

# SPARTACIST

CANADA JULY-AUGUST 1977 No.18 25¢



## The Canadian State's Thieves and Terrorists

# Abolish the RCMP!

The normally lethargic Canadian Parliament and the editorial pages of the bourgeois press, generally given over to debating how best to celebrate the Queen's Jubilee and Dominion Day, have been shaken by a scandal that cuts to the very core of capitalist rule. It has been revealed that top government officials and leaders of no less than three Canadian police agencies, including the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), have for years been covering up their involvement in the illegal break-in and burglary of the left-wing Agence de Presse Libre du Québec (APLQ) at its Montreal offices in 1972. The myth that the Canadian state's police forces, unlike the notoriously crooked American FBI and CIA, are somehow free from gestapo tactics and corruption, is receiving a much deserved drubbing. The history of the break-in and subsequent cover-up underlines just who the real criminals and terrorists are--not the left-wing radicals whose names and addresses the cops pilfered from the APLQ files, but the police agents themselves.

### THE REAL CRIMINALS EXPOSED

On 7 October 1972, burglars broke into the east-side Montreal office occupied by the APLQ press agency. Fifteen file drawers containing documents, dossiers, financial statements and an extensive

subscription list with the names of many Quebec radicals were stolen. But a \$700 electric typewriter and \$125 in petty cash were left untouched, immediately tipping off the APLQ staff that the burglary was a police job. They rushed off telegrams to the RCMP, Quebec Provincial Police (QPP), Montreal municipal police, and the governments in Ottawa and Quebec City. The Quebec Justice Minister quickly denied the involvement of all three police agencies, while the federal government remained silent. An "investigation" of the theft by the Montreal police not surprisingly uncovered nothing.

The case was covered up for over three years, and the truth would probably have remained unexposed were it not for a loose-tongued ex-cop named Robert Samson. In 1976 former RCMP constable Samson, on trial for an unrelated bombing incident, revealed in court that he and other policemen were responsible for the 1972 APLQ break-in. This dramatic revelation set in motion a series of investigations.

Samson's case by itself is interesting as an exposé of police crimes. Samson (ironically a member of the RCMP's "anti-terrorist" squad) was arrested because a bomb he was planting at the Montreal-area home of a Steinberg's supermarket chain executive on 26 July 1974 exploded prematurely in his

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## RCMP...

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hands. Although Samson was jailed for the bombing, its motive has never been made clear. It is interesting to note, however, that the attempted bombing occurred during a strike by Steinberg's employees. Had the bombing been successful, there would undoubtedly have been speculation that striking workers were involved.

Another theory has Samson working for the Montreal underworld and trying to intimidate Steinberg's into buying meat from underground dealers. It is also suspected that the incident was staged by the police to foster the belief that terrorist groups like the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) were still active, and thus in need of more police attention. Whatever the real explanation for this highly dubious incident may be, Samson is clearly a servile criminal scum who could not tolerate being caught red-handed and being punished for what he knew to be common practice in his profession--so he dragged a few more cops into his predicament by his revelations.

### CONSPIRACY AND COVER-UP

The investigations triggered by Samson's APLQ break-in testimony unearthed an elaborate police conspiracy. The plan for the break-in originated with CATS (Combined Anti-Terrorist Squad), a commando-like unit formed by the RCMP, QPP and Montreal municipal police during the wave of bombings in Quebec in the 1960's.

The cops were tipped off by electronic bugging devices, planted in the APLQ offices the previous year, that no-one would be working late the night of October 6. With the entire area blocked off by police cars, 40 police broke into the APLQ offices, stealing over a thousand files. The investigations four years later finally resulted in trials for three senior ex-commanders from CATS: RCMP Chief Superintendent Donald Cobb, QPP Inspector Jean Coutellier and Montreal police inspector Gerard Cormier.

On May 16 this year the three cops were ordered to appear in Sessions Court to answer to charges of failing to obtain a search warrant. This is a minor offense punishable by a maximum sentence of two years in jail. Charges of breaking and entering, carrying a mandatory prison term, were never laid.

All three cops pleaded guilty to authorizing the break-in without a search warrant. By pleading

guilty, they did not have to relate the events of the night of the break-in, and were able to cover up the involvement of any higher-ups in the police departments or in the government.

Throughout the trial, the police were represented by three of the city's top lawyers. All three cops refused to say who was paying their legal costs. The defense pleaded for "compassion" from the judge, pointing out that had the break-in occurred two years earlier during the FLQ kidnappings and under the martial-law War Measures Act, it would have been perfectly legal.

Although Samson had stated in his testimony that the purpose of the theft was to gain information about Quebec radicals, the defense again adduced the spectre of the FLQ, citing post-1970 social instability in Quebec as a "justification" for the break-in. The cops' lawyers claimed that the raid was part of an attempt to prevent a suspected FLQ-style hijacking plot being planned for the second anniversary of the kidnappings. However, no-one has ever been arrested for this supposed "terrorist plot."

### SPECIAL "JUSTICE" FOR CRIMINAL "LAW ENFORCERS"

The liberal bourgeois media reacted with disapproval when, on June 16, the trial concluded with the granting of unconditional discharges to all three self-admitted criminals. Thus all not only escaped jail sentences, but also avoided being pinned with criminal records. In granting the unconditional discharges, Judge Roger Vincent agreed with the defense that the burglars had "acted in good faith at the time, and for a worthy cause--the security of the state." After congratulating the cops on their work, he ruled that "in view of the political and social climate which existed in 1972... the public interest does not require a conviction in your case" (quoted in Toronto Star, 29 June).

With the Toronto Globe and Mail taking the lead, bourgeois editorialists immediately began penning articles warning of the danger of a police state. A June 17 Globe editorial protesting the discharges queried: "If the sentence stands, who in Canada will be safe in his home or business from illegal entry by the police?" Indeed, no-one is safe. But the bourgeois liberals, civil libertarians and social democrats who are up in arms over the APLQ affair are not seeking an end to the harassment of the left or a police force stripped of its powers. They know full well that the cops will always harass the left illegally--with buggings, wiretaps, break-ins, provocateurs and the like.

Whenever possible, the capitalist class prefers to operate within the confines of bourgeois legality, while using armed state agencies like the RCMP for selective "dirty work" against those perceived as a threat to capitalist rule. However "legal" police-state legislation like the War Measures Act is kept in reserve for "emergencies." Thus in October 1970 the state's armed fist was brought down on the Quebec left to defend bourgeois order through mass arrests and other terror tactics.

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## 4 SPARTACIST CANADA

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# Ed Ziemba: Follies of an Antiquated Fabian

On June 23 Ed Ziemba was sent to jail for six days for refusing to reveal his sources for documents alleging that Abko Medical Laboratory Ltd. had systematically overcharged the Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP). Ziemba is the New Democratic Party Member of Provincial Parliament (MPP) for High Park-Swansea. His unprecedented imprisonment (apparently no Ontario MPP has ever gone to jail) for refusing to breach "the confidential trust of a constituent" evoked a well-modulated uproar in the Ontario Legislature and the bourgeois press.

What makes Ziemba's incarceration ironic as well as unusual is that he is a victim of his own social-reforming zeal to expose and rectify OHIP swindles through the capitalist courts and press. Last year Ziemba leaked to the Globe and Mail a list of doctors who had each billed OHIP for over \$100,000. This information was supposed to be the "confidential" property of the Ontario Legislature's public accounts committee. Ziemba was called to account for this breach of parliamentary "confidential trust" by NDP Caucus leader Stephen Lewis and removed from the public accounts committee.

Perhaps Ziemba intended his leak to serve the purpose of exposing fraudulent billing of OHIP, thereby saving the taxpayers money. Instead, the bourgeois press used the list supplied by Ziemba as ammunition in its campaign to slash OHIP as well as other social services. As OHIP is one of the sacred cows of the NDP, Ziemba was seen by his political colleagues as more of a renegade than a misguided muckraker. Since OHIP is state subsidization of private (profit!) medical practice it will always be a handmaiden to fraud and corruption. The only way to completely eliminate fraud and corruption from health services (and make them completely accessible to poor and working people) is through totally socialized medical and health care. But this is much too radical a demand for the right-wing social-democratic NDP.

## ZIEMBA IN PRISON:

### PROHIBITION AND PEST CONTROL

Even in prison Ziemba's reforming zeal was as unflagging as it was ignominious. Behind bars, he continued to demonstrate that maliciously naive faith in the bourgeois legal process so indicative of the numerous period-piece Fabians that inhabit the NDP. He strongly advised "his fellow MPP's to temper any actions on his behalf until Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry admits Mr. Ziemba is in jail 'because of a bad law'" (Globe and Mail, 27 June). Ziemba even instructed his lawyer not to take any actions that might result in his freedom, in order that the martyrdom of an MPP in the local jailhouse might mortify the conscience of the good Attorney-General. Ziemba did not have to temper his fellow NDP MPP's, however, as these cowardly

parliamentary cretins even scotched their request for an emergency debate in the Legislature when McMurtry promised he would request the Ontario Court of Appeal to rule on questions of legislative privilege.

Meanwhile, Ziemba spent his time in prison fighting for temperance of a different sort: prohibitionism. Prison taught Ziemba not how capitalism depraves and frames up people, but the need for stronger liquor laws! Ziemba claimed that his fellow inmates were in jail because of offenses committed under the influence of alcohol. Before Ziemba became a "public servant" in Provincial Parliament, he served God as secretary of the West Tor-



Globe & Mail  
200 ZIEMBA SUPPORTERS DEMONSTRATE OUTSIDE THE  
ONTARIO LEGISLATURE

onto Inter-Church Temperance Federation, fighting the holy war to keep West Toronto free of saloons and taverns.

But Ziemba's appetite to play the Knight Templar in prison was not exhausted by denouncing strong drink. He soon discovered that some of the discomforts of imprisonment included petty harassment, lack of showers and clean linen, and mice. The jail's assistant superintendent even threatened to pitch the beleaguered MPP into solitary confinement if he did not desist from inciting his fellow prisoners over the rodent question. Upon his release, Ziemba pledged to use his parliamentary privilege to visit prisons in order to investigate pest control and other prisoner grievances.

But Ed Ziemba may not need his parliamentary privilege to "visit" prison again soon. He was only released from jail when Provincial Court Judge Dneiper suspended the hearings against Abko for one week in order to defuse the outrage against the jailing of an MPP. Dneiper is a particularly vicious judge who once told a 16-year-old youth on probation charged with vagrancy: "From here on we don't use the patting on the head. We use the lash on the

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# GMR, LSO Denounce Violation of Workers Democracy...

Trotskyist League,  
Box 7198, Station 'A',  
Toronto, Ontario.

July 1, 1977

Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière  
Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire  
Montreal, Quebec.

Dear Comrades:

The Trotskyist League solidarizes with your statement protesting the gangsterist violence of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist), printed in the June issue of Libération and the 7 June Combat Socialiste. Like supporters of the GMR and LSO in Montreal, our comrades have on several occasions had to defend themselves against attempted CCL(M-L) goon assaults in Toronto, and have also been threatened with violence by these Stalinists in Vancouver. Both Spartacist Canada (June 1977) and the Revolutionary Marxist Group's Militant (7 June) have reported and denounced this vile gangsterism against the TL and other left-wing organizations.

Your statement correctly points out that CCL(M-L)'s violence and exclusionism "are contrary to the most elementary rules of workers democracy, to the necessity for the broadest possible debate within the mass movement." As you state:

"This behavior can only play into the hands of anti-communism and discredit those who claim to be socialists before the masses. Moreover it can serve as a pretext for the police to intervene against all these organizations, including CCL(M-L).

"This is why we are opposed to all attempts to settle political differences within mass organizations by exclusion, intimidation, aggression or any kind of physical violence."

However, this stated principled position against CCL(M-L)'s violations of workers democracy stands in sharp contrast to the record of your co-thinkers in English Canada on this question. Both the Revolutionary Marxist Group and the League for Socialist Action have, in recent months, committed a series of bureaucratic violations of workers democracy directed against the Trotskyist League.

Following their interventions at a January 21 Vancouver LSA forum on United Steelworkers of America presidential aspirant Ed Sadlowski, two TL

supporters were informed by letter that they were "no longer welcome" to attend future forums. Utterly phoney grounds of "disruption" were adduced as the reason for this exclusion. But, as a letter from former Vancouver NDP leader Tom Hansen (who was also present at the January 21 forum) made clear, the only "disruption" which took place at the forum was initiated by the LSA, not the Trotskyist League. (See Spartacist Canada No. 14, March, for the text of all relevant documents.) Thus, in imitation of the Stalinists, bureaucratic exclusionism is "justified" by slander.

The LSA has continued excluding the two TL supporters to this day. We enclose a copy of a June 13 letter from the TL Political Bureau to the LSA Political Committee protesting this continuing violation of workers democracy. The exclusions have also been denounced by many well-known and respected members of the B. C. labor and socialist movement, among them 1970 and 1972 Vancouver NDP mayoral candidate Brian Campbell and Bill Whitney, a long-time member of the Trotskyist movement in B. C., from the days of the International Left Opposition until the early 1960's. We call upon the LSC and GMR to join the socialists and militants who have demanded that this bureaucratic exclusion be immediately terminated.

Two subsequent incidents in Toronto provide further examples of bureaucratic violations of workers democracy. On several occasions during the recent Partisan Defense Committee campaign to raise funds for an expensive eye operation for exiled Chilean unionist Fernando Marcos, TL supporters approached the LSA for permission to make a fund-raising collection at one of its Vanguard Forums. Supporters of the Marcos campaign were able to raise over \$750 in the Toronto area, much of it through collections at left and labor events, including NDP meetings. However, shortly before an April 22 Vanguard Forum on "Chile Today," LSA leader John Steele informed us that no collection would be permitted at that, or any other, LSA forum. This disgusting petty bureaucratism by the LSA was quite consistent with its sectarian refusal to support (or make a financial contribution to) either the Marcos campaign or last year's international campaign to save Chilean miners' leader Mario Munoz.

Finally, we would refer to the joint LSA-RMG Ontario election rally on the evening of June 8. In addition to speeches by the candidates of the LSA and RMG, other individuals and organizations who had supported their campaigns were allowed to address the rally. As you are undoubtedly aware, the Trotskyist League extended critical support to the RMG and LSA campaigns, and we therefore requested the right to have a speaker at the rally. Shortly before the meeting, however, we were informed

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that we would not be permitted a speaker. Of all the organizations in Toronto which supported the campaigns, we alone were denied this right. The RMG and LSA were quite willing to hear themselves admonished for "heterosexism" by representatives of their cherished "independent gay movement" on the evening of June 8. But the political views of the TL were explicitly singled out and barred from the platform.

You denounce CCL(M-L) for "suppressing the right to full democratic debate and free expression for all the tendencies which are present [in the "workers and popular movement" and the women's liberation movement], or else attempting to restrict their capacity to intervene." Your silence on the bureaucratic activities of the LSA and RMG in English Canada would render this denunciation hypocritical and self-serving. In fact, since the LSO is part of the same national organization as the LSA, it is fully responsible for the bureaucratic activities of its English-Canadian co-thinkers.

We join with you in demanding "that CCL(M-L) renounce these methods of threats and physical violence as means to settle political differences."

## ... LSA Continues Violation of Workers Democracy

Trotskyist League,  
Box 7198, Station 'A',  
Toronto, Ontario.  
June 13, 1977

Political Committee,  
League for Socialist Action,  
334 Queen Street West,  
Toronto, Ontario.

Dear Comrades:

We vigorously protest the violations of workers democracy on the part of your Vancouver branch in the exclusion of Trotskyist League supporters Linda Jarreau and Oliver Stephens from "Vanguard Forums". According to the letter from LSA member and "Vanguard Forum Director" Brenda Dipeen of 31 January 1977 (reprinted in Spartacist Canada of March 1977), at the Vanguard Forum of 21 January comrades Jarreau and Stephens "interrupted the chairperson, spoke from the front (although not invited to do so) and shouted an announcement when the chairperson had adjourned the forum." The utterly vacuous and absurd character of these charges of "disruption" was more than adequately demonstrated in a statement protesting the exclusion of comrades Jarreau and Stephens by Tom Hansen, former executive council member of the NDP Vancouver Area Council, also reprinted in Spartacist Canada, March 1977. Dineen's letter of 31 January also claims that "This is not the first time these

But if you wish to stand before the workers movement as upholders of workers democracy, you must first clean up your own house. At root, the attempts of your English-Canadian co-thinkers to deny our comrades the elementary rights of workers democracy stem from their inability to confront honestly the Trotskyist criticisms of United Secretariat revisionism.

Our tendency has a long and principled record of defending democratic rights within the workers movement. We will continue to demand and to fight for the right to put forward our politics without bureaucratic constraints--be it by the union bureaucrats, the Maoists, or the fake-Trotskyist LSA and RMG. Truly, such actions as the LSA's exclusion of our comrades from Vancouver Vanguard Forums "can only play into the hands of anti-communism and discredit those who claim to be socialists before the masses."

No to all gangsterism and exclusionism within the workers movement--uphold workers democracy!

Fraternally,

John Masters,  
for the Trotskyist League Political Bureau.

people have tried to disrupt the Vanguard Forum," but fails to mention other "disruptions" because they do not exist. The hypocrisy of this bureaucratic exclusion was only compounded when comrades Jarreau and Stephens were not excluded from a subsequent forum on Quebec co-sponsored by the LSA/LSO with the GMR and RMG. Perhaps the LSA did not want to embarrass its fusion perspective with these groups by a shameless and gross repetition of its disregard for the norms of workers democracy.

Attacks against individual members of a left-wing and labor organization, whether such attacks take the form of physical gangsterism, slander or bureaucratic exclusionism, are a provocation and attack against that entire organization as well as the left and labor movement as a whole. We are all Linda and Oliver; we consider their exclusion to be a political exclusion directed against the entire international Spartacist tendency and an attack against the entire left and labor movement. Already, many prominent trade unionists and socialists in Vancouver have protested this exclusion. We will continue to protest this exclusion until it is reversed as part of our consistent and intransigent defense of the principles of workers democracy.

Fraternally,

John Masters,  
for the TL Political Bureau  
cc. RMG Political Committee

# An Exchange:

## Critical Support in the Ontario Elections

22 June 1977  
Toronto

Dear Editor:

Your recent article on the Ontario elections ("Ontario NDP Tails Tories," SC No. 17, June 1977) appears to me to contain an incorrect use of the tactic of critical support, in regard to the League for Socialist Action (LSA) and Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG).

The central question in the elections for revolutionaries was the question of the NDP. It was the sole mass party running which is not a strictly bourgeois party. While it is certainly "one of the most wretched social-democratic parties in the entire world," it nevertheless still is a bourgeois workers party. The concept of a class vote, while used by the LSA and RMG to support the NDP in all circumstances is a valid concept. "That a vote for a reformist workers party remains a class vote is correct insofar as that party is running independently on its own program in the election" (Revolutionary Trotskyist Bulletin No. 1, part i, page 33).

However there are lots of times when it is not advantageous to support Social Democracy despite the fact that it is an independent class pole. The 1975 B. C. election is a good example, where the NDP government had just completed some significant anti-working class measures (strikebreaking, etc.) and was running for re-election on a "strong government" platform. Similarly in this Ontario election, the NDP ran not even as an opposition, but pledged themselves to make minority government work.

But the Trotskyist League's use of the tactic of critical support to the candidates of the LSA and RMG appears to me to be an error, not only in this election, but also in the 1975 Ontario election and the 1975 B. C. election. Conditions for extending support to small groups with no mass following in the workers movement are different than those for supporting a mass bourgeois workers party. As the Australasian Spartacist points out:

"But as for supporting other small organizations in the workers movement that stood for election, like the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) and the Socialist Workers League (SWL), our criteria are necessarily different. These organizations have no mass base in the working class; all they have to offer in counterposition to the ALP [Australian Labour Party, the mass Australian social-democratic party] is their program. For revolutionaries to give them critical support against the ALP they would at least have to cam-

paign for an alternative, which, even if flawed, challenged in some fundamental way parliamentary reformism, and called for a break from its ALP representatives. The SPA/CPA/SWL answer none of the criteria; if more "radical" or "left" in tinge, they are still utterly reformist. To urge a vote for these organisations in preference to the ALP, no matter how critically, can only build the authority of more sophisticated aspiring sellouts."

--ASp No. 27, 20 December 1975

The LSA's and RMG's programs are essentially the same--both reformist, qualitatively no different from the NDP's. While, like the Communist Party, the LSA and RMG have some criticisms of the NDP, the thrust of their campaigns are to work for an NDP government. The LSA describes its campaigns this way:

"It is true that we have contested elections, but only within the framework of our support of the NDP and of an NDP government. . . .

"In the December 1975 British Columbia elections, when the LSA ran Joe Kellner in West Vancouver, a strong Social Credit seat which the NDP had no chance to win. . . . We think our campaign helped the NDP.

"Similarly, in the current Ontario elections the LSA is running Therese Faubert against Premier William Davis in Brampton riding, which the NDP cannot possibly win. . . . Across Ontario, the LSA is fighting for an NDP government."

--Labor Challenge No. 171, 23 May 1977

The rest of the election platforms of the LSA and RMG could for the most part be adopted by a social-democratic party like the NDP, which is what the LSA has been working for for years.

Neither the RMG nor LSA have any significant following (as seen by the votes they received--114 and 87 respectively). The Trotskyist League has not always extended critical support to candidates of these groups. In the Vancouver municipal elections the TL did not call for a vote to the LSA's candidate. Similarly in the U. S. the Spartacist League did not call for a vote to the SWP's presidential candidate.

To tell workers not to vote for the NDP but cast their ballots for groups that focus their campaigns

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around the need to "build the NDP" and "fight for an NDP government" either undercuts the TL's call to oppose the NDP or builds the authority of the LSA and RMG as oppositions to the NDP, which they are not.

Fraternally,  
M. C.

SC replies: M. C.'s criticisms of the election programs of the LSA and RMG--particularly their grovelling before the NDP--are well-taken. However his arguments for withholding critical support from these groups because of their support to the NDP reflect a rather formalist tactical inflexibility. M. C.'s position would tend to undercut the ability of Trotskyists to win subjectively revolutionary militants away from the revisionism of opponent organizations.

Since the time of Marx and Engels, a cardinal principle for the revolutionary movement has been the class independence of the proletarian party from all bourgeois parties. Use of the tactic of critical electoral support toward a non-revolutionary working-class formation (be it a mass reformist party like the NDP or a small reformist or centrist propaganda group) is contingent on that party running independent of and counterposed to all bourgeois parties.

Thus, for example, it was principled and correct for the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) to extend critical support to the Australian Labour Party, when it ran against the bourgeois parties in the 1975 elections. However, the NDP's recent record of corridor coalitionism with bourgeois parties, and Stephen Lewis' avowals to continue this class-collaborationist policy in the next Ontario Legislature ("make minority government work") meant that a vote for the social democrats in the recent Ontario elections was not a vote for working-class independence. It was a vote for propping up the reactionary Tory government for several more years. The LSA and RMG position--that an NDP vote "drew the class line"--was false, and an expression of conscious opportunism.

But while the LSA and RMG campaigns supported the NDP, they also expressed opposition to the class-collaborationism and reformism of the NDP leadership. In contrast, the candidates of the Communist Party ran on a program (the "broad progressive bloc") which was no less class-collaborationist than that of the NDP. A call for votes to the candidates of the CP would have been unprincipled, for they broke openly with proletarian class independence.

Despite their gross opportunism, the RMG and LSA did not openly cross the class line in the election. Thanks to the NDP's corridor coalitionism, the RMG and LSA candidates were the only ones in the elections who even attempted, in however flawed and inadequate a fashion, to stand for the independence of the working class. Thus calling for a vote to their candidates was not unprincipled.

Both groups ran on programs which, while nowhere transcending social democracy or New Left-

ism, were nevertheless substantially to the left of their day-to-day practice. The best example of this was the RMG's brief and totally hypocritical mention of the need to defend the gains of the deformed and degenerated workers states.

Furthermore, as we pointed out in SC No. 17, the groups' paper programs contained key points which were not only counterposed to LSA/RMG practice, but were also absent from their other recent election campaigns. In particular, the LSA, as a token gesture to recalcitrant RMGers balking at the prospect of a fusion of the two organizations, made uncharacteristically critical comments about its social-democratic friends in the NDP. By giving the LSA and RMG critical support, the Trotskyist League was able to exploit effectively the contradiction between their "left"-posturing programs and their real reformist appetite and practice, and to intersect the impending unprincipled fusion of the two groups.

Similar considerations applied in the 1975 Ontario and B. C. provincial elections. In Ontario neither the RMG or LSA extended support to NDP collaboration with the bourgeoisie--a betrayal which would have precluded even considering critical support. In the B. C. election, both formally opposed the NDP government's record of mass strikebreaking, while nonetheless calling for the re-election of the Barrett government. Again there was a contradiction between their formal programs and actual practice, which revolutionaries could hope to exploit by giving them critical support.

In an attempt to adduce arguments for his position, M. C. points out that the Spartacist League/U.S. does not give critical support to the Socialist Workers Party, the LSA's American big brother, in elections. Since the late 1960's, the electoral campaigns of the reformist SWP have made no attempt to draw a class line against the bourgeoisie. Rather, they have been a grab-bag of populist liberalism--which is often overtly anti-labor, for example when the SWP supports union-busting in the name of black and Puerto Rican "community control." In the absence of a mass American reformist labor party, the SWP fundamentally acts as a pressure group on the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

While the LSA is no less opportunist than its American mentor, the direction of its opportunism is conditioned by the fact that it is active in a country which does have a mass reformist party. Because of the existence of the NDP, the LSA's opportunism is expressed differently from that of the SWP--the latter pressures liberal Democrats, while the former tails the social democracy. Thus the LSA's recent electoral campaigns have generally had a reformist laborite character, and critical support to them is not precluded.

As for the other examples cited by M. C., the quotation from Australasian Spartacist contained in his letter explains concisely why the SL/ANZ refused to support the CPA, SPA or SWL in the 1975 Australian elections. To have called for sup-

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# An Analysis of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, 1972-73

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REFORMISM IN THE LSA

The following is an excerpt from the introduction to a forthcoming bulletin on the RCT. Revolutionary Trotskyist Bulletin No. 2 will contain, in addition to a lengthy critical introduction, several representative and important documents of the RCT.

The struggle of the left-centrist Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT) in the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA), "official" section of the revisionist United Secretariat (USec) in Canada was an important event in the history of Canadian Trotskyism. However, until now none of the documents issuing from it have been made public by any of its participants.

The formation of the RCT in 1972 challenged the LSA's hegemony over ostensible Trotskyism in Canada. It provided the raw material for the regroupment of authentic revolutionary forces in the Trotskyist League (TL), Canadian sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). But as the documents of its struggle reveal, the RCT never achieved the Marxist clarity that would have enabled it to regenerate genuine Trotskyism. Instead, its failure to produce a clear and systematic programmatic counterposition to the LSA and its uncritical acceptance of the petty-bourgeois centrist politics of the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the USec facilitated the transformation of its once subjectively revolutionary membership into the cynical opportunists of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), now in rapid rightward motion back to reconciliation with the LSA.

In preparation for its opportunist reunification with the LSA, many of the RCT's former partisans in the RMG are busily reviling its history and denouncing its "ultra-leftism." While the RCT held many flawed and incomplete positions, nevertheless each of its documents was based on a determination to break with reformism and achieve revolutionary understanding. The real purpose of the RMG's current retrospective criticisms is to disown the healthiest aspects of its history.

Revolutionary Trotskyist Bulletin No. 2 is published in order to reveal both the strengths and weaknesses of the RCT. The RCT was a leftward-moving centrist current. An examination of the principal defects of the documents reprinted here is indispensable to explaining the subsequent political degeneration of many who adhered to them.

Having discovered that centrism is not a viable

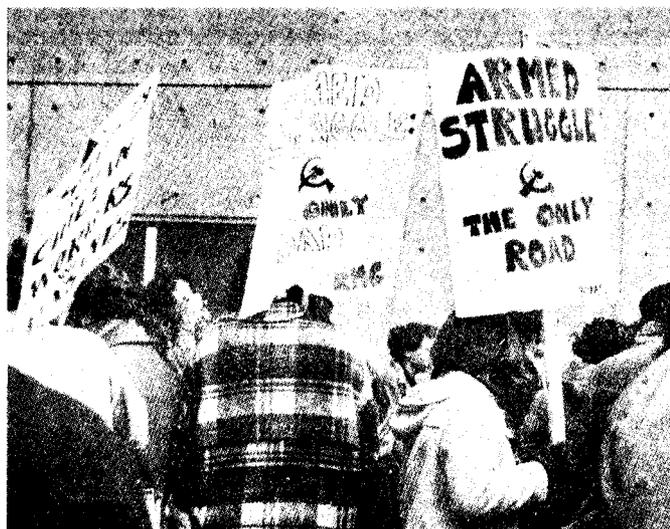
political alternative, RMGers have been confronted repeatedly over the past four years with the choice of transcending centrism in favor of authentic Trotskyism, or reversing their political direction and undergoing a rightist degeneration. The RMG's political reconciliation with the LSA was profoundly conditioned by its cowardly refusal to confront the revolutionary pole provided by the Spartacist tendency; by its bureaucratic purge of its organic left wing, the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT) (which became a founding component of the TL); and by its attempt to apply the IMT's tailist "broad vanguard" strategy to the backward political milieu of English Canada. Over 15 percent of the RCT's membership at the time of its expulsion from the LSA in 1973 have opted for the former by joining the ranks of the iSt. In so doing, these elements have recognized that the Spartacist tendency embodies the logical programmatic conclusions of the RCT's best left impulses.

### ORIGINS OF THE RCT

At the "Ninth World Congress" of the USec in 1969, the political harvest of the 1963 reunification of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its Canadian satellite, the LSA, with Mandel, Maitan and Frank's International Secretariat was reaped. The outstanding political differences ignored by the Reunification Congress in the name of "agreeing not to disagree" found expression in sharp disagreements over the resolutions on Latin America and the Chinese Cultural Revolution. These differences also reflected an increasingly obvious divergence between the political practice and perspective of the two leading sections of what were to become the IMT and the "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF)--the Ligue Communiste of France and the SWP respectively. The factional polarization that began at the 1969 congress culminated with splits in sections of the USec in several countries.

But political differences anticipating the later factional polarization within the USec as a whole had developed in an isolated fashion in several of its sections prior to the "Ninth Congress." In 1968, for example, the Argentine Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) had split into two public factions--Roberto Santucho's "Combatiente," a guerrillaist grouping, and Nahuel Moreno's "La Verdad," the precursor of the ultra-reformist Socialist Workers Party (PST) of Argentina.

Less well known is the factional formation that crystallized in the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO), the Quebec wing of the LSA, beginning in 1965. Led by Michel Mill, this grouping, from the time that it went into opposition to the LSA leadership, styled itself as the advocate of "European Trotskyism," i. e., Pabloism. In addition to being more ardent Quebec nationalists than the LSA/LSO leadership (it advocated the secession of Quebec four years before the LSA), the Mill grouping championed the classical Pabloist panacea of "entrism sui generis."



Labor Challenge  
TWO FACES OF PABLOISM: TOP, INFANTILE "PICK-UP-THE-GUN" RHETORIC FROM THE EARLY RMG. BELOW, LSA LEGALISM AND LIBERALISM.



Labor Challenge

It proposed a liquidationist deep entry into the left-nationalist Mouvement de Libération Populaire in 1965.

In the late 1960's Mill wrote of the need to go beyond transitional demands to "transitional actions," proposing flashy adventurist tactics borrowed from the French Ligue Communiste. As a central leader of several student and language struggles, he was instrumental in winning substantial influence for the LSO. For the first and only time in the LSO's his-

tory, it succeeded in recruiting a significant number of Francophones to its youth organization, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (LJS). Recognizing that this levy of Francophones could give Mill a power base in the LSA/LSO, the LSA leadership moved quickly to drive them out of the organization. But a small core of Mill's grouping remained. Isolated in Montreal, it succeeded in electing one delegate to the LSA convention in September 1970 on the basis of several documents, centering on Quebec and the NDP, which explicitly proposed supplanting the LSA's NDP orientation with a student-vanguardist, "periphery to the center" strategy.

From 1969-1971 the LSA grew rapidly. Its youth group, the Young Socialists (YS), was the vehicle for this growth through its activities on the campuses and in the anti-war and women's movements. But the success of its wholly un-Marxist intervention into these arenas had highly contradictory results. By the spring of 1971, the ideologies of feminism and mindless activism thoroughly pervaded both the LSA and the YS.

#### LSA FEMINISTS REVOLT

With the LSA's grey eminence, Ross Dowson, away in Europe, the YS leadership attempted to project a less "stodgy" and more dynamic and colorful image. In an infantile attempt to intersect the anti-authoritarianism of the youth culture, posters appeared proclaiming "We are the people our parents warned us about." The YS's leading female members, having been better educated in feminist doctrines than in Marxism, were bringing the "sex struggle" into the LSA/YS instead of class politics into the women's liberation milieu. The "feminist revolt" peaked at the May 1971 YS/LJS Executive Council plenum in Toronto. The first day of this plenum saw the entire male membership of the leading body of the YS/LJS excluded, while female members drafted lists of male-chauvinist "enemies" in the organization and discussed how the YS could be transformed into a "real" feminist organization.

The hysteria surrounding the feminist revolt demoralized the ranks and leadership of the LSA/YS alike. But it also had the salutary effect of provoking a serious examination of the political methodology that gave rise to it. This examination was taken most seriously by the Maritime locals of the YS, whose entire membership had been recruited in the previous two years, largely outside the supervision of the LSA/YS national office. In New Brunswick in particular, the YS had succeeded in winning the leadership of the Waffle, which in turn had virtual control over the provincial NDP.

At the August 1971 plenum of the YS, representatives of the Fredericton and Halifax locals introduced a number of documents expressing tentative criticisms of the YS's student and women's programs. Within a week the entire Maritimes region was placed under suspension. The pretext was that the Maritimes operation had failed to keep the Central Office adequately informed about its activ-

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# RCT...

(continued from page 9)

ities and had, as a result, committed such errors as winning the New Brunswick Waffle and the NDP to the demand for expropriation of industry without compensation. The real reason was explained later by a Political Committee member subsequently won to the RCT, namely that Dowson wanted to "keep Mill out of English Canada." The nascent left opposition in the Maritimes was perceived by Dowson not merely as a potential threat, but as a convenient scapegoat to divert attention from the embarrassing antics of the LSA/YS leadership earlier in the year.

While Dowson succeeded in driving most of the Maritime YS members out as a result of the suspensions, he did not succeed in keeping Mill--or more precisely the "European" Pabloist politics he represented--out of English Canada. By early 1972, the remnants of the Maritime YS, mainly the Halifax membership, had joined forces with Mill to form the Unified Minority Tendency (UMT).

Internationally, the factional polarization within the USec was at the point of explosion, though formal tendencies had not yet been declared on either side. The Spanish sympathizing group of the USec was on the verge of a split, as was the Socialist Workers League of Australia. Leading figures of the USec majority, most notably Tariq Ali and Jaya Vithana, were engineering factional operations in a number of countries on a freelance basis.

## IMG MOVES IN

Tariq Ali's January 1972 tour of Canada succeeded in hardening up the Maritimes group and sowing the seeds of opposition to the LSA majority elsewhere. As a leader of the British section of the USec, Ali was widely known as a leading spokesman for the USec majority "left wing," which was characterized by its love for insurrectionary Stalinism of the Maoist/Castroist variety and its revulsion for the SWP. Ali was closely associated at this time with International Marxist Group (IMG) leader John Ross, and together with him signed a Perspectives Document for the IMG notable for its orthodox-sounding references to the importance of the Transitional Program and its explicit characterization of the SWP's program as reformist.

The role of the IMG leadership in both theoretically and practically facilitating the development of a pro-USec majority opposition in the LSA can hardly be understated. In large measure this was due to the fact that the SWP and LSA were sponsoring a minority tendency within the IMG. The IMG was therefore unique among majority sections in having to wage a political fight with SWP/LSA reformism on its home terrain.

The UMT launched its first political fight with the LSA/YS majority at the May 1972 plenum of the YS. By this time it counted supporters from Montreal, Halifax, Toronto and St. Catharines.

At this same plenum, the Central Executive Council of the YS, with the approval of the LSA leadership, proposed a deepening of the YS's "identification" with Canadian nationalism--a particularly rightist departure from Marxism which had been in the works for several years. While the UMT did not address the proposed nationalist orientation, it caused considerable consternation among Executive Council members from the Winnipeg local. Already attracted to majority sections in Europe, but reluctant to join forces with the UMT, the Winnipeg oppositionists resolved to launch a new tendency, with the central plank of its platform being opposition to the YS's capitulation to English-Canadian nationalism.

The Winnipeg oppositionists subsequently wrote Tariq Ali, seeking advice and political support, but simultaneously raising a number of questions concerning the majority's misadventures in Latin America. Ali's reply gives some indication of the important (if contradictory) role he played in the RCT's development:

"On the question of Argentina and building a Trotskyist movement. I can not go into the problem in detail here, but we are faced with the following problems. We have a section (PRT) which is conducting an armed struggle via an army it is in the process of building (ERP). The differences we have with these comrades are not tactical, but based on some mistaken political conceptions which they hold, i. e. "third worldism" and an imprecise understanding of Stalinism and Maoism. Nevertheless we regard these comrades to be revolutionaries and closer to our positions than any other tendency in Argentina. I am hopeful that we can win the best elements among them to the FI completely and an essential factor to help that would be the development of a strong section in some other part of the colonial world 100% on our line. To a certain extent, therefore, the problems we have with the PRT/ERP are of a healthy kind which we will continue to encounter throughout Latin America, Africa and Asia for a certain time. The Moreno group supported by the SWP and its Canadian Branch is totally reformist and opportunist... Our opinion on the character of the Unified Minority. I have been mainly in touch with the Halifax and Toronto minority comrades and a number of them attended our last convention so we discussed in detail with them. Up till now their weakness has really been our weakness, i. e. they have been out of touch with the majority in Europe. After discussing with them, we are convinced that they represent a real hope for a breakthrough for the Fourth International in North America. We have no fundamental disagreements with them and would recommend very strongly that you comrades make arrangements to meet and discuss with them. It would be a tragedy if having developed a minority in the LSA to challenge the opportunism of the leadership, this minority in the LSA itself was divided."

Swallowing Ali's whitewash of the PRT and following his advice to pursue discussions with the UMT, the short-lived Winnipeg "Communist Tendency" fused with the UMT to form the Revolutionary Communist Tendency in August 1972. The Montreal section of the tendency had already split earlier in the summer to form the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire. Had it not been for the geographical extension and added political weight that the Winnipeg tendency offered, the rest of the UMT would have followed in short order. Instead, the RCT resolved to remain within the LSA in order to win over its best elements and "gut" the organization. It did so not because possibilities did not exist for it on the outside (a regroupment with the Red Circle and Old Mole groupings was feasible as early as the fall of 1972), but because the RCT, unlike the RMG today, understood that the struggle to build a Trotskyist organization in Canada necessarily involved the political destruction of the LSA.

Before its split from the LSA, the RCT was successful in winning over a majority of the Peterborough local of the YS and a number of the LSA's leading NDP activists in Toronto. The geographical extension of the RCT and its growth in the Toronto branch of the LSA testified to the opportunities that existed for winning LSA militants away from reformism. RCT growth was facilitated by the LSA's abject failure to win forces from the NDP at the time of the Ontario Waffle's expulsion from the party.

The RCT attracted the most active and politically conscious militants in the LSA. By attempting to apply the LSA's program, they had come to the conclusion that the LSA's politics were bankrupt. With the influx of this politically heterogeneous layer of LSA left oppositionists, the RCT took on more the character of a bloc than a distinct political tendency. Differences developed within the RCT around a gamut of political questions. The most important of these concerned the question of "proletarian orientation."

#### RCT POLARIZES

Prior to the April 1973 LSA convention a debate erupted around the counter Political Resolution drafted for submission to the pre-convention discussion by RCT leader Bret Smiley. The document was short both in its programmatic counterposition to and its criticism of the LSA, but fulsome in its historical analysis of the "Canadian social formation."

The essence of the document was encapsulated in the following passage:

"The tactic for the construction of the revolutionary organization in English Canada at the present time is 'from the periphery to the center.' That is, the revolutionary organization will find the widest audience for its politics and its actions in milieus external to the organized workers' movement. It must seek to utilize this advantage to recruit to itself and mobilize these social forces for its own autonomous interventions, seeking to alter the relationship of forces

between itself and the labor bureaucracy, becoming a pole of attraction for radicalizing workers, and, wherever possible, intervening directly in the struggles of the proletariat.

An important current within the RCT recoiled from Smiley's document and sought to prevent its introduction into the pre-convention discussion. The objections to the dilletantish style and petty-bourgeois political content of the Smiley document were inspired by another, equally petty-bourgeois, tendency that was developing within the RCT--a clearly definable workerism which saw trade union work as the sine qua non of revolutionary politics.

The full implications of this political differentiation became clear only in the discussions leading up to the founding convention of the RMG in October 1973, when two equal-sized tendencies--"Document Three" and "Document Four"--squared off against one another.

What was most significant about the "Document Three-Document Four" struggle was the absence of real programmatic differences. Document Four, which narrowly carried the convention, enjoyed the support of most of the former members of the Red Circle and the Old Mole, and was politically closest to the European IMT. Document Three, supported by the majority of former RCTers, saw trade union work rather than organizational consolidation as the key task. The two tendencies shared an economist/spontaneist perspective, but differed on the "orientation" question. Document Four had already achieved a high degree of homogeneity on the basis of a loyal imitation of IMT new-mass-vanguardism. Document Three was heterogeneous, containing more critical elements beginning to grapple with central programmatic questions (not just how much trade union work, but what kind; the IMT's errors on the popular front and Asian Stalinism; etc.). As the importance of these programmatic questions became clearer to supporters of Document Three, the tendency began to fragment. It was at this stage that the Spartacist tendency won over a number of RMGers increasingly disturbed over the RMG's crisis of perspectives and its sell-out to Mandel on the "tactics" of the international

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## RCMP...

(continued from page 2)

The sanctimonious liberal outrage over the APLQ incident by the Globe and Mail and others is not simply hypocrisy, but reflects a real fear of a police state. The bourgeoisie, its press, its politicians and its agents within the labor movement both need the police and yet, at the same time, fear their potential bonapartist proclivities. This contradiction is exposed when the cops openly display their bonapartist appetites, and claim their "right" to stand above and outside the law, as in the APLQ break-in and cover-up. What may have been "acceptable" behavior in Quebec in October 1970 had, in the eyes of the Globe and Mail, become "unnecessary" by October 1972.

### WATERGATE

The liberals' class-biased conception of "justice" is underlined by the much-cited analogy between the APLQ affair and the American Watergate scandal. For instance, the Quebec Human Rights Association counterposed the discharges in Canada to what it offered as a sterling example of consistently-applied bourgeois law: the Watergate prosecutions. The June 23 Globe and Mail quoted the Association: "In the Watergate affair in the United States, the courts played a great role in uncovering the scandal, but here in Canada it seems to be just the opposite."

The U. S. liberal establishment took umbrage at the Watergate burglary because it was directed against one of the pillars of American bourgeois society, the Democratic Party, rather than the usual targets of FBI/CIA "dirty tricks"--leftists, black militants and the labor movement. While the courts were eventually forced to delve into the details of the affair and to pass sentence against some of the

guilty parties, the Number One criminal, arch-enemy of the working class and butcher of Vietnam, Richard Nixon, was pardoned for his crimes. And as for the few scapegoats who were convicted and received jail sentences--John Dean and his ilk--they were forced to kill time in comfortable upper-class "prisons" playing golf, in surroundings far more opulent than most ghetto youth in the U. S. will ever even see.

The real purpose of the Watergate prosecutions was not to curtail the illegal activities of American police agencies, but to give the tattered image of American imperialist "democracy" a moral facelift. Any prosecution or token sentencing of Canadian police officials for illegal activity would have the same purpose--a facade of "reform" aimed at better propping up bourgeois rule.

### TESTING THE WATERS

The officially-sanctioned police criminality in the APLQ affair is only one cop scandal among many in Canada today. Investigations are currently proceeding into a second APLQ break-in, when five electronic listening devices were installed in new offices occupied by the press agency in 1973. The RCMP has also been linked to the 1970 break-in at Praxis Corporation, a Toronto organization that was organizing the poor. And a recent CBC documentary on organized crime created a furor when it revealed that five former Hong Kong police agents, wanted at home on charges of corruption, became resident in Canada thanks to known links with a federal immigration official and the RCMP.

While the revelations that the RCMP and top government officials are linked with organized crime figures sparked a wave of liberal indignation in the bourgeois press, the stories were clearly leaked to coincide with a heavy-handed attempt by Justice Minister Ron Basford to increase police powers by broadening the wiretap surveillance laws. The pro-

## RCT...

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factional fight. (See RTB No. 1, part i.)

In a letter dated 3 May 1973, former RCT leader (now ex-RMGer) Walter Davis, in arguing for an early split with the LSA, pointed to the dangers of forming a new organization (the RMG) out of the New Left Old Mole group and the left-NDP Red Circle, without the participation of the RCT:

"From the number of people we have attracted to Trotskyism in the past year, we could easily create a centrist organization. It's a very real danger. That's not to deride the talents of the Red Circle and Old Mole but it is to recognize their objective limitations."

Davis was wrong in believing that the RCT could prevent the RMG from becoming a centrist organization. The RCT was itself centrist. Nonetheless these were prophetic words. With the fragmentation and departure of the heterogeneous RCT core,

the RMG lost many of its most honest and left-wing comrades. It is a telling fact that a majority of those who embraced the politics of the IMT in the course of the RCT struggle have since become disillusioned with them, and have left the RMG.

Within the RCT, there was an objective tension between the impulse to achieve full "political integration" into the IMT and the impulse to make a complete break with the SWP/LSA and achieve revolutionary clarity. But "integration" into the cynical organizational maneuvering and political opportunism of the IMT has led the RMG back to the reformist LSA. Yet a significant minority rejected the fiction that the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" represented the continuity of Trotskyism, and broke from the dead-end choice between centrism and reformism. For these comrades, the revolutionary program--not the ephemeral prestige of this or that centrist/reformist conglomeration--remains the decisive factor in the determination of political allegiances. They continue their struggle as part of the international Spartacist tendency--the fight for the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

posed new wiretap legislation would allow wiretapping in any investigation of an offense carrying a sentence of five years or more, whereas currently wiretapping is only allowed in the investigation of major offenses. This would give police the legal right to wiretap almost any "suspect," and would enable them to conduct wide-ranging and promiscuous fishing expeditions. Furthermore, should this legalized spying prove insufficient, the proposed legislation would make evidence gained through illegal wiretapping admissible in court--another institutionalized extension of bourgeois legality for the state's police.

Increased police powers are not being sought to chase the Mafia. The spectre of an increase in organized crime is only being raised to make public opinion more receptive to the new wiretapping legislation. In the context of Canada today--with widespread unemployment, combined with political instability stemming from the threat of Quebec's secession--the government is much more concerned with the potential growth of left-wing organizations, than with apprehending the organized crime figures with whom the capitalists consort.

ANTI-LEFT WITCHHUNT BREWING IN QUEBEC

In Quebec in particular, with its militant labor movement, strong separatist sentiment and recently-elected Parti Québécois government, a witchhunt atmosphere is being prepared. The relative social instability in Quebec since the 1960's has resulted in a fertile recruiting ground for the so-called "far



LA PRESSE'S ANTI-COMMUNIST "INFORMATIONAL" CAMPAIGN.

left," particularly the Maoists. At this year's Montreal May Day demonstration, about 30 percent of the 10,000 or so demonstrators marched under the banners of Maoist and ostensibly Trotskyist organizations. Half of these were under the discipline of the rapidly-growing Maoist Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) (CCL [M-L]).

The bourgeoisie's hired toadies in the capitalist media have begun to generate the political climate for the witchhunt. The largest daily newspaper in Quebec, Montreal's La Presse, recently ran an extensive seventeen-part series on the "far left" in the province, containing such wide-ranging information

# Critical Support...

(continued from page 7)

porting other, equally reformist, groups over the ALP would have been to give these small-time reformists too much credit.

And in the December 1976 Vancouver mayoral election, the LSA's Joe Kellner ran on an ultra-reformist program significantly to the right of the LSA's recent provincial election campaigns. Kellner's program contained no criticisms of the British Columbia NDP, save one--its failure to run in the civic election! This in a province which had just experienced three years of strikebreaking, anti-labor NDP government! Under such circumstances, to have called for a vote to the tinpot would-be Dave Barretts of the miniscule LSA would have been stupid and wrong.

Trotskyists employ the tactic of critical electoral support to draw the class line in elections, and to set the base of the revisionist organizations against their misleaders. So long as small ostensibly revolutionary groupings do not openly cross the class line, critical support to them is an entirely tactical question, to be decided concretely in each case. A principled, yet flexible, use of the critical support tactic toward small centrist and reformist organizations can often be a valuable aid in exposing the revisionism of these groups, and winning subjectively revolutionary militants to the program of proletarian revolution.■

about the left and its activities, particularly in the unions, that liberal access to RCMP and other police files in the production of the series seems likely. The La Presse series, similar articles in Le Devoir and speeches by Premier René Lévesque and other PQ Cabinet ministers are designed to whip up anti-communist hysteria through tales of reds under every bed. It is not accidental that, in conjunction with the La Presse articles, there has been a move by the right wing in several Quebec unions (particularly where CCL [M-L] supporters are active) to attempt to introduce anti-communist red clauses.

In this context, the intense and violent sectarianism exhibited by CCL (M-L) toward other left-wing groups (see "CCL [M-L] in Anti-Trotskyist Frenzy," SC No. 17, June) is particularly dangerous. By loudly declaring other leftists to be the "real enemy," and refusing on principle to engage in united defense work with them, CCL (M-L) is giving notice to the class enemy that it is committed to undermining proletarian class solidarity when the workers movement is under capitalist attack. Such criminal sectarianism sets up each organization to face attack from the bourgeois state alone. This is particularly dangerous for CCL (M-L) which, as the largest and fastest-growing of the "far left" organizations, is today the prime target for bourgeois repression.

All of the recent activities directed against the left and labor movement--the APLQ break-ins, the

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## RCMP...

(continued from page 13)

unconditional discharges for the criminal cops, new wiretap legislation, the witchhunt in Quebec--are part of the bourgeoisie's attempt to strengthen capitalist state institutions. The capitalists are testing the waters in preparation for future repression. The current offensive by the bourgeoisie must not go unanswered--otherwise the class enemy will have a blank check to crack down on the left and labor movement whenever it deems it "necessary."

### "REFORMS" NOT THE ANSWER

It is the RCMP which is a criminal terrorist organization. But as a praetorian guard of the capitalist class, it is able to undertake its illegal repressive activities with impunity. Revolutionaries call for jailing the police gangsters and others implicated in the APLQ affair--but the fact that these uniformed thugs were let off scot-free in court comes as no surprise to us. The cops and courts are both direct instruments of the capitalist state, serving to perpetuate and reinforce bourgeois rule.

Endless muckraking liberal campaigns against RCMP abuses and "excesses" will not stop its criminal dealings. On the contrary, the "reforms" sought by the social democrats and the liberal bourgeoisie have as their central aim the streamlining and prettifying of the activities of this anti-working class agency. In contrast to the reformists, revolutionaries demand that the RCMP be abolished!

Yet rather than take up this elementary democratic demand, the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) march in lockstep with the liberals, sowing shameless illusions that the state's repressive apparatus can be reformed. In a cravenly reformist editorial in the 24 June Militant, the RMG argues:

"Together we have the power to demand that the activities of police spies be curtailed, not extended. Together we have the power to enforce that demand."

Nowhere is the call raised to do away with the police spy agencies--their right to exist is not even called into question! Clearly, the impending fusion of the right-centrist RMG with the social-democratic League for Socialist Action has led to a rapprochement with the LSA's reformist politics.

And if reforming the RCMP is the task of revolutionaries, then why not advise the state when martial law is needed? This is what the RMG proposes in the same issue of the Militant, when it calls for "a union commission of inquiry into the 1970 imposition of the War Measures Act." But the War Measures Act does not need an "inquiry"--it is a police-state law that must be abolished! A call for an inquiry commission can only imply that there could be a justification for the "legal" terrorist measures implemented in October 1970.

We demand the repeal of the War Measures Act, its successor the Public Order Act and all other "emergency" laws providing for the suspension of

bourgeois democratic rights. Those victims of the October 1970 police dragnet who still remain in jail must be set free. From the standpoint of the working class, Paul Rose and the other FLQ militants who were imprisoned in connection with the abduction and death of Quebec Cabinet minister Pierre Laporte were guilty of no crimes. While Marxists consider the FLQ's strategy of individual terror to be impotent in the face of the mass armed terror of the bourgeois state, our class sympathy lies with and we stand in defense of the FLQ abductors of Pierre Laporte, a bourgeois Quebec "Justice" minister notorious for his dealings with organized crime.

### FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

So long as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie remains intact, the state, through its agencies like the RCMP, will continue to direct terrorist activity against the working class and the oppressed, and the threat of a vicious authoritarian police state will always exist. Only the victorious workers revolution--the rising of the vast majority of society under the leadership of a Leninist proletarian vanguard party--will bring an end to the sanguinary rule of the capitalist class. With the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class will deal the definitive death-blow to capital's political police and their deeds.■

## Ed Ziemba...

(continued from page 3)

back. " His courtroom behavior was so outrageous that Dneiper was officially reprimanded by a former Attorney-General. Given the present criminal code, Ziemba could be jailed indefinitely if he continues to refuse to reveal his source for materials in the Abko case.

NDP and liberal defenders of Ziemba reduce his persecution by Provincial Court to a question of "parliamentary immunity." Both the imperialist war-criminal Nixon and the German revolutionary anti-war socialist Liebknecht appealed to "immunity" purportedly granted by elected office when under the threat of state prosecution. We call for jailing the former and defending the latter because our code of justice is dictated by the interests of the working class, not by an abstract bourgeois "right" like parliamentary immunity.

Ed Ziemba, his do-gooder impulses aside, is an extremely right-wing social democrat of a sort which in Western Europe is found only in histories of the turn-of-the-century labor movement, but which over-populates the antediluvian social democracy of the NDP. Nonetheless, this unprecedented jailing of an MPP is not unrelated to the fact that he is a member of a party which is based on the organized labor movement. The Provincial Court persecution of Ziemba is an attack upon the workers movement, and the workers movement should be mobilized, in spite of Ziemba's pathetic plea for "temperance," to demand an end to his "legal" persecution.■

## Soviet Dissidents ...

(continued from back page)

accords. According to Alekseeva, the group is composed of individuals from the "entire political spectrum... from Marxists to monarchists." Admittedly unconcerned about "human rights" outside the Soviet bloc (for example, in South Africa or Chile), the sole activity of the Helsinki Monitoring Group is to issue reports on violations of the Helsinki accords to western journalists once a month. The group then seeks to put pressure on the U. S. and other western powers to enforce the Helsinki agreement--i. e., to put economic, diplomatic and/or military pressure on the USSR.

Alekseeva lavished praise on "western radio broadcasts" (i. e., the CIA-run Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, etc.) for bringing cases of "human rights" violations to the attention of the Moscow dissidents. She went on to laud westerners who have given financial assistance to their defense of Soviet political prisoners. Money from the west is apparently channeled into the Soviet Union through something known as the "Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn fund."

It is a telling commentary on the anti-proletarian crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy that, more than forty years after Stalin proclaimed the final establishment of "socialism," so many dissident intellectuals in the USSR are repudiating Marxism and turning for support to U. S. imperialism, the main enemy of the world working class today. The Stalinists' brutal repression and systematic denial of elementary democratic rights to the working masses performs an inestimable service for the imperialists' cold-warrior crusade. Carter has no need to fabricate anti-democratic atrocities by the Soviet bureaucrats--they are real, and must be condemned by all partisans of the working class.

But in the face of the stepped-up anti-communist propaganda offensive by the American imperialists against the Soviet Union, it is vitally important for Marxists to come to the defense of the conquests of the October Revolution. We demand an end to the Soviet bureaucrats' repression of the working class and dissident intellectuals (so long as the latter are not actively organizing for the restoration of capitalism), and seek to forge a Trotskyist vanguard party to oust the parasitic bureaucrats and restore proletarian democratic rule through soviets. But this position has nothing in common with the impe-

rialist designs of Jimmy Carter and the American ruling class--in fact, proletarian political revolution would ensure the best possible defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. To pressure Carter to fight for "human rights" in the USSR is to play the dangerous and despicable game of capitalist counterrevolution.

Yet this is exactly the strategy backed by the RMG! Not once has the Old Mole or its successor the Militant denounced the Soviet dissidents' calls on Carter to enforce the Helsinki pact and "human rights"--rather these dissidents have been praised without criticism. And at the June 30 Toronto meeting, not one of the RMG supporters who spoke from the floor during the question period took issue with Alekseeva's anti-Soviet rantings, or called for military defense of the USSR. Rather, headed up by Central Committee member and recent electoral candidate Barry Weisleder, the RMG supporters politely asked a series of "innocent" questions about such things as the extent of anti-Semitic persecution in the USSR! The RMG spokesmen bent over backwards to ensure that the right-wing anti-communist atmosphere of the meeting would not be "disrupted."

These are not the activities of a group somehow deluded about the real purpose of Carter's "human rights" ravings, or about the class sympathies of the Soviet dissidents it seeks to tail. The RMG's recent sharp right turn on the question of the dissidents and Soviet defensism--consistent with the turn of the SWP and the rest of the United Secretariat--is an expression of conscious opportunism, an opportunism which dovetails neatly with the counter-revolutionary designs of U. S. imperialism. ■

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# SPARTACIST CANADA



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## Soviet Dissidents and Cold-Warrior Carter

### Anti-Communism at Toronto Meeting

Jimmy Carter, master of sinister imperialist double-talk and commander-in-chief of the world's most dangerous military power, has launched a hypocritical and menacing campaign to whip up popular hatred against the "totalitarian" Soviet Union. Two years ago, the U.S. imperial flag retreated, tattered, blood-drenched and universally despised, after years of brutal imperialist terror failed to prevent a massive American defeat in Indochina. But today, in the name of "defending human rights" in the Soviet degenerated workers state, the stars and stripes have been patched together and unfurled for another anti-communist cold war crusade.

Ominously, it's working. Not only has Carter's anti-Soviet shell game met with overwhelming (if passive) approval among the American population, but virtually the entire left has fallen into step, echoing the imperialist chief's "human rights" rhetoric and urging him to deepen and extend his commitment to capitalist "democracy." Rushing to flaunt its social-democratic "respectability" before the American ruling class, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has abandoned in practice its defense of the USSR. In an article in the 24 June U.S. Militant, SWP leader Joseph Hansen calls on the Soviet Union to "seize the initiative" on military disarmament, and states that, in the context of the nuclear arms race, for the Soviet Union "'military defense' has obviously become meaningless..."! Here in Canada, the right-centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) has

attacked Carter's campaign from the right--urging that it become more forthright, public and aggressive (see "Defend the Gains of October!", SC No. 16, May).

These fake-Trotskyists have moved sharply to the right by uncritically tailing the current crop of dissident Soviet intellectuals--including such open pro-imperialists as Andrei Amalrik, Vladimir Bukovsky and Andrei Sakharov. At a June 30 Toronto public meeting sponsored by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, the RMG was afforded another opportunity to demonstrate its prostration before these anti-communist dissidents.

The meeting, built around the theme "In Defense of Human Rights East and West," was attended by about 75 people, largely Eastern European émigrés. The featured speaker was Liudmilla Alekseeva, a founding member and official foreign spokesman of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group. The chairman sought to pay lip-service to "defending human rights" in the west by opening the meeting with a plea for opposition to the proposed new Canadian immigration law. But thereafter the evening was devoted entirely to right-wing attacks on the USSR.

The Helsinki Monitoring Group was established by dissidents in Moscow to document violations of the democratic rights provisions (such as freedom of speech, travel and religion) of the 1975 Helsinki

(continued on page 15)