

## Defend Quebec's Right to Independence!

# Trudeau Threatens War on Quebec

TORONTO—Appearing on a nationwide New Year's television broadcast, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau arrogantly threatened armed suppression of Quebec: "I'm not going to be shy about using the sword if something illegal is attempted in the province of Quebec." To make matters even clearer, he also declared that there was no legal way Quebec could separate from English-speaking Canada. It was the most provocative assault yet by Ottawa on Quebec's right to independence since the bourgeois separatist Parti Québécois (PQ) became the provincial government following an upset election victory in the fall of 1976. This outburst of English-Canadian chauvinism by the No. 1 Maple Leaf jingo must be opposed by the entire workers movement. Labor must proclaim its unconditional support for the Québécois' right to self-

ther, a series of exposures of the RCMP Mounties has tipped the iceberg of the federal government's secret criminal activities directed mainly at the Québécois separatists and the left.

Thus the prime minister has adopted a strategy of open provocation and no longer makes hypocritical "peacemaker" gestures. To Québécois nationalists seeking to exercise the democratic right of self-determination Trudeau offers the arrogant boot of the oppressor nation. Carefully reading the polls he has noted that Lévesque's popularity is going up in Quebec together with separatist sentiment in the province. A slim majority still opposes the PQ proposal of a negotiated economic association with English-speaking Canada. However, an overwhelming majority opposes a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI), presumably out of fear of the economic



Prime Minister Trudeau

Canadian Press

determination, and its firm commitment to mobilize the ranks in concrete action against any attempt to suppress that fundamental democratic right!

Last year Trudeau claimed that should the PQ's promised referendum favor the separation of Quebec he would resign his post rather than "be the one to lead Canada into civil war" (see *Spartacist Canada*, March 1977). But as Canadian capitalism shows signs of unravelling at these seams, he is feeling the pressure to hold it together by adopting a hard-line stance. The economy is in its worst slump since the 1930's depression, with inflation and unemployment soaring while the Canadian dollar has fallen even below the troubled U.S. dollar on the international money market. Fur-

consequences. Trudeau hopes to shore up this majority by promising that a UDI would bring a harsh military occupation as well.

The PM's New Year's bluster amounts to a declaration of war upon the people of Quebec. He of course has no immediate intention of bringing out the tanks and troops. There is no firm base of support for a declaration of independence on the one hand, and it is not so obvious what the miserable Canadian army could do about a UDI in any case—or that the English-speaking populace would welcome such a civil war. But these provocative remarks do serve to whip up English-Canadian chauvinism. And behind the poetic talk of the "strength and freedom" of a



Labor Challenge

Troops stand guard outside Montreal City Hall during 1970 occupation of Quebec.

united Canada lies the reality of national oppression and the threat of draconian "emergency measures" inherited from British colonialism.

Like a modish Colonel Blimp, Trudeau cast his sabre-rattling as a matter of protecting the "law of the land." Asked what he would do if Lévesque "assert[ed] the sovereignty of Quebec," the federal prime minister alluded to his military occupation of the province earlier in the decade:

"A: If it is done illegally by breaking the law of the constitution or of the land, obviously we will have to take the kind of action we took in 1970 when the law was broken.

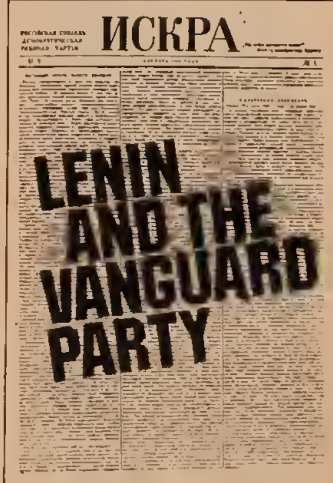
"Q: But there isn't any real legal way to separate, is there, Prime Minister? It's not provided for in any law that I know about.

"A: No, it is not. That is why there cannot be any unilateral declaration of independence."

Asked to be more explicit on whether he would use force to "defend the integrity of the federal establishment," Trudeau replied:

"My answer is quite easy because I've given it already once before, by action, in 1970 when some group of Canadians, the FLQ, attempted to take Quebec out of confederation by breaking the law, whether it be by stopping the mails or blowing up trains as they did or raiding arsenals or murdering a couple of

### PART SIX



## The Final Split with the Mensheviks

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## Mexican Student Activist Held 96 Days in Border Jail

# Political Asylum for Hector Marroquín!

For 96 days Socialist Workers Party (SWP) member Hector Marroquín was locked up in a U.S. jail at Eagle Pass, Texas. Although recently released after paying an exorbitant bail, he is by no means out of danger, facing a deportation hearing on January 17. If deported to Mexico by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) he faces certain torture and possible death. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) demands that deportation proceedings against this victim of bourgeois terror be immediately dropped and that he be granted political asylum.

Marroquín, then a Mexican activist, was framed on murder charges in 1974 and fled to the U.S. to avoid the fate which befell the three others accused along with him. Two were gunned down by cops and right-wing death squads on the streets of Monterrey, while the third was arrested by the police and has since "disappeared." He returned last year to Mexico for a brief meeting with lawyers about the charges and upon his return to the U.S. was arrested by the Border Patrol for "illegal entry." Even after his 90-day sentence had been fully served, Marroquín continued to languish in jail pending his posting \$10,000 bond. He concurrently faces deportation hearings where he is raising the demand that he be granted political asylum.

Marroquín was accused of membership in the guerrillaist Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre. While the scope of activities of the Liga remains unclear, the Mexican government seized upon its existence as an excuse for repression against left organizations and the workers movement under the guise of fighting "terrorism." Demonstrations are constantly subjected to police or army assault, later justified with the claim that the demonstrators were armed Liga members bent on indiscriminate murder. However, even the bourgeois press has felt compelled to remark on the suspicious character of the allegations lodged against the Liga. As the *New York Times* (26 August 1976) commented:

"Then last year the Government once again began blaming the League for assaults and kidnappings throughout the country. 'Every time a car is stolen, it's the work of the League,' a government source remarked skeptically a few months ago.

"In May of this year, for example, while the police once again accused the League of the murder of eight bodyguards, members of the family that those men had been assigned to protect said privately that they believed a business feud to be the motive."

The SWP-led U.S. Committee for



The Militant

Hector Marroquín

Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has distributed an "Appeal for Amnesty" pointing out that Marroquín was never a member of the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre. Once a member of a student leftist group which later entered the Liga, Marroquín split from the group expressly over his opposition to guerrillaism. This occurred three months before the fusion and five months before the murder of which he was accused.

It is imperative that the workers movement and all those who defend democratic rights protest the rightist terror and demand political asylum for Marroquín in the U.S. But USLA has left his defense entirely at the mercy of the bourgeois judicial system and respectable liberal opinion. In its "Appeal" USLA wrote:

"If all he faced were a trial with due process, we would not, perhaps feel great urgency. However, at best, under current conditions in Mexico, he faces torture to extract a 'confession,' a common fate of political dissidents."

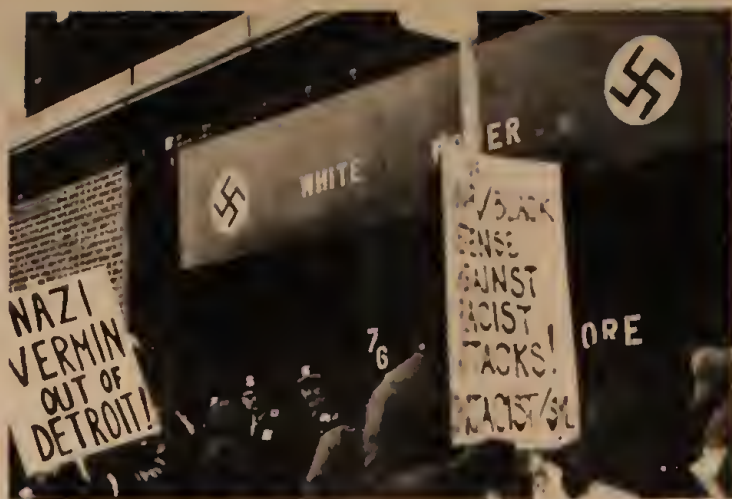
How the civil libertarians yearn to rely on the "due process" of bourgeois class justice—if only the Mexican government would clean up its act a bit!

In contrast, the Partisan Defense Committee stands with James P. Cannon, founder of the International Labor Defense and the Trotskyist movement in the U.S., who proclaimed: "Our policy is the policy of the class struggle.... It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts." On December 8, while Marroquín was still in prison, the PDC sent the following telegram demanding his release and asylum:

Leonel Castillo, Director  
Immigration and Naturalization  
Service  
Washington, D.C. 20536

We protest the arrest and continued detention of Hector Marroquín Manriquez and demand his immediate release. The frameup murder charges against him are a pretext for torture and death at the hands of the Mexican government. We demand the immediate granting of political asylum to this victim of right-wing repression.

Partisan Defense Committee  
Box 633, Canal Street Station  
New York, NY 10013



WV Photo

Demonstrators challenge provocative opening of fascist "bookstore" as Detroit cops stand guard.

## Smash Nazi Outpost in Detroit!

DETROIT—On December 17 the National Socialist Movement (NSM) opened a "bookstore" on Detroit's Southwest side. An outrageous provocation in this heavily black and proletarian city, the appearance of the Nazis is part of a national pattern of stepped-up activities by the fascist scum. The stormtroopers' lair has already been the target of several protest demonstrations and an attempted firebombing.

Although referred to as a "bookstore" by both the Nazis and the capitalist press, the fascist headquarters has no books; only buttons, stickers, posters, Nazi and Confederate flags, portraits of Adolph Hitler and weapons, including clubs, pistols, rifles and shotguns.

The propaganda emanating from this fascist bunker includes such racist filth as "Niggers Beware," "We Hate," "Hitler Lives" and "Off the Jew Capitalist Pigs." A flyer distributed in the neighborhood and to nearby schools proclaims: "Americans must be all white, blacks must be deported" and "Jewish domination of our cultural, financial and national affairs must be smashed."

NSM "captain" Bill Russell told reporters: "I don't believe in majority control in the United States. I believe in white control. We are fighting the same kind of war that was fought by Germany to get rid of the Jews." The NSM is allied with the "White Confederacy," whose stated goal is to "fight communism by combining the white racist groups from throughout the world."

Although socially marginal at this time because the bourgeoisie currently has no need of them, the fascists are dangerous terrorists who seek to exterminate not only Jews, blacks, homosexuals and communists, but also trade unions and all organizations of the working class. These thugs must be crushed by the working-class movement wherever they raise their heads.

Five minutes from the Nazi headquarters stands the largest single proletarian concentration in the U.S.—Ford's River Rouge plant—with the nation's largest local union, United Auto Workers Local 600, counting nearly 30,000 members. General Motors' Cadillac and Fleetwood plants are also a short distance away. The neighborhood in which the "bookstore" stands contains many Polish and Slavic immigrants who fled the Nazi terror and is bordered by Detroit's Hispanic community and South Dearborn's concentrated Arab population, many of whom work in auto plants. It is a telling

indictment of the UAW hierarchy that it has not so much as issued a press release on the Nazi provocation, much less mobilized any of its almost 300,000 members in the Detroit area to smash the racists.

Detroit's large black and Jewish groups have been almost as passive. The local NAACP, supported by four religious coalitions, has abstained from any action except supporting the efforts of the landlord to evict the Nazis. At a December 28 news conference, Detroit NAACP president Lawrence Washington said he hoped "public pressure" would drive out the Nazis within four or five weeks. "If they don't," he said, "we'll meet again... to see what can be done."

True to form, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is defending the Nazis' "right" to "free speech." One prominent ACLUer explained in a TV interview that the Nazi headquarters was a useful "reminder" (!) of Nazi atrocities and should therefore be allowed to remain. Shoulder to shoulder with the civil libertarian ACLU stands the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which also defends the fascists' "democratic rights." The SWP's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), held its national convention last weekend in Detroit, with 300 self-styled socialists in attendance. Though the opening of the Nazi headquarters was making headlines, it was not mentioned once at this yellow "socialist" gathering. The SWP/YSA's only presence at the protest demonstrations outside the "bookstore" was in the shape of a reporter standing safely across the street.

The Communist Party has been noticeably and shamelessly absent from any of the anti-Nazi protests and meetings. But its most assiduous imitator, the Communist Labor Party (CLP), has characteristically placed its confidence not in the working class but in the bourgeois state. At a December 22 meeting of the CLP-dominated Detroit Equal Rights Committee, it promoted a petition drive calling on the city council and Mayor Coleman Young to ban the Nazis from Detroit. Meanwhile, Young's cops are standing guard at the Nazis' office to protect them from enraged demonstrators!

The bulk of Detroit's left has responded with repeated picket lines in front of the Nazi headquarters. Unfortunately, the largest of these drew only about a hundred people, including a militant contingent of the Spartacist

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## WORKERS VANGUARD

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# Coal Bosses Hardlining Against Right to Strike

JANUARY 2—With an eye on a restive membership in no mood for a sellout, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) leaders have gotten cold feet about their initial "understanding" with industry bargainers which would forsake the union's most critical need in the current national coal strike—the unlimited right to strike. This prompted a walkout from the negotiations by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association on Friday, December 30. A BCOA spokesman told the press that no settlement was possible unless the union was "willing to stick with the hard decisions necessary to achieve labor stability."

The strike by 180,000 union coal miners and UMWA construction workers is now nearly a month old. But only nine days after it began, a tentative "understanding" was widely reported whose

disasters such as the 1968 explosion at Consolidation Coal in Farmington, West Virginia or the 1976 tragedy at Blue Diamond's Scotia mine in eastern Kentucky. The only recourse for mine workers faced with unsafe conditions—particularly with federal safety inspectors working hand in glove with the coal operators—is to shut down the pits through strike action. The last three years have seen three major wildcats sweep the coalfields. In 1975 120,000 miners demanded the right to strike over local grievances; in 1976 half the union's miners wildcatted against anti-strike court injunctions and last summer more than 80,000 walked out in defense of the UMWA health card. Each strike was a vigilant assertion of the miners' rights to protection against the murderous working conditions underground.

UMWA president Arnold Miller's

ance to his treacherous deal.

The union tops' fright is entirely justified. The 1974 agreement, which Miller hailed as "the best contract in the history of the labor movement," was twice rejected by the UMWA bargaining council, though it eventually caved in to threats of federal intervention. When the contract was finally ratified after a 24-day strike, 44 percent voted "no," even though many miners were hoodwinked by UMWA officials' claim that the right to strike had been won.

The coalfields have not yet erupted as they did in each of the last three summers, but a number of militant actions point to the ranks' readiness to fight. During the last two weeks Kentucky, the leading coal-producing state in the country and one where union coal has fallen below 50 percent of the total, has been a focus for strike militancy. In



Utah state troopers escort scabs to mine site in Carbon County.

Johnson/Salt Lake Tribune

terms amount to an undisguised sellout: strikers who picket any mine site could be instantly fired; for the first time union members would be required to pay into the miners' health and welfare fund; and stringent penalties (including dismissal) would be imposed for absenteeism. Satisfied with this "compromise," which was tantamount to the employers' long-sought anti-strike clause, BCOA head Joseph Brennan reciprocated with a reduction—to \$22 per day—of the operators' demand for financial penalties to be leveled against participants in wildcat strikes.

According to the *New York Times* (31 December 1977), earlier agreement on the "right to fire" provision was solid enough to allow lawyers to begin writing the specific contract language. However, the rumored agreement brought protest both from disgruntled rank-and-filers and from district and local bureaucrats who dreaded the prospect of selling such an atrocity to the membership. In Ohio an estimated 300 miners from District 6 met at Bellaire to express dissatisfaction with reports that UMWA negotiators were giving in to demands for penalties to wildcat strikers (UPI, 19 December 1977).

Afraid that the miners' militancy might infect the rest of organized labor, the big business press has attempted to paint the UMWA ranks as strike-happy. But for coal miners, working under the most dangerous conditions in American industry, respect for the picket line is more than a sacred tradition. The right to strike is literally a question of life and death, as shown by repeated mine

answer, however, was to side with the courts and companies against the wildcats and tell the ranks to rely on the contract to resolve disputes. But even the bosses' press has been forced to concede that this is a deadend:

"The rank and file's distaste for the arbitration procedure...grew quickly when many coal companies started choosing to send every miner's complaint through a time-consuming, multi-tiered hearings system.... Angry miners began to strike in violation of the contract."

"In the summers of 1975 and 1976, when wildcat strikes spread to hundreds of mines, the companies resorted to the Federal courts, obtaining back-to-work orders with heavy fines for many union locals and jail terms for a few persistent violators. The courts became 'company courts' in the minds of many miners."

—*New York Times*,  
27 November 1977

The 1977 wildcats were triggered by the drastic cutbacks in health benefits, which the BCOA and media tried to pin on royalty losses due to previous walkouts. Yet the same *Times* article admits that the funds would have been depleted anyway because of "flaws" in the 1974 contract.

## Remember 1974!

Miller's current hesitation merely reveals his fear of the UMWA membership. By temporarily shelving the mid-December agreement for penalties against strikers he is hoping that miners have short memories so he can patch up his badly tattered reputation. He is praying that a few more weeks on strike with neither strike funds nor health insurance will erode the ranks' resist-

Wayland a Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad bridge leading to six scab producers was dynamited. At a Morgantown pit \$20,000 damage was reported on heavy strip mining equipment, and a mine building belonging to the Canada Coal Company was burned. Near Haydenville, Ohio a mine building was bombed at a non-union outfit.

State cops have been heavily mobilized to keep the scab operations open. Two caravans of Ohio miners from District 6 have traveled into eastern Kentucky to close the non-union working mines, but a militant in District 30 told *WP* that state troopers constantly tail the roving pickets and harass them by checking for weapons or liquor (which could open the pickets to bootlegging charges in "dry" Kentucky). On December 20 state police called in reinforcements as a District 6 convoy arrived at the Southeast Coal Company. Eventually 32 cruisers, with two or three riot-equipped cops in each, appeared at the mine. When one striker walked onto an unmarked company-owned bridge to post a UMWA "On Strike" placard, he was set upon by these uniformed thugs who beat him, handcuffed him, then beat him some more. As the battered militant was led away a trooper sneered to nearby pickets, "This is what you'll get."

A miner from nearby District 17 in West Virginia described the measures needed to put a stop to this scabherding: "I think what we've got to do is join in with these people in Ohio and give them the full support of District 17, or at least 500-600 men.... What we've got to fight

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## NMU Opposition Caucus Demands:

# Hot Cargo Coal!

*We reprint below a resolution in solidarity with the miners' strike presented at the December New York port meeting of the National Maritime Union (NMU) by the opposition Militant-Solidarity Caucus. In a disgusting display of bureaucratic backstabbing, NMU officials refused to support the motion on the grounds that United Mine Workers (UMWA) president Arnold Miller had supported "reformer" Jim Morrissey in the 1972 NMU presidential elections. A supplement to the Caucus' publication, the Beacon, issued December 20 quoted NMU vice president Peter Bocker as saying, "Arnold Miller tried to destroy our union and we're not backing him."*

*As the leaflet pointed out, the NMU bureaucracy headed by Shannon Wall, tarnished UMWA "progressive" Miller and third-rate "oppositionists" like Morrissey all have the same program: class-collaborationist subordination of the workers' interests to those of the bosses. "What the NMU officials fear is the militant example set by the rank-and-file miners. Wall, Bocker and [NY port agent Andrew] Rich, etc. know full well that were this militancy to spill over into the NMU, it would doom their own cozy relationship with the ship owners. That is why they will not back the miners."*

*Whereas, the coal miners of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) are on strike, with the future of their union at stake, and*

*Whereas, the battle of the coal miners and the fight for the right to strike, the crucial weapon in labor's arsenal, is part of the fight of all workers against the bosses, and*

*Whereas, the UMWA gave our union support and assisted in the formation of the NMU when the CIO was being forged, and*

*Whereas, because the coal operators—dominated by the oil and steel corporations—are trying to smash the miners strike with coal production from non-union mines, huge stockpiles and foreign imports, a key role in labor support for the strikers must come from transport workers: railroad workers, longshoremen, and seamen, and*

*Whereas, it has been reported that NMU-crewed vessels—specifically the Henry Ford II—are carrying coal shipments, be it therefore*

**RESOLVED** that our union hot cargo all coal shipments for the duration of the strike, and be it further

**RESOLVED** that the NMU send volunteers from our own ranks to assist the miners' pickets to enable them to shut down non-union mines, and be it finally

**RESOLVED** that the NMU condemn any use of Taft-Hartley to break the coal strike and organize a mass mobilization of NMU seamen to stand with the miners against the use of troops or the National Guard to break the coal strike.



## Jail the Mountie Criminals!

# Uproar in Canada Over RCMP Dirty Tricks

—reprinted from **Spartacist Canada**  
No. 22, December 1977-January  
1978

On trial in 1976 for trying to blow up a Montreal supermarket executive's home (he failed when the bomb exploded in his hands), ex-Mountie Robert Samson blew the whistle on the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's (RCMP) "dirty tricks" squad. Sacked by the RCMP following his arrest, a disgruntled and embittered Samson got back at the scarlet-uniformed defenders of the "true north strong and free." The loose-lipped ex-cop flippantly informed the court that the attempted bombing was the least of his crimes: after all, he confessed, "I've done worse things." Samson then went on to disclose the RCMP's role in the burglary of the Montreal offices of the leftist Agence de Presse Libre du Québec (APLQ) in 1972.

As the old saying goes, loose lips sink ships. Samson's testimony set into motion a whole series of disclosures on break-ins, buggings, burglaries, arson and spying by the Canadian state's political police. The myth of even-handed fairness and impartial respect for "law and order," for so long cultivated by the Mounties, has now been shattered. Like its American big brothers in the CIA and FBI, the RCMP has been revealed for what it is: a subversive organization of thieves and terrorists at the service of the capitalist class.

### Watergate North

As scandals rock the inquiry rooms in Montreal and the halls of Parliament Hill, and as the bourgeois press editorializes about "Watergate North," Prime Minister Trudeau has taken to sounding like Richard Nixon. While denying all knowledge of RCMP wrongdoing by himself or his Cabinet colleagues, Trudeau is now asserting that the solution to the force's illegal activities is simple—make them legal! At minimum, he wants to ensure that the government is rid of the thankless task of alibiing for its official hitmen:

"The politicians who happen to form the Government should be kept in ignorance of the day-to-day activities of the police force and even of the security force."

—*Globe and Mail* [Toronto],  
December 10

The inquiry into the APLQ break-in, set up by the Parti Québécois (PQ) provincial government and headed by former PQ election candidate Jean Keable, continues to uncover incident after incident of RCMP criminal activity. Amid a seemingly endless series of thefts, wiretappings, mail pilfering and harassment of unions, radical groups and New Democratic Party left-wingers, several incidents stand out.

The first bombshell came in late October, when the Keable inquiry discovered that in early 1973 RCMP agents broke into PQ headquarters in Montreal and stole computer tapes

containing membership lists and financial records. The tapes were copied, then returned the same night. The break-in was part of a systematic campaign of surveillance and harassment of the PQ initiated in 1970.

These dangerous gangsters will stoop to any crime in order to protect "peace and security" for the bourgeoisie. In 1972, unable to place a hidden microphone in a barn which was allegedly to be the site of a meeting between the nationalist Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) and the U.S. Black Panther Party, the RCMP "anti-terrorist" squad burnt it down instead!

Other RCMP agents took time out from burglarizing the APLQ and PQ to steal some dynamite in late 1972. After the theft they attempted to convince Quebec police and the public that the FLQ was responsible and that it was actively preparing a new series of terrorist bombings.

Perhaps the most spectacular revelation involved a planned airplane hijacking in Montreal. Last spring, police officials on trial for the October 1972 APLQ break-in claimed that it had been necessary in order to obtain information about a skyjacking which FLQ members were planning for later that month. The November 18 *Toronto Star* reported that the Keable inquiry heard evidence that the hijacking plot had been planned by an "FLQ cell" in which three of the five members were RCMP agents provocateurs! This cop-led gang plotted to seize an airliner, ostensibly to force the release of Quebec political prisoners. According to the *Star*, under the impetus of the RCMP agents "the group agreed to go as far as killing one of the passengers as a show of determination." Such a spectacular terrorist act would undoubtedly have been used to discredit and attack the entire left and the Quebec labor and nationalist movements. It failed to take place only because one of the police informers was exposed prematurely.

### For a Royal Québécois Mounted Police?

For its part, the bourgeois nationalist PQ government in Quebec City is exploiting the findings of the Keable commission in order to demonstrate persistent federal interference in Quebec affairs, thereby bolstering its case for separatism. The PQ has a lot of ammunition, for throughout the RCMP's history, one of its chief functions has been as an armed bastion of English-Canadian chauvinism and an agency for attacking the Québécois' national rights. However the PQ, like the other bourgeois parties, has strenuously defended certain of the RCMP's activities—particularly the surveillance of "far left" radicals.

Moreover, the PQ has carefully limited the Keable commission's activity to investigation of RCMP involvement in the APLQ break-in, wilfully ignoring the fact that the Quebec provincial and Montreal municipal police forces were



Globe and Mail [Toronto]

**Mounties hold back striking railway workers seeking to enter Parliament building in August 1973. RCMP spying was directed primarily at labor, left and Quebec separatist organizations.**

equally guilty of the APLQ break-in and other terrorist acts, which were carried out under the direction of the three forces' ominous Combined Anti-Terrorist Squad. It has also fastidiously preserved the former provincial Liberal regime's "Centre d'Analyse et de Documentation," which contains secret files on thousands of people and organizations in Quebec, for use in case of "emergency."

Spying, bribery, lying, theft, infiltration and forgery—as well as wholesale buying of influence and selling of "principles"—have always been the lifeblood of bourgeois politics. Thus in late November, even as the PQ government was denouncing RCMP crime in order to serve its own nationalist political ends, the Quebec provincial police were raiding Liberal and Union Nationale party offices in Montreal and seizing lists of financial donors to the parties. And on December 8 the story broke that, from at least 1970-73, the PQ had its own private "dirty tricks" squad for use against other bourgeois parties in Quebec. Dapper, conservative economist Jacques Parizeau, who today travels around the world giving a sober, softsoap sell for Quebec "sovereignty-association" as government Finance Minister, ran something called the "Parizeau network," which snooped for information useful to the PQ's cause and reportedly coordinated an attempted takeover of the provincial Créditiste party.

The PQ is today using the Keable inquiry as a political football against Ottawa. But it has already given notice that, should it get to run its own independent Quebec, the illegal activities of its cop agents will be every bit as thoroughgoing as those of the RCMP, and their chief target will be the left and labor movement.

As the PQ maneuvers to exploit the cracks in the Mounties' shiny scarlet and gold to further its bourgeois nationalist

aims, it has behind it the usual left tail, the fake-Trotskyist Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (LOR). Emblazoned across the front page of the November 9 issue of the LOR's *Lutte Ouvrière* is the headline "GRC Hors du Québec!" ("RCMP Out of Quebec!") At some point, Lévesque may well be glad to get the RCMP out of Quebec—to be replaced, perhaps, by a "Royal Québécois Mounted Police."

The disclosures about RCMP crime are, of course, just the tip of the iceberg. They have occurred despite the obstruction of top RCMP officials and federal Solicitor-General Francis Fox who have refused to cooperate with the Keable commission, withholding stacks of "top security" files and claiming that the inquiry is doing "irreparable harm to national security." Fox has repeatedly appealed to the Supreme Court to end the inquiry on constitutional grounds, and the federal government has set up its own quisling inquiry commission to take some heat off. This commission is an obvious farce—it is composed of a former Alberta Liberal Party president, an Ontario police superintendent and an ex-Mountie who is now a Lieutenant-Colonel in the armed forces. Furthermore, all hearings which it deems "sensitive" will be held behind closed doors.

Despite Trudeau's autocratic proposal to legalize hitherto illegal RCMP activities, the federal government has clearly been stung by certain of the RCMP exposés. It is seeking to muzzle the Keable commission before it uncovers new and even more damning information. Two things in particular must worry the government. First is the possibility that the inquiry will uncover knowledge and complicity in RCMP crimes by members of the federal Cabinet. Second, the federal government wants to keep the commission far away from documents relating to the October 1970 FLQ kidnapping and



**RCMP targets Trotskyist League: This government "action request," with a message for the RCMP scrawled on the back, was found by a TL supporter at the bottom of a box of literature received last summer.**



assassination of Quebec Justice Minister Pierre Laporte. Ever since the "October crisis," rumors have abounded (supported by circumstantial evidence) that the police and/or the government had foreknowledge of the FLQ activities, but refused to intervene in order to have a pretext for cracking down on the Quebec left.

As it maneuvers to justify and cover up evidence of RCMP crimes against workers organizations and the oppressed, the Liberal Party has been troubled little by the leaders of labor's "political arm," the New Democratic Party. Federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent has become one of the staunchest defenders of these official state terrorists, refusing to pursue evidence that the RCMP investigated party members in Ontario and British Columbia, for fear that he and his cronies would be labeled a bunch of "pinks" (*Globe and Mail*, 22 November). Fellow NDP caucus member Stuart Leggett was more forthright, singing the force's praises in a burst of patriotic fervor:

"The RCMP is one of the best police forces in the world... [We] must prevent it from being destroyed by an incompetent minister and government."

British Columbia NDP head Dave Barrett sought to laugh off reports that RCMP agents infiltrated his party several years ago, while agreeing with Broadbent that surveillance and harassment of "reds" is necessary. If the weak, cretinous NDP could ever manage to win a federal election, it would use the secret police against left-wing radicals as viciously as its social-democratic cousins in Helmut Schmidt's SPD are doing today in West Germany.

The pro-Moscow Communist Party, which has been a prime target of RCMP "dirty tricks" for decades, politely requests "democratization of the RCMP and effective parliamentary controls over its activities" (*Canadian Tribune*, 5 December). Perhaps Sergeant Samson et. al. should have the "democratic" right to elect [CP leader] Bill Kashtan RCMP Commissioner? The RCMP is an essential pillar of the Canadian bourgeois state: liberal-reformist calls for "parliamentary control" and "democratization" are nothing more than calls to place the cloak of bourgeois legality over its murderous repressive operations.

As for the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), its current campaign against RCMP "dirty tricks" feeds similar social-democratic illusions about "reforming" the secret police. Calling solely for the RCMP to stop harassing the left and labor movement and to turn over its secret files to those on which it keeps records, the RWL is in effect calling for a "fairer" RCMP and for the importation to Canada of the U.S. "Freedom of Information Act." To date, the RWL's statements on the RCMP have been indistinguishable from the civil-libertarianism of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party's "Watersuit" against the FBI.

#### Jail the RCMP Terrorists!

The Liberal government attempts to define its working-class and even bourgeois opponents as criminals in order to justify the spying, terrorism and other violent activities of its political police. But the real danger to democratic rights stems from the capitalist class, which—unable to feed the hungry, provide jobs for the poor, or provide justice for the nationally-oppressed Québécois—must rely on the criminal terror of its armed agents to suppress those who threaten its continued domination.

For Marxists, the RCMP's chief

*continued on page 11*

## Critical Support to WRP Candidate

# Battle Over Top Post in British AUEW Election

LONDON—The results of the first round of voting in the presidential elections in Britain's Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) showed the main contenders, Labour right-winger Terry Duffy and CP-supported Labour left Bob Wright, running neck and neck with some 84,000 votes apiece. These two will face off in a second-round postal ballot early in 1978 to decide which of them will take over the reins from incumbent Hugh Scanlon when he retires next October. The contest is important not only because the AUEW, with 1.2 million members, is the second largest union in Britain but also because it includes several strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat—machinists, metal workers and toolmakers.

Besides Duffy and Wright there were eight other candidates, among whom the top three ran as shop floor militants and/or socialists. Roy Fraser, leader of the Leyland toolroom workers who staged a militant four-week strike against the Labour government's pay policy last winter, finished third with 19,000 votes. Fraser's support came from disgruntled skilled workers who have—like the rest of the British working class—seen a significant erosion in their real standard of living but also experienced a decline of their pay differentials relative to semi-skilled workers during the last two-and-a-half years of Labour's Social Contract.

#### Critical Support to Alan Wilkens

The candidate who finished fourth with 12,000 votes was Alan Wilkens, a central committee member of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and national secretary of its All Trades Union Alliance. Wilkens, a shop steward in Rolls Royce at Coventry, ran on a fairly left programme of opposition to the Liberal-Labour coalition government. Because he ran as a left socialist against the class-collaborationist Labourite bureaucracy, Wilkens' candidacy warranted critical support from revolutionaries. His good showing indicated that numbers of the most advanced workers viewed his candidacy as a break from social-democratic reformism. However, in typical centrist fashion, Wilkens omitted any mention of the need for the working class to take state power, his maximum programme being the confused call for "the operation of the [nationalised] economy on a planned basis as part of a campaign for a United Socialist States of Europe" (*News Line*, 8 September).

While centrists usually hide their full programme in their trade-union work, Wilkens' campaign was distinctly better than the positively disreputable policies of the WRP. In recent years the gangster-huckster aspect of Healyite politics has become increasingly dominant, centering on a slander campaign against Joseph Hansen and George Novack, leaders of the American Socialist Workers Party, accusing them of being "GPU accomplices" in the murder of Leon Trotsky. To this has been added, over the last 18 months, the WRP's corrupt and shameful activities as press agents for the oil-rich, anti-communist, reactionary Islamic despot, Colonel Qaddafi of Libya.

However, the scandalous Qaddafi and Hansen/Novack campaigns (which are plastered over every issue of the Healyite press) went conspicuously unmentioned in Wilkens' campaign.

While the WRP's *News Line* imitates the gutter press in content as well as format, it hesitates for fear of being reviled to stoop to such filth when seeking support in the unions.

In supporting Wilkens' candidacy we are in no sense amnestying the Healyites' political gangsterism. On the level of proletarian morality the Healyites, who regularly violently assault leftist opponents, are similar to the most degenerate Stalinist thugs. However, in 1940, after Stalin had crushed the Spanish revolution and murdered an entire generation of Bolshevik cadre, Trotsky nonetheless advocated electoral support to American Communist Party

10,000 votes, finishing behind WRP'er Wilkens who ran on a more left-wing platform.

Morris' narrow economist politics did, however, win the support of various fake-Trotskyists, notably the unity-mongers of the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the United Secretariat) and the muddled-headed centrists of the International Communist League (I-CL). Wilkens' campaign was dismissed out-of-hand by the IMG as "sectarian," presumably because of his opposition to the Lib-Lab coalition. The I-CL ignored the WRP candidate altogether in its press and made no criticisms at all of the SWP.



Hugh Scanlon



Bob Wright

leader Earl Browder because he was running against Roosevelt on a programme of opposition to the imperialist war. Of course, the Stalinists are a historically significant tendency in the workers movement internationally while the Healyite sectarian-centrist gangsters are historically irrelevant. Nevertheless, a vote for Wilkens in the recent AUEW election was useful as a protest against the class treason of the social-democratic leadership, particularly the Lib-Lab coalition.

#### Economist "Rank-and-File" Candidate

One other self-proclaimed "revolutionary socialist" in the election was Ian Morris, a shop steward at Heathrow Airport who ran as a member of the British Socialist Workers Party, formerly the International Socialists (SWP/I.S.). Morris' "rank-and-file" campaign was a model of simple-minded economism. He campaigned on a four-point programme of opposition to the Social Contract; for a 35-hours week; opposition to racism; and support for "women's rights."

Rather than raise any political questions Morris presented himself as an "honest militant." In an interview in *Socialist Worker* (2 July) he was quoted as saying, "I've always been afraid of rising 'above' the workplace. I never like to leave the work bench or my work-mates on union business for more than half a day." This kind of moronic apolitical workerism (typical of the reformist-syndicalist SWP/I.S.) did not turn out to be quite as popular as Tony Cliff & Co. doubtless hoped. Morris got

The SWP, IMG and I-CL have come out in support of Wright on the second round. In its report on the results of the first round of voting the WRP indicates that it too will support Wright. The workerist-centrist Workers Socialist League (WSL), which supported Wilkens on the first round, has not taken a position in the Duffy-Wright runoff. However, it can also be expected to call for a vote to Wright, as it did last year in his election as assistant general secretary, despite the fact that he is referred to as a "right winger" who "offers no alternative to the existing leadership" (*Socialist Press*, 17 September).

Wright is campaigning on what he calls the "three Fs": Free trade-union rights, free collective bargaining and full employment. His *real* programme, however, is support for the Lib-Lab coalition government, support to reactionary chauvinist import controls and his record of support for the strike-breaking role of the Scanlon leadership in both the Leyland toolroom workers' and Heathrow maintenance engineers' walkouts earlier this year. Wright is running on a commitment to continue the class-collaborationist policies of the present AUEW leadership, of which he is an integral component. It is these policies which have earned Wright the endorsement of Hugh Scanlon himself, one of the architects and prime backers of the anti-working-class "Social Contract" (as Leyland workers described it on their strike placards). Principled class-struggle militants in the AUEW can give no support to this double-dealing hureaucrat in the upcoming runoff elections. ■

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# The Final Split with the Mensheviks

To understand the principle of the communist vanguard party, it is necessary to recognize the evolution of Lenin from a revolutionary social democrat to the founding leader of the Communist International. Various revisionists, notably the British workerist-reformist Tony Cliff, have attempted to deny or obfuscate the principle of the democratic-centralist vanguard party by pointing to those elements of classic social democracy retained by the pre-1914 Bolsheviks and conditioned by the particularities of the Russian situation. This series seeks to trace the development of Lenin's position on the party question. The first part (WV No. 173, 16 September 1977) focused on the Kautskyan doctrine of the "party of the whole class" and its relevance to early Russian social democracy. Part 2 (WV No. 175, 30 September 1977) covered the 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik split and its aftermath. Part 3 (WV No. 177, 14 October 1977) dealt with the 1905 Revolution. Part 4 (WV No. 178, 21 October 1977) dealt with democratic centralism and "freedom of criticism." And Part 5 (WV No. 182, 18 November 1977), "The Struggle Against the Boycotters," describes Lenin's fight with the ultra-left Bolsheviks, including the relationship of philosophy to politics.

Following Stolypin's coup of June 1907 the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP) was illegalized and its Duma representatives arrested. Party fractions could continue to exist in legal and semi-legal workers organizations (e.g., trade unions, cooperatives), but the party as such could only exist as an underground organization. The party's full program could only be presented in an illegal press. By late 1907-early 1908 the RSDRP local committees had to go underground if they were to survive as functioning bodies.

The necessary transformation into an underground organization would in itself result in a considerable contraction of the party. Many raw workers and radicalized intellectuals won to the party during the revolutionary period were unwilling or incapable of functioning in an underground network. Furthermore, the wave of despair which passed over the working masses with the victory of tsarist reaction reinforced the exodus from the illegal and persecuted RSDRP. By 1908 the RSDRP could exist only as a relatively narrow network of committed revolutionaries.

## Menshevik Liquidationism and Its Purposes

Thus the conditions in 1908 resurrected the original organizational differences which had split Russian social democracy into the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. As we have seen, at the 1906 "Reunification" Congress the Mensheviks accepted Lenin's definition of membership because, under the relatively open conditions then prevailing, formal organizational participation and discipline were not a bar to broad recruitment. But by 1908 the old dispute between a narrow, centralized party versus a broad, amorphous organization broke out with renewed fury.

Most of the Menshevik cadre did not follow the Bolsheviks into the underground. Under the guidance of A.N. Potresov, the leading member of their tendency in Russia, the Menshevik cadre limited themselves to the legal workers organization and devoted themselves to producing a legal press. These social-democratic activists, subject to no party organization or discipline, nonetheless considered themselves members of the RSDRP and were so regarded by the Menshevik leadership abroad. Lenin denounced this Menshevik policy as Liquidationism, the de facto dissolution of the RSDRP in favor of an amorphous movement

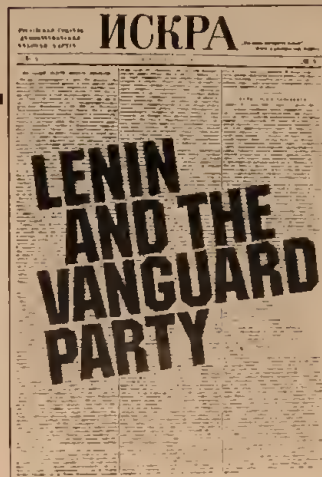
based on liberal-labor politics.

The Bolshevik-Menshevik conflict over Liquidationism cannot be taken simply at face value as an expression of antagonistic organizational principles. Menshevik Liquidationism was strongly conditioned by the fact that the Bolsheviks had a majority in the leading bodies of the official RSDRP. Liquidationism was an extreme form of a more general tendency of the Mensheviks to dissociate themselves from the Leninist leadership of the RSDRP.

In late 1907 the RSDRP delegation to the new Duma, in which the Mensheviks were a majority, declared its independence of the exile party center, arguing that this was a necessary legal cover. Publicly denying the subordination of the Duma delegates to the exile party leadership could have been a legitimate security measure. But the Menshevik parliamentarians gave this legal cover a real political content. The opportunist actions of the Menshevik parliamentarians reinforced the Bolshevik ultra-leftists, who wanted to boycott the Duma altogether. (On the ultra-left faction within the Bolsheviks, see Part 5 of this series.)

In early 1908 the Menshevik leadership in exile (Martov, Dan, Axelrod, Plekhanov) re-established their own factional organ, *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* (Voice of the Social Democrat). In mid-1908 the Menshevik member of the Central Committee resident in Russia, M.I. Broido, resigned from that body ostensibly in protest against the Bolsheviks' armed expropriations. About the same time the two Menshevik members of the Central Committee abroad, B.I. Goldman and Martynov, circulated a memorandum stating that, in view of the disorganized state of the movement in Russia, the official party leadership should not issue instructions, but instead limit itself to passively monitoring social-democratic activity.

Had Martov, rather than Lenin, been the head of the official RSDRP, the Mensheviks would no doubt have been utterly loyal toward the established party organization (and moreover have ruthlessly used the party rules as a sword to cut the Bolsheviks to pieces). However, as against the Leninists, the Mensheviks were opposed in principle to defining the social-democratic party as an underground organization. Martov's position on the relation of an underground organization to the party is precisely stated in the August-September 1909 issue of *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*:



"...a more or less defined and to a certain extent conspiratorial organization now makes sense (and great sense) only in so far as it takes part in the construction of a social-democratic party, which by necessity is less defined and has its main points of support in open workers organizations." [emphasis in original]  
quoted in Israel Getzler,  
Martov (1967)

This position for limiting the significance of the underground represented both a desire for bourgeois-liberal respectability and a tendency to identify



Martov

the party with broad, inclusive workers organizations.

The Mensheviks were prepared to engage in illegal, clandestine activity to further their own program and organization, while opposing an underground party as such. Beginning in 1911 the Menshevik Liquidators created their own underground network, though this was not as effective as the Bolsheviks' nor did it attain the latter's mass influence.

Menshevik Liquidationism of 1908-12 was an extreme expression of social-democratic opportunism resulting from the following major factors: 1) a desire for bourgeois-liberal respectability; 2) a general bias toward identifying the party with broad, inclusive workers organizations; 3) the fact that such organizations were legal, while the party as such was not; 4) Lenin's leadership of the official RSDRP; and 5) the organizational weakness of the Mensheviks.

## The Battle Is Joined

The battle over Liquidationism was first formally joined at the RSDRP

## PART SIX

conference held in Paris in December 1908. At this conference the Bolsheviks had five delegates (three of them ultra-leftists) and their allies, Luxemburg/Jogiches' Polish Social Democrats, had five; the Mensheviks had three delegates and their allies, the Jewish Bund, had three.

All participants at this conference (except the ultra-left Bolsheviks) recognized that the revolutionary situation was definitely over, and that an indefinite period of reaction lay ahead. The party's tasks and perspectives would have to be changed accordingly. In this context Lenin asserted the need for the primacy of the illegal party organization. Lenin's resolution on this question passed with the Mensheviks voting against and the Bundists splitting:

"...the changed political conditions make it increasingly impossible to contain Social Democratic activity within the framework of the legal and semi-legal workers' organizations....  
"The party must devote particular attention to the utilization and strengthening of existing illegal, semi-legal and where possible legal organizations—and to the creation of new ones—which can serve it as strong points for agitational, propagandistic and practical organizational work among the masses. ...This work will be possible and fruitful only if there exists in each industrial enterprise a workers' committee, consisting only of party members even if they are few in number, which will be closely linked to the masses, and if all work of the legal organizations is conducted under the guidance of the illegal party organization." [our emphasis]

Robert H. McNeal, ed., *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1974)

Lenin used his majority at the 1908 RSDRP conference to condemn Liquidationism by name, presenting it as an expression of the instability and careerism of the radical intelligentsia:

"Noting that in many places a section of the party intelligentsia is attempting to liquidate the existing organization of the RSDRP and to replace it by a shapeless amalgamation within the framework of legality, whatever this might cost—even at the price of the open rejection of the Programme, tasks, and traditions of the party—the Conference finds it essential to conduct the most resolute ideological and organizational struggle against these liquidationist efforts...."  
—*Ibid.*

As we have already discussed (in Part 1), Lenin regarded Menshevism as an expression of the interests and attitudes of the radical intelligentsia, rather than as an opportunist current internal to the workers movement. In this Lenin followed Kautsky's methodology, which located the sociological basis of revisionism in the petty-bourgeois fellow travelers of social democracy.

The Mensheviks likewise accused Lenin's Bolsheviks of representing a petty-bourgeois deviation...anarchism. For example, in early 1908 Plekhanov described the launching of the Menshevik organ, *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*, as a first step toward "the triumph of social-democratic principles over bolshevik Bakuninism" (quoted in Leonard Schapiro, *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union* [1960]) The Mensheviks explained away the Bolsheviks' working-class support by arguing that the Leninists demagogically exploited the primitiveness of the Russian





Lenin



Trotsky in 1915 passport photograph.

proletariat, a proletariat still closely tied to the peasantry.

Thus both sides accused the other of not being *real* social democrats (i.e., working-class-oriented socialists). The Bolsheviks viewed the Mensheviks as petty-bourgeois democrats, the left wing of bourgeois liberalism, the radicalized children of the Kadets. The Mensheviks condemned the Bolsheviks as petty-bourgeois anarchists, radical populists disguised as social democrats. These mutual accusations were not demagoguery nor even polemical exaggerations; they genuinely expressed the way in which the Bolsheviks viewed the Mensheviks and vice versa. Since both sides adhered to the principle of a unitary party of all social democrats, the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks could justify their split only by declaring that the other group was not really part of the proletarian socialist movement.

### Pro-Party Mensheviks and Bolshevik Conciliators

In late 1908 Lenin's campaign against the Liquidators got a boost from a most unexpected source...Plekhanov. The grand old man of Russian Marxism broke sharply with the Menshevik leadership, established his own paper, *Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata* (*Diary of a Social Democrat*), and attacked the abandonment of the established party organizations in words and tone similar to that of Lenin.

Plekhanov's political behavior in 1909-11 is on the face of it puzzling since he had hitherto been on the extreme right wing of the Mensheviks on almost all questions, including vociferously advocating a split with Lenin. Subjective considerations may have played a role. Plekhanov was extremely prideful and may well have resented being eclipsed by the younger Menshevik leaders (e.g., Martov, Potresov). He may have considered that a "pro-Party" Menshevik stance would enable him to re-establish himself as the premier authority of Russian social democracy.

However, Plekhanov's anti-Liquidator position is not at such variance with his general political outlook as might first appear. Plekhanov always believed in the need for a Marxist (i.e., scientific socialist) leadership over working-class spontaneity. It was this belief that impelled him into intransigent struggle against Economism in 1900. Paradoxically, Plekhanov's right-wing position on the revolution of 1905 reinforced his distrust of mass spontaneity. For Plekhanov a strong social-democratic party was needed to *restrain* what he believed were the anarchistic, primitivist im-

pulses of the Russian proletariat. In the conflict between Plekhanov and the Menshevik Liquidators we see the difference between an orthodox, pre-1914 Marxist, committed to a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, and a group of labor reformists primarily concerned with defending the immediate economic interests of Russian workers.

Plekhanov's "pro-Party" Mensheviks were small in number and only some of these eventually fused with the Bolsheviks. Plekhanov himself opposed Lenin when, at the Prague Conference in January 1912, the latter declared the Bolsheviks to be the RSDRP, thus creating a separate Bolshevik party. However, the impact of Plekhanov's "pro-Party" Mensheviks on the factional struggle was greatly disproportionate



Plekhanov

to their meager numbers. Plekhanov retained great authority in the international and Russian social-democratic movement. His strident accusations that the main body of Mensheviks were liquidating the social-democratic party enormously enhanced the credibility of Lenin's position, since Plekhanov could not easily be accused of factional distortion or exaggeration. The few "pro-Party" Mensheviks who did join the Bolsheviks in 1912 greatly added to the legitimacy of Lenin's claim to represent the continuity of the official RSDRP.

By 1909 the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in Russia had split into two separate groups competing for mass influence. At a conference of the Bolshevik leadership in mid-1909, Lenin argued that the Bolshevik faction had in fact become the RSDRP:

"... one thing must be borne firmly in

mind: the responsibility of 'preserving and consolidating' the R.S.D.L.P., of which the resolution speaks, *now rests primarily, if not entirely, on the Bolshevik section. All, or practically all, the Party work in progress, particularly in the localities, is now being shouldered by the Bolsheviks.*" [our emphasis]

—"Report on the Conference of the Extended Editorial Board of *Proletary*" (July 1909)

At the same time he stressed the importance of uniting with Plekhanov's "pro-Party" Mensheviks:

"What then are the tasks of the Bolsheviks in relation to this as yet small section of the Mensheviks who are fighting against liquidationism on the right? The Bolsheviks must undoubtedly seek *rapprochement* with this section, those who are Marxists and partyists." [emphasis in original]

Op cit

Lenin's position that the Bolsheviks (hopefully in alliance with the Plekhanovites) should build the party without and against the majority of Mensheviks ran into significant resistance among the Bolshevik leadership and also ranks. A strong faction of conciliators emerged, led by Dobruvinsky (a former Duma deputy), Rykov, Nogin and Lozovsky, which stood for a political compromise with the Mensheviks in order to restore a unified RSDRP.

In a sense the forces of conciliation were stronger in Berlin than in St. Petersburg or Moscow. The German Social-Democratic (SPD) leadership remained ever desirous of Russian party unity. In a particularly sentimental mood, Kautsky expressed his attitude on the antagonistic Russian factions in a letter (5 May 1911) to Plekhanov:

"... these days I had visits from Bolsheviks, ... Mensheviks, Otzovists [ultra-leftists], and Liquidators. They are all dear people and when talking to them one does not notice great differences of opinion."

—quoted in Israel Getzler, *Martov* (1967)

The SPD leadership opened up their press to the most important of Russian conciliators—Trotsky. Trotsky's articles in the influential SPD press turned international social-democratic opinion strongly in favor of unity of the Russian Party and against the extremists on both sides, Lenin for the Bolsheviks and Potresov for the Mensheviks.

### Lenin Fights for a Bolshevik Party

Faced with a strong pro-unity group within his own ranks and under pressure from Plekhanov's "pro-Party" Mensheviks and the SPD leadership, Lenin reluctantly agreed to another attempt at unity. This was the January 1910

plenum held in Paris. Representation at the plenum closely replicated the last, 1907 party congress. The Bolsheviks had four delegates (three of them conciliators) as did the Mensheviks. The pro-Menshevik Jewish Bund had two delegates as did the pro-Bolshevik Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL) of Luxemburg/Jogiches. The nominally pro-Bolshevik united Latvian Social Democrats and the ultra-left *Vperyod* group had one delegate each.

At the plenum the conciliatory elements imposed a series of compromises on the leadership of the two basic tendencies. The factional composition of the leading party bodies (the editorial board of the Central Organ, the Foreign Bureau and Russian Board of the Central Committee) established at the 1907 congress was maintained. Parity between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was maintained on all party bodies, thus placing the balance of power in the hands of the national social-democratic parties.

On the key question of the underground, a compromise resolution was worked out. Opposing or belittling the underground organization was condemned, but the term "liquidationism" was avoided because of its anti-Menshevik factional connotation. In turn, the Mensheviks got the moral satisfaction of condemning the Bolsheviks' armed expropriations as a violation of party discipline.

The artificiality of the 1910 "unity" agreement was indicated by the Mensheviks' refusal to allow Lenin to administer the party funds. The party treasury was therefore placed in the hands of three German trustees—Kautsky, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring. (Kautsky, who was not sentimental where money was concerned, later kept the Russian party treasury on the grounds that it had no legitimate, representative leading body.) Lenin's critical and distrustful attitude toward the results of the Paris Central Committee plenum was expressed in a letter (11 April 1910) to Maxim Gorky:

"At the C.C. plenum (the 'long plenum')—three weeks of agony, all nerves were on edge, the devil to pay!... a mood of 'conciliation in general' (without any clear idea of with whom, for what, and how); hatred of the Bolshevik Center for its implacable ideological struggle; squabbling on the part of the Mensheviks, who were spoiling for a fight, and as a result—an infant covered with blisters. 'And so we have to suffer. Either—at best—we cut open the blisters, let out the pus, and cure and rear the infant. 'Or, at worst—the infant dies. Then we shall be childless for a while (that is, we shall re-establish the Bolshevik faction) and then give birth to a more healthy infant."

Lenin's distrust of the Mensheviks was quickly borne out. The Menshevik Liquidators in Russia, led by P.A. Garvi, flatly refused to enter the Russian Board of Central Committee as agreed at the Paris plenum. Thus Lenin was able to place the blame for the split on the Mensheviks and put the Bolshevik conciliators on the defensive. Years later Martov still berated Garvi for his tactical blunder, which greatly aided Lenin.

In late 1910 Lenin declared that the Mensheviks had broken the agreements made at the Paris plenum and so the Bolsheviks were no longer bound by them. In May 1911 Lenin called a rump meeting of leading Bolsheviks and their Polish allies, which set up ad hoc bodies to replace the official RSDRP organs established at the Paris plenum. For example, a Technical Committee was set up to replace the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee as the party's highest administrative body. For Lenin this was a decisive step in building a party without and against most Mensheviks.

At this point Lenin's plans were impeded by the emergence of a new and temporarily powerful conciliator—Leo Jogiches, leader of the SDKPiL. Jo-

continued on page 8



# The Final Split with the Mensheviks...

(continued from page 7)

giches was a formidable antagonist. Together with the Bolshevik conciliators (e.g., Rykov) he had a majority on the leading party bodies, such as the Technical Committee. Through Rosa Luxemburg he influenced the German trustees of the RSDRP funds.

The 1911 fight between Jogiches and Lenin is often dismissed, particularly by bourgeois historians, as a personal power struggle. However, underlying the SDKPiL-Bolshevik schism in 1911-14 was the difference between an orthodox social-democratic position on the party question and emerging Leninism. Luxemburg/Jogiches were prepared to support the Bolshevik faction within a unitary social-democratic party. They would not support the transformation of the Bolshevik group into a party claiming to be the sole legitimate representative of social democracy. And Jogiches understood that this was what Lenin was in fact doing. In a letter to Kautsky (30 June 1911) concerning finances, he wrote that Lenin "wants to use the chaos in the party to get the money for his own faction and to deal a death blow to the party as a whole..." (quoted in J.P. Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg* [1966]).

Lenin's attitude to Jogiches and the other conciliators is clearly expressed in a draft article, "The State of Affairs in the Party" (July 1911):

"The 'conciliators' have not understood the ideological roots of what keeps us apart from the liquidators, and have therefore left them a number of loopholes and have frequently been (involuntarily) a plaything in the hands of the liquidators...."

"Since the revolution, the Bolsheviks, as a trend, have lived through two errors — (1) otzovism-vperyodism and (2) conciliationism (wobbling in the direction of the liquidators). It is time to get rid of both."

"We Bolsheviks have resolved on no account to repeat (and not to allow a repetition of) the error of conciliationism today. This would mean slowing down the rebuilding of the R.S.D.L.P., and entangling it in a new game with the *Golos* people (or their lackies, like Trotsky), the Vperyodists and so forth." [emphasis in original]

In late 1911 Lenin broke with Jogiches and the Bolshevik conciliators. He sent an agent, Ordjonikidze, to Russia where the latter set up the Russian Organizing Committee (ROC) which claimed to be an interim Central Committee of the RSDRP. The ROC called an "all-Russian conference of the RSDRP," which met in Prague in January 1912. Fourteen delegates attended, 12 Bolsheviks and two "pro-Party" Mensheviks, one of whom expressed Plekhanov's opposition to the conference as an anti-unity act.

The conference declared that the Menshevik Liquidators stood outside the RSDRP. It also scrapped the nationally federated structure established at the 1906 "Reunification" Congress, in effect excluding the Bund, SDKPiL and Latvian Social Democrats from the Russian party. The conference elected a new Central Committee consisting of six "hard" (anti-conciliator) Bolsheviks and one "pro-Party" Menshevik for symbolic effect. The Prague Conference marked the definitive organizational break between Lenin's revolutionary social democrats and the opportunist Mensheviks. In that important sense Prague 1912 was the founding conference of the Bolshevik party.

## Did Lenin Seek Unity with the Mensheviks?

Even before 1912 Lenin was commonly regarded as a fanatical splitter, as the great schismatic of Russian social democracy. The world-historic signifi-



Rosa Luxemburg



Leo Jogiches

cance of the Bolshevik-Menshevik split is now universally recognized, not least by anti-Leninists. It is therefore astounding that anybody, particularly a group claiming to be Leninist, could maintain that the Bolshevik leader was a staunch advocate of social-democratic unity, while the Mensheviks were the aggressive splitters.

Yet this is just the position taken by the revisionist "Trotskyist" International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. As a theoretical justification for a grand regroupment maneuver, the IMG has revised the history of the Bolsheviks to make Lenin out as a unity-above-all conciliator. Referring to the post-1905 period the IMG writes:

"Far from Lenin being the splitter, far from posing merely 'formal unity', the Bolsheviks were the chief fighters for the unity of the Party... It was the Mensheviks in this period who were the splitters and not Lenin."

—"The Bolshevik Faction and the Fight for the Party," *Red Weekly*, 11 November 1976

The complete falsity of this position is demonstrated by a series of incredible omissions. This article does not mention the real Bolshevik conciliators, like Rykov, and Lenin's fight against them. It does not mention the 1910 Paris "unity" plenum and Lenin's opposition to the compromises made there. It does not mention that Lenin's erstwhile factional allies, Plekhanov and Jogiches/Luxemburg, opposed the Prague Conference in the name of party unity and subsequently denounced Lenin as a splitter.

This is the IMG's analysis of the Prague Conference:

"The task of the Bolsheviks and the pro-Party Mensheviks in reconsolidating the illegal RSDLP had been accomplished by the end of 1911—although by this time Plekhanov himself had deserted to the liquidators. This reconsolidation was finalised at the Sixth Party Congress (sic) held in Prague in January 1912. At this congress there was not a split with *Menshevism* as such—on the contrary... Lenin worked for the congress with a section of the Mensheviks. The split was not with those who defended Menshevik politics but with the liquidators who refused to accept the Party." [emphasis in original] *Op. cit.*

It was precisely the Mensheviks' politics on the organizational question which generated Liquidationism. From the original 1903 split right down to World War I the Mensheviks defined "the party" to include workers sympathetic to social democracy, but who

were not subject to formal organizational membership and discipline. It was on that basis that the Mensheviks continually rejected and disregarded Lenin's formal majorities and consequent party leadership.

The statement that Plekhanov rejoined the Liquidators in 1911 is false. And in this historical inaccuracy the IMG demonstrates its fundamental miscomprehension of relations between the Bolsheviks and "pro-Party" Mensheviks. Plekhanov did not rejoin the main body of Mensheviks. Like Trotsky and Luxemburg, he adopted an independent stance in 1912-14 urging the reunification of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

The IMG cannot explain why Plekhanov, who fought the Liquidators for three years, then refused to split with them and unite with the Leninists. When Plekhanov, who was notoriously arrogant, began his anti-Liquidator campaign in late 1908, he undoubtedly believed he would win over the majority of Mensheviks and possibly become the leading figure in a reunified RSDRP. Even while blocking with Plekhanov, Lenin had occasion to debunk the dissident Menshevik leader's self-serving illusions:

"The Menshevik Osip [Plekhanov] has proved to be a lone figure, who has resigned both from the official Menshevik editorial board and from the collective editorial board of the most important Menshevik work, a lone protester against 'petty bourgeois opportunism' and liquidationism...."

—"The Liquidators Exposed" (September 1909)

By 1911 it was clear that the Plekhanovites were a small minority among the Mensheviks. Had Plekhanov united with the Bolsheviks at the Prague Conference, he would have been a small and politically isolated minority. He could never hope to win the Bolsheviks to his pro-bourgeois liberal strategy. He would simply have been a figurehead in a de facto Bolshevik party. Being a shrewd politician Lenin sought to "capture" Plekhanov in this way. But Plekhanov had no intention of serving as a figurehead for the Leninists. In refusing to participate in the Prague Conference, he wrote: "The makeup of your conference is so one-sided that it would be better, i.e., more in the interests of Party unity, if I stayed away" (quoted in Bertram D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution* [1948]).

Even before 1912 the Bolsheviks were essentially a party, rather than a faction, because Lenin would refuse to act as a

disciplined minority under a Menshevik leadership. The Menshevik leaders, including Plekhanov, reciprocated this attitude. Unity with the numerically small "pro-Party" Mensheviks did not challenge Lenin's leadership of the party as he reconstructed it at the Prague Conference. Had the Plekhanovites been larger than the Bolsheviks, Lenin would have fought for another organizational arrangement which would allow his supporters to act as revolutionary social democrats unimpeded by the opportunists.

## Unity Attempts After Prague

After the Prague Conference the Bolsheviks were bombarded with continual unity campaigns involving most major figures in the Russian movement and also the leadership of the Second International. These campaigns culminated in a pro-unity resolution by the International Socialist Bureau in December 1913, which led to a "unity" conference in Brussels in July 1914. Less than a month later most of the unity-mongers of the Second International were supporting their own ruling classes in killing the workers of "enemy" countries.

The first attempt to reverse Lenin's action at the Prague Conference was taken by Trotsky. He pressured the Menshevik Organizing Committee into calling a conference of all Russian social democrats. The Bolsheviks naturally refused to participate as did their former allies, the Plekhanovites and Luxemburg/Jogiches' SDKPiL. The conference met in Vienna in August 1912. In addition to Trotsky's small group, it was attended by the main body of Mensheviks, the Bund and also the ultra-left *Vperyod* group. The "August bloc" thus combined the extreme right wing and extreme left wing of Russian social democracy. Naturally the participants could agree on nothing except hostility to the Leninists for declaring themselves the official RSDRP. In fact, the *Vperyodists* walked out in the middle leaving the conference as a Menshevik forum.

Trotsky's "August bloc" was a classic centrist rotten bloc—a fleeting coalition of the most heterogeneous elements against a hard revolutionary tendency. After he was won to Leninism in 1917, Trotsky regarded the "August bloc" as his greatest political error. Polemicizing against another centrist rotten bloc in the American section of the Fourth International in 1940, Trotsky looked



back on the 1912 "August bloc":

"I have in mind the so-called August bloc of 1912. I participated actively in this bloc. In a certain sense I created it. Politically I differed with the Mensheviks on all fundamental questions. I also differed with the ultra-left Bolsheviks, the *Vperyodists*. In the general tendency of policies I stood far more closely to the Bolsheviks. But I was against the Leninist 'regime' because I had not yet learned to understand that in order to realize a revolutionary goal a firmly welded centralized party is necessary. And so I formed this episodic bloc consisting of heterogeneous elements which was directed against the proletarian wing of the party."

"... Lenin subjected the August bloc to merciless criticism - and the harshest blows fell to my lot. Lenin proved that inasmuch as I did not agree politically with either the Mensheviks or the *Vperyodists* my policy was adventurism. This was severe but it was true."

—In Defense of Marxism (1940)

The consolidation of a separate Bolshevik party at the Prague Conference coincided with the beginning of a new rising line of proletarian class struggle in Russia. In the next two and a half years the Bolsheviks transformed themselves once again into a mass proletarian party. In 1913 Lenin claimed 30,000-50,000 members. In the Duma elections in late 1912 the Bolsheviks elected six out of nine delegates in the workers curia. In 1914 Lenin claimed 2,800 workers groups as against 600 for the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks' legal organ, *Pravda*, had a circulation of 40,000 compared to 16,000 for the Mensheviks' *Luch*.

Privately the Mensheviks admitted the Bolsheviks' predominance in the workers movement and their own weakness. In a letter (15 September 1913) to Potresov, Martov wrote: "...the Mensheviks seem unable to move away from the dead center in the organizational sense and remain, in spite of the newspaper and of everything done in the last two years, a weak circle" (quoted in Israel Getzler, *Martov* [1967]).

While the transformation of the Bolsheviks into a mass party at this time was of enormous significance to the revolutionary cause, in one sense it could be said to have impeded the theoretical development of Leninism. Developments in 1912-14 appeared to confirm Lenin's belief that the Mensheviks were simply petty-bourgeois careerists in Russia and emigré literati standing outside the real workers movement. The Bolsheviks' claim to be the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party seemed to be empirically vindicated. And thus Lenin believed that he hadn't really split the social-democratic party.

The Prague Conference in January 1912 represented the definitive split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, but the split was not comprehensive. The six Bolshevik deputies elected to the Fourth Duma in late 1912 maintained a common front with the seven Menshevik deputies in a unitary social-democratic fraction. Among the less advanced workers sentiment for unity was still strong and this created resistance among the Bolsheviks to splitting the Duma fraction, a public act. Lenin oriented toward splitting the Duma fraction, but did so with considerable tactical caution. Only in late 1913 did the Bolshevik deputies openly split and create their own Duma fraction.

The split in the Duma fraction had a far greater impact on international social democracy than the Prague Conference since it made the division in the Russian movement all too public. At Rosa Luxemburg's initiative, the International Socialist Bureau (ISB) intervened to restore unity in the seemingly incorrigibly fractious Russian social-democratic movement. The ISB's pro-unity policy was necessarily damaging, if not outright hostile, to the Bolsheviks. Luxemburg's motives were clearly hostile to Lenin. In urging the International's intervention, she denounced, "the systematic incitement by Lenin's group of the split among the ranks of

other social democratic organizations" (quoted in Olga Hess Gankin and H.H. Fisher, eds., *The Bolsheviks and the World War* [1940]).

In December 1913 the ISB adopted a resolution calling for the reunification of Russian social democracy. This resolution was co-sponsored by three German leaders, Kautsky, Ebert and Molkenbuhr:

"...the International Bureau considers it the urgent duty of all social democratic groups in Russia to make a serious and loyal attempt to agree to the restoration of a single party organization and to put an end to the present harmful and discouraging state of disunion."

—Ibid.

The ISB then arranged a Russian "unity" conference in Brussels in July 1914. The authority of the German-led International was such that all Russian social democrats, including the Bolsheviks, felt obliged to attend this meeting. In addition to the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks the Brussels Conference was attended by the *Vperyodists*, Trotsky's group, Plekhanov's group, the Latvian Social Democrats and three Polish groups.

Needless to say, Lenin was hostile to the purpose of the Brussels Conference. While he wrote a lengthy report for it, he



Inessa Armand

showed his disdain by not attending in person. The head of the Bolshevik delegation was Inessa Armand. Lenin drafted "unity conditions" which he knew the Mensheviks would reject out of hand. These involved the complete organizational subordination of the Mensheviks to the Bolshevik majority, including the prohibition of a separate Menshevik press and a total ban on public criticism of the underground party. When Armand presented Lenin's "unity conditions," the Mensheviks were furious. Plekhanov termed them "articles of a new penal code." Kautsky, the chairman of the conference, had difficulty keeping order. Nonetheless, the respected German leader dutifully presented a motion stating that there were no principled differences barring unity. This resolution carried with the Bolsheviks (and also the Latvian Social Democrats) refusing to vote.

#### Lenin's Justification for the Split

The report to the July 1914 Brussels Conference was Lenin's most comprehensive justification for the split and creation of a separate Bolshevik party. It was intended to present the Bolshevik case in the most favorable way before West European social-democratic opinion. Thus the report probably doesn't fully express Lenin's views on Bolshevik-Menshevik relations.

The report presents two basic arguments, one political, the other empirical. Lenin's basic political argument is that the majority of Mensheviks, by rejecting the underground organization as the party, stand qualitatively to the right of the opportunists (e.g., Bernstein) in the West European social democracies:

"... we see how mistaken is the opinion that our differences with the liquidators are no deeper and are less important than those between the so-called radicals and moderates in Western Europe. There is not not a single—literally not a single—West-European party that has ever had occasion to adopt a general party decision against people who desired to dissolve the party and to substitute a new one for it!"

"Nowhere in Western Europe has there ever been, nor can there ever be, a question of whether it is permissible to bear the title of party member and at the same time advocate the dissolution of that party, to argue that the party is useless and unnecessary, and that another party be substituted for it. Nowhere in Western Europe does the question concern the very existence of the party as it does with us...."

"This is not a disagreement over a question of organization, of how the party should be built, but a disagreement concerning the very existence of the party. Here, conciliation, agreement and compromise are totally out of the question." [emphasis in original]

—"Report of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Brussels Conference and Instructions to the C.C. Delegation" (June 1914)

This view of Menshevik Liquidationism is superficial, focusing on the specific form, rather than the political substance, of social-democratic opportunism. Lenin's belief that the Russian Mensheviks were to the right of Bernstein, Jaurès, etc., turned out to be false. The war found the small group of Martovite Internationalists, who had served as a fig leaf to the Mensheviks, not only far to the left of the German social-patriots Ebert/Noske, but also to the left of the SPD centrists Kautsky/Haase. The root cause of the Mensheviks' organizational liquidationism in 1908-12 was not that Martov/Potresov stood qualitatively to the right of Bernstein and Noske, but rather that Lenin, formally the leader of the RSDRP, stood far to the left of Bebel/Kautsky.

Most of the report to the Brussels Conference seeks to demonstrate empirically that, "a majority of four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia have rallied around the decisions and bodies created by the January [Prague] Conference of 1912." It is important to emphasize that this was not an argument just for public consumption. For Lenin one of the decisive criteria of a real social-democratic party was the extent of its proletarian following. In his



Alexei Rykov

private notes to Inessa Armand, he wrote:

"In Russia, nearly every group, or 'faction'... accuses the other of being not a workers' group, but a bourgeois intellectualist group. We consider this accusation or rather argument, this reference to the social significance of a particular group, extremely important in principle. But precisely because we consider it extremely important, we deem it our duty not to make sweeping statements about the social significance of other groups, but to back our statements with objective facts. For these objective facts prove absolutely and irrefutably that Pravdism [Bolshevism] alone is a workers' trend in Russia, whereas liquidationism and Socialist-Revolutionism are in fact

bourgeois intellectualist trends." [emphasis in original]

Ibid.

As can be seen from the above quote, had the Mensheviks in this period acquired a significant proletarian base, Lenin would have had either to adopt a more conciliatory attitude toward them or justify the split on more general principles.

Lenin's view of the Mensheviks as a petty-bourgeois intellectualist trend external to the workers movement was impressionistic. The wave of patriotism and national defensism which swept the Russian masses in the first years of the war benefited the opportunistic Mensheviks at the expense of the Leninists, who were intransigent defeatists. When the Russian revolution broke out in February 1917 the Mensheviks were far stronger relative to the Bolsheviks than they had been in 1914.

During 1912-14 Lenin's innumerable polemics against unity with the Mensheviks presented a number of different arguments. Some of these arguments were narrow or empirical, as in the report to the Brussels Conference. However, in other writings Lenin anticipated the split in principle with opportunists in the workers movement which defines the modern communist party. Thus in an April 1914 polemic against Trotsky, entitled "Unity," Lenin writes:

"There can be no unity, federal or other, with liberal-labor politicians, with disruptors of the working-class movement, with those who defy the will of the majority. There can and must be unity among all consistent Marxists, among all those who stand for the entire Marxist body and the uncurtailed slogans, independently of the liquidators and apart from them."

"Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the unity of Marxists, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism." [emphasis in original]

However, it was not until 4 August 1914, when the parliamentary fraction of the German social democracy voted for war credits, that Lenin was made to understand the epochal significance of the above passage, of his break with the Russian Mensheviks. Only then did Lenin seek to split the consistent, i.e., revolutionary, Marxists from all the liberal-labor politicians and all the opponents and distorters of Marxism. In so doing he created communism as a world-historic revolutionary doctrine and movement, as the Marxism of the epoch of capitalism's death agony.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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# Vietnam-Cambodia Border War...

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region of Cambodia, a principal NLF base area during the Vietnam war. Doubtless, however, the Khmer Stalinists' frenzy has been heightened by the flight of thousands of Cambodian refugees to southern Vietnam. This unprecedented migration is testimony that despite centuries-old national animosities, conditions in the Vietnamese deformed workers state appear vastly preferable to masses of Cambodians as against the total regimentation of the far more backward "Democratic Kampuchea." Upon routing the imperialists and their vengeful puppet Lon Nol, the first act of the Khmer Rouge—an extremely thin layer at the head of a peasant army, fearful of their ability to control any social organization above the village level—was a murderous razing of the cities. The tiny proletariat was destroyed, and virtually the entire population was forced into thinly disguised labor camps at the most primitive subsistence level, without medicines, communications or even the most rudimentary machinery.

Despite the more extreme brutality of bureaucratic rule in Cambodia, revolutionary Marxists oppose both sides in this border feud waged by qualitatively equivalent regimes in Hanoi and Phnom Penh. As in the recurring Sino-Soviet border clashes and threat of full-scale war, the working masses are roused to

fight not in their class interests but on the basis of nationalism fostered by rival Stalinist cliques whose concern is to protect their own relatively privileged bailiwicks. The only road to a soviet federation of Indochina is through political revolution, led by an Indochinese Trotskyist party and based on the Vietnamese proletariat, to oust the bureaucratic parasites in Hanoi, Phnom Penh and Vientiane.

While the Trotskyists have a clear explanation for the barbarous practices of the Khmer Stalinists (see "Cambodia: Peasant Stalinism Run Amok," *WV* No. 180, 4 November 1977) and a communist program to sweep aside the fratricidal nationalism of the bureaucracies, the dwindling band of ex-New Left "Third World" buffs must be disconcerted by the bloody squabbling among their tarnished heroes. The "critical Maoist" *Guardian* screams "CIA slander" to ward off all revelations about the sordidness of Stalinist rule in Cambodia, preferring the fairy tale reports of Wilfred Burchett, and has maintained a studious silence about the festering Vietnamese-Cambodian border war. But more politically serious Stalinists don't even need to receive their marching orders from Moscow and Peking as they line up behind the Kremlin-backed "socialist beacon in Southeast Asia" (Vietnam) or denounce "superpower aggression" against Maoist-allied Cambodia.

Already the Russian and Chinese Stalinists have come to the aid of their respective clients. The head of the Kremlin-dominated World Peace Council today issued a statement from "Ho Chi Minh City" (Saigon) denoun-

cing "widespread massacres and atrocities committed inside Vietnamese territory by Kampuchean armed forces...." ABC News reported, in turn, Vietnamese officials saying that the Chinese have a large force of military advisors aiding the Cambodians in the border fighting. Relations between Peking and Hanoi have been particularly cool since the DRV seized the Spratley Islands, which China claims, as part of the Vietnamese "fatherland"; "People's China" still occupies the oil-rich Paracel Islands claimed by Vietnam.

Beyond Brezhnev's and Hua's use of their Vietnamese and Cambodian juniors in the battle for influence in Southeast Asia, historic animosities between the Khmer and Vietnamese peoples have been stirred up by the rivalries of the Stalinist rulers of Indochina. The nationalist doctrine of the "heroic spirit of self-reliance" preached by both Hanoi and Phnom Penh boils down to squalid fighting over scraps of territory seized at one time or another by imperialist conquerors and despotic empires of the past.

It is above all the reactionary, nationalist doctrine of Stalinism which has exacerbated these traditional rivalries, resulting in the tragedy of Vietnamese and Cambodian soldiers, who heroically fought imperialism for decades, being thrown into battle against one another. The Khmer Stalinists certainly have good reason to hate and fear their more powerful Vietnamese neighbors. The DRV repeatedly sold out the Khmer Rouge in the endless efforts to strike a deal with imperialism, beginning with the 1954 Geneva Accords which consigned all of Cambodia to the French-dominated neo-colonial regime of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. One aspect of the secret deal Kissinger made with the DRV/NLF in the 1973 Paris "peace" accords was a commitment by the Vietnamese to cut off all military aid to the Cambodian FUNK (National United Front) as part of the price to receive U.S. reconstruction aid. The Vietnamese, when convenient, were prepared to keep their side of the bargain.

Of course, the current patron of "Democratic Kampuchea," Peking, was just as ready to sell out its Khmer "brothers." Chou En-lai hinted broadly in a late 1973 conversation with French diplomats that the Chinese would be prepared to support a "neutral coalition government" under Sihanouk if only Kissinger and Nixon could be wooed away from their bitter-end commitment to the incompetent Lon Nol dictatorship. A travesty of the proletarian internationalism they proclaim in empty phrases, the policy of Stalinist bureaucracies toward one another has consisted of chauvinist domination and shameless backstabbing.

The disgusting spectacle of the Vietnamese and Cambodian bureaucrats sending the Indochinese workers and peasants to die in the cause of protecting "sacred national territory" is a dramatic confirmation of the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism as anti-internationalist and counterrevolutionary, a roadblock to world revolution. At the time of the victory of the Indochinese working masses against imperialism, when the Stalinist parties which came to power following the demise of the terminally rotten capitalist regimes were greeted with near universal adulation on the left,

the international Spartacist tendency wrote:

"We hail this stunning defeat of U.S. imperialism, the first in a major war during this century, and greet the victory of our class brothers and sisters in Indochina with internationalist proletarian solidarity. The struggle against the imperialists' Vietnam war has also been a major task of socialists in the imperialist centers, dominating the political experience of a whole generation of young aspiring revolutionaries. And it is as fellow combatants in the international class struggle that we warn the Indochinese masses that they must place no confidence in their Stalinist leaders."

"The victory of the Cambodian and Vietnamese Stalinists and the overthrow of capitalist rule in those two countries have occurred under exceptional circumstances: extreme disorganization of the native bourgeoisie, economic and political difficulties of the imperialists which have prevented renewed U.S. intervention, and above all the absence of the working class organized to fight in its own interests. "The regime which they establish does not, and cannot, base itself on organs of proletarian democracy, but rather on the fiat of a bonapartist bureaucracy. The task of Marxists in Vietnam and Cambodia today is to take forward the revolutionary struggle by fighting for a workers political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy, demanding the creation of democratic workers councils as the basis for the new state apparatus, and freedom for all parties which defend the revolution against counterrevolutionary attack. Above all, the struggle to go forward to the final victory over capitalism requires the construction of Trotskyist parties, in Indochina and throughout the world, as part of a reborn Fourth International."

— "Capitalist Class Rule

Smashed in Vietnam, Cambodia!" *WV* No. 68, 9 May 1975

# Coal Bosses...

(continued from page 3)

when we go out there is the state police, deputy sheriffs and the scabs."

## Organize the Unorganized!

As the Spartacist League has pointed out, both in 1974 and today, roving pickets' efforts to shut down scab operations during the strike can become the spark for a UMW offensive to organize the growing number of unorganized mines which are a direct threat to the union's power. This simple point is so obvious that even some of the bureaucrats have raised it. At a December 18 meeting in Wilkesville, Ohio to organize a caravan into eastern Kentucky, former District 6 board member Don Nunley reported that most of the large mines picketed the week before remained shut down. "Everybody in District 30 is praising you, they are calling you Robin Hoods," he said. "If we can get a good contract, we can try to get them in our union. If we can get them in our union, we can be stronger."

Yet the ranks' militancy has received absolutely no leadership from the top. No one on the UMW International Executive Board has advocated taking the first step to close the scab mines which produce over 50 percent of U.S. coal at present. In fact UMW-organized strip mines in several western states are working under a "separate peace," several of them owned by the same giant companies being struck in the East. Bill Jones, president of District 22 in Utah, halted picketing at scab mines there, claiming it had been ineffective. On the contrary, it was so effective that scores of state cops were mobilized to stop it. It is the defeatist policies of Miller and his flunkies which are ineffective. Militants must demand: Close every U.S. and Canadian coal mine!

While the instances of strike combativity demonstrate the miners' readiness to defend their interests, much more than a few roving pickets is needed to win the strike. A concerted appeal must be made by the UMW to its potential allies in the rest of the labor movement, particularly the closely related steel and

railroad industries, for solidarity action in this crucial strike. On occasion even the UMW bureaucracy pays lip service to the need for such militant action—as long as it is far away. At the time of the last British miners strike the *United Mine Workers Journal* (1-15 March 1974) reported:

"The tactics used in the 1972 strike gave the British rank-and-filers valuable experience and confidence. They learned how to close down not just their own mines and coal depots, but also how to stop coal from getting into steel mills, industrial plants and power stations. In many areas, they developed flying pickets—groups of miners in buses which could be dispatched at a moment's notice to provide reinforcements on the picket line when scab coal was being moved."

There is nothing new about these tactics. "Flying pickets" were instrumental in winning the Trotskyist-led 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike, they played a key role in organizing the CIO and they have appeared in every major mine strike. What is absent is the class-struggle union leadership which is necessary to organize the strike militancy and give it direction. If such tactics were coupled with appeals to railroad workers, steel workers, longshoremen and seamen to hot cargo scab coal, the BCOA could be brought to terms. Authoritative district-level strike committees must be elected now to counterpose such a fighting program to Miller's betrayals.

From the pithead to the bargaining table, the cynical and ineffectual Miller bureaucracy has shown that it is bound hand and foot to the coal operators and the capitalist government, which is determined to ensure "energy independence" by stepping up production and clamping down on strikes in the coalfields. Everytime the BCOA or the Labor Department glowers, Miller quakes. At this moment only the miners' traditional tenacity stands in the way of a stinging defeat for the UMW which would be felt throughout the U.S. labor movement. By organizing around a class-struggle program of militant labor solidarity and appealing for aid from their fellow workers in steel and transport the coal miners can prevent this disaster.

Victory to the miners strike! ■

# Smash Nazi Outpost in Detroit...

(continued from page 2)

League, which intervened with the slogan: "No Platform for Genocide! End Nazi Provocations!" However, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist League have, in the spirit of criminal sectarianism, called their own demonstrations. Both groups pose as the only fighters against the fascists, but their phony claims are belied by their scandalous opposition to busing to achieve racial integration.

Small, ineffective demonstrations will ultimately serve only to embolden the fascists. The Detroit police, which brought the city's black population the infamous STRESS murder squad and cop occupation of the Livernois-Fenkell area when a young black was murdered by a racist bar owner, cannot and will not defend the working class and oppressed minorities. The Spartacist League has uniquely put forward a strategy of appealing to the trade unions and minority-group organizations to unite in opposition to the Nazis. Only by building such a broad-based united front, centered on mobilizing the social power of organized labor, can the fascist vermin be driven back into their rat holes. ■

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# Quebec...

(continued from page 1)

people. You know what I did. That's my answer."

—Globe and Mail [Toronto], 1 January

And what did Trudeau do? In October 1970, ostensibly in response to kidnapping of British and Quebec government officials by the nationalist FLQ, the federal government imposed the martial-law War Measures Act. All civil liberties were suspended, the Canadian Army was dispatched to occupy the city of Montreal, and hundreds of leftists, labor leaders and nationalist militants were seized and detained without trial. The government fabricated a "state of apprehended insurrection" in order to launch a full-scale attack on the Quebec left and nationalist movements.

In response the chauvinist misleaders of the English-Canadian labor movement did nothing but issue a few pro forma liberal protests about denial of civil liberties—while denouncing the FLQ and Quebec separatists generally. When the entire Quebec labor movement walked out in a nine-day general strike in May 1972 in protest against the jailing of three top union officials, there was scarcely an echo of solidarity from English Canada. NDP leader David Lewis even solidarized with the imprisonment of Quebec's labor leaders, asking only that their sentences be reduced. Meanwhile the NDP and Canadian Labour Congress tops have consistently refused to recognize the right of self-determination for the Québécois.

This outrageous complicity with chauvinist bourgeois repression against the Quebec labor, left and nationalist movements is the shame of English-Canadian labor. It is the elementary duty of all working-class organizations in English Canada and the U.S. to unconditionally defend Quebec's right to independence. Should Trudeau carry out his threats, this would require strikes, refusal to handle military goods and other actions of concrete support. Only through such active defense of the national rights of the Québécois can the basis be laid for the fighting unity of the workers of both North American nations against their common capitalist exploiters.

Today Marxists continue to oppose the call for the secession of Quebec while

firmly defending the right of the Québécois to do so if they so decide. But if national oppression becomes so deeply felt by the French-speaking nation as to decisively undercut working-class unity within the framework of the existing Canadian state, the workers movement must go beyond support to the right of self-determination and advocate independence for Quebec.

While unconditionally and now urgently defending the right of Quebec to secede from the confederation, Trotskyists must relentlessly struggle to break the illusions of Québécois workers in the bourgeois nationalist PQ. Lévesque & Co. desire their own state primarily in order to monopolize the exploitation of the Quebec workers. Thus their reactionary Bill 101 language law was passed in order to force French down the throats of bitterly resisting immigrants. That the PQ masks its greedy appetites with social-democratic rhetoric merely attests to the combativeness of the Quebec proletariat. After only a year of PQ provincial government the workers are already beginning to see through the mask of these national hustlers.

Recently, on December 16, nearly 10,000 workers led by two of the three provincial labor federations took to the streets of Quebec City to protest the Parti Québécois' major labor bill. "Down with Bill 45," they chanted, angry that the PQ's promised anti-strike bill had become one more anti-strike weapon in the bosses' arsenal. Amendments to the bill desired by the "business

community" and agreed to by the government call for government-supervised union elections and the exception of "essential services."

The Quebec working class is today the most combative on the North American continent. This gives burning importance to the defense of Québécois national rights by English-Canadian and U.S. labor. Such a revolutionary program which combats all forms of social oppression, including the national oppression of the Québécois, is essential to truly unite the English- and French-speaking proletariat of North America. This unity can be built only in opposition to the English-chauvinist and Québécois nationalist union tops and the social-democratic NDP, and against the demagogic bourgeois nationalists of the PQ. Armed with a proletarian internationalist program and marching under the banner of a reborn Fourth International, the working class of Quebec, English Canada and the United States will go forward to the smashing of capitalist rule and the establishment of a workers government.

Defend Quebec's right to independence! Not "national unity" but internationalist proletarian unity! ■

## Friedman Demo...

(continued from page 12)

help end a medical plague" (*Newsweek*, 14 June 1976). Furthermore he denies having engineered Pinochet's economic policies, but his responsibility for the junta's murderous austerity program—considered "draconian" even by *Business Week*—is clear. As an SYL placard (in Spanish) at the demonstration pointed out: "Friedman advises, Pinochet orders, the workers starve!"

The disorganization of the Chilean economy is administered by former students of Friedman and Arnold Harberger, known as the "Chicago boys" (proponents of the reactionary, monetarist "Chicago" school of economics, so named in "honor" of their alma mater, the University of Chicago). In accordance with Friedman's views, Pinochet repealed agrarian reform, brought about a 50 percent reduction in government spending, a drastic cut in real wages, a huge increase in unemployment and wholesale denationalization of industry. During Friedman's 1975

visit to Chile, he advocated this "shock treatment" as "the only medicine" (*El Mercurio* [Santiago], 23 March 1975). His only concern, he said later, was "that they push it long enough and hard enough" (*Business Week*, 12 January 1976). Pinochet has certainly not disappointed him.

Friedman is the first to proclaim that one cannot separate politics from economics. Only a totalitarian bonapartist dictatorship of the type inaugurated by the 1974 military coup could have effected the barbaric economic "shock treatment" Friedman prescribed. Not only does Friedman stand in the shadow of this bloody coup, but his policies are responsible for the untold suffering which wracks the toiling masses of Chile today. The wages currently paid to Chilean workers keep many of them and their families on the brink of starvation, and in the case of the 25 percent of the workforce that has been unemployed—in many instances for the last four years—death by starving is not uncommon.

Friedman has recently added to his portfolio of offenses against the international proletariat by his counsel to the Zionist, terrorist regime of Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin. Wherever Friedman goes, suffering for the workers follows. Following his visit to Israel, the cost of many staple foods, transportation and fuel increased by 25 percent, and a freeze was slapped on public employment.

Today Milton Friedman is awarded the highest imperialist honors for his ample contributions to the repression and impoverishment of the working class. The left must make clear the real role of "honored" academic "advisers" such as Friedman and KEEP THESE MURDERERS' ACCOMPLICES OFF CAMPUS! Unlike the liberal URPE, which states, "We are not seeking to prevent Friedman from speaking," and "We want to encourage debate rather than stifle it," the Spartacist League/SYL has taken the lead throughout the country in fighting to drive him (and war criminal Henry Kissinger) from their respectable academic refuges through protest and exposure. Braintrusts for the murderous junta and imperialist mass murderers must not be permitted to wrap themselves in the cloak of academic freedom. The SL/SYL will continue this fight while working to bring about the day when the workers and peasants struck down in the streets of Chile will finally be avenged. ■

## RCMP Dirty Tricks...

(continued from page 5)

crimes do not consist in its violations of the standards of bourgeois legality. They flow from its real mandate: to maintain and defend the rotting capitalist system. The RCMP's surveillance and harassment of left and labor militants and organizations are carried out with the purpose of impeding their legal activities today, and of preparing their destruction when defense of the "security" of the capitalist state requires it. The release of all secret files to the persons and organizations who have been victimized, the jailing of the criminal cops, and the abolition of all the so-called special, "security" and spying police forces are elementary democratic demands of the workers movement. But as long as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie remains intact, the state through its agencies like the RCMP will continue to direct terror and "dirty tricks" against the working class and the oppressed.

Labor and the left must be vigilant against the pernicious activities of the bosses' secret police. But the bourgeoisie also has less direct agents inside the labor movement. While the NDP and the labor bureaucrats feign outrage at certain "excesses" of the RCMP, they defend its attacks on left-wing radicals and they work to shore up the decaying, violent capitalist system.

During the early 1900's, the Bolshevik Party was continually persecuted and illegalized by the Tsarist state—and, despite all precautions, it was infiltrated by the Tsarist secret police up to its top echelons. But that did not prevent it from mobilizing the Russian masses to seize power and finally mete out justice to the Tsar's secret police. The Bolshevik Party was able to do this precisely because it was not a conspiratorial terrorist organization, but the open, democratic voice and leadership for the aspirations of the toiling masses of Russia. Only through the seizure of state power by the proletariat led by a Trotskyist party will the death blow be dealt to the criminal political police and the criminal ruling class that they serve. ■

## Philip Allen Defense Needs Funds

Defense lawyers for Philip Allen are now preparing to file his appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court. Since the California Supreme Court refused to consider his appeal last May, the U.S. Supreme Court has become the last step in the legal appeal process open to Allen's defense.

On 7 October 1975 Allen was convicted in a racist frameup on charges of voluntary manslaughter and sentenced to ten years to life. The state claimed to have "proved" its case—that this unarmed 5 ft. 3 in. black youth surrounded by four burly Los Angeles cops, disarmed one and killed another while being subjected to a brutal beating—with a combination of racial innuendo and a frontal assault on Allen's democratic rights in court.

Allen, now a third-year law student at the University of California at Santa Barbara, remains free on bail until February 14. But he

could spend the rest of his life in prison if the capitalist state is successful in its racist vendetta. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) has been a long-time active builder of the Philip Allen defense campaign. From the beginning we have stressed the need to mount a campaign of militant mass protest as well as to provide the best available legal defense to free this innocent black youth. With the possibility of a U.S. Supreme Court trial ahead, funds are urgently needed. More than \$30,000 has already been spent on court costs, attorneys' fees, investigator services and expert witnesses. A new trial will cost thousands more.

The PDC demands that all charges be dropped against Philip Allen and urges that messages of solidarity and financial donations be sent to: Philip Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005.

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Vietnamese, Cambodian Stalinists in Nationalist Border War

Tense relations between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the Democratic State of Kampuchea (Cambodia), strained by border clashes and squabbling over disputed territories ever since the end of the Indochinese war in early 1975, exploded in open hostilities last weekend. Cambodia severed diplomatic relations with Vietnam while Radio Phnom Penh and Radio Hanoi exchanged charges of military aggression, looting, rape and pillage. The DRV news agency condemned crimes by the "Kampuchean reactionaries," and Cambodia accused the Vietnamese of bombing and strafing with American jets left behind by the fleeing imperialists.

Ironically the clashes between the two Stalinist-ruled neighbors broke into the open just as the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (23 December) had concluded that in Indochina,

"The mood is one of peace and reconciliation. Old suspicions and antagonisms which had lingered and at times threatened to grow in the aftermath of the Indochina War are apparently fading and peace and good will among neighbors is becoming a real possibility."

Of course, the article referred to the relations of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia with their capitalist neighbors, with whom there has indeed been a recent round of amiable trade discussions. In this sea of rhetorical good will between the Indochinese deformed workers states and the various corrupt dictatorships and U.S. client states of the region,



Khmer Rouge soldiers at the Thai border.

Soldier of Fortune

the spectacle of the "democratic brothers" of Hanoi and Phnom Penh locked in mortal combat against each other must give even the most woolly-minded "Third World" Stalinist enthusiast pause.

On Saturday, December 31, Radio Phnom Penh broadcast a nearly hour-long statement by Cambodian president Khieu Samphan denouncing Vietnam's "ferocious and barbarous aggression" in

waging "an undeclared and premeditated war" against the "sacred territory of Democratic Kampuchea." All Vietnamese in Cambodia were ordered to get out of the country by January 7, while diplomatic ties and air travel between the two countries were broken off the same day.

Samphan accused the Vietnamese of carrying out continuous aggression since 1975, including attempting to

stage a coup d'état to overthrow the Kampuchean regime for the purpose of annexing Cambodia. A Phnom Penh communiqué charged that DRV infantry divisions, backed up by planes and artillery, had penetrated up to ten miles inside Cambodian territory—"burning down homes, killing the inhabitants, stealing livestock"—and had "raped and killed our women" as well as seizing thousands of acres of rice land ready for harvesting.

Hanoi countercharged asserting that Cambodia had launched border raids into Vietnam as early as May 1975, and that recently "many divisions" of Khmer troops had attacked all along the southern frontier shelling populous areas deep inside Vietnam. The Cambodians, said the DRV news agency, had combined their assault with:

"...looting and the burning and sacking of pagodas, schools and hospitals. At many places, Kampuchean troops have perpetrated utterly inhuman crimes, raping, tearing fetuses from mothers' wombs, disemboweling adults, burning children alive."

In Peking, where the belligerents held rival press conferences, Vietnamese embassy spokesmen reportedly accused the Cambodians of eating children and pregnant women. If true, such charges reinforce the bloodcurdling documentation of recrudescing peasant atomism under the Khmer Rouge regime.

Phnom Penh has accused the DRV of continuing to occupy the Parrot's Beak

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### Demo at Academic Fete

## Friedman Advises, Pinochet Orders, Workers Starve

As capitalist governments throughout the world imposed wage-slashing, unemployment-causing "austerity" programs, the right-wing American economist Milton Friedman was awarded the 1976 Nobel Prize in economics. This brought a gravy train of awards and prizes to the "distinguished" professor. But the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) will not allow Friedman to hide behind the mask of academic respectability, ignoring the starving children of Santiago who are the victims of his collaboration with the Chilean junta. So when the American Economics Association hosted a glittering luncheon gala December 28 at the New York Hilton, the SYL was there to give him indignation.

The banquet was picketed by a combined demonstration of 200 protesters. The SYL demonstration merged with one by the New Left/academic Union for Radical Political Economics

(URPE) although URPE had earlier refused to call a united-front demonstration with the SYL. Throughout the press conference which followed the luncheon, the SYL chant, "Chilean workers won't forget Friedman's aid to Pinochet!" resounded through the opulent corridors of the hotel.

At the press conference Friedman was questioned by a *Workers Vanguard* reporter about a December 2 interview in the *New York Times* in which he had complained about the nationwide demonstrations organized against him by the SYL over the last two years, referring to the protesters as "crazy kids, these kooks with madness on their faces." He responded by repeating the charge that SYL supporters "are mindless people following nazi, fascist tactics."

In an open letter distributed at the demonstration the SYL protested the



WV Photo

Friedman, left, is confronted by 200 militant protesters at New York Hilton.

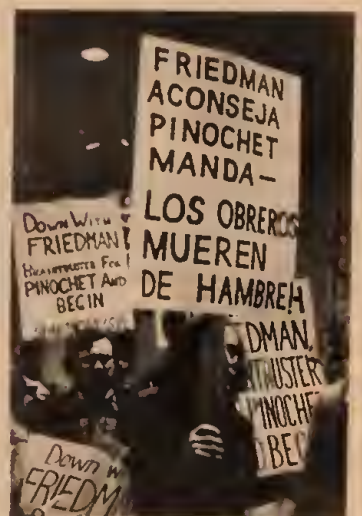
*Times'* sympathetic reportage of Friedman's baseless charges:

"One tires of the rehabilitation of people like Friedman and mass murderer Henry Kissinger in the pages of the *Times*. While Kissinger and Friedman are only figures, they are the leading responsible individuals for policies which have killed untold thousands. We simply propose to exercise our democratic rights to make this known. As far as Friedman is concerned, we will

continue to expose this vicious man who hides behind academic robes of innocence."

Friedman protests his innocence on the hypocritical grounds that it is not "evil for an economist to render technical advice to the Chilean government, any more than I would regard it as evil for a physician to give technical medical advice to the Chilean government to

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