist restoration... These actions constitute vivid evidence that the political revolution in the D.D.R. can lead to a genuine worker Democracy based on workers and Soldiers councils. Such an event will electrify the working class and its allies everywhere in the world, in the same way that the 1917 October revolution did."

But the SED/PDS leaders, encouraged by Gorbachev, capitulated without a struggle and capitalism is being restored in the DDR. This has meant an explosion of anti-Semitism, pogromist terror against Vietnamese, Mozambican and other immigrant workers, women being thrown back into the chains of household slavery, close to 2 million workers already thrown out of work with millions more to follow. And now the working class there (as well as other layers, from women to immigrant workers, youth and the elderly) is beginning to struggle in defense of their conditions of life against the reality of capitalist restoration. Workers elsewhere in Eastern Europe, like the Polish railworkers, have struck against the brutal economic realities of growing capitalist counterrevolution.

In his August 24 CC report, George Hewison talks of East European workers putting up "stiff resistance." But who will *lead* this resistance? Certainly not the utterly discredited Stalinists who created the mess in the first place—and certainly not the likes of Hewison who have passively watched and supported the SED/PDS leaders as counterrevolution triumphed in the DDR and who today have welcomed the imperialists' "new world order" as a supposed "end of Cold War." New, anti-Stalinist, Leninist-Trotskyist parties are needed to defend the gains of the working people and resist imperialism's attempts to turn Eastern Europe into neo-colonies.

3. Stop counterrevolution in the USSR! For workers political revolution!

By endorsing a 500-day program of denationalizing the land and moving to a "market economy," the Gorbachev leadership is taking another giant step toward the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. This program, the work of



SC photo
Toronto, August 26: Trotskyist League of Canada in protest against imperialist war moves.

open counterrevolutionaries like Moscow mayor Popov and demagogue Boris Yeltsin, promises brutal austerity measures which would make Poland under Solidarność look like a picnic. Other elements in the CPSU grotesquely push Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism and ally with the likes of the fascist Pamyat. Meanwhile in areas like the Baltics, the nationalist turmoil unleashed by perestroika has produced counterrevolutionary "independence" movements. Sixty years ago, Trotsky warned how the existence of the Stalinist bureaucracy "helps rot the foundations of the socialist elements of the economy and increases the chances for capitalist restoration." These warnings have proved all too true. *Today the homeland of the October Revolution is in grave danger.*

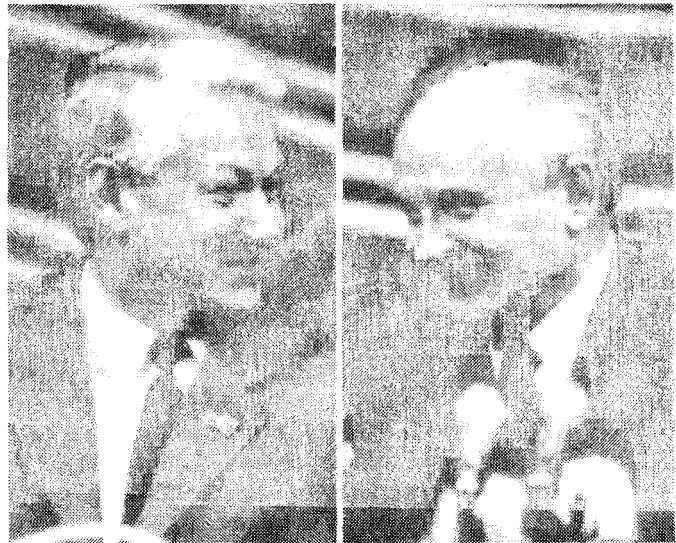
The working class of the Soviet Union must be mobilized against the threat of counterrevolution. The planned economy must be regenerated and revised from top to bottom through *soviet democracy*, based on democratically elected workers councils. The parasites, the aspiring capitalists and their intellectual spokesmen must be driven out of the workers councils. Lenin's defense of the right of minority nationalities to self-determination, so long as this is not simply a cover for capitalist counterrevolution, must be revived. Above all, the working class and its allies must tear power out of the hands of the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy before it is too late. Workers political revolution, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party rooted among the workers, is the *only* road to save the USSR.

4. Against the "popular front" and appeasement of imperialism!

Seventy-three years ago, the October Revolution opened the way for all humanity to escape imperialist misery. Lenin himself proclaimed it the opening shot in the world socialist revolution, which alone could pave the road to socialism. But Stalin and his accomplices, who had usurped power by 1924, proclaimed the very opposite, saying "socialism" could be built "in one country." Under this sign, Communist parties internationally were transformed from instruments for revolutionary class struggle against their own capitalist class into organizations seeking collaboration with a "progressive" wing of the capitalists, in the vain hope that the latter would leave the Soviet Union in peace.

Today the myth of "socialism in one country" is provenly bankrupt. The constant pressures of the world capitalist market over decades have produced a situation where today we are seeing the complete collapse of Stalinist rule. The policies of class collaboration followed necessarily from "socialism in one country." Stalin's ideologues codified these under the name of the "popular front." All this has proven utterly disastrous for the Soviet Union and the international working class. Stalinists, like the East German SED/PDS for example, sold the lie that working class struggle in the imperialist countries is "impossible." Yet from Italy, France and Greece after World War II to the 1968 French General Strike, there have been revolutionary situations where the possibility of the workers taking power was posed sharply. In all cases, the Stalinists insured that the revolutions were *defeated*.

Today Gorbachev (along with the "leaders" of our party) pushes "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism with a vengeance, denying even in words the possibility of international class struggle. He has pulled the Red Army from Afghanistan, signed the death warrant for the DDR, agreed to Pol Pot's genocidal maniacs "sharing power" in Cambodia, left



Novosti photos

Yeltsin and Gorbachev plan for restoration of capitalism, as perestroika fuels economic chaos, inequality.

the Cuban deformed workers state isolated just 90 miles from the U.S. He may think it is a "kinder, gentler" U.S. but the peoples of the world (not least the American working class, and especially blacks) know better. Imperialism *cannot* and *will not* be "appeased" until it has overthrown the gains of the October Revolution. Instead, as Lenin ceaselessly explained, imperialism itself must be overthrown through workers revolution.

5. Against class collaboration at home!

Here in Canada, that means above all opposition to "our" capitalist class. In contrast, the CPC has long pushed a policy of supporting a wing of the Canadian bourgeoisie, portraying them as "peace-loving" or "neutral" imperialists unlike the U.S. This is the Canadian version of the "popular front." It has taken many forms over the years—from backing the imperialist Mackenzie King government during (and even after) World War II, to obscenely supporting internment of Japanese Canadians during this war, to championing movements like the Pro-Canada Network today. Slogans like "Canada First," raised by our party over the years, utterly mislead the working people and reinforce chauvinism, racism and the like by lining up the workers behind "our" capitalists against workers abroad.

Different wings of the party are now supporting competing nationalisms in English Canada and Quebec. In its own small way, the CPC's support to English Canadian nationalism has helped fuel "Maple Leaf" chauvinism against Quebec. Meanwhile the PCQ now supports Quebec independence, and also Quebec's discriminatory language laws which can only divide working people. We must unconditionally defend the right to self-determination for the Quebec nation, while at the same time opposing bourgeois nationalism and fighting for the unity of the working class in struggle to bring down the capitalists.

Today the party leadership hails the electoral victory of the NDP in Ontario as a big step forward. But the NDP, like all social-democratic parties internationally since 1914, seeks only to do the capitalists' dirty work, convincing workers to "suffer" for the "good of all." This they will certainly do with a vengeance today with the economy in a recession. It was

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To All Communists...

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the social-democratic SPD that helped spearhead counterrevolution in the DDR. It is the "Socialist" Mitterrand who pushes anti-working class austerity in France. And just look at the NDP's support to imperialism in the Persian Gulf today and its racist attacks on Arab Canadians who volunteered to defend Iraq. The role of communists is not to help the social-democratic traitors better serve the capitalists, but to expose their pro-capitalist nature and break working people away from them.

In the trade unions, instead of undertaking the difficult task of building alternative revolutionary leadership, the CPC tails the likes of Bob White. White is a social-democratic bureaucrat who supported Mecch Lake as the road to "unite" English- and French-speaking workers, i.e. "unity" of the working class behind the Anglo capitalists. He is a leading figure in the NDP, which refuses even to recognize Quebec's right to independence. The other side of his Canadian nationalist politics is the splitting of the UAW which has weakened the capacity of the working class in Canada and the U.S. to fight together against their common enemy, the U.S. and Canadian capitalists. In contrast, Leninists recognize the need for the fullest unity and amalgamation of workers throughout the continent: our perspective must be the workers revolution throughout North America.

Both English-speaking and Quebec nationalists have exactly nothing to offer the deeply oppressed Native Indian people except more genocidal attacks as at Oka. We must defend treaty rights and claims for land, and where it is impossible to return stolen land demand generous compensation in completely consensual negotiations. But unlike the party leadership we must not tail the illusions of Native Indian nationalism, and especially not the very dangerous demand for Native "self-government" under capitalism. This would be of the same nature as South Africa's Bantustans: no wonder Conservatives like Mike Harris support the idea of "self-government"! The survival of the Native Indian people can be secured only through the destruction of capitalism and establishment of proletarian rule, which would truly honor the treaties and build

a society free of racism where a decent future is guaranteed for all.

6. For revolutionary internationalism! Return to Lenin and Trotsky's program!

Members of the Communist Party: the CPC is a dying party. The leaders of both its factions have no program to resolve its crisis. They are fighting over one variant or another of bankrupt reformism. But the answer is not despair or capitulation. Those who wish to be communists must look to another road.

More than sixty years ago, founding leaders of the CPC like Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald were expelled from the party for attempting to continue on Lenin's proletarian-internationalist path in the face of Stalinist betrayal. They went on to help found the Trotskyist movement in this country. Ever since, the CPC leaders have defended all the zigzags and crimes of Soviet leaders from Stalin to Gorbachev. The disastrous results are all too clear.

But what we see today is not the "end of Communism" but the last chapter in the ugly book of Stalinism. As long as there is exploitation and oppression, working people throughout the world will be impelled into struggle for communism. We need a new, communist International with national sections throughout the world. An International fighting for workers political revolution to prevent capitalist restoration in the USSR and deformed workers states, and for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries. An International which uses Leninist tactics, not Stalinist or social-democratic class collaboration. An International united organizationally around the true principles of democratic centralism. An International fighting to establish the world dictatorship of the proletariat in order to move forward to a classless society.

Comrades: the proletariat has little time left to tear this world out of the hands of the imperialist warmongers. Humanity needs communism if it is to have a future. To achieve this we must return to Lenin's road, to Trotsky's road, *the road of struggle for international socialist revolution*. This is the only option.

—Yossi Schwartz
Lakeshore Club



Basil Blackwell Inc.

Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile demonstrate on anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, 1928. The center banner, with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, proclaims: "Long live the dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Militants Split from Ernest Mandel's USec

Socialist Challenge, the English-Canadian affiliate of the United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel, has just undergone a debilitating and perhaps fatal split. The declaration of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency (RMT), "Against United Secretariat Liquidationism—For Trotskyism!" (reprinted beginning page 11) calls "on all comrades who agree with this document to join us in pursuing the only principled course open to Trotskyists, the course of fusion with the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and its Canadian section, the Trotskyist League. This is the only road in the fight for Trotskyism!" The RMT includes the majority, and most active members, of the Edmonton branch, where their irregular newspaper *Socialist Challenge* has been published.

In declaring the International Communist League in May 1989, we based ourselves on the understanding that with the terminal crisis of Stalinism, our program of Leninist internationalism could have great impact in winning subjective communists around the world to the banner of Trotskyism. In contrast, the USec, having spent the last decade in the embrace of Cold War anti-Sovietism, has no answers for those militants who want to struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. It is in a state of disarray and paralysis, split between those who openly support capitalist counterrevolution and those Mandelites who can't figure out who to tail after today.

And it is not only the USec. Our active fight against counter-revolution, from Afghanistan to East Germany, was key to the recent fusion of the Grupo Espartaquista de México with the Trotskyist Faction, which broke with the followers of the late Nahuel Moreno, particularly over the Morenoites' support to capitalist reunification of Germany. The Canadian RMT was likewise increasingly propelled by the events in East Europe and the Soviet Union to see the ICL as the only genuine Trotskyists.

When these comrades, who include two founding members of Socialist Challenge, one of whom was a full Central Committee member, joined the USec in Canada they thought they had joined a Trotskyist organization. So they were somewhat bewildered to find that their work as members of Socialist Challenge was not to win people even to the Mandelites' nominal version of "Trotskyism," but instead to simply be the "best builders" of other "movements." Rather than building an independent proletarian leadership, as Trotsky called for in the Transitional Program, they were chasing after the will o' the wisp of Mandel's "new/mass/broad vanguards" to do the job instead. The RMT's founding declaration noted: "Our 'transitional programme' is reduced to nothing more than a movement shopping list, as our political intervention is reduced to coalition-style demand swapping." In a word, they were tailing after alien class forces.

Repelled by the deeply ingrained cynicism and all-sided Menshevism of the organization, they initially sought to fight for elementary norms of disciplined functioning, invoking the heritage of James P. Cannon's Socialist Workers Party as an example. This got them nowhere. Increasingly these comrades began to develop criticisms of the organization's overall political liquidationism. Initially this centered on the domestic terrain, with arguments against Socialist Challenge's capitulation to the chauvinist, right-wing social democrats of the New

Democratic Party in English Canada while its Quebec organization, Gauche Socialiste, simultaneously capitulated to the rising tide of bourgeois nationalism in Quebec.

As they began to investigate the political views of other tendencies, including the Spartacists, these comrades came to realize that SC/GS's political adaptations were not born yesterday, and were not simply a domestic question. Shortly after Bush sent U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf, as the USec wallowed in social-pacifism, the Edmonton comrades organized a militant protest against the imperialist invasion that made a point of calling on Moscow to drop its embargo against sending arms to Iraq. Increasingly, they came to understand the centrality of the Russian question to the USec's liquidationism. Their declaration states: "The past decade has seen



SC photo

Canadian Mandelites, led by Barry Weisleder (second from right), joined with Stalinists in attempt to exclude Trotskyist League from raising revolutionary politics at 1981 El Salvador protest in Toronto.

an escalating rightward drift of the United Secretariat, which has ever more openly abandoned the defense of the USSR and the deformed workers' states against counterrevolution."

Ten years ago the USec marched under the banner of "Solidarity with Solidarność" in demonstrations that ran the gamut from social democrats to outright fascists. The RMT's document notes that not only has the USec refused to retract its support to Solidarność, but it "is apparently willing to expand its line throughout the region. Without the slightest qualification the 'Manifesto of the Fourth International,' submitted by the United Secretariat to the World Congress in 1991, 'unreservedly support[s] the uprisings of workers and peoples in Eastern Europe.' (Two, three, many victories for capitalist restoration!?)"

The document points to "a particularly repugnant example" of this in the issue of the USec's *International Viewpoint* (18 September 1989), which printed an article praising the Nazi collaborators of the Estonian "Forest Brothers." And when it came to the capitalist annexation of East Germany, an entire wing of the USec—including Nat Weinstein's Socialist

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USec...

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Action group in the U.S. and the Matti wing of the French LCR—openly endorsed this counterrevolutionary *anschluss* as an act of “self-determination” of the German proletariat.

Join the International Communist League!

Notably one of the bridges which took the comrades of the RMT from the USec to the ICL was the American Fourth Internationalist Tendency's *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*. Last May they wrote a letter to *BIDOM* praising “the way it makes the rich arsenal of past ideas and experience in the revolutionary movement accessible to a new generation of militants.” We too would like to thank the FIT, for the bits and pieces of the Trotskyist heritage that these comrades found in *BIDOM* helped them to see the ICL as the genuine item. No wonder USec sections as a rule don't publish Trotsky's writings these days.

Another irony in the political evolution of these comrades is that their exposure to Spartacist politics came through being assigned to answer an SC member who was raising “Spartacist”-like criticisms of the USec. Incapable of responding, the comrade who landed this assignment republished a document written 13 years ago by former Spartacist League/U.S. member Bob Pearlman as his entry fee for membership in the reformist Socialist Workers Party. After reading our reply to Pearlman's anemic document, he began an intensive study of our politics which was extended to other members of the Edmonton branch.

It's a real index of the rightward degeneration of the USec that the Socialist Challenge leadership could find no response to our politics other than retailing lurid tales of Spartacist debauchery, cultism and bureaucratism which they borrowed from the “Bolshevik Tendency.” This is a long way down the road from the left-centrist Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group who in the mid-1970s at least attempted to take us on politically in “Spartacist League: Anatomy of a Sect.”

This document was reprinted in our “Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League” series, which has also reproduced the BT's materials. An organization that was a bureaucratic cult,

as the ICL was depicted to the RMT comrades, could have no reason to publish a series of bulletins with opponents' criticisms. Nor would such an organization have a display case containing the press of all of its leftist opponents readily accessible for the membership. And in contrast to the USec, which the RMT noted was “renowned for its short memory” of its many and varied political zigs and zags, we make the history of our political positions available in the bound volumes of *Workers Vanguard* and *Spartacist*.

For that matter, what kind of cult would publish a document by a veteran American Trotskyist, Dick Fraser, in which Jim Robertson, the supposed “supreme leader” of the ICL, is characterized as “the ultimate product” of the “worst aspects of Cannonism and Shachtmanism” (in the just-published Prometheus Research Series bulletin “In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser”)? Naturally, we think that our organization combines the best aspects of Cannon's granite programmatic firmness together with the more open internal life of Shachtman's organization. But that is not what Fraser meant. Nevertheless we had very amicable and collaborative relations with comrade Fraser which grew closer over the years as the result of an increasing political convergence of views.

In contrast, when the RMT asked the SC/GS leadership for tendency rights they were informed that they were no longer members of the organization! Apparently these blundering bureaucrats who run the USec's operation in Canada were constitutionally constrained from simply throwing out the CC member who was in the RMT. Instead, when she came to the Central Committee meeting to argue their positions, a motion was put forward suspending her from membership before she got a chance to open her mouth.

The comrades of the RMT did learn from Cannon that program was decisive. We have no doubt that there are others in the United Secretariat who don't buy the imperialist lie of the “death of Communism,” who don't want to ride in the baggage car of counterrevolution, who can see through the USec's masquerading as “the Fourth International.” To them we say, join us in the task of reforging a Fourth International that Trotsky would have recognized as his own.

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 512,
19 October

Prometheus Research Series 3

A memorial to comrade Richard S. Fraser (1913-1988), who pioneered the Trotskyist understanding of the black question in the United States.

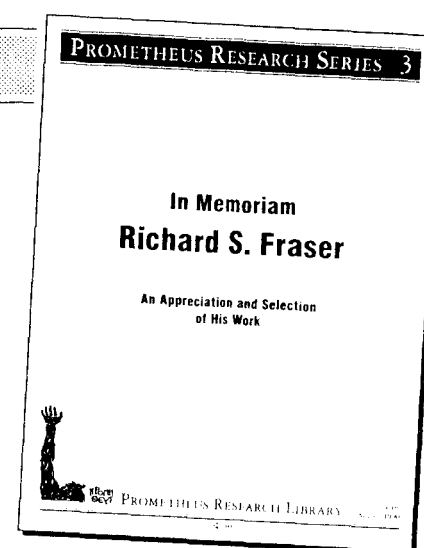
After joining the Trotskyist movement in 1934, Fraser was an organizer and union activist for close to 30 years and a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee for 25 years. During internal debates in the SWP in the 1950s he developed and fought for the programmatic perspective of Revolutionary Integration, while the majority, with George Breitman as its spokesman, tailed the liberal pacifist/Democratic Party leadership of the civil rights movement and soon capitulated to black nationalism.

The bulletin contains material reflecting the entire span of Fraser's political life, including his seminal 1953 lectures, “The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution.”

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Against United Secretariat Liquidationism— For Trotskyism!



Pathfinder Press

Trotsky addressing Red Army soldiers.

“Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current. If an unfavourable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly purchased experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy ‘sectarian’. Actually it is the only means for preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide.”

—*Stalinism and Bolshevism*

“All talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet ‘ripened’ for socialism is the product of ignorance or conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only ‘ripened’, they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. It is now the turn of the proletariat, i.e., chiefly of its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership.”

—*The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*

Declaration of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of Socialist Challenge/Gauche socialiste

1. The international workers’ movement is entering a period of global crisis, disorientation and recomposition unprecedented since the October Revolution of 1917. The protracted death agony of Stalinism as a component of the international workers’ movement has at once profoundly reaffirmed the correctness of Trotsky’s analysis in “The Revolution Betrayed”, and brought every organization subjectively identified with the program of Trotskyism to the moment of a key historic test.

2. The undersigned are members of Socialist Challenge/Gauche socialiste, among whom are some of its founding cadres, and those who have carried the banner of the United Secretariat and carried its line most energetically and consistently since well before the SC/Gs founding convention in 1988. Our experiences have compelled us to look closely and critically at the present political condition of our movement in the light of the basic tenets of revolutionary Marxism. Our conclusions point to the urgent need of a principled and uncompromising programmatic struggle against liquidationism and for political clarity in our own ranks, both internationally

and in the Canadian state. The purpose of the present document is to outline the main elements of this struggle.

I. The Deformed and Degenerated Workers’ States

“The Soviet Union emerged from the October revolution as a workers’ state. State ownership of the means of production, a necessary prerequisite to socialist development, opened up the possibility of rapid growth of the productive forces. But the apparatus of the workers’ state underwent a complete degeneration at the same time: it was transformed from a weapon of the working class into a weapon of bureaucratic violence against the working class, and more and more a weapon for the sabotage of the country’s economy. The bureaucratization of a backward and isolated workers’ state and the transformation of the bureaucracy into an all-powerful privileged caste constitute the most convincing refutation—not only theoretically but this time practically—of the theory of socialism in one country. “The USSR thus embodies terrific contradictions. But it still

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For Trotskyism!...

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remains a degenerated workers' state. Such is the social diagnosis. The political prognosis has an alternative character: either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers' state, will overthrow the new forms of property and plunge the country back into capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism."

—*The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*

1. For revolutionary Marxists, the question of defense of the gains of the October Revolution has always been of central importance since 1917. The key battles in the formative years of the Fourth International related decisively to this question. The past decade has seen an escalating rightward drift of the United Secretariat, which has ever more openly abandoned the defense of the USSR and the deformed workers' states against counterrevolution. This failure has exposed itself most clearly on four decisive questions: Polish Solidarność, the growth of reactionary nationalist movements in the Soviet Union, the 1979 Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, and the capitalist reunification of the two Germanies.

2. For Marxists, the Stalinist bureaucracy which presides over the USSR is a parasitic caste which seized political power in the context of the difficult objective circumstances which confronted the international proletariat following the 1917 October revolution (imperialist encirclement of Russia and the failure of the German revolutions of 1919 and 1923). In January 1924, the bureaucratic caste succeeded in carrying out a political counterrevolution, overturning the Bolshevik program championed by Lenin and Trotsky, and expropriating the political power of the working class. This was carried out under the banner of the reactionary slogan of "socialism in one country". Following the victory of the Red Army over Nazi Germany in World War II, and in response to the imperialists' Cold War drive against the Soviet Union, deformed workers'

states were created in Eastern Europe.

3. The Stalinist bureaucracies have played a dual role in relation to the degenerated/deformed workers' states over which they preside. Their very existence derives from the collectivized property forms of the workers' states. While they act as a transmission belt for imperialist pressure in undermining the workers' states, opposing socialist revolution internationally with the futile aim of seeking "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism, at the same time they are compelled at times to defend the collectivized economy from which they derive their privileges. In upholding Trotsky's understanding of the dual nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy, we reject the proposition that it is "counterrevolutionary through and through, and to the core".

4. As revolutionary Marxists, we call for proletarian political revolution in these states to replace the parasitic bureaucracies with the rule of genuine workers' councils committed to the perspective of international socialist revolution. We call for the unconditional military defense of the bureaucratized workers' states from imperialism and internal counterrevolution.

5. "Market socialism" is a contradiction in terms. In the "Manifesto of the Fourth International" (International Discussion Bulletin 3, 1990), the United Secretariat makes a weak argument against market socialism, citing the historical trends of the Yugoslav economy. At the same time, however, the United Secretariat concedes that it is possible for the market and democratic planning to peacefully co-exist: "the use of money and the partial and provisional functioning of the market must therefore take place within a democratically planned economy [here they refer to 'some distribution and service sectors']—that is, within an overall political decision making structure that ensures that partial market mechanisms do not exacerbate social inequalities, do not operate to the detriment of the least well-off in the population...". The point which these concessions fail to address, however, is that the aim of the current pro-market reforms in the deformed workers' states is to undermine collectivized property within a world

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Workers Vanguard

Stone/SF Examiner

Spartacist League/U.S. demonstration at Solidarność' New York office, September 1981 (left). American Mandelbrite leader Nat Weinstein joins anti-Communists in pro-Solidarność rally, December 1981.

economy dominated by imperialism. Abstract generalities about the "permissibility" of certain market mechanisms in a socialist society are thus used to obscure the mortal dangers now threatening the very basis of the workers' states under Stalinist rule, and the sharply increased material suffering inflicted on the working masses as a result of "market socialist" policies.

6. The task of revolutionaries is not to pander to illusions in "market socialism", but to challenge forthrightly the betrayal being foisted on the workers of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Clearly, the Stalinist bureaucrats are, as Trotsky forecast, "becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers' state[s]" and Stalinism is laying the groundwork for the "overthrow [of] the new forms of property and [to] plunge the country back into capitalism". No to capitalist restoration!

7. The United Secretariat has given unconditional support to the clerical nationalist Solidarność organization in Poland since its birth on August 31, 1980. The initial programme of Solidarność (September 1981) openly favoured the market and private property. No-one can now be unaware that Solidarność openly embraces the reintroduction of capitalism in Poland, as its government is currently leading a devastating IMF-directed attack on the living standards of Polish workers. Yet even now, the United Secretariat refuses to draw a critical balance sheet regarding its blind support for Solidarność, even as the reintroduction of capitalism deepens the suffering of the Polish working masses with each passing day; and even as the Catholic church is regaining the heights of oppressive power (particularly against women and Jews) which it enjoyed in the interwar Pilsudskiite republic. This is the same Catholic Church which was applauded by the United Secretariat in 1985 as "a political and social counterweight to the bureaucracy, which furthered the development of a plurality of conceptions of the world". The USec's defense of clerical nationalism has been decisively exposed by the course of real events in Poland. Revolutionary Marxists can in no way support Solidarność, nor the barbaric political and economic course that they are choosing for the Polish workers. In December 1981 Marxists

had the obligation to militarily support Jaruzelski's move to stop Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid for state power.

8. Not only has no self-criticism been forthcoming from the United Secretariat for its tailist policy of political support for clerical nationalist counterrevolution in Poland, but this leading body is apparently willing to expand its line throughout the region. Without the slightest qualification the "Manifesto of the Fourth International", submitted by the United Secretariat to the World Congress in 1991, "unreservedly support[s] the uprisings of workers and peoples in Eastern Europe." (Two, three, many victories for capitalist restoration!?)

9. The United Secretariat also supports the main representative of Ukrainian nationalism, the Rukh, as it does the various nationalist movements of the Baltic republics (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia). Like its Baltic counterparts, the Rukh stands directly for a market economy in a politically and economically independent Ukraine. The Program and Charter of the Rukh euphemistically states that they are in favour of the "privatization of the means of production (to a certain degree)". In practice, as Rukh supporters are eager to admit, this means capitalist restoration and economic integration with West European imperialism, pure and simple.

10. United Secretariat statements and articles on these issues are typically void of any specific political characterizations (in its presentation of Rukh's program in *International Viewpoint* #171, for example, the section dealing with economic questions is simply omitted). The United Secretariat apparently supports the various pro-imperialist movements in the USSR and other bureaucratized workers' states solely on the basis of their "anti-Stalinism" and their popularity, both in their own country and abroad. However, the correct characterization of these nationalist movements is not "anti-Stalinist", but anti-Soviet and anti-communist (i.e., directly against the existence of collectivized property relations, and for capitalist restoration in collaboration with imperialism).

11. A particularly repugnant example of the United Secretariat's rightward swing was when its international organ, *International Viewpoint*, gave space to a positive assessment

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Workers Vanguard

The armed struggle against Stalinism in Estonia

IN THE AREAS forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union in the Second World War, one subject remains extremely sensitive even under *glasnost*: the armed resistance to Soviet annexation. In Estonia, a prominent figure in the Estonian Historical Society, Mart Laar, was indicted for what he said about the "Forest Brothers." In an article on the period of the Stalinist terror (see IV 157, February 20, 1989, for a translation). The Soviet central press continues to cry scandal about any defense of the "Forest Brothers," and this is an element in the intensified polemics about the Baltic peoples' movements.

The following article from the June 1989 issue of *Postipoiss*, the monthly paper of the Estonian People's Front in the Estonian underground, is a detailed account of the armed resistance to the mass deportations of the Estonians in Laar's article for the article for

HERBERT LI

International VIEWPOINT

18 September 1989

ANY HISTORY has to start from the fact that the Estonian Republic was occupied by the Red Army on September 18, 1944 until the signing of the formation of the new government of the Estonian Republic under E. Laid on September 18, 1944 until the signing of the

Ernest Mandel's USec salutes Estonian Nazis. Alfons Rebane (far left in bottom photo) led "Forest Brothers" unit against Red Army, then joined Nazi forces. Bottom right: 3,000 people were exterminated at Klooga death camp in Estonia.

R. James Bender Publishing



YIVO Institute

For Trotskyism!...

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of the "Forest Brothers", Estonia's *Nazi collaborators* during the Second World War (September 18, 1989; the article was by Herbert Lindmae of the Estonian Popular Front). *IV*, supposedly reflecting the program of the Fourth International, published this article without even the weakest criticism, qualification or response! This criminal scandal underlines the consequences of equating the Trotskyist conception of political revolution with any and all opposition to the Soviet state.

12. We are for the democratic reorganization of the Soviet Union and the right of any nationality with an *anti-counterrevolutionary* leadership to withdraw to the extent it sees fit. However, independence for the Baltic republics under these leaderships would undoubtedly mean a capitalist counterrevolution. Therefore we oppose these reactionary nationalist movements, whose chief aim is capitalist restoration. We denounce the United Secretariat's support for these counterrevolutionary movements as a betrayal. For proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracies! For the unconditional military defense of all the deformed/degenerated workers' states against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution! For Trotskyist workers parties in every country!

13. The issues involved in the unconditional military defense of the deformed/degenerated workers' states were most clearly

posed with the capitalist reunification of the two Germanies in 1990. The response of the United Secretariat to this clear and direct threat to the working masses of Central and Eastern Europe and the USSR can be summed up in three words: opportunism, abstention and capitulation. Both the majority and minority wings of the present leadership abandoned even the semblance of a revolutionary policy on what was surely a key test of the present period.

14. In a shocking display of opportunism, the minority Matti-Weinstein grouping defends the capitalist *anschluss* as an act of "self-determination" of the German proletariat. This amounts to open support to imperialism! Although technically opposed to the counterrevolutionary sellout of the GDR, the United Secretariat majority grouping did nothing to combat the takeover, choosing instead to liquidate politically into the "United Left" in East Germany, which put forward only a perspective of "workers councils" to "participate" in the management of factories. Given the conditions of capitalist annexation (40,000 new unemployed each week) such councils could at best assist in putting themselves out of work. This liquidation by the United Secretariat majority, pursued in the hope of a few minor organizational gains, amounted at best to re-arranging furniture while the house was burning! In fact, the United Left said "yes" to capitalist reunification, in the words of their leader Jutta Brabant, "if it is in a European context and gradual". Tailing after the "Germany, one fatherland" PDS, the United Left's policy harmonized with the

treacherous course of the German SPD, which spearheaded the counterrevolution by “prettifying” the *anschluss* with a human face to the East German workers.

15. Revolutionary Marxists had a clear duty to swim against the current as millions of GDR workers were seduced by the West German bankers’ propaganda campaigns, and to fight energetically against the capitalist annexation before, during and after last March’s D-Mark election—no ifs, ands, or buts! This obligation included the need to unmask the treacherous role of the SPD, which served as a “trojan horse” for the counterrevolution. Capitalist *anschluss* of the GDR is today an accomplished fact, that is the bitter truth. The task of Trotskyists now is to build a revolutionary workers party that can unite in anti-capitalist struggle the working people of the former GDR (who have already begun to strike back against the grim reality of capitalist restoration) with the workers of West Germany. Further, revolutionary unity must be sought with the workers of Poland (who are being starved by Solidarność) and of the Soviet Union. Manifestly the U.S. capitulators are not that party. For a Red Soviet Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe!

16. During the 1979 Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, the United Secretariat split three ways. A minority headed by Tariq Ali demanded immediate Soviet withdrawal; the leadership around Ernest Mandel also condemned the Soviet intervention; and the American SWP grudgingly and briefly supported the Soviet intervention. Eventually, all wings of the United Secretariat denounced the role of the Soviet Union in a way which mirrored the imperialist hysteria of the time. Since the pullout of Soviet troops in 1988-1989, it has continued to condemn the Soviet Union, but now not for the intervention, but for its military withdrawal from Afghanistan.

17. The revolutionary Marxist position on the events in Afghanistan, as in all military conflicts, is based fundamentally on the class character of the combatant forces. In Afghanistan, the Soviet army and its left nationalist allies were fighting an anti-communist, anti-democratic alliance of landlords, money lenders, tribal chiefs, and reactionary Islamic mullahs, backed 100 percent by imperialism (primarily the CIA). The failure of the United Secretariat to apply elementary Marxist principles paved the way for its eventual mimicking of imperialist “self-determination for Afghanistan” rhetoric. (It should be pointed out that Afghanistan in no way represents a single “nation” to which the criteria of self-determination could be applied.) On the basis of the class character of the conflict, revolutionary Marxists were obliged to defend and support the military intervention of Soviet forces in defense of the left nationalist PDPA against imperialism in Afghanistan. Furthermore, we should have called for the immediate extension of gains of October (including collectivized property, right of all to education, and the liberation of women from feudal enslavement) to the Afghan people. Likewise, we condemn the Soviet Union for pulling its troops out of Afghanistan, leaving the Soviet southern border open to imperialist penetration and aborting the possible extension of social revolution.

II. Defeat Imperialism in the Persian Gulf!

1. Throughout much of the 1980s, the United Secretariat enthused over numerous petty-bourgeois “peace” and “disarmament” movements, scandalously even calling on the Soviet Union to initiate unilateral nuclear disarmament. Today we can see in practice what these calls mean, as the Soviet

bureaucracy’s capitulationist policies toward imperialism have sharply escalated the danger of World War III.

2. In the face of the U.S.-spearheaded imperialist invasion of the Persian Gulf, Marxists call for unconditional military defense of Iraq. A central slogan expressing this position is the demand “Break the imperialist blockade of Iraq!” This does not imply an iota of political support to the brutal butcher Saddam Hussein. Further, the presence of upwards of 200,000 U.S. and other imperialist troops in Saudi Arabia, less than 700 miles from the Soviet borders, tightens the imperialist



Workers Vanguard

Spartacist contingent in 1980 Washington anti-draft demonstration confronts imperialist hysteria over Afghanistan, saying “Hail Red Army!”

noose around the Soviet degenerated workers’ state and underscores the Trotskyist call for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. Marxists call on the Soviet bureaucracy to rescind its arms embargo against Iraq and provide whatever military assistance that country needs to defend itself against imperialism.

3. We reject and condemn the popular-frontist slogan “No more Vietnams” advanced by SC/Gs and, among others, Socialist Action in the U.S., as a cowardly attempt to appeal to a wing of the bourgeoisie which does not wish to see another humiliating defeat for U.S. imperialism. For revolutionaries, Vietnam was a victory! To paraphrase Che Guevara, “Two, three, many defeats for imperialism!” We denounce Socialist Action’s attempt to build a new “classless” antiwar movement along the lines of the Socialist Workers Party’s National Peace Action Coalition popular front of a generation ago. We stand with Lenin and Trotsky: the only way to defeat imperialist war is through the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat.

III. For Trotsky’s Programme of Permanent Revolution!

1. After the 1979 overthrow of the Shah of Iran, the Islamic clergy which took power was greeted by the United Secretariat as being a “progressive” and “anti-imperialist” force in the Iranian revolution. The United Secretariat’s rose-coloured portraits of Iranian clerical-nationalism were soon

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UPI

Workers Vanguard

Khomeini's militiamen bring the "Iranian revolution" to Kurdistan. While fake Trotskyists tailed Islamic fundamentalism, Spartacists opposed Khomeini, fought for workers revolution.

For Trotskyism!...

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contradicted by the hideous repression inflicted by the "progressive" mullahs against women, homosexuals, workers and popular organizations, as well as our own comrades of the HKE and HKS.

2. The United Secretariat continued to applaud Khomeini's "anti-imperialism" long after the atrocities against the Iranian workers and oppressed became known. United Secretariat support of Khomeini once again reflected its abandonment of the principle of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, in that while condemning the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, it supported a regime characterized by reactionary Islamic fundamentalism pledging support for the CIA-backed Afghan rebels. So much for Khomeini's "anti-imperialism", a repugnant falsehood retailed by United Secretariat supporters to this day! Revolutionary Marxists should have opposed Islamic reaction right from the beginning, as being in no way more progressive than the Shah. The slogan of revolutionists in late 1978/early 1979 should have been: Down with the Shah; Down with the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution in Iran!

3. The United Secretariat's document "Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" (*BIDOM 73*) of March 5, 1990 continues to assert the same tailist and liquidationist position it has had since the FSLN came to power through the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution. Not only does the document fail to criticize the historically bankrupt "mixed economy" politics of the left nationalist FSLN (member of the Second International), but it effectively champions these politics as those of the Fourth International! We reject the USec's political support to the FSLN and its characterization of the FSLN regime as a "workers government". Instead the correct Marxist line was to defend the revolution by completing it (expropriating the bourgeoisie) and extending it throughout Central America and beyond. This required the construction of genuine revolutionary Trotskyist parties in Nicaragua and throughout the region.

4. In the Middle East, the perspective of permanent revolution mandates the revolutionary unity of the toilers of all countries in class struggle against all the ruling feudalist monarchs, bonapartist dictators and Zionist butchers. From its past enthusing over a classless "Arab revolution" to its current political adaptation to the PLO, the United Secretariat has repudiated this Trotskyist perspective in practice. We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Occupied Territories and call for military defense of the PLO and the Palestinian people against the Zionist regime. We support the right of national self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples, which can be democratically and equitably resolved only within the framework of a socialist federation of the Middle East.

5. While the United Secretariat majority has thoroughly failed to differentiate Marxist positions from left nationalism in Nicaragua and the Middle East, and supported insurgent Islamic anti-communism against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and Iran, it has also politically liquidated the historic program of the Fourth International in favour of Stalinism/Menshevism in the Philippines (where it applauded the CPP's retroactive self-criticism for failing to support Cory Aquino's 1986 electoral campaign)! Similarly, *International Viewpoint* carries articles which state that it is "wrong to criticize" the pro-capitalist "Freedom Charter" of the ANC (#111, 1986). Clearly, the most fundamental Trotskyist positions regarding the theory of permanent revolution, the political independence of the proletariat, and the need for genuine Marxist leadership for the national/social struggle have been liquidated in practice by the United Secretariat.

IV. The National Question in Canada.

1. The methodology which has led the United Secretariat from one catastrophe to another internationally is clearly reflected in its response to the key questions of the class struggle in the Canadian state, particularly with regard to social democracy in English Canada, and in Quebec, the national question. A critique of SC/Gs policy on these questions reveals the fundamental incapacity of this leadership to apply the

Marxist principle of proletarian class independence in the face of alien class pressures.

2. Revolutionary Marxism and nationalism are two fundamentally counterposed political viewpoints. Thus, while we struggle against all forms of national oppression, we are also opposed to all forms of nationalist ideology. A socialist world economy will make possible the eventual disappearance of national antagonisms, and lead to the voluntary assimilation of nations.

3. Among English-speaking Canadian revolutionists, on this question the main task of consistently and uncompromisingly fighting chauvinist tendencies and defending Quebec's right to self-determination is central to the promotion of working class unity against capital. Especially in this light, the periodic pandering to English Canadian nationalism by elements in SC (e.g., in the anti-free trade campaign, proposals to join the Pro-Canada Network, etc.) is a concession to chauvinism, pure and simple.

4. While Marxists support the unconditional right to independence for oppressed nations, actual advocacy of independence by revolutionists is a very different question—i.e., what best advances the cause of working class unity and proletarian revolution? As national antagonisms rise, especially with the growth of English Canadian chauvinism, we may reach a point where advocating independence for Quebec will be the only route to undercut nationalism in favour of raising class consciousness. But this is not the case at present, where joint working class organization against the bosses is still possible.

5. We reject the position of SC/Gs' leadership, which advocates national independence for Quebec as a principle. While such a position would be applicable by Marxists in the case of direct colonial rule by imperialism (for example in the case of Puerto Rico), in the case of Quebec the "principle" of independence, as advocated by Michel Mill in the LSA/LSO in the 1960s, was nothing but a capitulation to petty-bourgeois nationalism. The latter theorist insisted explicitly that Quebec was a "colony" in the LSA/LSO debates of that time. While this indefensible formulation was abandoned in the SC/Gs document "Revolutionary Strategy in the Canadian State", it has been maintained in practice, helping to identify Gs as a relentless promoter of nationalist ideology in the milieu where it is active.

6. In the newspaper *Combat socialiste*, capitulation to Quebec nationalism is expressed in two related forms, both equally counterposed to Marxism. First, this paper consistently underplays the reactionary character of the nationalist movement, particularly with regard to the question of racism toward blacks and other minorities. Second, it consistently ignores the question of unity with the non-Québécois proletariat, both within Quebec regarding the large non-Francophone (mainly immigrant) proletariat, and in North America as a whole.

7. Recognizing the historical militancy of the Québécois working class and the higher level of class struggle in Quebec is not an argument for isolating or ghettoizing this vanguard sector from the North American proletariat as a whole. Instead, it is the task of Marxists to forge a party that can unite the combative Québécois proletariat in struggle with the working class of the rest of North America. In this regard, Gs' failure to highlight the struggle against racism—even going so far as to excuse racism in Quebec in a backhanded way—is a particularly repugnant abdication by self-proclaimed Marxists. We must call on the labor movement in Quebec, as elsewhere, to defend full citizenship rights for foreign-born

workers, and to organize labour/minority mobilizations against racist terror.

8. From both a tactical and strategic point of view, the slogan "Independence Now!" currently advocated by the CC majority of SC/Gs fails completely to link the national question with the struggle for proletarian unity in the Canadian state, and threatens to hitch the Québécois proletariat firmly to the



SC photo

Trotskyist League fights anti-French chauvinism at July 4 Toronto demonstration to save the life of U.S. black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

carriage of the national bourgeoisie (at least to the degree that the workers follow our advice!).

9. The question of language rights provides a key test of differentiation between bourgeois nationalism and revolutionary Marxism. We must oppose all discriminatory language laws, whether pushed by "English only" bigots in English Canada or by nationalists in Quebec. From a nationalist point of view, the slogan of "national unity" provides a means to overcome the class struggle and subject the workers to the (bourgeois) national movement. This objective is clearly the opposite of the struggle of Marxists. This general principle holds true whether the bourgeoisie is that of the oppressor nation or the oppressed. The requirement to politically disarm and dominate the proletariat is identical, even while the banners carried by the respective capitalists are opposed.

10. As a key element in the nationalist designs of the Quebec bourgeoisie, Laws 101 and 178 included elementary provisions such as the right to work in French, helping to secure the support of the Francophone labour movement. At the same time however, this legislation is primarily designed to serve the strategy of the Quebec bourgeoisie in dividing Francophone from allophone, immigrant and English-speaking workers. We are speaking not of a handful of Westmount capitalists, after all, but of over 20% of the proletariat in Quebec. Gs' support for the bourgeois nationalist programme in the form of repressive and discriminatory language laws, such as laws 101 and 178, in no way promotes the vitally needed class independence of Quebec workers. Instead, socialist support for such bourgeois nationalist measures assists in harnessing the dynamic militancy of the Québécois workers once again to the carriage of the class enemy.

11. As proletarian internationalists we are totally opposed to the demand for a unilingual Quebec, an aim which is both reactionary and chauvinist. While recognizing and seeking to

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For Trotskyism!...

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redress historic discrimination against the use of French, particularly in education and in the workplace, we fight this discrimination by fighting for equal language rights for all—not for new discriminatory regulations. Opposition to bourgeois nationalist language laws in favour of recognizing equal and democratic language rights for all is an essential component of the fight for proletarian unity, both in Quebec and throughout North America.

12. Revolutionary Marxists reject any anti-Leninist notion of organizational/political autonomy for different national components of the revolutionary organization within a single capitalist state. A group in which “communists” of the oppressed nation must protect themselves in such a way from the chauvinism of “communists” of the oppressor nation is not a revolution[ary] organization, but a coterie of opportunists. Since revolutionary Marxism is synonymous with the struggle against all forms of chauvinism, a “Marxist” organization led by chauvinists (let alone making accommodations for chauvinism within its leading bodies) is, by definition, a fake. As part of the struggle against the right-opportunism of the Gs/SC leadership, we reject the concept of “veto” powers and exclusive jurisdictional “rights” such as are enjoyed by the Quebec National Committee, which substitute a false “principle” of national autonomy for the Marxist principle of working class unity.

V. The Fight Against Social Democracy.

1. The Cold War anti-Soviet appetites of the United Secretariat, particularly over the past decade, have provided a bridge for the rightward evolution of many of its sections toward reformist leaderships in the working class and social movements. In English Canada this has been especially important in relation to the NDP, a particularly reactionary social democratic party, right wing even by the standards of the Socialist International. It is not coincidental that a section of Socialist Challenge has managed a simultaneous and unplanned political liquidation into the Alberta NDP and the labour bureaucracy without provoking any serious reaction from the organization's leadership. This development has, in fact, been one of the clearest expressions of the rightward, opportunist drift of SC/Gs over the two years since its founding.

2. The NDP is characterized by Marxists as a social-democratic labour party: in other words, a “bourgeois workers party”. With this terminology we seek to express the contradictory nature of this party at the same time as we develop the tactical approach necessary to polarize the two components of this formation (i.e., to split the working class constituency of the party from its bourgeois programme and leadership). Our aim is to destroy the NDP as an obstacle to the development of a revolutionary leadership for the working class in the Canadian state. The NDP leadership and trade union bureaucracy are the “labour lieutenants of capital”.

3. The question of “entryism” into the NDP for revolutionary Marxists is purely tactical; its elevation into the “main focus of activity” (as carried out by the Forward Group, and prior to that for two decades by the LSA) is inevitably counterposed to the revolutionary program. Even worse, for revolutionists to enter this reformist party with no clear perspectives, goals or conditions whatever is necessarily a capitulation to reformism. For Trotskyists the building of a Leninist vanguard must represent the primary focus of our normal activity. Any entry into another party is a “compromise” which must be compensated for by greater opportunities for building a revolutionary party, i.e. to facilitate splitting sections of the working class away from the NDP.

4. A left polarization may appear within the NDP at some point in the future, but this will be as a result of objective political shifts in the society at large, not of the presence or activity of a few revolutionaries in tiny “left caucus” formations. In such a situation, carefully planned and executed entries of our comrades into the NDP may be necessary, but our purpose at such times would be directly political and programmatic—to win over the best elements of such a radicalization to revolutionary Marxism and the programme of the Fourth International. The role of revolutionists in the NDP or outside it vis à vis the party's membership must be one of political intervention, not substitutionist organizational support. Our political intervention, in turn, must be based clearly and unambiguously on the need for socialist revolution.

5. While misrepresenting what we stand for to others within the NDP, we ourselves operate under a false conception of proletarian class consciousness. The error comes from treating support for the NDP (and social democratic ideology) among workers as merely an expression of “insufficient” or partial class consciousness. This orientation opportunistically negates the key revolutionary task of directly challenging reformism, of challenging precisely the influence of bourgeois ideology within the workers' movement.

6. Our programme is in no way a supplement to the programme of social democracy—it is fundamentally counterposed to that programme. Our task is, therefore, to assist workers and the oppressed in the NDP in making a clean break from social democracy toward a revolutionary Marxist perspective. Participation by members of SC/Gs in formations such as the Alberta Left Caucus, which is based on the opportunist strategy of “Winning the NDP to Socialism”, has no relation to our tasks nor to Marxist principle. If developments permit the growth of large and programmatically undefined left movements in the NDP any intervention we may undertake in these bodies must be explicitly based on the program of revolutionary Marxism, and support for a revolutionary party. While revolutionary Marxists sharply distinguish trade-union consciousness from socialist consciousness, we do not hold a “stagist” theory of consciousness, whereby militants must first

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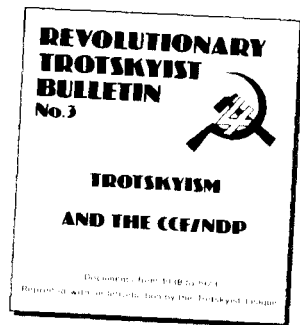
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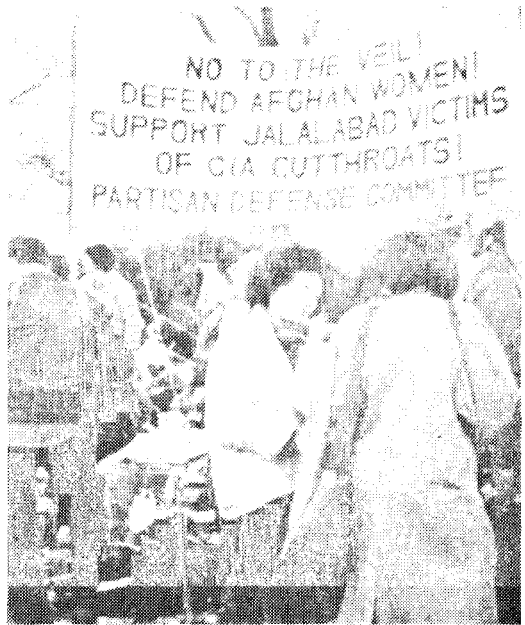
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Workers Hammer



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London, 28 October 1989: Spartacist League/Britain protests death of Kurdish victim of Thatcher's racist immigration laws (left). Partisan Defense Committee launches campaign to aid civilian victims of Jalalabad siege. Blacks and unionists mobilized by the Spartacist League/U.S. celebrate victory over KKK fascists, Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982 (bottom).



Workers Vanguard

be won to some kind of limited social democratic programme, and later to socialism.

7. The traditions and historical experiences which establish mass working class loyalty to social democratic labour parties are not overcome by mere denunciation. The key to breaking workers away from social democracy in struggle lies through building communist fractions in the trade unions (something very different from the low-level economism and trade-union routinism we see in SC/Gs' trade-union work, for instance in Edmonton). The tactical guide for splitting social democratic parties into their class components can be found in the documents of the first four congresses of the Third International. In view of the tactics which should govern our intervention in relation to this party, we adopt the following as the elements of our orientation:

- a. No political support, however "critical", to any existing wing of the NDP. We give critical electoral support—whether to individual left candidates within the party or to

the party itself in elections—only under certain circumstances, "as the rope supports the hanged man". When a reformist workers party does not stand as an independent pole of attraction as a result of class-collaborationist coalitionism with bourgeois parties, or when it has alienated a large section of its working class base through a treacherous record in office, critical support is precluded.

- b. Principled opposition to NDP governments in power. Revolutionaries seek to expose NDP governments for their strike-breaking, wage controls, other anti-union legislation, their racism and anti-Communism. This is counterposed to vague demands that NDP governments implement "socialist policies", and seeks instead to lay bare the treachery of the petty-bourgeois parliamentary leadership and the pro-capitalist trade union tops.

8. Class collaboration in any form is antithetical to the Transitional Program. The United Secretariat's support to the

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For Trotskyism!...

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Allende Unidad Popular in Chile in 1971-73 and its later support to Mitterrand's Socialist Party in France while in a popular front electoral bloc are betrayals of Trotskyism. No political or electoral support to popular fronts—no vote to workers parties in open or implicit class-collaborationist coalitions! For the complete political independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois parties!

VI. Reforge the Fourth International!

1. As Trotsky stated: "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle;

to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International."

2. It is clear that the comedy of errors which has embarrassed the United Secretariat over the years is no mere coincidence. Nor is it a new phenomenon. In fact, this methodology is rooted in positions adopted as early as the 1951 Third World Congress. At that time, the International leadership under Michel Pablo began to adapt more and more to non-revolutionary currents, including Chinese and Yugoslav Stalinism, Social Democracy in Canada and elsewhere, and to the then powerful Communist Parties in Western Europe. With the argument that the Stalinist bureaucracies could outline an "objectively revolutionary" role, Pabloism emerged as a full blown liquidationist tendency which destroyed the Fourth International from within. We stand with the International Committee under the leadership of James P. Cannon's SWP which fought—however belatedly and partially—against the liquidation of the Trotskyist programme and which defended the necessity for Trotskyist parties to lead the working class to power through socialist revolution. We stand with the later struggle by the Revolutionary Tendency within the SWP in the early 1960s.

3. Pablo is gone, but Pabloism is not. The United Secretariat has continued a policy of politically tailing rather than seeking to lead the conjunctural developments and movements which have swept the world since that time. The list of "new vanguards" to replace the proletariat in the leadership of the world revolution have included, one after another, petty-bourgeois guerrilla forces, radical students, feminists, third-world Stalinists, black nationalists, gays/lesbians. For each "sectoral" vanguard, the United Secretariat has thrown together a special theoretical rationale and "programme". After the momentary dynamism of this or that sector has subsided, its corresponding "programme" is also quietly forgotten (e.g., the "Red University", the guerrilla "Foco"; etc.). Against "sectoralism" and "polyvanguardism" we fight for the unitary communist program to combat all manifestations of oppression, including racial, sexual and national oppression. For democratic-centralist Leninist-Trotskyist parties!

4. The United Secretariat has become renowned for its short memory of these adaptations, and the ephemeral slogans which accompanied them. To take but one example, the British section went from liquidationist entrisism inside the Labour Party through the early 1960s ("The Week") to physical confrontation and ultraleft denunciation of the Labour Party as an outright bourgeois party ("Black Dwarf" and "Red Mole") back to Labourite liquidationism in the 1980s.

5. In the 1960s, Stalinists like Ho Chi Minh and Fidel Castro were applauded as "unconscious Trotskyists". With the onset of Cold War II, the United Secretariat screamed that the Stalinists were thoroughly "counterrevolutionary" and embraced the pro-NATO social democrats.

6. The rightward swing of the United Secretariat since even before the second anti-Soviet Cold War began in 1980 (e.g., uncritical embrace of pro-capitalist Soviet "dissidents") has merely limped after the rightward drift of bourgeois public opinion and the growth of new reactionary movements around the world. The methodology of tailing whatever enjoys mass appeal has made the leadership incapable of applying the ABCs of Marxism to a given situation, arguing that we must be part of the movement at all costs, so as to "influence" it in a positive direction. One need only repeat the list of embarrassments headed by support to Poland's Solidarność



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SPARTACIST

NUMBER 1 FEBRUARY-MARCH 1964 10 CENTS

WITCH HUNT IN THE SWP

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party expelled five members of the party's left wing minority at a plenum in New York City at the end of December. The five expelled supporters of the SWP's Revolutionary Tendency are Steve Marx, James Robertson, Geoffrey White, Laurence Ireland, and Lynne Harper. The Party Political Committee had suspended them two months earlier on the grounds that a Central Commission investigation had revealed that Robertson, Ireland, and Harper had expressed "disloyal" written opinions privately within their own tendency. The accused had written that the SWP had ceased to be a revolutionary party and had become centralist, and that an irreconcilable struggle within the framework of party discipline was therefore required against the Majority line and leadership. Marx and White were accused of having also been leaders in a tendency which held or permitted such views. Upon refusing to renounce those opposing and protesting the PC action were: Mary Tenney Wasson, several Union the party's vice-presidential candidates; Arne Swoback, a founding leader of American Trotskyism, together with many members of the tendency across the country; prominent party members such as Jack Wright of Seattle and Wendell Phillips from Southern California; the Workers' Political Grouping; several party branches including New Haven and Seattle.

Control Commission

Two strong reactions fell in the party over the most diverse and politically antagonistic sections of the party. One response was condemnation of the expulsion of party comrades accused of having "disloyal attitudes" and "betraying the Party's revolutionary line."

The struggle for Leninist continuity: first issue of the American SWP's *Militant* (1928), *Bulletin of the Opposition* (1936), first issue of *Spartacist* (1964).

leadership ("the best socialists in the world" as described by cde. Mandel in 1982), the mixed-economy example of the Sandinista leadership ("who are we to criticize"), the "progressive" Islamic clergy of Iran and Afghanistan, or now the "dynamic" nationalist movements in Ukraine and the Baltics, which has led finally to the embrace of outright Nazis in the form of the infamous "Forest Brothers" of Estonia. The operative definition of "leadership" in the United Secretariat is reduced to: "Find a big crowd of people going somewhere, and then march in front of them" (or behind them, since they usually won't make room).

7. The fight for revolutionary leadership is inseparable from the fight to reconquer the revolutionary foundations of the Fourth International, and to break decisively from the misleadership of the United Secretariat. "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for the party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer" (Leon Trotsky).

8. The right-centrist character and orientation of SC/Gs and the United Secretariat is sharply counterposed to the revolutionary heritage based on the teachings of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Cannon. The Fourth International was destroyed by Pabloism in 1951-53, and it is a duty of all communists to reforge a democratic-centralist Fourth International which will stop at nothing short of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

9. We, the majority and most active members of Edmonton SC/Gs, constituted as the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, call on all comrades who agree with this document to join us in pursuing the only principled course open to Trotskyists, the course of fusion with the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and its Canadian section, the Trotskyist League. This is the only road in the fight for Trotskyism!

—Revolutionary Marxist Tendency
Edmonton, October 3, 1990

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Resignation From the Young Communist League of Canada

We reprint below a letter of resignation from a member of the Young Communist League.

* * * *

New Waterford, N.S.

October 4, 1990

Working Committee

Young Communist League of Canada

Toronto, Ont.

Dear Comrades,

I remember the time when I proudly declared my membership in the Young Communist League to anyone that I spoke to about politics. I can no longer do that since the YCL isn't communist. The events in Eastern Europe in 1989 were presented to everyone as being the "death of communism" by the media. Apparently, the YCL believed this lie as well. I for one refused to accept "the end" and went to the All-Canada convention in May of this year with the intention of organizing a fight-back against the right-wing and give some credit to the struggle for socialism. I soon found that I was alone and was confronted with what I would term in one of my speeches at the convention as "traitors", "backstabbers", and "wishy-washy social democrats". The people I thought had backbone wanted to drop all references to Marxism-Leninism and not be considered communist anymore. Needless to say, I was disillusioned at what I saw. As a result of these policies of revisionism, the league is now on the verge of being dissolved. It is not bad enough that the YCL is now openly social democratic, but it is an unworkable social democratic organization! It was de-centralized and left with no leader or central/executive council to direct the league towards its own goals (capitalism with a human face). The Toronto group, which has been traditionally the largest and most active of the clubs, often setting an example for the rest, is split down the

middle. At the heart of this split is the power struggle between Edmonton and Toronto. As well, the constitution and the manifesto are unworkable. The YCL also decided that it doesn't want to associate itself with the father organization, the Communist Party, because they don't want to be considered "red". Actually, there's nothing wrong with them affiliating themselves with "the party" since the CP isn't communist either!

When I joined the YCL I had developed my own ideas about socialism. These were ideas developed before I had read any literature from other communist groups. I believed in international revolution, soviets having a basis of power, and a planned-collectivized economy. I was against nationalism since it seemed to be the reason for a lot of problems in the world today. After having a few arguments with other YCLers, I was convinced that my ideas were naive, unworkable, and we needed a "Canadian flavor of socialism". The nationalist feelings of the league were expressed by their involvement in "Canada First" movements. These nationalist policies undermine revolution, which is the only way socialism can be achieved. CPC/YCL members are in practice like New Democrats: occasionally talking about revolution but when it gets right down to it they're all talk.

Several months later I found a copy of *Socialist Worker* in a Halifax bookstore. Many of the policies of the group which published it, the International Socialists, sounded like my original ideas. But I rejected flatly their position on the Soviet Union: they denounce it as "state capitalism" and say that it had to be done away with like "other" capitalist states. The Russian Revolution was a great accomplishment for the working class and although the revolution went sour after Stalin took over, it still could be a springboard for true world revolution under real communist leadership. The reaction I received from a member of the YCL's Central Committee on the I.S. ideas was "Don't read that! It's Trotskyist!"



SC photo

May Day 1982, Vancouver: Trotskyist League marches against Canadian imperialism. CP/YCL applaud Canada's rulers as "brave neutral mediators."

At the YCL convention in May, I met with real Trotskyists, members of the Trotskyist League of Canada (Fourth Internationalist). These were people who were proud to declare themselves Marxist-Leninist! A policy which I believe stands out in the "left" is the Trotskyist League's call for the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack and capitalist restoration, and at the same time fighting for political revolution in the USSR. Now that Stalinism is dying, old prejudices should be done away with and Leon Trotsky taken seriously. Trotsky was the co-organizer of the 1917 revolution and founder of the Red Army. He called for a Fourth International to continue Lenin's internationalism and to take on the task of waging class warfare globally.

The "theory" in the YCL has changed with each convention of the Soviet Union Communist Party. The Canadian Communist Party and their youth wing are loyal and support Stalinist policies to the letter. Within the YCL, one item which is taboo from discussion is anything having to do with Trotsky. This anti-Trotsky appetite stems from the expulsion of the Left Opposition faction from the Communist Party in the twenties. The denial of Trotsky and the following of Stalin has led the YCL into its current revisionist situation. Most members of the YCL firmly declare that they do not believe in anything that Stalin stood for yet they support fully the basic statement of Stalinist principle: socialism in one country (a.k.a. The Big Lie). The Bolshevik party under Lenin and Trotsky

fought for international proletarian revolution and the Stalinist lie of socialism in one country was created to support the parasitic bureaucracy which draws blood from the degenerated Soviet workers state. Marxists knew that socialism in one country would not work and this "big lie" led to the betrayal of revolutions all over the world. You can clearly see the results today in the collapse of "socialism in half a country" in Germany. The result was a rapid move towards capitalist restoration led by the Christian Democrats (the party which plans to lead the Fourth Reich). The elections were clearly bought by the right-wing and now the east lies prey to the western capitalists. Only one party stood up against the counterrevolution: the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei.

I accept the Marxism-Leninism of Leon Trotsky and therefore due to conflicting ideology, i.e., I being a communist, I must resign as chairperson of the Sydney Young Communist League and as a member of the Young Communist League of Canada.

In closing, I would like to urge members of the YCL and CPC to end their undermining of socialism through their fighting for Stalinist reformism: support the real international communist movement and work towards the rebirth of the Fourth International!

Sincerely,
H. David Brown

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Dublin Spartacist Youth Group

On the weekend of October 6-7, the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group was formed by a small group of students at Trinity College in Ireland. The adherence of young Irish revolutionaries to the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is a modest but significant extension of our tendency. Participating in the founding meeting were representatives of the Spartacist League/Britain, and messages of greetings were sent from ICL sections including the Spartacist groups in Japan and Mexico and the Trotskyist League of Canada.

The comrades of the DSYG have been active in college groups such as the Socialist Society and the Labour Society over past years, participating in a united-front protest which stopped British fascist "historian" David Irving from speaking at Trinity in 1988. Recently the group organized the painting-out of fascistic anti-Semitic slogans. They were also part of an ongoing struggle to distribute abortion information, including distributing a leaflet with others calling for free abortion on demand and women's liberation through socialist revolution.

The work of the International Communist League in Germany was instrumental in convincing the comrades of the correctness and urgency of Spartacist politics, particularly in counterposition to the rightward-moving centrists of the Irish Workers Group/Workers Power. The IWG had published an 18-page pamphlet "Sectarianism and Stalinophilia: The Politics of the Spartacists." Where we fought tooth and nail against imperialist reunification, the IWG/WP were soft-core capitalist restorationists, tailing Social Democracy, calling for Soviet troops out and hailing anti-Stasi riots in which skinhead fascists were prominent. The Dublin comrades rejected the IWG/WP's Stalinophobia for the authentic Trotskyism of the ICL.

Discussions over the national question in Ireland and the nature of reformist parties such as the Irish Labour Party were

also key. The founding meeting endorsed the key Spartacist document "Theses on Ireland," which has stood well the test of time since its adoption in 1977. Against Labourite chauvinism and Green nationalism, the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group is committed to raising the banner of proletarian internationalism, not least in the context of Northern Ireland.

The DSYG also addressed the imperialist war buildup in the Persian Gulf, a decisive question facing revolutionaries throughout the world today. For years the sham "neutrality" of the Irish Republic has made it a key component of United Nations military forces, such as those which acted as Israel's northern border guards until the Zionist butchers brushed them aside in their 1982 invasion of Lebanon. The meeting called for trade unions to black (boycott) imperialist war preparations and for mobilization to "Stop the refueling of U.S. warplanes at Shannon!"

We print below the greetings of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S. to the DSYG.

* * * *

Dear Comrades:

The Spartacist League/U.S. welcomes the founding of the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group and extends warm greetings to our new comrades in the Republic of Ireland.

In the British Isles, the proletariat's struggle for the social, as well as national, liberation of all of the working people and oppressed is centered on smashing the rule of the bourgeoisie which is concentrated in the south of England, particularly centered in London. This is not to mitigate against the importance of fighting against one's "own" national bourgeoisie.

Together with the Glasgow branch of the SL/B, the establishment of a group in Dublin is another step towards building the revolutionary party that can put an end to the rule of British imperialism and regional bourgeois powers in the British Isles. James Connolly and John MacLean were not finished Bolsheviks but their spirit of working class intransigence had better march alongside of us.

In North America, among our U.S., English Canadian, Québécois, Mexican and Puerto Rican comrades, the central struggle is against the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant hegemony which is expressed through Wall Street and the White House. Presently, the U.S. imperialists are as war-crazed over the Persian Gulf as Thatcher was over the Malvinas.

As we noted in the article declaring the foundation of the International Communist League, "as the workings of capitalist imperialism create millions of new subjective communists across the globe, the absence of genuinely communist leadership is acutely felt by many and the program of Leninist internationalism can be put forward with great impact." The comrades of the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group have eloquently expressed this sentiment in their applications. At our upcoming SL/U.S. Central Committee plenum we will also be welcoming new comrades from throughout North America who, from different perspectives, have come to the same conclusion.

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Ex-Morenoites Split Over German Events

Trotskyist Fusion in Mexico

At a meeting on July 1, the Grupo Espartaquista de México (Spartacist Group of Mexico) fused with the Trotskyist Faction of the Partido Obrero Socialista (POS—Socialist Workers Party). This regroupment is an important breakthrough for the International Communist League in Latin America, all the more so as the comrades of the Trotskyist Faction waged a fight inside their former organization solidly centered on the Russian question.

The Trotskyist Faction comes out of the Morenoite current, followers of the late Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist Nahuel Moreno. The hallmark of this quick-change artist in his earlier years was passing himself off in rapid succession as a “left” Peronist, Castroite and Maoist before settling into social-democratic reformism. After the 1976 Videla coup in Argentina, Moreno put on more radical airs in exile, wrapping himself in the red-and-black flag of Sandinismo. In order to expose this consummate political bandit, we published the *Moreno Truth Kit* (1980). During the next decade, Moreno & Co. came to be characterized by virulent anti-Sovietism, trying to outdo all others in solidarity with Polish Solidarność, the favorite “union” of Ronald Reagan. Upon returning to Argentina, Morenoism re-established itself as a national social-democratic tendency.

Following the death of its *líder máximo* in early 1987, the Morenoite International Workers League (IWL) was thrown into turmoil. Its Argentine “mother party,” the MAS (Movement to Socialism), expelled a minority in mid-1988 which set up the PTS (Party of Workers for Socialism). Then led by one León Pérez, the PTS adopted a more leftist posture, criticizing the MAS for popular-frontism and “national-Trotskyism.” Earlier that year the Mexican Morenoite group, the PTZ (Zapatista Workers Party), expelled a minority which had opposed its opportunist electoral and community work. This group subsequently became the POS, and aligned itself with the Argentine PTS and Pérez’ American Internationalist Workers Party. Laying claim to the mantle of Morenoism, these three groups called themselves the Internationalist Faction of the IWL.

But “true Morenoism” is the antithesis of authentic Trotskyism. This was brought home by the rapid disintegration of the Stalinist regimes of East Europe. When the Argentine PTS responded to the fall of the Honecker regime and the opening of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 by demanding

the withdrawal of Warsaw Pact troops from East Germany (DDR), two leaders of the Mexican POS objected. A document by Arturo Urbina on “Trotskyism in the Face of the Events in Germany” reasserted the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialism, and upheld Trotsky’s analysis of the dual role of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which seeks to appease imperialism while sitting atop the economic foundations of proletarian rule.

In response, the PTS leadership sent a letter to the POS stating that only if the opposition changed its position and accepted the Stalinophobic position that Stalinism is “counter-revolutionary through and through” was there any sense to



Spartakist

East Berlin, January 3—250,000 turn out in united-front protest, initiated by German Spartacists, against fascist defacing of Soviet war memorial at Treptower Park.

discussing. And, indeed, when Urbina and Humberto H. presented their “Platform of the Trotskyist Faction” (translated below) on May 20, the PTS delegate engineered their expulsion at that very meeting on charges of being “Spartacist agents.” As the two say in a declaration on the split, “in reality they accuse us of being *Trotskyists*.” There was an irony in this bureaucratic and openly political expulsion, moreover, as the expelled comrades had been assigned the task of studying the positions of the Spartacists.

The comrades of the Trotskyist Faction were not only the founders of the Mexican POS, but were also among the founding members of the Morenoite tendency in that country and before that were cadres of the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Ernest Mandel’s United Secretariat. The Faction’s documents, which have been published together with documents of the ICL in a Spanish-language bulletin, *Del morenismo al trotskismo—La Cuestión Rusa a quemarropa* (From

(continued on page 26)

Mexico...

(continued from page 25)

Morenoism to Trotskyism—The Russian Question Point Blank), proceed from the dispute over East Germany to analyzing “the popular-frontism and rabid anti-Sovietism of the MAS and the IWL” and understanding Morenoism as a liquidationist current whose inveterate tailing after non-proletarian forces denies the need for a Trotskyist vanguard. The bulletin also contains a historical analysis of the anti-Sovietism of Moreno.

In a letter explaining their decision to fuse with the International Communist League, the comrades of the Trotskyist Faction noted, “As was the custom in Morenoism (which even prohibited its members from buying the Spartacist press), for us over many years, ‘The devil was called Spartacist.’ We two even criticized the Mexican PTZ for not being sufficiently ‘consistent’ in the anti-Spartacist struggle.” But the course of the class struggle, particularly the worldwide crisis of Stalinism, led them to reread many of Trotsky’s works, notably *In Defense of Marxism*, the record of his struggle, together with James P. Cannon, against those who abandoned defense of the Soviet Union on the eve of World War II. Their decision to fuse with the ICL, they explain, was based on a determination to “build

revolutionary parties and reforge the Fourth International to fight every kind of centrism, reformism, Stalinism, etc.”

In a continent dominated by Third Worldist nationalism, which is also a calling card of Morenoism, the fight by the Trotskyist Faction beginning over historic events in East Germany and centering on the Russian question placed the struggle for internationalist proletarian communism firmly in the forefront. For the ICL, this fusion and the consolidation of the Grupo Espartaquista de México is also an important step in overcoming the setback for our work in Latin America suffered with the demise of the Chilean Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria some years ago under the pressures of exile and a lack of cadre resources for the tasks of a tiny propaganda group. And it confirms our efforts, from the inception of the international Spartacist tendency, to seek by revolutionary regroupment, through a process of splits and fusions, to win communist cadres who form the basis of a Leninist party.

We greet our new comrades and urge would-be Trotskyists, in Latin America and elsewhere, to study the documents of this fusion as they analyze and reject those who pass off Stalinophobia as Trotskyism, which defends the Soviet Union and all the gains of the workers movement against the class enemy and the sellout bureaucracies who would sacrifice this legacy on the altar of class collaboration.

Platform of the Trotskyist Faction

I. For unconditional military defense of the USSR and the social gains of the workers states. Based on the conception of Trotsky embodied in his work, “War and the Fourth International,” we state: **DOWN WITH NATO!** No pacifist illusions in disarmament. Only international proletarian revolution can bring peace to humanity. Only the working class can disarm, by insurrectional means, its respective warmongering bourgeoisies.

For the proletarian internationalism of Lenin. We oppose any kind of support to counterrevolutionary or restorationist movements in the workers states, movements which hide behind “nationalist” demagoguery, illusions in bourgeois democracy and freedom of religion. For relentless struggle against the reactionary ideology of Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism.

For proletarian political revolution in the USSR and in all the deformed workers states. Power to revolutionary workers councils: Down with the parasitic bureaucratic caste! Only the working class and the revolutionary party can consistently defend the gains of the October Revolution.

For the right of secession from the USSR for all the republics which desire it in order to form independent **WORKERS STATES.**

Reclaim Lenin and Trotsky’s conception of proletarian internationalism, which is based on the unity of the exploited and oppressed against the exploiters and oppressors, rejecting the anti-Marxist conception that there are “reactionary and progressive peoples,” which comes out in our line on the fratricidal war between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Such a conception can only serve as a cover for these wars.

To reaffirm the Marxist conception that the Stalinist bureaucracy, as such, has a dual function, or plays a dual role, in the workers states, as was expressed in the classic works of Trotsky, particularly in “The Class Nature of the Soviet

State,” *The Revolution Betrayed*, *In Defense of Marxism*, the *Transitional Program*, etc. Against the Shachtmanite (and Healyite) conception that the bureaucracy is “counterrevolutionary through and through,” which is utilized as a justification for abandoning in practice the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the workers states in the face of constant aggression and imperialist counterrevolution. Against conditional or “conjunctural defensism” of the workers states, which infuses the program and politics of the Internationalist Faction (IF) of the IWL.

II. For a united socialist Germany in a federation of socialist workers states of Europe. Down with the Fourth Reich! No to capitalist reunification! The German working



Mozambican workers join Spartakist Workers Party May Day contingent in East Berlin. Banner calls for full citizenship rights for immigrant workers.

class must take the lead in the process of political revolution with the program of world socialist revolution. For united-front actions to smash the fascist danger! No to the sellout of the social gains of the DDR! Full rights for all immigrant workers! Defend the rights of women, homosexuals, Jews, leftists, against ultrarightist terror and imperialist counterrevolution.

We reject the slogan, "Warsaw Pact Troops Out," as a capitulation to the NATO of Bush, Thatcher and Mitterand. Revolutionary fraternization with the soldiers and officers of the Red Army based on defense of the gains of the workers states and for the formation of revolutionary soldiers and sailors councils.

We salute the Red Army in Afghanistan and the heroic combatants of Jalalabad against the mercenary armies of fundamentalist reaction supported by the CIA. We denounce the shameful capitulation of the Moscow Stalinist bureaucracy which made a pact with imperialism for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghan soil. We reject the shameful capitulation of the so-called Trotskyist movement which joined the imperialist campaign of "Russians out of Afghanistan!"

We salute the sending of Cuban troops to Angola during the war against the agents of the South African regime. We denounce the capitulation of Castro and the Kremlin which negotiated with imperialism the departure of the Cuban internationalist fighters.

We reject the slogan of a "Constituent Assembly" for Germany, recently raised by the PTS (see the special pamphlet, "Where Is the MAS Going?" [Buenos Aires]), for being a slogan for capitalist restoration.

III. For the construction of Trotskyist parties in the USSR and in all the workers states, sections of the Fourth International which lead the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, confront imperialist counterrevolution, and unite under the program of the Fourth International the political and social revolutions throughout the world. A process of unity which will not take place through the "unconscious dynamic" of struggles, as the PTS and the IWL maintain, but only as the *Transitional Program* lays out: by resolving the crisis of proletarian leadership in a fight to the death against the old leaderships and centrism.

IV. Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution in Poland. Eliminate from our program any kind of "critical" support to this agency of capitalist restoration and anti-Communism. Along with this, no political confidence in the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy! For proletarian political revolution to bring down the Walesa-Jaruzelski government! For the program of proletarian internationalism against the clerical nationalism of Walesa, the Pope and the Black Madonna! For revolutionary unity of the Polish, German and Soviet proletariat against the schemes of the International Monetary Fund.

V. Proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy is more urgent than ever to defend the gains of the October Revolution. Against Gorbachev's perestroika and so-called "market socialism," Trotskyists fight for a truly centralized, planned economy, based on workers democracy. Faced with the bankruptcy of COMECON under the bureaucracy's leadership, we fight for genuinely cooperative economic relations among the workers states based on solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

VI. We oppose the document titled "Thesis of the PTS on the Political Revolution" presented by the PTS; we reject it as any kind of basic document or programmatic guide for the Internationalist Faction, as it is fundamentally revisionist. The document in question reasserts and lays claim to the principal concepts of the IWL and Morenoism, such as a "world counterrevolutionary front," "February revolutions" in the workers states and dissolving the revolutionary party in an objectivist and eclectic conception of the class struggle, leading us to capitulate to different petty-bourgeois, reactionary and counterrevolutionary leaderships that arise in the process.

In the case of the PTS this objectivist conception has led it to raise the slogan of a constituent assembly in Germany, which means objectively acting like a simple variant of Morenoism and the IWL.

Comrades: The political crisis which has been opened in the Mexican group and the ranks of the Internationalist Faction can only be overcome if we assimilate and reclaim the traditions and programmatic guidelines of the Fourth International. We call on all the comrades of the IF to discuss and support the general line of this Platform.

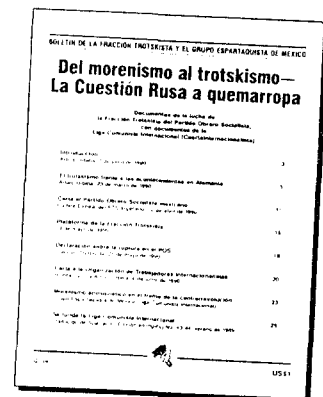
Humberto H., Arturo Urbina
Mexico City, 19 May 1990

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Gdansk 1980: Polish workers kneel to Catholic church as Solidarność leader Walesa looks on. Silesia 1990 (right): miners strike against austerity plans ordered by IMF and imposed by Solidarność government.

Spartacist Group of Poland...

(continued from page 32)

perspective of proletarian internationalism to escalating Greater German chauvinism and the nationalism of Solidarność, came into the hands of the RML.

Nine years ago our call to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution" stood out sharply as a concretization of the Trotskyist insistence that the USSR and the deformed workers states be defended against capitalist restoration. Sundry opportunists sneered that such a principled stance would find no support within the Polish workers movement. The revolutionary regroupment in Poland is therefore particularly satisfying. The adherence of Polish comrades to the ranks of the ICL, along with fusions of new forces in Canada and Mexico, bears witness to the power of the Leninist program to regroup subjective communists internationally. Forward to the reforging of the Fourth International!

* * * *

1. From October 1917 on, capitalism has sought to crush the world historic achievements of the Russian Revolution. The restoration of capitalism would mean massive immiseration and unemployment of the working people, bringing back all the backwardness and chauvinism of the past, and preparations for a new interimperialist war. We Trotskyists stand for *unconditional* military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.

2. In Poland the primary agency for counterrevolution has been Solidarność, aided and abetted by imperialism, the Vatican and social democracy. By the time of its first congress in 1981, Solidarność had consolidated behind a program of social counterrevolution: support to anti-communist "free trade unions," restoration of capitalism through bourgeois parliamentarism, and liquidation of the planned economy. Had Solidarność been victorious, it would as well have threatened the existence of the other deformed workers states, placing in the hands of the imperialists the main supply and communication routes between the Soviet Union and the DDR, then the

frontline state confronting NATO. At that time the international Spartacist tendency (iSt, now the ICL) demanded "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution" and supported Jaruzelski's preventive military coup, while fighting for a proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy. The RML [Young Left Movement] agrees with this position. These events were an acid test for all would-be revolutionaries; it is necessary to swim against the stream when the Marxist program stands counterposed to the existing consciousness of the overwhelming bulk of the working class.

3. We reject the claims of fake-leftists that counterrevolutionary Solidarność was leading a "proletarian political revolution" in 1981. A genuine proletarian political revolution is premised on the *defense* of the collectivized property relations. As opposed to workers "self management," which in reality means the introduction of capitalist property relations through the pitting of workers in different enterprises against each other, we stand for a planned, socialized economy (including the collectivization of agriculture) free of Stalinist bureaucratic parasitism, arbitrariness and national autarky. The basic direction of the economy and society must be decided through workers democracy, that is, rule by workers councils.

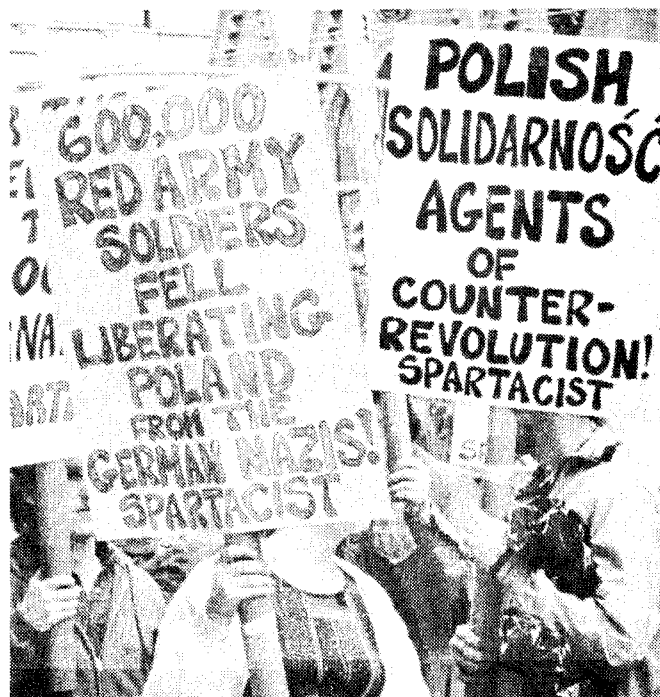
4. True to the program of the early Communist International, Trotskyism stands for world socialist revolution. In contrast, Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" is a nationalist, anti-socialist lie aimed at conciliating imperialism. The Gorbachev bureaucracy's appeasement of imperialism and its undermining of the collectivized economy, unleashing bloody national and ethnic conflicts, threatens the very existence of the homeland of October. The Polish Stalinists, who mortgaged the economy to the western bankers and drove the working class into the arms of the CIA and Vatican, are self-evidently politically bankrupt. Those who have paved the way for capitalist restoration cannot lead the struggles to beat it back.

5. Posed pointblank is the need to build an authentic Trotskyist vanguard party in Poland, part of a reforged Fourth International. But we reject the idea of a "family of Trotskyism"; genuine Trotskyism has nothing in common with such pro-Solidarność purveyors of anti-Sovietism as the

followers of Nahuel Moreno and the United Secretariat [USec] of Ernest Mandel, who in 1983 hailed the Solidarność leadership as the "best socialists in the world." The RML, a group known for honoring the communist leaders Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, came to recognize that Trotskyism represented the continuation of the revolutionary traditions of the "3 L's." The RML first came into contact with the program of the ICL while it was engaged in discussions with the Morenoites. Particularly decisive in winning it to the program of the ICL were (a) agreement over the character of Solidarność and (b) the RML's support to the "Trotskyist Platform" published by the Trotskyist Faction of the Mexican POS, which subsequently fused with the Grupo Espartaquista de México.

6. A Trotskyist party must be a tribune of the people, championing all victims of oppression. The drive to restore capitalism revives and intensifies all the "old crap" of the prewar social order, from reactionary clericalism to Pilsudskiite nationalism and anti-Semitism. As Rosa Luxemburg wrote in 1905: "The clergy, no less than the capitalist class, lives on the backs of the people, profits from the degradation, the ignorance and the oppression of the people." The Catholic hierarchy, conciliated by the Stalinists, has long exercised decisive influence over Solidarność. Clerical reaction particularly targets women. Smash the attacks on abortion rights! For free abortion on demand! For free 24-hour child care facilities! For the strict separation of church and state! Down with the conservative Stalinist dogma that glorifies the institution of the family, the main social institution oppressing women. Only the achievement of a genuine socialist society, based on material abundance and egalitarianism, can truly liberate women.

7. We honor the 600,000 soldiers of the Red Army who died liberating Poland from the Nazis. But today the forces of capitalist restoration have fuelled the growth of virulent anti-Semitism, from skinhead Nazis in Germany to the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] vermin here to the Great Russian chauvinists of Pamyat. For workers united



Workers Vanguard Spartacist League/U.S. demonstrates outside Solidarność office in New York, September 1981.

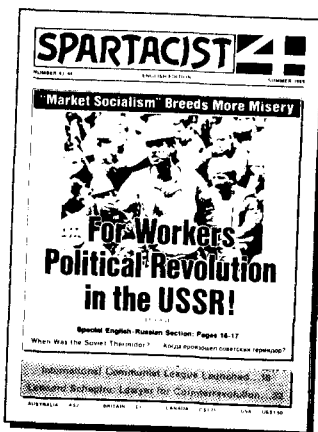
fronts to smash the fascists! Workers in Poland: smash chauvinist attacks on Jewish people, Ukrainians, gypsies, homosexuals! Honor the heroic fighters of the Warsaw ghetto uprising of 1943! Defend leftists and former members of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] against anti-communist witchhunts! For class struggle against attempts to dismantle social gains of the collectivized economy: for factory occupations and strikes against privatizations and plant shutdowns!

8. In East Germany what began as a political revolution (continued on page 30)

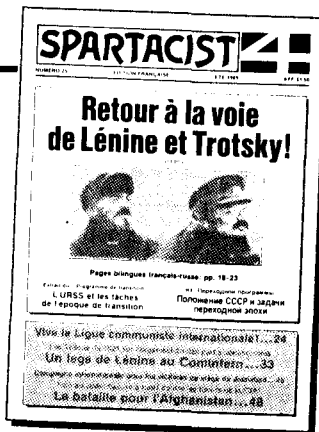
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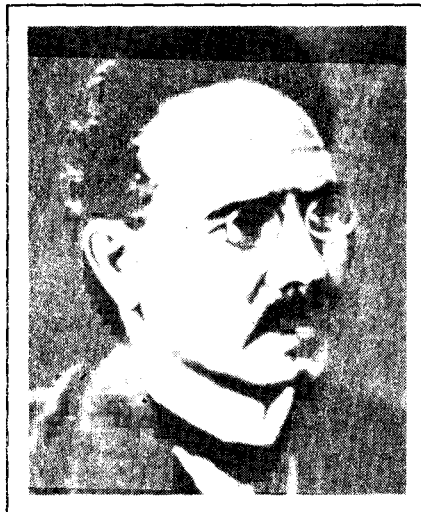
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Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg—communist leaders of the Russian, German and Polish proletariats.

Spartacist Group of Poland...

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turned into a capitalist counterrevolution. This defeat for the workers movement has whetted the appetites of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism for a renewed "*Drang nach Osten*" [Drive to the East]. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany [SpAD] uniquely fought against capitalist reunification and fight today against anti-Polish and anti-immigrant chauvinism, as an essential part of the struggle for socialist revolution. Polish communists must fight relentlessly against Pilsudskiite nationalism, which subjects the workers to the dictates of the IMF while spewing out anti-Russian and anti-German chauvinism. Only proletarian internationalism offers a way forward—For the revolutionary unity of Russian, Polish and German workers! For a Socialist united states of Europe!

9. Reformists and centrists, forsaking the principle of defense of the deformed workers states against counterrevolution, assist in infecting the working masses with the poison of national chauvinism. Thus, such organizations as USec, the Morenoites and Workers Power backed both the Polish nationalists of Solidarność, while in Germany tailing after such groups as the PDS, SPD and/or the United Left, which supported revanchist capitalist reunification. Adapting to conflicting appetites of different national bourgeoisies, the fake-Trotskyists are an obstacle to the construction of an international vanguard party.

10. Polish Trotskyists must seek to reclaim the best traditions of the Polish workers movement, forged in the struggle against national chauvinism. This is exemplified by Rosa Luxemburg, a Polish Jewish communist and leader of the revolutionary German proletariat. Reviling Luxemburg for her internationalism, Stalin never trusted and finally liquidated the Polish CP, which was the first to come to the defense of comrade Trotsky by asserting in 1923 that "the name of Comrade Trotsky is insolubly connected with the victory of the Soviet Revolution, with the Red Army, with communism."

11. While today Walesa and Jaruzelski obscenely whip up Polish nationalism by celebrating the defeat of the Red Army outside Warsaw in 1920, we reaffirm the policy of the early Polish CP, which not only rose to the defense of the Russian

Revolution but recognized that the Polish proletariat was a bridge to extend westward the revolution to the borders of Germany, with its powerful proletariat. The subsequent defeat of the German revolution in 1923 was a major impetus for the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy with its false ideology of "socialism in one country."

12. The RML agrees with the iSt position on Afghanistan, hailing the Red Army intervention, which posed the extension of the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples and particularly to the oppressed women of Afghanistan. Gorbachev's withdrawal was a sellout, greatly encouraging the imperialists in their drive to overthrow the Soviet workers state. We reject the anti-Soviet demand raised by fake-leftists to withdraw the Warsaw Pact troops from East Europe—Soviet troops have constituted the first line of defense of the workers states against NATO imperialism. Out of the ranks of Soviet soldiers and officers will come many fighters for Trotskyism.

13. The comrades of the RML constitute themselves as the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski [Spartacist Group of Poland] (SGP). The SGP and the ICL look forward to an early fusion, where the SGP will become part of a democratic-centralist International. In the interim, in matters of mutual concern regarding Poland, both parties to this agreement will consult.

14. The SGP needs to develop a systematic public face, recruiting cadre and intervening in various struggles and movements with ICL propaganda. A Leninist/Trotskyist party in Poland will be built from above through splits and fusions of ostensibly revolutionary organizations. Cadre can be won from among left Stalinists, as well as ostensible Trotskyists.

15. The ICL will assist the comrades in Poland in developing a systematic educational program to better acquaint them with the specific positions of ICL sections on various problems and events in the world. Fuller political integration will be enhanced by travel and mutual exchanges of visits with other ICL sections. In particular, it is envisaged that comrades from Poland participate in the SpAD's election campaign, as well as helping to translate election materials and fundamental ICL documents into the Polish language. The establishment of an ICL group in Poland represents a real step in our capacity to bring the program of Trotskyism to the East European and Soviet proletariats.

Introduction...

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of the Polish working class into the arms of Lech Walesa's clerical nationalist "union." At the time, we uniquely said that the leadership of Solidarność were pro-imperialist traitors to the working class and demanded "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" Mandel's United Secretariat and, even more so, the Morenoites cheered on Walesa & Co. in their failed counterrevolutionary bid for power in 1981.

Today our call to revive the internationalist traditions of Lenin and Luxemburg, of revolutionary unity between the Soviet, Polish and German proletariat, is brought home with renewed urgency as a resurgent Fourth Reich of German imperialism swallows up the DDR and a Solidarność-led government bleeds the Polish working class on behalf of the International Monetary Fund.

Gorbachev gave the green light for the capitalist reunification of Germany and the former Stalinist rulers of the DDR capitulated to the drive for D-Mark *anschluss*. In opposition, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party were the only ones to take a clear, unambiguous and unconditional stand against the capitalist annexation of the DDR, waging an aggressive campaign in the East German elections last March on a program of struggle: "Against Capitalist Reunification! For a Red Germany of Workers Councils in a Socialist Europe!" In contrast, the Morenoites, and an entire wing of Mandel's U!Sec, openly stood in the camp of counterrevolution calling for capitalist reunification.

The material that we publish in this special issue of *Spartacist Canada* is powerful testimony to the impact and urgency that the ICL's program has had among militants from other self-proclaimed "communist" organizations. In the face of the terminal crisis of Stalinism and imperialist triumphalism they



Le Bolchévik
International Communist League banner at Lutte Ouvrière fête near Paris, May 1989.

came to see our international organization as the only one with the program to struggle against capitalist exploitation, oppression and war.

When we founded the International Communist League we understood that our small forces confronted very high stakes. As we noted at the time: "Revolutionary regroupments on the program of Leninist internationalism are the means to resolve the disproportion between our small forces and our task." The comrades who have joined our ranks represent an important extension of our tendency internationally and another step towards reorganizing a communist Fourth International with authentic Leninist parties on every continent. ■

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