

4 SPARTACIST

CANADA MARCH 1977 No. 14 25¢

Defend Quebec's Right to Independence!

Not "National Unity," But Proletarian Class Unity!

Several leading federal bourgeois politicians have recently dropped remarks about what they would do if Quebec moves to separate from the rest of Canada. Interviewed at the end of 1976, Prime Minister Trudeau--the man who ordered the 1970 armed occupation of Montreal--hypocritically remarked that he "would not be the one to lead Canada into civil war" by having the army invade Quebec again. There would however be "others," he was sure. Trudeau added that he would resign his post in the event of a referendum vote in favor of separatism in Quebec --presumably to allow another less reticent prime minister to do the job.

Federal Conservative leader Joe Clark then told an interviewer in late January that he saw "no particular need" to disavow the use of force to prevent Quebec's independence. Clark's redneck Conservative colleague Jack Horner chimed in to warn Quebec that under no circumstances could it be allowed to separate, and to defend explicitly the forcible retention of Quebec within Canada:

"If you say to René Lévesque, we want you to stay in Canada, but we will not use force to keep you in and you will not use force to get out, René Lévesque is as good as out."

These threats by leading bourgeois spokesmen have all been qualified by expressions of confidence that other ways of resolving the situation can be found. The threats are largely--though not entirely--rhetorical, designed to ensure that the federal government's hand is not weakened in its maneuverings with Lévesque's Parti Québécois government.

No leading bourgeois politician seriously wants to start a politically destabilizing civil war in the heart of the North American continent. Federal troops were sent into Montreal in October 1970 with



TRUDEAU PREACHES "CANADIAN UNITY." *Young Socialist*

the consent of the Quebec government, and with the ostensible aim of dealing with a small group of terrorists. Were the federal government to prepare an armed invasion of Quebec to prevent independence, this would be an act undertaken against the will of the elected government, and over the active opposition of the vast majority of the Québécois population.

However the rhetoric also has a serious component--and in the increasingly enflamed atmosphere which has beset Ottawa-Quebec City relations since last November 15, it could become reality. No significant sector of the Canadian bourgeoisie wants to see the secession of Quebec--a secession which would also be politically destabilizing, would greatly increase centrifugal tendencies throughout Canada, and could lead to the breakup of the entire country along regional lines.

LEVESQUE GOES TO NEW YORK,
TRUDEAU GOES TO WASHINGTON

As both Lévesque and Trudeau well know, real political, economic and military power in North

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Quebec...

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America is centered in Washington and New York. Thus each has recently made a pilgrimage to the U. S. in search of support from the American government and/or U. S. business magnates. Reaction to the two visits has revealed the (not surprising) fact that the American bourgeoisie is as opposed to the prospect of an independent Quebec as is its Canadian junior partner.

Lévesque received a cool welcome from the Economic Club of New York in late January when he termed independence "inevitable" and lobbied for stepped-up Wall Street investment in Quebec. Trudeau, on the other hand, was feted by the U. S. government and praised by the American bourgeois media for his February 22 speech to Congress, virtually all of which dealt with the threat of Quebec's secession.

While denouncing Quebec separatism as a "crime against humanity," Trudeau lauded the "inherent decency" of the racist American imperial chieftains, the mass murderers of Indochina. He singled out slave-owner George Washington for his "high standards" in allowing "peoples of differing complexions and cultures to live peaceably together," and continued:

"We in Canada, facing internal tensions with roots extending back to the seventeenth century, have much to gain from the wisdom and discipline and patience which you, in this country, in this generation, have brought to bear to reduce racial tensions [!], to broaden legal rights [!!], to provide opportunity to all."

--quoted in Globe and Mail, 23 February

Thus the U. S. government's forcible subjugation of Puerto Rico, its mass deportations of "illegal" Mexican immigrants, and its ghettoizing of millions of blacks are all praised as examples of "wisdom and discipline and patience," while the desire of the Québécois people to decide their own future as a nation is a "crime against humanity." This arrogant nonsense from the Prime Minister prompted René Lévesque to comment that Trudeau's speech was "a bit in the raving tone."

U. S. IMPERIALISM WARNS LEVESQUE

The day after Trudeau's musings on what is and is not a "crime against humanity," New York Times columnist James Reston described the American government's concern about political instability in Canada. According to Reston, American government officials feel that Lévesque's call for an independent Quebec is:

"... the worst proposition put to the U. S. government since Nikita Khrushchev invited it to accept the emplacement of Soviet nuclear weapons in Cuba. . . . though the internal politics of Canada are none of our business, the defense of North

America is a vital question of U. S. security that would scarcely be enhanced by the creation of an independent Quebec alongside a divided Canada."

Of course, the "internal politics" of Canada are very much a part of American capitalism's "business," just as the "internal politics" of Castro's Cuba in 1962 were of great "concern" to the U. S. government. The U. S. -Soviet showdown over Cuba was a major confrontation in which nuclear war was threatened by the Kennedy administration in order to force Khrushchev to back down. Reston's implication, taken at face value, is that the U. S. State Department is prepared to stage another nuclear confrontation in order to prevent Quebec's independence!

But the U. S. is not really threatening to drop an atom bomb on Montreal, nor is a division of the American army about to be dispatched to the northern Vermont border. René Lévesque is no Fidel Castro seizing power with a guerrillaist army, and Quebec is not about to become a deformed workers state. The various half-threats being made by the authorities in Washington and Ottawa are an attempt to convince Lévesque to moderate his stance on independence. Other methods have also been tossed out: later in the same New York Times column, Reston described the uncertainty of American financiers about investing in Quebec, and hinted at the possibility of a flight of capital investment from the province, or even a future Chile-style "destabilization" campaign to undermine independence.

FULL NATIONAL RIGHTS
FOR THE QUEBECOIS!

National antagonisms in Canada have been on the rise since the election of the PQ government last November, posing the possibility of a majority sentiment for independence by the time of the PQ referendum. If this should arise, it is likely that the English-Canadian and American capitalists will use

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RMG/LSA Hustle for Sadlowski

TORONTO, February 17--Eighteen months ago the competing wings of the fake-Trotskyist "United" Secretariat were on opposite sides of the barricades in Portugal. Today their political counterparts in Canada, the League for Socialist Action (LSA) and Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), are paving the road for fusion. Undaunted by such questions as who might have been killing whom in Portugal, the reformist LSA and right-centrist RMG have achieved "unity" in their all-out support for labor faker Ed Sadlowski, recent unsuccessful United Steelworkers of America (USWA) presidential candidate. At a joint LSA-RMG forum held here last Friday on "The Struggle for Union Democracy in Steel," a spokesman for the Trotskyist League, noting the absence of any steelworkers, aptly commented that the meeting was nothing more than a test to "see if the RMG and LSA could get along in the same room together."

Sharing the platform were Robin Maisel, supporter of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP--the LSA's American big brother) and Detroit office manager for the Sadlowski campaign, and Bob Mills, the RMG's supporter in steel. Meeting chairman Ernie Tate of the LSA acknowledged Mills as "one of the first and best known activists for the Sadlowski campaign in Canada."

Maisel spent the greater part of his presentation looking at the history of the American labor movement through the distorting prism of 1970's SWP reformism. Accordingly, Sadlowski's "Steelworkers Fight Back" campaign was touted as a return to the "good old days" of the 1930's. Dressing its leader up as a militant rebel fighting to oust the incumbent bureaucracy, Maisel ran down a long list of the betrayals of the I. W. Abel regime. Included were Abel's complicity in the 1950's witchhunts to drive militants and communists out of the trade unions, his support to the Vietnam war and his subservience to capitalist parties.

However, as TL supporters pointed out during the discussion period, Sadlowski did not break fundamentally with Abel on any of these issues. Never mentioning the need for an independent working class party, Sadlowski backed businessman's Democrat Jimmy Carter in the recent U. S. presidential elections. At the eighteenth convention of USWA in Las Vegas last September, Sadlowski took the floor to solidarize with a motion calling for trial committees to drive communists out of the union. As for his opposition to the Vietnam war, it began only in 1968 when the war was already unpopular with the liberal bourgeoisie--and even then it went no further than wretched social-patriotic pacifism.

While Maisel hailed the Sadlowski campaign as the most important event in the union movement in forty years (!), he conveniently "forgot" to mention that in 1965 the SWP welcomed Abel's victory as the most "progressive" event in the USWA in fifteen



BOB MILLS WIELDS SADLOWSKI'S PROGRAM. SEATED LEFT, ROBIN MAISEL. SC

years. Apparently for the SWP the only thing Sadlowski has over Abel is twenty-five years more "impact"!

Next Bob Mills rose to add his words of praise for "Oilcan Eddie," whom he lionized every bit as uncritically as Maisel. Striking a chord of "unity" with bureaucrat Sadlowski, Mills proclaimed that his campaign represented a "new beginning." Mills spent most of his time in apolitical talk about "meetin' the people" and "organizin' the campaign," in a style which was second only to Ed himself in fake down-home folksiness. Obviously having nothing substantial to add to Maisel's presentation, he said little, sat down and remained closed-mouthed throughout most of the discussion period.

Leading off the discussion, a TL spokesman countered Mills's opportunist capitulation to Sadlowski's phoney "fight for union democracy" by citing Trotsky's comment that the first prerequisite for union democracy is the independence of the unions from the capitalist state. Pointing to Sadlowski's repeated use of the bourgeois courts to intervene into the internal affairs of USWA, the TL comrade exposed the campaign for "democracy" as a sham, the ploy of an out-bureaucrat on the make.

The question of taking the unions to court provoked a revealing series of interventions, beginning with Maisel's claim that the unions are part of the capitalist state anyway, so why have any qualms about taking them to court. LSA ideologue Dick Fidler then felt compelled to correct Maisel by stating that the union bureaucrats, not the unions, are the instruments of the capitalist state. (Left unexplained was how the LSA can support these bureaucrats, if they are really instruments of capitalist rule.) Finally RMG leader Bret Smiley rose to inform them that they were both wrong. Arguing that the labor bureaucracy is not an in-

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Sadlowski...

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stitutionalized instrument of the capitalist state are the FBI and CIA, Smiley said he was personally uncomfortable with the position of inviting the courts into the unions, and said that it should be opened up for debate. Smiley's "personal" contribution served merely to underline the lack of any principled agreement within the RMG as a whole, much less agreement with their fusion partners, the LSA. But not much more can be expected from an organization which appeals to the readers of its press to supply it with a program!

Despite their differences, Fidler and Maisel were united in their touching faith in the capitalist courts and judges. Both claimed that the union movement had to use whatever tools were available to strengthen its hand. These "tools" included the bosses' government. No better testimonial to the abject reformism of the LSA/SWP could have been given. Abandoning the Marxist understanding that the bourgeois state is the instrument of the capitalist class, these renegades from Trotskyism now proclaim its supposed neutrality, and call for it to intervene into the labor movement.

In a shameless maneuver to cover for their revisionism both referred to Lenin and Trotsky's recourse to capitalist governments for asylum. Maisel even went so far as to make the absurd assertion that the Trotskyist League's position against court intervention in the union movement reminded him of the Mensheviks, who accused Lenin of being an agent of the Kaiser for returning to Russia in a train provided by the German government! Neither Lenin nor Trotsky would have minced words with these reformist cheerleaders for Sadlowski's Labour Department unionism. Rather than being a question which is "open to debate" (as Smiley would have it) Trotsky resolved the question nearly forty years ago in his pamphlet "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay." Trotsky wrote that any call for union democracy "presupposes for its realization the complete independence of the trade unions from the state."

Contrary to Maisel's stupid and dishonest charge that it is a "Menshevik" position, the call for the unconditional independence of the unions from the capitalist state is an integral part of the Trotskyist program for the trade unions. While the state intervenes under the guise of making the unions more "honest and democratic," in fact it does so only to better impose the rule of the bourgeoisie on the working class and its organizations.

Other speakers took Maisel and Mills to task for their mindless mouthing of Sadlowski's occasional opportunist and empty rhetoric about fighting unemployment through a shorter workweek. Bob McBurney, a militant from the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), cited the now infamous Penthouse interview in which Sadlowski vowed to reduce the basic steel workforce by seventy-five percent. McBurney pointed to Sadlowski's stated

commitment to enforce Abel's no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) until 1980 and his refusal to lift a finger to fight layoffs in his own Chicago-Gary District 31.

Despite Sadlowski's defeat in the USWA elections, the RMG and LSA cling to the hope that his "Steelworkers Fight Back" movement will continue. However now that the elections are over, Sadlowski's electoral vehicle no longer has any reason to exist (at least until the 1981 presidential campaign begins to gear up), because it has no program to carry it forward. To opportunist "rank-and-file" lashups built around support to slick hustling labor fakers, McBurney counterposed the need to construct class-struggle caucuses in the unions based on the Transitional Program.

In response Maisel noted that the SWP had been the only left-wing organization in the U. S. not to "miss the boat" on the Sadlowski campaign. Attacking his reformist rivals in the Communist Party from the right for maintaining their own "rank-and-file" organizations in steel while supporting the Sadlowski campaign, Maisel charged that those groups which didn't back Sadlowski down the line were simply looking for short-cuts into the working class! No one is looking for short-cuts as much as the SWP and Sadlowski's other "left" hangers-on, with their conscious refusal to fight for class-struggle politics in the labor movement.

The SWP, LSA and RMG all sought to defend their betrayals by "sectarian"-baiting the TL and the international Spartacist tendency. Smiley made the accusation (which he knows to be untrue) that the TL refuses to support anyone in union elections who fails to run on the full Transitional Program.

The TL will (and has) extend critical support in union elections to candidates who campaign on a program which breaks from business-unionist reformism on at least one key issue. For example, a TL supporter in the LCUC critically backed RMG supporter Roger Annis when he ran for president of the Toronto local, despite differences on several important issues. But Sadlowski's campaign in no way broke from Abel's class collaboration and in no sense embodied class-struggle politics. Those groups who backed him in the USWA presidential elections did so only out of craven opportunism.

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WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 14

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Trotskyists Banned from Vancouver Forums

What is the LSA Afraid Of?

VANCOUVER--Chanting "The League for Socialist Action can't silence Trotskyism!", a dozen militants held a spirited picket-line demonstration outside an LSA "public" forum here on February 4. The demonstrators were protesting the LSA's cowardly and bureaucratic exclusion of two Vancouver TL spokesmen, Linda Jarreau and Oliver Stephens, from its Vanguard Forum series.

Among those marching with the TL in defense of workers democracy were several prominent Vancouver leftists who have a long-standing familiarity with the LSA: Tom Hansen, a former executive council member of the NDP Vancouver Area Council; Brian Campbell, who was the NDP candidate in the 1972 and 1974 Vancouver mayoral elections; and Ken Grieve, a former member of an oppositional LSA tendency (led by Bill Whitney) which was bureaucratically squeezed out of the organization in the early 1960's.

LSAers arriving for the forum could not play their usual game of feigning amusement at the TL's political principles. Instead, the presence of former leading NDP leftists, who were on the picket line to defend workers democracy, brought forth stunned glances and served to cut off screaming insults from several LSA hacks.

After marching on the line, a TL representative and Tom Hansen entered the LSA forum and protested the exclusions, urging supporters of workers democracy to join the demonstration. Hansen read a letter of protest which related the real events of the Vanguard Forum which the LSA slan-

derously claimed had been disrupted by the TL, and demanded the lifting of the anti-communist ban. The 30 or so people in attendance listened in uncomfortable silence as the protest statement was read, and the chairman's attempt to interrupt and start the meeting failed until the statement was finished.

The LSA and its mentors in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are notorious for their criminal defense of the "right" of free speech for fascist scum. Yet while the SWP/LSA "defend democratic rights" for the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan, they have a sordid record of denying free speech and workers democracy to their opponents within the workers movement. From the SWP's exclusion of Spartacist League supporters from "public" forums in Chicago and the Bay Area, to threatened bans on two TL members in Toronto last year, to the recent Vancouver exclusions--the SWP and LSA have consistently resorted to the most craven Stalinist tactics in a futile attempt to cover up their betrayals of Trotskyism.

Reprinted below are (1) the LSA's letter to the TL announcing the exclusions; (2) an open letter distributed by the TL in response; (3) the protest statement of Tom Hansen and (4) a petition being circulated by the TL in defense of workers democracy, with a list of some of its prominent endorsers. Spartacist Canada calls on all defenders of workers democracy to join the protest campaign against the LSA's bureaucratic exclusions, and to demand that the ban against the Trotskyist League comrades be lifted.



PROTESTERS OUTSIDE VANCOUVER LSA FORUM, FEBRUARY 4.

1. Letter from the LSA to the TL

Vanguard Forum,
1208 Granville St.,
Vancouver, B. C.
January 31, 1977.

Trotskyist League of Canada,
Box 26, Station A,
Vancouver, B. C.

This letter is written after serious consideration by the organizers of the Vanguard Forum.

On Friday, January 21, two of your members, Oliver and Linda (last names are not known to us) attended the Vanguard Forum with the conscious intent of disrupting it. They interrupted the chairperson, spoke from the front (although not invited to do so) and shouted an announcement when the chairperson adjourned the forum.

This is not the first time these people have tried to disrupt the Vanguard Forum. Our forums are
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Trotskyists Banned...

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run democratically with full question and discussion periods. No one has special privileges, although Oliver and Linda tried to accord special status to themselves that others do not have.

We do not have to tolerate anyone intentionally disrupting the forums or denying the democratic rights of the forum participants, which was done on February [sic] 21.

For the above reason, Oliver and Linda are no longer welcome to participate in Vanguard Forums and will not be admitted to the forums.

Sincerely,

Brenda Dineen,
Vanguard Forum Director.

2. Open Letter from the TL to the LSA

Unable to defend their reformist politics against the revolutionary program of the Trotskyist League (TL), the League for Socialist Action (LSA) has turned to the time-worn Stalinist methods of slander and exclusionism against their Trotskyist critics. In a letter dated January 31, 1977 the LSA has announced that it will attempt to bar two supporters of the TL from future Vanguard forums. This blatant violation of workers democracy must be denounced and repudiated by all who believe that free and open discussion and debate within the workers movement is essential to the forging of a Bolshevik vanguard party.

The charges against the TL are so flimsy that no one can fail to see that they are merely a smoke-screen behind which the cowardly LSA is attempting to hide its bankrupt politics. Claiming that forums "are run democratically with full question and discussion periods," the LSA denounces as a "disruption" the TL's attempt to extend the bureaucratically limited discussion period beyond the 30 minutes allotted (when there were 50 potential speakers in the room)! The LSA then has the absolute gall to term speaking "from the front of the room" and making an announcement "when the chairperson adjourned the forum" as "denying the democratic

rights" of others! These absurd charges are of the kind used by trade union piecards when they wish to silence rank and file opposition to their sell-outs and betrayals.

This attempt to ban Trotskyists from Vanguard forums will not prevent the TL from patiently and persistently unmasking these pseudo-revolutionaries for the cynical reformists that they are. We will continue to criticize the LSA's craven boot-licking of Ed Sadlowski's campaign to become the next chief betrayer of the Steelworkers; their all-out support for strike-breaking in the service of Québécois nationalism during the Air Traffic Control strike; and their sectarian refusal to join the international campaign to free Chilean miners' leader Mario Munoz and all class-war prisoners in Chile and Argentina. These are only some of the most recent examples of the LSA's wretched reformist politics. The TL will continue to carry forward the banner of revolutionary Trotskyism and to expose those like the LSA who drag it through the mud of class collaboration.

The TL calls upon all socialists and working class militants to protest this undemocratic exclusion and to demand that the LSA rescind its ban against the TL supporters.

DEFEND WORKERS DEMOCRACY!

Trotskyist League
4 February 1977

3. Letter from Tom Hansen to the LSA

February 4, 1977
Vancouver, B. C.

Ms. Brenda Dineen
Director
Vanguard Forum/LSA
Vancouver, B. C.

Dear Brenda and LSA members,

In response to your letter to the Trotskyist League of Canada excluding two of their comrades, Linda and Oliver, from your public forums, I am writing this protest.

Your reasons for excluding Linda and Oliver, as stated in your letter are their conscious attempts to disrupt the Jan. 21st forum you had on Sadlowski. As you are aware I also attended that particular forum, and in my opinion the disruptions were not caused by the two TL members. Rather, they were initiated by certain LSA members when Oliver, after being recognized by the chair, walked to the front of the room to speak. In the five years that I have known the LSA, I can recall several occasions when individuals have made a practice of going to the front of the room to face the meeting when speaking, including myself. To use this as an excuse for expulsion is infantile and hypocrisy.

You also stated that Linda made an announcement when the chair adjourned the meeting which also caused a disruption. Here again I have difficulty following your line of reasoning. I could not start

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OFS, Fake-Lefts Undercut Militancy

Ontario Students Protest Tuition Hikes

On February 10 rallies and demonstrations were held across Ontario to protest tuition fee increases proposed by the provincial Conservative Party government. Under the provisions of the McKeough-Henderson Report tuition fees are to be hiked by an outrageous 65 percent over a three to four year period. Last November the government announced the implementation of phase one of the report: beginning in September annual fees are to rise 30 percent (\$75) for community college students and 16 percent (\$100) for university students. This move followed an announcement last May that tuition fees for foreign students are to be tripled, from about \$500 to \$1500 a year.

While student councils and federations throughout the province avowed their opposition to these proposals, very little active protest was mobilized on most campuses. The building of militant actions was undermined from the outset by the tepid liberalism of the protest organizers, the Ontario Federation of Students (OFS), who restricted the protest to an impotent half-day class boycott centered solely on opposition to the \$100 fee hike. While response to the OFS protest call was predictably weak at most universities, students at Laurentian University in Sudbury went beyond the OFS proposals and

set up student pickets. Faculty, campus workers and even the city bus drivers in this town with a strong union tradition supported the students and respected the picket lines, effectively shutting down the campus for the morning.

At the University of Toronto the committee set up to co-ordinate the February 10 protest was politically and organizationally dominated by student bureaucrats and a crew of Communist Party members and sympathizers. With the aid of their fake-Trotskyist handmaidens in the League for Socialist Action and Revolutionary Marxist Group, the bureaucrats and CP succeeded in drawing fewer than 250 of the 30,000 U of T students out to a noon-hour rally. These fake socialists voted down a proposal --put forward by the Trotskyist League at a protest planning meeting--for all campus groups opposed to the fee increases to have the right to a speaker from the platform at the rally. Thus they ensured that the politics of the rally would be confined to ultra-minimalist student parochialism and utopian reformism, and undercut the possibility of building a broad-based, militant protest.

The Trotskyist League intervened both at the formative meetings of the U of T committee and at the rally, calling for united action against the fee hikes, and putting forward the perspective of linking student struggles with the fight of the labor movement against layoffs and wage controls. Pointing out that the issue was not simply the \$100 fee increase, but the whole question of accessibility to higher education, campus worker and student supporters of the TL raised demands for no tuition, open admissions, a full living stipend for all students and remedial programs for those who need them. Only these demands cut against the class bias of the university and address the needs of the working class and poor (to whom university education is already effectively denied).

The cutbacks in educational funding are only a small part of the offensive of the capitalist class against those it exploits and oppresses. In particular, the huge fee hike for foreign students is a disgusting example of the capitalists' use of chauvinism to scapegoat minorities and divide the working class and oppressed. At the February 10 U of T rally the Trotskyist League was the only organization to tie the fight against the government's attacks to a revolutionary program of struggle against the capitalist system. Education will be the right of all, and will genuinely serve everyone, only when the decaying, profit-driven capitalist system is overthrown by the victorious socialist revolution. ■

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GMR/LSO Tour: Couterfeit 'Unity' around Quebec Nationalism

This month's joint speaking tour by leaders of the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) and Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) is being billed as the beginning of a campaign to defend Quebec's right to self-determination. Its more important purpose, however, is to help cement a fusion between the several Canadian adherents of the fake-Trotskyist "United" Secretariat (USec)--the GMR, its English-Canadian "sister section" the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and the League for Socialist Action (LSA)/LSO. In addition, the tour is designed to popularize the USec supporters' nationalist program for the "Quebec revolution."

The mere fact that the GMR and LSO are undertaking a joint propaganda tour, let alone considering a fusion, should raise a few eyebrows. For the leaders of the two organizations have a twelve-year history of vicious factional disputes, both inside and outside the LSA/LSO. While both groups have opportunist methodologies and both capitulate to Quebec nationalism, each has political impulses which are at variance with those of the other. Unlike the fast-decomposing, rightward-lurching RMG, the GMR is a growing organization (substantially larger than the LSO) which has never experienced a serious factional split and which sees a political future for itself. Its February 12-13 sympathizers' conference in Montreal saw no significant participation from its putative fusion partners, the LSO. Clearly, the GMR intends to participate in any "fusion" only on its own terms--if it has Bundist "autonomy" to control the Quebec wing of the "united" organization.

GMR, LSO: CONFLICTING NATIONALISMS

For more than a decade the reformist LSO has sought to integrate into the mainstream of the Quebec nationalist movement by rubbing shoulders with unsavory clerical nationalists like Reggie Chartrand. Its embracing of bourgeois nationalism has been particularly disgusting on the language question, as it echoes the ultra-reactionary demand for stamping out the English language ("a unilingual French Quebec").

The LSO's attempt to be the most "consistent" nationalists has brought the organization no real gains in Quebec. In fact its line had become so discredited and unpopular by 1972 that a group led by Michel Mill walked out of the organization to form the centrist GMR. Mill and Co. denounced the LSO as "degenerated" and proclaimed that "all common work is impossible within one and the same organization." For the next two years however, the GMR fought to get back into the "same organization" as the LSO, the United Secretariat. It finally achieved its goal at the USec's "tenth world congress" in 1974, but only



1971 DEMONSTRATION FOR QUEBEC INDEPENDENCE. BEHIND NATIONALIST FLAGS, THE LSO YOUTH GROUP'S BANNER. Libération

by compromising its cherished Quebec "autonomy" to posture as one organization with the RMG.

The GMR split letter (printed in LSA Discussion Bulletin No. 13, 1972) decried the LSO's criminal passivity in the face of the massive Common Front general strike of May 1972, and claimed that the root of the organization's decay was that its "line in Quebec is characterized by the importance given to the language question at the expense of all other aspects of the national struggle or of the class struggle."

The difference over the language question was only one of emphasis. Neither the LSO nor GMR supports the very simple democratic principle of equal language rights for all--the GMR simply wants to play down the question in its propaganda, while the LSO enjoys revelling in the most reactionary aspects of Quebec nationalism. However the GMR split did represent a different, more left-wing political thrust. The more militant GMR rejected the LSO's "respectable" nationalism in favor of a "national liberation" strategy centered on the slogan "for the workers republic of Quebec." The GMR's separatist strategy entailed a revision of the Leninist theory of the party, as it called for an autonomous organization of Québécois revolutionaries separate from any English-Canadian organization.

Ironically enough, the line of a separate Quebec section of the USec was first put forward by Dick

Fidler, Mill's long-time factional antagonist in the LSA/LSO. In an October 1964 document entitled "Notes on Quebec," Fidler argued that "the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière... is completely autonomous as to its program and activity, and is not directly a part of the League for Socialist Action. This status is necessary in order to overcome the prejudices of French-Canadian militants...." This cravenly federalist conception of party-building is sharply counterposed to the Leninist position "one state power, one party." Lenin called for the construction of a single centralized vanguard party encompassing all nationalities within a given state, in order to unite the proletariat against the existing state power.

Between 1966 and 1970 the LSA/LSO leadership dumped its independence line, only to have it taken up by Mill's budding internal opposition. In a 1966 document called "The Reconquest of Quebec," Mill first advanced the essential core of the future GMR program: for a separate Quebec USec section and an independent workers republic of Quebec.

MIKE MILL'S POLITICAL HISTORY

The origins of Mill's tendency date back to 1965 when he proposed to emulate the "unification of the Chilean Trotskyists with an entire series of new revolutionary groups and movements" by having the LSO do a liquidationist deep entry into the short-lived petty-bourgeois nationalist Mouvement de Libération Populaire (MLP). (See LSO bulletin intérieur, November 1965.) Mill's classically Pabloist "entry sui generis" would have meant that "the LSO will cease to publicly exist" and that LSO members would become the best builders of the MLP. More interested in the more staid (but equally short-lived) nationalist Parti Socialiste du Québec, the LSO leadership rejected the entry. (However, it had no criticisms of the "Chilean experience" which Mill hoped vainly to copy. This was the USec's scandalous creation of the MIR on an explicitly non-Trotskyist program earlier that year--the same MIR that went on to become the left prop for Allende's popular-front betrayal of the Chilean working class.)

Mill carried on his fight against the LSA/LSO leadership throughout the 1960's and early 1970's. During the large and often violent Montreal student demonstrations in 1968, Mill called for the LSO to lead immediate "quasi-insurrectionary" street actions. At this time he managed to gain control of the LSO's youth group, which he carried into several wild adventurist/opportunist capers, much to the chagrin of the social-democratic LSA/LSO. The leadership decided to kill the rapidly growing LSO youth group so as to deprive Mill of his base of support. Most of his former supporters left the organization, while a few hardened Pabloite remnants stuck with Mill during the ensuing faction fight and went on to become the founding core of the GMR.

One episode from this period has come back to haunt the GMR time and time again. In a hiatus during the student clashes with police at a "McGill français" demonstration, a leading bourgeois newspaper photographed Mill, the demonstration's chief

ADMIT GUNDER FRANK TO CANADA!

In early February, the federal Immigration Department announced that it had refused to grant an entry visa to Professor Andre Gunder Frank, a lecturer at the Max Planck research institute in Frankfurt. Immigration Minister Bud Cullen explained that Frank had been barred from entering the country to address a conference at Queen's University "on security grounds... I cannot give you the reasons" (Toronto Star, 2 February).

The "reasons" for this McCarthyite political exclusion are obvious. Frank, who is already barred by reactionary anti-communist legislation from entering the United States, is considered a risk to "security" because of his left-wing politics. This is the third occasion on which he has been denied entry to Canada: in 1974 the government prevented him from accepting a teaching job at the University of Montreal, and last year he was unable to enter to address a seminar at the University of Sherbrooke.

Widespread protest has greeted the government's decision to bar Frank from the country: New Democratic Party MP's have raised the issue on the floor of the House of Commons; other scheduled participants in the Queen's University meeting have withdrawn in protest (leading to the cancellation of the conference); and the 20,000-member Canadian Association of University Teachers has denounced the government's move as an attack on academic freedom. While representatives of the murderous Chilean junta and anti-communist Vietnamese refugees are welcomed into Canada with open arms, leftists like Andre Gunder Frank are barred solely for their pro-working class views and activities. All socialists and defenders of civil liberties must denounce the government's anti-communist exclusion of Professor Frank, and demand that the bar on his entry into Canada be lifted!

marshal, riding in the sidecar of a cop motorcycle in order to move from one part of the crowd to another. This disgraceful incident was subsequently used as a factional club against Mill by the LSA/LSO leadership and by other Montreal left groups.

Over the next few years the Montreal opposition was able to spread its roots throughout the LSA, laying the basis for the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency in 1972. During the same period it firmed up its links with the European-based International Majority Tendency of the USec, which

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BOYCOTTS...

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legislation such as the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act which banned all left-wing literature (or even honest social critiques) which might "serve" the cause of communism. Under this new measure all literature and works of art which do not serve to support the reactionary racialism and narrow Calvinist values of Afrikaans nationalism were banned. According to the London Sunday Times of 21 April 1968: "Since the board was instituted in November, 1963, after the Publications and Entertainments Act was passed in Parliament, more than 11,000 books have been banned."

Even the RMG cannot ignore the fact that the present anti-apartheid rebellion was sparked by opposition to the Vorster regime's attempt to impose Afrikaans as a co-equal (with English) language of instruction for black secondary school students:

"The government has tried to impose Afrikaans, the language of the white colonialist oppressors, on the blacks, through the school system. The blacks want to be taught in their own language and in English, which is the language of work and of opportunity. But the white ruling class treats the black only as an inferior and a source of cheap labour. Blacks have no rights in South Africa. It's no wonder that the government deems it unnecessary for the blacks to learn English."

--Old Mole, July-August 1976

Not only is English the "language of work and of opportunity" in South Africa; it is also--thanks to the hegemony of British colonialism in the nineteenth century and U. S. imperialism in the twentieth--one

REINSTATE THE MILROD WORKERS!

Last October 19, thirty-one immigrant workers--most of them black workers from the Caribbean--were fired by Milrod Metal Products of Mississauga, Ontario. Since then they have been waging a campaign to regain their jobs. For over two years the Milrod workers, the vast majority of whom are immigrants, have been subjected to escalating company harassment, speedup and racism. When workers on the Chevy Truck line sought to protest line speed last October, management responded by firing them, allegedly for conducting a slowdown.

In fact, the company was seeking to silence all opposition to its murderous speedup, and to drive home to immigrant workers the fact that they have no rights under the profit-driven capitalist system. The labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights must support the Milrod workers' fight, and demand that they be reinstated with full back pay and no loss in seniority!

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of the world's most widely spoken languages. Meanwhile Afrikaans is spoken nowhere else in the world but South Africa. Afrikaans-language chauvinism serves the South African white ruling class, both Afrikaans- and English-speaking, by providing a mechanism through which the access to international culture, literature and art by the black masses can be even further restricted and controlled.

Beeman's proposal for a book boycott of South Africa, were it to be implemented, would also serve to restrict access to international culture and reinforce Afrikaans chauvinism. Cutting off the import of English-language books to South Africa would serve only to reinforce the cause of apartheid and Afrikaans chauvinism, and would retard the struggle against it.

The only CUPE 1230 member to speak against Beeman's "cringing" liberal moralizing (cringing which, on this issue, she shares with the most reactionary defenders of white supremacy and apartheid) was Jane Kirby, a supporter of the Trotskyist League. She argued against petty-bourgeois moralizing and reactionary unlimited boycotts, and for limited labor boycotts and specific industrial actions to demonstrate international working-class solidarity with the toiling masses of South Africa. Such actions could strike real blows against the white-supremacist regime in Pretoria, and contribute to the black masses' heroic struggle to smash apartheid once and for all.

POSTSCRIPT

FEBRUARY 26--As we go to press, the CUPE 1230 executive has announced that, under pressure from management and the national CUPE bureaucracy, the book boycott motion has been rescinded. According to the local president, management threatened to take the union to the Ontario Labour Relations Board (OLRB), charging that the refusal to fill book requests to South Africa was a form of illegal strike action.

The Trotskyist League opposed the book boycott because it would only have played into the hands of the racist Vorster regime. At the same time we oppose management's intervention, defend the union against it and call for the abolition of the anti-labor OLRB. The union executive's cowardly capitulation (without even a membership discussion) sets a bad precedent, allowing management to stop any form of labor protest. Thus the flip side of the reformist CUPE 1230 leadership's liberal moralism is its abject capitulation before the dictates of bourgeois legality. ■

RMG's Dilemma: What Price Fusion with LSA?

"There has been a real concern among comrades that the leadership was acting too quickly in making decisions about relations with the LSA. A certain suspicion and paranoia about the decisions of the plenum has manifest itself in the suggestion that somehow the leadership is trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the membership."

This admission, delivered with a frankness uncharacteristic of the leadership of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), began a January report to the Toronto membership on fusion discussions with the League for Socialist Action (LSA). There is reportedly significant discomfort in the ranks of the RMG with the leadership's proposal to reunify with the ultra-reformist LSA: while most of the membership is ambivalent, a minority is actively opposed to the fusion.

No doubt the LSA is not subject to the same hesitations. Having a cohered central leadership, organizational apparatus and consistent reformist program, it has little to fear from the burnt-out "leftism" of the organizationally and politically degenerate RMG. Beckoning the group back into the reformist fold, the LSA is only too eager to swallow the ranks of the RMG.

Of course the traditional Pabloist dictates must be invoked to provide a rationale for fusion. According to the RMG leadership, the election of the bourgeois-

nationalist PQ and the October 14 general strike have created a "new period" which requires a new and larger organization to cut into a piece of the opportunist action. The RMG and LSA are united in their "analysis of the period"; i. e., their capitulation to Quebec nationalism and all stripes of labor fakers (from Lofty MacMillan to Ed Sadowski). However important differences continue to exist: in large part the same issues that led to the split of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT) in 1973. At least two of the central issues of that fight still cause consternation for members of the RMG: one, democratic rights for members, and two, the LSA's boot-licking fealty to the NDP.

The LSA's "pressure group" relationship to the NDP was the most serious issue in the 1973 split. The RMG today claims that the LSA's NDP line "has undergone quite a profound evolution" and "can evolve further in a positive direction." The change in the LSA's central slogan from "win the NDP to socialism" to "build the NDP" could only be construed as "profound" in the minds of cynical opportunists with appetites to build a "mass" reformist propaganda group.

In the manner of the post-WWII American Communist Party blaming ex-leader Earl Browder for all its past difficulties, both the LSA and RMG seek to scapegoat long-time LSA leader Ross Dowson (who split in 1974 to form the Socialist League) for some

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Sadowski...

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Long absent from the industrial working class, the SWP is today seeking to carve itself a niche in the bureaucracy by being the best builder of campaigns for dissident bureaucrats. Having largely abandoned its long-standing exclusive orientation to petty-bourgeois milieux, the SWP (and its little brother the LSA) today appears more attractive to the cynical workerists of the RMG.

But while the RMG and LSA/SWP were able to "unite" on the central issue of the forum, striking principled differences between the two tendencies did surface at the forum--notably the question of government intervention into the unions. In response, Maisel counselled with the adage "discuss things, vote on them and learn the lessons later." However, as RMGers who once inhabited the LSA will remember, the LSA and SWP are highly undemocratic and bureaucratic organizations, not known for their fondness toward dissident left-

wing tendencies. In order to better attract the RMG, the LSA/SWP have recently sought to posture as more democratic than in the past--but nothing fundamental has in fact changed.

Although the RMG has drifted very far to the right in order to prepare its reunification with the LSA, the groups' first joint forum underlined the fact that important differences of style, of emphasis and of principle still remain. Given the RMG's own history of rabid internal factional warfare, the slogan for the reunified RMG-LSA may have to be "let a hundred tendencies bloom"--at least until the LSA leadership is able to browbeat the ex-RMGers into line. But unless a decisive break is made with the liquidationist politics of the United Secretariat, not one of these tendencies will be able to contribute to building a revolutionary party and a class-struggle leadership for the labor movement. Only the program and principles of the Trotskyist League--including intransigent opposition to pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats like Ed Sadowski--can show the way forward for the working class. ■

RMG/LSA Fusion...

(continued from page 11)

of the more grotesque aspects of the organization's past line. But there has not been one iota of real change in the post-Dowson LSA. The entire present-day LSA leadership supported Dowson's every liquidationist maneuver for years, as the group liquidated eye-deep into the right wing of social democracy. Today, the LSA's practice is no different: despite the "difference" in slogans, the LSA still applies a minute amount of pressure on the NDP misleaders to clean up their act, and crows "the workers need an NDP government!"

In 1971 the LSA leadership (including current leaders Dick Fidler, John Riddell, et. al.) lined up behind David Lewis and Jim Laxer to break up the radical New Brunswick Waffle. As their contribution to "building the NDP" the LSA tops suspended their entire dissident Maritime operation for the crime of winning the Waffle to the call for the expropriation of industry without compensation.

Today the RMG leadership has the gall to proclaim:

"The LSA's internal statutes and practice regarding democratic centralism, the rights and privileges of tendencies and factions seem to be acceptable and principled....

"The black mark [!] on the LSA's internal record is the treatment of the Maritimes comrades (especially Halifax) in the early days of the RCT. The subsequent practice of the LSA and some informal discussions suggest that they are self-critical..."

--"RMG-LSA Relations--A Proposal for Fusion Discussions," adopted at the RMG December 1976-January 1977 Central Committee plenum

Any "self-critical" posture by Ross Dowson's altar boys in the LSA is mere hypocrisy, a lure to re-attract the one-time dissidents of the RMG. Since the 1971 Waffle debacle, the LSA has simply not been presented with such an opportunity to prove its loyalty to the NDP leadership.

The 1977 RMG is certainly no less politically bankrupt than its LSA cohabitants in the United Secretariat (USec). It has bowed and scraped before its share of anti-communist labor fakers, scabbed on campus strikes in Winnipeg and Vancouver, and expelled left-wing dissidents for "disloyalty." However, it retains formally more left-wing positions on a number of important questions. The RMG has paper positions for a workers government and the nationalization of industry without compensation, while the LSA shouts "NDP to power" and leaves open the possibility of compensating the industry barons for any nationalizations. The RMG claims to support the independence of the trade unions from the state, a claim proved false by the group's support to that pettifogger of petty bureaucrats, "Oilcan" Sadlowski, who spends much more time wielding court suits against the union than he does wielding oilcans.

Meanwhile, the bourgeois constitutionalists of the LSA openly place their trust in the capitalist government to "justly" settle union disputes.

Unable to resolve the many differences, but worried about the group's rapid disintegration, the RMG leadership wants to fuse anyway. The December-January plenum document claimed that "a major part of these differences cannot be resolved except within the framework of a common organization." While the LSA (with a suicidal streak characteristic of cowering liberal reformists) is the best defender of "free speech for fascists," ex-RCTers who are still in the RMG well know that this right of free speech is not extended to internal left oppositionists.

Grovelling at the feet of the liberal pacifists of the LSA, the RMG leadership has reviled the RCT's struggle against reformism. A whole layer of the LSA's younger organizers broke to the left, rejecting the notion that an NDP-loyal sect represented Trotskyism. For many years the LSA degraded the name of Trotskyism in the Canadian workers movement to just another gang of social-democratic hustlers. It was then, and still is, the duty of revolutionaries to raise the banner of Trotskyism out of this mud. Insofar as the RCT embodied this healthy impulse, the Trotskyist League proudly claims its heritage. The gang of ex-NDPers who run the RMG today are correct to disown the RCT; they have no right to it.

However, the RCT was an unfinished product. It was also--and decisively--influenced by the USec International Majority Tendency (IMT), which is today striving to reinforce the paper-thin "unity" of its fake "Fourth International." The RMG's much sought-after "integration into the USec" has brought only its dissolution. To those RMGers who still have any left-wing impulses and working-class principles, we say: Trotskyism does not exist within the USec swamp. To find the road to authentic Leninism, study the press and political practice of the international Spartacist tendency. And read the documents of the RCT faction fight. Here you will find the truth about the LSA, the political deathtrap you are being wooed back into. ■

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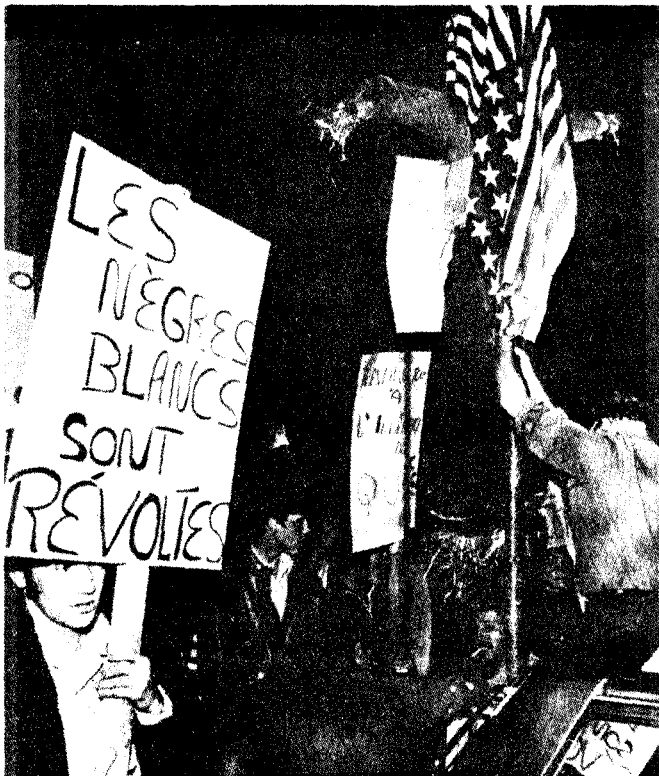
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Quebec...

(continued from page 2)

whatever methods they can to prevent independence, including the possibility of armed force. While this is by no means an inevitable (or even the most likely) outcome, it cannot be discounted.

The bourgeoisie has no intention of willingly granting Quebec the simple democratic right of national self-determination--the right to determine its own destiny as a nation. Particularly in the face of the rhetorical threats against Quebec, trade unions and other working class organizations in English Canada



Ramparts

"THE WHITE NIGGERS ARE REBELLING": QUEBEC NATIONALISTS DEMONSTRATE IN MONTREAL.

and the U. S. must come to the unconditional defense of its right to independence, and must express their total opposition to any moves by the capitalists to deny this right. In the event of an actual attack on Quebec, this could mean giving military support to the Québécois, and engaging in strikes, hot-carguing of military goods and other actions of concrete support. Defense of the right of self-determination for Quebec by English-speaking workers is also vital because the New Democratic Party and Canadian Labour Congress misleaders have consistently refused to recognize this right.

Only defense of the national rights of the Québécois can lay the basis for the fighting unity of proletarians of both North American nations against the capitalist class. Those left-wing groups (like the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour and the Workers League) who refuse to defend Quebec's right to self-determination now find themselves allied with the most reactionary arrogant national chauvinists. Equally pernicious are the Communist Party and

the Maoist organizations, which pay occasional lip-service to the right of self-determination while stridently calling on the federal government to strengthen "Canadian unity" and build the bourgeois army.

Quebec's right to independence must be defended; but Québécois workers should have no illusions in the bourgeois nationalism of the PQ or in the program of separatism. Lévesque's trip to Wall Street underlined the PQ government's aim: to negotiate a new common-market deal with the U. S. (and with English Canada) for an independent bourgeois Quebec.

Clearly even if the American bourgeoisie could be persuaded to accept such a rearrangement of the North American map, this would not lead to the emancipation of Quebec's working people. In fact, no strategy based on separatism--including the utopian "socialist independence" advanced by many left-nationalists--can truly show the way forward for the Quebec working class. Only the joint struggle of all North American proletarians to smash capitalist rule throughout the continent can lead to true liberation.

If national oppression comes to be felt so strongly by the Québécois as to make joint class struggle with English-speaking workers impossible inside a unitary Canadian state power, then the cause of proletarian revolution would be better served with an independent Quebec. Once the national question is removed from the agenda, anti-capitalist working class unity could then be forged on a higher level.

But today it is by no means clear that national antagonisms are so intense that Quebec's separation would be the best means of forging fighting class unity. Despite their nationalist sentiments, militant Quebec workers have often played a leading role in cross-Canada labor struggles. While class-struggle militants in English Canada must unconditionally defend Quebec's right to self-determination (including military defense if Canada or the U. S. attempt through force of arms to retain Quebec within a united Canadian state), their counterparts in Quebec should argue against separatism, and against the illusion that nationalism can provide a way forward for the combative Québécois working class. United class struggle, not reactionary and divisive nationalism, is the only winning strategy for the North American socialist revolution. ■

CORRECTIONS

In SC No. 12 (January) a quotation credit was inadvertently dropped in the article on Ed Sadlowski. The quoted praise of Sadlowski by steel baron William McDermut originally appeared in the 19 December 1976 New York Times Magazine.

There were also two minor factual errors in the February SC: first, William Hinton's public meeting in Toronto occurred on January 21, not January 22; and second, the "luggage handlers' strike" mentioned in the article on Kitimat was in fact a strike at Skyway Luggage in Vancouver.

GMR/LSO Tour...

(continued from page 9)

at that time had a penchant for tailing guerrillaism-- a position which fit well with the GMR's "national liberation" strategy.

However the June 1972 split letter to the LSO claimed that the differences on international questions "have no practical consequence for the intervention of revolutionaries in Quebec," and noted agreement with the LSA/LSO "concerning general principles." For opportunists, principles are always "general" and thus irrelevant. What matters fundamentally to them is the necessity to adapt programmatically to a particular political arena. For the GMR this was the petty-bourgeois radical milieu; for the LSA/LSO it was social democracy in English Canada and the worst elements of petty-bourgeois nationalism in Quebec.

Despite over a decade of factional warfare both the LSO and GMR are rabidly parochial nationalist organizations which do their best to intensify, not combat, nationalist illusions among the Québécois proletariat. There is no separatist road to power for the Quebec working class, in isolation from the

struggles of the majority of North American workers. Yet both groups pose just such a reactionary-utopian, defeatist strategy for Quebec workers. (The GMR goes so far as to call for Quebec unions to break away from international union centrals.)

Both groups portray themselves as "proletarian" nationalists (in counterposition to the bourgeois nationalist PQ), or even as "internationalist" nationalists. However, despite their many similarities, the two have widely differing political practices, growing out of conflicting opportunist appetites.

Their overriding difference on "national policy" is the GMR's Bundist position on the party question. But then what serious would-be revolutionist would want to be a part of the bootlicking, NDP-loyal LSA or its Quebec analogue, the LSO? While this month's speaking tour is presenting a facade of unity between the USec's competing factions in Quebec, this "unity" is inherently unstable. All the maneuvers and back-room deals of the various competing blocs and cliques in the USec cannot build a Leninist vanguard party. The Transitional Program--the program of genuine Trotskyism which is upheld today by the international Spartacist tendency--retains all its validity in the face of centrist horsetrading and nationalist demagoguery. ■

Trotskyists Banned...

(continued from page 6)

to count the times when LSA members have made announcements (without permission) at meetings sponsored by other organizations as they were breaking up. Furthermore, on most of these occasions the meetings were polite enough to listen to what was being said, which is more than can be said about the reaction of the LSA on Jan. 21st.

The irony of this letter lies in the fact that I have, over the years, been a vigorous and vocal defender of LSA members' rights to participate in the NDP. And I have, on several occasions, helped to work in defense campaigns on behalf of LSA'ers threatened with being expelled or refused admittance to membership in the NDP. Now I am again forced in the interest of free debate amongst the left, to oppose the tactics--which are characteristically "Stalinist"--being used against the Trotskyist League by the LSA.

As far as I am concerned, the exclusion of Oliver and Linda reflects the inability of the LSA to deal with the political criticism of the Trotskyist League. It is also a reflection of the political degeneration which is rampant in both the LSA and left groups, generally. The tactics of excluding unfavorable political viewpoints, cutting debate, character assassination, and shouting down one's opponents is a practice which is exercised by social democrats, bureaucrats and Stalinists. These tactics have no place in an organization which claims to follow the theory of Lenin and Trotsky.

I urge you to reconsider your decision.

For Open Debate...

Tom Hansen

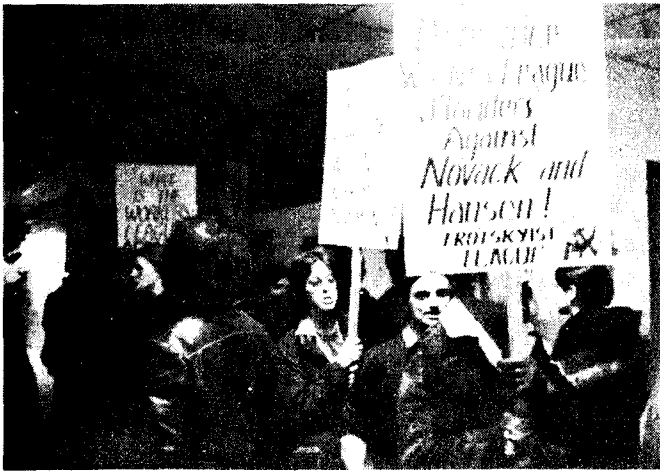
4. Petition: Defend Workers Democracy !

The undersigned strongly protest the League for Socialist Action's attempt to undemocratically exclude two supporters of the Trotskyist League from the Vanguard Forum series. We do not necessarily agree with the political views of the Trotskyist League but we uphold the necessity for open discussion and debate within the left and workers movement. Therefore we demand that the League for Socialist Action immediately put an end to such undemocratic practices and rescind the ban.

(partial listing)

- *Brian Campbell, Vancouver NDP mayoral candidate, 1972/1974
- *David Carrell, LSA member 1966-69, member, CUPW
- *Nathan Edelson, Union of Socialist Geographers
- *Kenneth E. Grieve, LSA member 1959-63
- *Thomas Hansen, former member, Vancouver Area Council executive, NDP
- *D. G. Mason, member, LCUC
- *Gordon Otsby, grainworker, ILWU
- *W. Alan Wallace, Union of Socialist Geographers
- *L. R. Whitney, founder of Trotskyist Youth Movement, 1934, founding and former National Committee member of the LSA
- *W. J. Whitney, member of the International Left Opposition and founding member of the Canadian section of the Fourth International, founding member of the LSA ■

TL PROTESTS HEALYITE SLANDER FEST



sc

TORONTO, February 19--The pair of Healyite supporters who pass themselves off as the Canadian Workers League (WL), backed up by a goon squad from the WL in the U. S., held a "public" meeting here today entitled "How the GPU Killed Trotsky." Although the showing of a movie on Trotsky was the drawing card for the meeting, its real purpose was to spread the Healyites' despicable slander campaign against long-time Socialist Workers Party leaders George Novack and Joseph Hansen.

Gerry Healy's "International Committee" is today a miserable isolated sect. Lacking even the pretense of political principles, it is notorious throughout the international left for its gangsterist attacks and vile slanders against other left groups. Recently its isolation has reached the stage where it has had to undertake a transparently false "defense of workers democracy." In a letter protesting his alleged exclusion from a forum sponsored by the British International Marxist Group in Leeds, Healyite leader Cliff Slaughter writes: "To mean anything at all, the fight against bans and proscriptions must be consistent, and the Trotskyists must have the same rights as any other tendency" (Bulletin, 8 February). The hypocrisy of this statement was graphically demonstrated by the goons at the entrance to the Toronto meeting, who announced: "Everyone is welcome who is not a member of the Trotskyist League."

In response the TL initiated a militant picket line in front of the University of Toronto classroom where the meeting was held. The picket line attracted about 40 people to protest the Workers League's Stalinist exclusion and its slanderous campaign against Hansen and Novack.

As the meeting was about to begin a participant rose to protest the exclusions, noting that this gross violation of workers democracy was consistent with the political cowardice and banditry of the WL. WL goons immediately rushed to expel him. Two other members of the audience joined in the protest and were similarly chucked out the door. WL honcho and featured speaker Fred Mazelis took the floor to claim that the Trotskyist League had to be ex-

cluded "so we can get the truth out." Anyone who disagreed with the exclusion, he said, should "go and join the protest outside." Six people accepted his offer, and as they were being pushed towards the door, Mazelis cynically offered to let one supporter of the TL stay to speak. The utter hypocrisy of this offer was revealed later, when as the meeting drew to a close a delegation from the TL came to accept the offer of a speaker. The four goons at the door simply muttered "You're too late" and again refused to admit anyone to the meeting.

A supporter of the International Socialists who was in attendance made no move to protest the exclusions. At the entrance, when he saw that TL supporters were being excluded, he said "I'm a member of the IS, can I go in?" and was readily admitted. He told a Workers Vanguard salesman after the meeting that he felt the protest was "disruptive," thereby providing a "justification" for the exclusion. Given the IS' own history of political exclusions and expulsions, this response was not in the least surprising.

The forty remaining members of the audience were treated to more than an hour of the WL's crisis-mongering and GPU-agent-baiting before the showing of the film. When asked when the movie would be shown, Mazelis replied "If you don't like it, you can leave," at which point another ten people walked out. Most of those in attendance were lured by the promise of a movie, and were thoroughly disgusted with the WL's exclusions, slanders and goon tactics.

After an hour of protest, the demonstrators concluded by singing the Internationale, to the obvious discomfort of the four goons guarding the door of the meeting room. As they stood there in silence one TL supporter called out, "What's the matter, don't you know the words? It figures, it's our song, not yours." ■

TL FORUMS

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Observer (London)

RMG, Vorster Ban Books to S. Africa

SOUTH AFRICA BOYCOTTS AND LIBERAL MORALISM

At a February 9 union meeting, the University of Toronto library workers' union passed a motion calling for a boycott of books to South Africa. The motion was introduced by Kathy Beeman, a member of Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) local 1230 and a supporter of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). Beeman claimed that she "cringed" whenever she had to handle slips for books destined for South Africa, and argued that a book boycott would be an effective way for library workers to demonstrate their opposition to apartheid.

With the valiant rebellion of the black and "colored" masses against apartheid continuing despite Pretoria's vicious repression, it is vitally important for the international labor movement to express its solidarity and assist the anti-apartheid fighters. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) supports and calls for specific and concrete actions which genuinely mobilize international labor protest against apartheid or which actually strike blows against the racist Pretoria regime. The iSt called for implementing the week-long labor boycott of South African cargo and transport initiated by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), at the same time pointing out that most ICFTU affiliates would do nothing to mobilize their memberships (as was the case with the Canadian Labour Congress) or would be actively hostile (as was the AFL-CIO). Furthermore, the iSt has consistently called for industrial action against multinational corporations operating in South Africa to force them to recognize black unions, and for a total labor boycott of military production and cargo destined for Pretoria's armed forces.

In contrast, the RMG has joined with a sordid assortment of pacifists, preachers, other liberal

moralists and Stalinists to call for "...a world movement for a total embargo against South Africa. Trade, arms sales, sports and cultural contacts must all be halted until the murderous regime is brought to its knees" (*Old Mole*, July-August 1976).

A call for a total trade embargo of South Africa is either the empty petty-bourgeois moral posturing of those who lack the social weight or strategy to fight apartheid (and can come up with nothing better than the pathetic scheme of burning inter-library loan slips for Witwatersrand University), or it is a reactionary proposal. An effective total trade boycott of South Africa could only be imposed by the imperialist countries which control world trade, and if such a boycott were imposed it would inevitably be the precursor to inter-imperialist world war. For this reason Trotsky opposed appeals to the League of Nations to impose trade sanctions on Italy for its invasion of Ethiopia, while he called for a labor boycott of military goods destined for Italy.

But the call for a cultural boycott of South Africa, especially a boycott of books, is particularly and perversely reactionary. For such a boycott could only supplement the boycott that already exists, imposed by the South African apartheid regime! A ban on books to South Africa is already embodied in the cultural policies of the viciously reactionary, anti-communist, racist, Afrikaans-chauvinist Nationalist Party of Hitler-worshipper H. F. Verwoerd and his protégé, B. J. Vorster.

In the aftermath of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre the Verwoerd regime pushed through a "Publications and Entertainment Act" which created a Publications Control Board. This draconian censorship measure supplemented already existing suppressive

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