

SPARTACIST

CANADA DEC.1979/JAN.1980 No. 40 25¢



MULLAH MADNESS

Gamma/Liaison

No to U.S. War Threats!

Iran Embassy Crisis

DECEMBER 15--The seizure of the American embassy and staff in Teheran enters its seventh week with the most powerful imperialist power in history locked in diplomatic/economic warfare with a priest caste of Shi'ite mullahs who want to return to the seventh-century puritanical desert "paradise" of the Koran. Khomeini threatens to hold trials and execute the hostages while he calls forth Islamic wrath against the "American Satan" and taunts U. S. president Jimmy Carter for having "no guts." But it can't go on much longer without a head-on crash. U. S. warships and aircraft stand poised off the coast of the Arabian peninsula and there are storm clouds of war sentiment on the streets of America and Iran.

Despite the efforts to "play it cool," Carter's war threats are real, and the consequences terrible--for the masses of Iran and the international prole-

tariat. For the ultimate target is not Iran but Russia. The CIA engineered the restoration of the shah back in 1953, assuring U. S. imperialism a loyal bulwark against the USSR for more than 20 years. It is this same anti-Soviet strategy that conditions the U. S. 's every move in this dangerous contest of nerves, diplomacy and perhaps war. Without giving the slightest amount of political support to the reactionary mullah regime of Iran, in a military conflict between the most powerful imperialist country on earth and backward, semi-colonial Iran, socialists stand even with the crazy mullahs against U. S. imperialism. Hands off Iran!

Khomeini did Carter and the Pentagon an unwitting favor by seizing the U. S. embassy, provoking a chauvinist reaction which is being used to bolster the American military machine and even tem-

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TL Pickets Protest Klan Terror



SC Photo

"Smash the Nazis, Smash the Klan: Only workers defense guards can!" This slogan and others echoed outside the American consulate in Toronto on November 7. The demonstration was called by the Trotskyist League (TL) to protest the racist murders in Greensboro and the subsequent arrest of anti-Klan militants. Demonstrators carried placards demanding: "Jail the killer Klansmen--Free the anti-Klan militants," "Smash racism through workers revolution," and "No to Gun Control--Uphold the right to armed self-defense."

Neither the liberal/reformist strategy of appealing to the capitalist state to ban the fascists nor small isolated adventurist actions can defeat the Klan, the Nazis and their Canadian equivalents in the Nationalist Party. As the TL speaker at the rally emphasized, it is only through mobilizing the strength of the organized workers movement in alliance with the oppressed racial and national minorities that the fascist scum will be crushed.

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

porarily restoring the image of Jimmy Carter as a "national leader." In response to the chauvinist mobs in the U. S. chanting "De-por-tation" Carter began to reregister and deport Iranian students. This is a dangerous precedent. The labor movement, left and all those who defend democratic rights must strongly oppose the deportation of Iranian students.

The surge of chauvinism and patriotism in the U. S. does not stem from any great love for the shah. Most Americans don't care if the shah is sent back to Iran or to hell. Certainly the bloody, torturing butcher should be sent anywhere he will get his just desserts. But the Islamic fanatics who seized the embassy do not want the shah for his real crimes--the crushing of the workers movement and the left, suppression of all democratic freedoms, the subjugation of national minorities and women and the alliance with U. S. imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state. For Khomeini's followers the shah's great crime was encouraging Western ways in Iran. It is the fanatical ayatollah's calls to purge things which for most Americans make life enjoyable--liquor, mu-

sic, dancing, sex--and the sight of American tourists and American contractors working in Iran dragged out of hotels and offices and thrown in with the hostages that has provoked the chauvinist backlash. The Imam of Qum is rightly viewed as a crazy, pleasure-hating tyrant.

We solidarize with the hatred of the Iranian masses for the shah and his American guardians. But the seizure of the American embassy was a diversion, aimed at deflecting growing opposition to the mullahs' rule and refurbishing Khomeini's anti-shah credentials. Iran's national minorities, the Kurds, Baluchis, Turkomans, Arabs, Azerbaijanis and others who together constitute a majority of the population, believed the overthrow of the shah would bring an end to Persian domination. Khomeini's drive to return Iran to the seventh century has met stubborn, massive and increasing resistance, which the temporary hysteria aroused by the embassy crisis has not been able to overcome. It is only through proletarian revolution, led by an Iranian Trotskyist party, that the oppressed can break the chains of imperialism and Islamic obscurantism and emancipate themselves from the shahs and ayatollahs forever.

--Hands Off Iran! Oppose Carter's War Threats!

Defend Iran Against U. S. Military Attack!

--No Asylum for the Butcher Shah!

--Down with the Islamic Reactionary Khomeini!

For Workers Revolution in Iran!

--For Military Defense of the Soviet Degenerated Workers State Against Imperialism! For Proletarian Political Revolution Against the Stalinist Bureaucracies!

(adapted from Workers Vanguard)

SPARTACIST CANADA

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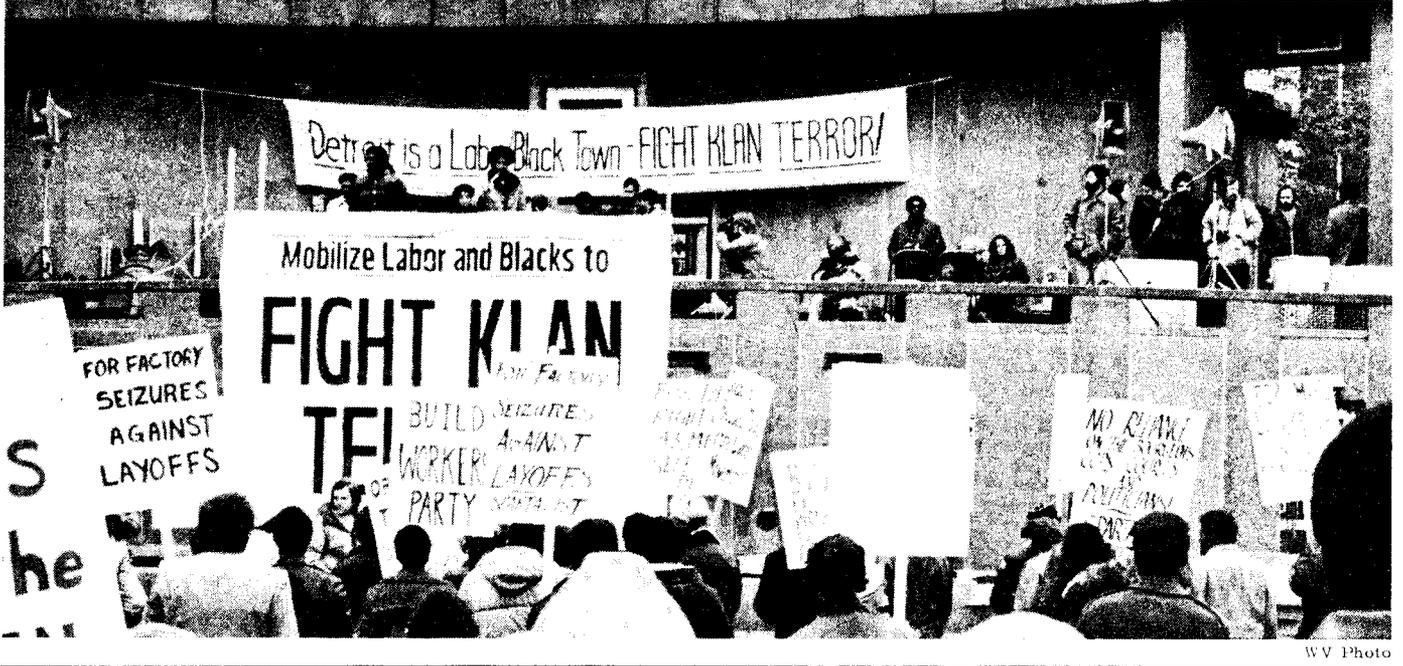
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The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!



WV Photo

A spirited rally of 500 unionists, blacks and socialists was held in downtown Detroit Saturday November 10 to protest Klan terror. Demonstrators gathered in Kennedy Square under a huge banner proclaiming "Detroit is a Labor/Black Town--Fight Klan Terror." The demonstration's initial endorsers included two dozen area unionists and black spokesmen, and it was heavily built by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL). This was no ordinary middle-class liberal protest but something not seen in years: a labor/black rally to stop the Klan. Nearly a third of the predominantly black crowd was from Detroit area plants.

The protest was called in defiance of a ban by liberal black mayor Coleman Young who responded to the Klan's announced intention to march in downtown Detroit with the outrageous declaration that the Klan and anti-Klan demonstrators would be arrested alike. The Klan provocation followed the brutal murders of anti-Klan militants in Greensboro, North Carolina the week before.

Initially the Detroit press blacked out any mention of the anti-Klan rally. As thousands of leaflets announcing that the rally would go ahead hit the streets, telegrams from prominent individuals across the country came pouring in to the offices of Detroit city officials and the American federal government, protesting Young's attempt to prohibit the rally and threat to arrest any demonstrators. The day before the demonstration the city finally capitulated, and agreed before a federal

judge that there would be no arrests.

The rally, organized in less than three days' time, was met with enthusiastic support in the plants and the neighborhoods of Detroit. Eighty-five thousand leaflets were distributed at factories, shopping centres, bus stops and bars in the city. Sound trucks announcing the rally combed through the streets.

On Saturday the rally opened with a speech by Frank Hicks, one of the several members of United Auto Workers Local 600 who organized a petition drive last October that succeeded in driving out of the Ford River Rouge plant two foremen who had paraded inside the factory in KKK garb. More than 1,000 workers signed the petition which demanded that the foremen who committed this racist provocation be fired. Hicks recounted the story of that victory.

Bill Hampton, brother of murdered Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, pointed to the need to "wipe away the Klan once and for all." Among the other speakers at the spirited rally was Jane Margolis of the Communication Workers of America. Margolis has recently initiated a lawsuit against Jimmy Carter's secret service which dragged her from the floor of her union's convention last summer.

The 500-strong rally was a victory for all those who want to smash the KKK. The demonstration showed that it can be done, even though it was a long way from the mobilization of tens of thousands

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Six Years and 50,000 Names

The "MLOC" In Struggle! Reformist to the Core



CASTRO,
ALLENDE, IS!
ADVOCATES OF
POPULAR
FRONTISM

Newsweek

Each week the big red thermometer on the front page of In Struggle! inches toward the goal of 50,000 signatures on the "Declaration for the Absolute Equality of Languages and Nations." Week after week IS! cadres don their sandwich boards and parade around university campuses and shopping plazas in order to collect their quota of signatures. And each week Charles Gagnon, through the pages of In Struggle!, exhorts his followers to redouble their efforts.

In Struggle! likes to style itself the "left wing" of what it once described as "the Marxist-Leninist movement." But the day-to-day practice of the members of the workerist Maoid collectives, reformist community organizers and social workers who "rallied" to In Struggle! has changed very little. In Struggle!'s current petition campaign (in which it pits its canvassers against NDPers collecting signatures to save Petrocan and Medicare) is only the latest in a series of gimmicky, reformist campaigns designed to provide a short-cut to mass influence.

"MARXIST-LENINIST" PETITIONERS

In Struggle!'s last petition campaign was an all-sided defeat. In February 1978, two and a half years after the imposition of wage controls and

just as the Trudeau government was about to remove them, IS! announced the creation of a nationwide network of ultra-economist front groups ("struggle committees") against wage controls. These committees, which involved no one besides IS! members, set as their tasks "contacting different groups, distributing leaflets and circulating [a] petition...." (In Struggle!, 16 March 1978). Summing up this campaign at the organization's Third Congress last April the leadership admitted that "the 'struggle committees' against Bill C-73 put forward by In Struggle! weren't a great success" and noted in passing that "the results of this campaign disappointed many comrades or, to be more precise, raised many questions."

No doubt IS!'s current round of petitioning is again giving rise to "many questions" among the ranks. For a Leninist organization a petition campaign may be useful as a tactic to mobilize the masses around a particular issue. But the leadership of IS! has raised petitioning to the level of a strategy. By centering its activities to petitioning the chauvinist, imperialist rulers of the Canadian state to stop oppressing the Québécois, IS! promotes illusions about the possibility of achieving social change by appealing to the "sense of fair play" of the bourgeois authorities.

By its own reckoning IS!'s biggest achievement of 1979 was the adoption of its "Programme for the proletarian revolution in Canada." In the modest opinion of its authors this document represents "a true milestone in the proletariat's century-old struggle to free itself from the claws of capitalist exploitation." But the long-awaited and much discussed program provides only an abstract gloss on IS!'s chronic political confusion.

The bulk of the document consists of a rambling description of the oppressive nature of capitalism and the desirability of socialism. Reading IS!'s program one gets the impression that the authors have purposely kept it vague so as to leave plenty of room for future political zigzags. For example throughout the text there are a number of references to "the socialist countries" but no hints as to which countries these might be. North Korea? Poland? Cuba? While the Soviet Union is condemned as "social-imperialist" the program ventures no characterization of either China or Albania--both of which were held high as shining

beacons of socialism by IS! at various times during the writing of its "Milestone."

IS!'S FAKE "LEFTISM"

In Struggle!'s fundamental political dilemma stems from the fact that it is a Stalinist group without a fatherland. Spurned by the bureaucratic rulers in Peking and Tirana IS! faces an unenviable future as advocates of "socialism in one country" without a country, and therefore without a reason to exist. In order to carve out a political niche for itself IS! attempts to take up a position to the left of its various Maoist and ex-Maoist rivals. Thus while Hardial Bains' Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and Roger Rashi's Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) CCL(M-L) which now calls itself the Workers Communist Party were hailing Ayatollah Khomeini's reactionary rise to power in Iran last winter IS! hedged its enthusiasm with a few agnostic reservations. Of course IS! did not have the revolutionary integrity to tell the simple truth about Khomeini--that his regime would be every bit as repressive as that of the butcher shah--but in its public press it avoided some of the worst excesses of its fellow Stalinists. However, in the publication of In Struggle!'s Iranian co-thinkers all those who failed to uphold "the unity among the masses" (i. e., who championed the political independence of the working class from the reactionary mullahs) were characterized as being "either prey of the reactionary and imperialist forces or outright agents" (Information Iran, February).

Similarly, IS! excoriates the Chilean Communist Party for its class-collaborationist popular front strategy and then turns around and endorses the critical Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile's (RCP) strategy of "building a genuine anti-fascist united front." But the RCP's "People's Front" is only a miniature replica of Allende's disastrous Popular Unity--for it too seeks to "unite" the proletariat with the "non-monopoly" section of the bourgeoisie (In Struggle!, 19 June).

In the realm of "theory" IS! has attempted to deepen its understanding of the origins of Soviet "revisionism" without breaking with the Stalinist tradition which it stands on. IS! back-dated the degeneration of the Communist Party of Canada (CP) from 1956 (when Khrushchev denounced Stalin) to 1943 when Tim Buck liquidated the CP and set up the Labour Progressive Party. But this in turn raised the issue of Stalin's dissolution of the Comintern in the same year. IS!'s theoreticians handled this awkward question by broadly hinting that they did not agree with the liquidation. But they stopped short of any overt criticism of the man who Trotsky so aptly called the "Great Organizer of Defeats."

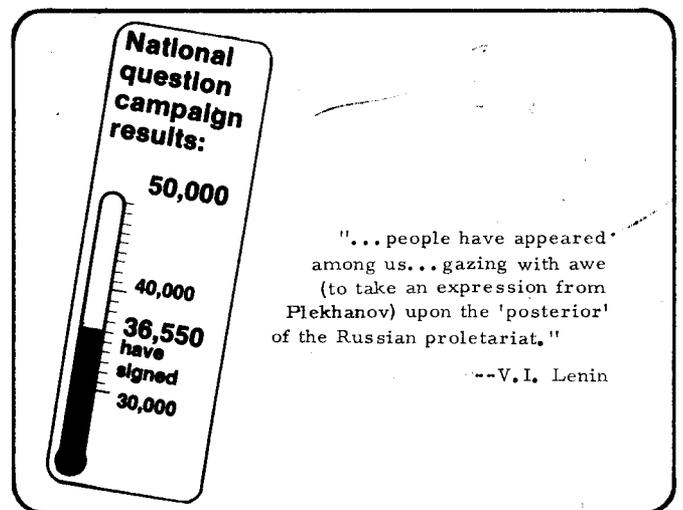
In Struggle!'s theoretical excursions also led it to briefly flirt with a revolutionary position on World War II--i. e., that it, like World War I, was an inter-imperialist conflict in which Marxists

took a defeatist position, while defending the Soviet Union. However after discovering that a Leninist position on the war put it at odds with the Stalinist heritage to which it lays claim In Struggle! took up Tim Buck's social-patriotic line of support to the "democratic" allied imperialists.

COWARDS AND REDBAITERS (M-L)

The fraudulent character of In Struggle!'s "leftism" is best demonstrated by the organization's repeated political betrayals on its own domestic terrain. Last winter, when the bourgeois state put three ex-FLQers on trial for the 1970 kidnapping of former British Trade Commissioner James Cross, IS! refused to call for their release. As Marxists, we do not advocate the self-defeating terrorist tactics of the FLQ but, like Lenin, we defend all those whose blows are aimed against the class enemy. The political cowards of In Struggle! on the other hand took up the bourgeois liberals' call for a "fair trial" for the ex-FLQ militants. This cowardice is doubly despicable given that these are former comrades of Charles Gagnon and other IS! members.

Just as IS! capitulated to the capitalists' "anti-terrorist" propaganda barrage against the FLQ it joined the anti-communist chorus against CCL(M-L) at last April's conference of the Montreal Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions. The incumbent bureaucrats prepared a document for the conference which declared that they did not want their unions to be a "transmission belt"



for the extreme left. They proposed several anti-democratic measures, including a ban on the distribution of political literature at union conferences and a ban on caucuses within the unions. The election of a new executive at the conference became the focus of a hue and cry in the Montreal press about "communist infiltration" of the unions which was directed primarily against the slate headed by Raymond Gagnon and supported by CCL(M-L).

In Struggle! reacted to this outbreak of McCarthyism by shamefully joining in the redbaiting of CCL(M-L) and other left groups, alleging that they

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Cops Off Campus!

Chanting "Cops Off Campus" and "No Cop Training on Campus," twenty militants demonstrated in front of the University of Toronto administration building on October 30 in opposition to a new "Law Enforcement Administration" program being offered on the U of T campus. The demonstration was initiated by the Trotskyist League's (TL) U of T club to challenge the lie that the cops can be reformed through liberal education programs. As was pointed out in the TL's demonstration



SC Photo

flyer, police studies programs exist only to train more sophisticated thugs for the capitalist class, able to more efficiently smash strikes, disrupt left and labor organizations, and oppress racial and ethnic minorities.

This autumn is the first time that U of T has sponsored a course in "higher education" for these terrorists in blue. With the increasing public outcry against Toronto's trigger-happy "law enforcers," the U of T program fits right in with the Police Commission's campaign to bolster the image of Toronto cops as "humane" defenders of the public. In the wake of the racist murder of 35-year-old Jamaican immigrant Albert Johnson last August and the escalation of cop attacks on the labor movement, gays and ethnic minorities, the U of T cop-training program is an affront to the working class and all the oppressed.

In opposition to the liberal illusion that the cops can be reformed the demonstrators raised the slogan "Cops Can't be Reformed! Abolish the Police through Workers Revolution!" and demanded "Abolish Gun Control! Disarm the Cops!" Police terror against racial minorities and working people will continue as long as the bosses maintain their class rule. The bosses' thugs cannot be reformed but must be disbanded when the working class takes power. At the same time we defend the right of all citizens to own arms and raise the call for disarming the racist cops as an elementary measure of working-class self-defense.

The issue of cop terror and how to fight it has been a hot one in Toronto since the murder of Johnson. A coalition of Stalinist reformists called a demonstration on October 14 to protest this latest killing by Toronto's "finest." United under a banner of police reform were the Moscow-loyal Communist Party (CP), Peking's toadies in the Workers Communist Party (WCP), and the ex-Maoists of the Canadian Party of Labour (CPL) and In Struggle! (IS!).

First on the agenda for this temporary Stalinist reunion was the physical exclusion of a Trotskyist League contingent guilty of "disrupting" the spirit of reformist unity with revolutionary placards. During the demonstration the bloc-partners again united--this time to aid the cops in defending a handful of fascist scum from attack by supporters of Hardial Bains' Albaniaphilic sect, the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) [CPC(M-L)]. In the weeks that followed, the "peaceful, legal" Stalinists sought to alibi their despicable behavior by slandering the Bainsites as "fascists" and "CIA agents." A couple of puffy sewer-socialists from the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League and the social-democratic International Socialists (some of whose members had also helped defend the fascists) joined in denouncing CPC(M-L). To date only the TL has defended the militants arrested and demanded that all charges against the anti-fascists be dropped.

While IS!, WCP, CPL and the CP could all unite behind liberal calls to reform the police, not one of these organizations participated in the TL demonstration to drive the cops off campus. Representatives of the Toronto Anarchist Group and the Communist Party were spotted skulking at a safe distance from the demonstration. A more brazen CPLer marched straight across the protest picket into the administration building! It was left to supporters of the Trotskyist League and some independent militants to demand that these racist killer-cops be driven off campus.■

Trotskyist League Class Series

What is Socialism?	January 17
Marxism and the State.	January 31
The Vanguard Party.	February 14
Imperialism and Permanent Revolution.	February 28
The Transitional Program.	March 14

Alternate Thursdays, University of Toronto
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Levesque's Bogus Referendum

On November 1, the Parti Québécois (PQ) finally released the blueprint for its watered-down, quasi-separatist program of "sovereignty-association," entitled "Quebec-Canada: a New Deal." Upon releasing the policy paper, Quebec premier René Lévesque announced that he intended to hold the PQ's long-awaited referendum next May or June. The referendum will ask the voters of Quebec whether or not they are prepared to give the PQ a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association.

Levesque's referendum pitch provoked an outburst of English-

Canadian chauvinism on Parliament Hill. Echoing the "national unity" rhetoric of Pierre Trudeau, NDP leader Ed Broadbent denounced the PQ's project as "a determined effort to break up Canada." Tory prime minister Joe Clark mumbled that sovereignty-association was "absolutely unacceptable" but rejected Trudeau's strategy of an open confrontation with the PQ in the referendum campaign. Clark's seemingly conciliatory stance does not stem from recognition of the democratic national and language rights of the Québécois. But even Clark, the consummate political klutz, has discerned that the bourgeois nationalists of the PQ are on the run.

Despite the chauvinist hue and cry against the PQ "separatists," Lévesque's referendum has nothing to do with Quebec's right to self-determination. Since coming to power the PQ has attempted to build an image as the sole representative of the will of the Quebec nation. But Lévesque and Co. have rapidly been losing ground. Two weeks after releasing its white paper the PQ lost three more provincial byelections to Claude Ryan's Liberals. But its losses have not been confined to the electoral front. To make its sovereignty-association project more palatable to its creditors on Wall Street and Bay Street the PQ government has had to turn on the public sector workers who were an important component of the PQ's electoral base in 1976.

In negotiations which dragged on long past the expiry of the old contract in June the PQ attempted to slash its wage bill and enforce an austerity contract on the public sector unions. Faced with



QUEBEC UNIONISTS PROTEST PQ'S ANTI-STRIKE LAW, NOV. 13

The Forge

the threat of a general strike by Quebec's 200,000 teachers and civil servants the day before the November byelections, the PQ rammed a bill through the National Assembly banning any strike action for two weeks. The Quebec trade-union tops backed down and waited a week before calling a vote on defying the legislation. Demoralized by the repeated vacillations and retreats of their leadership, the public sector workers, with the exception of 50,000 hospital workers, voted against strike action. Within a few days of the vote the PQ had its contract.

But despite its repeated trashing of the trade unions, the PQ has been unable to accomplish its goal of taming the militant and combative Quebec working class. Faced with an increasingly restive and angry labor movement whose ire is now directed at the bourgeois nationalist rulers in the National Assembly the PQ hopes to use its referendum to boost its image as the sole defender of the Quebec nation.

BOYCOTT LEVESQUE'S PHONY REFERENDUM!

As communists and internationalists we unconditionally defend Quebec's right to self-determination. But Lévesque's referendum does not address the question of self-determination. It is nothing more than an appeal for support for his government. A real referendum on independence for Quebec would pose the question as a simple yes or no. Lévesque refuses to hold such a referendum because he knows he would lose.

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For the past decade and a half the main drawing card of the "United Secretariat" (USec) has been its pretensions to be the Fourth International. Even while its warring factions were publicly hurling epithets at each other from opposite sides of the barricades over Portugal in 1975, the USec could still attract subjectively revolutionary militants with its claim to be the organizational embodiment of the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky. And woe to any USec

Sandinista leaders.

In response to this treachery, Moreno submitted a counter-motion condemning the USec's scandalous refusal to express even elementary solidarity with its own "comrades" in the face of repression by the bourgeois Nicaragua government. The threat to split before the USec's "Eleventh World Congress" was clear. In addition to Moreno's BF, members of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT--aligned with Pierre Lambert's Organisation Communiste

Rotten Blocs Shatter United Secretariat



JACK BARNES

WV Photo



ERNEST MANDEL

SC Photo

dissidents who challenged this myth--over the years left oppositions have been summarily chucked out for such sacrilege.

Now in the last several months the USec has been torn apart over Nicaragua, with two blocs (each a marriage of convenience, in true USec tradition) taking shape to claim the title. The counterposed blocs are deeply unstable, both consisting of centrist-talking adventurers (Mandel and Moreno) combined with hard social-democratic reformist national machines (the American SWP and the French OCI respectively).

At a stormy meeting of the United Secretariat over the weekend of September 30 the USec adopted a series of motions which add up to total liquidation of an independent presence and political line in Nicaragua, in favor of complete subordination to the petty-bourgeois Sandinista Front. The Morenoite-led Bolivar Brigade was unequivocally condemned and the Bolshevik Faction (BF) ordered to cease operating as a "public faction," on pain of expulsion. A lengthy political resolution ends by calling on all USec supporters to act "as loyal militants of the organization which led to the overthrow of Somoza"--i.e., to dissolve their organizations, join the FSLN, shut up and take orders from the

Internationaliste [OCI]) voted for this motion.

Immediately after the explosion in Brussels, representatives of the LTT and the BF held a private meeting with the leadership of the OCI, which then provocatively published this fact in its public newsletter along with various USec internal documents.

The newsletter politically endorsed the Simón Bolívar Brigade and the BF as attempting to "aid the masses in developing their own organizations," while the 6 October issue of the OCI's newspaper Informations Ouvrières announces that refusal to defend the BSB's right to stay in Nicaragua would be joining "the liquidators of the Fourth International" (in the previous month and a half the weekly IO had nothing to say on the subject). So the bloc was sealed, at least for the purposes of a joint wrecking operation against the SWP and Mandel. The French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) lost a quarter of its membership while two-thirds of the USec's Latin American supporters have gone with Moreno.

The uproar over Nicaragua has sent left-wing elements in the USec into turmoil. Many are being sucked into the Moreno/OCI bloc, which on this issue stands to the left of the USec's bottomless

liquidation.

The new lash-up between the French OCI of Pierre Lambert and Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction is one of the more unnatural alliances in history. Lambert's organization is a known quantity among ostensible Trotskyists in Europe: its social-democratic Stalinophobic politics meant eagerly supporting the candidate of the popular front, Socialist leader Mitterrand, in the 1973 French presidential election. By 1975 the OCI's slide into reformism was sealed by its support to the "democratic" CIA-funded Portuguese Socialists as the latter spearheaded a counterrevolutionary anti-Communist mass mobilization.

The Morenoite current is far more contradictory. Moreno himself was a reformist in Argentina, but one who lost his reformist base, the direct tie to his "own" bourgeoisie. Forcibly separated from the national terrain of Argentine reformism, with nothing to sell out Moreno--now based on the Col-



NAHUEL MORENO

The Militant

ombian PST--chose to embark on a leftist adventure in Nicaragua. Now seeking to consolidate the benefits of his refurbished militant reputation, Moreno has gone out on a centrist swing. His Bolshevik Faction has been built on a left critique of the Mandelites' response to "Eurocommunism" and of the SWP over Portugal and Angola. On these positions the BF sounds uncannily close to the positions of the international Spartacist tendency--but it is a fraud: Moreno is a consummate charlatan.

Moreno has admitted that his "Parity Committee" with the OCI is nothing but a defensive "united front"--but one which supposedly will proceed to build "Trotskyist parties" despite its disagreements over fundamental political issues. The "Parity Committee" is merely a cynical attempt to trump the Mandelites by playing the "unity" card, and not surprisingly the USec is invited to join up.

On the USec side, its just concluded "Eleventh World Congress" saw three main tendencies most clearly expressed in their competing motions on the nature of the present Sandinista/bourgeois government in Nicaragua. The right wing around Jack Barnes' SWP praised the present ruling junta in Managua as a workers and peasants government; to cozy up to the FSLN (explicitly endorsed as a "revolutionary leadership") the SWP acts as a

fingerman and political adviser to the Sandinista secret police against supposed "ultra-lefts" (including its erstwhile Morenoite "comrades").

In the middle there was the grouping around Mandel, saying in typical centrist fashion that the nature of the Nicaraguan regime was undetermined. And there was Mandel's left cover, the hodgepodge centered on the British IMG, sections of the Swedish KAF and the Matti tendency in the French LCR. These "loyal oppositionists" labeled the Sandinista junta a bourgeois class-collaborationist regime, but instead of calling for a Trotskyist party to organize independent proletarian opposition in Nicaragua, they accepted the USec's liquidationist policy of entry into the petty-bourgeois bonapartist FSLN.

SWP CALLS THE SHOTS

The split in the USec comes in a context where virtually all of the European sections (and many elsewhere) are in a state of permanent crisis.



PIERRE LAMBERT

WV Photo

Most dramatic has been the French LCR, which ever since its last congress in January 1979 has been without a majority for any tendency.

If the LCR has long been the "star" section of the Mandelite majority, the British IMG was the second most important of the European USec sections. After the failure of various regroupment schemes the IMG leadership has been discussing for some months a proposal for fusion/liquidation into the Cliffite SWP. At its congress to elect delegates to the world USec meeting, the IMG leadership under John Ross squeaked by with 52 percent, with three opposition tendencies receiving roughly 15 percent each (one of these centering around another "historic" USec honcho, Tariq Ali, most ardent for total immersion in the SWP). Meanwhile, virtually every other Mandelite section is in more or less acute organizational/political crisis, including Spain, Germany, Mexico and others.

What the Morenoites do not explain is the political origin of the malaise in the Mandelite ex-majority of the USec. The BF document notes that after the "new mass vanguard" evaporated following the forced-draft cooling down of the pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal (November 1975), Mandel's International Majority Tendency (IMT) had to find

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In Struggle!...

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were guilty of "infiltration" and "undemocratic" practices in the unions. "There is therefore no justification for banning the distribution of our newspaper at union meetings or outlawing caucusing by our militants" concluded In Struggle! (1 May, emphasis added). Charles Gagnon dashed off a letter to Le Devoir protesting that its editorial writers were attempting to "discredit the communists [i.e., his group] by mixing them up with agent provocateurs and saboteurs" ("Who is Manipulating the Unions?" In Struggle! pamphlet). While it is true that the gangsterism, dishonesty and subterfuge which are routinely practiced by Stalinist organizations, from the CP to CPC(M-L), discredit communism in the eyes of the workers, IS!'s unsubstantiated cop-baiting and its willingness to unite with the capitalists and their labor lieutenants against another leftist organization gives the lie to all its claims to provide principled leadership for the proletariat.

So once again it is time for the IS!ers to celebrate the fact that their organization has managed to survive another year. When In Struggle! was founded in 1973 its apparent leftist impulses, its air of openness and the personal political cre-

dentials of Charles Gagnon, who spent years in jail for his association with the FLQ, attracted some of the more thoughtful and serious elements in the Quebec left. But without a correct program IS!'s "activism" is only so much reformist busy work and its "flexibility" is revealed as spinelessness. Unable to defend itself politically IS! has increasingly resorted to a cowardly and bureaucratic policy of physical exclusion of political opponents from its "public" events. Supporters of the Trotskyist League were excluded from the last two meetings in Struggle! held in Toronto. But Stalinist gansterism can't hide IS!'s manifest political bankruptcy.

In the face of those two caricatures of Trotskyism in Quebec, the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire and the Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs, the Stalinist lies about Trotskyism are all too easy to accept. But there are no doubt some IS!ers who are fed up with months of pointless and depoliticizing petitioning passed off as building the revolutionary party, disturbed by the succession of bureaucratic dictators held up by Gagnon & Co. as paragons of Marxism-Leninism and sickened by their organization's repeated betrayals of elementary class principles. For these comrades only the authentic Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency represents the communist tradition which they mistakenly sought in In Struggle!

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**In Struggle!
Six Years Old
but Nothing
to Celebrate**

1. The Trotskyist League challenges IS!'s Toronto branch to defend its organization's record and political line in a public debate before a working class and socialist audience. Stop trying to hide behind cowardly and bureaucratic physical exclusions of revolutionaries from your "public" meetings. Defend your politics in an open debate--if you dare!

2. We propose that the debate take place at the earliest possible date, at a time and place mutually agreed on and that it be chaired by someone not associated with either organization and acceptable to both.

Referendum...

(continued from page 7)

Furthermore, the PQ's laws governing the referendum campaign will not allow the labor movement to voice an independent position. Under the conditions of Bill 92, the PQ's referendum bill, members of the National Assembly are responsible for setting up "Yes" and "No" committees. These umbrella committees (directed by the PQ and the Liberals respectively) will control virtually all money spent on the campaign. Anyone who wishes to participate in the referendum is in effect forced to line up with either the "New Deal" Péquistes or the "national unity" Liberals.

Lévesque and Co. claim that their referendum will be an historic milestone in the democratic

process. In fact the PQ's referendum laws are an abrogation of even bourgeois democracy. Revolutionaries must denounce this fraudulent referendum campaign. The only choice for Quebec workers is to boycott Lévesque's referendum!

The Quebec working class is the most combative on the continent. This gives burning importance to the defense of Québécois national rights by English-Canadian and U. S. labor. At the same time revolutionaries must struggle relentlessly to break any illusions of Quebec workers in the bourgeois nationalist PQ. Under the leadership of a workers party which, unlike the English-Canadian chauvinist NDP, defends the national and language rights of the Québécois, the workers of Quebec and the rest of North America can march together in the struggle for North American socialist revolution. ■

No to McDermott's Redbaiting!

On October 17, delegates to the national convention of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) passed a motion condemning Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) chief Dennis McDermott's sabotage of last October's Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) strike. The motion demanded



McDERMOTT;
BACKSTABBER
AND REDBAITER

SC Photo

that McDermott resign as head of the CLC. Despite the opposition of the CUPE tops only one of the 1,000 delegates present at the convention voted against the motion!

In the weeks that followed, McDermott counter-attacked by launching a furious red-baiting campaign. He charged that the call for his resignation was the work of a nefarious "ultra-left" which was planting "ideologies" in the trade unions which "will destroy the labor movement and the country." The cowardly CUPE tops immediately disavowed their convention's decision and promised to launch their own anti-communist campaign.

McDermott singled out the muddleheaded reformists of In Struggle! (IS!) as the target of his

McCarthyite attacks. McDermott apparently happened upon a copy of its pamphlet entitled "Dump McDermott! Dump the bourgeois policy in trade unions!" and decided that IS! would make as good a target as any for his crusade against the left. "If these people are on the march, we are going to have to put them to death," proclaimed Canada's No. 1 labor traitor. Every union militant must firmly oppose McDermott's threats of an anti-communist witchhunt. The democratic right of supporters of In Struggle! (and every other left tendency) to function in the unions must be vigorously defended.

Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) president Cliff Pilkey opened this year's OFL convention by echoing McDermott's red-baiting: "When they [the left] rear their ugly heads we'll deal with them" (Toronto Sun, 27 November). In an attempt to give their McCarthyism a trade-unionist cover, the OFL tops passed a toothless motion pledging to "do all in [their] power to defend Brother Parrot [president of CUPW] and his union in their present struggle." But talk is cheap. In October 1978, when it counted, the trade-union bureaucrats sat on their hands as Trudeau smashed the CUPW strike.

In defense of their own treacherous policies, the labor misleaders scream about "outside influences" in the labor movement. But it is they who are in the service of outside forces--the capitalist class. Dennis McDermott richly deserves the hatred and contempt of all militant trade unionists for his support to the bosses' government against the postal workers. But he is not the only betrayer. The ranks of Canadian labor must get rid of all the sellouts who sit atop the labor movement and replace them with a genuine class-struggle leadership committed to leading the working class in the struggle for the establishment of a workers government based on the expropriation of the capitalist class. ■

USec...

(continued from page 9)

a new tactical orientation. This it did, in the form of becoming the loyal left critics of a series of popular fronts (France, Italy, Spain). But because Moreno & Co. have the same policy or worse toward the Stalinists' and social democrats' class-collaborationist blocs with the bourgeoisie, the Bolshevik Faction makes no fundamental critique of the IMT's post-1975 policies (other than accusations of lingering "ultraleftism"). Yet it is precisely the collapse of the French and Italian popular fronts which placed the Mandelites in their present dilemma.

Mandel's tendency is that of rapidly rightward-moving centrism, in the tow of "Eurocommunism" and lacking any current real opportunities to tail

a mass movement. But while the Mandelites whirl around looking for a new vanguard in the ecology movement, a belated feminist upsurge, lost-cause nationalists (Corsicans, Bretons), the Saharan Polisario Front--anything!--the American SWP has the political advantage of knowing what it wants and a consistent reformist program to get it. On the prosaic day-to-day level this is seen in the USec's SWP-initiated "proletarian turn," a program to become advisors to dissident union bureaucrats. But reformism is not just doing donkey work for liberal and social-democratic labor fakers. It also means betrayal, if necessary of their own "comrades"--which is why the SWP leapt at the chance to back (or engineer?) the expulsion of the Simón Bolívar Brigade in Nicaragua. And the SWP not only did the job itself, but it strong-armed the

(continued on page 12)

tion between the abstract "leftism" of Moreno's Bolshevik Faction on Eurocommunism, the dictatorship of the proletariat or popular frontism in far-off Europe and his ultra-opportunist practice in Latin America (political support to Perón, Torrijos, etc.). But what of its new bloc partners of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (and its mentors in the OCI)? In opposing the dissolution of the LTF in 1977 the future LTTers put forward a face of left-wing militancy: where the SWP called the Mandelite majority ultraleftist, they said centrist; where Jack Barnes said the faction was formed to fight guerrillaism alone, they said it was also to fight popular frontism at home. But by the time it came to formulating a "Call for the Formation of an International Tendency" ([SWP] International Internal Discussion Bulletin, December 1978), the future LTT stood on the whole of "programmatic and political acquisitions" of the LTF, and in particular "the texts of the LTF on the Portuguese revolution and on Angola."

This statement definitively branded the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency as a reformist formation, and ignominious capitulators besides. For what did the LTF stand for in Portugal and Angola? At the height of the 1975 polarization in Portugal, when Lisbon workers were taking over factories, the LTF called for a purely "democratic" program of defense of the constituent assembly (at the time the battle cry of the right). As the Socialist Party of Mário Soares was leading a mass anti-Communist mobilization which was burning down CP offices, the SWP proclaimed that the "real vanguard of the Portuguese working class... participated in the SP demonstrations" (Militant, 8 August 1975). And the OCI called for a "Soares Government" (Informations Ouvrières, 23 July-6 August 1975). Moreno broke from the SWP and split the LTF precisely over this issue, while the future LTTers were at first even harder in condemning the SWP's tailing after Soares (only to capitulate a few weeks later and vote for the LTF's "Key Issues in the Portuguese Revolution" resolution).

For principled Marxists differences of the magnitude that divided the Morenoites and Lambertistes over Portugal would make unity impossible: like the SWP and Mandel, they would have been facing each other on opposite sides of the barricades in Lisbon. The same on Angola, where at the height

of the fighting between the South African-led, CIA-financed imperialist drive on Luanda, the SWP/LTF refused to take sides for the military victory of the Soviet-backed MPLA. Moreno denounced this in the most violent terms, publishing a whole book on the subject (Angola: La revolución negra en marcha [1977]) where he said that, "the best way to aid Vorster and Yankee imperialism was to say what the SWP said...." So how does Moreno feel about uniting today with people who consider the SWP/LTF's stand "historic"?

And Cuba? On Cuba, the LTT supports "the general line of D. Keil's contributions," while three leaders of the Costa Rican OST (Andrés, Rodrigo and Sara) signed together with Keil a document labeling the Castro regime a "bureaucratized workers state" ("For a Change in the Fourth International's Position on Cuba," [SWP] IIDB, December 1978). Again, at first glance this might seem a move to the left from the USec's political support to the "unconscious Trotskyist" Fidel. But as was pointed out in a Workers Vanguard article, "For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba" (2 February 1979), Keil et al. are attacking the SWP "from the right, arguing in effect for a consistently social-democratic position of opposing all Stalinist regimes." It concluded: "Add up the SWP/LTF positions on China, Vietnam, Portugal and Angola and throw in a deformed workers state position on Cuba and what do you get? A fleshed-out program of Stalinophobia." The only current which has consistently denounced the class-collaborationist policies of the rulers of the Cuban deformed workers state and called for political revolution has been the international Spartacist tendency.

Over the years, serious leftist USec supporters who sought an alternative to petty-bourgeois impressionism and popular frontism have regrouped themselves behind the authentic Trotskyist program of the international Spartacist tendency. From the Cuban Revolution to the clericalist mass mobilizations in Iran and the insurgency in Nicaragua, our tendency has counterposed the struggle for Trotskyist parties to the Pabloist liquidationism of the USec. Now again this crisis of the USec milieu provides opportunities to regroup subjectively revolutionary militants from the USec into an internationalist formation fighting for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

(Adapted from Workers Vanguard)

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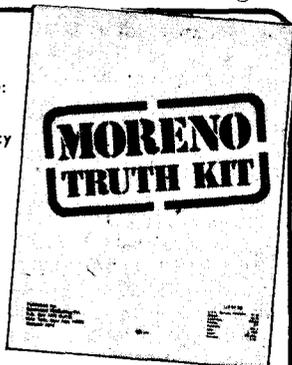
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"The Klan Won't Ride In the Motor City!"



"The KKK killed my uncle. Right there in Atlanta, Georgia. Sixteen years ago. They drew and quartered him before they killed him. Now do you think I care something about the goddamned Klan."



"Kicking them out wasn't enough because they're out at Wixom now. We've got to get them the hell out of Ford's completely."

A videotape of the Rally to Fight Klan Terror is now available for interested groups and individuals. The 30-minute film contains interviews with Detroit black workers, an account of the struggle to drive the KKK-hooded foremen from River Rouge, and speeches from some trade unionists and spokesmen for the Spartacist League which built heavily for the rally. The documentary shows the Marxist approach of mobilizing labor, black and white, to fight fascist terror.

Copies available from the Spartacist League,
Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10001.

Klan Won't Ride...

(continued from page 3)

which is urgently needed. Don Alexander, the final speaker at the rally and a member of the SL pointed out:

"the Spartacist League has worked to build this rally because we know, like the brothers from Rouge and Chrysler said, it takes the power of labor to smash the KKK killers once and for all. Maybe you know the Spartacist League. We're Marxists, Trotskyists. That means we are for working-class revolution. It seems pretty simple to us. The Klan shoots down black and labor organizers in the South, and we respond here in Detroit the way any Marxist would--like they did in the '30s, when they got 50,000 people to Madison Square Garden to deal with the fascists. It seems pretty simple. But who else does it?" ■

Usec...

(continued from page 11)

Mandelites into shamefacedly shuffling along behind. While the latest Usec resolution on the subject has the mildest critique of the FSLN, in the final analysis it goes along with the SWP's policy of redbaiting and framing up BF and LTT supporters in Nicaragua.

IRAN! IRAN!

But in Nicaragua it is only a dissident faction in the Usec that immediately pays the price. The even graver betrayal is the one that none of the competing Pabloist-liquidationist Usec gangs dares to mention, for they are all deeply complicit: Iran. For it is there that the women, the Kurds, the Arabs, other ethnic and religious minorities, the oil workers, leftists, homosexuals and drinkers are now suffering murderous repression at the hands of Ayatollah Khomeini and his Islamic fundamentalist mullahs. The 12 members of the Usec's HKS now sitting on death row are the least of the thousands of victims. For over a year we have exposed how the SWP, Mandelites, Morenoites and Lambertistes all hailed Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" as "anti-imperialist," "one of the greatest revolutions of the century" (this from Moreno, of course, who does everything with bombast), "the beginning of the proletarian revolution," etc. The international Spartacist tendency alone said, "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs" and warned that Khomeini would put "women in veils, workers in jails." We, and only we, told what would come if the Iranian proletariat did not forge its own independent leadership.

But finally it was too much for even Iranian Usecers, and following the HKS' shameful participation in Khomeini's plebiscitary "election" for an Islamic "Council of Experts" last August the "fused" (SWP/Mandelite/OCI) Iranian group has come apart at the seams. The HKS was patched together early this year as Iranian exiles returned from Europe (Mandelites) and the U. S. (SWP), with the SWP supporters arriving on the scene first and dominating the new organization and its political line. As the most rabid mullah lovers and legalists, the SWPers naturally wanted to participate in the rigged "vote," even though Khomeini was denouncing all Marxists as "Satanic elements" and had already arrested more than a dozen HKSers. But as the ranks began to get worried about what was in store for them, the Mandelites got a majority in favor of boycott and flew off to Europe to get Usec backing. While they were away, however, Babak Zahrahi, leader of the pro-SWP forces, overturned the decision and publicly announced the HKS would participate in the voting. The result was an open split, now consolidated into essentially separate organizations, as Mandelite candidates withdrew at the last minute.

PORTUGAL, ANGOLA, CUBA...

We have dealt elsewhere with the stark contradic-

RWL ...

(continued from page 16)

membership internationally. The French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire lost a quarter of its members--mostly supporters of a pro-OCI faction or Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction. Moreno also took out more than two-thirds of the USec's Latin American members. Internationally the OCI has made common cause with Moreno and the USec expellees in denouncing the USec tops' support for, and alleged complicity in, the deportation of the Morenoite-led Simón Bolívar Brigade from Nicaragua by the Sandinistas last August.

As the split spreads through the crisis-ridden European sections of the USec the reformists of the SWP have the tremendous advantage of having a consistent political line. With the departure of the Morenoites and Lambertistes and whatever leftists they take along with them, the USec will likely consolidate around a reformist axis with the SWP holding the whip hand.

EX-LSA IN THE DRIVERS' SEAT

After two and a half years of factional trench warfare the SWP's followers in the ex-LSA have finally managed to gain the upper hand in the RWL--largely by attrition. At the organization's second convention last April the heterogeneous ex-RMG/GMR wing managed to scrape together enough votes from among the welter of tendencies, factions, cliques and sectors to gain control of the central committee and the political committee. The "basis of unity" of this unprincipled bloc was a shared hostility to the ex-LSA and its proposal that the organization essentially liquidate its work among women, gays, students, etc., in order to throw the membership into industry. This "proletarian turn" embodies the ex-LSA's appetite to be the waterboys for the trade-union bureaucracy. The ex-RMG leadership accepted the principle of "proletarianization," but in order to preserve their voting bloc they argued for a more "flexible" approach to this campaign (i.e., for the right of their supporters not to participate).

The ex-RMG/GMR's "victory" at the April convention was destined to be a short-lived one. Within a week after the convention ten percent of the anti-LSA coalition had resigned from the organization. Since then there has been a steady stream of quits as cynical and depoliticized New Leftists return to the campuses to finish their PhDs while the gays and feminists seek shelter in their own milieus from the increasingly hostile political climate in the RWL.

With the dissolution of the IMT internationally and the disintegration of their ersatz majority domestically the former RMG/GMR leaders are faced with the unappetizing choices of "going it alone," linking up with the OCI's Quebec-based Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs (GST) or falling in line with the SWP. Mandel's advice is to capitulate to the SWP. At the SWP's 1979 summer camp at Oberlin several of the central leaders of the ex-RMG decided to do just that. After winning a majority on the political committee the ex-LSAers pushed for

a new convention to consolidate what remains of the organization and elect a new central committee to oversee mopping up residual pockets of resistance.

The ex-RMG honchos who didn't "see the light" at Oberlin are attempting to cohere a viable opposition to the politically homogeneous and better organized ex-LSA. They demand that the discussion on the NDP be re-opened and are reportedly still searching for the elusive governmental slogan which can reconcile "critical" NDP tailism and Quebec nationalism. Despite their "left" criticisms of the ex-LSA's fealty to the NDP the former RMG big wheels were all boosters of the fusion. Furthermore, they have always called for a vote to the bourgeois-coalitionist, social-chauvinist NDP at election time when it counted. Through all the splits, maneuvers and fusions; despite the active sabotage of their fight against the SWP by their long-time leader Ernest Mandel, these spineless "oppositionists" have remained loyal to the rotten bloc of opportunists, adventurers, reformists and unprincipled political chameleons which is the USec.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE LOR?

But while the ex-Mandelites are in disarray in English Canada the ex-GMR retains control of what is left of the LOR in Quebec. The massive exodus of members from the LOR since the convention has hardened the Quebec leadership in its hostility to the SWP leaders and their Canadian minions in the ex-LSA. The former GMR leaders, who now call themselves the "Tendency in Defense of Marxism," blame the SWP for "plung[ing], the section into the most complete crisis" and attack the ex-RMG leaders who capitulated for accepting the "unprincipled method of the United Secretariat and the SWP."

In recent months the political differences between the Quebec nationalists of the ex-GMR and the social-democratic reformists of the ex-LSA have sharpened. In order to get a chance to sell their services to the trade-union bureaucracy and the NDP the RWL's newly-industrialized members must first demonstrate their political "responsibility." Among other things this means adapting to the English-Canadian chauvinism of the social democrats and the trade-union tops. Thus the ex-LSA is dissociating itself from its previous advocacy of Quebec independence. In an article in the 26 November issue of Socialist Voice, long-time LSA hack, Richard Fidler offers the following replacement for the old line of "independence and socialism" for Quebec:

"Together, the workers in both nations can overcome the resistance of the capitalists, establish a workers government, and in this process dis-

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solve the bonds of Confederation and move forward with their class brothers and sisters of the United States to establish a new, socialist united states of North America."

In the early 1970's the LSA/LSO was infamous on the left for its capitulation to the most right-wing elements in the Québécois nationalist movement. Today it might appear that the ex-LSAers have taken up the ultra-left position that the national question in Quebec can only be resolved through socialist revolution. But the ex-LSA's new line on Quebec is a rightward shift, not a left turn. When Fidler says "workers government" he means a capitalist government administered by the NDP.

ENTER THE GST

For the ex-GMR the commitment to petty-bourgeois nationalism in Quebec is the touchstone of "revolutionary" politics. As the ex-LSA has been moving away from Quebec independence the GST has been moving in the other direction. The GST, which a couple of years ago was trying to build the Quebec wing of the English-chauvinist NDP, has lately discovered Quebec nationalism and has thrown itself and its trade-union front group into a series of campaigns in favor of an independent Quebec labor party. The GST has also recently taken up the call for a "Free [i. e., capitalist] Republic of Quebec."

The GST is more straightforward about its adaptation to bourgeois nationalism than the LOR (which still calls for a "Workers Republic of Quebec"), but they are united in their advocacy of a nationalist dead-end for Quebec workers. (However, the nationalist fervor of the GST and LOR did not prevent them from joining with the SWP in supporting the reactionary Persian-chauvinist Shi'ite clergy's bid for power in Iran last winter. The ex-GMR vigorously defends its own "national autonomy" within the RWL/LOR but it was not so concerned about the fate of the Kurds, Azerbaijanis and the other national minorities in Iran when it was busy hailing Khomeini).

As Leninists we unconditionally defend Quebec's right to self-determination. But we would only advocate independence for Quebec if relations between the workers of Quebec and English Canada were to become so poisoned by national antagonisms as to make genuine class unity impossible. Proletarian power in North America can only be consolidated on a continent-wide basis. The North American socialist revolution will triumph through joint class struggle--not regional/national parochialism (See "GMR's 'Workers Republic of Quebec': Nationalist Trap for Quebec Workers," SC April 1977).

The GST has been seeking to exploit the differences within the RWL/LOR. The split in the USec became the occasion for an open rebellion in the LOR's "Bureau National." While the RWL Political Committee voted to immediately freeze relations with the GST the Bureau National adopted a motion stating that "... it would be impermissible to permit this split to terminate our fraternal relations with the GST. Rather we should make every attempt

to deepen these relations..." (RWL/LOR) Discussion Bulletin, November 1979).

It is entirely possible that the GST's "leftist" criticisms of the USec's craven capitulation to the petty-bourgeois FSLN in Nicaragua and the SWP's uncritical attitude toward the bonapartist Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy may appeal to oppositionists in the RWL/LOR. But the OCI/GST's left posturing is a fraud. Its opposition to the new FSLN regime does not originate in fidelity to Leninism but is a product of Stalinophobia. The OCI denounces "the sudden resurgence of the moribund Nicaraguan Socialist Party (the national branch office of the Kremlin)" and laments "the excessive weight of its members vis-a-vis the Sandinistas in the government" (Informations Ouvrières, 8-23 August). The same Stalinophobic impulse lay behind the OCI's support to the CIA-financed Portuguese Socialist Party as it was leading a mass anti-Communist mobilization which burned down several Communist Party offices in the summer of 1975.

Doubtless many leftists in the LOR are aghast at the thought that their leadership not only sanctioned but might actually have had a hand in the expulsion of their own comrades by the FSLN. But for those who look to the GST and the OCI/BF to find a Trotskyist alternative to the incessant factional maneuvers and rotten blocs that are the stock-in-trade of the USec--your future is behind you. The lash-up between the Morenoites and the Lambertistes promises to be one of the shorter-lived and most rotten blocs of all time. Despite their left-sounding criticisms of the USec, Moreno is a reformist political charlatan and the OCI the closest thing to a chemically pure social-democratic parody of Trotskyism.

In early 1977, the international Spartacist tendency proposed that if, under the pressure of revolutionary events in Portugal a section of the USec had polarized around opposition to popular frontism and in favor of dual power and a Leninist party, we would welcome the opportunity to join with them in common opposition to the Mandel/SWP USec leadership. As a model for such a principled Trotskyist program we put forward a draft platform of nine points, including: no political or electoral support to popular fronts; for proletarian leadership of the national/social struggle; for military, but no political, support to bourgeois nationalist forces fighting imperialism--build Trotskyist parties in every country; for unconditional defense of the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism, and political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies; against violence in the workers movement; for communist fractions in the unions based on the Transitional Program; for the communist tactic of the united front from above, for revolutionary regroupment and intransigent exposure of centrism; rejection of the claims of the ostensibly Trotskyist internationals, for the re-forging of the Fourth International through the political destruction of Pabloism ("Reforge the Fourth International!" WV No. 143, 4 February 1977). That is the program that stood the test of time. ■

Born-Again Proletarians vs. Quebec Nationalists

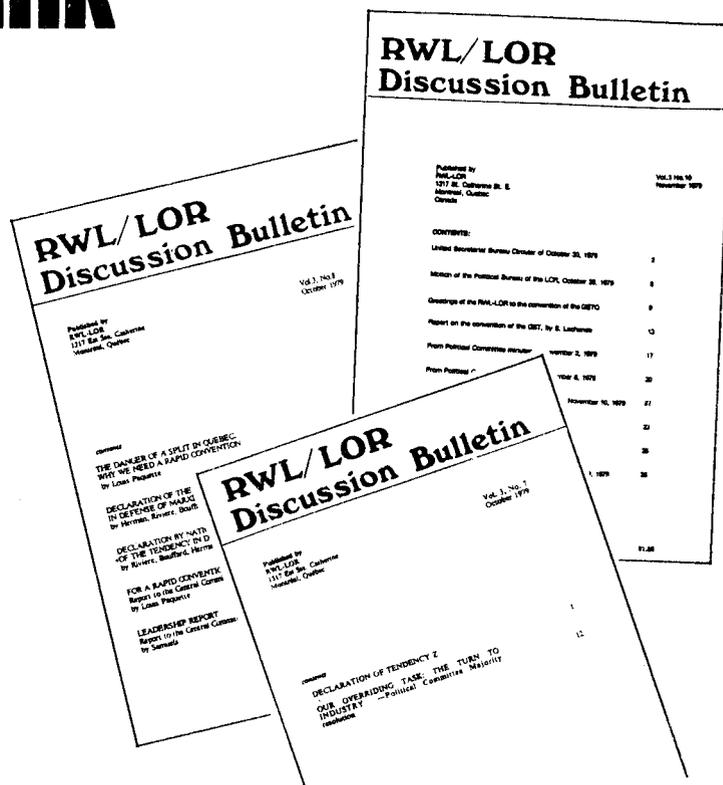
RWL on the Brink

"Despite the favorable evolution of the political situation, the [Revolutionary Workers League/ Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL/LOR)] is in an advanced state of disintegration. Our opponents are growing. But in a year we have lost one-third of our membership and our periphery has virtually disappeared. The loss of membership has been heaviest in Québec. We have been forced to close our two branches in Saskatchewan. The organization is deeply divided; factionalism impedes honest political discussion. At the convention, we suffered two splits of groups of comrades in Québec. There is a lack of political clarity surrounding the adopted positions of the movement. Cynicism and demoralization abound. We may yet suffer further losses."

--"Our Overriding Task: The Turn to Industry"
RWL/LOR Discussion Bulletin, October 1979.

This is not the assessment of some disgruntled factionalist--this is the position of the majority of the Political Committee (PC) of the RWL/LOR. It is a far cry from the rosy delusions of rapid recruitment and overnight mass growth with which the right-centrists in the leadership of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) sold their members on fusion with the reformists of the former League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO) in 1977.

As the ex-GMR leadership observes in their most recent factional declaration "this organization... has been paralyzed since the fusion. Two and a half years of internal debates, our capacities for intervention blunted, cadres lost, that's the price we have paid..." ("Declaration of the Tendency in Defense of Marxism"). But what else did they expect? In the same document they put their finger on the origins of the RWL's chronic factionalism when they note: "The fusion that gave rise to the RWL-LOR was carried out with no real political clarification of the previous differences between the founding organizations." So it was not long before the long-standing conflict between the counterposed opportunist appetites of the Québécois nationalists of the ex-GMR and the reformist NDP bootlickers of the ex-LSA collided in the RWL.



"BUT THE VITAL THING HERE IS TO GRASP THE DEPTH OF THE CRISIS--IT IS EXTREME AND GETTING WORSE."

Two years ago a spirit of "unity" prevailed in the United Secretariat (USec--the RWL's fake-Trotskyist "international"). Both of the major international factions--the European-based International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP)-led Leninist Trotskyist Faction (LTF)--agreed to disband. Ernest Mandel, leader of the IMT, urged his Canadian followers in the RMG and GMR to mend their fences with the reformist LSA and get in on the international "unity" waltz. The cessation of factional hostilities within the USec was seen by Mandel as a prelude to merger with Pierre Lambert's Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and the first step on the road to the "big time."

Today the grand unity schemes are in a shambles and Mandel is the big loser. On the eve of its "Eleventh World Congress" a provocation/expulsion/walkout ripped out a quarter of the USec's

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