

# SPARTACIST

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## Levesque's Labor Lieutenants Push "Socialist" Nationalism

When René Lévesque's bourgeois Parti Québécois assumed power in Quebec in November 1976 it was widely touted by the trade union bureaucrats as a government that would prove to be a "friend of labor." However in its one and a half years in office the PQ government has shown that it is just as anti-working class as any of its Union Nationale or Liberal predecessors.

Quebec's labor tops initially hailed the PQ's first piece of anti-labor legislation (Bill 45) as an "anti-scab" law. But the use of the PQ's legislation to break recent strikes by iron ore workers in Sept Isles and workers at Commonwealth Plywood in Ste-Thérèse has shown that it is just one more weapon in the bosses' anti-labor arsenal. In both strikes the PQ's so-called "anti-scab" legislation has been used to protect scabs who kept production rolling while the capitalist courts issued injunctions to restrict the number of picketers. In the Commonwealth strike PQ labor minister Pierre-Marc Johnson showed his "neutrality" by ratifying a counterfeit "contract" signed by the bosses and the company union set up by the scabs after the strike began.

### THE PARTI QUEBÉCOIS AND THE UNIONS

Since World War II the Québécois working class has been the most combative sector of the North American proletariat and has played a leading role in cross-Canada labor actions--particularly the October 14, 1976 "day of protest." This militancy forces Quebec labor bureaucrats to assume a more militant posture than their opposite numbers in English Canada in order to retain credibility with their ranks. The bureaucrats' occasional verbal radicalism is combined with continued electoral support to the nationalists of the PQ. In the November 1976 election the leaderships of all three trade union federations gave open or tacit support to the PQ, claiming that it was (to quote the Quebec Federation of Labor) the party that "stands closest to the workers."

When the PQ sat on the opposition benches in the National Assembly it used to occasionally criticize unpopular anti-labor measures implemented by the Liberals. Even in office the PQ makes some attempt

to make its bourgeois program a little more palatable for trade unionists by using a bit of social-democratic/populist rhetoric here and there. But Lévesque and Co. are well aware that selling Wall Street on their vision of a stable independent capitalist Quebec depends on the PQ's continuing ability to control Quebec's volatile proletariat.



La Presse  
QUEBEC WORKERS PROTEST SHOOTING OF ROBIN HOOD STRIKERS

Thus the PQ put forward the infamous Bill 45 and has generally been taking a hard line with labor.

As disenchantment with the PQ deepens in the unions the labor tops have begun to take some of their "socialist" demagoguery out of cold storage. The Quebec union bureaucrats are all pretty good at talking "left" when the occasion calls for it, and the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) leadership has a reputation for being the most "radical" of them all. Thus it is hardly surprising that at the 20th Convention of the Montreal Council of the CSN held in April the union tops put forward a resolution calling for an "independent and socialist Quebec." The Central Council of the CSN adopted

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## Editorial Notes

### HOW CPL "FIGHTS" OPPORTUNISM

Recently the Worker, four-page newsheet of the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour (CPL), announced a drive against "opportunism" in their organization. There is certainly plenty of opportunism to fight in CPL. In the unions CPL members have a habit of crossing picket lines (e. g., the postal mechanics' strikes at the Post Office in 1975 and again this year) and of supporting various union bureaucrats running for office (for example, Jean-Claude Parrott in the Canadian Union of Postal Workers). Much of the rest of the time of the organization is taken up building their liberal front group the Committee Against Racism (CAR). But this is not the opportunism which concerns the CPL leadership. Rather the object of their campaign is a lack of diligence displayed this year by its membership in building the annual CPL May Day march.

The May Day march is the major event on the political calendar of this stagnant little Stalinist sect. The postering and banner-making provides months of busy work for the CPL membership. Despite the international tradition of May Day as a day of working-class solidarity CPL jealously guards its little march and makes a practice of forcibly excluding any other left groups who might attempt to participate. For the eclectic Stalinists of CPL the May Day march is supposed to be a "show of strength" to bolster the morale of the membership as they march through Toronto celebrating another year of continued existence.

This year, in an attempt to reach out to new layers of liberals and trade-union bureaucrats who might otherwise be wary of endorsing or participating in a "commie" march, the CPL leadership dropped all mention of "socialism" or "revolution" in publicity for the march. However, despite their best efforts to broaden the appeal of their little trek, this year's march was even smaller than usual. It seems that the CPL membership was a trifle sluggish in persuading their friends and relatives to turn out for the annual walking tour of downtown Toronto. Of course in a Stalinist sect like CPL it is not possible to raise even the most oblique criticisms of the leadership, so perhaps Phil Taylor and the rest of CPL's leading honchos are right in interpreting their ranks' foot-dragging as an implicit expression of disenchantment with the annual May Day charade. In any case, in CPL it is axiomatic that the leadership can't be wrong--therefore the failure of this year's march must be due to the "opportunism" of the ranks.

Accordingly, the little groups of CPL trade-union supporters had to produce self-denunciations, which were duly published in the Worker of April 26. The rail fraction reported that "CPL's rail cadre decided to take a pass on class struggle in the past few weeks" and admitted succumbing to "paralysis and confusion." At Ford Oakville, CPLers judged that their "self-defeating approach reflects a sec-

tarian attitude" and promised to be "more respectful, responsible and confident" in future. CPL postal workers attributed their failure to build the May Day march to the "sloppy work style and opportunist politics of CPL members" and confessed that "instead of being on the job to struggle with our friends, we're out to Blue Jays games."

Among the handful of the faithful who did make it to this year's march was Peter Leibovitch, one-time hot shot leader of the Postal Action Committee (PAC) CPL's caucus in the Post Office. Leibovitch scabbed on the postal mechanics' strike in both 1975 and again last winter in order to "protect" his own job. Ironically he was fired two days later in an anti-communist witchhunt by management.

In its decade of existence CPL has been responsible for destroying scores of once-subjectively revolutionary individuals with its brand of mindless Stalinist reformism. The demoralization evident in this year's smallest-ever march is no doubt a harbinger of things to come as this little band of Stalinists without a homeland wends its way down the road to political oblivion.

### ONANISTIC SOCIALISTS ?

Over the weekend of May 6-7 the International Socialists (IS) held an "educational" conference entitled "The Politics of 'Personal' Life: Women, Sexuality and the Family." Not wishing to share the secrets of their "personal politics" with other tendencies the IS refused admission to three Trotskyist League comrades on the opening day of the conference.

For the most part the conference was devoted to endless New Left style "sensitivity" sessions where workshop participants discussed how they could "find themselves through finding each other." During a session entitled "Women, the Family and Women's Work" one guilty male IS trade unionist proposed junking all of the traditions of previous generations of socialists--on the basis that they were all tainted with sexism!

Probably the lowest point in the whole apolitical conference came during a presentation on women's sexuality by IS member Susan Tybourne. Tybourne described the sexual oppression of women in bourgeois society and then went on to reveal that the worst form of this oppression is that capitalism prevents women from learning the "skill" of masturbation and thus denies them "sexual autonomy"! Having had no particular success in the unions with their brand of social-democratic reformism, perhaps some of the IS's members can find a future for themselves setting up sexual rehabilitation centres to unplug orgone flow and dispense libido.

## SPARTACIST CANADA

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# Solidarity with the Fleck Strikers!



UAW PICKETS SHUT DOWN FLECK

SC Photo

Amid jeers and shouts of "Sieg Heil" by Fleck strikers, 50 riot-equipped cops descended on the picket line of Fleck workers and United Auto Workers (UAW) supporters at Fleck Manufacturing Co. in Centralia, on May 24. Swinging 36-inch long riot batons, the cops clubbed their way through the line, knocking picketers to the ground and beating several women strikers in the stomach and breasts. This was the second time during the strike that the cops have donned their "crowd control" gear to beat a path for scabs into the strikebound plant.

The Fleck strike is now dragging into its fourth month but the determination of the strikers to win the battle for their first UAW contract has not wavered. In an interview in the *Toronto Star* one Fleck worker spoke for all the strikers when she said, "The main thing is not giving up--not one goddamn one of us is giving up" (28 May). The courage and determination of the Fleck strikers has won the sympathy of the labor movement throughout southern Ontario. Busloads of supporters from other UAW locals have turned up to bolster the Fleck lines. Financial assistance and support has also come from other unions. Delegates to the Ontario convention of the Canadian Union of Public Employees voted to support the Fleck strike and sent a donation of \$1,446 to the strikers.

On May 19, a demonstration of 400 strike supporters, organized mainly through Organized Working Women in Toronto (OWW), shut down the Fleck plant. A week later OWW sponsored a rally in Toronto attended by 100 supporters of the Fleck

strikers. Following speeches by a representative from OWW and a UAW International representative several unionists addressed the rally. Militants from UAW locals 707 in Oakville and 303 in Scarborough stressed the need for concrete actions of labor solidarity to back up the embattled Fleck workers and pointed to motions they had put forward in their own unions calling for daily mass pickets and demanding that the UAW International declare a ban on the handling of scab wiring produced at Fleck. Their appeals for the UAW and the rest of the labor movement to mobilize to shut Fleck down were greeted with enthusiastic applause.

Grossly underpaid and isolated in a small, rat-infested sweatshop, the Fleck strikers epitomize the special oppression of women workers. Their battle for union recognition has evoked wide sympathy because they are women fighting what is so clearly a just battle against a ruthless employer and the undisguised brutality of the bourgeois state. OWW tries to tap this sympathy by portraying the Fleck strike as a battle of the sexes. But a Trotskyist League spokesman at the support rally pointed out that both the OPP riot squad and scabs at the plant included many women. She was forced to state what should be obvious: labor solidarity, not "sisterhood," is the key to winning the Fleck strike.

The auto bosses have been granted an unprecedented and sweeping injunction banning all pickets at Ford plants in Ontario until September 14, 1979! The injunction, issued in response to the shutdown of Ford's Talbotville assembly plant in solidarity with the Fleck strike, is a vicious attack not only on Ford workers but the UAW and the labor movement as a whole. The court order is a blatant attempt to rob Ford workers of their only effective weapon to fight against the company's daily contract violations as well as preventing other workers from appealing to solidarity actions by workers at Ford.

To combat the injunction, UAW militants at Ford Oakville put forward a motion demanding that all picket lines be respected and calling on the International to organize strike action to end the use of scab wiring from Fleck. The motion also demanded a Canada-wide UAW strike in the event Ford attempted to enforce the anti-picketing injunction. The local bureaucrats ruled the motion out of order on the grounds that it would be unconstitutional to respect all picket lines. The UAW tops have no intention of organizing to defeat the bosses' anti-labor injunction. Their "strategy" has been to challenge the injunction in the same court which issued it.

The Fleck strike will not be won through the bosses' courts. The government's and the bosses' union-busting, anti-labor offensive will only be defeated through the power of united industrial action.

**VICTORY TO THE FLECK STRIKE!  
FOR DAILY MASS PICKETS TO SHUT FLECK  
DOWN!  
STRIKE FORD--BLACK SCAB PARTS--SMASH  
THE INJUNCTION!**

# USec Factions Liquidate in Spirit of "Sisterhood"

"Women's Liberation and Socialism" is the first pamphlet to be published by the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), Canadian affiliate of the United Secretariat (USec), since its formation last August. The RWL was born of a fusion between the rightward moving centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG--Canadian supporters of Ernest Mandel's European-based International Majority Tendency [IMT]) and the reformist League for Socialist Action (co-thinkers of the American Socialist Workers Party [SWP] and its Leninist-Trotskyist Faction [LTF]). With "Women's Liberation and Socialism" the RWL celebrates the present detente in the USec between the recently dissolved factions by reprinting the major resolutions of both the IMT and LTF on the woman question in preparation for the USec's Eleventh World Congress to be held this year. When these resolutions were originally drafted for the Tenth World Congress they contained sharply divergent positions. Taking a lesson from the Stalin school of falsification, neither document makes reference to the previous heated polemics between the IMT and the LTF over the woman question. This is particularly dishonest on the part of the RWL, given that this question was still in dispute at the time of its creation last summer.

In the current spirit of reconciliation and brotherly love that prevails in the USec, the polemics have been dropped and both sides have agreed not to disagree (much). But this most recent reunion is as unstable as its foundation is unprincipled. The two wings of the USec retain their distinctive and sometimes sharply counterposed opportunist appetites. While the centrist ex-IMT wing is the "anti-capitalist" spokesman for the radical petty bourgeoisie, the reformist SWP provides a social-democratic cover for the liberal wing of its own bourgeoisie. Should the respective constituencies of the LTF and IMT once again come into conflict during a major social upheaval (as they did in Portugal in 1975), the "second honeymoon" between the two factions could well be terminated, once again setting these partners in crime at each other's throats.

Despite the many outstanding unresolved disputes between the IMT and LTF, there is substantial political congruence on the woman question. They are united in their prostration before feminism, a bourgeois ideology counterposed to Marxism. Feminism holds that the fundamental social contradiction in capitalist society is between the sexes, not between classes. But while both factions have embraced feminism, they operate

on different national terrains, so there remain important differences in the form which their adaptation to this anti-working class phenomenon takes. The European centrists, who live in the shadow of mass social-democratic and Stalinist parties attempt to dress up their feminism with a little "class struggle" rhetoric. The reformist SWP, which exists in the more conservative American milieu, concentrates its women's work on building the bourgeois National Organization for Women (NOW).

## WHO IS THE SWP TRYING TO KID ?

Entitled "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation" the LTF resolution reprinted in the pamphlet, which was penned by SWP honcho Mary-Alice Waters in December 1976, is almost identical to the original version written in July 1973. The more recent draft reaffirms the SWP's commitment to feminism, and explicitly states that it "supports and helps build such all-female groups and organizations, which are an indispensable component of the mass feminist movement we strive for." This unambiguous endorsement of feminism is predictable from the SWP. What is most striking about Waters' resolution is not the routine feminism, but the lip service the LTF pays to the desirability of an "anti-capitalist" orientation for the women's movement.

With consummate hypocrisy, the shameless Noskes and Scheidemanns of the SWP claim "We counterpose extraparliamentary mass action--demonstrations, meetings, strikes--to reliance on elections, parliaments, legislatures and the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians who haunt them." They even assert "We fight to keep women's liberation organizations and struggles independent of all bourgeois forces and parties"! The SWP's "anti-capitalist", "proletarian" feminism is purely a literary invention, (a textbook example of the technique of the "Big Lie") which is designed to win support from the ranks of the ex-IMT in Europe.

The practical activity of the SWP among women is concentrated in building the bourgeois-feminist NOW, a feminist auxiliary to Jimmy Carter's Democratic Party. The report on women's work at the last SWP national convention made this unambiguously clear: "We should deepen our work to build NOW, the most important single organization in which we are active." For years the SWP's justification for this kind of work was that consistent feminism equals socialism. But the

"consistent feminists" in NOW know better. Fearing that even the presence of the tame social-democrats of the SWP might give NOW a bad name with the bourgeois politicians it seeks to influence, the "sisters" in NOW launched a vicious red-baiting attack on the SWP at the last NOW convention in April 1977.

**IMT DROPS "ORTHODOXY"  
FOR UNITY WITH FEMINISTS/SWP**

Unlike the Waters resolution which has barely changed from the original, the IMT's reply has been completely rewritten. In its first draft the



COPS AT FLECK: NOT "SISTERS" BUT STRIKEBREAKERS Toronto Sun

IMT termed Waters' document a "deadly digest of the lowest common denominator of women's oppression" and charged the SWP with "a deviation from the Marxist class-struggle approach to work in the women's movement" (SWP Internal Discussion Bulletin, Dec. 1976). The IMTers also attacked the SWP for its attempt to find an "objective strategic place for a multi-class women's movement" and boldly asserted that "We must always attack feminism, especially because a bourgeois-democratic women's movement [would present] a formidable obstacle to the unity of men and women workers in their struggle for emancipation."

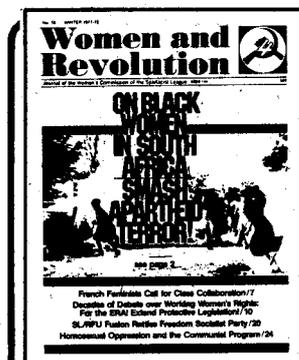
However today the Pabloites of the ex-IMT are singing a different tune. Their document reprinted in "Women's Liberation and Socialism" begins with the statement that "The authors of the two documents do not consider them to contain counterposed political lines." And indeed they don't. Both resolutions see feminism as a progressive phenomenon rather than as a variant of bourgeois ideology--both defend male exclu-

sionism and call for building an "autonomous" women's movement. With the upsurge of the women's movement in Western Europe the Pabloites have embraced feminism with all the enthusiasm with which they once touted Castroism, student power, the "new mass vanguard" and the various other manifestations which the chameleon "objective revolutionary dynamic" has assumed over the years.

To the extent that the IMT ever had a position on the woman question it favored an "independent" women's movement. But until the recent growth of feminism in Europe the USec simply ignored the woman question. Many USec sections, particularly the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (the flagship of the IMT) were quite insensitive to the oppression of women within their own organizations. Thus the LCR's recent turn to feminism was not simply an attempt to cash in on a burgeoning new "mass movement" but was also fueled by the real grievances of many of their own women members. This is reflected in the feminist demand for an "autonomous women's movement" within their own organization which the Mandelites raise in their document: women must be able to "meet among themselves so they can discuss the specific internal problems they face in order to...demand that the leadership take the necessary measures to remedy them" (see "Three-Ring Circus at French LCR Congress," *Workers Vanguard*, 25 February 1977). A recent issue of *Socialist Challenge* (4 May) announces that the International Marxist Group (British USec section) has also adopted a position in favor of "autonomous" women's caucuses in their organization.

The document explains the ex-IMT's new orientation as a consequence of "The present period of the crisis of capitalism...[in which] there is no longer any room for a broad movement of women putting forward demands solely from the standpoint of the women of the bourgeoisie." This objectivist gibberish is supposed to provide a world-historic rationale for their capitulation to feminism which, thanks to the capitalist crisis, can supposedly no longer be bourgeois. In fact, the feminist movement in Europe has largely

(continued on page 13)



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# RMS: Toward Quebec "New Democracy"

The "National Conference on the Construction of the Labor Party" (sponsored by the Regroupment of Trade Union Militants [RMS]) held May 13 in Montreal voted to work for the creation of a reformist workers party in Quebec. The RMS is a pan-union front group of the Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ--satellite of Pierre Lambert's Organisation Communiste Internationale in France). The Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (LOR--the Quebec component of the Canadian section of the United Secretariat) is the GSTQ's junior ally/opponent in the RMS. Coming shortly after the convention of the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN--see article on page 1) which called for the construction of a labor party in Quebec, the RMS conference was devoted to a discussion of how best to prod the bureaucrats into creating a reformist party based on the Quebec unions.

The RMS conference only attracted 200 participants and would have been a rather dull affair, had it not been for the continual squabbling between the GSTQ and the LOR. The GSTQ was determined to limit the RMS program to a three-point statement in favor of trade union independence from the state, united labor action and a (reformist) labor party. The LOR, on the other hand, sought to give the RMS a more leftist appearance and proposed a vaguely worded amendment which called for a struggle against the trade union bureaucracy. This produced a Pavlovian spasm of "ultra-left" baiting by the GSTQ leadership which has close relations with several officials in the Montreal transit workers union. GSTQ supporter Roch Denis declared that the RMS must continue to avoid "unserious and abstract" denunciations of the labor misleaders and concentrate only on building "unity" in the struggle for the "real" needs of workers.

The GSTQ has always had a rather rightist conception of the "real" needs of the proletariat--until last year they were calling for a constituent assembly to complete Canada's bourgeois revolution by writing a new "made-in-Canada" constitution! Now the GSTQ has apparently decided that this demand only applies in Quebec and so has adopted the Parti Québécois' call for an independent, bourgeois "Free Republic of Quebec."

The main difference that the LOR has with the GSTQ is that the LOR wants to construct a reformist workers party in Quebec separate from the NDP on a left-nationalist program. LOR supporters at the convention proposed that the RMS should adopt the formula used in the CSN resolution, that "a real national liberation struggle [in Quebec] can only be a struggle for socialism," but a GSTQ supporter objected that the mere mention of the word "socialism" would impede the RMS's plans to recruit 500 new members in the next

period. The LOR also disagrees with the GSTQ's attempts to breathe life into the moribund Quebec NDP (with which the RMS formed an electoral bloc to contest the 1976 provincial elections). Despite their "left" criticisms however the LOR ended up voting for the GSTQ's resolutions on all the major questions at the conference.

While the GSTQ and the LOR haggled over whether the RMS's main objective should be to promote the social-democratic NDP or left nationalism, a speaker for the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) argued that a workers party must be based on a revolutionary program if it is to maintain independence from the bosses and successfully lead the working class to power. An attempt by the chair to rule the Spartacist speaker "out of order" was overruled by a majority vote of the conference. The iSt spokesman went on to point out that while the fake-Trotskyists in the RMS profess opposition to class collaboration, the behavior

## Release Montreal Transit Union Officials!

On May 24 a Quebec Superior Court judge slapped jail sentences on four leaders of the Montreal Transit maintenance workers union, fined 24 others and levied a \$50,000 fine against the union for the "crime" of having defied a 1974 strikebreaking injunction. Jacques Beaudoin, president of the union and also coordinator of the Regroupment of Trade Union Militants (RMS) received 90 days in prison, while secretary Jacques Morissette, treasurer Jacques Thibault and business agent Pierre Arnault were hit with 60 day sentences. As we go to press the Confederation of National Trade Unions is planning a protest demonstration at the Montreal city courthouse. We demand the immediate release of the union leaders and the dropping of all the fines.

of their French mentors (both of which supported the candidates of the bourgeois Union of the Left popular front in the last election) proves their claims to be hollow.

As long as Quebec remains within the Canadian state, the working class needs a single political party to combat their common enemy. This does not mean the extension of the English-Canadian chauvinist NDP into Quebec, the GSTQ's pet project. Nor can the nationalist program of the LOR unite the French-speaking and English-speaking working class in struggle. The RMS and its fake-Trotskyist architects are obstacles to the creation of a revolutionary vanguard capable of leading the North American socialist revolution. ■

# Fake-Left Furor over Sun Life Pullout

On April 25 a special meeting of the directors and policy holders of the Sun Life Assurance Co. overwhelmingly approved a proposal to transfer the company's head offices from Montreal to Toronto. This decision was made despite the vehement protests of a number of bourgeois politicians, including Finance Minister Jean Chretien. Chretien's protests were echoed by the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour (CPL) and its liberal front group, the International Committee Against Racism (INCAR). The RWL and INCAR held separate demonstrations in front of the policy holders' meeting denouncing the move.

While a caucus of Liberal MP's attempted to rally Sun Life policy holders to vote against the move in the name of "national unity," the RWL sent its own policy holder, Frank Rooney, into the lions' den of company directors and fat cats to denounce the move in the name of Quebec nationalism. The "socialist" stockbrokers of the RWL, who seek to advise the corporate magnates how to invest their profits in a more "moral" fashion, denounced the move as an outright act of "economic terrorism." CPL attributed the move to "Anti-French racism."

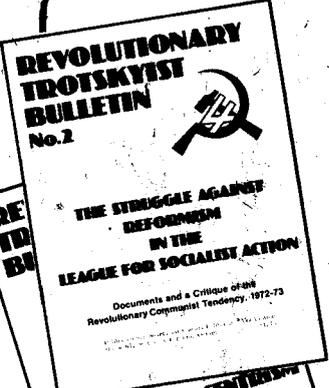
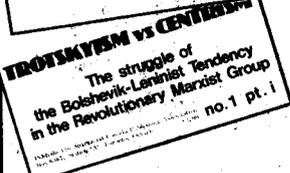
In making its case against Sun Life the RWL likened the transfer to Washington's "destabilization" schemes in Chile prior to the coup. The comparison is ludicrous. The U.S. government's "destabilization" campaign against the Allende government involved the manipulation of international markets to depress copper prices and disrupt normal lines of credit to the Chilean government. This was linked to the internal CIA-financed economic sabotage, such as the private truckers' strike, which was consciously designed to create a political climate for counterrevolution. But the Sun Life move was not directly motivated by a desire to destabilize Quebec's economy. The company's directors judge that they cannot profitably conduct a North American insurance business in French as required under the Parti Québécois' (PQ) language bill.

The RWL also claimed that the Sun Life move was part of a campaign to "intimidate" the Québécois. There can be no doubt that the English-Canadian bourgeoisie is bent on intimidating the PQ and its supporters and will use the Sun Life move to demonstrate that the continuation of the Lévesque government's language policies will necessarily lead to the further erosion of Montreal's once predominant position as the finance capital of Canada. We shed no tears for the plight of aspiring Quebec bosses. Our concern is for the Quebec workers who are tossed out on the pavement as a result of the flight of companies from

Quebec to English Canada. For them we demand unlimited, unconditional unemployment benefits at full pay and fully indexed to the cost of living.

We unconditionally defend the right of Quebec to self-determination and seek to rally the working class to fight against any attempt by the bourgeoisie to deny this right. But, for Leninists, the right to self-determination only means the right of the Québécois to establish their own political state, not the petty-bourgeois utopian fantasy peddled by the RWL of a Quebec free of all outside interference and control. The right to self-determination is a bourgeois democratic answer to the direct oppression of one nation by another. There is no bourgeois democratic solution to the exploitation of weaker national economies by more powerful capitalist economies in the epoch of imperialism.

While the anti-communists among the Sun Life policy holders told Rooney to "go back to Russia," Rooney offered the financial assistance of the RWL "to provide the Sun Life directors with bus fare to the Quebec-Ontario border" in the event that "the Québécois people do succeed in taking their future in their hands." The solution to capitalist exploitation by the corporate giants such as those who sit on the Sun Life board of directors is not the petty-bourgeois nationalist program of the RWL but proletarian internationalism. While the RWL prepares to distribute bus tickets out of Quebec to the bosses and the RCMP, we of the Trotskyist League will be fighting to unite the Québécois and English-speaking working class in the common struggle for a socialist North America. ■

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# West Props Up Zaire Despot



## Colonialists: Live like Pigs - Die like Pigs!

UPI

As colon refugees from the contested Shaba (ex-Katanga) Province of the central African state of Zaire (the former Belgian Congo) stream into Paris and Brussels, the imperialist press has been filled with lurid tales of indiscriminate slaughter of whites by anti-European rebels. The scenario is a neo-colonialist classic. As allegedly Soviet (in this case, Cuban) backed insurgents threaten a "friendly" -- albeit corrupt and despotic -- government, European paratroopers are dispatched to the "battle" scene to rescue missionaries and nuns. In the course of carrying out their "humanitarian mission," these intrepid defenders of the "Free World" manage to rout the infidel at the gates of Khartoum (Kolwezi) and stay on to guarantee the reestablishment of order.

In this case, while most of the Belgian paras flown into the copper-mining region on May 18 have since been pulled back, some 600 commandos of the French Foreign Legion are tracking down scattered bands of the National Liberation Front of the Congo (FLNC) in the bush outside Kolwezi. The French, who in recent months have rescued pro-Western regimes in Mauritania and Chad, declare they will remain for several months. The whole production brings to mind the 1964 "rescue" of whites in Stanleyville. On the pretext of "saving" hostages being held by leftist nationalist rebels Belgian paratroopers, ferried in American planes with CIA pilots, spearheaded an assault by government troops.

From the moment the official Zaire press agency reported on the night of May 11 that FLNC forces had infiltrated across the Zambian border and seized the copper town, the fate of the European

colons has dominated Western newspaper coverage. At present it is claimed that 70 or more whites have been killed, although no tally has been made of the number of black Africans dead in the shooting. It may well be that a number of those whites slaughtered were the victims of popular hatred of the Belgian colonialists, the product of nearly a century of enslavement and exploitation by the colonial masters. Nevertheless, a number of reports also blame troops of Zairean strongman Mobutu, whose rule the imperialist intervention was designed to prop up. Furthermore it was reported that drunken legionnaires had shot and killed five Rhodesian whites and one Belgian.

Certainly there has been no love lost between the Belgians and the French. The Belgians complained that France had denied the right to cross its airspace in order to transport paratroopers to Shaba and that the French also denied their planes permission to land at runways at Kolwezi after the recapture of the town. The squabbling between the European imperialists exposes the real motives behind this "paratrooper diplomacy." The indignant Belgians announced that the French effort was "entirely different" from the Belgian "effort to save lives," hinting that the French were only interested in Shaba's copper and cobalt. Last year's warning by Belgian prime minister Leo Tindemans to the French not to infringe on Belgium's "privileged links" with its former colony indicates, however, the true nature of the Belgian "humanitarian effort."

Meanwhile the U. S. has intervened by providing C-141 troop transports and speeding the delivery of weapons and ammunition to the Mobutu regime.

To complete the scene an American destroyer was stationed off the Zairean coast--a mainly theatrical gesture since the coastline of this largely landlocked country is only a few miles wide! And on May 17 U. S. president Carter complained to Congressional leaders that he was constrained by legislation left over from the squabble in the American ruling class over proposals for large-scale intervention in Angola in 1975-76. At present Washington is barred from supplying military aid to Zaire unless Carter formally declares it is in the interests of U. S. security, and any clandestine operations must be communicated to Congress. The administration wants to use the present incident to reverse this "constricting" legislation.

1960, 1964 AND 1977

The London Economist has called the latest fighting "the déjà vu invasion." But it is not merely the return of the FLNC, once again trying to capitalize on the regionalist and tribal sentiments of the Shaba population that gives it its re-run quality. Last year's "war" was virtually non-existent. Although France and the U. S. eagerly volunteered military aid, Moroccan troops and Egyptian pilots were the only foreign forces involved (alongside Mobutu's pygmy troops) in what little fighting occurred during the 80-day "war." But this time, the Angolan-based FLNC was able to take Kolwezi within two days, and a direct imperialist intervention was thus necessary.

Shaba/Katanga witnessed a variation on this theme in 1960. Only in that case the secessionist movement, led by Moïse Tshombé, was backed by the white colons and Belgian imperialism. When the black rank and file of the army of the newly-independent Congo revolted against their Belgian officers, the former colonial power decided that even nominal independence of the Congo was too risky. White settlers and the Union Minière Mining Trust, hiding behind Tshombé, declared the independence of Katanga province. As atrocity stories about attacks on whites flew thick and fast, Tshombé appealed for the "sending of Belgian troops to protect human lives and goods." At the UN the Belgian minister for foreign affairs harangued the assembly concerning the rape of white women and the murder of priests as the Belgian paras moved into Katanga.

First and foremost, the "sacred mission" of the paratroopers was protection of the copper and cobalt mines of the Union Minière. When, with connivance of the UN forces, Congolese president Kasavubu dismissed radical nationalist Patrice Lumumba as prime minister and after Lumumba was murdered in 1961, the Belgian mining syndicate could breathe a little more easily. Henceforth, the Congolese central government, especially after Mobutu's rise to power, would be backed by imperialism against various tribalist and secessionist opposition groups.

The working class must not be misled by cynical imperialist propaganda about missionaries,

teachers, mining technicians and the like. The real issue is not the fate of the Belgian colonialists but the predatory control of the imperialists on the natural wealth of Zaire and the role of the U. S. Air Force, the Belgian paratroopers and the sadistic scum of the French Foreign Legion in propping up the Mobutu dictatorship. Wracked by a 75 percent annual inflation rate and a foreign debt of \$3 billion, the Zairean economy is in a shambles. Moreover, it is only Mobutu's terrorist régime that forcibly holds together the Zairean state, composed of 220 tribal units.

#### THE SPECTRE OF CUBA

As in last year's invasion, Mobutu's press agency claimed that the FLNC was not only armed and trained by Cubans and Angolans, but that Cuban soldiers participated in the fighting. This time, it was claimed that the invasion was hatched in Havana under the code name "Operation Dove." After all, playing on Western imperialism's fears of a Cuban/Soviet presence had already garnered Zaire's disaster-ridden economy additional millions in foreign aid last year. As was the case last time as well, no proof of any Cuban participation could be found. However, after doing nothing about Ethiopia's turn toward the Soviet Union, the U. S. was looking for an excuse to "draw the line" on Cuban intervention. Even before the invasion, Carter had delivered a strong warning to the USSR and Cuba about their role in Africa, charging the Soviets with "innate racism"!

When the fighting first broke out, units of the 82nd Airborne Division were put on alert. But as the absence of any Cuban presence became clear, the U. S. merely assisted in airlifting the French and Belgian troops to the area, and provided the Zairean army with rations, fuel and equipment. American imperialism's interests were not so directly threatened.

The FLNC is based on Lunda tribesmen from Shaba, with leadership going back to the Katangan gendarmes who supported Tshombé and have fought the central government for two decades. In exile in Angola, they fought for Portuguese colonialism against the Zairean-backed, Bakongo-based National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), then continued this fight on behalf of the Cuban/Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

There is nothing leftist about the FLNC, however. They will ally with anyone in pursuit of their tribalist feud with Mobutu. Those who take their "anti-imperialist" rhetoric as good coin would do well to remember that only a few years ago, Mobutu, in a drive against "colonial culture," renamed the Congo Zaire and nationalized various foreign enterprises, thus qualifying for the vacuous label of "progressive" which Third World cheerleaders now give to the FLNC. In reality the only real difference between these two military-tribal cliques is ethnic, and there is thus no basis for supporting one as against another. But Marxists do militarily support African nationalists

(continued on page 11)

## State Legislates "Decency," Attacks Democratic Rights

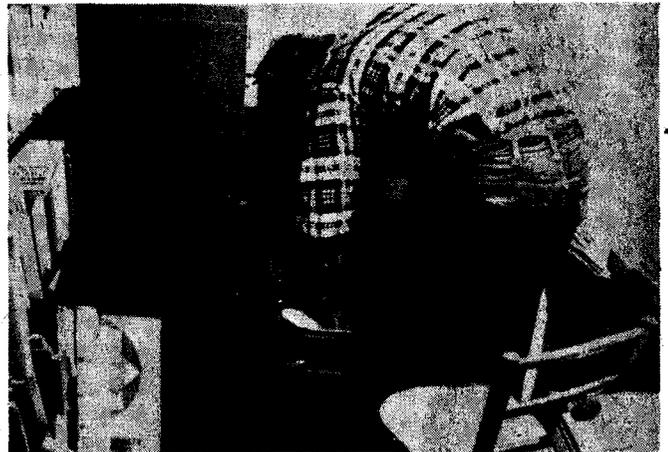
# DOWN WITH TRUDEAU'S MORALITY CODE!

In the name of law, order, moral cleanliness and all that is holy, federal justice minister Ronald Basford introduced legislation in Parliament last month to crack down on pornography and prostitution. The government's proposed legislation (Bill C-51) infinitely broadens the legal definition of obscenity by including "the undue exploitation of the human person" in what is now to be considered "obscene." Latching on to the recent wave of hysteria over child pornography the bill also includes in its definition of obscenity "a totally or partially nude child [defined as 'a person who is, or appears to be, under sixteen years of age'] . . . unduly displaying any portion of his or her body in a sexually suggestive manner." The legislation also provides for punishment of those convicted of violating the state's standards of morality by fines of up to \$100,000 and/or ten years imprisonment!

Bill C-51 comes in the context of a concerted campaign by right-wing bible thumpers to reverse the liberalization of the 1960's. In April the Ontario Board of Censors banned the movie "Pretty Baby," a film by internationally renowned director Louis Malle which depicts the life of the twelve-year-old daughter of a prostitute in a New Orleans bawdy house. Last August police in Toronto seized 85,000 copies of the soft-core, soft-focus American girlie magazine Penthouse. Following the brutal murder of Emmanuel Jaques last summer on Yonge Street morality squad officers have been busy "cleaning up" Toronto by closing down body-rub parlors and increasing their routine harassment of prostitutes and homosexuals. In the Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia the vigilant prudes of the local school board have banned W. O. Mitchell's Who Has Seen The Wind, and Ernest Buckler's The Mountain And The Valley "both recognized as major works of Canadian literature" according to the high-Tory Globe and Mail. Meanwhile in Huron County, Ontario the Catholic Women's League is campaigning to have J. D. Salinger's The Catcher In The Rye and John Steinbeck's Of Mice And Men removed from the local school curriculum.

Basford's bill, which he has described as an attempt to codify "the slippery and elusive ideal" of bourgeois morality, is based on the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs. This committee spent months reviewing sex magazines and listening to representations from the police, the state and the church attesting to the "flood of filth" inundating Canada. In the course of the hearings one MP, Simma Holt, primly commented "You have got to wonder what it does to the expectation in marriage." Speaking

for the church, one Father Massman told the committee that "I think we are going out to burn the type of books that you saw" (quoted in the Body Politic, April 1978).



Frank Rooney/Socialist Voice

"MORALITY" SQUAD RAID ON BODY POLITIC

As Marxists we oppose any laws proscribing freedom of expression, consensual sexual activity, gambling, prostitution and other so-called "crimes without victims." The capitalist state has no right interfering in the consensual activities of the population. Doubtless many feminists and New-Leftists find the defence of the democratic right to free access to pornography offensive. In a letter to the editor in the May issue of the Body Politic one feminist suggested that "the excessive zeal of certain authorities should not blind us to the fact that sometimes legal controls may be necessary" and proposed that "a scrupfyn of the sexism and exploitation involved in pornography... might well turn out to be a more fruitful enterprise than screaming 'horrors' at the mere sight of the word 'censorship.'" It is certainly true that many publications are crudely exploitative of women but state censorship is no solution. The bourgeois state is committed to the maintenance of the social system which turns human sexuality into a commodity. To support the bourgeoisie's right to legislate morality is, in effect, to support this decadent social order.

In addition to stamping out pornography the government's amendments to the Criminal Code are aimed at facilitating the prosecution of prostitutes. Under Bill C-51 a wink or a nudge could bring charges of prostitution; and for "purposes of soliciting" an automobile can be considered a "public place." This legal sanction for cop round-ups and increased harassment of prostitutes must be opposed.

Like everything else in bourgeois society sexual relations tend to be regulated by economic compulsion. Bourgeois morality, which is determined in accordance with the social, economic and political needs of capitalist society hypocritically condemns prostitution in order to bolster the ideology of the nuclear family, the basic social unit of capitalism. Yet, as Frederick Engels noted in The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State "prostitution [has] clung to the heels of monogamy" since its origins and it will survive as long as the stultifying nuclear family. Only with the victory of the socialist revolution and the socialization of housework and childcare will the basis be laid for the replacement of the nuclear family and an end to the oppression of women.

Following the successful campaign of reactionary bigot Anita Bryant to repeal a Dade County (Florida) ordinance prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals, right-wingers have launched an across-the-board campaign for a return to the prurient standards of Victorian morality. The passage of Bill C-51 will significantly curtail freedom of the press in Canada while also strengthening the legal weapons available to the state in its pervasive harassment of homosexuals, prostitutes and any others deemed to be "sexual deviants."

The legislation of morality by the state is as much a political question as a moral one. In South Africa the fanatical prurience of the Dutch Reformed Church bulwarks the draconian political censorship enforced by the pious defenders of apartheid. The labor movement and all those concerned about the defense of democratic rights must strenuously oppose the reactionary measures being put forward in Bill C-51.

**NO TO STATE CENSORSHIP!**

**ABOLISH ALL "MORALITY" LAWS!**

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## Zaire...

(continued from page 9)

against direct imperialist interventions (such as the current Belgian/French/U.S. operations) and call for the defeat of groupings which become nothing more than pawns of such interventions.

As for the alleged killing of some 70 Europeans, this pales beside the crimes of Belgian colonialism, which slaughtered tens and hundreds of thousands of Africans in its drive to exploit the Congo's natural resources.

In view of this long history of hellish exploitation and oppression, which had reduced the Congolese population by half in the early decades of the twentieth century, the immense hatred of the Zairean blacks for their former colonial masters is easily understood. Marxists oppose the notion of "collective guilt" and indiscriminate attacks on whites or any other population group. However, it should by now be clear to those Belgians, who for generations have been the most arrogant and parasitical of all of the white settlers in Africa and who go to their ex-colony to participate in renewed exploitation of the toiling masses, that they might not come back alive. The hysteria over the fate of these European colonialists is simply a pretext for imperialist intervention.

We oppose French imperialism's current African adventures. Some 1,700 French troops and French fighter-bombers now prop up the government of Chad against insurgents; French planes carry out air strikes from bases in Mauritania against the Algerian-backed Polisario Front. We oppose all attempts to further entrench U.S. or French imperialism in central Africa. No military aid to Zaire--no imperialist troops or advisers for the butcher Mobutu! It will be the copper miners of Zaire and Zambia, under a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership, and linked to the masses of the South African proletariat, who will establish the workers and peasants governments leading to a socialist federation of southern Africa.

(Adapted from Workers Vanguard, 26 May 1978)

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## "Socialist" Nationalism...

(continued from page 1)

a position in favor of independence in 1972, but this year the bureaucrats thought it expedient to "up the ante" and add a call for "socialism." The CSN resolution, entitled "The Labor Movement and the Issue of Quebec's Independence," declares that "a real national liberation struggle can only be a struggle for socialism." The CSN leaders even went so far as to call for an "independent political organization" for Quebec workers at the Montreal convention.

While the leadership of the Montreal Central Council of the CSN has embellished its nationalist program with a few "socialist" touches it has not wavered in its support to the PQ. Their resolution advises Quebec workers to wait and "see whether all these positive aspects of [the PQ's] program will be carried out" before proceeding further (quoted in the *Forge*, 14 April). Quebec workers must not be fooled by the "socialist" rhetoric of the bureaucrats who, while talking about creating a labor party tell the ranks to "wait and see" about the PQ. The PQ is a thoroughly bourgeois party which represents those Quebec bosses who want their own state so that they can monopolize the exploitation of Quebec workers--nobody has to wait to see that, it is amply evident in the PQ's program and in its record in power.

### LENINISM AND QUEBECOIS NATIONALISM

As Leninists we unconditionally defend Quebec's right to self-determination. Only through the defense of the democratic national and language rights of the Québécois can the basis be laid for unity between militant Quebec workers and their English-speaking class brothers and sisters against their common capitalist exploiters. But the way forward for Quebec workers does not lie through nationalism--either that of Lévesque and Co. or the "independence and socialism" sham of the CSN tops. The present signs of disillusionment with the PQ provide an opening for revolutionaries to break the Québécois working class from their illusions in nationalism.

The fake-Trotskyists of the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire/Revolutionary Workers League (LOR/RWL) have seized upon the CSN resolution to promote their conception of "socialist" Québécois nationalism. Congratulating themselves for being in the "vanguard" of the trade union brass with their call for an "independent and socialist Quebec" the LOR/RWL heralds the CSN resolution as: "...the most significant development in the Quebec labor movement since [the PQ victory of] November 15, 1976. It is a giant step forward for the entire labor movement" (*Socialist Voice*, 22 May). The RWL gave very favorable coverage to delegates at the convention who condemned the PQ for not supporting independence and argued that "the labor movement has to take the leadership of the struggle for independence while giving it a socialist content" (*Socialist Voice*, 8 May). The

super-nationalists of the LOR/RWL attack the PQ for having "retreated on the question of independence."

The task of revolutionaries is to combat the influence of nationalism in the working class:

"Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the 'most just', 'purest', most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism....  
"To throw off the feudal yoke, all national oppression, and all privileges enjoyed by any particular nation or language is the imperative duty of the proletariat as a democratic force....  
But to go beyond these strictly limited and definite historical limits in helping bourgeois nationalism means betraying the proletariat and siding with the bourgeoisie."

--V. I. Lenin "Critical Remarks on the National Question"

The LOR/RWL's promotion of the chimera of an "independent and socialist" Quebec can only serve to deepen the divisions between the Québécois workers and their class allies in the rest of the continent. There is no separatist road to power for the Quebec proletariat. Quebec is highly integrated into the North American economy, the home of the most powerful imperialist country in the world. A proletarian uprising in Quebec will either be the prelude to North American working-class revolution or it will be crushed. In the event that national antagonisms become so exacerbated that they constitute an impediment to class unity Leninists would be obliged to advocate independence for Quebec. But we recognize that this would be a step backward for the proletarian revolution. We would raise the call for an independent Quebec only in order to be able to forge unity on a higher level in the future.

The LOR/RWL complains that the CSN resolution lacks any proposals for implementation, such as running candidates in the federal elections. But while these revisionists call for CSN candidates to campaign on a program of "independence and socialism" in Quebec, in English Canada they continue to build the English-Canadian chauvinist, pro-capitalist NDP.

Quebec workers must struggle together with the English-speaking working class for the creation of a workers party armed with a revolutionary program. Such a party can only be built in opposition to both the chauvinist labor misleaders in English Canada and the nationalist union bureaucrats in Quebec. ■

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# USec "Sisterhood"...

(continued from page 5)

attracted working-class women on the basis of an anti-working class program. The criminal misleadership of the Stalinist and social-democratic reformists has led many women to place "sisterhood" before class unity. At last year's May Day march in Paris some 4,000 women, many of whom had been marching with their trade union contingents, joined a feminist contingent behind such class-collaborationist banners as "Worker's Wives, Bourgeois Wives, Cops' Wives, Join Us!"

The document of the ex-IMT supporters denounces NOW as a "bourgeois feminist current," thus making an implicit attack on their American sisters. However the Mandelites laud the American Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) which the SWP was also involved in building. As the Pabloites are well aware, CLUW was not an organization initiated spontaneously by working-class women--it was the deliberate creation of the reactionary American labor bureaucracy. The president of CLUW was Olga Madar, an ex-vice-president of the United Auto Workers, who gained notoriety by helping organize the 1,000-member goon squad of UAW officials which broke an auto workers sitdown strike in Detroit in August 1973. The IMT's North American supporters in the RMG were still denouncing CLUW as a tool of the labor tops while fusion negotiations were underway--yet today both wings of the USec hold CLUW up as a model for work among women.

## IMT REPUDIATES LENIN

In its original polemic against the Waters document the IMT took the SWP to task for "call[ing] into question the fundamental principles drawn up at the first four congresses of the Communist International, which in our opinion represent the essential basis on which to correctly deal with the new problems posed today." However the recent growth of feminism in Europe has give the Man-

delites cause to reconsider their position and to conclude that perhaps Lenin, Trotsky and the rest of the Bolsheviks weren't so smart after all. In the ex-IMT supporters' new draft reply to Waters they assert that this same resolution "appears extremely propagandist in hindsight" and attribute it to the Bolsheviks' "underestimation" of the effects of women's oppression.

Nor is this the only crime with which Lenin and the leadership of the Russian Communist Party is charged. While paying lip service to the Trotskyist analysis of the political degeneration of the October Revolution, these revisionists have also decided that "[the Bolsheviks'] underestimation of the subjective factor... certainly had its effects on the non commitment of broad layers of women who later stood by passively as the bureaucratic counterrevolution developed." Thus these fake-Trotskyists try to lay part of the responsibility for the degeneration of the revolution at the doorstep of the leaders of the Bolsheviks.

While both documents in "Women's Liberation and Socialism" contain substantial sections devoted to discussing the effects of the Russian Revolution and the Stalinist counterrevolution (some ten pages in all) neither wing of the USec considers it "appropriate" to mention the necessity to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. When this deliberate omission was pointed out to one of the authors of the Mandelite resolution, Jacqueline Heinen, when she was on tour in Toronto in March, she and several RWLers burst out laughing at what is apparently a self-evident absurdity in the USec these days!

That the military defence of the Soviet Union has become a laughing matter for these pretenders to Trotskyism is an important indication of the rightward motion of the entire USec. These revisionists openly repudiate the heritage of the first four congresses of the Comintern, the codification of the only successful proletarian revolution. The international Spartacist tendency is proud to stand in the revolutionary tradition of Lenin and Trotsky. To quote from the resolution of the Third Congress of the Comintern which the Pabloites of the ex-IMT now find so objectionable:

"Any link between women workers and bourgeois feminism, like any support by them for the half-measure tactics and open betrayals of the social-coalitionists and opportunists, can only weaken the forces of the proletariat." ■



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# Ernest Mandel Comes to Seattle

Reprinted below is a report on a May 13 debate in Seattle between United Secretariat (USec) guru Ernest Mandel and American bourgeois economist Kenneth Boulding. Mandel has long been barred from entering the U.S. by reactionary, anti-communist immigration policies. In his recent tour, Mandel demonstrated that his brand of eclectic centrism poses no serious threat to the maintenance of the capitalist world order.

Tapes and photos have been sent to New York under separate cover. Three comrades went, we heard Mandel's talk, sold during the lunchbreak and heard the rebuttals. About 450 people attended the day-long event at Seattle Centre, mainly academic types of all ages. Only six people from the RWL [Revolutionary Workers League--Canadian affiliate of the USec] bothered to go down to hear their lider maximo (that's less than 10% of their Vancouver membership). A few SWP'ers were half-heartedly selling the Militant; quite a few SWP'ers bought WV and asked our opinion on Mandel's presentation; FSP/RW [Freedom Socialist Party/Revolutionary Women--a pro-Mandelite sect in Seattle] may have had one salesperson for a short time, but were mainly taking photos.

This report could be subtitled "Inspector Clouseau vs. Scrooge McDuck," as both Mandel's presentation and that of his opponent, Kenneth Boulding, were so unbelievably low-level that both speakers came off looking ridiculous. Boulding's moralistic and ignorant attack on Marxism, delivered in a plummy English accent with a bad stutter, was balanced by Mandel's equally moralistic and non-Marxist presentation, complete with much hand-waving and many apologies for the occasional use of "our [i. e., Marxist] jargon."

Mandel began with a list of the assorted outrages extant in the world today, noting along the way that there is "every indication of constant structural unemployment" and bravely asserting that these terrible circumstances are the products of a special set of social relations "which I call capitalism...." Addressing himself to the question of why capitalism has survived: first, it has done a lot of people a lot of good; indeed, in the Communist Manifesto "you find a quasi-lyrical, I repeat, a quasi-lyrical" appreciation of the effects of capitalism. Second, the labor movement achieved many social reforms that have prolonged the life of capitalism. Were it not for the efforts of the trade union movement, capitalism would have been over years ago, "but that's a value judgement each has to make for himself." And third, capitalism rules by force as well as by ideas.

Why do I think capitalism has, and should have a limited future, asked Mandel. Because adaptive devices such as inflation no longer work; because the basic mechanisms become "perverse" so that a completely free market would be impossible and

capital cannot regulate something like the food market by the classical mechanisms that it used in the past. (This section of his talk was very shallow, unconvincing, vague and illustrated by absurd examples--e. g., who would want a really free market in poisons?) The final reason cited by Mandel for the end of capitalism was because of the contradictions of the system. Here Mandel not only did not specify what those contradictions are, but he apologized for using the term "contradiction" calling it a "pseudo-scientific catchword."

Moving on to socialism--since the topic of his talk was "The Future of Capitalism is Socialism"--he said that socialist global planning would take into account "the whole race, the whole community," it is planning which "you can try, I don't say it will succeed." He defined socialism strictly in terms of democracy and workers control; socialism is self-government, it is the democratic vote where workers will decide what and how much to produce, etc. Not only omitting, but implicitly refuting or denying the Leninist conception of the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat and so on. "Under socialism we could forbid the production of weapons and in that way put an end to war"!! (Some Marxist understanding of how socialism will end imperialist war--parliamentary cretinism carried to its final stage, I suppose.)

Naturally this presentation left Mandel wide open for ridicule and baiting from Boulding and the other minor commentators (e. g., a young Boeing economist) on the grounds of being moralistic, anecdotal and utopian. Boulding could easily profess agreement with the ideal of self-government and self-management; in fact, he noted that it sounded a lot like early capitalism. More platitudes about how emotional radicalism has on the whole made things worse rather than better; good will is never enough; simplistic identification of good guys and bad guys doesn't get very far; virtuousness doesn't suffice, etc. The crowning humiliation came when Boulding said he was ashamed of the U.S. immigration authorities, for "the idea that Ernest Mandel is dangerous is absolutely ludicrous."

Mandel's "rebuttal" was pretty much of a piece with his main talk, full of pseudo-passionate inveighing about how much capitalism doesn't really mean "free contract" or "free labor"; there's no free vote on the economic system; "you will have less and less freedom without socialism--but that's another story"; European workers feel capitalism to be deeply illegitimate and unjust. He boasted of how the Catholic union federation in Belgium has "adopted our line and now calls for workers management! Just imagine what this means!!!" (more handwaving but he didn't say what it means). And so on. It was a shameful travesty--the man seems politically tired, going through the motions in a very routine way, and just cynically not caring what he says or doesn't say. ■

## **Defend Hugo Blanco and all Victims of Peruvian Right-Wing Crackdown!**

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While the Peruvian government financially bleeds the poor and working people on the orders of the U.S. imperialist International Monetary Fund, it unleashes brutal state repression against the masses who protest drastic price rises in basic necessities. We demand the immediate release of the more than 2,000 imprisoned during the recent mass protests.

It is now reported that eleven opponents of the draconian austerity measures imposed by the Peruvian regime have been expelled from the country and handed over to the bloodsoaked Argentine junta where their lives are clearly in danger. The deported include two former government ministers, vice-admirals Jose Arce Larco and Guillermo Faura Gaig; Richard Letts, editor of the left-wing journal Marka; Genaro Ledesma, labor lawyer; socialist and former peasant leader Hugo Blanco; leaders of the National Agrarian Federation and the bus drivers union; and several left-wing journalists. We demand their immediate liberty and safe conduct out of Argentina, and the right to asylum in the country of their choice.

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## **Grigorenko...**

(continued from page 16)

country this means the organization created by Stalin and now called the KGB."

--reprinted in Samizdat, Voices of the Soviet Opposition

But years of savage persecution at the hands of the Kremlin bureaucracy have destroyed Grigorenko's confidence in the socialist future of humanity. Today, the former communist denounces Lenin and the Bolsheviks for duping Russian workers in 1917.

Grigorenko was broken by the prisons and "psychiatric" torture chambers of the Stalinist secret police. But the contemptible pseudo-Trotskyists of the RWL have been "broken" by nothing more than the pressure of Canadian bourgeois public opinion.

As Trotskyists we oppose the persecution of oppositionists in the Soviet Union--including even rabid anti-communists like Tsar-worshipper Solzhenitsyn--provided they do not actively engage in counterrevolution. But the struggle for workers democracy in the USSR must begin from a commitment to the defense of the gains of the October Revolution against reaction. The restoration of workers democracy in the degenerated and deformed workers states will only be accomplished by a working-class, political revolution to oust the parasites who sit in the Kremlin, not by appeals to the "democratic" imperialists. Such a consistently revolutionary proletarian perspective is to be found only in the Trotskyist program of the international Spartacist tendency. ■



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## GRIGORENKO ON TOUR FOR ANTI-COMMUNISM

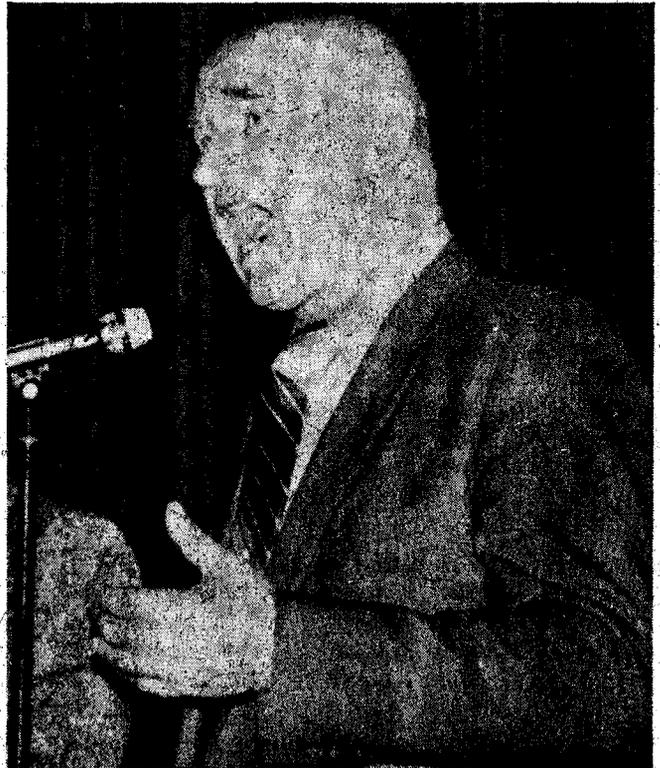
# From the Red Army to the Whites

TORONTO, May 19: The reactionary core of the "classless" anti-Stalinist crusade to restore "human rights" in the Soviet Union was clearly revealed at a rally "In Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners" held here tonight. The featured speaker at the rally was Pyotr Grigorenko, former Red Army General and long-time left-wing political dissident-turned-anti-communist. Grigorenko, who was recently stripped of his Soviet citizenship and banned from the USSR, delighted his predominantly East European emigré audience with a long-winded cold war harangue against western imperialists who are too "soft" in dealing with "Soviet aggression."

Even Michael Cassidy, leader of the Ontario NDP, one of a number of speakers sharing the platform with Grigorenko, did not escape a tongue-lashing. Grigorenko opened his remarks by savaging the "democratic socialist" anti-communist verbiage of this right-wing social democrat. The audience enthusiastically greeted Grigorenko's declaration that, "my experience shows it will be one or the other, socialism or democracy."

But while these latter-day Black Hundreds in the audience cheered on Grigorenko's anti-Soviet diatribe, the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) who lent their name to the list of sponsors for the rally squirmed in embarrassment. Apparently in its haste to jump on the "human rights" bandwagon the RWL didn't do its homework. They claimed they did not know that Grigorenko was now praising Rhodesia's Ian Smith as a great "peacemaker" and lauding King Juan Carlos of Spain as the "national liberator" of the Basques and Catalonians (see "Protest Kremlin Banishment of Grigorenko!" Workers Vanguard, 14 April 1978).

The Grigorenko meeting is not the first time that the fake-Trotskyists of the RWL have participated



GRIGORENKO: FORMER SOVIET WAR HERO NOW IMPERIALIST MOUTHPIECE

SC Photo

in building a platform for members of Jimmy Carter's growing army of anti-communist "dissidents." Last fall when Leonid Plyushch (a one-time leftist dissident who today offers himself as a willing tool of U.S. imperialism) spoke in Toronto, the RWL was happy to provide soundmen and ushers.

What makes Grigorenko's degeneration into anti-communism tragic is his long history as a representative of the left-wing of the amorphous dissident movement. In 1963 he founded the "Union of Struggle for the Revival of Leninism," which studied State and Revolution and passed out leaflets critical of the Krushchev regime. For his struggle in defense of the Crimean Tatars' right to return to their homeland Grigorenko was arrested and ruled insane in 1969. In the late 1960's he abandoned the back-to-Lenin movement and together with the Old Bolshevik, Alexis Kosternin, joined in supporting Dubcek's path for the "democratization" of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. In a letter protesting a KGB search of his apartment at that time, Grigorenko wrote:

"I am a communist and, as such, I hate with every fiber of my being the organs of caste lawlessness, violence and coercion. In our

(continued on page 15)