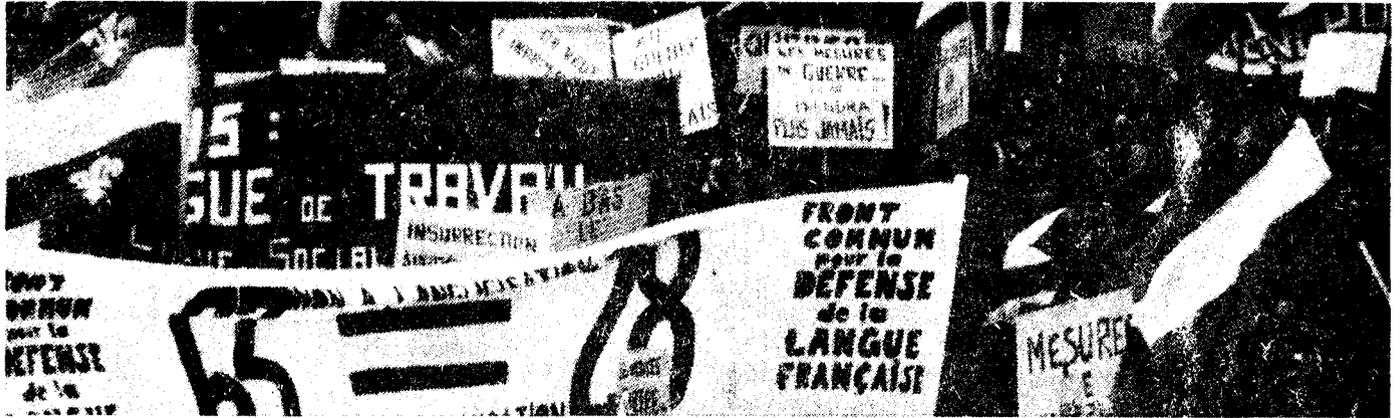


4 SPARTACIST

CANADA MAY 1977 No. 16 25¢



QUEBEC NATIONALIST DEMONSTRATION IN OCTOBER 1971 DEMANDS LEGISLATION TO PROTECT FRENCH LANGUAGE.

Labor Challenge

PQ LANGUAGE BILL: NATIONAL ANTAGONISMS ESCALATE

The tabling of new Parti Québécois language legislation in the Quebec National Assembly on April 1 has led to another escalation in the confrontation between Ottawa and Quebec City over the future of Canada. The PQ bill proposes an official end to bilingualism within the province and aims at creating a largely unilingual French Quebec. The proposal has brought forth a torrent of indignant condemnation from bourgeois spokesmen in English Canada and Montreal.

Prime Minister Trudeau warned that adoption of the language bill would take Quebec back to the Dark Ages, while federal Liberal colleague Maurice Dupras blustered that it reminded him of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Former Conservative Prime Minister John Diefenbaker vowed that the bill was "seditious" and had to be stopped. Bourgeois newspaper editorialists hypocritically decried the legislation as "racist" and claimed that it was designed to drive English-speakers out of Quebec.

In contrast, the new legislation has received widespread approval in French-speaking Quebec (with the notable exceptions of the provincial Liberal Party and the influential bourgeois daily *Le Devoir*). It has been praised by most bourgeois political parties, nationalist associations, trade unions and even much of the ostensibly revolutionary left. Its provisions to make French the "language of work" and to force all immigrants to Quebec (even those

coming from other Canadian provinces) to attend French-language schools have been hailed as effective means of combatting the historical privilege of the English language in the province.

BATTLE FOR CONFEDERATION

The violent and provocative war of words over the new bill (including federal government threats to disallow it after passage) has helped intensify the increasingly enflamed atmosphere of national division in Canada. Chauvinist backlash against the federal government's bilingualism program in English Canada, combined with the election of the bourgeois-nationalist PQ government in Quebec last fall, have laid the basis for this rapid escalation of nationalist conflict.

The introduction of the new language legislation was denounced by the English-Canadian bourgeoisie as a deliberate provocation by the Quebec government, designed to create a climate of English-French confrontation and so increase the PQ's chances of winning a referendum on independence. In the period immediately following the PQ victory, the preferred tactic of federalist politicians and the bourgeois media was to seek to undercut support for independence through "decentralizing" concessions giving Quebec more provincial powers.

However since the introduction of the language bill, positions have hardened, and trenches are being dug (continued on page 3)

PDC Fund Drive in High Gear

Over \$6,000 Collected for Fernando Marcos' Eye Operation

As the campaign being conducted by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) to raise \$10,000 for a crucial eye operation for a Chilean trade-union leader in exile goes into its second month, over \$6,000 has been raised. This welcome response to the fund appeal has made available to Fernando Marcos the last chance to save his eyesight which was lost as a result of an explosion of industrial supplies in a Chilean foundry.

Support for the campaign has been wide-ranging, with New York City leading the way. A letter from a trade unionist in Australia echoes the determination of the PDC and its supporters to make this fund drive a success:

"I hope to be able to raise some more money from friends and fellow unionists over the next few weeks.... I wish brother Marcos success in his treatment. I commend the PDC for its work which demonstrates against the sneers and abuse of skeptics that the workers movement can defend itself against the power of capital.

In solidarity,
R. L. H. "

In the U. S., unionists have also come to the aid of their class brother, with individual workers making donations, in particular at the Mahwah, N.J. auto plant where over \$75 was collected on the line by PDC supporters. A note enclosed by a phone worker, along with a second donation to the campaign, reads: "I am sending this contribution because I want brother Fernando to get his vision restored. We all need his eyes as much as he does." A meeting of the Hispanic Labor Council in Chicago heard a PDC presentation on the case and nearly \$50 was collected. In Canada, this same solidarity has been expressed, with a national union sending in a \$50 contribution.

Other supporters of Marcos' cause have been political organizations which, in the spirit of anti-sect-

.....
Enclosed please find my contribution of \$ _____ to aid the campaign on behalf of Fernando Marcos. (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee and earmark "Marcos Fund.")
Enclosed please find my contribution of \$ _____ to aid the work of the PDC

Name _____

Address _____

City/Province _____

.....
Make checks out/mail to: Partisan Defense Committee,
Box 633, Canal St. Station, New York, N. Y. 10013.
.....

tarian defense, have sent contributions or publicized the fund drive in their press. This is in sharp contrast to a feminist, writing on the letterhead of the Vancouver Status of Women to the PDC: "You keep sending me materials on Chilean prisoners being freed. I do not wish to contribute more \$ until you free some ♀ prisoners."

Not only factually inaccurate with regard to the defense work of the PDC, this letter exemplifies defense work poisoned by sectarian class-collaboration--the degenerated traditions which the PDC struggles to root out. Perhaps the Vancouver Status of Women should take a lesson from the fact that one of the first contributors to the Marcos fund drive was a veteran of the suffragist movement in the U. S.

College professors and students have been an important source of funds for the campaign. Church groups, legal workers, Latin American support groups, supporters of the Committee to Save Mario Munoz as well as subscribers to Workers Vanguard, have also made valuable contributions on behalf of Marcos.

Notable was a social gathering recently held in New Jersey, where friends interested in hearing about the defense work of the PDC and particularly the Marcos cause raised over \$300 toward the \$10,000 goal.

Basing its work on the traditions of the International Labor Defense (ILD) under its founder James P. Cannon and the sterling defense record of the Spartacist League, the PDC welcomes the letter of a supporter in Cleveland: "...Not since the days of the ILD have we seen in this country the kind of vigorous international class struggle defense campaigns that the PDC now wages."

Support the fund drive for Fernando Marcos today --assist the PDC in reaching its goal of \$10,000! Only \$4,000 more to go. Support today can indeed make the difference. In summing up the campaign, we quote from a letter from the PDC to the editor of the New Haven Advocate (6 April 1977):

"Despite recent cosmetic actions, the Chilean generals continue to imprison, torture and murder thousands of political opponents both within the country's borders and around the world (e. g., Orlando Letelier). Restoring the sight of Fernando Marcos would be both a symbolic victory for all the far-flung South American leftist refugees and a material contribution to the struggle against the junta."

by the Partisan Defense Committee

The PDC is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization, which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

LANGUAGE BILL ...

(continued from page 1)

ing dug for the war over Confederation. Lévesque has long held out the olive branch of an economic association (including free trade and a common currency) between an independent capitalist Quebec and the rest of Canada in order to attract support for independence from wary Québécois businessmen. Yet in late April both Ontario Premier William Davis and Trudeau warned the Quebec premier that Canadian agreement to such an association was not to be expected. Said Davis on April 21:

"It would be absolutely foolhardy for Quebec to believe it can be independent and still have an economic association with the rest of Canada."
--New York Times, 27 April

A week later, the federal Corporate Affairs Department published statistics revealing that no less than 91 companies had moved their head offices out of the province in the first four months after the PQ victory. The distinct message of Davis, Trudeau and Co. was that, if the PQ persisted with its language charter and other nationalist projects leading toward independence, the flight of capital from the province would only intensify.

ANTI-FRENCH DISCRIMINATION AND NATIONALIST REACTION

The PQ bill contains certain obvious democratic reforms, such as the unconditional right to use the French language at work. Despite an overwhelmingly French-speaking work force, workers in many industries are forced to work in English. This blatant discrimination has been the target of a number of significant strikes during the 1970's, notably at the General Motors plant at Ste-Thèrese and at Firestone in Joliette. Furthermore, unilingual workers who must use French on the job are generally forced into low-wage categories.

However the basic thrust of the new legislation is chauvinist--a nationalist reaction to anti-French discrimination. It seeks to defend the Québécois "national identity" through discrimination against minority languages and cultures--particularly English. Quebec Minister of Cultural Development Camille Laurin (the minister responsible for the language charter) as much as admitted this, when he told a news conference in Hull that "bilingualism will be replaced by a new state of affairs in which Quebec will be as French as Ontario is English" (Globe and Mail, 5 April).

Thus in the same way that Ontario discriminates against its French-speaking minorities, Quebec will discriminate against its own non-French-speakers--both English-speaking and immigrant. English is not simply the language of a tiny coterie of Westmount bourgeois, but is the language of hundreds of thousands of working people in Quebec, particularly in Montreal.

For the PQ, the only way to defend the language rights of the oppressed Québécois nation within a capitalist Canada is to discriminate against the minority in Quebec--even if this minority constitutes twenty percent of the population. From a bourgeois-nationalist stance, this position has a certain logic. Quebec is a tiny French-speaking enclave sandwiched between the much larger English-speaking regions of Canada and the United States. The Québécois nation constitutes only a tiny minority--some two or three percent--of the North American population, and English is the dominant language of economic intercourse.

Particularly since WWII, Quebec has become highly integrated into the North American capitalist economy. Unless necessarily discriminatory measures are taken to strengthen the French language and culture in Quebec, the inexorable forces of the North American market economy will gradually eat away at the Québécois national character. This will lead to the gradual displacement of the French language in North America and to the eventual assimilation of the Québécois nation.

For a bourgeois nationalist, therefore, the task becomes to "defend national culture." However proletarian internationalists seek to forge fighting class unity against capitalism by opposing all discrimination and oppression. For a socialist organization to support the use of discriminatory and anti-democratic legislation, in order to defend the Québécois culture and language, would be to act as a disgusting apologist for bourgeois nationalism. It would have nothing in common with the program of Marxism.

QUEBEC AFTER WWII

The language legislation White Paper contains a long chapter entitled "The situation of the French language in Quebec" which demonstrates the gradual erosion of French in the province. As Quebec enjoyed its rapid and belated industrialization in the post-WWII period, the development of industry led to an influx of immigrants from southern Europe and an internal migration from the country to the cities and larger towns.

Since Quebec is highly integrated into the over-
(continued on page 4)

CORRECTION

The list of endorsers of the petition protesting the League for Socialist Action's undemocratic exclusion of two Trotskyist League supporters from its public forums, reprinted in SC No. 14 (March), should have described L. R. Whitney as a member, rather than a founder, of the Trotskyist Youth Movement of the 1930's.

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LANGUAGE BILL ...

(continued from page 3)

whelmingly English-speaking North American political economy, and since most Quebec industry is owned by English-Canadian (46 percent of industrial capital) and U.S. (40 percent) businesses, English became the dominant language of work and opportunity. Thus Greek and Italian immigrants tended to shun the French language in order to learn English (which also gives them the possibility of leaving low-wage, high-unemployment Quebec to seek work elsewhere in North America. Thus they tended to assimilate gradually into the English-speaking population. From 1961 to 1971, the English-speaking population of Quebec increased by 100,000, while the French-speaking population gained only 4,000.

So long as Quebec remains within a united capitalist Canada--and thus an integral part of the North American political economy--its primary language of economic intercourse will necessarily remain English, and the use of the French language will continue to erode. Only complete independence, combined with a turn toward reliance on France--the economic, political and cultural center of the French-speaking world--can temporarily forestall the dictates of the marketplace. Thus Lévesque, preparing for the future, recently dispatched an "ambassador" to visit Paris, where he received a warm welcome from French government officials.

NATIONALIST PROGRAM VS. BOURGEOIS ECONOMIC NECESSITY

But even complete independence for a bourgeois Quebec will not bring an end to the erosion of French in North America. Certainly an independent Quebec could adopt extremely autarkic economic and political policies, cutting the country loose from the mainstream of North America, and likely leading to a significant deterioration in its economy. But this program for creating a unilingual French economic backwater would hardly gain widespread bourgeois support, and is of course not the goal of the PQ.

Rather Lévesque and Co. wish to achieve political independence, shore up the French language as much as is practicable, and reunify with the rest of the continent in an economic association. The language of economic and political intercourse in such an association would again--necessarily--be English. Thus, as Lévesque explained to reporters in Quebec City on April 28, once Quebec became independent it would no longer need discriminatory language legislation, since bilingualism would be necessary for bourgeois economic development:

"I think it's inevitable that as long as we're in a provincial context we have to legislate....

"If the answer [to a referendum] leads us to self-government, sovereignty, then a lot of this haggling over language is going to rather quickly disappear. In the meantime, we do have to legislate..."

--Globe and Mail, 29 April

The program of the Irish nationalist rebellion

early in the twentieth century included a call for reinstating Gaelic as the national language of the Irish people. Following the revolution, Gaelic was accordingly reintroduced after centuries of increasing disuse. However the dictates of bourgeois economic necessity ensured that the Gaelic language--despite its cosmetic addition to street signs and names of government departments--would never take hold as a flourishing language of political and economic intercourse. The language of Ireland, despite independence, remains the language of the conquering people, English.

In Quebec, use of the French language has not eroded to anything approaching the extent to which Gaelic had eroded in pre-WWI Ireland. Furthermore, French, unlike Gaelic, is a flourishing and important international language. However the extreme relative weakness of French on the North American continent vis-à-vis English, means that the same laws of economic necessity will take hold

LE BOLCHEVIK



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in an independent bourgeois Quebec as in an independent bourgeois Ireland. This does not, of course, negate the support given by Marxists to Ireland's independence, nor Quebec's right to independence from Canada. It is simply a measure of the relative economic marginality of these nations in the advanced capitalist world.

FROM BILL 22 TO THE LANGUAGE CHARTER

But for the PQ today, the chief task is to maintain its popularity in Quebec and further the climate of nationalist confrontation, in order to ensure its victory in a referendum on separatism. Thus its language proposals are more nationalist than those of the previous language legislation, the Liberal Bourassa government's Bill 22 of 1973.

Bill 22 maintained restricted access to the English-language school system for any children who could pass a language test. However the Lévesque/Laurin legislation simply denies access to English schools for all but the children of English-speakers already in the province and immigrants who have at least one child enrolled in an English school. By abolishing the language tests, the new legislation is actually less discriminatory for some immigrants now resident in Quebec. Thus, unlike Bill 22, it has generally

received either passive support or indifference in the immigrant communities.

The new language charter, like Bill 22, maintains the separate privileged English school system--in fact it ensures that it will become even more privileged, by virtually eliminating access to it for all but those presently enrolled. This English-language school system should be abolished--but not to be replaced by a unilingual French system, as nationalist zealots in the PQ "left" wing and the fake-Trotskyist League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO) would have it. Rather it must be incorporated into a single, state-run secular school system with bilingual (where necessary, multilingual) instruction, under teacher-student-worker control.

Bilingualism--the right of any person to work, be educated and receive government services in the language of his choice--is a genuinely democratic solution to the language question in Canada, including in Quebec. However, because the only means of obstructing the economically-engendered erosion of French in Quebec is through discriminatory pro-French and anti-English legislation, bilingualism has always been opposed by the Québécois petty-bourgeois nationalist movement. Thus it has, within a capitalist context, been a failure.

The erosion of the French language has fueled the discontent of the petty-bourgeoisie, whose professional jobs (teaching, broadcasting, publishing, etc.) are disappearing, and whose upward mobility in management and the civil service (which must speak the language of the bourgeoisie they serve) is blocked. In the absence of a genuine working class leadership, the Québécois proletariat has identified its plight with that of the petty-bourgeoisie, and its tremendous militancy has been diverted into nationalist channels.

LANGUAGE RIGHTS AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION

Communists are the most consistent defenders of the rights of the oppressed. Thus we support unconditionally the right of the Québécois nation to self-determination, i. e., to independence, and will stand with Quebec against any attempts by the federal government to deny this right. Indeed, as French-English nationalist tensions increase, in the near future the only way to combat nationalism and forge effective proletarian unity may well be through independence for Quebec.

Furthermore, we stand against all discriminatory legislation--including discriminatory legislation ostensibly aimed at protecting the rights of an oppressed nation. Just as we oppose all linguistic discrimination against French-speakers throughout Canada, so we oppose the new Quebec language charter, which in the name of "defending national culture" (the reactionary watchword of nationalist bigots everywhere) contains discriminatory and anti-democratic attacks on non-French-speaking minorities.

The bourgeois outcry against the new language

legislation in English Canada is disgustingly hypocritical and, at root, chauvinist. It systematically ignores the real oppression--both national and linguistic--of the Québécois, and the privilege enjoyed by the English language in Quebec. Communists must denounce this chauvinist campaign of the capitalist magnates, and the support it has received from their minions who lead the English-Canadian labor movement.

But for proletarian internationalists, defense of the right to national self-determination does not mean support to the chauvinism of the oppressed. It does not mean defending the new language legislation, as the vicarious Quebec nationalists of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and the LSA/LSO would have it. Nor does it mean denouncing the PQ for "inconsistent" national-chauvinism, as do these two groups with their call for a completely "unilingual French Quebec." By coming out in defense of the new language law, the RMG and LSA/LSO demonstrate that they have embraced even the most reactionary aspects of Quebec nationalism, and have totally rejected the Leninist program.

Lenin unalterably opposed the "consecration of nationalism," and heaped scorn upon those "socialists" who would defend the "national culture" of minority nations in the Tsarist empire. While calling for full and equal democratic language rights and the right of all nations to self-determination, Lenin wrote:

"The proletariat, however, far from undertaking to uphold the national development of every nation, on the contrary warns the masses against such illusions, stands for the fullest freedom of capitalist intercourse and welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations, except that which is founded on force or privilege."

--"Critical Remarks on the National Question," 1913

And, in regard to the question of language rights, Lenin stood forthrightly against any support to reactionary unilingualism, including in the oppressed nations of Great Russia:

"The national programme of working class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language.... Working-class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of all nationalities in all working-class organizations...."

--ibid.

Lenin would hardly have minced words in condemning pre-1917 partisans of an "independent unilingual Ukraine"!

Only the fullest unity of all North American proletarians--regardless of language and nationality--can lay the basis for a successful struggle against the capitalist system. Against English-chauvinism and Québécois nationalist reaction, the Trotskyist League counterposes full and equal democratic language and national rights for all in the fight for North American socialist revolution. ■

RMG Embraces Feminism, Slanders Bolshevik Work Among Women

An April 15 Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) forum in Toronto on "The Fight for Women's Liberation Today" drew the usual motley klatch of RMG supporters and a sprinkling of representatives from the League for Socialist Action (LSA). No doubt the LSAers were curious to hear what their political fiancé would have to say on an issue over which the two groups have often quarreled in the past.

The main speaker for the RMG, Jackie Larkin, apologized for her lack of preparation and warned that she might leave out a central political point or two. After a long rambling discourse which tried even the patience of her supporters, Larkin, as she had feared, did indeed leave out some central political points. She presented a long-winded, two-stage, spontaneist saga of rising female consciousness, beginning with the first stage of petty-bourgeois feminism, passing through the second stage of "proletarian" feminism, and culminating in an epiphany of Reichian "polymorphous sensuality." In this sentient ascent through a feminist Paradisio Larkin "forgot" the central political point: the role of the Leninist vanguard. Likewise, the speaker gave an extensive catalogue of the crimes of Stalinism and the oppression of women in the deformed and degenerated workers states, but again "forgot" to mention the Trotskyist principle of unconditional military defense of these states.

The discussion period demonstrated that Larkin's political amnesia was not due to lack of preparation, but was entirely consistent with the RMG's present political motion. "Forgetting" the Leninist vanguard is to be expected from those trained in the Pabloite school in which the Leninist vanguard is subordinated, liquidated and otherwise conveniently "forgotten," in favor of some other program than Leninism and some other class than the proletariat. Likewise, in "forgetting" the Trotskyist position of revolutionary defensism of the deformed/degenerated workers states, Larkin was only keeping in step with the RMG's recent turn to becoming the "best builder" and most "consistent" fighter for U. S. President Carter's imperialist, anti-communist "human rights" crusade. (See article, page 8, this issue.)

"FEMINISM, THEN, IS NECESSARILY
COUNTERPOSED TO MARXISM"

The RMG had its political origins in the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT), a left-centrist split from the LSA. As it crawls back into the LSA today, the RMG is readopting, one-by-one, the characteristic anti-Marxist tenets of reformism that it had previously repudiated.

For example, "Feminism or Scientific Socialism -- Which Road to Women's Liberation?", the basic document of the RCT on the woman question, stated

categorically: "Feminism, then, is necessarily counterposed to Marxism." Larkin's forum served as a bridge from the RCT/RMG's earlier anti-feminism to the craven, sub-reformist bourgeois feminism of the LSA and its American big "sister," the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Just how far down this bridge the RMG has travelled was indicated in the April 8 issue of the Old Mole. In the same issue in which the RMG upbraids imperialist chief Jimmy Carter for being insufficiently forthright and assertive on behalf of Soviet and Eastern European dissidents, there appears on the back page a lachrymose "Requiem" for the defunct feminist paper The Other Women, which begins: "It is time to pay tribute to a sister who has passed away."

Nonetheless, no matter how inevitable the RMG's return to the reformist fold, repentance is not without its little hesitations and agonies; the RMG is not yet ready to swallow in one gulp all the crimes of the LSA and SWP. For Larkin, petty-bourgeois feminism embodied in papers like The Other Women is the "sister who has passed away" only to give birth to an all-new female "mass vanguard" spontaneously emerging from the labor movement.

But the RMG claims that its "proletarian" feminist "vanguard" will not be like the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in the U. S., for which the SWP served as uncritical publicity agent and "best builder." During the forum, a well-known RMG supporter in the University of Toronto library workers union denounced CLUW as a tool of the trade union bureaucracy--to the unspoken consternation of the LSAers present. Also left unsaid was how the sort of formation which the RMG hopes for, will spontaneously "emerge" from the labor movement... and how a "fused" RMG-LSA would intervene in it. Clearly more contrition from the RMG will be needed before such a "fusion" takes place. After sufficient

Women and Revolution



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contrition, no doubt CLUW and similar formations will look better to RMG "left" critics.

HOW THE RMG RENDERS MARXISM MORE "PROFOUND" BY BELITTLING THE BOLSHEVIKS

When taken to task during the discussion by a speaker for the Trotskyist League, another RMGer was forced to admit that indeed it was a "serious mistake" for Comrade Larkin to "forget" about the Leninist party. She then proceeded to compound and magnify the "serious mistake," repeating crude, bourgeois-feminist and anti-communist calumnies against the Bolsheviks which apparently pass for home-truths within the RMG and its international mentors in the United Secretariat.

The Bolsheviks, it appears, had an inadequate theory of sexual repression and women's oppression. It is true that the Bolsheviks did not put out a "journal" like *Jailbreak* for sexually repressed adolescents as did the ever "liberated" RMG. In fact, the



E. P. Dutton

TADZHIK MOUNTAIN WOMEN AT EARLY SOVIET SCHOOL FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF ILLITERACY.

Bolsheviks (like the RCT) counterposed building a communist women's movement to the autonomous bourgeois and petty-bourgeois movements into which the RMG (like the Mensheviks) seeks to jump (or at least write "Requiems" for). After all, the RMG is ever so much more contemporary, more "with-it" than those products of Victorian prudery, Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Thus this New Left, countercultural "revolutionary" sect in wealthy, bourgeois-democratic Canada pours scorn on the Bolsheviks--who with courage, dedication and intransigence, under the most difficult of conditions in "backward, barefoot" and predominantly agrarian Tsarist Russia, fought to break the chains shackling women. And they fought not only against capitalism, but against capitalism compounded by national oppression, religious obscurantism, desperate peasant backwardness and poverty and semi-feudal social relations.

The Bolsheviks won not only the very best, most talented and politically advanced women to the party, they won the overwhelming majority of working women to their banner and leadership--i. e., they won them to communism. Through participation in the mass struggles of working women the Bolsheviks were able to launch a journal for Communist work among women, *Rabotnitsa*, on International Women's Day, 1914. Suppressed during World War I, *Rabotnitsa* reappeared in May 1917 to serve as an organizer of working women during the politically tumultuous period leading up to the October Revolution. Coinciding with the October Revolution itself, *Rabotnitsa* organized the first All-City Conference of Petrograd Working Women attended by 500 delegates representing 80,000 predominantly non-party working women.

After the Bolshevik seizure of power, the very first pieces of legislation to be enacted were directed at the emancipation of women. This legislation called upon a backward country ravished by three years of imperialist slaughter to mobilize its meager resources to provide for the socialization of housework and childcare and the equalization of educational and vocational opportunities. The commitment of the Bolsheviks to the emancipation of women and the concomitant authority and support the Bolsheviks had among women throughout Russia (including in the oppressed nations of the Muslim East) was demonstrated by the participation in the All-Russian Conference of Working and Peasant Women called for November 1918 in Moscow. To build for this conference the Bolshevik women's sections sent agitators and organizers throughout Russia. Under the extreme conditions of poverty, economic dislocation and turmoil of imperialist boycott and civil war only 300 delegates were expected to be able to attend. But interest and enthusiasm was so great that 1,147 showed up.

The October Revolution is the greatest single episode in the history of humanity, not least because it raised millions of women toilers up from barbarous social oppression. The great crimes of Stalin in reversing the gains women made under the impact of October will be avenged by the victorious proletarian political revolution which sweeps aside the parasitic bureaucratic castes in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states. Following the political revolution, coupled with the socialist revolution in the capitalist countries, the international proletariat will march forward united to erect a socialist society, in which the oppression of women and all forms of social oppression will be wiped from the earth. What is required for this noble effort is what was forgotten in Larkin's presentation: a revolutionary leadership, part of a reborn Fourth International, steeled in the rich lessons of October and committed to the defense of the gains of October. On the road to socialist revolution the ever-"relevant" sects like the RMG will be swept into the irrelevance of the proverbial dustbin, a fate these slanderers of Bolshevism so richly deserve. ■

RMG Cheers Carter's Cold-War Crusade

DEFEND THE GAINS OF OCTOBER!

U. S. Commander-in-Chief and born-again Baptist Jimmy Carter's crusade for "human rights"--like the earlier campaigns of Woodrow Wilson and FDR on a similar theme--is serving to whip up chauvinist hatred toward the "totalitarian" enemy. It is the ideological drumbeat by which popular sentiment is being mobilized for the next imperialist war.

Of course Carter's concern for "human rights" is aimed almost exclusively at those countries where the capitalist exploitation of the working masses has been eliminated. On those countries where U. S. imperialism's struggle for the "freedom" of capitalist exploitation has been successful, such as Indonesia, South Korea, Iran and Chile, the former lieutenant to ax-wielding racist Georgia Governor Maddox remains silent. Clearly, Carter's crusade is to bring the "democracy" of Suharto, Park, the Shah and Pinochet to Warsaw, Budapest, Prague and to the Kremlin itself.

In the context of Carter's imperialist, anti-communist Cold War-mongering crusade, it is vital to reaffirm the Trotskyist principle of unconditional defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialist attack or capitalist restoration. In all these countries the parasitic bureaucracies, by systematically denying even the most fundamental democratic rights to the working masses, provide an incalculable service to counterrevolutionary forces. But these bureaucrats must be removed by the workers of these countries through proletarian political revolution, not by appeals to sanguine imperialist war-mongers.

However the response of most of the ostensibly Trotskyist left has been very different. They have met Carter's escalation of Cold War rhetoric (corresponding to an escalation of Cold War diplomacy and the U. S. military apparatus) by abandoning the Trotskyist principle of revolutionary defensism and rushing after his "crusade."

Such despicable behavior might be expected from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which calls on the racist U. S. courts to "uphold democracy" in the labor movement and pleads for imperialist troops to intervene in Boston on behalf of "civil rights." SWP Presidential candidate Peter Camejo told the U. S. House of Representatives Intelligence Committee on 18 November 1975 that his party is "opposed to totalitarian regimes everywhere in the world, whether in the USSR or Spain." All that is left for these preachers of "consistent democracy"



IMPERIALIST CHIEF CARTER

is to call on Carter to send federal troops or missiles to Moscow to enforce "democratic rights."

FROM HO CHI-MINH
TO BUKOVSKY, SAKHAROV AND AMALRIK

One might have expected a different response, however, from the SWP's sometime left critics in the United Secretariat (USec) majority tendency and their representatives in English-speaking Canada, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). When the popularity of the Vietnamese Stalinist-led resistance to U. S. imperialism was at its height, the RMG, like its USec mentors, would wrap itself up in NLF flags and chant paeans to the butcher of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, Ho Chi-Minh. (Of course, at the same time the RMG's "fraternal" relatives in the U. S., the SWP, were busy ripping down NLF flags and excluding RMG-like contingents from its social-pacifist peace parades. The SWP was ensuring that such parades would be "respectable" enough to be addressed directly by the political representatives of the U. S. imperialists.)

Now in its "fusion" courtship of the SWP's Canadian sister group, the League for Socialist Action (LSA), the RMG has put away its NLF flags, conveniently disappeared any pretense to the Trotskyist principle of revolutionary defensism, and rushed headlong to be in the vanguard of Jimmy Carter's anti-communist "human rights" crusade. A recent article in the now-defunct *Old Mole* (8 April), entitled "Carter's Snow-job for Dissidents," criticizes not the imperialist hypocrisy and Cold War hysteria behind the Carter crusade, but the fact that his campaign is not sufficiently militant, thor-

ough, open and outspoken. In other words, the RMG attacks the imperialist chieftain from the right.

The article begins by bemoaning the fact that workers have "been sitting on the sidelines while US President Jimmy Carter is out making political hay in his verbal duel over 'human rights' with Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev." Does the RMG call on the working class to join Carter's threshing operation? Can we expect to see the RMG, scythe in hand, in the front ranks of the imperialist armies, should they decide to mow through Moscow to enforce "human rights"?

The RMG calls on "socialists and workers in the West" to "actively build support campaigns" for Soviet dissidents, but we are never told how these campaigns would differ from Carter's. Perhaps they would be more thorough--for the RMG's major criticism of Carter's anti-communist crusade is that he does not go far enough! True, he granted an audience to Bukovsky, the article notes approvingly. But "the president pulled the covers over the private meeting, banning press attendance and not even allowing himself to be photographed with Bukovsky"!

Apparently, if imperialist chief Carter had allowed himself to be photographed with Bukovsky, this would, according to the fake-Trotskyist RMG, have advanced the cause of "democracy" in the degenerated and deformed workers states. But there is no classless "democracy," as even the RMG, en route to liquidation back into the LSA, may recall. Such a photo would have served imperialist "democracy," not workers democracy.

As if condemning his refusal to pose with Bukovsky was not enough, Carter's new policy advisers from the Old Mole take his Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, to task because on a SALT-related trip to Moscow he "refused a meeting requested by Sakharov and other dissidents in order not to jeopardize the 'real' business at hand." But in demanding that Carter "link" SALT with "human rights" the RMG stands with Carter's right-wing critics in the bourgeois establishment--like that friend of the Pentagon Henry Jackson, or that reactionary mouthpiece for the would-be Tories of U.S. imperialism, the National Review.

The Old Mole article concentrates on right-wing dissidents like Sakharov, Bukovsky and Amalrik, without mentioning their pro-imperialist and anti-communist views. Yet all three call on U.S. imperialism to use economic sanctions to force the Soviet Union to make concessions on "human rights." Amalrik has denounced Kissinger as the "strategist of retreat."

At a March 5 "human rights" rally in New York (which drew a large contingent of East European fascists), Bukovsky to the enthusiastic delight of the audience stated that "totalitarianism is a direct consequence of the communist idea." Of course, Soviet dissidents do not receive personal letters from the President of the U.S. or personal invitations to visit the White House unless they have already proven their value for Cold War propaganda.

Those courageous dissidents who would defend the

Soviet Union and the deformed workers states from imperialism, who criticize Stalinism from the left --like former Red Army general Pyotr Grigorenko --receive scant notice in the bourgeois press. Carter would never concern himself with their persecution. The Old Mole article does not attack Carter for that. It does not even mention dissidents like Grigorenko in its haste to uncritically tail after and build a platform for anti-communist dissident Bukovsky.

WHO ARE THE REAL "SCHACHTMANITES" (SIC) AND STALINOPHOBES?

Whatever friendly and comradely criticisms the RMG may have of Carter's "human rights" crusade, it apes him in the "art" of hypocrisy and political dishonesty. Three years ago the RMG published for its co-thinkers in the U.S., the Internationalist Tendency (IT), which had then recently been expelled by the SWP, a document entitled: "Spartacist League: Anatomy of a Sect." Among other slanders and lies, the document charges the Spartacist League/U.S. with Stalinophobia and "Schachtmanism" (sic). (The consistent mis-spelling of Max Shachtman's name in the document demonstrates that the RMG's political literacy is in keeping with its commitment to political veracity.)

According to "Anatomy of a Sect":

"The Spartacists' conception of deformed workers states as being only slightly 'superior' to capitalism, and qualitatively inferior to healthy workers' states, leads to the same kind of sectarian third campism in practice."

Nowhere does the RMG/IT cite a document demonstrating that the SL holds that deformed workers states are "only slightly superior to capitalism"--because no such document exists! Instead, the RMG creates a shoddy amalgam that would make even Vyshinsky blush. The only word in quotes is "superior"--and indeed the SL and international Spartacist tendency (iSt) certainly do hold that the states where capitalism has been expropriated are qualitatively "superior" to those states where it has not.

Further, the SL and iSt do hold that deformed workers states are qualitatively inferior to healthy workers states. Under the bureaucratic regimes that exist in Eastern Europe, China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea, the working masses are denied even basic democratic rights, and every effort at proletarian self-organization (not least by Trotsky-

(continued on page 11)

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CPL Flip-Flops on Quebec

Following the election of the Parti Québécois government last November, a headline in The Worker (3 December 1976), paper of the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour (CPL), blasted "'Greet' P.Q. With Class War." The article then proceeded to restate CPL's long-standing national-chauvinist denial of Quebec's right to independence:

"Communists must fight for and respect the right of nations to self-determination; a right, by the way, that Quebec does not have. . . . Though we are devoted to the right of nations of self-determination, at the same time we must argue vigorously against any separation of Quebec and English Canada, for this would only erect a further division between the working class we are striving so hard to unite."

--our emphasis

Such abstract "devotion" to national rights is no stronger than that of the right-wing social democrats in the New Democratic Party and the "left" Canadian nationalists who deny Quebec's right to independence.

The ardent defense of Canadian independence and "national unity" against U. S. imperialism and Quebec separatism inevitably drives these social-chauvinists into the same camp as the prairie red-necks and "Canada Firsters," who advocate the forcible suppression of any attempt by Quebec to achieve independence. Just as the Maoists' claim that "Soviet social-imperialism" is the "main enemy" leads them to call for the strengthening of NATO and the Canadian Armed Forces, CPL's argument that the unity of the working class can only be achieved in a unified Canadian state has its logical consequence. Should the need arise, CPL would have to support the Canadian army's "vigorous arguments" against Lévesque's attempts to "erect a further division" in the Canadian state.

Communists have always fought against the nationalist ideologies with which the ruling class has attempted to erect barriers to the unity of the international working class. However, Lenin and the Bolsheviks, striving to forge proletarian unity in the Tsar's "prison house of peoples," recognized that national divisions can only be overcome through a sensitive policy which demands equality for all races and nationalities, and recognizes the right of any nation to form an independent state.

If national tensions continue to rise in Quebec, it may become necessary for Leninists to go beyond defending the right to self-determination to actively advocate independence in order that the national question may be removed from the agenda and the class conflict may come once more to the fore. CPL's denial of Quebec's national rights could only exacerbate national antagonisms and further divide the French- and English-speaking workers.

The only other ostensibly revolutionary grouping to adopt such a brazenly reactionary stance as CPL was the handful of Healyites who parade as the

Workers League of Canada. But while the Workers League's "political" work is limited to GPU-agent baiting, CPL is attempting to build a niche for itself in the working class through economist trade union work.

The organization's position on Quebec must certainly have hindered the campaigns of its small Montreal branch for fake-mass unity on the basis of sub-reformist demands. Faced with the prospect of continued total isolation from the militant Québécois working class, CPL has recently made an abrupt 180 degree line change. The March 18 issue of The Worker affirms that only "recognition of the right to separation. . . can ensure unity among Quebec and English-Canadian workers.

CPL's history contains a series of equally dramatic and opportunist flip-flops. Starting out as a left-Stalinist movement, CPL and its American big brother, the Progressive Labor Party (PL), initially supported China in the Sino-Soviet split, then broke empirically to the left over the national question and the two-stage theory of revolution. Having abandoned Maoism, CPL now declares that China, like the Soviet Union, is "fascist." While Khrushchev is reputed to have restored capitalism in the USSR with his "secret" speech to the Twentieth Party Congress, it seems that part of Nixon's baggage during his visit to China in 1971 was capitalist property relations.

Left without a "glorious socialist fatherland" (a vexing dilemma for those who hold the anti-Marxist theory of "socialism in one country"), PL and CPL have become nationally-limited, economist Stalinoid sects. With the rise of national antagonisms between Quebec and English Canada, the issue of Quebec's right to self-determination has become too close to home for even CPL to ignore.

But while the CPL leadership has opportunistically come to the conclusion that it can no longer ignore the national oppression of the Québécois, there is apparently resistance to the line change in the ranks of the organization. The April issue of The Worker carries a letter from a Hamilton CPLer which expresses concern over "the resurrection of the slogan 'the right of nations to self-determination.'"

The author of the letter appeals to Stalin against Lenin, arguing that Lenin was wrong to reject the slogan for the "right of the working class to self-determination." He reveals the depth of his accommodation to the chauvinism of English-speaking workers (and the logic of CPL's former position) when he refuses to defend Quebec against military intervention by Ottawa, calling instead on workers on

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both sides to "turn the guns around"--as if Quebec were another imperialist power, not an oppressed nation!

The real architect of the "self-determination for the working people" slogan was Bukharin, though Stalin did briefly support what was for a time a popular concept. At the Eighth Party Congress in 1919, however, Lenin aggressively and successfully opposed the attempt to incorporate it into the new party program. In his address to the congress, he argued:

"To reject the self-determination of nations and insert the self-determination of the working people would be absolutely wrong, because this manner of settling the question does not reckon with the difficulties, with the zigzag course taken by differentiation within nations."

--"Report on the Party Program," Collected Works, vol. 29

The militancy of the Quebec proletariat is obviously closely linked to its consciousness of its centuries-long national oppression. Undoubtedly, the nationalist petty-bourgeoisie has the support of large sectors of the French-speaking working class, because the problem of national oppression is a real one, the leadership of the English-Canadian labor movement has never recognized Quebec's national rights, and there is no visible proletarian-

OCTOBER...

(continued from page 9)

ists) has been ruthlessly crushed. The deformed and degenerated workers states are qualitatively inferior to the only healthy workers state, the early Soviet Union under Lenin and Trotsky, where workers rule rested on soviet democracy and inner-party democracy. The deformed workers states are qualitatively similar to the Soviet Union after the Stalinist degeneration of the October Revolution, i. e., after soviet and party democracy were crushed.

The RMG and its mentors in the Pabloist United Secretariat will have trouble claiming that there is no qualitative difference between, say, China and the Soviet Union of Lenin and Trotsky, at a time when China pursues domestic and international policies which are if anything a caricature of counter-revolutionary Stalinism. The Pabloists' failure to see the qualitative difference does, however, account for their long and shameful silence over the plight of the Trotskyists imprisoned (and probably assassinated) in Mao's China.

Among the most hypocritical and dishonest of all the slanders in "Anatomy of a Sect" is the iSt's alleged "sectarian third campism in practice." "Third campism" means the refusal to defend those states where capitalism has been expropriated from imperialist attack or capitalist restoration.

Of course, the iSt has consistently upheld the principle of revolutionary defensism. On the other hand, the RMG has never consistently upheld this position, and most recently, over the question of Soviet dissidents, has totally abandoned it.

To defend its charge of "sectarian third campism

revolutionary alternative leadership. Only by unconditionally upholding the right of Quebec to independence can the English-speaking labor movement strengthen fighting unity with the militant Québécois proletariat.

Rather than representing a "compromise" with nationalism, the Leninist position of upholding the right to self-determination is the only proletarian internationalist means of combatting the bourgeois ideology of nationalism. The struggle against national privilege is aimed at eliminating national antagonisms, the objective basis of popular support to nationalism.

While CPL zig-zags down the reformist road, bending its line to suit its opportunist appetites, the Trotskyist League has consistently upheld this fundamental principle of Leninism. Standing for the equality of nations, the TL dedicates itself to forging a fighting class unity between the Québécois and English-speaking proletariat in the struggle for the North American socialist revolution. ■

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in practice" the RMG, like all revisionists, must attempt to give "third campism" a new meaning. For the RMG "third campists" are those who are not uncritical cheerleaders for the (temporarily) popular Stalinist idols of petty-bourgeois radical public opinion (like Castro and Ho Chi-Minh). Similarly, "Stalinophobes" become those who provide a revolutionary critique of the Cuban and Vietnamese regimes, while at the same time defending the social conquests of the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions.

The RMG/IT "Anatomy" tries to trace the origins of the SL's alleged "Schachtmanism" and Stalinophobia organizationally through the International Committee and the American Schachtmanite movement, back to the Cold War of the 1950's. In fact, a vital part of the heritage of the Spartacist tendency is the decisive importance of the principle of revolutionary defensism in the SL's political development. This was the case both in the split within the SWP's Revolutionary Tendency over the class nature of Cuba, and in the Vietnam War. During the latter, the SL upheld the defense of the Vietnamese Revolution throughout, whereas the SWP's abject capitulation to social-pacifism marked the decisive point in its transition to reformism.

With today's renewal of Cold War anti-communist hysteria--especially over the question of Soviet dissidents--it is the rightward-plummeting RMG that can legitimately be characterized as Stalinophobic, Schachtmanite and "third campist," as it abandons unconditional military defense of the gains of the October Revolution when this has once again become a burning issue in the left and labor movement. ■

B.C. NDP...

(continued from page 16)

paigns and left rhetoric embarrassed the party leadership, particularly when VAC publicly opposed Bill 146, and attempted to swing constituency nominations away from incumbent MLA's who had supported Barrett on Bill 146.

Trapped by its own social-democratic politics and illusions about the possibility of pushing the NDP to implement "socialist" policies, VAC took its temporary organizational success as a substitute for internal cohesion and political clarity. Moreover, its false sense of security was intensified by the growing estrangement (more apparent than real) between the government and some of its left-posturing supporters within the trade union bureaucracy. With the loss of control over the provincial executive in 1974, the VAC retreated into an organizational war of maneuver against the party leadership, which it lost decisively in 1976.

Following the dissolution of the VAC, what remains of the NDP "left" today is largely confined to the Women's Committee--a self-styled "socialist-feminist" pressure group--and the "Open Caucus," an amorphous conglomeration based on five ill-defined, sub-reformist points: democratic decision-making within the party, organization at the municipal level, support for organized labor, for women's rights and "political education." Both of these formations are rapidly decomposing and face a crisis of political perspectives.

The rise and decline of the NDP left in B. C. over the last seven years offers a series of lessons to

serious revolutionary militants. It should shatter any illusions that the NDP can be won to "socialist policies." The right wing of the NDP has been able to consolidate its control despite an ignominious record of betrayal while in office, and despite the efforts of a sizeable opposition within the party striving to replace the incumbent leadership.

Certainly, the NDP may once again give rise to a "broad left wing" like the Waffle. However, without the intervention of Trotskyists to win its best elements to a revolutionary program, such a current will never transcend the reformist framework of social democracy. Unless brought to a clear and conscious understanding of the blood-stained history of social democracy--and the lessons drawn by its left wing, leading to the formation of the Communist International in 1919--any left critics of the party leadership will necessarily be condemned either to reconciliation with the NDP leadership, or to political oblivion.

THE LSA "BUILDS THE NDP"

Trotskyists seek to expose the pro-capitalist leadership of the social-democratic parties, and break any illusions the working class may have that these parties are fighting in their interest. Various tactics, including entry into and critical support to, a social-democratic party, may be used to break the working class base from its social-democratic leadership, and to win the base to a revolutionary party.

However, the record of most of the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in Canada toward the NDP is one of craven capitulation, not of fighting for a communist program. The League for Socialist Action (LSA) is the most vocal advocate of permanent, ongoing work in the NDP (which necessarily entails not struggling for a communist program). Posing as the "best builder" of the NDP, the LSA fosters the illusion that the road to socialism lies not through destroying the party by splitting it, but through strengthening the influence of the social democrats in the working class.

Despite its occasional lip-service to Trotskyism, the LSA has always functioned as a "left" cover for social democracy. Never having struggled in the NDP on the basis of a class-struggle program, the LSA makes entry an end in itself rather than a short-term tactic. Continually tailing one episodically "promising" left current after another, the LSA has completely abandoned the Leninist program, revealing its own social-democratic character. Thus in Ontario, the LSA broke with the Waffle leadership not over the Waffle's Canadian nationalism, nor over its parliamentary cretinism, but--over its desire to leave the NDP!

When NDP provincial governments were elected in Manitoba and Saskatchewan in 1971, the LSA went into paroxysms of Kautskyan delight. At a June 1971 Central Committee plenum, a new strategy was adopted: the "red province strategy," aimed at pressuring the NDP to "put the provincial government at the service of the revolution" (Dick Fidler, "The NDP and the Waffle")!

Failing to win the provincial leaders of the NDP

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AIM Leader Convicted on Frame-Up Charges

Free Leonard Peltier!



LEONARD PELTIER

Indian Nation

American Indian Movement (AIM) militant Leonard Peltier was convicted on April 18 of frame-up murder charges stemming from the 1975 shooting deaths of two FBI agents on South Dakota's Pine Ridge Indian reservation. Although the prosecution has waived the death penalty, Peltier faces possible life imprisonment.

The railroading of Peltier is part of an intensive FBI campaign against AIM which began following the 1973 armed occupation of Wounded Knee. The vendetta continued into the Fargo, N. D., courtroom where, on the recommendation of the U. S. Marshall's office, Peltier was denied the right to a pub-

lic trial for "security reasons."

Peltier was extradited from Canada on the order of Justice Minister Ron Basford late last year following an intensive defense campaign. His conviction adds to the large number of AIM leaders and other Indian militants who have fallen victim to the concerted FBI attempt to destroy the militant Indian movement.

Peltier's lawyers have announced their intention to appeal his case before the courts. The left and labor movement must continue to mount a concerted protest to reverse the racist frame-up of Peltier and to stop the attacks on AIM. Leonard Peltier must go free!

to socialism, the LSA turned to the trade union bureaucracy. After the passage of Bill 146, the LSA urged that the treacherous B. C. Fed leadership "chart a change of course" and "take up responsibility for leading opposition to Barrett within the NDP" (Labor Challenge, 20 October 1975). The pro-capitalist bureaucrats, who counselled strikers to obey the law and return to work and refused to mobilize workers against Bill 146, were the "heroes" called on by the LSA to lead the struggle against Barrett.

When Barrett announced a new election immediately following Bill 146, the LSA quickly rushed to assure him of their support, urging in banner newspaper headlines that the thousands of workers whose strikes were broken simply forgive and forget, and "Vote NDP!" Following the election defeat, the LSA suggested "fraternally" that what the B. C. NDP had to do was simply "change its leadership" and "move to the left" (Labor Challenge, 20 December 1975). The LSA's grovelling before and appeals to the reformist B. C. Fed and NDP misleaders can only serve to further lure working class militants into the blind alley of parliamentary reformism. In contrast, a Trotskyist orientation toward the NDP seeks to expose the pro-capitalist tops and split the party, winning its working class base to the program of socialist revolution.

THE LSA, THE RMG AND THE NDP: "CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM"

In recent months the LSA has been conducting fusion discussions with its pseudo-Trotskyist bed-fellow in the "United" Secretariat, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). The RMG has described

the long-standing differences between the two groups on their orientation toward the NDP as "the major stumbling block" to unity.

However, in a "PC [Political Committee] Statement on our Policy Towards the NDP" (dated 17 February 1977), the RMG leadership indicates that it is prepared to abandon its past opposition to the LSA's disgraceful eye-deep liquidation into the NDP. While it still mildly objects to the LSA's obscene exhortations to "build the NDP," the document criticizes the previous "ultraleftism and syndicalism" of the RMG and pledges to wage a battle against the "spontaneist and sectarian attitudes of the various left currents towards the NDP."

The PC statement codifies the RMG's fundamental capitulation before the right-wing social democracy in a "general policy of critical electoral support to the NDP." Arguing that under conditions of deepening capitalist crisis, the social democracy will inevitably grow rapidly (as has been the case in B. C.), the RMG proposes permanent "critical" support as a strategy for "gaining a hearing" in the working class. By arguing in the statement that such support must be extended to the party all the time (even following mass strikebreaking, as in 1975), the rightward-rushing RMG demonstrates that it has no real difference with the content of the LSA's call to "build the NDP."

The struggle to break the working class in Canada from the treacherous pro-capitalist NDP will not be led by those, like the LSA and RMG, who systematically breed illusions in the social democrats. Both the reformist misleaders and their waterboys will be swept aside as the working class, under the leadership of a Trotskyist party, rises to deal conclusively with the decaying capitalist system. ■

Gangsterism in Cleveland, Cowardice in Toronto

I.S. Flees Own Forum

TORONTO, April 18--The 40 people who turned out tonight for a forum by Nigel Harris, a leading member of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), went home early, following an astonishing display of political cowardice by the forum's sponsors, the International Socialists (I.S.). After delaying the start of the meeting for half an hour, the chairman announced that due to the "unfortunate" presence of 15 members of the "Spartacus [sic] League," the forum would be cancelled. She attempted to justify this political spinelessness with the baseless, slanderous charge that the Trotskyist League "disrupted" not only previous I.S. meetings but also "the revolutionary movement." As the I.S. fled from its own forum, goons carrying baseball bats attempted to clear the hall of all those genuinely interested in political discussion.

Clearly, it is the social-democratic I.S. and its co-thinkers internationally who, unable to defend their despicable history of anti-Soviet "third campism" and wretched trade union opportunism, dis-

Last night Nigel Harris, a leading spokesman for the British Socialist Workers Party (formerly the International Socialists) gave what was advertised as a "public" forum on "The World Crisis" in Cleveland. The forum was sponsored by the most recent victims of a purge in the American International Socialists, the International Socialist Organization. Unlike the American I.S., the ISO claims to retain some sort of "fraternal" relations with the British SWP and Canadian I.S.

At this so-called "public" meeting members and supporters of the Spartacist League/U.S. were physically threatened, attacked and politically excluded by ISO goons. When two SL supporters arrived outside the location of the forum to distribute literature, ISO goons attempted to drive them away, ripping up their newspapers. One comrade was pushed to the ground, his shirt was torn, his papers ripped up and his glasses knocked off. A vigorous protest by SL supporters made it clear that the norms of workers democracy would be maintained, at least outside the ISO meeting. The sales team refused to be intimidated by this despicable attack and continued to exercise their democratic right to distribute literature. An ISO goon, brandishing an ax handle, stood at the entrance to the forum to exclude recognized supporters of the SL. When two people protested the political exclusions and thuggery from the floor of the meeting, ISO goons shoved them out of the meeting and threatened to throw them down the stairs.

In a feeble attempt to justify this cowardly act of political gangsterism and suppression, the ISO resorted to the time-worn Stalinist slander that the SL had "disrupted" a previous Harris forum in Boston. However, it was the ISO who disrupted their

rupt their own forums to escape the accurate and incisive criticisms of the international Spartacist tendency. Harris' current tour to bolster the fortunes of the British SWP's "fraternal" organizations--the Canadian I.S. and the recently-formed International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S.--has been marked by political cowardice, anti-democratic exclusions and outright gangsterism.

We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the TL at the Toronto non-forum which details the flagrant violations of workers democracy perpetrated by the ISO at Harris' appearances in Boston and Cleveland. Apparently the Canadian I.S. refrained from a repetition of the gangsterism of its Cleveland comrades only because it lacked an overwhelming numerical superiority.

The bankruptcy of an organization which refuses to present and defend its views in public is self-evident. It is only fitting that such fatuous political invertebrates should voluntarily remove themselves from contention as leaders of the workers movement.

own forum. When an SL supporter recognized by the chair began to make pointed criticisms of the ISO political heritage in Cold War, anti-Russian "third-camp" Shachtmanism, and wretched trade union opportunism, the chair attempted to cut the speaker off. However, the audience at Harris' Boston forum strongly protested this anti-democratic behavior, forcing the chair to put the question to a vote. The meeting voted to repudiate the bureaucratism of the chair and to uphold the norms of workers democracy. The SL supporter was allowed to finish her remarks within the allotted time. When the chair attempted to cut off a second supporter of the SL

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the protests of the audience, repelled by a repetition of this gross anti-democratic conduct, again permitted the speaker to finish her remarks. Thus, the so-called "disruption" consisted in two SL speakers presenting their viewpoint entirely within the ground rules established for discussion by the ISO itself, and insisting along with a majority of the audience that these rules be applied consistently and fairly.

The "third-camp socialists" like the British SWP and the American and Canadian I.S., bewail the lack of workers democracy in the bureaucratically de-

FREE DWIGHT ARMSTRONG

Drop the Charges Now!

MAY 3--In the spring of 1973 Karleton Armstrong was extradited from Canada to Wisconsin to face arson and murder charges arising out of the August 1970 bombing of the Army Math Research Center at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. The AMRC was destroyed by the explosion and a researcher working in a physics laboratory in the same building was killed. (A telephone call informed police of the impending explosion and warned them to clear the building, but it was ignored.) Karleton pleaded guilty to arson and second-degree murder charges and was sentenced to a prison term of 23 years.

On April 9, Dwight Armstrong, Karleton's brother, was arrested in Toronto and faces extradition to the U. S. for first-degree murder and arson charges arising out of the same incident. When he was first arrested he was held at 52 Division police headquarters without food for 17 hours, and forced to sleep without a mattress or blankets for three days. Armstrong has been denied bail and his extradition hearing has been set for May 13.

Under Canadian law, charges for "crimes of a political character" are not extraditable. The Canadian state (in collaboration with state and police officials from Madison who are in town for the extradition hearing) is attempting to prove that the bombing of the AMRC was not a political act. This is transparently false.

The AMRC was an army-funded project for the investigation of the application of mathematical techniques to military ends--a research center for the repressive apparatus of the American bourgeois state. Projects included the development of infra-red sensors to detect guerrilla detachments (like

that of Che Guevara in Bolivia). AMRC research laid the basis for the "carpet bombing" techniques used in Vietnam, during the bloody war conducted by U. S. imperialism against the workers and peasants of that country.

The bombing of the army center came as a culmination of more than two years of militant struggle in which thousands participated in demonstrations, rallies and meetings to force the research center off campus. The bombing was most definitely a political act--based on moral outrage against the U. S.'s genocidal war in Vietnam, and against an institution responsible for aiding the brutal murder of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese people.

The Trotskyist League considers individual acts of terror impotent and ineffective against the mass terror of the bourgeois state. But our sympathy lies with and we stand in defense of those driven by despair and outrage to lash out against the enormous crimes of capitalism, and who direct their anger against the class enemy and its institutions of class violence. The death of an innocent bystander (who could have been saved if the police had taken the trouble to clear the building) is an unfortunate, but subordinate, question in the matter of the Madison AMRC bombing.

The real criminals are the American imperialist chieftains, who in Vietnam slaughtered hundreds of thousands of innocent "bystanders," while ravaging and levelling their country. Those, like Dwight and Karleton Armstrong, who courageously fought against U. S. mass terror in Vietnam, deserve the solidarity of the entire left and workers movement. No extradition--drop the charges against Dwight Armstrong! Free Karleton Armstrong now! ■

generated and deformed workers states to the point where they cross the class line and refuse to defend these states from imperialist attack or capitalist restoration. But these strident Stalinophobes use the vilest methods of Stalinist thuggery and political suppression in order to defend their own wretched reformist politics against left opponents. They run their own organizations like mini-Gulag Archipelagos, as the ISO, bureaucratically booted out of Joel Geier's clique-ridden caliphate, so recently discovered. Like many a victim of an anti-democratic purge, the ISO hypocritically claims in the first issue of their newspaper Socialist Worker to stand for "complete workers democracy." But as their revolting behavior in Cleveland shows, Geier trained them well in the "democratic" traditions of Noske, Scheidemann and Helmut Schmidt.

The Trotskyist League of Canada vigorously condemns the ISO's political gangsterism and exclusionism in Cleveland. These violations of the norms of workers democracy curtail the open, public debate within the workers movement necessary for the

development of correct revolutionary policy, cut across the often urgent need for united working class action around particular issues, and open up the left to agents provocateurs and police attack. The thuggery demonstrated by the ISO in Cleveland is what introduces real disruption into the left. The international Spartacist tendency intends to vigorously defend and enforce the norms of workers democracy in order to keep violence out of the labor movement, to better defend that movement from the violence of the capitalist class, and to establish the framework in which genuine debate and revolutionary criticism can take place. We invite Comrade Harris, when he comes to San Francisco, to speak under our auspices where we can assure him, unlike his "fraternal" sponsors, that the norms of workers democracy will be defended and upheld.

NO TO VIOLENCE ON THE LEFT!
UPHOLD WORKERS DEMOCRACY!

Trotskyist League of Canada,
18 April 1977

B.C. NDP Right Wing Celebrates Consolidation

VANCOUVER--This month's convention of the British Columbia provincial New Democratic Party will be the occasion for considerable self-congratulation among the current leadership of the party. Since the defeat of the Dave Barrett government in the 1975 provincial elections, the B.C. NDP has registered significant growth, today boasting a membership twice what it was when the party held provincial office. A year and a half of reactionary Social Credit rule, marked by skyrocketing auto insurance rates, severe social service and education cutbacks and threatened "right-to-work" legislation, has been the main factor in rejuvenating the appeal of the social-democratic NDP.

But there is another reason for Barrett and Co. to celebrate. Despite the electoral defeat of 1975 and the widespread disillusionment engendered by the Barrett government's record in office, the present right-wing leadership of the NDP has never been more firmly entrenched nor enjoyed greater authority within the party. Though many party old-timers have let their memberships lapse, a layer of fresh --and generally more conservative--forces has been recruited. In addition, the loyalty of the labor bureaucrats has been maintained, and the small but troublesome "left" within the party has been suc-

cessfully crushed. Barrett's success testifies to the impotence of his left social-democratic opponents (including supporters of the fake-Trotskyist League for Socialist Action) and to the bankruptcy of the pro-NDP labor fakers in the B.C. Federation of Labour (B.C. Fed).

Since its formation in 1961 through the joint efforts of the Canadian Labour Congress and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the NDP has never posed a serious electoral challenge to the Liberals and Conservatives nationally. It has, however, formed provincial governments in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia on-and-off over the

BARRETT QUASHES OPPOSITION

past nine years. In each case, in keeping with classic social-democratic tradition, the party has brought down vicious anti-labor legislation while sweetening the pill with a few timid reforms. In British Columbia, the anti-labor record of the Barrett government was especially disgraceful. Unlike Manitoba and Saskatchewan, B.C. has a powerful labor movement with a tradition of industrial militancy and class-consciousness. Thus it is particularly important for revolutionaries to draw the lessons from the experience of the BC NDP government.

Before losing office in 1975, the Barrett government crowned its three-year record of anti-labor legislation with the notorious strikebreaking Bill 146, which forced 60,000 striking pulp workers, rail-workers, supermarket employees and truck drivers back to work under the terms of their old contracts. Hailed by the opposition parties in the legislature, Bill 146 met only milquetoast opposition from three members of the NDP's legislative caucus. Barrett's strikebreaking bill served as a fitting prelude to the Trudeau government's imposition of wage controls shortly afterwards.

The defeat of the NDP government gave Barrett and his cronies a free hand to move against their main opponents within the party. Thus in 1976 the provincial executive dissolved the Vancouver Area Council (VAC) on constitutional grounds. VAC had been established by several Vancouver constituency associations as a vehicle for NDP participation in municipal politics. In 1971, the VAC leadership was captured by a group of left social democrats formerly associated with the provincial Waffle.

The de facto collapse of the Waffle in B.C. in 1971 (resulting from differences over the issue of support to Barrett in the leadership race that year) preceeded the expulsion of the Waffle from the Ontario NDP by over a year. Nonetheless the B.C. NDP left-wing evinced a staying power untypical of the Waffle nationally. While Wafflers in Ontario and Saskatchewan were preparing to launch "independent" Canadian-nationalist groups, their B.C. counterparts managed to achieve a considerable degree of organizational entrenchment within the provincial party. Left-wingers won control of the VAC in 1971, the adoption of several resolutions at the 1972 convention, and a majority on the provincial executive at the 1973 convention.

These victories set the stage for a long struggle between the government and the party left, focusing on the issue of the government's "accountability" for its blatant betrayals of official party policy and attacks on the working class. VAC's mayoral cam-

(continued on page 12)



BARRETT'S STRIKEBREAKING SERVED AS A PRELUDE TO TRUDEAU'S WAGE CONTROLS.

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