

4 SPARTACIST

CANADA OCTOBER 1977 No. 20 25¢

PQ's Bill 101

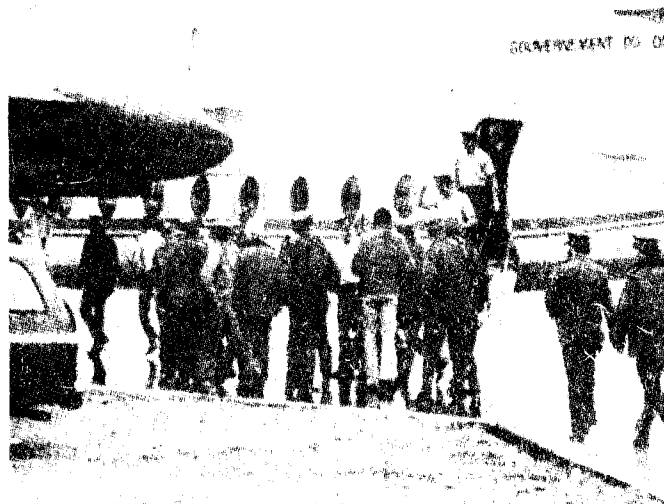
Attacks Immigrants, Inuits

Forge Proletarian Unity - For Equal Language Rights!

The Parti Québécois' Bill 101 became law in late August; and immediately the PQ government faced revolts against the new language legislation by non-French-speaking minorities in northern Quebec and Montreal. As provincial premier René Lévesque moved to quell the opposition to Bill 101, the federal government and English-Canadian bourgeois media piously condemned the PQ's denial of democratic language rights, using the protests by Quebec Inuits (Eskimos) and immigrants as grist for the anti-Quebec propaganda mills.

At its convention on the August 20-21 weekend, the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA) denounced Bill 101's attacks on the Inuits' historic language rights and vowed to oppose the legislation in any way possible. While Bill 101 concedes the Inuit the right to use their own language, Inuktituk, it does not guarantee them the right to retain English as their second language.

For the widely-scattered Inuit peoples of northern Quebec, Labrador and the North West Territories, English has traditionally been the language used to educate children, conduct meetings and other business between various tribes, and communicate with the federal and provincial governments. While the PQ offered the Inuits a temporary "exemption" from a provision of Bill 101 which requires communication with the Quebec government in French only, the government's stated goal is to change their second language from English to French. Furthermore, any Inuits who do not already live in



CANADIAN PRESS
FORT CHIMO, SEPTEMBER 2: QUEBEC RIOT POLICE ARRIVE TO STOP INUIT REVOLT.

northern Quebec--e.g., ones moving into the region from other parts of the country, or living in or moving to southern Quebec--would be required to educate their children in French schools immediately.

During the last two weeks of August and the beginning of September, hundreds of Inuits in northern Quebec towns demonstrated against the bill. Provincial government offices were occupied, water supplies and garbage collections for police stations and other government buildings were cut off, and the Quebec fleur-de-lys was hauled down and replaced by the Canadian flag. As Inuit demonstrators chanted "Down with Bill 101! Down with French!" NQIA leaders demanded that all PQ government representatives leave the region. Instead, Lévesque dispatched two 25-man riot-equipped provincial police patrols to "restore order" in Fort Chimo and Great Whale River, the two main centers of anti-Bill 101 protest in the north.

While the PQ's riot police were still in northern Quebec, the focus of opposition to the new language law shifted southward for the September 6 opening of schools in Montreal. In open defiance of the bill's restrictions on enrollment in English-language schools (which are limited to the children of English-speakers already in the province, and those with older brothers and sisters already in English schools), officials in the city's Protestant school system registered thousands of ineligible immigrant children for English-language education. The Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards

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LANGUAGE RIGHTS...

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supported the action, urging its other affiliated local boards to join in defiance of the law.

Lévesque and PQ Education Minister Jacques-Yvan Morin replied by railing that the children were committing acts of "civil disobedience" and warning parents that "illegal" children would not receive credit for courses taken in English schools. Morin went on to threaten the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal that no provincial government funding would be provided for students receiving unsanctioned English-language education.

Prime Minister Trudeau was quick to exploit the issue, decrying the use of innocent schoolchildren as pawns in the PQ's battle for Quebec independence, and affirming his "respect" for those Protestant school officials who refused to comply with the legislation. English-language bourgeois newspapers across Canada penned sanctimonious editorial paeans to Inuit rights in Quebec, then branded the PQ "racist" for its attacks on the language rights of Montreal students. The Ontario Ministry of Education promised that it would grant high school diplomas to students receiving "illegal" instruction in Quebec's English schools, even if the PQ government refused.

But this pontificating in the name of democratic language rights is transparently hypocritical. As a Quebec Education Ministry spokesman pointed out to the Globe and Mail (8 September): "These anglophones are the same ones who used to be telling francophones during the days of colonization that we had to respect the law even when it didn't suit us." Ontario Premier Bill Davis today denounces Bill 101, yet in Ontario and elsewhere in English Canada, the language rights of French-speakers and other linguistic minorities have never been respected. In the early 1900's, the Ontario government sent police into the schools in order to enforce provincial law 17, which for several years totally prohibited French-language instruction.

The current propaganda offensive in English Canada against Bill 101 is part of the capitalists' chauvinist campaign against Quebec's national rights. This "national unity" campaign is built upon a systematic denial of the reality of national and linguistic oppression in Quebec. Despite the fact that the vast majority of Québécois are French-speaking, English has always been the language of privilege in the province. Unilingual French-speaking workers have been forced into the worst-paid job categories, while English has been the compulsory language of work in many industries.

Bill 101 contains several important democratic reforms, such as guaranteeing French-speaking workers the right to use French on the job. But, as we pointed out when the language bill was introduced:

"...the basic thrust of the new legislation is chauvinist--a nationalist reaction to anti-French discrimination. It seeks to defend the Québécois'

'national identity' through discrimination against minority languages and cultures--particularly English."

--SC No. 16, May 1977


Leninists defend unconditionally the right of nations to self-determination. At the same time, we oppose as reactionary all nationalist ideology --including the nationalism of an oppressed nation like Quebec. Quebec is highly integrated into the North American political economy, and the Québécois population constitutes less than three percent of the continental total. These facts have led to an overwhelming dominance by English as the economic lingua franca throughout North America--including in Quebec. Thus immigrants coming to Quebec from non-French-speaking countries have naturally wanted to learn English, because this language affords them better economic opportunities both within and outside the province.

For bourgeois nationalists like the PQ, the only way to counter the gradual erosion of the French language in Quebec is through discriminatory legislation aimed at shoring up French by attacking the language rights of others. But the PQ is unwilling to launch a frontal attack on the powerful English-speaking business community of Montreal. Instead, Bill 101's discriminatory provisions primarily challenge the language rights of non-French-speaking working people and oppressed minorities--English-speaking workers, immigrants, Inuits and Indians.

Supporters of Bill 101 have cited the general acceptance of Bill 101 in the immigrant communities --a sharp contrast to the massive protests which met its predecessor, the Bourassa Liberals' Bill 22--as evidence that it is in fact less discriminatory. In a sense, this is true. The hated language tests of Bill 22 have been eliminated, and immigrants already in Quebec have been assured that their families will not be split, with some children forced to go to French schools while others are allowed to study in English.

But the equality of Bill 101 is only the "equality" of equal oppression. Henceforth, all new Quebec immigrants will have to learn French and educate their children in that language. As Cultural Development Minister Camille Laurin pointed out, the passage of Bill 22 four years ago was the real shock for the immigrant communities. Now immigrants already settled in Montreal are for the most part meeting Bill 101 with resignation, while new immigrants and those whose children are attending

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Manitoba Elections: RWL's Best Just Isn't Good Enough

Ed Schreyer's Manitoba New Democratic Party government is running for re-election on October 11 around the slogan "Leadership you can trust." The Schreyer government has an eight-year record of anti-working class attacks: combining strikebreaking and cutbacks in education and social services with the dubious distinction of being the first NDP regime to implement wage controls. It has been so right-wing that even the ossified leadership of the federal NDP has felt compelled to criticize some of its most egregious actions. Schreyer himself is consistently rumored to be a future candidate for the federal Liberal Cabinet or the chairmanship of the National Energy Board.

Manitoba workers have no interest in returning this extremely right-wing social-democratic government to office on October 11. Yet the newly-formed Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) is crusading to "Re-elect the NDP government!" in its first electoral campaign since the fusion of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and League for Socialist Action (LSA) in early August. Larry Johnston, the candidate of the RWL in Winnipeg--historically a left-wing branch of the RMG--is running on a reformist program which combines the worst aspects of the RMG's giggling lifestylism and New Leftism with the bankrupt pro-NDP cretinism of the social-democratic LSA.

For the RWL, "Ed Schreyer's best just isn't good enough." Nevertheless, it is prepared to give the NDP another chance: "We support the formation of a government by such a party, which enjoys the confidence of the majority of workers..." The RWL suggests only that Schreyer withdraw Manitoba from the federal wage control program, stop cutbacks in daycare, enact an "anti-scab" law, stop polluting the environment and nationalize a few industries.

The RWL program waxes grandiloquent in advocating "a society where resources, technology and human creativity are liberated and at the service of all." In the next breath it complains that "socialism has become tragically linked to the oppressive regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," while nowhere mentioning the need to defend these degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialism. After all, defense of the Soviet Union is not the most popular idea in the anti-communist NDP circles which the RWL today seeks to frequent.

The influence of the former RMG in the RWL is reflected not in any "left" deviations from LSA-style reformism, but in the extreme lifestylism of the election program (which quotes Sappho on "free love," but never mentions Marx, Lenin or Trotsky). Furthermore, the RMG's preoccupation with "sexual oppression, resulting from the nar-

row and distorted sexual definitions of capitalism" combines with the LSA's reformism to produce demands for strengthening the capitalist state! The RWL demands "effective measures to counter rape, wife-beating, and all violent assaults on women." What "effective measures"? Police vigilante "anti-rape" squads?

The RWL claims to be "in the 'business' of building a party which will unite trade unionists, women's liberationists and all those who will fight for the basic ideas we stand for..." But the "basic ideas" of the RWL have nothing to do with revolutionary politics--they are simply an undigested melange of the social democracy and New Leftism brought to it by its founding components. And, by raising the call to go out on the hustings for Schreyer to bring him back to power on October 11, the RWL shows that the only party it is seriously in the "business" of building is the NDP. Its campaign program in the Manitoba elections is social-democratic infantile New Leftism (à la "Jailbreak"), significantly to the right of even last June's RMG/LSA Ontario election platforms. It merits no support from class-conscious workers who are fed up with the NDP's betrayals.■

Building the Leninist Vanguard— From the Gay Left to Trotskyism

Spartacist League/Red Flag Union
Fusion Forum

VANCOUVER

Britannia Library - Saturday, October 1
1661 Napier Street at 7:30 pm

Simon Fraser University - Monday, October 3
Time and place to be announced

For further information phone (604) 291-8993
WINNIPEG

University of Winnipeg - Tuesday, October 18
Lockhart Hall, Room 113 at 8:00 pm

For further information phone (204) 589-7214

TORONTO

University of Toronto - Sunday, October 23
Debates Room, Hart House at 7:30 pm

For further information phone (416) 366-4107

Sponsored by Trotskyist League of Canada

Militant Resigns from RWL

The following letter was written by a former member of the Winnipeg RMG and RWL, who resigned from the latter organization in mid-September.

Winnipeg
23 September

Comrades:

On August 7 the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and League for Socialist Action (LSA) came together to form the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). That fusion was the final step in the rightward degeneration of the RMG. For me it provided the last argument necessary for a break from the United Secretariat (USec) and its opportunist politics, toward the Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt).

I joined the Young Socialists in 1970 and the LSA in 1971. The organizations attracted me because of the activism of their comrades, their claim to be Trotskyist and the quick growth which they had experienced in the late 1960's. But, as I came to realize, the LSA's strategy, the "Mass Action Perspective," involved the creation of single-issue class-collaborationist coalitions. An example was the abortion coalition built around the demand "Repeal all abortion laws" to attract women from the Liberal and Conservative parties (e.g., June Menzies of AIB fame) on the basis of their politics.

Taught unquestioning loyalty to the LSA leadership, I did not doubt the organization's politics until the women's revolt of 1971. This was an outburst of radical feminism, a witchhunt designed to purge the organization of "male chauvinists" and any who disagreed with making the LSA a "real" feminist organization. Following this campaign, I began to search for a political alternative.

Attracted by the politics of the LSA's factional opponents in the USec's European leadership (later to become the International Majority Tendency [IMT]), I helped form the Winnipeg Communist Tendency along with virtually the entire rank and file of the Winnipeg local. This tendency, formed in opposition to the feminism and nationalism of the LSA, fused with the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT) in August 1972. The RCT combined sycophancy for the USec majority with some correct criticisms of the LSA. Against the reformism of the LSA it argued:

"The mass movement must be constantly educated, and not just propagandistically, in the spirit of the Leninist theory of the state, in disrespect for bourgeois parliamentarianism, in the need to struggle not merely around one issue or demand but around a coherent program of transitional demands. It is around these themes that the revolutionary Marxist organization has a responsibility to agitate in the

context of the single 'mass movement.'"

--RCT International Resolution, LSA Discussion Bulletin, April 1973, p. 43

In 1973 the RCT fused with the Red Circle and Old Mole to form the RMG, which began as a left-moving current. Its members had broken from their reformist origins in the LSA, NDP and New Left. But through intersecting the USec majority, its search for the "new mass vanguard" and its adulation of guerrillaism, the leftward motion was sidetracked into another form of opportunism. Without a revolutionary program the organization was left-centrist.

In 1974-75 the RMG membership was posed with a revolutionary alternative by the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT). The B-LT, sympathetic to the program of the iSt, called for a break with the reformist USec minority (the Socialist Workers Party's [SWP] Leninist-Trotskyist Faction [LTF]), and opposed the centrism of the IMT by fighting for a return to the Trotskyist Transitional Program. Its uncompromising opposition and its identification with the politics of the iSt initially led me to oppose it. However through long arguments I became convinced of some of its positions. Sensing the effect the B-LT was beginning to have on myself and others, the leadership had it bureaucratically expelled at the April 1975 convention, while at no time attempting to debate it politically.

Faced with failures in every milieu of work, and in reaction to the growth of the iSt in Canada, the RMG moved rapidly to the right. The work of the organization became increasingly sectoralized and opportunist. On the woman question it began to identify with feminism; in the native movement it pushed "nationalism"; in the trade unions criticism of the bureaucrats was muted. By the time the fusion process was initiated the group had moved from left- to right-centrism.

By 1976, the USec majority was quite different from what it was when I was first attracted to it in 1971. At that time, the leadership of the British International Marxist Group (IMG), confronted by a pro-SWP minority inside the IMG, wrote orthodox-sounding documents on permanent revolution and the Transitional Program, including characterizing the SWP's program as reformist and calling Pabloism a form of revisionism.

But the IMG leadership never broke from centrism, and by 1976 the left-wing IMTers had either capitulated or been smashed by the right, led by Ernest Mandel. Criticism of the SWP (and eventually the existence of the IMT tendency in the U.S., the Internationalist Tendency) was sacrificed in the interest of maintaining organizational ties with the LTF. For Mandel the SWP was an "adequate

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Ukrainian Dissident on North American Tour

Plyushch Can't Duck Issue of Soviet Defensism

TORONTO, September 19--A year and a half ago Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch was released from imprisonment in a Soviet psychiatric hospital and allowed to emigrate from the USSR as a result of an international campaign which won broad support from the western European workers movement, especially in France where its endorsers included numerous social-democratic trade unionists and the Communist Party. Today Plyushch, now a vocal social democrat, is on tour for Jimmy Carter's imperialist "human rights" crusade.

Speaking in several North American cities in late August under the banner "Respect the Helsinki Human Rights Agreement," Plyushch's tour was scheduled to line up public opinion behind the Western powers at the Belgrade conference follow-up on the 1975 Helsinki agreement. Speaking on behalf of the Kiev Helsinki Monitoring Group in the USSR, Plyushch made clear its pro-imperialist position to an audience in Detroit: "The only hope now," he said, "is Carter's victory at Belgrade."

FROM "NEO-MARXIST" TO
IMPERIALIST APOLOGIST

In the first days after his release by the Kremlin, Plyushch had proclaimed his "neo-Marxism," and generally differentiated himself from reactionary pro-capitalist dissidents like tsar-worshipper Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. At his first news conference in Paris on 3 February 1976 he declared that "the savage persecution of dissidents in the Soviet Union is a shameful taint on the bright ideals of Communism" (New York Times, 4 February 1976).

But years of savage persecution at the hands of the Kremlin bureaucracy have destroyed any confidence Plyushch might ever have had in the "bright ideals of Communism." Already Leonid Plyushch is making his peace with imperialism. In exile he has moved steadily rightward: from despairing over the possibility of achieving socialism, to sharing a platform with cold-war senator Henry Jackson, to his present stance as an open apologist for "democratic imperialism." And during his North American speaking tour, as he moved across the continent his talks strayed more and more from the Hel-



PLYUSHCH SPEAKING IN CHICAGO

Workers Vanguard

sinki Accords and the repression of dissidents in the Ukraine, becoming increasingly devoted to defending Jimmy Carter's "moral" foreign policy.

In an article published shortly after Plyushch's release we wrote:

"... now that he is out of the USSR, Plyushch must face a concrete choice. He will either reaffirm and systematize his socialist, anti-bureaucratic convictions or become a witting or unwitting pawn of pro-imperialist, anti-Communists who only seek to use the issue of Soviet dissidents as a cynical justification for exploitation and oppression under capitalism." --"Stop Stalinist 'Psychiatric' Torture in the USSR!" Workers Vanguard No. 96, 13 February 1976

A consistently revolutionary proletarian, anti-bureaucratic perspective is to be found only in Trotskyism, which for more than 40 years has called for a workers political revolution to oust the Kremlin masters while unswervingly defending the socialist property forms of the USSR.

Repeatedly confronted by presentations of the Trotskyist position on the Russian question by representatives of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), as the tour went on Plyushch grew increasingly venomous and long-winded in his attempts to denigrate Trotskyism and the iSt.

In Vancouver, Plyushch lavished praise on the Carter "human rights" imperialist moral rearmament campaign, demanding only that it be applied more forcefully against the Soviet Union:

"Although one could demand consistency from him, Carter has done some good things for some Latin American countries and India. There are still no positive benefits for the Soviet Union."

In Chicago he explicitly stated that if he had to choose between Kremlin-style "socialism" and Western capitalism he would opt for the latter. When a Spartacist League supporter asked him in Detroit whether he endorsed Andrei Sakharov's appeal for U. S. government trade sanctions against the USSR, Plyushch said that he did.

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Plyushch...

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By the time the Ukrainian dissident reached Toronto, his remarks were from the start a barely veiled attempt to defend his pro-imperialist position against the Spartacist tendency. Declaring that he would refute the accusation that he was helping to mobilize support for reactionary ends, he proceeded to do just the opposite, delivering a rambling anti-Soviet diatribe which was lapped up by the largely anti-Communist audience.

"IMPERIALISM IS USING YOU,
COMRADE PLYUSHCH"

Following Plyushch's presentation, a spokesman for the Trotskyist League of Canada, sympathizing section of the iSt, opened the question period by decrying the speaker's evolution into a spokesman for cold-war imperialist politics:

"I'm speaking for the international Spartacist tendency. As Trotskyists we understand the nature of Stalinist persecution. Ours is the heritage of the Left Opposition wiped out by Stalin and his henchmen because we fought for workers democracy.

"Comrade Plyushch, do you know what cause you are serving here? When you first left the Soviet Union and came to the West, we of the international Spartacist tendency said that if you did not systematize your socialist convictions; if you did not come to a Trotskyist understanding of the need to defend the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution against imperialism and counter-revolution; if you did not come to understand the need to fight to build a new Bolshevik party to lead the working class in the Soviet degenerated workers state in successful political revolution against the bureaucratic usurpers in the Kremlin; if you did not come to such an understanding, you would become the witting or unwitting pawn of pro-imperialist anti-Communists. The only 'democracy' the imperialists are interested in for the USSR is freedom for capitalist exploitation. The Helsinki Monitoring Group is seeking to use imperialism to gain basic democratic rights, but imperialism is using you, Comrade Plyushch.

"Only the international working class led by a Leninist vanguard party can defend the gains of October and open the road to socialism by overthrowing the bureaucratic misrulers in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and the other deformed workers states and by carrying out social revolutions in every capitalist country."

In his reply, Plyushch, who now views the "main struggle" as one "between democracy and totalitarianism," attacked not only the Soviet Union but the perspective of proletarian revolution:

"When the Spartacists say that in the case of war the Soviet Union has to be defended militarily, I want them to study the military power of the Soviet Union and their international policies....

What weapons will they use against the thermo-nuclear war: pistols and hand grenades?

"There is no prospect of world socialist revolution now. The people are being killed now."

Part of Plyushch's attempt to discredit Trotskyism was the recital of a litany of Stalinist crimes, culminating with "after all, who was it who killed Trotsky?" But the murder of Trotsky does not prove Plyushch's thesis that there is nothing worth defending in the Soviet Union; rather it raises the fundamental question of the causes of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

It was the very same imperialist countries to which Plyushch today appeals whose attempts to strangle the Bolshevik Revolution through economic boycotts and military intervention--and whose bloody suppression of communist movements in the West--caused the isolation of the Soviet state. This was the fundamental cause of the eclipse of Soviet democracy and the consolidation of a bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the working class. Western imperialism and its social-democratic collaborators crushed the German Revolution and murdered its leaders in cold blood. It is this same "democratic" imperialism, led by a Woodrow Wilson of the fourth mobilization, to which Plyushch now looks for the restoration of "human rights" in the Soviet Union. Evidently

CORRECTION:

In SC 18 (July-August) a picture of Leonid Plyushch was incorrectly identified as Vladimir Bukovsky.



Trotskyist League

Class Series

Toronto

Alternate Wednesdays at 7:30 pm on U of T campus (room to be announced). For information call 366-4107, or write Box 7198, Station A, Toronto for complete series and reading list.

October 5 -- Leninism: The Theory of the Vanguard Party

October 19 -- The Bolshevik Revolution

November 2 -- The Stalinist Degeneration of the Soviet Union

Vancouver

Alternate Tuesdays at 7:30 pm at Britannia Center, 1661 Napier, in the Senior Citizen's Room. For information call 291-8993, or write Box 26, Station A, Vancouver,

October 11 -- The State

October 25 -- Imperialism and the Permanent Revolution

World Wars I and II and the imperialist butchery in Vietnam are not enough to convince him that these "democrats" are the worst enemies of the future of humanity.

Today there is a paper Helsinki Accord and no mass international communist movement guided by Leninist principles. Therefore, according to Plyushch, one must worship the accomplished fact. This loss of faith in the possibility of world revolution is precisely what Stalin codified in his doctrine of "socialism in one country"--except Stalin ruled a country, and Plyushch doesn't. So Stalin sought to make diplomatic alliances between the imperialists and the state he ruled with autocratic brutality; Plyushch, with less to offer, can only sell his tongue and his pen.

Stalin got Yalta and Potsdam for his efforts--which meant the suppression of revolutionary struggles in West Europe and continued decades of bourgeois class rule in the imperialist centers. Plyushch's "sphere of influence" will probably extend no farther than a university department.

LEON TROTSKY
AND LEONID PLYUSHCH

In a speech delivered to the American Socialist Workers Party shortly after the assassination of Trotsky in 1940, James P. Cannon noted that even Trotsky's dead body was barred from entering the United States. Despite being exiled, harassed, and finally murdered by the Stalinist bureaucrats, Trotsky retained full confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the world working class. That is why Trotsky was considered too dangerous an enemy of the capitalist system to be allowed into the citadel of world imperialism.

During his speaking tour, Plyushch noted that at one point the U. S. State Department had hesitated to admit him because he had "so many Trotskyist friends in France." But he chose to embrace "democratic" imperialism and to become an unofficial spokesman for Carter-style "human rights," appearing on the same platforms as imperialist sabre-rattler Senator Henry Jackson. It is for this reason that he has been allowed to join the Solzhenitsyns and Bukovskys.

A victim of Stalinist repression, Leonid Plyushch has become an apologist for imperialism. Jimmy Carter has won a valuable associate in his crusade to restore Chile-style "democracy" and "freedom" for capitalist exploitation in the Soviet bloc. Evidently the vile crimes of Stalinism and the absence of a perceived mass revolutionary alternative led Plyushch to lose hope in the possibility of proletarian revolution and definitively cross over to the camp of the class enemy. As we noted last year ("Which Way for Comrade Plyushch?" WV No. 104, 9 April 1976), "consciously or unconsciously, the prophets of despair become the allies of reaction."

FOR THE REBIRTH OF
THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

In his lengthy attack on the Spartacist tendency at

the Toronto meeting, Plyushch tried the standard "go back to Russia" gambit:

"I will now make an immoral proposition--it's a bit malicious. I propose that the comrade Spartacists go to the Soviet Union."

In spite of the crimes of the Stalinist regime, the Trotskyists have held fast in the face of such taunts, defending the legacy of October and calling for the revolutionary overthrow of those who defile its name. That was what gave the Soviet Left Oppositionists who heroically went to their deaths in the Stalinist labor camps in 1938 their tremendous moral authority. That is why various centrist currents of the 1930's have since disappeared, while Trotskyism--embodying the principles of revolutionary Marxism--has not been extinguished.

Repeatedly during the Plyushch tour, representatives of the Spartacist League and the Trotskyist League of Canada denounced Carter's anti-Soviet offensive and called for unconditional defense of the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. Although several members of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) spoke from the floor at the Chicago meeting, not one raised any criticism of Plyushch's anti-Soviet speech. In Detroit, SWPer Mack Warren gave greetings to the meeting, calling for the building of a campaign to enforce the Helsinki Accords.

However, Plyushch's crude cold war harangue embarrassed even the shameless reformists of the SWP. In Detroit an SWP speaker was forced to rise during the discussion period to give a fraternal forewarning to Plyushch "not to step over the class line"--a line on which the SWP seldom needs to tread nowadays, since it so often starts out on the wrong side.

The speaker encouraged Plyushch not to give such wholehearted support to Carter's "human rights" crusade, for the SWP shares with the American right wing the opinion that Carter is a "hypocrite." And Plyushch was also admonished to include a token protest about the violation of "human rights" for women, blacks and homosexuals in the U. S.; so as not to embarrass these reformist builders of democratic and pacifist illusions.

In Toronto, the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (newly "united" Canadian section of the "United" Secretariat) limited their intervention to acting as sound technicians and ushers. Apparently enjoying Plyushch's venomous anti-Trotskyist polemics directed against the iSt, the RWL made no attempt to intervene.

Plyushch's challenge to "comrade Spartacists" to go to the USSR was doubtless intended to be simply malicious, but the struggle to build a Trotskyist party in the Soviet Union is, in fact, a crucial task in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, the world party which will lead the world proletariat in the destruction of both capitalism and Stalinist bureaucratic rule, through social revolution in the west and political revolution in the deformed workers states. ■

Class Opposition to Popular Fronts— Key to Revolutionary Regroupment

Chilean OTR Fuses with Spartacist Tendency!

The 1977 European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) witnessed a fusion which is unique in the history of the iSt and of considerable interest and significance to would-be revolutionists throughout the world. The Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile united with the iSt, and is now the Chilean sympathizing section of our common tendency. While the proportions on both sides are modest, this fusion represents a ringing affirmation and confirmation of Trotsky's 1935 remark that: "In reality, the Popular Front is the main question of Proletarian class strategy for this epoch." The OTR and iSt met on the common terrain of militant class opposition to bourgeois popular frontism, and it was by generalizing this position of proletarian independence to all major international questions that a joining of our forces became possible and necessary.

For the iSt this fusion marks a significant extension of our tendency, as it is the first Latin American section. It thus represents the addition of an important body of revolutionary experience to a movement previously limited to sections in North America, Europe and Australasia. For the OTR it signifies the overcoming of national isolation and the culmination of its break with Pabloism begun some years before. While holding firm to their opposition to popular frontism, the Chilean comrades have proven capable of uncompromisingly reevaluating their past views in the light of international experience, the indispensable precondition for assimilating authentic Leninism. For anyone familiar with the continental parochialism and rampant revisionism of Latin American "Trotskyism," this is a tremendous achievement.

But the central significance of the OTR/iSt fusion is to underline the Trotskyist analysis of the popular front, the tying of the working masses to "progressive" capitalists--or even "phantom" capitalists (provincial lawyers and the like) when the real bourgeoisie in its entirety has staked its existence on the triumph of naked reaction-- with the purpose of preventing a proletarian uprising against all wings of the bourgeois class enemy. A tragically prophetic article in Spartacist in the fall of 1970 warned that the Allende coalition, the Unidad Popular (UP),

was a popular front such as in France, Spain and Chile during the 1930's, and must be resolutely opposed by proletarian revolutionists. At a time when millions of Chileans and leftists throughout the world were hailing the "compañero presidente" and talking of a second Cuba, we wrote: "Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

In reality, this seemingly prescient statement was neither especially original nor did it require a crystal ball. We were simply repeating the lesson of Spain, acting as any Leninist party should, as the memory of the working class. It would seem to be the ABC of Trotskyism, yet every other international tendency which claims that heritage managed to obscure or directly deny the popular-front character of the Allende regime.

Within Chile, the groups to the left of the Communist and Socialist parties were disoriented by the 1970 UP election victory. The most notorious case was that of the Castroite MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria--Movement of the Revolutionary Left) which flip-flopped from guerrillaist opposition to participation in elections on principle ("ifusil, no elecciones!") to "critically" supporting Allende. Even those who made a claim to represent Trotskyism conciliated the UP, terming the new government "reformist." But there was a small group within the Chilean "Trotskyist" orbit, principally made up of trade unionists, which was driven by its unbending defense of the workers' interests to the understanding that the UP was a popular front that must be directly opposed. It was this nucleus which later became the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria, and which in 1974 summed up the lessons of the Unidad Popular as follows:

"To say that the character of the UP was reformist means being an accomplice to the betrayals committed.... Thus the UP must be included in the list of the old popular fronts, the model designed to betray the working class."

--"Una derrota política y la necesidad de un balance"



"In reality, the Popular Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."

—Leon Trotsky

In short, the fusion of the international Spartacist tendency and the Chilean OTR represents the joining of the current which from afar uniquely predicted and warned against the tragic course of the Allende government, with those who directly confronted with the popularity of the UP (and experiencing its deadly consequences) refused to compromise or abandon their defense of their class. As the popular front is indeed the central issue facing Leninists in our times, and Chile is the recent burning example of the consequences of popular frontism, the unification of our organizations should be studied by all serious Marxists.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE OTR

Unlike the other fusions entered into by the international Spartacist tendency, this was a case of the coming together of two tendencies that already had the same decisive programmatic postulates rather than of some centrist current breaking loose and being won over to the positions of the iSt. The proletarian revolutionary opposition of the Chilean OTR to the deadly Allende popular front was already decisive. But the OTR, operating in a much more local political/cultural milieu than the iSt, needed to undertake a great deal of testing of the international waters to verify that the treacherous activities of the local representatives of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat" (Usec) and the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" (OCRFI) of the French OCI and the

Bolivian POR were representative. The fusion was not easy to arrive at; rather, it was one in which key prerequisites already existed, yet it was difficult in consummation as the two parties, testing each other out in many ways and repetitively, came from very different particular terrains.

To understand the fusion process it is necessary first to see the OTR as it was in Chile prior to the coup. The group, which had formed within the Usec sympathizing organization, the TRO (Revolutionary October Tendency), began essentially as a "workerist" opposition to the popular front. It also objected, although in an empirical fashion, to the TRO's long-standing policy of "deep entrism" in the Socialist Party (PS), and subsequently withdrew its supporters from the PS. The final break came over an unprincipled fusion of the TRO with the group of L. Vitale to form the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party, the "official"--for a while--Usec sympathizing section). For submitting a document against the fusion the future OTR tendency was expelled from the new organization (and its document suppressed).

With members who had been leaders of the National Copper Workers Federation and the support of other miners' leaders, the tendency which became the OTR consistently opposed the Allende government's criminal policy of the "battle for production"--a cynical slogan for speed-up--because the self-proclaimed "people's government" did not change the fact that Chile remained a capitalist country. When Allende launched bombastic campaigns for "worker participation"--a scheme to induce the proletariat to acquiesce in its own exploitation--leaders of the OTR in the nationalized copper mining sector counterposed the slogan of workers control, whose aim was to destroy, not reform, the bourgeois state. In contrast, the MIR and the left wing of the PS, including especially sectors with a certain "Trotskyoid" aura as well as Castro himself, supported the UP's "participation" projects. (Michel Pablo himself made a special trip to Chile to laud this hoax, and dedicated a book about it to his friend, Socialist economics minister Pedro Vuskovic.)

After the bloody Pinochet coup, when the comrades of the OTR were forced to flee into exile in Europe or into neighboring countries, they sought to deepen their understanding of the Chilean fiasco and broaden their international understanding in discussions first with the Usec and then the OCRFI. However, they soon discovered that the Trotskyist credentials of these self-proclaimed "Fourth Internationals" were false. The Usec, which posthumously declared that the UP was explicitly not a popular front, and now had two Chilean sympathizing groups, refused to allow discussion of the Allende regime at its Tenth World Congress, since both international factions saw no reason to expose the bankruptcy of their local supporters. While the OCRFI had called the UP a popular front, on the other hand, its Chilean groups (it also had two!) either did not make this characterization or accused the Allende gov-

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OTR Fusion...

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ernment, rather than the workers parties in it, of "reformism" and betraying. Meanwhile, in France the OCI was calling for a vote to the presidential candidate of the popular-front Union of the Left.

The OTR first came into contact with the international Spartacist tendency at a September 11 protest meeting on the first anniversary of the coup. They read Cuadernos Marxistas No. 3 (a collection of articles from Spartacist and Workers Vanguard on "Chile: Lessons of the Popular Front," which was published for the express purpose of seeking out Chilean exile groups attempting to draw a balance sheet on the UP), and one week later declared their fundamental agreement with the iSt analysis and programmatic conclusions. But as internationalists, both parties agreed on the need for discussion of all fundamental questions facing revolutionary Marxists. In addition to rejecting the USec and OCRFI, agreement was quickly reached that the Bolivian POR of Guillermo Lora had acted as centrists in both 1952 and 1971, bearing a fundamental responsibility for derailing a revolution; and that Argentina's veteran pseudo-Trotskyist chameleon Nahuel Moreno (who has gone from Peronism to Guevarism to social democracy) had definitively become reformist, committed to the maintenance of bourgeois rule.

FROM GUEVARISM TO TROTSKYISM

Several questions became the subject of continuing discussion between the iSt and the OTR, including Cuba, guerrillaism and social democracy in particular. On the first question, after studying Cuadernos Marxistas No. 2 on "Cuba and Marxist Theory" (Marxist Bulletin No. 8 in English), the OTR comrades reached agreement with the Spartacist analysis of this key application of Trotskyism on the Russian question, as reflected in Part IV of the "Declaration of Fraternal Relations Between the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile" (WV No. 111, 28 May 1976).

The OTR's position that the social-democratic parties were qualitatively more bourgeois than the Stalinists proved more difficult to resolve. The national/continental isolation of the Chilean ostensible Trotskyist movement--which was the responsibility of the fake "Internationals," who did little or nothing to integrate or politically educate their various "sections"--played an important role. It is a fact that in Latin America all of the parties associated with the Second International are in fact bourgeois parties (Chilean Radicals, Venezuelan Acción Democrática, Peruvian APRA, Puerto Rican PPD, etc.), with mildly populist traits and generally strongly pro-American foreign policy. However, after becoming familiar with the social-democratic and labor parties of western Europe and in discussions on the tactical implications of char-

acterizing social democracy as "bourgeois, with a working-class base," the OTR agreed upon the description of the mass social-democratic parties of the advanced capitalist countries as reformist, i. e., "bourgeois workers parties," to use Lenin's words.

The most important and difficult area of disagreement was the question of guerrillaism, for here there were at first sharp differences, and it was a question directly related to the OTR's origins. One of the first accusations raised against the leadership of the Chilean USec section by the tendency which later became the OTR was that of failing to implement the guerrillaist policies of the Ninth World Congress resolution on armed struggle. Like many Pabloists, they thought that Guevara himself had broken or would break, albeit empirically, from Stalinism. Although the OTR rejected Guevarist focoism and Tupamaro-style urban guerrilla warfare, it nevertheless insisted on the necessity of "irregular war" carried out by the working class--in other words, the application of guerrillaism to the particular milieu in which the OTR was working. The question was not abstract, for the OTR counted in its ranks leaders of miners for whom "irregular" skirmishes with the police and army were a periodic occurrence, as well as former Miristas and Tupamaros.

In contrast, Spartacist had written as early as 1967 that "Guerrillaism today is a petty-bourgeois reaction to the absence and delay of proletarian revolution."

Beginning from these two sharply divergent positions, several lengthy discussions were held over a period of months, in the course of which the OTR came to reject its previous position. Talk of irregular warfare carried out by the working class as a strategic perspective was an adaptation to the "trade-unionist" conceptions of a semi-proletarian layer; the key sectors of the industrial working class cannot abandon the factories and large mines and take to the hills without losing their base of social power and ultimately risking the loss of their proletarian class character, degenerating into banditry and/or blending into the peasantry (this actually happened to the Communist workers and party cadre in China who fled from the coastal cities to initiate rural guerrilla warfare in 1927-31). Thus Lenin's support for partisan tactics in 1906-07 came in the context of what he believed to be a temporary defeat of the 1905 Revolution; he never considered guerrilla warfare as anything more than a defensive measure--a form of strategic retreat--or an adjunct to regular military warfare, and certainly not a strategy for socialist revolution.

Moreover, the Bolsheviks always sought to organize military struggle through the mass organizations of the working class (soviets, factory committees), in which the party played or sought to play a leading role, in contrast to the Guevarist conception of waging guerrilla struggle through a "professional" party/army--e.g., the Argentine ERP (People's Revolutionary Army, an arm of the Guevarist PRT).

Guerrillaist conceptions had a real social importance in the Chilean "far left," above all via the MIR but also among pseudo-Trotskyist groups which tailed after them. The MIR, for example, did not call on the trade unions or later the cordones industriales (district coordinating bodies of factory committees) to arm the workers; instead it created artificial "comandos comunales," in practice subordinated to the MIR, which were supposed to train selected workers in the use of arms.

Consequently, when the September 11 coup came, the industrial proletariat was left without weapons. Many gathered in their factories to await arms long promised by the Communist and Socialist union bureaucrats, which never arrived. And despite a few acts of bravado by MIR leaders, which simply drew heavier attacks against some of the more combative sectors of the working class, their basic attitude was to treat the military takeover as an inevitable step paving the way to guerrilla war. The OTR, like all the guerrillaist tendencies, saw no possibility of resisting the Pinochet coup; but unlike those who seek to reconstruct the decimated MIR, or the USec majority which is mainly concerned to cover its own tracks of total support to Guevarist guerrillism, the OTR has drawn the lessons of the terrible defeat represented by September 11 and proclaimed the bankruptcy of guerrillism in all its varieties.

LENINISM ON THE ORGANIZATION QUESTION

In Chile the OTR lacked Leninist organizational norms: the definition of membership was fluid, it never had a party press, etc. This organizational practice was naturally maintained in exile, where the pressures toward a "circle spirit" among a small band of survivors are enormous. Nevertheless, as the OTR evolved toward the Spartacist tendency this, equally naturally, led to internal struggles and splits. These are, however, difficult to resolve without assimilating and applying the Leninist norms of democratic centralism. It was problems centering around the organization question that for some months held up the fusion perspective that had been voted in May 1976 and which dominated the activity of the OTR in the last year. As Cde. Ivan of the OTR put it in a presentation to a meeting of the International Executive

Committee (IEC) of the iSt at the 1977 European summer camp:

"The OTR was an organization in exile and dispersed over various continents. Basically there were two questions which impeded fusion last year. One was the organizational weakness of the OTR, which as a result led us to a federative concept of the party. But behind this was an important political point, and that is that the OTR hoped to unite its central cadre in Europe. We had difficulties in bringing about a joint development of all our cadre, and the European nucleus did not have a Leninist methodology to overcome this problem."

The difficulties centered on the struggle to win over an important member of the leadership who had only recently arrived from Latin America. Finding himself cut off from a base and confined to the limitations of a small Trotskyist propaganda nucleus, this comrade began elaborating plans behind the backs of the leadership; acts of organizational indiscipline soon led to an open political break, as he failed to defend the OTR program publicly, breaking explicit instructions. As the OTR reporter noted in his presentation to the IEC:

"... in the final analysis Cde. Blas presented a perspective which was counterposed to Trotskyism and to Lenin's concept of the party, basing himself on the argument that we can't break our ties with the masses... Thus in practice he was incapable of defending the entirety of the communist program....

"A few days ago this process came to an end, and in a task carried out in full consultation with the comrades from the International we formalized Blas' split from the Trotskyist program... For the OTR, the most important thing in this process was that the break with our past methodology opened the path to genuine Leninism."

AN ISKRA PERSPECTIVE

The OTR now faces tremendous opportunities and responsibilities. The Chilean bonapartist junta, lacking a significant social base of support and having been unable to atomize the proletariat and wipe out its leadership, will not last even as long as the Brazilian military dictatorship. In the meantime, those leftists who survived the bloodbath have been concentrated in large numbers in exile centers in Europe and Latin America. Here there is an extraordinary opportunity to reach tens of thousands of committed militants and to challenge the left to seriously draw a balance sheet of the Allende regime. This is by no means limited to Chilean militants, for the Chilean experience has global importance and is decisive for the formation of revolutionary nuclei in the key countries of Latin America.

Among those who reject the popular front, Stalinism, social democracy and guerrillism a dialogue could be initiated. Through polemical combat the superiority of the Trotskyist analysis and program can be demonstrated, and the core of an authentic

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OTR Fusion...

(continued from page 11)

Leninist propaganda group forged and politically prepared for the tasks which will face it when the bloody Pinochet dictatorship falls and the crucial battle to break the working class from the reformists begins in earnest.

Key to this perspective is the question of the press. In the coming period the principal voice for the OTR will be the Spanish edition of Spartacist, to be published three times a year, whose editorial board now includes members of the OTR. This is intended to be an Iskra-type publication, including polemics and analyses directed primarily at the Latin American exile milieu and to leftists in the Iberian peninsula. In addition the OTR will work toward the initiation of its own press, beginning in a modest format and with irregular frequency. Along with the struggle to build a solid, programmatically united and politically homogeneous organization in exile will naturally come the difficult task of attempting to get this press into the hands of the militants of the Chilean working class wherever they are.

In all this, as a member of a democratic-centralist international tendency, the OTR will count on the full political support and all possible material assistance of the iSt. But there is no denying that the demands are enormous and our total resources qualitatively inadequate. However, the OTR has an important political capital which cannot be mini-

mized: unlike the pseudo-Trotskyists, it represents a coherent and powerful political line which was, tragically, proven correct by the demise of the deadly popular front. Chile 1970-73 has had an impact on the political development of the current revolutionary generation similar to that of the Spanish Civil War in the late 1930's. The Trotskyists who warned that the popular front was leading to a bloody massacre should recall their warnings to educate those who did not heed them at the time but desire to avoid a repeat of the holocaust. Yet Mandel's USec and the OCI's "Organizing Committee" hide their Chilean groups rather than highlighting them--and for good reason: they did not issue such warnings but instead apologized for the popular front.

We are still weak as a political force, but the strength and promise of the OTR/iSt fusion--what enabled these militants to cross the tremendous gulf from Pabloism, workerism, Guevarism to Trotskyism--comes from the fact that it is built on fundamental Marxist principles:

"To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives-- these are the rules of the Fourth International. "

(Reprinted from Workers Vanguard, 9 September)

RWL Resignation...

(continued from page 4)

instrument" to make the revolution in the U.S. It had to be conciliated at any cost.

The stage was set for fusion. IMG leader John Ross, representing the IEC of the USec, proposed the RMG-LSA reunification at the RMG's December 1976 plenum. The RMG leadership accepted, and seven months later the fusion was an accomplished fact.

I attempted to build a left tendency in the RMG against the fusion. However, due to my own programmatic unclarity and that of other would-be oppositionists, and to the fact that most one-time RMG leftists had either gone over to the iSt or were capitulating to the right, this project was doomed to failure.

I was elected a convention delegate for the "Principled Fusion Tendency" (PFT). But the PFT was an unprincipled bloc, containing some (like myself) who considered the LSA to be reformist and were opposed to the fusion on principle, and others who felt that the LSA was centrist and that the fusion could somehow be made principled. Eclectic, heterogeneous and confused, the PFT had no real explanation for the rightward degeneration of the RMG and could provide no programmatic alternative. Challenged by no clear Trotskyist opposition, the Political Committee was able to avoid the ques-

tion of program and railroad the fusion through at the August convention.

It was at that convention that I came to realize that the only way to fight for socialist revolution was as a supporter of the Trotskyist League. The TL clearly fights for the revolutionary program that I had come to agree with. It satisfactorily explained why the IMT was incapable of fighting the reformist LTF and why the IMT was itself centrist.

The RWL, formed out of a bureaucratic fusion between right-centrist and reformist groups, cannot be a democratic-centralist revolutionary organization. I urge all those interested in fighting for proletarian revolution, both within and outside the RWL, to examine seriously the politics of the TL and the iSt. I am confident that the result of this examination will be coming to political agreement with the TL and fighting with it for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

Communist Greetings,

Perry G.

Trotskyist League Directory

TORONTO.....(416) 366-4107

Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER.....(604) 291-8993

Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C.

LANGUAGE RIGHTS...

(continued from page 2)

school for the first time this year are protesting and defying the law.

Bill 101 has received widespread support throughout French-speaking Quebec. It is part of the Lévesque government's attempt to place itself at the head of the entire Québécois nation in order to lead a struggle for bourgeois national sovereignty. But Leninists, while defending Quebec's right to independence, oppose Bill 101 as reactionary. It is not accidental that this chauvinist bill has been passed at a time of stepped-up attacks on immigrants throughout Canada (such as Bill C-24)--for Bill 101 is itself virulently anti-immigrant. Its attacks on non-French-speakers (and oppressed minorities like the Inuit) can only serve to further divide the proletariat along linguistic lines and enflame national chauvinism, to the detriment of the proletarian class struggle.

To linguistic oppression and discrimination, the Trotskyist League counterposes full and equal language rights for all. We call for the unconditional right of the northern Quebec Inuit to use the language of their choice, and their right to autonomous regional self-government, should they so desire. We further demand the abolition of the current confessional school system, and the establishment of a single, secular school system with the freedom to choose the language of instruction.

However, the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL/LOR) actually criticize the bill for not being nationalist enough! For these xenophobic bigots, the English language must be stamped out in Quebec. The problem with the PQ is that it is insufficiently forthright and thoroughgoing in its restrictions on language rights--what is needed instead is a completely "unilingual French Quebec."

The RWL/LOR "justifies" this incredible position by citing the overwhelming dominance of the English language in North America, and its status as a language of privilege in Quebec today. But to conclude that what is necessary is a program to "protect the language of the majority" by attacking the democratic rights of others is to argue as a despicable bourgeois nationalist, not as a proletarian internationalist.

The first issue of the RWL's Socialist Voice (26 September) criticizes the PQ's handling of the northern Quebec Inuit revolt only because it was too "heavy handed." For the RWL, the NQIA demonstrations occurred "ostensibly [!] as a protest against certain provisions of the Quebec government's new language charter," but were in reality a "trap" set by Ottawa. Socialist Voice echoes René Lévesque's disgraceful attacks on the NQIA as a tool of the federal government. While some aspects of the NQIA demonstrations (such as flying the Canadian flag) did evidence a misplaced trust that the federal government would come to the defense of Inuit language rights, the protests were fully supportable mobilizations against an unjust, chauvinist law. Yet the

"consistent nationalists" of the RWL oppose the Inuit protests and defend Bill 101.

The RWL goes on to call for the PQ to be more unequivocal in defending its nationalist language program against the "real challenge," the defiance of Bill 101 in Montreal schools:

"[The government's] use of the Quebec Sûreté [riot police] against the Inuits makes a revealing contrast to its kid gloves treatment of the real challenge to its language law, the anglophone school board's boycott in Montreal."

Apparently the RWL would prefer the Sûreté to be unleashed in the schools of Montreal, where it could round up "criminal" immigrant schoolchildren who are defying the law! After all, the RWL's American cousins in the Socialist Workers Party have long been calling on the U. S. army to occupy Boston (and, more recently, Chicago) in order to "enforce the law" by stopping racist anti-busing mobilizations. Why not call on the Quebec provincial police to follow suit, and "enforce the law" against "anglophone blackmail" in Montreal?

Socialist Voice wails: "But the PQ government has simply retreated in the face of this powerful challenge to its own legitimacy." So the RWL counsels Lévesque to remove his kid gloves and build "mass demonstrations" to counter the "anglophone defiance"--i.e., street mobilizations against the right to an education in any language but French. Somehow this chauvinist strategy is supposed to lay the basis for working class unity:

"Such actions could create a climate of political support for a French Quebec among English-speaking workers and the immigrant community, by holding out to them the positive perspective of joining with their fellow Québécois in struggle against institutions, like the English schools, whose sole function is to protect the privileges of English-speaking big business."

But the RWL's ultra-nationalist program, far from providing a "positive perspective" for proletarian unity, is the program of chauvinist pogroms. It is the nationalism of the oppressed unleashed against other minorities for reactionary ends, in the name of "defending the language of the majority."

The French-speaking working class of Quebec is the most militant and class-conscious of the entire continent. Its consciousness of, and desire to combat, national oppression, has been a significant factor in the development of this militancy. But the only road to emancipation for the combative Québécois proletariat lies through forging the fullest unity with non-French-speaking workers in Quebec and the rest of North America. The PQ's nationalist program (and that of its "left" camp-followers in the RWL/LOR) can only heighten the disunity of the North American proletariat.

For Quebec workers, the program of nationalism solves nothing. Only a struggle for full and equal democratic language rights for all language groups, combined with defense of Quebec's right to self-determination, can undercut national divisions among the proletariat and show the way forward for North American socialist revolution. ■

China...

(continued from page 16)

After Teng had been snuck back into the pages of the Forge, an article in the September 2 issue found CCL(M-L) showering accolades on the "new Central Committee led by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Mao's worthy successor," and saluting the "correct decisions" taken at the Congress. But these decisions are substantially identical to those policies which were once denounced as "representing the bourgeois class in China"--the emphasis on technological development and economic planning promoted by Liu Shao-chi and Teng during the Cultural Revolution. No doubt CCL(M-L) will be treating the readers of its press to an even more extraordinary exhibition of feinting and dodging as it continues to "reverse" what were formerly "correct verdicts."

Today vituperative denunciations of the "Gang of Four" pass for home-truths among these Peking sychophants. They claim that "this massive struggle should not surprise us." And why should it? Rubber-stamping whatever line appears in Peking Review, CCL(M-L) is beyond surprise and beyond embarrassment. Thus we are informed that:

"The 'gang of four' completely perverted Chairman Mao's great theory and the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism... They slanderously alleged that there was a 'bourgeois class' inside the Party..."

--Forge, 2 September

So is "explained" Teng's fall into disgrace. But poor Teng was not the only hapless victim of the insidious and all-pervasive influence of Chiang and her clique. After all, only last year the Forge reported that Chairman Mao himself initiated the "anti-revisionist" struggle against Teng! And what about the Chinese masses, who, armed with Mao Tse-tung thought, supposedly struggled vigorously against Teng's attempt to restore capitalism? It is a fitting tribute to the reality of Stalinist "mass democracy" that four people can hoodwink not only Mao and the entire party leadership, but 900 million Chinese people as well!

Having reaffirmed its cur-like loyalty to whatever masters rule in Peking, CCL(M-L) has turned its guns against those Maoist competitors who are not so willing to throw their lot in with Hua. In the September 2 Forge, an article entitled "In Struggle now turns to direct attacks on socialist China," assails In Struggle for making only "token references" to "Mao's worthy successor." Moreover, according to the Forge, In Struggle "has said not a word about the 'gang of four,' something which is unacceptable in Canada today." Since it finally came out in tentative support of Hua last December, In Struggle's response has been: No Comment.

IN STRUGGLE'S TWO, THREE, MANY WORLDS

But these are not the least of In Struggle's "crimes" against "socialist" China. In a document issued for its recent "Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists" entitled "Against Right Opportunism in International Questions," In Struggle re-

jects the theory of three worlds, stating that: "'Arguments' which consist of saying we should believe that the 'three worlds' theory was elaborated by Mao... don't carry much weight."

But only a few months ago In Struggle itself gave Mao's party credit for the "three worlds" theory, saying that the rise of "Soviet social-imperialism":

"...led the Chinese Communist Party to put forward that the universe [!] is divided into three worlds, the first being composed of the two superpowers, the third (the Third World) of the developing countries, and the second of all the advanced capitalist countries other than the superpowers..."

--In Struggle, 7 July (emphasis in original)

While as recently as July In Struggle was still heralding Peking's counterrevolutionary foreign policy as "a policy that supports the revolutionary struggles of the people," it has always tried to soft-pedal or ignore the more scandalous aspects of this policy--in particular China's overt alliance with U. S. imperialism. Denying that "Soviet social-imperialism" is the "main danger," In Struggle recently wrote:

"But to state that social imperialism is an aggressive superpower all the more dangerous because it hides behind a socialist mask, must not lead us to see it as the main enemy of the liberty, peace and progress of the peoples of the world..."

"To make such cutting remarks has heavy consequences... it is like beautifying the nature of one superpower, that is U. S. imperialism..."

--In Struggle, 7 September

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However the elevation of the Soviet Union to the status of the "main danger" occurred during the last years of Mao's life. In 1971 Mao and Nixon toasted to China's grand alliance against "Soviet social-imperialism" and to "uniting all those who could be united" in holy war against the USSR. The latter category has proved to be quite broad--incorporating such "anti-imperialists" as the Shah of Iran, General Pinochet and the European NATO powers. Another recent addition is American cold-war senator Henry Jackson--who, impressed by the housecleaning in the Forbidden Palace, recently came out for U. S. arms shipments to China.

HARDIAL BAINS GOES TO TIRANA

While the ideological legacy of Maoism has left In Struggle in a hopeless muddle, the crazed cultists of Hardial Bains' Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) (CPC [M-L]) have taken a firm stand--China is on the "capitalist road":

"Since the right opportunists took over in China in October 1976, they have been straightforwardly using lies and deceit and sophistry in order to push their revisionism and lead China onto the capitalist road. They call themselves 'successors' to Chairman Mao and his 'loyal' followers in order to deceive world public opinion, create ideological confusion and bring about capitalist restoration."

--People's Canada Daily News, 9 September

Having little left to choose from in the way of a "socialist fatherland," CPC(M-L) has turned to that tiny "socialist paradise" on the shores of the Adriatic--Enver Hoxha's Albania. Hardial Bains recently led a CPC(M-L) delegation on a visit to Tirana, and came back with the new commandment:

"Whosoever does not defend the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is not a proletarian internationalist but a national and social chauvinist."

--PCDN, 5 September

Proletarian internationalism! CPC(M-L)'s loyalty to impoverished, backward Albania is Stalinist nationalist "socialism in one country" in its most degenerate and ludicrous form.

Touting Enver Hoxha as the last of the "anti-revisionist" strugglers, CPC(M-L) has had to tailor its line to fit the politics of its new "Marxist-Leninist" pope. Lately the pages of PCDN have been filled with renunciations of the theory of three worlds. A former touchstone of CPC(M-L)'s campaigns against "Soviet social-imperialism," the theory of three worlds is now attributed to Hua and his pack of right opportunists:

"Internationally, the right opportunists have advanced the anti-Leninist thesis of 'three worlds' and are deceiving world public opinion by continuously repeating the lie that it is Chairman Mao's theory."

--PCDN, 9 September

But the Hoxha regime's disagreement with China's line on the "superpowers" is not part of a struggle for Stalinist ideological purism, as CPC(M-L) would have us believe. Rather, for Albania there is only

one superpower--Yugoslavia. About one million Albanians (roughly one-third of the Albanian people) inhabit the Losove region of Yugoslavia. China's rapprochement with Yugoslavia--which included a recent state visit by Tito to Peking--is a direct threat to Tirana's Stalinist nationalism.

TROTSKYISM: THE LENINISM OF OUR TIME

Many New Leftists won to Maoism during the mid-1960's saw China as a revolutionary force in world politics--the self-proclaimed vanguard of the struggles of colonial peoples against their oppressors. Drawn to Mao's espousal of "third world" militancy, they rejected the Kremlin's policy of "peaceful co-existence" and its betrayals of the colonial masses for the sake of conciliation with U. S. imperialism.

But even while Maoist rhetoric was at its radical zenith there was nothing revolutionary about Mao's policies. The theory of "socialism in one country" is the justification used by Stalinist bureaucracies from Moscow to Peking to Tirana in order to protect their own fiefdoms by sacrificing international revolution in favor of deals with imperialism. The foreign policy aspirations of the Chinese were never basically any different from the USSR's. And even the rhetoric was dropped with the opening of diplomatic channels by the U. S. imperialists in the early 1970's.

Those who followed Mao through all his betrayals and now line up with Peking behind U. S. imperialism have had to abandon the values and attitudes which first drew them to revolutionary politics. Once cheerleaders for the struggles of "third world" peoples against imperialism, today's Maoists must back "third world" despots like the Shah of Iran, call for strengthening NATO and stand on the side of the U. S. and South Africa during the invasion of Angola--all out of loyalty to Peking.

Of the competing Maoist sects in Canada, In Struggle is today being forced to the sidelines, while the vicarious would-be bureaucrats of CCL(M-L) and CPC(M-L) line up to toady for the Stalinist rulers of their choice. In Struggle's future is not bright--for a Stalinist must have his "country" to survive or suffer the fate of the nationally-parochialist Canadian Party of Labor. Edged out of the running for the Peking and Albanian franchises, In Struggle is headed down the road to political oblivion--to becoming an eclectic, isolated Stalinoid sect.

CCL(M-L) counsels that "the friends and sympathizers of In Struggle must wake up and act firmly." But for those who aspire to make proletarian revolution, CCL(M-L)'s slavish loyalty to the Peking bureaucrats is no alternative. Only the program of Trotskyism--which combines unconditional defense of the property forms of the deformed and degenerated workers states with the call for political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies--offers a true revolutionary alternative. For those Maoists sufficiently shaken by the recent events in China to reconsider their Stalinist premises, the Trotskyist politics of the international Spartacist tendency show the way forward--the Leninism of our time. ■

Shifting Lines in the Maoist Camp

China: Twice-Purged Teng Returns

Mao Tse-tung's body was barely cold when his heirs in the Forbidden Palace unleashed a mopping-up campaign against his wife and former "comrades-in-arms" during the Cultural Revolution, the "gang of four," denouncing them as "ultra-rightist capitalist roaders" who had committed unforgivable crimes against the people. Mao's death was also followed by the opening of a widening rift between China and its long-time ally, Enver Hoxha's Albania. In the July issue of *Zeri i Popullit*, official organ of the Albanian Party of Labour, an unsigned article entitled "The Theory and Practice of Revolution" attacked China's foreign policy and the Maoist theory of "three worlds" as "opportunist" and "anti-Leninist."

Then, hard on the heels of the Albanian attack, who should officially return from political purgatory but that irrepressible "demon and freak" Teng Hsiao-ping. Purged during the Cultural Revolution as the "number two man in the Party on the capitalist road" and again following the death of Chou En-lai in early 1976, Teng was resurrected to the post of Deputy Premier at the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) this August.

With Mao no longer around to distinguish the "capitalist roaders" from the "friends of the people," the events of the past year have left Peking's international "Marxist-Leninist" followers confused and disoriented. While united in the belief that the recent power struggle in China was a decisive "class battle," foreign Maoists have been unable to decide just who represents what "class."

WILL THE REAL CAPITALIST ROADER PLEASE STAND UP?

Take the Peking-worshippers of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) (CCL[M-L]). A letter of condolence sent by CCL(M-L) to the CCP Central Committee following Mao's death went to great lengths in praising the struggles of the Chinese people against the "revisionist" Teng:

"The struggles against Lin Piao and Confucius and against Teng Hsiao-ping's right deviationist wind, initiated under the leadership of Chairman Mao, contributed greatly to the prevention of the restoration of capitalism in China."

--*Forge*, 9 September 1976



TENG HSIAO-PING

Syrrna

Now, however, the *Forge* tells a different tale. Not quite so unabashed in hailing the return of Teng as its American fraternal group (the Communist Party [Marxist-Leninist] -- CP [M-L]), CCL(M-L) is nevertheless every bit as willing to accept the one-time "capitalist roader" Teng as its new leader in Peking. Immortalized on the front page of *People's Daily* during his recent pilgrimage to China, CP(M-L) leader Mike Klonsky wrote himself a free ticket to more lavish banquets in the Great Hall of the People through an article heralding Teng's resurrection. For its part, CCL(M-L) initially ventured only so far as to reprint the text of a Peking press communique on the events of the 11th Congress. But these are differences of style and emphasis only. Committed above all else to parroting whatever line emanates from the Heavenly Palace, CCL(M-L)--like Klonsky's gang south of the border--has, for now, the "official" Peking franchise sewn up.

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