

TRUTH



WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Organ of the Trotskyist Organization USA

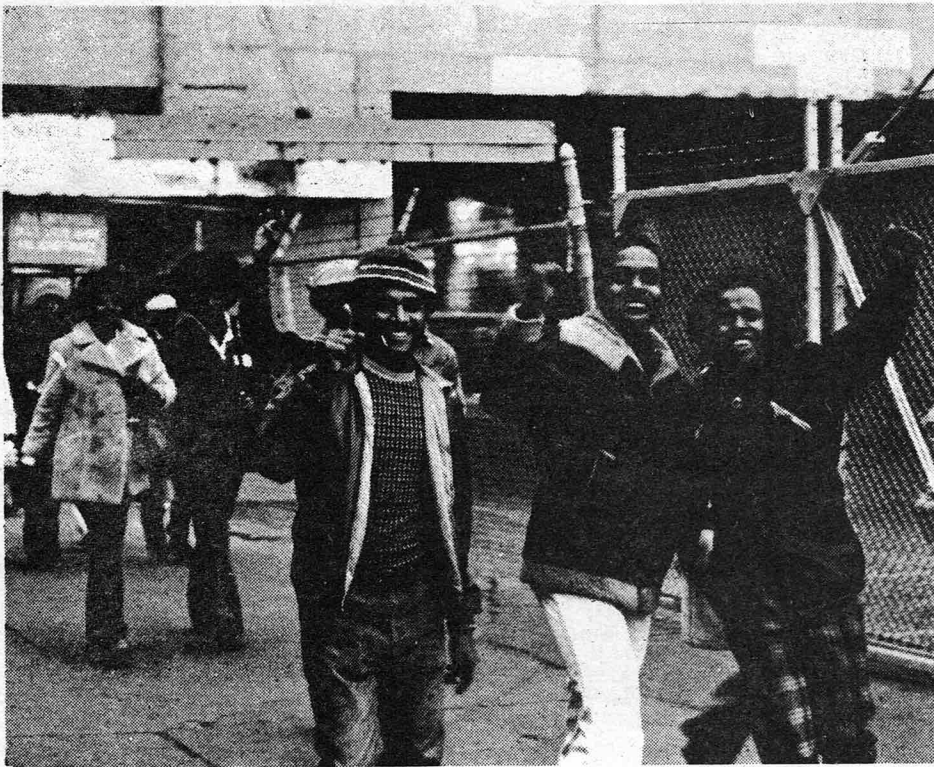
Section (sympathizing) of the

Fourth International

World Party of Socialist Revolution

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A Party of hope for the youth



The fate of humanity rests on the outcome of today's working class struggles. Either socialism-- the victory of the working class and its allies, which will open up a future for all of society, or barbarism-- the crushing of the working class by the capitalists and the resulting destruction of civilization are the alternatives before us today.

The youth most clearly represent the future of any society. It is among the working class youth that capitalism has most clearly spelled out the alternative that it offers-- barbarism.

The latest national unemployment figures, which in reality are just a shadow of the real situation, show that the national unemployment rate had jumped to 7.1% in August. Unemployment for blacks 14.5%, the highest since World War II and equal to the lowest point reached in the recession in 1975. And we are in a

"recovery" now!

But the clearest expression of the effects of unemployment are among the youth. For black youth between 16-19 the unemployment rate is 40.4%. These figures have been unchanged for over three years.

What can be done about this? How can the youth win jobs? How can they win a better future? The Trotskyist Organization of the USA believes that the only future for the youth is the socialist revolution, organized by the working class through its committees and councils into a WORKERS GOVERNMENT. To realize this we need to build a WORKERS PARTY, the US Section of the Fourth International, to organize the working class and the oppressed for an assault on capitalism.

As the situation becomes more and more desperate for the youth, the attempts of the capitalists and their allies to keep the work-

ing class youth from turning to the path of revolution become more and more desperate. As Louis Stokes, a black Congressman from Cleveland said: "If the situation were reversed... if (white) males and white youths in America were unemployed at twice the rate of blacks in this country, I think there would be civil war." (DETROIT FREE PRESS).

Congressmen like Stokes, left-wing members of the Democratic Party, the Stalinists of the American Communist Party, and the centrists, like those in the US Socialist Workers Party, propose different strategies and tactics to fight unemployment but are all united in telling the working class and its youth that reform, not revolution is the answer. Accept capitalist barbarism is their message!

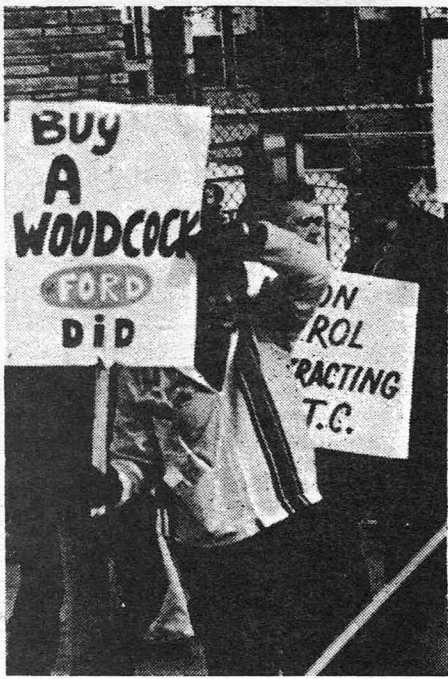
The liberal Democrats and the Stalinists say that workers should pressure Carter and Congress into passing the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill-- a law that "guarantees" an unemployment rate of 3% by giving slave labor jobs to the youth. Some future for the youth! The problem is not one of laws, but of capitalism, a system that cannot produce.

The Stalinists call this reformist policy their "fightback." The centrists of the SWP propose a "fightback" also. What is the nature of this "fightback?" Instead of arguing for the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, the SWP offers another reformist, liberal scheme-- "affirmative action" and "hiring quotas." The SWP accepts the framework of capitalism-- its layoffs, its racism and discrimination against blacks and other minorities and accepts the divisions of the working class created by the capitalists.

The "fightbacks" of both the SWP and the Stalinists are stumbling blocks on the path towards the revolution. They tell the youth-- "the capitalists are on the offensive, workers are being crushed, we can't do much at all, the best we can do is 'fightback' and get a piece of a shrinking pie." They tell the youth that there is really no future, only a series of reforms are possible. Their message is a little like the message of "Rocky"-- give it your best shot even if you have no chance!

No. This is not the spirit of the American working class youth today. Not the spirit of the young miners in West Vir-

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Workers in front of Solidarity House

Plyusch sides with Carter's "human rights"



Plyusch, (on the right) shakes hands with French Stalinist

Party cont.

ginia, the iron workers in Minnesota, the young autoworkers. They have no intention of losing anything.

The losers are the Stalinists and centrists who can offer the youth no future. They stand in the way of this fighting spirit of the youth.

This is why the central fight of the Revolutionary Worker Youth USA is alongside the Fourth International in the US in building the Workers Party to lead the working class in its fight for power. Only a party of the revolution can provide hope for the youth.

The RWY, as part of the fight of the Revolutionary Youth International all over the world, must rally the working class youth in the US to the construction of this party by organizing the fight against unemployment. **JOBS FOR ALL! NOT A SINGLE LAYOFF! A SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS--** divide up all the available work among all those able to work with no cut in pay. **EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK!**

The fight of the youth for jobs must be linked to the offensive of the workers in basic industry for **WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION--** to take the control of the factories out of the hands of the bosses and to educate the working class in the management of a socialist society.

The Conference of Young Metal Workers for the Socialist United States of Europe organized by the Revolutionary Youth International for this December, will unite young workers from all over the world for this fight. Join the Trotskyist Organization and the RWY in building this Conference.

It isn't just an end to unemployment that the working class youth need. They need a new leadership. They need a Workers Party. They need the Fourth International.

September 15, 1977

By DAVID HEFFELFINGER
Leonid Plyusch, Soviet oppositionist who was recently freed from jail and is now living in Western Europe, spoke to an audience of bourgeois liberals, intellectuals, left organizations and students on September 11th in Detroit. Organizations that were present, including the Trotskyist Organization of the US were: the Socialist Workers Party, including the latest arrivals to the SWP from the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, the International Socialists, Red Tide, and the Spartacist League, among others.

Several times during the forum, shouting and applause broke out from the audience, practically physically divided, with the bourgeois liberals sitting in the front of the hall, and students and organizations from the left sitting in the rear. It would appear that the liberals would be against the "left" organizations, but by the end of the forum the petty bourgeois centrist organizations had taken their place with their spiritual leaders in the front.

Plyusch's speech was intended to please everyone, regardless of class or creed. Plyusch said that he and fellow dissidents such as Bukovsky, are now basing all their efforts on appeals to liberals and US imperialism to put pressure on the Stalinist regime to respect "human rights," (a phrase Plyusch used religiously throughout the forum) and on the other hand, appeals to the Stalinist regimes themselves to abide by the Helsinki accords.

For instance, as we walked into the forum, we were given orange cards which on inspection were found to be appeals to President Carter and Brezhnev. And at the beginning of the forum such unabashed liberal bourgeois representatives such as

Carl Levin of the Detroit City Council (a hopeful for the US Senate) and Mayor Young read greetings to Plyusch.

Last to be allowed to give greetings were the centrist supporters of this charade, including the Socialist Workers Party, the International Socialists and Red Tide, their youth group. Apparently the SWP had planned the affair to be one big, happy family of liberals and centrists, with the centrists keeping their heads down to avoid embarrassing Plyusch in front of his bourgeois supporters.

I spoke for the Trotskyist Organization right after Plyusch's talk. I started off by saying: "At the basis of our policy is the fight for the socialist revolution, a Workers Government and the destruction of the Stalinist regimes... There is a contradiction between the struggle for democratic and political rights of the workers in Eastern Europe and the USSR and the presence and support at this meeting of such representatives of the US ruling class such as Levin of the Detroit City Council and Mayor Young, who in their own way have contributed to the repression against the young workers and unemployed in Detroit, including the beefing up of the police forces in the city."

I said that the only way to fight the repression in the Stalinist regimes was by a mobilization of the international working class movement, not through reliance on bourgeois politicians. I told those present at the meeting that: "The Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International have joined in the formation of an International Commission of Inquiry of the Workers Movement into the repression in Poland against the leaders of the general strike of June 24th."

To the militants of the SWP/YSA: Return to the party of Lenin and Trotsky

In the course of his reply, Plyusch stated: "The world revolution is a very long, long way away." and said he supported detente. He then went on to defend Carter's campaign for "human rights" against speaker after speaker from the SWP who tried to "correct" Plyusch and cover for his belief that the workers in Eastern Europe were incapable of making a revolution or much less defending themselves against Stalinism.

Ann Nelson also spoke for the Trotskyist Organization and once again called on those present to support the work of the Commission of Inquiry into Poland. She also noted that "many of the organizations which are present here tonight (such as the Spartacist League and the SWP) have supported and spread Stalinist slanders against Michel Varga (Balasz Nagy), a leader of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and now a leader of the Fourth International." She pointed out the hypocrisy of these centrists who claim to be against Stalinist repression, yet tolerate the same methods in their midst.

Plyusch, fully aware of the nature of these slanders ("My good friend, Jean-Jacques Marie of the OCI wrote that book against Varga," he told us), took a "neutral" position on the slanders, covering for the centrists present who had covered for him the whole meeting.

For US imperialism "human rights" is only a code name for the campaign of propaganda to cover for the increased penetration of capital and bourgeois ideology into the countries of socialist conquest. The "Euro Communists," who Plyusch gave a great deal of the credit for his release, have only taken up this campaign to better serve their own ruling classes, and better able to derail the mobilization of the European workers into support of the imperialist order.

The Commission of Inquiry supported by the Fourth International was the only true alternative at the forum to both imperialism and Stalinism. The Commission must broaden its support through the election of delegates from workers meetings, unions and student organizations. The center of the work of this Commission is its political character as a campaign to DESTROY Stalinism.

On October 28th the Commission will meet in Paris in order to plan to send the Commission into Poland. We call on all workers, students and youth to support this fight and broaden its work.

Plyusch and his centrist allies proved at this forum and in practice that the defense of the socialist conquests of the working class cannot be left to these people, much less to the representatives of capitalism and reaction. Stalinism must be destroyed, not reformed.
September 16, 1977

This is the text of a leaflet distributed at an SWP rally in Detroit. We think it places in front of the militants of the SWP/YSA the most important questions that confront them in the wake of their last Convention. TRUTH will continue to print our analysis of the road forward for the proletarian militants of this organization in coming issues.

Next year will mark the 50th anniversary of the foundation of American Trotskyism. Then, as now, the most burning question in front of the American working class and vanguard was: what party to prepare the American revolution, what party to lead the working class to power?

Fifty years ago and today the same questions are posed -- the party of Lenin and Trotsky organized to lead the world working class to the seizure of power or the party of Stalinist betrayal? The program of the world revolution or the program of "socialism in one country," of reform? A party of the Bolshevik type, based on a proletarian program, democratic centralism, or a party of the Social Democratic kind; based on a coalition of special interest groups, careerists and left bureaucrats, with a program of collaboration with the middle classes and democratic bourgeoisie?

Fifty years of struggle have proven that only one party today can claim the heritage of Lenin and Trotsky; the mantle of the world revolution. This party is the Fourth International, founded in 1938 to lead the fight to the finish with Stalinism and fighting today to organize the world socialist revolution.

The US Socialist Workers Party, once one of the pillars of the Fourth International no longer can claim this heritage in the United States. It abandoned the fight for the world party in 1963 and is an obstacle to those who wish to continue the fight of Lenin and Trotsky in the US.

The 29th Convention of the SWP, just concluded, is further proof of this. The decision to dissolve the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction of the "United Secretariat," was not a step towards "international unity," or towards "resolving fundamental problems." It was a continuation of the more and more desperate charade of the leadership of the "United Secretariat" to hide from its own militants and the rest of the working class that this is not an "international," much less the Fourth International, but a grouping based on a series of unprincipled blocs and maneuvers, having no common program and above all having nothing to do with the world fight against Stalinism.

The "fusion" with the Revolutionary Marxist Committee is not just an attack on the Fourth International's program. The RMC, as one of the last remnants of American Shachtmanism, represents a fundamental adaptation to the pressures of American imperialism. This unprincipled grouping, whose carte blanche into the SWP was their slanders against the Fourth International EXPELLED those who defended the Soviet Union against imperialism when they were in the majority of a Shachtmanite organization. They belong in the SWP of today, never in the party of Lenin and Trotsky!

In January of 1976 the Fourth International was rebuilt by the International League--Rebuilder of the Fourth International which carried the fight of the International Committee to its conclusion. The Trotskyist Organization of the US was founded in 1975 to rebuild the Fourth International in the US and to construct the US Section of the Fourth International in order to lead the American working class to power.

This July, along with the Revolutionary Youth International, the Fourth International held a mass rally of working class youth from all over the world for the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, in Barcelona, Spain, a rally that concluded with a demonstration in front of the Modelo prison for the liberation of the political prisoners in Spain.

While the leadership of the SWP was engaging in its back-room maneuvers with the Lamberts, the Mandels, the Robertsons and the American Shachtmanites against the Fourth International, 500 working class youth from all over the world joined the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International in a revolutionary action against Stalinism and imperialism.

It is not size, but the program that is decisive. American Trotskyism began with "three generals without an army." It will be built today in the US by the young generation of the working class in the ranks of the Revolutionary Youth International who will renew the leadership of the working class, not through unprincipled regroupments and "fusions."

TRUTH, the paper of the Trotskyist Organization of the USA, and THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, the journal of our International Executive Committee are organizing this fight in the US. Words alone won't convince you that we are right, but if you want to engage a struggle to find out whether or not we are, get a subscription today.
September 8, 1977

Our goal: the Workers Government

By MARGARET GUTTSALL

No question before the American working class gets less attention, yet is more important, than the fight for the workers' own government. The fight for the Workers Government is a fight for the political power of the only progressive class on the earth. It is a fight to destroy the power of the exploiters, the class of barbarians dragging mankind further down each day.

This is the reason: why the fight for the Workers Government, why it is needed and how to build it, receives so little attention from the official leaders of the workers. Political power for the oppressed masses is the last thing they want.

But the struggle of our party, the Fourth International, for the Workers Government is both a theoretical and political struggle to clarify this question within the workers movement and the practical struggle to prepare it. It is what distinguishes us from every other party.

It is above all a struggle to fully assimilate and apply the lessons of the first victorious workers revolution-- the Russian Revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party, which formed the first workers government.

This struggle has been taken up by the best of every generation of radicals in the American working class, a struggle against the slanders of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinist bureaucrats who sit in the Kremlin and falsely claim to defend the revolution. It is part of the offensive of our party to RETURN TO LENIN.

The theoretical and political fight for the Workers Government in the workers movement is the essence of our fight to fully assume the tasks of the Fourth International, the continuity of Bolshevism and complete the rebuilding of its section in the United States.

When the US Section was the pillar of the International the question of the Workers Government was at the center of all its struggles. We are fighting to restore to the American working class what the liquidators now at the head of the Socialist Workers Party have tried to destroy.

WHY A WORKERS GOVERNMENT?

The fact that there is still bourgeois democracy in the US doesn't in any way lessen the necessity and urgency of the construction of the Workers Government and the destruction of the capitalist state. This is the only way that the demands of the working class will ever be satisfied and socialism will ever be built.

Auto workers who wildcatted in Trenton, Michigan a month ago are now threatened with jail sentences. Steelworkers and miners are facing similar threats. Thousands of unemployed young blacks and Puerto Ricans were called "animals" this summer for the "crime" of stealing food and clothing.

All this is taking place under the watchful eye of governments led by the Democratic Party, "friends" of the working class.

It is becoming more and more clear that these "liberal" administrations are only facades set up to mask the brutal class character of the capitalists' state, to slow down the mobilization of the working class which threatens to tear it down.

It is not just the struggle of the workers today but its entire experience which proves the necessity of a Workers Government.

The Russian working class, because it organized its own government and destroyed the Czarist state, the courts, the army, and the police, was able to inspire workers throughout the world and bring an end to the imperialist war. Lenin thought that the question of the nature of the workers government and the necessity to destroy the capitalist state was so important that in the midst of the revolution itself he wrote a book, STATE AND REVOLUTION, about it.

It was the failure to continue this revolution throughout Europe which allowed Stalinism to develop and compromise the revolution in the eyes of the workers. But Stalinism has nothing to do with Bolshevism.

The proof of this lies in the negative experiences of the working class since then, particularly in Germany, Spain and recently in Chile. Here the Stalinist leaderships turned back the workers mobilization to destroy the bourgeois state and its apparatus and instead formed coalitions, or Popular Fronts with the reactionary bourgeoisie.

The Stalinists and the Social Democrats insisted that this "go slow" policy was the best way to not "scare" the middle classes. Instead they provided the reactionaries with more time, the impoverished middle classes became disgusted and blamed the working class; joining the fascist movements.

This is how some of the most barbarous governments in modern history have come to power. It wasn't the fight for the Workers Government, the fight to continue the struggle of the Russian working class that was responsible for this. It was the failure of the workers leadership to fight for this that led to fascism, war and the degeneration of the first revolution.

The potential for this same evolution can be seen in the US today. Because the American working class, thanks to Stalinism and centrism, has not yet broken from the grip of the Democratic Party and the union bureaucrats, hundreds of confused white working class and lower middle class youth turn towards racism and the Nazis who promise to do away with politicians.

HOW TO BUILD A WORKERS GOVERNMENT

The fight for the Workers Government is the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat-- the rule of the working class in the interests of the masses of oppressed people OVER and against the minority of murderous exploiters who have held their dictatorship for over 200 years. The fight for the workers own government is totally opposed to the dictatorship of the bureaucracy in the USSR. It is totally opposed to

the formation of parliamentary combinations of "workers parties" which leave the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie intact.

The only way to build a Workers Government is by fighting in the workers struggles to build the independent, mass organizations of the workers-- factory committees, strike committees, mass assemblies embracing workers, small store owners and the unemployed. The mass assemblies organized by autoworkers at Warren Stamping in Detroit, the roving pickets and meetings of the miners are the germs of a workers government. But they have to be consciously organized. A government of workers councils will not occur spontaneously.

These independent organs of power must at a certain point assume all the decisive functions now assumed by the capitalist government and destroy the capitalist apparatus of power-- the army, the police, the courts and take capitalist property into their own hands in order to plan production for the use of millions, not the profits of a few. A Workers Government cannot exist alongside the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie must be crushed or the workers will be.

A successful fight for the Workers Government cannot be limited to the borders of one country. Everytime that the American workers have moved forward the repression and increased exploitation of the European working class by US imperialism has permitted the US bourgeoisie to placate some sections of the working class and to suppress the vanguard. Our fight is dependent on the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe.

Our fight today for the Workers Government is concentrated in the fight for CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND ORGANIZATION. Class consciousness, Marxist consciousness, is the constant struggle to comprehend the fundamental interest of the working class against the bourgeoisie and Stalinism and to organize the party of the working class to realize this.

It is not a question of placing the slogan, WORKERS GOVERNMENT on every piece of revolutionary propaganda, or to chant it at every mass meeting as some sectarians try to do. It is above all the fight at every moment in the class struggle to find the best way to pose the question-- Which way forward? Which class must rule? and by organizing the most advanced and audacious young workers as builders of our party. It is a fight to in every action reinforce the independent organization of the workers and to steel the party in action.

A COMBAT AGAINST STALINISM AND CENTRISM

The fight for class consciousness and organization is above all a fight against Stalinism and centrism. Because the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR is so concerned with keeping its power over the workers, it and its henchmen, the so-called "Communist Parties" pursue a policy of peaceful co-existence with imperialism.



Translated into practice means that the Stalinists seek to organize governments along with the bourgeoisie in order to hold back the workers revolution in the capitalist countries which can only lead to the overthrow of the bureaucracy in the USSR.

The so-called "EuroCommunists," the heads of the Communist Parties in Spain, France and Italy, in response to the demands of Carter and Co. have taken the Stalinist policy one step further. Exploiting the hostility of the workers to the Kremlin, they've rejected the fight for the Workers Government, not only in deed, but in name as well. They say a Workers Government will inevitably lead to Stalinism and call for completely opening up the USSR to capitalism.

While the American CP has meekly attacked the Eurocommunists, their policy is no different. They are the ones who ran a campaign to "put a worker in the White House." They applaud the repression of working class militants and intellectuals in the USSR and Eastern Europe, while at the same time applauding the introduction of capitalism into these countries.

The work of the Stalinists would be impossible without the centrists, who while claiming to fight class collaboration introduce the same policy through the back door.

For the most part centrists, and here we are particularly concerned with the so-called United Secretariat of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), prefer not to speak at all about the question of power. The question of the Workers Government will be resolved by a "dynamic," which once

set in motion by themselves will lead automatically to the Workers Government.

In this way they can appear to be revolutionary while leaving the status quo untouched. The workings of this wonderful mechanism are described by Jack Barnes, the present National Secretary of the SWP in "Prospects For Socialism in America." Using the "method" of our Program, they rewrite it, leaving out the workers councils and the Workers Government. In its place is "the dynamic."

Only when it becomes absolutely necessary to address the question of power to maintain any credibility do they do so. Then they "fight" for a government of "reformist workers parties." They call this "concretizing" the fight for the Workers Government.

The ins and outs of this theory is found in Joseph Hansen's pamphlet "The Workers and Peasants Government." It is nothing but a sophisticated version of the Popular Front. In order to defend their fight for "CP-SP Governments" they refer to the educational campaign led by the Bolsheviks between February and October, a campaign calling on the reformists to break with the bourgeoisie and form their own government, as part of their fight to prove to the workers, once and for all the nature of these parties.

But the Bolsheviks used this slogan as part of the organization of the revolution. The centrists give this slogan a reformist content and ignore the fact that the working class has had plenty of "experience" in the last 60 years with the Stalinists and reformists, an experience they did not have in 1917.

This confusion has taken on a particularly sharp character in the US. For years, the

SWP hasn't said a word about how to organize the political power of the working class. Indeed, in the last election they have the impression that it wasn't even necessary--all that was needed was a "Bill of Rights For Working People." They still haven't changed this. Now, it is "human rights," that is the central struggle for the American working class.

But every once and awhile they've begun to put forward the proposal for a "labor party." They call this as well, "concretizing" the fight for the revolutionary party. But as with "CP-SP Government," they take slogans once used by Lenin and Trotsky and give them a reformist content.

The "labor party" of the SWP is a reformist party, to include the union bureaucrats. It is a proposal to hold back the mobilization of the working class, to reinforce illusions in the bureaucrats and is counterposed to the fight for the Workers Government.

At their last Convention, the SWP leadership lightmindedly dismissed the danger of fascism in the US and now follow the same policy that leads to it.

But now the centrists have gone even further in their attack on the Workers Government. "CP-SP Government," and "labor party" aren't enough to hold back the workers in the face of the demands of imperialism and the crisis of Stalinism.

In a Resolution recently issued as the basis of the preparation of their World Congress, the "United Secretariat" just declared that a government of workers councils must include capitalist parties! That anything else will lead to Stalinist totalitarianism! That any conception of the necessity for one party to lead the workers in their struggle will as well! And this once again with references to Lenin and Trotsky.

Incredible. What is food these people call poison and what is poison they call food. Worse of all they say this is Trotskyism.

It would be easy to dismiss this, what do you expect from Hansen and Mandel? But this would be a mistake. Just as the Fourth International has launched an offensive to RETURN TO LENIN, they have launched an offensive also.

Hansen and Mandel are no more under the illusion that they represent Lenin and Trotsky than Stalin was under the illusion that he represented Lenin.

This new Resolution is a new volley in the attack they launched on the theoretical and practical fight for the Workers Government when they split from the Fourth International in 1963.

Just as the first Workers Government was won in a theoretical and practical fight against the opportunists and confusionists within the workers movement in Russia, so the Workers Government in America is being prepared in a fight against centrism, agent of Stalinism. The formation of our generation of Bolsheviks in the Revolutionary Youth International will guarantee our victory.

September 16, 1977

Is Maoism revolutionary?

By BARBARA PUTNAM

The renewed offensive of the working class following the French workers general strike in May 1968, the uprising of workers in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet occupation and the generalized strike movement which erupted throughout Europe called forth the need for revolutionary leadership, and groupings arose trying to represent themselves as revolutionary in order to block the working class from seeking and finding the revolutionary party.

Just at the moment when the workers mobilization demanded a break with the traditional parties of the working class which had failed (the Stalinists and centrists' organizations claiming to be Trotskyist) and a renewal of their leadership in every combat, the New Left produced Maoism which had begun back in 1956 with the Hungarian Revolution.

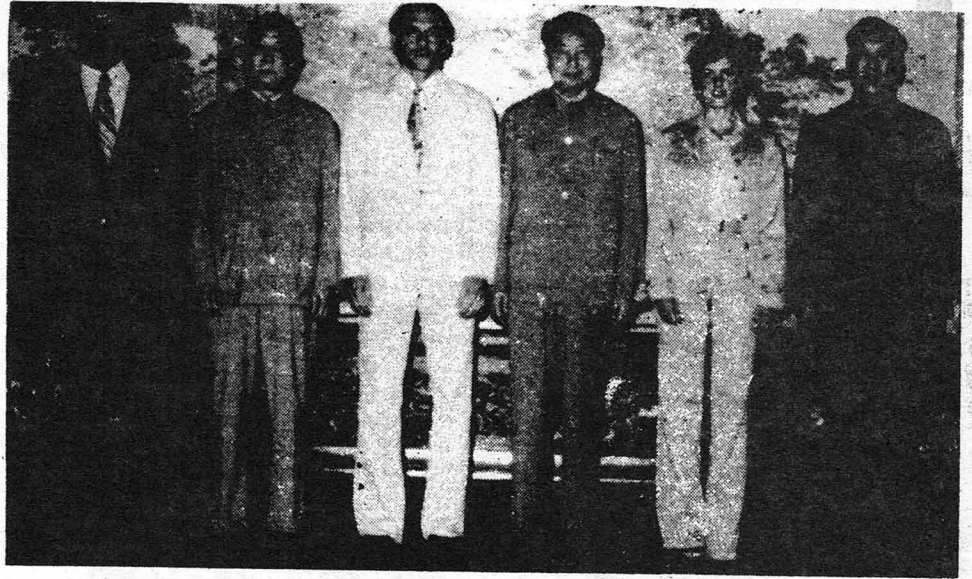
Revolution was posed sharply and on a world scale. The long crisis of the Fourth International which had yet to be resolved in its rebuilding, and the disorientation of its national sections in the face of Stalinist collaboration with imperialism and its hegemony in the workers movement as the leading force, allowed non-revolutionary tendencies to develop and flourish, allowed imperialism to stabilize and develop the weapons in its arsenal to prepare defeat for the working class.

As the onslaught of the workers mobilization threw the Stalinist apparatus into ever deeper crisis, in Hungary, 1956, in Poland 1970-71 and again in the uprising of 1976, in Czechoslovakia 1968 -- the betrayal of the working class of Chile, by the Stalinists has led to a deep distrust of Stalinism by the international working class. This situation called for a new face for Stalinism, not quite so discredited -- Maoism has advanced itself as an alternative to bankrupt Stalinism, while accepting all the basic premises of Stalinism.

The Maoist sects, derived from Chinese "Communism" act as a trap for workers and youth and revolutionary movements of the oppressed in colonial and backward countries. They base themselves on the spontaneous movement of workers and the oppressed masses, preaching class collaboration and subordination of the working class to a hostile class.

The major effort of the Maoists is to advocate the organization of alliances between the classes. They say the workers and oppress nationalities are the "Third World" along with the oppressive national bourgeoisies of the countries under the yoke of imperialism. Their objective is to frustrate the independent organization of the working class for power and to keep its struggle within national boundaries. This the Maoists call "anti-imperialist fronts".

The complete hostility of the Maoists to Trotskyism; the personification of proletarian internationalism and the independence of the workers struggle for power, is the highest expression of their



American Maoist Mike Klonsky receives "franchise" in the US from Chinese rulers

hostility to the working class and its independent organization itself.

While they say they are "for" the dictatorship of the proletariat, this is relegated to a distant future -- right now they are for the subordination of the working class to the national bourgeoisies, to the trade union bureaucracy, to the Democratic Party -- until such time as the working class goes through the "stages" of class collaboration and is "ready."

Their hostility to the working class is more than hatred of Trotskyism and being for the murder of the Trotskyists by Stalin, by Mao or Ho Chi Minh. It has other forms as well. Against the construction of the workers International the US Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) organize "rank and file caucuses" in the union that are no serious challenge to the rule of the trade union bureaucrats of the UAW, the UMW or the Steel workers union.

The RCP is organizing a National Workers Organization at a time when the workers mobilization demands a section of the International party be constructed in the US -- when a central task of the working class is to break with the treacherous leaders of the unions under revolutionary, not "rank and file" leadership.

The purpose of the National Workers Organization say the Maoists, is to "get everybody together to fightback". What an insult to the working class which has fought back ever since there have been capitalists and ever since there has been a working class -- this is what Marx meant by the class struggle. The workers are not in need of "National Workers Organizations" they are desperately in need of a revolutionary party to carry their struggle over to the offensive.

The revolutionary party is an international party which provides the revolutionary strategy to make the workers struggle coherent and unified on a world scale. Down with the Maoists' national

workers organization," which leaves the trade union bureaucracy intact!

The Maoists have been the principle political force spreading the false conception of "Third Worldism". In opposition to proletarian internationalism and to the construction of the Fourth International they conjure up a "Third World" as the force to end Stalinism and imperialism.

There is no such thing as a Third World. The class struggle unfolding across the world involves the two classes which contend for power -- the working class against the bourgeoisie. Every other class in society aligns themselves with either one side or the other -- none can for long straddle the fence between where the Maoists and the Stalinists in general have placed themselves.

"Never fuse with temporary allies," taught Lenin. In violation of Marxism and Leninism, the Maoists preach to the working class to fuse with national bourgeoisies in "anti-imperialist fronts". The tragic experience of the Second Chinese Revolution should serve as a lesson to the working class that this "bloc of classes" idea is not the road to their victory.

Stalin and the Stalinized Communist International ordered the Chinese Communist Party to enter the party of the national bourgeoisie, the Kuo Min Tang and to submit to its discipline, which ended in the crushing of the Chinese proletariat and the coming to power of the Kuo Min Tang. Later, under Mao Tse Tung, the Chinese Communist Party entered a "bloc of four classes" to take the power from the landlords and the disintegrating Kuo Min Tang in 1949.

The Third Chinese Revolution of 1949 put the Chinese Communist Party in power, with Mao Tse Tung at the head of the "Red Army." The gains of the Third Chinese Revolution can be credited solely to the Chinese working class and the peasant masses. The revolution succeeded in ending the rule of the land-

lords, establishing planned economy, nationalizing industry and modernizing patriarchal social relations.

China is not socialist. It is a deformed workers state -- deformed by the Chinese Communist party holding back the revolution within the borders of China in obedience, not to the demands of working class revolution, but to the demands of imperialism, the demand to contain the workers revolution through a policy of "socialism in one country."

But the central feature of Maoism is not that it is another face of Stalinism. It is that Maoism represents an open adaptation to imperialism. The Chinese bureaucracy and their little offshoots in the US are politically assisting the efforts of US imperialism to penetrate the workers states and re-establish capitalism.

The Maoists claim that the USSR is imperialist -- this constitutes an abandonment of the workers conquests in the USSR. It is the nationalized property, planned economy, monopoly of foreign trade that makes Russia a workers state -- it is a degenerated workers state because of the Stalinist bureaucracy which strangles the working class, and contains its struggle in a national framework... revolutionaries must defend the elements necessary for a workers state but fight to organize the workers to overturn Stalinism. But Stalinism does not make the USSR "imperialist" -- it remains a workers state, and must be defended against imperialism.

But the Maoists side with imperialism or adapt to its pressures which can only hasten the destruction of the workers conquests in Russia as well as in China and Cuba. American workers remember the sickening spectacle of "Comrade" Nixon embracing Chairman Mao and ping-pong diplomacy. They were disgusted with Woodcock's good will ambassadorship to China. It was the Chinese bureaucracy which supported the bloody Pinochet regime in Chile, they who supported the reactionary Shah of Iran. No, the Chinese bureaucracy is not socialist.

But the existence of Maoism, the confusion it spreads in the workers movement about the nature of socialism, the nature of the workers leading party, underlines the urgency of winning the revolutionary youth to the RYI and implanting the Fourth International among the workers and youth of every country.

The abandonment of the Socialist Workers Party of the fight for proletarian revolution and the Fourth International in 1963 opened the door to Maoism. It is the political destruction of the rotten leadership of the SWP which claims to be the Fourth International, and the completion of the rebuilding of the US Section of the Fourth International which will clarify the tasks of the coming workers revolution and thus destroy Maoism as a center of confusion in the US workers movement. The RWY is our answer to the workers and youth who seek their own revolutionary leadership, hostile to Stalinism and aimed at its destruction -- aimed at building the workers international to win them to proletarian internationalism and train them in combat against the traitor parties.

Panama Canal treaty NO! United Socialist Republic of the two Americas YES!

By JON COHEN

Fear of the socialist revolution is what brought Jimmy Carter together with the military dictators of Latin America in Washington, D.C. last week to sign the Panama Canal Treaty. Pinochet of Chile, Videla of Argentina, Banzar of Bolivia, Stroessner of Paraguay, Mendez of Uruguay, some of the bloodiest butchers and hangmen the working class in the Two Americas has ever seen, met with the head of the US imperialist state in order to stem the tide of rising working class revolution throughout the Americas.

The Panama Canal Treaty has nothing to do with the interests of the workers and peasants in Panama, the workers and oppressed throughout the Americas, or with the US working class. It is an imperialist farce.

There is nothing to negotiate in Panama. There are no treaties to sign. Panama belongs to the workers and peasants of Panama, not to the US military or to Torrijos, the dictator of Panama. American workers must join the workers in Panama in driving US imperialism out of the Canal Zone, out of Panama.

The Panama Canal Treaty is no victory for the workers in Panama. It is a cynical deal to keep Torrijos in power and to provide a "human rights" cover to the deepening alliance between Carter and the dictatorships in Latin America. The right-wing opposition in the US is part of this farce. The reactionaries are putting on a show in order to give legitimacy to Carter's "progressive" foreign policy.

It is not surprising that the Stalinist American Communist Party is also covering for this imperialist farce. The DAILY WORLD declared on August 27th: "The Panama Canal Treaty is not a concession made willingly by US imperialism; it is a victory, despite its many inadequacies and shortcomings, for the national liberation movement."

The Stalinists are doing two things with this policy. They are supporting their allies

in the left wing of the Democratic Party against the so-called reactionaries. In the face of the Pinochets and Videlas, in the face of a 40% unemployment rate among black youth, they are still trying to make the American working class swallow the lie that "concessions" can be won from Carter and the Democrats.

Next, the Stalinists lie to the workers in Latin America. They say that these dictators can win victories against imperialism, that they can be pressured into changing. This is why they pose the question in Latin America of "national liberation" from imperialism as something distinct from the struggle for the socialist revolution against these dictatorships.

THE OFFENSIVE OF THE WORKING CLASS

The Stalinists hide the counterrevolutionary alliance between the Carter regime and the dictatorships in Latin America. With all the talk about "human rights" as a smokescreen, the Carter government is reinforcing these governments in order to stop the working class offensive in the Two Americas.

While these regimes came to power on the basis of defeats of the working class, the workers have not been crushed. There has been a renewal of a working class offensive in Latin America.

The strikes of auto and power workers in Argentina last year, the strikes of the miners and students in Bolivia, the recent general strike in Peru, the general strike this week in Colombia, the mobilization of the students in Brazil, the demonstrations against the Treaty in Panama, the growing organization of the working class opposition in Chile, are all proof that this offensive is being renewed. These regimes, despite all their blood and repression, are hanging by a thread.

The Panama Canal Treaty is part of the

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PANAMA CONTINUED

counter-attack against the workers revolution in Latin America. In order for the working class to renew its offensive it must overcome the political obstacles that stand in the way of building the leadership and the party that is necessary to lead this offensive to its conclusion.

CLASS INDEPENDENCE

The revolution cannot be prepared in Latin America without a fight for the class independence of the working class against imperialism and the national bourgeoisie. Any policy which ties the fight of the working class to an alliance with sections of the national bourgeoisie, no matter how "progressive," must be rejected.

Thus, workers must reject the treacherous policy of the Stalinists in Chile and elsewhere who are continuing the same policy which led to the bloodbath four years ago. The Central Committee of the Chilean Communist Party recently met and said: "this unity (against the dictatorship) must include all non-fascist civilian, military, Marxist and Christian forces." (DAILY WORLD, Sept. 9).

It was the Communist Party of Chile which told the workers to trust the "non-fascist military", at the very moment that the army was in the streets organizing its bloody coup!

They must reject the policies of the centrists like the Socialist Workers Party whose allies in Argentina "respected" the Peronist regime because it was "better" than the fascists, and now that the military is in power seek to reform it because it is "better" than the fascists. Their recent anti-imperialist rhetoric over the Panama Canal Treaty is only a cover to hide the real nature of their policy in Latin America which in every case is to tie the working class to the "progressive" bourgeoisie and in every case to block the construction of the world party.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Only the Fourth International is fighting to organize the working classes in the Two Americas in the struggle for the UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS. This is not just a slogan. It is a policy which sums up the goal of the Fourth International-- the revolutionary unity of the working classes of North and South America in a common struggle to organize the socialist revolution.

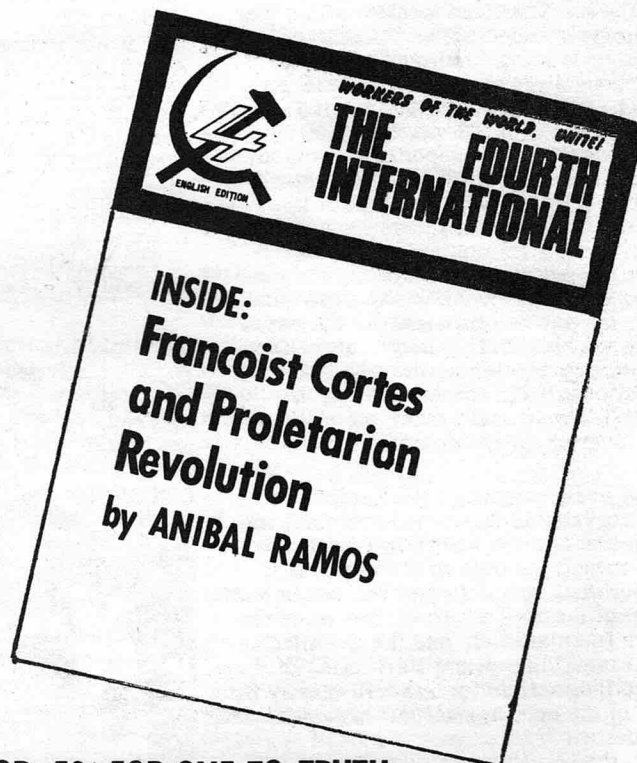
This is the only struggle which can turn back the attack of Carter and the dictators. The working class must smash this alliance forged with the Panama Treaty. "Hands off Panama!", the slogan of the centrists, is not enough. It only portrays the American working class as a passive spectator that only acts in reaction to US imperialism.



American workers must take the offensive in uniting their struggles with the workers of Latin America around the common objective of the UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS as part of their fight to lead the assault against the Carter regime at home.

American workers, along with workers in Argentina, Chile and Bolivia want to win this time around. The only way to do this is to build the world party in the Two Americas that can guarantee this victory-- the Fourth International.
September 15, 1977

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