

SPARTACIST

CANADA September 1976 No. 8 \$.25

CLC Brass Angles for Pact With Trudeau

At its self-proclaimed "historic" national convention last May, the Canadian Labour Congress bureaucracy pushed through a document, "Labour's Manifesto for Canada," which presented the National Executive's "positive alternative" to gov-



Canadian Press

ALL SMILES AS MORRIS MEETS TRUDEAU

ernment wage controls. The CLC Manifesto held out an olive branch to the viciously anti-labor Trudeau government, promising that the union central would cease its opposition to controls if its scheme for shackling the unions to the capitalist government by tripartite government-business-labor boards was accepted.

Tacked onto the end of this explicitly corporatist

document was a vaguely-worded "Program of Action"--a mandate for the top bureaucracy to call a one-day general work stoppage "if and when necessary." The Program of Action openly stated that the primary aim of such an anti-controls general strike would be to put pressure on Trudeau to accept the terms of the Manifesto.

Apparently the CLC bigwigs have now deemed the 24-hour general strike to be "necessary" (although the eminently respectable labor tops prefer the milder designation "day of protest," or even, in the words of Executive Vice-President Julien Major, "national holiday"). President Joe Morris announced last month that the cross-Canada protest action will be held on October 14, the anniversary of the introduction of controls.

DECORUM ON ALL SIDES

Since the May convention Morris and other CLC leaders have had several audiences with the Prime Minister and Labor Minister John Munro on the subject of the Manifesto. All parties involved were suitably decorous; the Labor Minister at one point politely termed the CLC's proposals "reasonable."

But Munro's plaudits and Morris's maneuvers notwithstanding, the anger of the Canadian working class at the Liberals' wage slashing program has not abated one iota over the summer months. The CLC bureaucracy must tread a rather thin line: turning an appropriately "militant" face to the

(continued on page 2)

THE MANY FACES & LONG WAVES OF ERNEST MANDEL

... pg 12



CLC...

(continued from page 1)

ranks, while preparing a sellout through the back door.

With doughty old Joe Morris singularly unsuited to play the role of defiant leader of the anti-controls struggle, the mantle of rhetorical leadership has fallen to his heir-apparent in the CLC Presidency, Dennis McDermott. As Canadian Director of the powerful United Auto Workers (UAW), McDermott has an added incentive for turning the attention of the union membership to the "day of protest." The UAW is currently in the midst of negotiations with the Big Three auto manufacturers, and the Woodcock international leadership (with McDermott's full support) is preparing a major sellout, which they hope to push through without undertaking strike action of any kind. An immediate international, industry-wide strike against the auto barons is a burning necessity, and could additionally provide the focus for launching a Canada-wide general strike to bring down the controls. But McDermott would much prefer to siphon off autoworkers' anger at unemployment, inflation and unbearable working conditions into the comparatively harmless channel of the October 14 one-day protest.

Various left-wing organizations--from the Stalinist Communist Party to the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group and League for Socialist Action (Canadian affiliates of the revisionist United Secretariat)--are occupying themselves by mindlessly cheerleading the CLC bureaucracy's anti-controls posture. The RMG in particular noted as long ago as last April that the CLC was making a "positive turn" toward class-struggle policies.

All of these organizations spent months trying to pressure Morris and Co. into calling a one-day national strike. Now that Morris has adopted their

The parliamentarians and the trade unionists perceive at a given moment the need to provide an outlet for the accumulated ire of the masses, or they are simply compelled to jump in step with a movement that has flared over their heads. In such cases they come scurrying through the backstairs to the Government and obtain the permission to head the general strike, this with the obligation to conclude it as soon as possible, without any damage being done to the state crockery.... The exposure of these contemptible machinations behind the backs of the struggling proletariat enters as a necessary part into the preparation of the general strike.

--Leon Trotsky, The ILP
and the Fourth International

program, these fake "revolutionaries" are hailing the latest "positive" contribution of the pro-capitalist labor fakery.

OCTOBER 14 AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

What should be the attitude of revolutionaries toward the CLC's day of protest? Certainly, we must support any action, including the October 14 protest, which, however inadequate in itself, is directed against the wage controls. But a 24-hour walkout is generally an ineffective tactic (union bureaucrats in several European countries have been calling such walkouts for years in order to allow a disgruntled membership to blow off steam in a relatively harmless fashion). And the October 14 protest is also (at least implicitly) centered around a class-collaborationist programmatic document to which revolutionaries can give no support.

While participating in the preparations for and actions on October 14, militants should sharply denounce the bureaucrats' abject failure to respond to the government's anti-union offensive. They should seize the opportunity to agitate for an immediate Canada-wide strike to smash the controls, and to present an alternative class-struggle program to the sellout reformism of the labor skates.

Only a class-struggle leadership, which ties the fight against wage controls and other capitalist attacks to the fight to abolish once and for all the bourgeois system of exploitation and oppression, can show the way forward for the entire working class. The likes of Joe Morris, the CLC bureaucrats, and their ostensibly revolutionary hangers-on are merely roadblocks in the struggle to forge a workers party that will fight for a workers government. ■

SPARTACIST CANADA

Published by the SPARTACIST CANADA
PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, Box 6867,
Station A, Toronto, Ontario

Editor: John Masters
Production Manager: O.Redon
Circulation Manager: P.Mooney

Signed articles do not necessarily
express the editorial viewpoint.

Printed in a union shop by union labor.

A PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE STATEMENT

MARIO MUÑOZ is SAFE!

On August 4, Mario Munoz Salas, the Chilean miners' leader who had been the victim of a four-month police manhunt in Argentina, arrived safely in Vienna, Austria. The saving of this valiant, class-struggle unionist from the murderous Videla junta is a victory for the international working class and a beacon of hope for the tens of thousands of refugees from right-wing terror still trapped in Argentina.



MARIO MUNOZ SALAS BEING GREETED AT THE VIENNA AIRPORT Hubert Schatzf

At the Vienna airport, Munoz was met by a delegation including representatives of the Committee To Save Mario Munoz and the Committee's European co-sponsor, the Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile; the international Spartacist tendency and its sympathizing section, the Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists; Albrecht Konecny, chairman of the Young Generation of Socialists of Austria; and representatives of the Austrian press. Upon arrival, Munoz thanked the Austrian government for having granted him a visa and expressed appreciation to all those who had rallied to his defense. He expressed concern for the fate of his companera and their children who have not yet been able to leave Argentina and for all the victims of right-wing repression still trapped in Argentina.

Only when Mario Munoz is reunited with his family will the work of the Committee To Save Mario Munoz be completed. But on behalf of the Committee, its U. S. co-sponsor, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), would like to express its deepest gratitude to the individuals and organizations who have generously contributed their time, energy, thoughtful advice and financial support to saving the life of this exemplary workers' leader.

The international campaign to save the life of Mario Munoz was instrumental in winning his safe conduct from Argentina under United Nations' auspices and agreement by the Austrian government to receive this persecuted Chilean union leader and his family. This victory is testimony to the effectiveness of international protest in the spirit of working-class solidarity, the same solidarity to which Munoz dedicated his life. A defense campaign can often be built on already acquired international reputations for prominent intellectuals and artists who fall victim to reactionary terror. But workers' leaders and militants like Mario Munoz, though widely respected in their own countries, are not widely known abroad and are often overlooked. Defense campaigns on their behalf can only be built through mass protest and publicity which focuses on the labor movement, on an anti-sectarian basis, and also enlists the broadest support of all those concerned for human rights.

The Committee To Save Mario Munoz was able to enlist the support of hundreds of labor and socialist organizations, leaders of workers' organizations, civil liberties and defense organizations, and prominent individuals on four continents. Countless resolutions were passed, letters written, inquiries made, and telegrams sent on Munoz' behalf. Articles and letters regarding the plight of Munoz, along with other endangered political refugees in Argentina, appeared in Le Monde, the New York Times, the New York Review of Books, the Toronto Globe and Mail and Star, the Australian Tribune, the Sydney Morning Herald, and many labor and socialist publications. Over \$20,000 was collected, \$10,000 in the last two weeks of the campaign when it became known that the Austrian government was willing to receive Munoz and his family. An international delegation organized by the Committee To Save Mario Munoz met with the United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, in Geneva on 16 July 1976. Comprising the delegation were representatives of the Young Generation of Socialists of Austria, the International Association of Catholic Jurists, the World Confederation of Labor, the Swiss Progressive Jurists Association, the Society of Friends of France, the Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, and the Committee To Save Mario Munoz. The High Commissioner pledged the cooperation of the UN in ensuring Munoz safe conduct out of Argentina.

Even before the Videla coup the PDC mobilized against the escalating right-wing repression in Argentina. On 5 December 1975 the PDC called

(continued on page 4)

Muñoz ...

(continued from page 3)

a demonstration in front of the Argentine mission to the UN to protest the arrest of 13 accused of gun-running for the Chilean resistance, including ten Chilean refugees and Richard and Cristina Whitecross. Only the Whitecrosses have been released and the PDC will continue its efforts on behalf of the other 11 until they are also free.

Only 48 hours after the Videla junta took power making the mendacious claim to respect democratic liberties, the Argentine police were hunting down Mario Muñoz with orders to shoot him on sight. On March 25 they raided his home, beat his family and threatened to take his two-month-old child as hostage. Muñoz, a miner from the age of 14, was a widely respected workers' leader in Chile. After the bloody Pinochet coup in September 1973, Muñoz and his family were forced to flee across the Andes to seek refuge in Argentina along with thousands of Chilean workers and peasants. Muñoz continued to aid his class brothers during the difficult years of exile. The brutal police raid of March 25 not only meant Muñoz was a hunted man in two countries. It also showed that Videla would follow in the footsteps of Pinochet. The attack on the family of Mario Muñoz was the opening shot in the savage repression that was to pour down upon the Argentine labor movement and the thousands of political refugees who had fled the reactionary terror of neighboring countries only to see the dark shadow of that terror stalk them into their insecure refuge.

The democratic facade of the "bloodless," "gentlemen's" general's coup was at first accepted and perpetuated by such respected journals as the New York Times. Initially, many people approached by the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz were unaware of, or denied the extent of, the terror in Argentina. But the danger to refugees in Argentina was again demonstrated by the April 10 arrest and April 27 extradition to Chile of MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez. The PDC took part in the international protest against this naked violation of the conventions regarding asylum by the Videla junta. Later, liberal opponents of the Uruguayan dictatorship, Zelmar Michelini and Hector Guterrez Ruiz were kidnapped and murdered by AAA gangsters in collaboration with the Argentine authorities. On July 2 Mario Muñoz along with 12 other Chilean refugees were violently taken from their UN-assigned place of refuge and beaten and tortured by Argentine police. Muñoz was threatened with deportation back to Chile but on the following day all were released. Only the support mobilized by the campaign to save Muñoz prevented his deportation and murder by the Chilean secret police.

As the reality of the junta's vicious and all-sided suppression of human rights became too blatant to

disguise behind democratic rhetoric and as the mounds of corpses, victims of police and AAA assassinations could no longer be hidden, the campaign to save Mario Muñoz intersected the international revulsion with Videla's terror, a revulsion compounded by the witnessing of the aftermath of the murderous Pinochet coup. The campaign to save Muñoz, even with its modest resources, bears substantial responsibility for tearing away the democratic facade of the "gentlemen's coup," and for giving focus to the international protest against Videla's terror. The Committee To Save Mario Muñoz sounded the alarm not only for this imperiled workers' leader but also for the thousands of Argentine leftists, labor leaders, militants and political refugees threatened with deportation, imprisonment and assassination by the Argentine military dictatorship and its para-police anti-communist death squads. Mario Muñoz is a symbol of the plight of these thousands of victims of right-wing repression in South America. The victorious outcome of this campaign enhances the struggle for their freedom. Already, on Friday, August 6, the UN High Commission for Refugees announced that Austria, Britain, Canada, France, Norway and Switzerland had agreed to receive almost 2,000 Latin American refugees from Argentina.

Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Argentina and Chile!

(First printed in Workers Vanguard, 20 August)



Cuadernos Marxistas
Documentos de la Spartacist League/EE.UU. No. 3

CHILE
LECCIONES DEL FRENTE POPULAR

No. 2: Cuba y la Teoría Marxista
1,25 F/U.S. \$.25

No. 3: Chile Lecciones del Frente Popular
3 F/U.S. \$.50

SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, N.Y. 10001

Bilingual Air Traffic Control Dispute Rocks Canada

The unlikely issue of air traffic control recently touched off a major political crisis in Canada, highlighting the deep cleavage of the country along national lines. The pilots' walkout in defiance of a government injunction was opposed by the bulk of the French-speaking pilots of Quebec, who continued to work during the work stoppage. Moreover, the Quebec section of the governing Liberal Party sharply denounced the June 28 settlement, accusing Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Transport Minister Otto Lang of caving in to English-language chauvinism. In its eagerness to demonstrate sympathy for the oppressed French-speaking minority, virtually the entire Canadian left has refused to recognize the very real safety issue posed by the dispute over bilingual air traffic control.

For two years the introduction of bilingual air traffic control in Quebec has been a point of contention between the Trudeau government and the predominantly English-Canadian air controllers' and pilots' unions, the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association (CATCA) and the Canadian Airline Pilots Association (CALPA). In 1974 bilingual air traffic control was introduced under "visual flight rules" at seven small Quebec airports. It was heralded by the Ministry of Transport as the application of the 1969 Official Languages Act--which committed the government to bilingualism--to the field of aviation. However, the proposed extension of bilingual air traffic control to Quebec's international airports has been strenuously opposed by the aviation unions.

The last contract between CATCA and the federal Ministry of Transport appointed former CALPA lawyer John Keenan as a one-man commission of inquiry into the effects of bilingual air control on air safety under "instrument flight rules" conditions. Following Keenan's resignation--precipitated by charges that he was partial to the position of the aviation unions--the Ministry of Transport broke its agreement with CATCA for an independent commission, stating it would undertake its own inquiry.

Faced with the ministry's evident intent to push through bilingual air traffic control, CATCA threatened to strike. The Trudeau regime replied with a court injunction. On June 20 the controllers struck but were ordered back to work. The pilots then refused to fly, charging that in a high-stress occupation where instant and accurate communications is a matter of life and death, agitated air controllers made for unsafe conditions. A number

of international airlines--notably KLM (Netherlands), British Airways and SAS (Scandinavia)--boycotted Canadian air space in solidarity.

The June 28 settlement contains three main elements. The aviation unions must approve one member of the new three-man commission set up to assess the safety issue; any recommendations by this commission must be unanimous; and the parliamentary vote on the question will be "free" (i. e., Liberal Party MPs will be able to vote against the Trudeau policy of favoring bilingual air traffic control). The settlement was a qualified victory for the aviation unions.

"THE LANGUAGE OF THE AIR"

The Quebec nationalists clamoring for bilingual air traffic control have charged that air safety is a bogus issue concealing a covert attack by English-Canadian diehards against the government's policy of bilingualism. This position was summed up by Roger Demers, spokesman for Gens de l'Air, a breakaway group of Quebec air controllers and pilots:



AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS AT DORVAL AIRPORT, MONTREAL

"The government has been blackmailed by English-speaking pilots and controllers guided by pure racism. Since they have traditional weight in numbers it was easy for them to sow confusion about our demands by conjuring up

(continued on page 6)

Air Strike...

(continued from page 5)

the fake problem of air safety. All over the world, except in Quebec, the language of the country is the prime language in air communications. What we want is nothing more than this fundamental right."

--Globe and Mail, 30 June

Nationalist parochialism to the contrary, throughout the world the "language of air communications"--which is not a language at all, but rather a technical lexicon of a few hundred words--is based on English. The use of a uniform terminology is imposed by the requirements of the internationally integrated, technically sophisticated aviation industry. That the lingua franca of commercial aviation is English is due to the historic dominance of the U.S. in international commercial aviation.

The Montreal-based International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the internationally recognized body for setting civil aviation standards, has established a uniform vocabulary based on English for air traffic control. This specialized jargon is the standard medium for all official communications between pilot and airport of all signatory countries. Thus the predominance of English in Quebec air space has nothing to do with English-Canadian chauvinism.

The strongest proof that CATCA/CALPA struck over a real safety issue is the support that their stand against bilingualism in the air has received from the international pilots' union. At its convention last April, the International Federation of Airline Pilots' Associations passed a resolution, introduced by the Swiss pilots' group, which expressed "shock and dismay" at the Canadian government for "creating a non-standard, bilingual air traffic control system...that represents an ominous step backward in air safety" (Globe and Mail, 8 July). The pilots of Switzerland (a country whose three native languages do not include English) can hardly be charged with English-Canadian chauvinism.

Some countries, such as France and Spain, do allow for air traffic control in the native language--as well as in the international language of aviation, English. But other major non-English-speaking nations--the Scandinavian countries, West Germany, Austria, Holland, Switzerland, Israel--have established English as the sole language of air traffic control. The Canadian air traffic controllers' position was summed up by CALPA president Kenneth Maley: "Why go for a second class air safety situation when we already have a first class safety situation using the language of the air--English?" (Toronto Sun, 27 June).

A widely reported incident highlighting the importance of language in air safety was a collision between an Iberia jet and a Spantax charter flight near Nantes, France, on 5 March 1973, during a strike by French air controllers. The French government attempted to break the strike by the

use of army air controllers. According to the findings of a subsequent investigating commission, a contributing factor was that one of the scabs "used a term of international phraseology wrongly" (Aviation Week, 31 March 1975).

Thus the safety question and the need for a single, standard lexicon of air traffic control are not bogus issues. The CALPA and CATCA strikes for air safety are supportable by class-struggle unionists.

The philistine nationalism of Gens de l'Air led Quebec pilots to scab on the CATCA/CALPA strike. There are three major issues to be defended in that strike: safety and the importance of international communications; the right to bargain over safety conditions; and the defense of trade unionism over provincial/national parochialism. On all these issues the Quebec nationalists sided with the strikebreaking Trudeau government and objectively strengthened the capitalists against the union movement.

FOR LANGUAGE RIGHTS FOR THE QUÉBÉCOIS!

The air traffic control dispute takes place in the context of the inflamed national antagonisms between English-speaking Canadians and the nationally oppressed Québécois. The Trudeau government's policy is liberal reform. Some of its measures are simply tokenism, similar to the required labelling of all food products in both English and French. But others have provoked bitter opposition.

The 1969 "Official Languages Act" specifies that education and government services must be provided in both English and French where required. This supportable democratic reform is the target of opposition from many quarters. The measure is viewed as a nuisance by many--for example, civil servants who now find themselves obliged to go back to school and learn French as a precondition for promotion. Arrogant English-Canadian chauvinists have vowed to reverse the government's commitment to bilingualism. Extreme Quebec nationalists have been equally vociferous in opposing language rights for minorities within the province, counterposing the exclusive use of French in Quebec (see "Language Controversy in Quebec," Workers Vanguard No. 50, 2 August 1974).

LENINISM VS. NATIONALISM ON THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

Lenin insisted that Marxists recognize "no privileges for any one nation or any one language." He advocated equality of languages in multi-national states, recognizing that only on the basis of the struggle for equality of nations could proletarian unity be forged. The issue of language rights is particularly important in the case of Quebec, since it is the French language more than any other single factor which distinguishes the Québécois as a nation.

There can be no doubt that the air traffic control dispute has intersected rampant insensitivity to the oppression of the Québécois and outright English-Canadian chauvinism. The bureaucracies of the aviation unions have been far from guiltless in this regard. For example, CATCA president Jim Livingston refused to sign the last contract with the Quebec Association because it was in French, an act of insufferable national arrogance.

Revolutionists must uncompromisingly combat any manifestation of anti-Québécois chauvinism associated with the stand of the aviation unions, counterposing cross-Canada workers' unity on the basis of a resolute struggle for the rights of the most oppressed. The unity of the Canadian workers movement requires support for the principle of bilingualism. Concretely this means that the Québécois must be able to work, receive an education and deal with government bodies in their native language.

But the argument that unilingual air traffic control discriminates against the Québécois in the

aviation industry is phony. A Québécois pilot landing in Brazil, just as an Iranian pilot landing in France or a German pilot landing in Sweden, must be able to communicate in standard terminology with the airport, as well as comprehend the instructions being issued to other aircraft in the vicinity.

Consequently, Marxists support a single international lexicon of air traffic control. The addition of a second language is an element of confusion with potentially fatal consequences. Requiring air controllers to use the standard English air communication terminology is no more inherently discriminatory than requiring programmers working on a Fortran computer system to master the Fortran "language." Insofar as the use of English gives English-Canadians a natural edge for aviation jobs, Leninists must demand that the government provide special assistance for French Canadians to enable them to become pilots and controllers.

(continued on page 23)

RMG CONSECRATES QUEBEC NATIONALISM

Not unexpectedly, virtually every organization on the Canadian left lined up squarely behind the federal government and strikebreaking Québécois nationalists in the recent air traffic control dispute. Sundry fake-Trotskyists, Maoists, Brezhnevites and social democrats--a disparate lot who generally find communality only in uncritical enthusing over economist trade union struggles--discovered unity around a higher "principle" in their joint opposition to the pilots' strike: scabbing in the name of petty-bourgeois nationalism.

Chief among the proponents of the position that Quebec nationalism is inherently "progressive"--even when directed against the working class--is the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), English-Canadian adherent of the United Secretariat majority tendency. Two articles in the July-August issue of the RMG's Old Mole purport to present not only a defense of the Quebec nationalist position on the air strike, but also a "socialist analysis" of the entire language rights issue in Canada. The fact that the latter analysis and the former position are contradictory is not unusual; in their inimitable fashion the ostensible Leninists of the RMG have only ended up standing the Leninist position on the language question on its head.

The RMG denounces the very concept of bilingualism as reactionary and inherently anti-Québécois, while simultaneously supporting the introduction of bilingual air traffic control to Quebec airports. In denouncing bilingualism in general while supporting

it in this concrete instance, the RMG evinces (despite itself) a partial recognition of the fact which it strives so vehemently to deny: that there is a real safety issue involved in the use of a common international language for air communications. An "exception" is thus magnanimously introduced to the RMG's general support of French unilingualism in Quebec; English--the international language of the air--is to be allowed as well as French in air traffic control.

While seeking unsuccessfully to dismiss the safety issue as bogus, the RMG justifies its opposition to the pilots' walkout by the chauvinist uproar which it provoked in English Canada. Most of this reactionary anti-Québécois chauvinism was directed against the bilingualism policy of the federal government, as expressed in particular in the 1969 Official Languages Act. Yet the RMG opposes both this act and bilingualism in general!

Perhaps in an attempt to cover all its bases, the RMG adduces an additional argument for terming the strike a "reactionary mobilization." What the strike was really about was the defense of a "job trust based on national privilege." The RMG does not bother to produce any evidence for this fantastic contention beyond pointing out that there are unilingual Anglophones at Quebec airports who have not hitherto been expected to speak French on the job. But the Transport Ministry has at no time given any indication that a possible consequence of

(continued on page 22)

Sectarianism Mars Peltier Defense

Trotskyist League
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B. C.
1 August 1976

Vancouver Indian Centre Society
1855 Vine
Vancouver, B. C.

Brothers and Sisters:

On July 15, AIM [American Indian Movement] leader Russell Means gave a public talk at Fisherman's Hall in Vancouver on behalf of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee. As usual before such events, members of several left organizations, including the Trotskyist League, were selling their press in front of the hall. At one point, however, several people (apparently organizers of the event) came down to announce to the salesmen that a new policy had just been decided: anyone who sold in front of the hall would have to give half their proceeds to the Peltier Defense Committee. This rule, they added, would be "enforced."

Of the organizations present, only the Trotskyist League refused openly and directly to go along with this undemocratic and blatantly anti-left shakedown. The Revolutionary Marxist Group, having already shamefully compromised itself by agreeing to liquidate its politics at AIM events, was of course not selling its pitiful press (although several members of RMG did attend the talk). Sellers of Open Road, a new "anti-authoritarian anarchist" (read "anti-communist") journal, caved in immediately to the demand. The League for Socialist Action made no open protest, but after much waffling and indecision eventually followed the lead of the TL.

Our reasons for refusing the demand are as follows:

1) It represents a flagrant violation of workers democracy. Any organization has the right to sell its press on a public sidewalk without paying for that right as if it were a special privilege. Particularly at Fisherman's Hall--a traditional site for left and labor events in Vancouver--that right is regularly exercised by the left without interference.

Unfortunately, this is not the first time local AIM leaders have used undemocratic methods against the left. At Peltier demonstrations last spring, physical violence was threatened against the TL contingent when we attempted to march with our signs. According to an AIM spokesman, the objection was not to our slogans (which were:



LEONARD PELTIER LEAVING VANCOUVER COURTROOM Old Mate

"Free Peltier!" "End discrimination against native people: jobs for all!" and "Abolish the RCMP and FBI!"), but to our name on the signs. As the TL will not liquidate its political independence by marching without signed slogans, we could no longer participate in the Peltier demonstrations.

Furthermore, this and other similar actions by AIM have created an atmosphere of violence and distrust which has alienated other groups and individuals. Thus the sectarianism displayed by AIM has already badly undercut the broad support that is so important in winning defense cases of the oppressed. The effective defense of militant minority leaders like Peltier cannot be accomplished by adopting protection-racket methods or goon-squad tactics in an attempt to exclude left groups, force them to pay for their democratic rights, or efface their identity. These are the methods of the capitalist and his ally the gangster, not the methods of those who want to rid the world of both capitalists and gangsters, with the social oppression they perpetuate.

(continued on page 20)

CCL(M-L): Running Dogs of the Bourgeois Army

"Oppose the Two Superpowers! Safeguard Canada's Independence!" proclaimed the banners of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) at a June 29 "public" forum held to celebrate the rallying of the Toronto Workers' Unity collective to CCL(M-L)'s brand of "Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tsetung Thought."

Despite being the first widely-advertised event held in Toronto by a component of the (now disintegrating) Canadian Revolution editorial collective, CCL(M-L)'s paean to the independence of the bourgeois Canadian state from the United States and the Soviet Union managed to draw no more than about fifty assorted adherents of competing Maoist tendencies for several dispirited hours of speeches and "revolutionary culture." But while CCL(M-L), the Bolshevik Union, the Toronto Communist Group and sundry other Mao-oid groupuscules continue to squabble over the "correct" application of the Great Helmsman's thought to Canada, all are able to achieve unity on what is for them the essential question--the need to muzzle, at any cost, revolutionary Trotskyist criticism of their bankrupt Stalinist politics.

A CCL(M-L)-organized bully-boy squad's rather pathetic attempt to live up to the Stalinist tradition of physically intimidating left opponents was utterly unsuccessful in preventing a Trotskyist League sales team from disseminating revolutionary literature. Only when the Maoist goons' pushing and shoving tactics threatened to escalate into a fist-fight--an invitation for police intervention--did the TL withdraw. This attempt by CCL(M-L) to physically exclude revolutionaries in order to proceed with "disseminating Marxism-Leninism" in suitably cloistered surroundings stands in complete contradiction to the Leninist tradition of workers democracy. CCL(M-L)'s subsequent breast-beating (see The Forge, 1 July) about the "forceful defeat" inflicted on the Trotskyists would be laughable if it were not such an obvious attempt to cover up for political cowardice.

Just what was the political line CCL(M-L) felt the need to "protect" from communist criticism? Inside the forum, CCL(M-L) spokesmen detailed their strategy for constructing a broad, multi-class alliance against the "two superpowers"--primarily through building the bourgeois Canadian army. The fact that such an obviously anti-working-class political line could be presented to those assembled as "authentic Marxism-Leninism" bears eloquent testimony to the utter bankruptcy of contemporary Maoism.

NEW LEFT MAOISM RECONSTRUCTED

Unlike the United States and other countries, the decomposition of the largely China-oriented Canadian New Left in the late 1960's and early 1970's threw up no new Canada-wide "hard" Maoist formations. There was no Canadian equivalent of the U. S. October League or Revolutionary Communist Party except for the bizarre cult



Daily News

MAO GREETES IMPERIALIST BUTCHER NIXON IN PEKING, FEBRUARY 1972.

around Hardial Bains known as the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist). Leftover Maoist fragments elected to adopt a perspective of ultra-economist localized trade union "practice" with a Canadian nationalist bent.

Despite every turn deeper into liquidationism, these Maoist fragments became increasingly isolated. Their isolation combined with pressure from the larger and more left-wing Quebec Maoist milieu caused elements of such English-Canadian formations as the Vancouver Western Voice collective and Toronto's Right to Strike Committee to reassess their past practice. From the time of its founding early last year, the journal Canadian Revolution sought to provide a focus of discussion and regroupment for these elements. The first several issues of CR featured an orgy of hypocritical "criticism/self-criticism" from long-time right-Maoists and defined "party building" as the central task of the period.

(continued on page 10)

CCL(M-L)...

(continued from page 9)

With the consolidation of CCL(M-L) (founded in Montreal last fall) and En Lutte! (In Struggle!) as the main Québécois Maoist poles of attraction, the disparate elements gathered around CR began either to orient centrally to one of these groups, or to retreat back into localized irrelevancy. The formal decomposition of Canadian Revolution began early this year with the resignation from the editorial collective of the left-posturing Bolshevik Tendency (now Bolshevik Union--BU), which was at that time in the orbit of En Lutte! The adherence of Workers' Unity in Toronto to CCL(M-L) followed shortly thereafter.

"LEFT" FACADE

Of late, the pages of En Lutte! and CCL(M-L)'s The Forge have been replete with polemics against economism and right opportunism on questions of "domestic" import. Thus the same CCL(M-L) supporters who last year in the Right to Strike Committee were uncritically building platforms for trade union bureaucrats like Yvan Charbonneau of the Quebec Teachers Federation today denounce the labor officialdom as class-collaborationist traitors from the floor of the CLC convention. Yet the leftward shift in Canadian Maoism is both ephemeral and exceedingly hollow.

Radical-sounding rhetoric has gained a certain currency among Canadian Maoists primarily as an empirical response to the sharply increased level of working-class struggle in Canada in the past period. While ostensibly Trotskyist formations like the Revolutionary Marxist Group and the now-fragmented International Socialists have responded to increased labor combativity by shifting rapidly to the right, most Maoists have embarked on the opposite course, seeking to provide a fake-left ideological pole for newly radicalizing workers. As the hoped-for rapid gains fail to materialize, however, a flip back to the right can be expected. (The most recent issues of the The Forge and En Lutte! have already shown the beginnings of such a rightward slippage, with fewer polemical articles and significantly more economist "reportage" on workers' struggles.)

But the key to understanding the continued reformist nature of the new Maoist regroupments lies on the terrain of the international questions discussed by CCL(M-L) at the June 29 forum. For in their continued slavish adherence to the foreign policy of the Chinese deformed workers state as the model for "proletarian internationalism," the Mao-sycophants are compelled to adopt positions allying them with the right-wing of the imperialist bourgeoisies, above all with the sabre-rattling chieftains of the U. S. capitalist class.

What has been implicit in Chinese foreign policy for several years has since the first Nixon visit to China become explicit: that the Chinese bureaucracy is prepared to ally with anyone--from the

West European capitalist states and NATO, to the venal apartheid South African regime, right up to the imperialist kingpin itself, the United States--against the supposed "number one enemy," the USSR. The incredible position expressed in a leaflet distributed at CCL(M-L)'s forum by the Bolshevik Union succinctly expresses the kernel of the contemporary Maoist worldview:

"Those who find a United Front with the Second World countries of Europe, and possibly with the United States, inconceivable, do not understand what it means to say that the USSR is IMPERIALIST, FASCIST and THE MAIN DANGER TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD!" (emphasis in original)

And what is the logical strategic conclusion for Canadian Maoists? The BU continues:

"The Bolshevik Union takes the position that to properly prepare the Canadian people for war means not just preparing them for direct threats against Canadian sovereignty, but also preparing them for the possibility of Canada's active participation in a United Front against fascist [i. e. Soviet] military aggression in Europe....

"The Bolshevik Union calls unequivocally for the immediate reinforcement of Canada's defence capacity under maximum Canadian control." (emphasis in original)

Mao-Tsetung Thought, circa 1976, means just that: slanderously equating the Soviet degenerated workers state with Hitler's Germany and calling for a social-patriotic international holy alliance to crush the gains of the Russian Revolution.

These dregs of the New Left's decomposition have no political future. Their genuflections at the altar of Maoist foreign policy have implicated them in a de facto U. S. -China bloc against the Soviet Union, a state that differs from the Chinese only in that it is a larger bulwark against imperialism. Like the Stalinists of the 1930's, the CCL(M-L) is compelled to swallow every twist and turn of their bureaucratic mentors. But where Stalin attempted to conciliate imperialism by selling out socialist revolutions in other countries, often in the name of the "anti-fascist peoples' front," Mao and Co. now curry favor with the imperialists by branding the Soviet Union--the living, though degenerated, embodiment of the Russian Revolution--as "fascist," "social imperialist," and "the principal enemy of the peoples of the world."

Stalin predicated his counterrevolutionary foreign policy on the defense of the bureaucratic parasitic caste resting on proletarian property forms from both direct imperialist military attack, which would sweep away the bureaucracy by overturning these property relations, and from international proletarian revolution which would also sweep away the bureaucracy by eliminating the conditions for its self-preservation: the national isolation of the Russian Revolution and the demoralizing ef-

fects on the Soviet working class that this produced. The Chinese Revolution, while expropriating capital and introducing proletarian property forms, brought to power a narrow, nationalist bureaucratic caste qualitatively similar to that which was the end-product of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

Today Mao seeks to "defend" the Chinese deformed workers state by encouraging the worst imperialist chauvinists to strangle and destroy what remains of the gains of the Russian Revolution, just as Stalin sought to defend the Russian degenerated workers state by drowning the Chinese Revolution in blood in 1927. But if there was an actual capitalist restoration in the USSR, a restoration which is encouraged by China's consorting with NATO and U.S. imperialism, the historic gains of the Chinese Revolution would soon be wiped out. Sycophants of the Chinese bureaucracy are cast in the contemptible and contradictory role of drumming up anti-Soviet hysteria while masquerading as "communists" and defenders of the Chinese deformed workers state.

Only the program of Trotskyism, calling for unconditional defense of all the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism or counterrevolution while struggling for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist bureaucratic rulers, can show the way forward for militants seeking international working-class unity and an authentically revolutionary road.

We reprint below an excerpt from the TL's June 29 leaflet, detailing the treacherous social-chauvinist, pro-NATO politics of Maoism, both nationally and internationally.

**CANADIAN ARMED FORCES
(MARXIST - LENINIST) ?**

CCL(M-L) takes great pains to emphasize the supposed "contradiction between the two super-

powers and the Canadian people as a whole." This gem of Mao-thought translates into a call for a broad, class-collaborationist alliance of the "whole Canadian people" against the United States and (especially) the Soviet Union. Thus it is only logical that The Forge (3 June) should see the strengthening of the mainstay of the bourgeois Canadian state as "positive... if they are used for territorial defence against the voracious appetites of the superpowers."

CCL(M-L) then attempts to cover this revision of the fundamental tenet of Marxism that the bourgeois state and its repressive apparatus must be destroyed with the reformist argument that the proletariat "can force the bourgeoisie to use its army for defence purposes." Thus CCL(M-L) would load the gun held at the head of the proletariat and oppressed masses, all the while assuring them that it should only be used for defense of the "fatherland" and "democracy."

In 1915, at the Zimmerwald Conference during WWI, Lenin and the Bolsheviks outlined the only Marxist policy on defense of the bourgeois fatherland:

"They [the capitalists] say: 'The war is necessary for the defense of the fatherland, it is waged in the interest of democracy.' They Lie! In not a single country did the capitalists start the war because the independence of their country was threatened, or because they wanted to free an oppressed people. They led the masses to slaughter because they want to oppress and to exploit other people."

--"Draft Manifesto Introduced by the Left-Wing Delegates at the International Socialist Conference at Zimmerwald"
(emphasis added)

As it was in Russia, a second-rate imperialist country in 1914-17, so it is in Canada today. The Bolsheviks under intense pressure voted
(continued on page 20)



**CHINA'S
ALLIANCE
WITH U.S.
IMPERIALISM**

A SPARTACUS
YOUTH LEAGUE PAMPHLET

Details...
the treacherous foreign policy of Maoism, which lauds the butchery of the Ceylonese youth revolt and of the Bengali independence struggle, which sacrifices the guerrillas in Oman and Eritrea for "detente" with the Shah and Ethiopian junta, which supports NATO and European militarism and Portuguese reaction, which lines up with the U.S. South Africa axis in Angola, which refuses support for Puerto Rican independence and lavishes aid on butcher Pinochet and the Sudanese generals...

Explains....
the roots of Chinese foreign policy—from Indonesia to Vietnam to Angola—in the interests of the nationalist bureaucracy ruling over the masses in the Chinese deformed workers state....

Exposes....
the apologetics of the Maoists in the service of counter-revolutionary betrayals....

Counterposes....
to Stalinism the proletarian internationalism of the Communist International of Lenin, carried forward by the Fourth International of Trotsky, and upheld today only by the international Spartacist tendency.

ORDER NOW! Only \$1!

Write/make checks payable to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., P. O. Box 825 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013

Trotzkistischen Liga Deutschlands

bi-monthly
\$6 per year

order from/pay to:
Postlagerkarte
A 051 429 Berlin
West Germany
Postscheckkonto
Berlin West:
503 57 - 107
(Wolfgang Hohmann)

**Kommunistische
Korrespondenz**

Rettet das Leben von Mario Muñoz!
Internationale Solidarität mit allen Opfern des
reaktionären Terrors in Argentinien und Chile!

Alle Informationen liefern an:
Korrespondenz-Redaktion
Postfach 101
1000 Berlin
Telefon 030 240000
Telefax 030 240000

THE MANY FACES & LONG WAVES OF ERNEST MANDEL



News LTD

In reviewing the writings of Ernest Mandel, one is immediately struck by his quite substantial changes in line on virtually any subject. Thus, for example, in various pamphlets and articles during the middle and late 1960's this eminent "Marxist economist" went on at great length about a supposed "neo-capitalism" of greatly increasing productivity (due to a "third industrial revolution" in the computer age) and counter-cyclical capitalist state planning allegedly preventing the recurrence of a 1929-style crash.

The contradiction with the Leninist theory of imperialism as the epoch of capitalist decay was total, and was expressed in blatant revisions of the Marxist program in numerous spheres. Workers control no longer meant dual power at the level of the factory, as it did for the Bolsheviks, but merely "anti-capitalist structural reforms"; the struggle between labor and capital no longer concerned exploitation, but instead focused on "problems of organizing production."

Then in the 1970's, Mandel's references to "neo-capitalism" suddenly disappear and in their place we find talk of "more classical models" of socialist

revolution. At one level this is an expression of rampant empiricism. Certainly today not even the most inveterate reformists postulate increasing productive forces, successful capitalist crisis management or the disappearance of struggles over surplus value.

But unlike a Paul Sweezy or a Paul Mattick, Ernest Mandel is not merely a pseudo-Marxist academic, and his analyses of contemporary capitalism must be placed in the framework of his role as leader of the ex-Trotskyist revisionist current today known as the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). The abandonment of "neo-capitalism" was the result of the demise of the student-centered and "third-worldist" New Left (with its "new working class" theories) which forced the incorrigible tailist Mandel to look for new pastures in a "broad vanguard" of a Stalinoid or syndicalist character.

The connecting thread of Mandel's various "theoretical" shifts is his rejection of Trotsky's fundamental proposition in the Transitional Program, that "the historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership."

In the early 1950's, reacting to the organizational isolation of the Fourth International (FI) and the post-war expansion of Stalinism, one Michel Pablo (Raptis), head of the FI's International Sec-

ERNEST MANDEL'S LATE
CAPITALISM: REVIEWED
BY JOSEPH SEYMOUR

retariat, with Ernest Germain (Mandel) as his intellectual lieutenant, developed the liquidationist perspective of long-term "deep entrism" into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, seeking to pressure the reformists to the left.

Later, in the early 1960's, the Pabloists put forward the notion that the peasantry of the colonial and semi-colonial countries was the new "epi-center of world revolution," and the task of European revolutionaries was henceforth that of cheerleaders for petty-bourgeois nationalists (like the Algerian FLN) and Stalinists (such as the Vietnamese NLF).

At bottom, Late Capitalism and Ernest Mandel's other writings on the subject are an objectivist justification for this Pabloist liquidationism. The notion that the post-World War II period up to the mid-1960's was a "long wave of rapid growth in the international capitalist economy" means that this was a fundamentally different and, from the bourgeoisie's standpoint, more positive epoch than that in which the Fourth International was formed. It is an excuse for rejecting the Transitional Program as in large part obsolete and the principles on which Trotsky sought to build the FI as no longer valid.

Nor is Mandel's assertion that the "long post-war wave of rapid growth" ended in 1966 an objective empirical analysis. The eruption of a new political generation in the late 1960's--dramatically manifested in the French May events of 1968--produced a sizable layer of New Leftist, Maoist and syndicalist-inclined youth to the left of the traditional mass reformist parties. To attract the



Il Mondo

NIKOLAI BUKHARIN

"broad vanguard" of leftists who chanted "The Only Solution is Revolution," Mandel had to promise them "another long wave of increasing social and economic crises for world capitalism."

The political implications of the Mandelian "long wave" theory are scarcely touched upon in the hundreds of pages of Late Capitalism. However,

the final chapter does contain this significant passage:

"The essential and intrinsic consequence of the end of the long wave of post-war expansion, and the intensified struggle over the rate of surplus-value unleashed from the second half of the 60's onwards, is a world-wide tendency towards qualitatively sharpened class conflicts, which will bring the endemic crisis of capitalist relations of production to explosion point."

The clear implication is that before the mid-1960's, the "endemic crisis" of capitalism could not reach an "explosion point." And what a contrast to Mandel's earlier pronouncement that, "Neo-capitalism experiences and will experience depressions, but not new crises comparable to that of 1929" (speech to the "Cercle K. Marx," 12 January 1964, quoted in "Défense du trotskysme," La Verité, September 1965)!

Before discussing in detail the arguments of Late Capitalism, it is important to note that the 1975 English edition is not simply a translation of the 1972 German original: it is a revision. Mandel assures us that he has only "corrected and clarified subsidiary formulations, and brought relevant statistics up to date." But most of his readers will have no way of verifying this. When Marx or Trotsky brought out a new edition or translation of a work they considered no longer fully adequate, they included a new introduction or footnotes. In contrast, Mandel has followed the notorious Stalinist and bourgeois academic practice of altering the original text.

KONDRATIEV'S LONG WAVES

The core of Mandel's book is the assertion that the period from 1940-45 to 1966 was the first phase of the fourth long cycle of capitalist development based on the "third technological revolution."

As he notes, the concept of such long cycles first became prominent in the Marxist movement in the early 1920's through the work of an eclectic Russian economist, N. D. Kondratiev, a fellow-traveler of the Soviet regime. Kondratiev's schema was based entirely on observed statistical regularities. He made no effort to provide a causal explanation from the standpoint of Marxism or any other theoretical framework.

Kondratiev's long cycle schema produced a lively debate among Marxists during the 1920's. The general tenor of criticism was that his schema was mechanical and without apparent theoretical footing. Typical of Kondratiev's critics was the Soviet economist S. A. Pervushin:

"To prove the existence of major cycles it is not sufficient to find swings of long duration. You must prove that the cause of the upswing

(continued on page 14)

Mandel...

(continued from page 13)

necessarily originates the factors which bring down the depression."

--quoted in George Garvy, "Kondratieff's Theory of Long Cycles," Review of Economic Statistics, 1943

Trotsky participated in the "Kondratiev cycle" debate, notably in his 1923 note, "The Curve of Capitalist Development" (translated in Fourth International, May 1941). Trotsky held that Kondratiev's explorations provided valuable material and insights for a more profound history of capitalism. But he raised against the "long cycle" theory two fundamental, interrelated criticisms. First, Trotsky denied that "long cycles" were genuinely cyclical and analogous to the conjunctural cycle produced by the self-perpetuating effect of the rate of accumulation on the rate of profit. Therefore, he maintained, long waves cannot be explained by purely economic factors, but must be affected by all major historical events:

"As regards the large segments of the capitalist curve of development (50 years) which Professor Kondratieff incautiously proposes to designate as cycles, their character and duration is determined not by the internal interplay of capitalist forces but by those external conditions through whose channel capitalist development flows."

Granting that the history of capitalism shows a succession of fairly long periods of rapid growth and greater cyclical stability than adjacent periods, the decisive question is this: do long waves arise from a common cause, an internal law of capitalist production relations, or are they rather an after-the-fact statistical generalization mirroring all the factors which determine the uneven development of capitalist production?

The answer to this question has great political importance. If long waves are more or less a law of capitalist development, then they have the force of long-term conjunctural predictability. A revolutionary organization would have to take into account which phase of the long wave it was passing through in determining its political line. If it concluded it was in the beginning of a long wave of accelerated growth, this would mean that there would be no fundamental worsening of the conditions facing the masses and that a major depression would not occur. Such a prognosis would require a major revision of programmatic emphasis as well as of tactical perspectives.

Where does Mandel stand on this critical issue? His formulations are so guarded and ambiguous that it is difficult to pin him down. At one point, in response to a correct criticism of long wave "theories" by Polish Stalinist economist Oskar Lange, Mandel replies:

"Although we likewise reject the concept of the 'long cycle' and do not, therefore, accept the mechanical determination of the 'ebb' by the 'flow' and vice versa, we have nevertheless attempted to show that the inner logic of the long wave is determined by long-term oscillations in the rate of profit."

Despite his disclaimers of holding a mechanical cyclical theory, Mandel nonetheless asserts that capitalism has regularly experienced long waves based on technological revolutions and their predictable effect on the rate of profit. This is the core of his theory:

"The history of capitalism on the international plane thus appears not only as a succession of cyclical movements every 7 or 10 years, but also as a succession of longer periods, of approximately 50 years, of which we have experienced four up till now...."

"Each of these long periods can be subdivided into two parts: an initial phase, in which the technology actually undergoes a revolution.... This phase is distinguished by an increased rate of profit, accelerated accumulation, accelerated growth.... This first phase is followed by a second, in which the actual transformation in productive technology has already taken place.... The force that determined the sudden extension by leaps and bounds of capital accumulation in Department I [capital goods] thus falls away, and accordingly this phase becomes one of retreating profits, gradually decelerating accumulation, decelerating economic growth...." [original emphasis]

Mandel's theory does imply long-term predictability: once a technological revolution has occurred, this event imposes a definite pattern on economic conditions for the next decades. The logic of Mandel's schema is that given sufficient empirical data in the early 1950's, one could predict the absence of a major depression, no marked deceleration in the rate of growth and no period of intense class struggle until the mid-1960's. The rightist, liquidationist political implications of such an objectivist theory are obvious.

What are we to make of Mandel's thesis? First, he offers no empirical evidence for it, and for the 19th century no empirical evidence is available. Before 1900, at the earliest, there exist no reliable statistics for deriving changes in productivity, the rate of profit, capital per worker or the rate of surplus value. Thus Mandel is engaging in outright charlatanry when he writes that in 1826-47 there was a "stagnant rate of profit" or that in 1848-73 the rate of surplus value was rising. It appears that he is simply deducing the rate of profit and its component parts from the observed rate of growth in output. This "method" is not only completely unscientific, but it simply supposes the causal relationship that must be proved!

From a theoretical standpoint, there is abso-

lutely no reason to believe that technological innovations should come in concentrated clumps about every 50 years. There is also absolutely no reason to believe that diffusion of new technology on an international scale and its impact on the rate of profit has a regular and predictable periodicity. In short, Mandel's theory is without sound empirical foundation and has no a priori plausibility.

DISAPPEARING THE 1920's

If Mandel's theoretical construction is untestable for the 19th century, his periodization since World War I is arbitrary and false. Key to the entire conception laid out in Late Capitalism is the existence of a "sixth long wave" from 1914 to 1939 which is described as "regressive" with the rate of profit "falling sharply."

Even those without a profound knowledge of economic history know that the economic conditions of the 1920's were very different from the 1930's, not to mention the economic impact of World War I. The 1920's was a period of unusually rapid economic expansion. Between 1920 and 1929, industrial production in the United States increased by 65 percent, in Britain by 13 percent, in France by 104 percent and in Germany by 100 percent; in Japan during the the 1920's real national income almost tripled (from Ingvar Svennilson, Growth and Stagnation in the European Economy; and Colin Clark, The Conditions of Economic Progress [1957 edition]). The volume of world exports, which had fallen to 65 percent of the pre-war level in 1921, jumped 86 percent by the end of the decade.

What Mandel does is to simply disappear the economic boom of the 1920's by constructing an arbitrary, artificial long wave of "decelerating growth." He has done this by combining in one category a period of great expansion with a destructive world war and the greatest depression in capitalist history.

The failure to acknowledge, much less analyze, the boom in the 1920's vitiates Mandel's entire analysis of the post-World War II period. In order to scientifically demonstrate a "third technological revolution" during the 1940's and early 1950's, it is necessary to show that there was a radical increase in the rate of productivity, not relative to the depressed 1930's--that is self-evident--but relative to the 1920's.

This Mandel makes no attempt to demonstrate, since he cannot. From 1919 to 1929, the average annual increase in productivity of U. S. manufacturing was 2.0 percent, a figure almost equal to the 2.3 percent average annual increase in the 1948-57 period (John W. Kendrick, Productivity Trends in the United States). In Europe, too, the 1920's was a period of considerable technological dynamism. For example, electricity production more than doubled during the decade. Comparing 1929 with 1913, the output of pig-iron per blast furnace increased by 58 percent in Britain, by 65 percent in France and by 131 percent in Germany.

The economic expansion of the 1920's generated a vast literature claiming that capitalism had fundamentally changed for the better, a literature similar to the Keynesian New Economics and "neo-capitalist" theories of the 1950's and 1960's. For example, in 1928, the prominent American populist Lincoln Steffens could assert:

"Big business in America is producing what the Socialists held up as their goal: food, shelter and clothing for all. You will see it during the Hoover administration."

--quoted in William E. Leuchtenburg,

The Perils of Prosperity

The notion that the economic expansion of the 1920's was based on fundamental structural changes was not limited to liberals or social democrats. The best-known "revolutionary Marxist economist" of the period, Nikolai Bukharin, attempted to explain a "second period" boom as based on a "technological revolution" associated with the development of state capitalist tendencies in the imperialist economies. As we shall see, the similarity between Bukharin's "second period" and Mandel's "seventh long wave" is undeniable. Perhaps that is why the almost 600 pages of Late Capitalism failed to mention Bukharin's analysis of the 1920's even once.

STATE EXPENDITURE AND THE RATE OF PROFIT

In a lengthy work designed to be a major contribution to Marxist economics, one is shocked by the superficiality and amateurishness of the statistical material. Since Mandel's central premise is that the first technological revolution since the 1890's occurred in the 1940's and early 1950's, the least one would expect is a consistent historical series measuring productivity change in the major capitalist countries. Instead, Chapter 6 on the "third technological revolution" contains a smattering of illustrative figures such as might be found in a popular magazine article, not a scientific work.

Likewise Mandel does not construct a consistent historical series for the rate of profit and its component parts. He simply asserts that between 1940-45 and 1966 the rate of exploitation rose steeply and then became stable, while the rate of profit rose and then slowly fell. To back these assertions, he presents bits and pieces of incommensurate statistical data, virtually none of which are calculated in labor value terms or otherwise conform to Marxist categories.

Significantly, Mandel explicitly rejects the only scientific Marxist attempt to measure long-term changes in the rate of profit which we know of. This is an unpublished doctoral thesis by Shane Mage (a founder of the Spartacist tendency, who has since abandoned Marxism) entitled The "Law of the Falling Tendency of the Rate of Profit": Its Place in the Marxian Theoretical Framework and

(continued on page 16)

Mandel...

(continued from page 15)

Relevance to the U.S. Economy (1963). Mage calculates the rate of profit for every year from 1900 to 1960 for the U.S., in both current labor value terms and "real" (1960 labor value) use value terms. Contrary to Mandel's assertion, Mage found that from 1945 to 1960 the rate of profit fell steadily as the rate of surplus value remained stable, while the organic composition of capital (the value of capital per productive worker) rose markedly.

Mandel rejects Mage's findings by asserting that government expenditure should be treated as part of surplus value. This treatment of government expenditure is key to Mandel's entire argument in two ways. First, it is only by adding government expenditure to private property income that Mandel can defend his empirical assertion that the rate of surplus value rose sharply in the post-war period. Second, his treatment of government expenditures is key to his belief in the past efficacy of Keynesian stabilization policy as a means of realizing surplus value without increasing the organic composition of capital through productive investment.

Taking issue with Mage for limiting surplus value to property income after taxation, Mandel writes:

"In Marx's theory all revenues are traced back to wages or surplus-value. Since state revenues can hardly be regarded as variable capital... they can only be regarded as a redistribution of social surplus-value or an increase of it by deductions from wages."

The term "social surplus-value," which nowhere appears in Marx's writings, is an elementary confusion between use value and exchange value. Social surplus denotes those real resources available over and above those needed to reproduce the existing level of output. Social surplus is a universal category applicable to all societies above the most primitive. Surplus value, on the other hand, is the exchange value, realized in money, available to the owners of the means of production in capitalist society. Judged by the standards of a rationally planned socialist economy, the social surplus of any capitalist economy is far greater than surplus value, which is restricted by the overhead costs of the capitalist system. And this is what government expenditure is.

Contrary to Mandel, the commodity product is not entirely divided between surplus value and the wage of productive workers. A part of the commodity product is expended on replacing the capital used up in the process of production. This replacement of capital is not limited to depreciation on the physical means of production and distribution, but includes all overhead costs necessary

for capitalist reproduction. According to Mage, government expenditure as well as private administrative and commercial expenses are a part of constant capital expended and replaced:

"Since these commercial and political expenses, though unproductive of new value, signify the consumption of a portion of the social capital, the value consumed in this way, in order to assure its continual reproduction must enter into the total value of the mass of commodities produced... Consequently the appropriate treatment for the outlay of unproductive expenses in general, provided only that they are "socially necessary" under the existing form of social organization, is to regard them as part of the constant capital advanced and expended." [original emphasis]
--Shane Mage, op. cit.

A precise specification of surplus value is key because it is the numerator of the rate of profit, the central concept of Marxist economics. The rate of profit, in turn, is the main regulator of new investment determining the short-run level of output and long-term changes in productivity. By including government expenditure in surplus value, Mandel is faced with two alternatives concerning the incentive to invest. He can assert that the level of investment is not affected by the rate of taxation and government borrowing, which is manifestly absurd; or he can redefine the relevant rate of profit as surplus value minus taxes.

Far from having an identical role in capitalist economics, government expenditure and profit are profoundly antagonistic. One of the most striking reactions of the bourgeoisie to the 1974-75 depression is a determination to augment profit by cutting back what is seen as a bloated, parasitic state sector. Mandel's identification of government expenditure as part of surplus value cannot comprehend, much less predict, the rage for fiscal austerity now sweeping the advanced capitalist world. In contrast, Mage's theory fully explains the attempts of the capitalist class to restore profitability by reducing the cost of government.

MANDEL'S "SEVENTH LONG WAVE" AND BUKHARIN'S "SECOND PERIOD"

"From the economic point of view, from the point of view of the analysis of the capitalist economy, the second period may be described as the period of the restoration of the productive forces of capitalism. In this period, relying on its political victories and on its relative political stabilization, capitalism strove to achieve and ultimately did achieve a certain economic stabilization. The second period passed away to give place to the third period, the period of capitalist reconstruction. This reconstruction was expressed in the pre-war limits being exceeded qualitatively and quan-

tatively. The growth of the productive forces of capitalism is due on the one hand to the rather considerable progress achieved in the technique of industry and on the other hand to the extensive reorganization of the capitalist economic contacts."

Is this a quote from Mandel describing the developments after World War II? No, it is Bukharin giving the report on the world situation to the Sixth Congress of the Third International in 1928 (International Press Correspondence, 30 July 1928). As for technological revolution, the report bristles with examples: electrification, synthetic fuels, light metals, industrialization of agriculture, automatic production line, etc. And Mandel really should give Bukharin credit for putting it all together:

"The changes in technique which in some countries, primarily in the United States, is assuming the character of a technological revolution, is quite definitely linked up with the trustification of the national economy, with the establishment of gigantic banking consortiums and already in the post-war period with the growth of state capitalist tendencies in multifarious forms."

--ibid.

While we are focusing on the theoretical parallelism between Bukharin's analysis of the 1920's and Mandel's evaluation of the 1950's and early 1960's, it is important to point out the radically different social bases for the respective revisionist doctrines, which make for a qualitatively different scale of historic impact. The rejection of Marxism by Stalin/Bukharin stemmed from the isolation of the Soviet state bureaucracy, which sought to maintain its precarious and parasitic position by adapting to what it viewed as an unshakeable capitalist world order. Commanding the resources of a major world power, Stalinism had a great impact on the political events of the 1920's; the doctrine of "socialism in one country" served to excuse such monumental betrayals as the Comintern's failure to oppose Hitler's march to power.

By way of contrast, Pablo/Mandel's attack on Marxism reflected the isolation of small revolutionary propaganda groups from the mass organizations of the working class under seemingly unshakeable reformist leaderships. The historic impact of Pablo/Mandel's revisionism was primarily in disrupting the continuity of revolutionary Marxism by destroying the Fourth International. It is because Pabloism has been unable to commit betrayals of world-historic proportions in the name of the FI that Trotskyists today struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International rather than building a new "Fifth" International. But Mandel's revisionism nonetheless bears a major responsibility for the fact that the new generation of radical intellectuals and workers emerging in the

1960's looked to Maoism, Castroism and other "militant" variants of Stalinism rather than to Trotskyism as the embodiment of Marxism.

The origins of both Bukharin's "second period" and Mandel's "seventh long wave" schemas were the subsiding of a post-war revolutionary wave and subsequent strengthening of the reformist bureaucracies in relation to the communist vanguard. This was associated with an unexpected economic expansion which was seen as reinforcing the conservatism of the masses. Both Bukharin and Mandel objectified this particular political and economic conjuncture, constructing what is essentially a sub-epochal scheme.

From the notion that the dominance of the reformist bureaucracies was unshakeable due to a long period of economic expansion, it was a short step to the conclusion that communists could make headway only by allying with one section of the bureaucracy against its more rightist opponents. For Stalin/Bukharin the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Council during 1925-27 had the same purpose as "deep entrism" for Pablo/Mandel: a means of pressuring and maneuvering with a reformist bureaucracy whose dominance was considered objectively unassailable.

The anti-revolutionary consequences of this line were not long in manifesting themselves. Just when Stalin/Bukharin had settled in for long-term collaboration with the British Trades Union Council leaders Citrine and Cook, and when Mandel had forged his one-sided alliance with Belgian Socialist Party trade-union leader André Renard, these very forces were placed at the head of general strikes. Moreover, the British general



The Newsletter

1960-61 BELGIAN GENERAL STRIKE. MANDEL WITHDREW CALL FOR MARCH ON BRUSSELS WHEN "LEFT" BUREAUCRAT RENARD REFUSED TO SUPPORT IT.

strike of 1926 took place at the very apex of Bukharin's "second period" of capitalist stability, and the Belgian general strike of 1960-61 was in the heart of Mandel's "long wave of rapid economic growth." Yet these were important class battles

(continued on page 18)

Mandel...

(continued from page 17)

pregnant with revolutionary perspectives. Partly to conciliate their new-found reformist allies and partly because they believed the period was inherently non-revolutionary, Stalin/Bukharin in 1926 and Mandel in 1960-61 played a passive, tailist and defeatist role in these historic class battles.

In the Belgian case, Mandel backtracked and finally under pressure from Renard abandoned altogether the demand of a march on Brussels. On 1 January 1961 Mandel's paper, La Gauche, carried a red headline proclaiming: "Organize the march on Brussels." The next week (7 January) it argued against concentrating forces for a single day and place and instead for infiltrating tens of thousands of demonstrators into the capital. Finally, on 14 January it wrote:

"We have been reproached for having launched the slogan of a march on Brussels. . . . Since we find that the demand has not been taken up by the leaders, we submit; but we point out that at the moment our call appeared last week, no indications on this subject were yet known."

Mandel's "long post-war wave of rapid growth" implies a defeatist attitude not only to the Belgian general strike of 1960 but also to the French general strike of August 1953 (when Pablo's French lieutenant, Pierre Frank, issued a statement apologizing for the fact that the Communist Party-led CGT labor federation refused to demand the ouster of the Laniel government) and toward the East German workers uprising of the same year (when Pablo's International Secretariat issued a declaration calling for "real democratization of the Communist parties"--i. e., bureaucratic "self-reform"--and failed to demand unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet occupation forces which put down the revolt).



Workers Vanguard

HUNGARIAN WORKERS TORE DOWN STALIN STATUE DURING 1956 UPRISING.

Likewise, the "long wave" analysis holds no perspective for the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (where Pablo wrote that the absence of a political leadership had "provoked. . . exactly those flaws and dangers" which Poland had avoided "thanks to the leadership role played by. . . the Gomulka tendency. . . a centrist tendency nonetheless evolving to the left. . .") or for resistance to De Gaulle's coup in 1958. A victory for the proletariat in any of these major class battles would have radically altered the course of post-war European history and rendered all questions about a "long wave of accelerated accumulation" sterile scholasticism.

TACTICAL ORIGINS OF THE "NEW LONG WAVE"

The "deep entrism" tactic was not originally based on the projection of a long period of economic prosperity. Quite the contrary: it was motivated by imminent catastrophism. In the early 1950's, Pablo advanced the "war/revolution" thesis according to which World War III, between the U. S. and the USSR, would break out immediately with the mass reformist workers parties of West Europe being forced into the Soviet camp. Thus this "entrism sui generis" was predicated on revolutionary situations developing before the Trotskyist vanguard could develop significant forces.

By the late 1950's, the "war/revolution" thesis had become an embarrassing memory and the tactical justification for entrism was turned around 180 degrees. A long period of economic and political stability was now projected for the advanced capitalist countries; this was implicit in the notion that the "epicenter of world revolution" had shifted to the colonial world. The failure of the Pablo/Mandel entrists to pressure their favored left reformists (Renard in the Belgian SP, Pietro Ingrao in the Italian CP) into leading centrist splits--this being the highest standard of success imaginable--was blamed on objective conditions. A 1969 document of Mandel's United Secretariat reassesses the entry tactic in the following terms:

"The economic cycle that took place was as a whole unfavorable to the massive development of left currents in the old parties. Nonetheless in several countries such currents did form, but owing to the existing conditions on the one hand and the weakness of the revolutionary Marxists on the other, large splits were rare. Finally, the weight of the objective situation gained the upper hand and led to a very pronounced shift to the right among the traditional parties."

-- "Draft Resolution on Our Tactics in Europe"

By the mid-1960's, entrism was a failure even in terms of immediate organizational opportunities. A new generation of student youth--the New

Left--emerged outside of and hostile to the social-democratic and Stalinist parties. With the rapid growth of organizations within the New Left/Maoist/syndicalist continuum, continuation of the "deep entrism" tactic threatened Mandel's USec with being outflanked from the left.

Consequently, in the late 1960's the European USec sections made a sharp tactical turn abandoning entrism for an orientation to this "new mass vanguard." This shift was the focus of the 1969 document, "Draft Resolution on Our Tactics in Europe," as well as of the core document of the USec's "tenth world congress" in 1973, "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe." The key passage of the latter document reads:

"[T]he central task for revolutionary Marxists in the stage that opened in 1967-68 is to win hegemony within the new mass vanguard. . . ."

Late Capitalism was written in the same period as these documents and can be considered an attempt to provide a high-Marxist, world-historic analysis to crown the new turn. The 1969 "Draft Resolution" was naive enough to place the start of the new period with May 1968, a political event:

"With May 1968, a new period opened up, characterized among other things by a world crisis of the capitalist system and by a political awakening of the European working-class movement."

The USec to the contrary, both the French May events and Italy's "red summer" in 1969 took place under economic conjunctural conditions that were similar to the early 1960's.

However, according to Mandel's objectivist schema a revolutionary situation could not occur during the "long post-war wave of rapid growth." So he had to find a convenient conjunctural event before, but not too much before, May 1968. He came up with the West German recession of 1966-67! Mandel must be the only economist in the world today who believes that 1966 was the fundamental turning point in the post-war capitalist economy. The failure of the rest of the world to notice the epochal change in that year is readily comprehensible. In the four years preceding 1966, national income in the advanced capitalist countries increased by 24 percent; in the four years following 1966 it went up by 19 percent, hardly an earth-shaking deceleration (National Accounts of the OECD Countries, 1962-1973).

Interestingly, in the 1972 German edition Mandel made no attempt to demonstrate empirically that the West German downturn of 1966-67 marked the end of the "seventh long wave," since he could not do so convincingly. However, in the 1975 English edition he triumphantly provides such a proof by adding in the 1974-75 world depression, which of

course greatly reduces average annual growth since 1966. Had Mandel chosen the 1969-70 American recession as the turning point, he could have shown an even sharper deceleration. This demonstrates the empirically arbitrary but politically deliberate nature of Mandel's long wave schema.

In rejecting Mandel's objectivism, we do not hold an accidentalist view of contemporary political development, i. e., that a revolutionary situation could break out anytime, anywhere. Only a political imbecile would argue that the prospect for revolutionary struggle in the next few years is the same in West Germany as in Spain. In projecting the development of the class struggle, the economic conjuncture must certainly be taken into account. But to label 25 years of world capitalism, with several generalized recessions and a number of revolutionary opportunities, as a "long wave of rapid growth" is not only totally inaccurate, but necessarily implies a defeatist attitude. Late Capitalism is not a serious work of Marxist economics; it is a cynical apologia for Pabloist liquidationism. ■

(First printed in Workers Vanguard, 6 August)

Trotskyist League Forums on South Africa



Toronto

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO,
HART HOUSE SOUTH DINING ROOM.
SAT. 18 SEPTEMBER, 8:00 p. m.

Vancouver

LANGARA COMMUNITY COLLEGE,
ROOM TO BE ANNOUNCED.
TUES. 21 SEPTEMBER, 12:30 p. m.

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY,
ROOM TO BE ANNOUNCED.
THURS. 23 SEPTEMBER, 12:30 p. m.

Defense...

(continued from page 8)

2) The international Spartacist tendency (of which the Trotskyist League is the Canadian sympathizing section) has supported the Peltier case and continues to do so. We have defended Peltier by publicizing his case in our press (see Workers Vanguard #112, 4 June 1976 and Spartacist Canada #7, June-July 1976), and by making financial contributions to the Peltier Defense Committee (both the Partisan Defense Committee and the Trotskyist League have sent checks). The same support was given by us to AIM founder and leader Dennis Banks when he was arrested in California last winter (see Workers Vanguard #95, 6 February 1976).

In some defense cases we have organized public events such as a forum on racist police terror in Oakland, California, which brought together spokesmen for three important local defense cases. In Toronto we have recently sponsored a united-front public meeting to protest right-wing repression in Latin America, and to demand the safety of Mario Munoz, the Chilean labor leader now being hunted by the military junta of Argentina where he has been in exile since the Chilean coup of September 1973. *

The defense policy of the international Spartacist tendency is both partisan and anti-sectarian: we defend all cases that are in the interest of the whole of the working people and oppressed, without factional regard. We have supported the defence of many individuals and organizations with whom we have sharp political disagreements: Angela Davis of the Communist Party, the Maoist Venceremos group, Chilean MIRistas, Leonard Peltier and many others. Recognizing that united-front actions of left and labor organizations are an important component in defense strategy, we urge the brothers and sisters of AIM to renounce the divisive and undemocratic tactics of some AIM members and supporters in Vancouver, and further, to accept as their allies in action the Trotskyist League and all organizations who support the defense of Leonard Peltier.

Free Leonard Peltier! Free all class-war prisoners!

Fraternally,
Linda Jarreau for the Trotskyist League of Canada

cc: League for Socialist Action
Revolutionary Marxist Group
Open Road
Workers Vanguard
Spartacist Canada
AIM National Office

* See article (page 3, this issue) for details of the success of the campaign to save Munoz.

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE Directory

TORONTO..... (416) 366-4107
Box 222, Station B
Toronto, Canada

VANCOUVER..... (604) 291-8993
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

CCL(M-L)...

(continued from page 11)

against war credits, against defense of the fatherland, while CCL(M-L) today castigates "its" bourgeoisie for not strengthening its apparatus for territorial aggrandizement and internal repression in the name of defense of the fatherland. This is how the opportunists "uphold Marxism-Leninism"!

PEKING BUREAUCRATS HAIL NATO

CCL(M-L)'s treacherous politics flow directly from its chosen role as Canadian mouthpiece for the counterrevolutionary Maoist bureaucracy in Peking. This reactionary nationalist clique which sits atop the historic gains of the Chinese deformed workers state has, ever since the U. S. -China rapprochement of early 1972, sought to build an international "united front" of sheiks, colonels and imperialist chieftains against the supposed "number one enemy," the Soviet Union.

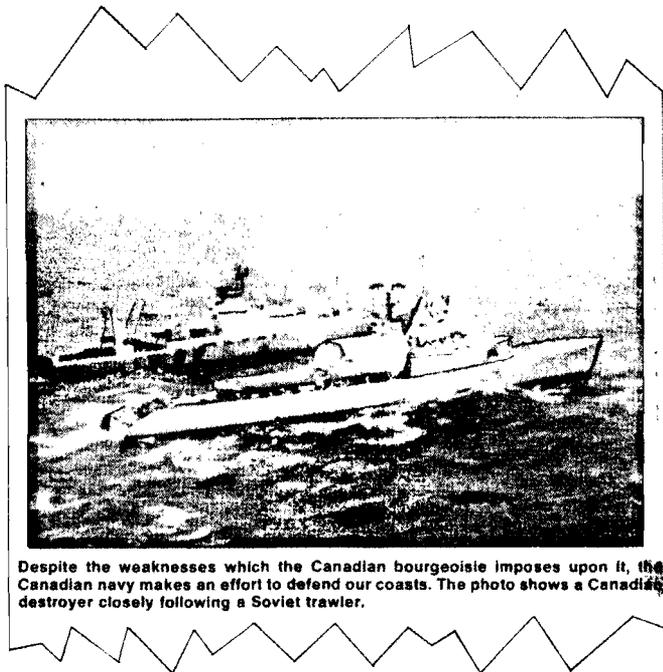
The Maoists have been campaigning hard for strengthening NATO, that imperialist "united front" of 300,000 troops for preventing "Communist aggression" and socialist revolution in Europe. Lining up with their new-found "friends" in the right wing of the American imperialist camp, the Chinese bureaucracy is advocating an increased direct military threat to the USSR.

"NATO--Need for Improved Military Forces," blared the headline in one Peking Review (21 December 1973). A Sino-French communique printed in the 21 September 1973 Peking Review called for military unity of the NATO countries "for the preservation of their common security." Numerous articles in the Chinese press throughout 1975 reported favourably American defense secretary Schlesinger's insistence that U. S. troop levels be maintained in Europe, the Near East, the Persian Gulf and Asia.

When Schlesinger was sacked by U. S. President Ford in November of last year, the Maoist tops released through the official Hsinhua news agency an unprecedented, lengthy statement criticizing the dismissal as a concession to the

Soviet Union and a dangerous weakening of U. S. imperialism. Favourably quoting jingoist Senator Henry Jackson, the Hsinhua release mourned the ouster of Schlesinger as " a loss to the nation in the pursuit of a prudent defense and foreign policy" (quoted in New York Times, 9 November 1975).

ANTI-SOVIETISM RUN RAMPANT--THE FORGE (6 MAY) URGES THE CANADIAN NAVY TO CRUSH THE SOVIET UNION:



Despite the weaknesses which the Canadian bourgeoisie imposes upon it, the Canadian navy makes an effort to defend our coasts. The photo shows a Canadian destroyer closely following a Soviet trawler.

For the sake of its "peaceful coexistence" and "socialism in one country," the Chinese bureaucracy is willing to be the drummer boy for imperialist militarism, while CCL(M-L) pathetically toots along on its tin whistle. The arms of NATO, which the imperialists today seek to use to destroy the historic gains of the Soviet proletariat, will tomorrow be turned against the Chinese worker and peasant masses and their bureaucratic mis-leaders....

For the Unconditional Defence of the USSR, China and All Other Deformed Workers States Against Imperialist Attack!

For International Communist Unity against Imperialism through Proletarian Political Revolution from Peking and Hanoi to Moscow and Havana!

Extend the Revolutionary Gains--For International Socialist Revolution--For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

SUBSCRIBE!

SPARTACIST CANADA

Name: _____
 Address: _____
 City/Province: _____
 Telephone: _____

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

NOW MONTHLY



Marxist working-class weekly of the Spartacist League /US

SUBSCRIBE:
 \$5 for
 48 issues
 (1 year)

Order from/pay to:
 Spartacist Publishing Co, GPO Box 1377,
 New York, NY 10001, USA

No. 17, Summer 1976

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Socialist League

Early Bolshevik Work Among Women of the Soviet East... 14

SUBSCRIBE
4 issues - \$2.00

Tadzhik mountain women at an early Soviet school for the foundation of literacy.

Kibbutzim Restore Nuclear Family 2
The Pankhursts: Suffrage and Socialism 8
Thalidomide Cover-up Exposed 20
Socialist Workers Party and NOW: Together at Last 24

SUBSCRIBE

Australasian SPARTACIST

a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency

**U.S. \$5—12 issues
(airmail)**

**U.S. \$2—12 issues
(surface mail)**

order from/pay to:

**Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 2001, Australia**

RMG...

(continued from page 7)

its policy would be the removal of unilingual Anglophones. Nor has there been any indication that Anglophone controllers in Quebec have played a significant role in mobilizing opposition to the policy. Perhaps the RMG is simply projecting onto the Transport Ministry's policy what it would do with the Anglophone controllers: the clear implication is that they should be fired!

Leninists oppose "forcing English down the throats" of Quebec workers (to reverse the crude slogan of the English chauvinists), but the RMG is deluding itself if it believes that the use of French as well as English would undercut the built-in advantage that Anglophones have in acquiring jobs in the elite air industry. Precisely because English will remain the main language in use at Quebec airports, regardless of the final outcome of the dispute, the only way to open up jobs to unilingual Francophones is to demand no discrimination on the basis of language, management-funded language training programs, and union control of hiring. This class-struggle approach to fighting chauvinism in the air industry would be a thousand times more effective in combatting national oppression than the unjust firing of a few unilingual Anglophones, regardless of how soothing to the liberal conscience of the RMG such an action might be.

Having rejected the principle of the equality of languages within a multi-lingual state, how does

the RMG propose to fight anti-French chauvinism and defend the language rights of the Québécois? The Old Mole articles are clear: by fighting "English-language privilege." How to fight such privilege? The program is roughly as follows: make French the privileged language in Quebec and deny the language rights of all non-Francophones! In this way the struggle for a "unilingual French Quebec" can become an "aspect of the anti-imperialist struggle" (as expressed by the RMG's Québécois sister section, the GMR, in Taupe Rouge, September 1975). The RMG's program is quite simply for a reversal of the terms of linguistic and national oppression, explicitly contrary to the Leninist insistence on no special privileges for any one language group. Furthermore, if the language rights of non-Francophones are to be denied in the Quebec nation, logically the language rights of non-Anglophones would have to be correspondingly denied in the rest of Canada!

The air strike was a supportable job action in defense of a standardized communications system which in an internationally integrated industry is a genuine question of job safety. The strike was also a defense of the right of workers to bargain and strike over safety and work conditions. However it was also an action in defense of a unilingual English air traffic control lexicon in a social context where English unilingualism is associated with national oppression. The insensitivity to Quebec's national oppression manifested by the CATCA/CALPA union leaderships permitted English-chauvinist elements to exploit the strike to fight the basic democratic, though inadequate, reforms of the federal government's bilingualism policy.

The answer, however, to the chauvinism of the oppressor, is not to consecrate the nationalism of the oppressed. Consistently upholding equality in national and democratic rights and opposing all forms of national privilege and oppression, Leninists support the right to self-determination of oppressed nations. Where the animosity engendered by national oppression has inflamed national divisions between the workers of two nations within the same state power, Leninists may advocate independence to remove the national question as a barrier to the unity of the workers movement. Leninists seek to weld proletarian class unity across national boundaries for international socialist revolution.

The RMG, by attempting to "solve" the oppression of the Québécois by making French the privileged language in Quebec, demonstrates the worst sort of narrow petty-bourgeois philistine nationalism. Rather than fighting for the equality of nations and the end to national privilege the RMG fights for reversing the terms of privilege and inequality. Rather than fighting for the unity of the working class, the RMG, like the English- and French-speaking Canadian bourgeoisie, seeks to sharpen these differences to the detriment of the socialist revolution. ■

Air Strike ...

(continued from page 7)

Lenin insisted that support to the national rights of a people is meaningless without the recognition in principle of the right to self-determination-- i. e., the right to secede and form an independent nation-state. The Quebec nationalists' demand for French unilingualism in Quebec demonstrates their willingness to sacrifice the fight against oppression of French-speakers throughout Canada in exchange for the "right" to impose French in one province. This position has profoundly reactionary consequences, in effect linguistically ghettoizing Quebec and depriving French speakers in the province of any access to English, the dominant language of the North American political economy.

Lenin recognized that the development of the means of production drives toward the assimilation of nationalities:

"Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the breakdown of the national barriers, the creation of international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, of science, etc.... The latter characterizes a mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society."

--V.I. Lenin, Critical Remarks on the National Question, 1913

The tendency toward internationalization is most pronounced in industries, such as air travel, which embody the most advanced development of technology under capitalism. International conventions and the standardization of equipment and procedures are a fact of life for the aviation industry. The bilingual policy which is suitable for the labeling of pickle jars is inapplicable to international air travel. The use of English as the lingua franca of air traffic control prefigures the development of a common world language under socialism. It foreshadows the immense leap in international technological development which will take place when the productive forces are freed from the shackles of private ownership and the nation-state by world proletarian revolution. ■

(First printed in Workers Vanguard, 23 July)



**trotskyist
league**

CLASS SERIES

Toronto

STALINISM VS. TROTSKYISM

- 1/ Sept. 21 AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW
- 2/ Oct. 5 THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
- 3/ Oct. 19 THE DEGENERATION OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
- 4/ Nov. 2 RISE AND DECLINE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
- 5/ Nov. 16 PROBLEMS OF THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP
- 6/ Nov. 30 WORLD REVOLUTION VS. THE THEORY OF STAGES

For further information call: 366-4107

Vancouver

BASIC MARXISM

- 1/ Sept. 29 MARXISM AND CLASS STRUGGLE
- 2/ Oct. 13 THE STATE
- 3/ Oct. 27 THE LENINIST PARTY
- 4/ Nov. 10 IMPERIALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM
- 5/ Nov. 24 STALINISM AND THE DEGENERATION OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
- 6/ Dec. 8 THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

For further information call: 291-8993

SOUTH AFRICA: Smash Apartheid- For Workers Revolution!

TORONTO, 26 August--Close to 200 demonstrators marched outside the South African Trade Commission offices here today in protest against the brutal massacre of hundreds of black militants by Pretoria's venal apartheid regime. The protesters included supporters of several black and left-wing organizations, among them the Zimbabwe Students Association, National Black Coalition, MPLA Support Committee, Trotskyist League (TL), Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), International Socialists (IS) and the Socialist League. The various Maoist groups, fresh from cheerleading the imperialist South African invasion of Angola against the Soviet-backed MPLA last winter,



TL CONTINGENT AT 26 AUGUST SOUTH AFRICA DEMONSTRATION

SC Photo

were conspicuous by their absence from this important action against the racist butchers of Sharpeville and Soweto.

Supporters of the Communist Party (CP) and the Stalinist-dominated African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) left the picket line shortly after the demonstration commenced, following an unsuccessful attempt to politically censor the groups present by forcibly limiting slogans to the CP/ANC-approved demand, "Stop the massacre in southern Africa." The CP and ANC objected in particular to banners carried by the TL contingent demanding "Smash Apartheid--For Workers Revolution," "For a Trotskyist Vanguard Party" and "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International." The distaste of these groups for such uncompromising

revolutionary slogans is well-founded: both the reformist CP and the bourgeois nationalist ANC seek to subordinate the struggles of the strategic South African black proletariat to the "progressive bourgeoisie" through a so-called "national-democratic revolution."

But the craven sectarianism of these would-be betrayers of the black masses of South Africa was to no avail, as the vast majority of demonstrators continued to march and the CP and ANC were left standing on the sidelines.

The RMG and IS, in keeping with their usual lowest-common-denominator political practice, limited their intervention on the march to chants demanding "Stop the massacre" and "Boycott South Africa." The demand "Boycott South Africa" implies an unlimited generalized trade ban which is clearly utopian. But even if such a demand could be realized, it would harm those it seeks to aid: the South African black proletariat. Instead revolutionists call for limited and selected boycotts of reactionary governments around specific international protests. Such an international labor protest should have been mobilized around the initial Soweto massacre. Revolutionists always fight for a total arms boycott to South Africa and all capitalist countries, no matter how "democratic," except in the particular case where a colonial nation is under direct imperialist attack.

In contrast to the pathetic tailism of the RMG and IS, the TL raised the powerful calls "Sharpeville, Soweto--Avenge the Martyred Militants!" and "Down with Vorster, Workers to Power!" While RMG spokesman Steve Moore counselled the rally at city hall which concluded the demonstration that the "main task for revolutionaries" is to construct a "united front against imperialism," TL speaker John Masters warned against reliance on the false solutions of supposedly "progressive" nationalism and declassed guerrilla struggles. Masters pointed to the central importance of forging revolutionary Trotskyist parties on a program of uncompromising working-class independence in South Africa, in Canada and around the world.

The combative black South African working class --the gravedigger of apartheid--will, under revolutionary leadership, be the motor-force of the coming socialist revolution in sub-Saharan Africa. The heroic struggles taking place in Soweto and other black townships today are a prelude to the decisive battles to smash the racist capitalist system and create a workers republic as part of a socialist federation of southern Africa. ■