

TRUTH

ORGAN OF TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION USA SECTION (SYMPATHIZING) FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THROW OUT THE BUREAUCRATS -- YOUNG WORKERS -- WIN BACK YOUR UNIONS!

From the miners to public employees to the national rail strike which just broke out in defiance of the Carter government, American workers have taken to the streets in a powerful strike wave.

These strikes have touched something deep inside the working class. They have not simply been strikes to catch up with the inflation that is now raging, although this is certainly good enough reason to strike, but have also been about something even more basic to the American working class--THEIR RIGHTS.

The miners fought for "the right to strike," for control over their working conditions, against government interference in their unions. The iron workers in Northern Michigan and Minnesota carried signs saying: "Workers have rights too." Everywhere workers are saying: "its not a strike, its a cause."

And they are right. The working class and its unions, as the ONLY mass organizations of the workers today are under attack. An attack directed against their most basic rights. An attack led and orchestrated from the White House.

WORKERS RIGHTS are indeed very few and hard to come by in the US today.

Everyone now talks about the "right-wing offensive" and about "dumping Carter." But workers--the problem is not here! Who expects anything else from Carter and the "right-wing?"

The problem is the so-called "leaders" of the workers movement who got Carter elected in the first place. Who have tried to derail and block any working class offensive to fight this attack.

And who are now proposing all kinds of false "solutions." Like the bureaucrat, Doug Fraser, who wants to "reaffirm" the 1976 Democratic Party Platform. Like

the Stalinists of the American Communist Party and the Congressional Black Caucus which wants to pass the Humphrey-Hawkins "Full Employment" Bill. A bill which is now so "symbolic" that the bourgeoisie openly laughs at it.

And the pseudo-revolutionaries. Like the Socialist Workers Party which tags behind the Stalinists and bureaucrats with their own false "solutions." Proposing a "labor party" that "will stand up and fight"-- in the cesspool called US Congress. Reprinting Fraser's statements in their paper, for workers to "study."

We don't think that many workers bothered to "study" this statement. In fact, the majority of workers, especially the young workers are thoroughly disgusted with all of these "solutions." And express this by rejecting anything that smacks of "union politics," often even rejecting the idea of fighting in the unions at all.

The pseudo-revolutionaries only reinforce this disgust.

Why are the young workers disgusted? Not because they don't want to fight. But because NONE of these "solutions" involve THEM.

NONE of these "solutions" tell the TRUTH. And the TRUTH is that there is only one way to turn back this attack on the workers, only one way to organize the unions into a fighting force.

By mobilizing young workers to WIN BACK THEIR UNIONS! To throw out these bureaucrats and traitors. To build a new leadership for the unions by turning them into WEAPONS FOR THE YOUTH and all workers and oppressed.

This is the only way to give a new force to the unions. To enable the working class to meet the attack of the government and the bourgeoisie. By involving ALL the youth--in the factories, high schools and colleges, the unemployed in a YOUTH ALLIANCE to end

this PLANT-ation system in the factories, to make the unions weapons for the revolution.

This is the only "solution" that involves the best young fighters of the working class.

Only the Trotskyist Organization/USA, fighting to rebuild the Fourth International in the US tells this truth to all young workers disgusted by all the professional demoralizers around you today.

That the future belongs to you and depends on you.
YOUNG WORKERS-- WIN BACK YOUR UNIONS!

October 12, 1978 TRUTH



INSIDE

WHY THE HAMMER & SICKLE?



By JON COHEN

PAGE 4

INTERVIEW With MIGUEL SALAS

PAGE 11

CHILE - LATIN AMERICA

Castroism Supported
by the Renegades
of the F.I.

By Pedro Ramirez

PAGE 5

Only the working class can smash S.1437!

By ANN NELSON

On October 4th the House of Representatives voted to postpone a decision on the anti-working class revision of the Federal Criminal Code--S.1437-- which has already been passed by the Senate-- until the next Congress, in January 1979.

The Stalinist American Communist Party said on the front page of its paper that the bill had been "killed" and call this a great victory for labor.

This Criminal Code revision defines wildcat strikes as blackmail, virtually eliminates free speech, press and the right of assembly and is an attack on the US working class in the name of "modernizing" the law.

So when the Communist Party calls the postponement of S.1437 a "victory" it is deceiving the working class. They also deceive the working class by saying that it will be "progressive" forces in Congress or in the official "labor movement" who will stop S.1437.

What is S.1437 and why is it important? How can it be defeated?

First of all, it is not new. The "father" of S.1437--S.1-- was developed by the Nixon administration in the early 70's. S.1 was an even more blatant attack on workers rights and was the bourgeoisie's answer to the mobilization of the workers and youth in the US against the government. Nixon, who didn't think it wrong to organize illegal break-ins, did think it was criminal to demonstrate against the government or go on strike. S.1437--the "Son of S.1" -- maintains these anti-working class provisions in full force.

S.1437 has nothing to do with "right" or with "justice" but is in fact a tool of the bourgeoisie to legalize wire-tapping, concentration camps, conspiracy trials, enemies lists, illegal break-ins and infiltration and provocation in working class organizations. But of course, the government defends "free speech" for Nazis and the KKK and gives pardons to criminals like Nixon if their heart is in the right place.

The backers of S.1437 are those in the govern-

ment who would like to give working class repression a "human face." Like Edward Kennedy who is the co-author of the Bill. But S.1437 by defining working class action as "treason," "conspiracy," "sabotage," "criminal contempt," and "blackmail" tries to give the government protection against the workers consciously organizing and fighting back. It also makes membership in an international organization illegal.

Under Section 1126: "Failing to register as, or acting as, a foreign agent," the Bill defines a Class D felony punishable by 6 years in jail for "espionage" the right of workers to belong to an international organization. A "foreign power" is defined in the Bill as "a foreign government, faction, party or persons purporting to act as such, whether or not recognized by the US and (b) an international organization."

The government recognizes that it is not enough to attack the rights of the working class, it must also attack its leadership, its party-- the Fourth International. This is why S.1437 must be fought.

How? Through the methods of the working class. By building the revolutionary party against this attack. Fighting S.1437 as part of the fight of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Revolutionary Young Workers to build a YOUTH ALLIANCE against this terrorist state.

Because we are building the US Section of the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution, the fight against S.1437 is one that we must lead. The Bill will not be "killed" by the liberals in Congress nor through silence. Only the working class can smash it.

Come to the meetings of the Trotskyist Organization/USA in Detroit and Chicago on the 50th anniversary of Trotskyism in the US to organize the fight to win full rights for the Fourth International in the US and to smash this anti-working class legislation. October 12, 1978

TRUTH

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Public Meetings:

50 YEARS OF TROTSKYISM IN THE US

DETROIT - FRIDAY - October 27th
Wayne State U
Student Center Bldg.
Room 261
8PM

CHICAGO - SATURDAY - October 28th
South Chicago YMCA
91st & Houston
Board Room
7PM

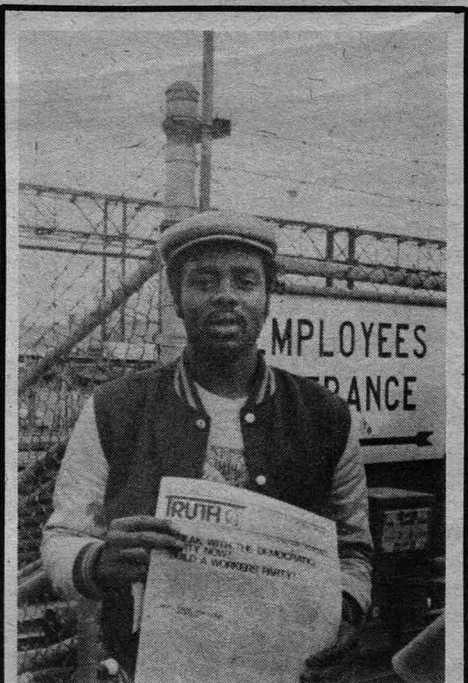
SATURDAYS! TRUTH MEETINGS-



10:30 am

Wayne State University

Student Center Building Rm678



The results for #81 were:

Ford River Rouge	13
Chrysler Dodge Main	19
Chrysler Lynch Road	6
GM Fleetwood	4
Harper Hospital	13
Detroit high schools	25
Wayne St. University	52
DETROIT (Total)	138
FLINT Chevrolet Truck	39
TOTAL	177

Drop the un-Democratic Party Platform for a Revolutionary fight in Auto!

By MARK LUV

If Volkswagen thought that by opening a plant in the United States they would be able to reap super-profits off the "docile" and "passive" American workforce, they sure got another thing coming. The Connellsville, Pa. plant hasn't even been open a year and already its been hit with several strikes -- the latest over a contract rejection and all of them WILDCATS, not sanctioned by the UAW International.

The VW dispute is only one striking example of the actions of all American workers in the last year, especially since the miners strike. There is no lack of militancy among other auto workers either. The Fleetwood plant in Detroit took a strike vote only a week ago, the third one since the '76 auto contract round. All of them unsanctioned by that gang of hooligans and cowards who call themselves the UAW International leadership -- led by Doug Fraser.

Fraser is so pathetic. He's screaming about a "one sided class war" against labor when he's got the cream of the American working class under his domination. The auto workers, lean and mean from the hours of back-breaking speedup in the factories, angry and always ready to strike and fight.

But Fraser isn't looking to the autoworkers. He's calling a conference of political burnouts in Detroit to "reaffirm the 1976 Democratic Party platform." The Democratic Party platform, what a joke! Is this the platform of Jimmy Carter that is responsible for runaway inflation, the attack on black and immigrant workers? Is this the platform that institutionalizes the slavery in the auto factories today in the name of "free enterprise" and "productivity" drives? You bet it is. And this conference of Frasers deserves only one response from autoworkers -- **DUMP FRASER, HIS CONFERENCE, AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR A REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT IN AUTO!**

A SPECIAL CONFERENCE OF THE UAW to represent and mobilize the ranks of auto workers to organize a revolutionary fight for the '79 contract round is what's really needed. A Conference representing the overwhelmingly black and immigrant workforce in auto. A conference to fight the slave-like conditions under which young workers must toil. A national gathering of auto workers to elect a new leadership and throw out Fraser and his gang of hooligans. Not to "reaffirm the Democratic party platform" but to organize strike committees in every local to plan factory occupations and mass demonstrations



Auto workers strike Volkswagen in Pennsylvania

at the time of the '79 contract round.

Every brother and sister in auto knows it, Fraser's new militant talk is nothing but jive. Why? Because the auto barons, GM, Ford, and Chrysler are so intent on driving up profits and productivity that they've driven not only autoworkers but the UAW bureaucracy as well up against the wall. Besides, wildcats like those in the VW plant and in Detroit have shown that the UAW tops are no longer able to control the workers for the capitalists.

Who is Fraser talking to when he says: "We in the UAW intend to reforge the links with those who believe in struggle: the kind of people who sat down in the factories in the 1930's and who marched in Selma in the 1960's."

Not to the autoworkers who keep wildcatting and fighting every day. He's talking to the "responsible" oppositions in the UAW. The old radicals and their organizations who have become a part of Fraser's scheme for holding the autoworkers in check. He's talking to the Stalinist Communist Party USA which has gone the furthest in building collaboration and support for the dying left wing of the Democratic Party that Fraser is appealing to. And he's talking to the centrist Socialist Workers Party which printed Fraser's statement in their paper in its entirety in order to generate a "discussion" within the UAW.

Why is the pseudo-revolutionary left important? Because the vanguard of the auto workers is looking for alternatives to the rotten system that auto produc-

tion epitomizes, looking for a revolutionary party. Fraser is incapable of misdirecting this vanguard in the auto factories. **ONLY THE STALINIST AND CENTRIST PARTIES CAN APPEAL TO THE MILITANT YOUNG WORKERS IN AUTO AND HOLD THEM WITHIN THE LIMITS OF TRADITIONAL "TRADE UNIONISM." A REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP**

Every advanced autoworker is familiar with the formula: We need a REVOLUTIONARY leadership in auto. Enough groups and organizations have said it by now that it is generally accepted by revolutionary-minded workers.

But no revolutionary leadership will come about in auto SPONTANEOUSLY. A revolutionary leadership in the unions can only be constructed by the conscious efforts of a revolutionary party, a WORKERS PARTY. A WORKERS PARTY to speak to the broad masses of auto workers and especially to the youth to arm them against the traditions of "trade unionism" which are being used to block the most militant actions of the American working class.

For the unions themselves are useless to the working class unless they can lead the necessary confrontation with the capitalist system and the state which terrorizes the proletariat. Repressive laws against labor and police actions against strikes. Fraser and the pseudo-revolutionaries cry about it but they are as much committed to "law and order" and the "democratic process" as Henry Ford and the rest of them.

A harsh statement perhaps. But the war between the classes is becoming more harsh every day, leaving no room for traditional programs or vassalators that fail to speak to the new generation of young workers looking for revolutionary solutions. Solving this fundamental task of building the WORKERS PARTY against the traditional support of the unions for the Democrats and liberalism will allow, alongside the party, the construction of large factions in the unions of revolutionary workers.

Revolutionary organization is a must for auto workers. In order to lead an assault on the factory PLANT-ATION a struggle of a POLITICAL and even a MILITARY nature is needed. Such is the position of auto production in capitalist society and such is the conditions under which auto workers must fight today.

Fraser, his liberal "Democrats," and the pseudo-revolutionary organizations have no answer for this kind of struggle. This kind of struggle, like those led by Lenin and the Russian workers, like those led by other great revolutionary leaders and their parties, the Stalinist and centrist parties **HAVE FORMALLY REJECTED**. It remains to the fighting youth who know little of "trade unionism" to take up the revolutionary banner once again in the large industrial unions and the factory PLANT-ATIONS.

DOWN WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF SLAVE BOSSES AND BUREAUCRATS! FOR A WORKERS PARTY!
October 11, 1978

GREET FRASER'S "CONFERENCE"

DOWN WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF HANGMEN & BUREAUCRATS!

TUESDAY - OCTOBER 17th Cobo Hall 11-4PM

Why the Hammer & Sickle?

By JON COHEN



The Trotskyist Organization/USA, along with all the other parties of the Fourth International, carries the symbol of a hammer and sickle with a "4" inside of it on the masthead of our paper. This hammer and sickle is the historic symbol of the Communist International. The "4" symbolizes its continuity today--the FOURTH International. And it is turned in the opposite direction from the symbol today used by the Stalinist parties in order to indicate our opposition to Stalinism.

Why do we bother with all this? Are we simply infatuated with rituals and symbolism? After all, haven't many people pointed out that this symbol "turns off" workers and youth who might otherwise buy our paper because they identify this hammer and sickle with STALINISM, with the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the totalitarian dictatorship which exists in the Soviet Union today?

This is precisely the point. We aren't interested in rituals or symbols but in confronting openly one of the central problems of the American revolution-- the identification by the workers and youth of communism with Stalinism, of Leninism with the disgrace to the world revolution represented by the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin.

As Marx wrote a long time ago, communists never disguise their aims or intentions from the working class. We have the hammer and sickle on our paper because we continue the tradition of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. We continue and stand for the October 1917 Russian Revolution and we are proud of the fact. And proud of the fact that this is THE FIRST thing we would like to discuss with any worker or youth interested in buying our paper.

We are happy when a young worker first asks us about the hammer and sickle. We can then discuss first things first. Stalinism vs. Leninism. The Fourth International against all other parties. We are convinced that they will respect and even-

tually follow a party and a paper that wants to tell and discuss the TRUTH with them, first things first.

Unlike the American Stalinist Communist Party (CP) which of course does not have a hammer and sickle on its masthead, nor any mention of the fact that it is the paper of the Communist Party. The only thing on the masthead of the DAILY WORLD is the banal phrase: "Looking Behind the News and Ahead."

Or the paper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), THE MILITANT, which claims to represent the Fourth International. Of course, there is no hammer and sickle, no mention of the Fourth International, not even any mention of the Socialist Workers Party on their masthead. All of this comes "later"--much later.

They simply call their paper: "a socialist newsweekly/published in the interests of the working people." A banality which prompts the true story about a militant who just joined the SWP and showed his mother THE MILITANT. After reading the masthead she asked: "Why aren't there any classified ads for jobs?"

We prefer the questions young workers ask us when they see our paper. And prefer answering them NOW and not "later".

And finally, the facts. We are convinced and can PROVE that the hammer and sickle, that being openly revolutionary, that openly confronting the question of Stalinism is no obstacle to selling a paper in the American working class today. That the TRUTH is indeed more popular than deceit.

Our organization is much smaller in size today than either the SWP or CP, thus the distribution of our paper is much more limited. We can't compare our results with the CP because they GIVE AWAY their paper, but compared to the SWP which does publish the results of the distribution of their paper, on a PER CAPITA basis, that is MEMBERS OF OUR PARTY TO MEMBERS OF THEIRS, we sell 250% the numbers of

papers they sell. These figures are open to examination by any worker or militant.

So much for the hammer and sickle "turning off" workers and so much for speaking to workers "where they are at"-- words for hiding the real issues in front of the working class.

In fact, it is not the hammer and sickle which turns off young workers but these organizations, above all the American CP and the SWP which covers for it in the name of the Fourth International. It is not communism, represented by the Trotskyist Organization/USA and its paper, TRUTH, which bothers the working class, but STALINISM and CENTRISM which daily DISGUST the workers and youth with the idea of revolution and revolutionary politics.

You can go to any factory in the country where the Stalinists and centrists have been active for a long time and find and feel this disgust, not with revolution, but with the "politics" that these organizations pass off in the name of revolution. And in contrast to this, you can go to any factory or school in the country where the Stalinists and centrists haven't been active for while and find an eagerness and thirst of the workers for a revolutionary alternative.

The obstacle to the revolution today is not the consciousness of the American working class, but these organizations, these Stalinists and centrists who daily confuse and disorganize the working class, above all with their lies and illusions that they try to sow.

This is not just an "American" question. Along with TRUTH this week we are publishing THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, which contains the resolutions adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Fourth International which was recently held in Paris, France. These resolutions draw the same conclusions for the entire International and the international working class.

That the central obstacles to the revolution today are in the

working class. That these obstacles are concentrated in the attack of world Stalinism against Leninism, against the true heritage and continuity of the struggle of the working class and the essential aid given to the Stalinists in this attack by pseudo-Trotskyists like the SWP who falsely claim our banner.

And that the fight to win today's youth who are in open revolt throughout the world, who are trying to rid themselves of the treachery of the Stalinists and centrists is concentrated in the fight to RETURN TO LENIN, to win the youth to the revolutionary tradition of the working class represented by the Fourth International.

There is obviously a lot more to this question. To explaining to the American workers the treachery of Stalinism not only in the United States but throughout the world and the way in which the pseudo-Trotskyists participate in this treachery. To why we don't hide from this question but say precisely the opposite-- that the fight to RETURN TO LENIN against Stalinism and against the anti-communism of the American bourgeoisie is the central question in front of the working class today.

Just putting a hammer and sickle on our masthead of course does not answer all of these questions alone. Nor does it substitute for the need to actually ORGANIZE the break of the youth from these treacherous leaders in their day to day struggles against this imperialist state.

But it's a beginning. An honest beginning which only the Fourth International in the US is ready to engage in with the American working class. A beginning which places us on the side of all the revolutionary struggles and leaders of the working class. Against all of its traitors.

Why do we have the hammer and sickle on our banner?

We're glad you asked.

October 9, 1978

In Chile, throughout Latin America

CASTROISM SUPPORTED BY THE RENEGADES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

By PEDRO RAMIREZ

Even today the centrists, and particularly those who claim to be Trotskyists, carefully avoid taking up the role played by Castroism in the defeat of the Chilean proletariat and in the struggle of Latin American workers. In reality, if they do this it is because to examine this question would show how far from the Fourth International these servants of the Stalinist bureaucracy are.

But for the Fourth International the tragic balance sheet of the Chilean Popular Front is an important factor to understand in order to demonstrate the responsibilities of the centrists usurping the banner of the Fourth International in this defeat. We will take this up in this article.

CASTROISM, INSTRUMENT OF STALINISM

Fidel Castro's regime is the result of an exceptional combination of circumstances, as Trotsky underlined in the Transitional Program, which made a petty bourgeois movement go much further than it wanted on the road of a break with the bourgeoisie. In this case Fidel Castro's July 26th Movement saw itself impelled towards the repression of the masses, situating itself halfway between capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, forming a deformed Workers State in Cuba ruled by an anti-working class bureaucracy which sought protection in the Kremlin in order to defend its privileges. It finally was shaped as the best weapon of Stalinism against the Latin American masses, in such a way that its counter-revolutionary work demands that it deepen its relationship with the North American imperialism of Carter in order to preserve the order established in the Continent, a collaboration that at the same time undermines the conquests of the Cuban masses. Without a doubt the Castroist model confused large sectors of the proletariat and oppressed in Latin America, tired of the betrayals of the Stalinist apparatus. In other words, Castro's regime appeared in their eyes as something different from the traditional Stalinist policy and gave them the hope of following the Cuban road to victories. These dangerous illusions opened up a period in which a section of the youth were led to guerillaism, to separation from the proletariat and then to defeat.

Castro's regime established OLAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity) which set up the guerillas throughout the Continent imitating the Cuban model and which led to massacres by the army with

the collaboration of the CIA, as in Bolivia. This is what Castro contributed to Stalinism-- deviate the revolutionary impetus of the youth away from the factories and turn them over to Stalinism.

CASTRO BETRAYED THE MASSES WITH THE BENEDECTION OF THE PABLOITES

For this reason, the position of Pabloism, the followers of the United Secretariat, was even more criminal. It was the Pabloites who from the first moment sang praises to this "Cuban road to socialism" and called the Latin American youth to follow its example, adapting in this way to Stalinism through Castroism. Thus, the 9th Congress of the USec approved in 1969 a Resolution on Latin America in this sense:

"In the case of countries where the great mobilizations and class conflicts begin first in the cities the civil war will take various forms of armed struggle, in which the principle axis for an entire period will be the rural guerilla, in the geographic-military sense of the term... In this sense, armed struggle in Latin America fundamentally signifies guerilla warfare."

This short paragraph expresses the break of Pabloism with Leninism, in essence supporting the same positions which dislocated the Fourth International 16 years before-- the substitution of the proletariat by forces alien to it, which are then given the task of making the revolution. If someone tries to tell us that the USec has changed its position in order to permit the centrist reconciliation of Mandel with Hansen, just look at these words in the pages of ROUGE, paper of the French LCR, written by Jeannette Habel, member of its Political Bureau in October 1977:

"Why do we claim Che? Che was not a Trotskyist. Perhaps he could have become one. But he was one of ours. To begin with, we claim the strategic conception of Che, his Leninist conception of the seizure of power, the necessity to destroy the bourgeois state."

Yes, Che Guevara was one of yours, one of those who dismissed the workers because of their "lack of consciousness" as with all petty bourgeois policies and both have in common the fact that their activity was realized in the service of Stalinism.

CASTROISM IN CHILE WAS THE RESULT OF PABLOITE TREACHERY

In the dislocation of the Fourth International in 1953, the Chilean Section, the POR, joined the International Committee for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International in face of the dis-

locating policy of Pablo and Mandel. However, its break with the liquidators was not as much a delimitation in the face of Pabloism as it was a defensive response to the Pabloite policy which would mean the destruction of the POR in order to enlarge the ranks of the Communist Party and it was the fruit of this incomprehension which allowed the Chilean POR to align itself with Hansen's SWP and participated in the reunification of the United Secretariat in 1963 which condemned it to follow the same road that it tried to break with ten years before.

Because Hansen already clearly showed his inclinations in 1963 in the document, "For the early reunification of the world Trotskyist movement" which was a clear threat to the survival of the POR:

"The appearance of a Workers State in Cuba-- whose exact form remains to be decided-- has a special interest in that the revolution was brought to the head under a leadership completely independent from the Stalinist school. In its evolution towards revolutionary Marxism, the July 26th Movement established a record which today serves as an example for many countries... In the road of a revolution which began with simple democratic demands and finished by breaking with capitalist property relations, the guerilla war led by dispossessed peasants and semi-proletarian forces, under a leadership which saw itself forced to carry through a revolution to its conclusion can play a decisive role in deepening and precipitating the fall of a colonial or semi-colonial power. This is one of the principle lessons which must be drawn from the experiences since the Second World War. It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy for the construction of the revolutionary Marxist parties in the colonial countries."

These extracts demonstrate on what basis this reunification was celebrated and how Hansen, who was later at the head of a tendency in the USec against guerillaism, celebrated the funeral of his Chilean friends.

And in fact, the road taken by the leadership of the POR-- dissolving its organization in order to form with Castroist and Maoist groups the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), consciously followed the Pabloite road of capitulation. However, once the MIR was constructed, and in spite of the central role played by the leaders of the extinguished POR, the ex-Trotskyists were expelled. This however, was no obstacle to

the MIR being considered by the United Secretariat as a revolutionary Marxist organization and which it supported critically throughout the entire process of Allende's Popular Front despite its official section, the Partido Socialista Revolucionario, today re-baptized the Chilean Liga Comunista.

THE MIR, FROM GUERRILLAISM TO THE POPULAR FRONT

As with all petty bourgeois parties, the Castroist MIR oscillated between sectarianism towards the masses and opportunism at the decisive moments. Thus, before the presidential elections where the candidacy of the Popular Unity was presented, the MIR responded with: "Guns! Not Elections!", separating themselves from the masses and leaving the masses in the grip of the illusions sown by the CP and SP, to, in April 1970, characterizing the Popular Front program of the Popular Unity as "essentially left reformist" and later, in October 1970 to declare: "We believe that the electoral victory of the left constitutes an immense advance in the struggle of the people for the conquest of power."

This process shows how rapidly the Castroists put down their arms in order to take part in the defense of the Popular Front, doing this by situating themselves on its left in order to contain the growing discontent which had begun to grow between the masses in face of the decline of its standard of living and the actions of the Popular Unity in breaking its strikes.

In all of its later actions the MIR found itself demanding the fulfillment of the program of the Popular Unity, thus deepening the illusions of the workers in a program which was situated in the framework of the bourgeois state and was the product of the resistance to its destruction. For this reason it carries an enormous responsibility when it comes to drawing the reasons for the defeat. And the resistance to the coup that it tried to organize at the last moment does not excuse it since it was also the MIR which helped to produce the coup.

This process of the adaptation of the MIR to the Popular Front has only been strengthened after the military coup among its militants and sympathizers who still have to draw the balance of its activity. In order to deepen this question we will return to the MIR in the next article in relation to the present combat in Chile. 9/11/78 (From LA AURORA #183, paper of Spanish Section of the FI.)

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL WILL BE BUILT IN THE TWO AMERICAS AGAINST CASTROISM & ITS CENTRIST SUPPORTERS

By JON COHEN

Armed struggle. Guerilla warfare. The "Cuban road" to socialism.

These questions, all connected with the role of Castroism, have had a decisive influence on the vanguard of the working class in the Americas, North and South.

A negative influence, of course. The deaths, imprisonment and torture, the defeats of thousands of youth in Latin America rest on the shoulders of Castro, who along with the international apparatus of the Kremlin has been the GRAVEDIGGER of

SWP in its "critique" of armed struggle in Latin America. In his book, Hansen says that one of the "fundamental flaws" of Castro is "the view that guerilla warfare represents the primary road to revolution in the semi-colonial world."

And several years ago Hansen and his supporters in the pseudo-Trotskyist USec organized a faction precisely around this question against the Mandel-Maitan supporters of "guerilla warfare." Differences which were never resolved as the

Fidelista currents." (Our emphasis)

Nor was Hansen very "orthodox" when he attended the OLAS (Organization of Latin America Solidarity) Conference in Havana in 1967. Hailing this as a possible "new International" (which never met again) Hansen wrote: "NO ROAD IS LEFT OPEN TO THE PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA BUT ARMED STRUGGLE." That the "question of armed struggle was thus taken at the OLAS Conference as the decisive dividing line separating the revolutionists from the

Part III "Armed Struggle" to "Human Rights" — the two faces of Joseph Hansen

the revolution in Latin America.

Continuing today as thousands of young fighters are being led into a pact with the bourgeoisie and US imperialism under the influence of the "Castroist" FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) in Nicaragua.

In this series of articles I have been dealing not just with the treachery of Castro but also with the treachery of his centrist supporters -- those who defend and apologize for Castro's crimes in the name of the Fourth International, above all the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) led by Joseph Hansen who has recently published a book, *THE DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION*.

In the first article I explained why Hansen and the SWP were now "discussing" Cuba. Not because Castro "is in the news" as they claim, but because in Latin America itself, among Latin American political emigres, in the United States and in the ranks of the centrists themselves an important discussion of Castroism is taking place. Many militants are beginning to draw a balance sheet of the defeats of the past decade in order to find a way to victory in the new upsurge taking place in Latin America.

And the finger is more and more pointing to Castroism as responsible for these defeats. Hansen and the SWP must confuse this balance sheet and block militants from drawing the revolutionary conclusions from it.

Because anyone seeking to draw a balance sheet of Castroism to its conclusion cannot avoid doing something else as well -- drawing a balance sheet of the entire history of the SWP since 1963 and concluding that the treachery of Castroism is also a balance sheet of the treachery of the leadership of the SWP as well.

HANSEN'S "ORTHODOXY" -- A FRAUD

Any discussion of the questions of "guerilla warfare" and "armed struggle" as "tactical differences" must be rejected as a total fraud. Castroism and its strategy of "guerilla warfare" can only be seen as the expression of STALINISM in the Americas, one more Stalinist trap set up to aid US imperialism in crushing and isolating the vanguard of the Latin American working class and dividing it from the US proletariat. The history of "armed struggle" in Latin America is a history of Stalinism.

This is why militants must reject the fraud of the so-called "orthodoxy" of the

leaders of the respective factions have agreed to cover up the dispute in order to maintain a fictitious "unity" in the USec.

That the "differences" still remain can be seen by the present position of the Spanish LCR on Nicaragua:

"Only a decisive combat which will destroy the military support of the dictatorship and guarantee a government of the FSLN and other forces which have participated actively in the overthrow of the dictatorship, without any bourgeois representatives, can assure the Nicaraguan people the realization of the democratic tasks in this country."

(Latin American BULLETIN edited by the LCR in Catalonia, Supplement #3)

And in passing, let us say that the "orthodox" response of a certain Fausto Amador which appeared in Hansen's IP of October 16, 1978 which opposes the fight for a "workers and peasants government" to the LCR's "government of the FSLN" is no better. What characterizes BOTH positions is a total PASSIVITY and waiting for someone else to take up a fight they are incapable of leading. Thus Amador concludes his article by saying: "In spite of the slaughter during the dark days of September, the insufficient organization of the masses and the crisis of revolutionary leadership, the Nicaraguan revolution is continuing its course."

Slaughter. Insufficient organization. Crisis of leadership. Don't worry-- the revolution "is continuing its course"!

But there is more to this fraud. Militants in the SWP who think that they are in the SWP on the basis of opposition to "guerilla warfare" are seriously mistaken.

The present-day leadership of the SWP, its "reunification" with the Pabloite USec in 1963, which has determined all of its present policies, was made on the basis of ENDORSEMENT OF ARMED STRUGGLE and guerilla warfare. The document of the reunification, "Dynamics of the World Revolution Today" is a total endorsement of the strategy of guerilla warfare. Read it -- if you dare.

And Hansen's "orthodox" strategy of "party-building" opposed to Mandel's liquidationism? This is what the document of "reunification" had to say about "party-building" in Latin America:

"The revolutionary Marxists in Latin America, in general, will act as the best defenders of the Cuban Revolution and will SEEK TO INTEGRATE THEMSELVES into the

reformists on a continental scale. In this respect, it echoed the Bolshevik tradition." And "for the vanguard a great advance has been registered. They are now in a much better position to carry out their duty, which is to make the revolution." (Our emphasis)

What happened to OLAS? And how can any worker or militant of the SWP accept Hansen's "orthodoxy" today or blame the "guerillaist errors" on the Mandel faction alone? No one but total cynics.

TO "HUMAN RIGHTS"

But there is more to this question. We are not interested in "catching" Hansen and the SWP in a "contradiction." Because there is no contradiction. From 1963 to 1978 the SWP's policy towards Latin America and the US has been fundamentally the same -- adaptation to US imperialism through its Stalinist agents.

When did Hansen and the SWP suddenly become "orthodox"?

WHEN FIDEL CASTRO BECAME "ORTHODOX."

The revolutionary explosion of the international working class in 1968 opened up a new stage in the world revolution -- turning the tables in favor of the world proletariat and revealing the deep crisis of the international Stalinist apparatus and imperialism. The Stalinist apparatus, in order to save itself and imperialism had to deepen its collaboration with imperialism -- there was no longer any room for maneuvering.

Thus, while guerillaism in Latin America was a dead-end in the service of US imperialism to begin with, 1968 proved that even this trap wasn't sufficient to control the workers and youth in the Americas. By 1968 Castro had to become "orthodox" and proceeded to liquidate the revolution in the Americas in the "traditional" Stalinist way.

Leaving Che Guevara to the Bolivian Stalinists and CIA. Defense of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Total silence about the May-June events in France, silence about the massacre in Mexico. Support to the "revolutionary" military dictatorship in Peru. Telling the workers in Chile to give up their guns.

And today -- next to Jimmy Carter, the most fervent defender of "human rights" in the Americas. Each day moving closer and closer to US imperialism. Each day a greater and greater threat to the socialist conquests in Cuba and to the revolution throughout the Americas.

This and nothing else explains the

-- dislocated by the centrist treachery of the USec.

Joining the fight to prepare the Fourth International's CONFERENCE OF THE TWO AMERICAS this coming Spring as a decisive step in this direction. In the regroupment of the vanguard of the American proletariat in the fight against Stalinism and centrism throughout the Americas and the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

October 12, 1978

No Comment

PRESS CONFERENCE--HAVANA--Sept. 6, 1978
(from INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, 10/9/78:

Peter A. Arnett (Associated Press): You have frequently expressed your distaste for the Government of Nicaragua. What form of help could Cuba offer the troops attempting to overthrow the Somoza regime? Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro: I think that is an internal matter concerning Somoza and the Nicaraguan people. And I don't think that they need any help either; they know quite well how to get what they need, weapons and everything. They are doing that quite well.

October 2, 1968

MEXICO - Remember Tlateloco!



left them dead in the streets in 1968, left them isolated from the workers and youth throughout the world. France 1968 proved the bankruptcy of the French Communist Party. Prague '68 proved the futility of "réforming" the Stalinist apparatus. Chicago 1968 proved the impossibility of getting anything from the Democratic Party.

And the Plaza of Three Cultures proved the total bankruptcy of CASTROISM as any kind of revolutionary force in the Americas. Remember, the youth first went into the streets on July 26th to continue the Cuban revolution.

What was Castro's response to the massacre? NOTHING. TOTAL SILENCE -- to this date!

And even worse. On October 19, 1968 -- Cuban athletes marched past President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz in front of the Olympic reviewing stand, along with all the other Soviet and Eastern European athletes while thousands of Mexican youth were still being brutally tortured in prisons for participating in a "Castroist plot."

Mexican workers and youth -- remember this when you remember 1968 -- the treachery of Castroism and all who support it. Including the pseudo-Trotskyists of the USec (the PRT) who have joined with the Mexican Communist Party in asking this Bonapartist, assassin government to pass a "general amnesty law" which does not even meet the demands the workers and youth went into the streets for in 1968 and is a way of breaking any real mobilization in the streets to win amnesty.

And remember this special lesson. That in 1968 you were not just isolated from what was going on in France and Czechoslovakia by the Castroists, you were above all isolated from what was going on in the US -- the anti-war movement, the black movement which showed its defiance of imperialism by raising the black power fist at the '68 Olympics, and the mobilization of the US working class as a whole.

Never again. If the unity of the workers of the Two Americas means anything but words, it above all means the unity of the American and Mexican workers -- a revolutionary fight against US imperialism and the terrorist PRI regime in Mexico.

Only the Fourth International can draw this balance sheet and organize this fight. That is why we call on all Mexican workers and youth -- in Mexico and in the US, as well as the US working class as a whole to remember Tlateloco by joining with the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Fourth International in the preparation of the CONFERENCE OF THE TWO AMERICAS to be held this coming Spring.

October 10, 1978

J.C.

On October 2, 1968 Mexican tanks and shock troops opened fire on a peaceful demonstration of 15,000 workers and students in the Plaza of Three Cultures at the Tlateloco housing project in Mexico City.

Over 400 demonstrators were murdered, hundreds more wounded and thousands taken prisoner in the bloodiest massacre in Mexican history ordered in the name of the ruling "Institutional Revolutionary Party" (PRI) led by then-President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz.

The mobilization of the Mexican students and workers was part of the world upsurge that began in 1968: the May-June general strike in France, the political revolution in Czechoslovakia, the Democratic Party Convention battles in Chicago.

The mobilization in Mexico in 1968 began on July 26th with a mass street demonstration in honor of the Cuban revolution. The students were dispersed by the Mexican riot police, the "grenaderos," who fired on them and left at least ten dead (the "grenaderos" have a policy of disposing of bodies.). The next day all Mexican universities and high schools went on a protest strike, demanding full rights under the Constitution, end to police repression, freedom for all political prisoners.

The mobilization spread throughout the country and to the working class. On August 27th, 500,000 people marched in Mexico City at the call of the University strike committee, the largest demonstration in Mexico since 1938.

In September, the police took control and re-occupied the National University and the Politechnical Institute.

All of this concluded in the massacre in Tlateloco on October 2nd, on the eve of the 1968 Olympic Games.

The Tlateloco massacre must be remembered and avenged! And to do this the Mexican workers and youth must also remember and repay those who betrayed them,

SWP's "change." How Hugo Blanco, a Hansen supporter, could go from guerilla warfare in the 60's to saying in 1977: "If Jimmy Carter called a Conference on "human rights" we would be the first ones there." How the doctrine of "armed struggle" became an obstacle to the SWP's role in the US anti-war movement where it policed the ring, reactionary youth in order to create a miniature "popular front" with the liberal Democrats and trade union bureaucrats.

Why today the SWP, along with Castro, supports every maneuver of Carter's "human rights" in Latin America -- as with the Constituent Assembly in Peru and the "Broad Front" in Nicaragua and calls this "party-building."

And why the SWP today supports every maneuver of the left wing of the trade union bureaucracy against the workers mobilization and gives this the "orthodox" title of "sending the party into industry."

From "armed struggle" to "human rights" -- the same policy of support to Stalinism in the Americas through Castro. And thus adaptation to US imperialism.

And always sharing one fundamental thing in common with Fidel Castro -- contempt for the US working class. Hansen's book never mentions that at this same OLAS Conference hailed as a "great advance" Castro denounced the Latin American proletariat as "too weak" and declared that the "working class was not a truly revolutionary class."

Thus making the SWP's new "discovery" and "orthodoxy" about the American working class -- going from the "new radicalization" theory of the 60's in which they declared that the American revolution would be made by "blacks," "women," "gays," "Chicanos" and "students" to their "industrialization policy" today -- the same kind of fraud and the same kind of support to Stalinism.

Now it is the trade union bureaucracy, in a so-called "labor party" which will make the American revolution, not the "red universities." Just as rotten.

This is the real balance sheet that militants of the SWP must begin to draw of the "Cuban question." A balance sheet of the fraud of the "Leninist/Trotskyist Faction". A balance sheet, not of a phoney fight against "ultra-leftism," but the fundamentally right-wing policy of the SWP leadership and Castro vis-a-vis the Latin American and US working class.

And this balance sheet cannot be drawn in the framework of the United Secretariat. It unprincipled "reunification" in 1963 in support of Castroism itself speaks against this. As well as its entire (st)ory of dead-end factional struggle.

While all your leaders are blathering about "party-building" and "industrialization," the LCR's in France and Spain (at least) are calling on a petty bourgeois guerilla band to take power in Nicaragua.

No -- this balance sheet can only be drawn by militants of the SWP and by revolutionary workers in the US by breaking with this centrist support to Castroism. Breaking with it by joining the fight to rebuild the Fourth International in the US and throughout Latin America

SALT TALKS ARE A FRAUD WORKERS CAN & MUST DISARM IMPERIALISM

By MARGARET GUTTSHALL

Carter has just announced that he plans to meet with Brezhnev at the end of the SALT talks.

It will be his first meeting with the Stalinist chief who heads the anti-working class regime in the USSR and its apparatus around the world.

Why are they meeting?

The dramatic upsurge of the world proletariat, expressed in the uprisings in Nicaragua and Iran and the resistance to the imperialists' plans for the Middle East is shaking the existing order to its foundations. The imperialists need stricter Stalinist collaboration to maintain it. Carter and Brezhnev are meeting to plan this on an international scale.

The US bourgeoisie does not just depend upon the material resources at its disposal to remain in power in America and around the world. It depends also on the Stalinist regime in the USSR and its affiliates.

It depends on its practical support in crushing workers' uprisings. And it depends on its political support: its policy of peaceful coexistence with imperialism which confuses the working class, gives it the impression it can be safe while the imperialists remain on this planet; its policy of viciously suppressing youth, workers, and intellectuals in the USSR, and Eastern Europe which disgusts the working class, which gives the workers the impression this is the end result of the revolution Lenin and Trotsky led.

Without these politics, this apparatus -- in short, Stalinism -- the workers could have run the imperialists off the planet years ago. Carter needs Brezhnev.

What does Carter want?

Carter and the imperialist system he represents are so bankrupt, in such crisis, they have nothing to offer the world but building up the military might of the imperialist states, especially the US. Carter wants the Stalinist apparatus to go along with this without question, on the international scale and in every country.

While Carter has successfully hidden many of his demands from the working class, some he has not. He demands to continue working on a "cruise missile"

aimed at the USSR which is capable of surmounting all defenses. He demands the Stalinists stop working on their "Backfire bomber" and stop giving weapons to any other countries. He's let them know he will use satellites and economic sanctions to back up these demands.

This is the nature of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) that Carter wants Brezhnev to sign.

And let there be no doubt, Brezhnev will sign.

The regime in Russia and the rest of the Stalinist apparatus are no great enemies of American imperialism as Carter and others falsely claim. They are as hostile to and as crisis stricken by the workers' mobilization as the imperialists are. Has one leading Stalinist said a word about the massacres in Nicaragua or Iran or the treachery afoot in the Middle East, much less done anything about them? Grabbing onto and beefing up the imperialist bandwagon, while attempting to fool and suppress the workers is the Stalinist way out of crisis.

Brezhnev, Gromyko, and the American Communist Party have been stumbling all over each other saluting Carter's arrogant statements as a great step forward in the struggle for "detente, disarmament, and peace." At the same time they are putting forward a resolution in the United Nations to outlaw the use of force in international relations!

What treachery to support strengthening the imperialist state while pretending a resolution will stop it from using its bloody power!

The Stalinists support imperialism. They cover for it. That's why they have no qualms about organizing vicious trials against political opponents in the USSR. They want workers to think police dictatorships is what revolution leads to. They want to intimidate masses of workers in the USSR who can prove otherwise.

The pseudo-revolutionary United Secretariat claims that factions of the Stalinist apparatus led by Carillo in Spain and Althusser in France are different from the Kremlin, that it's possible to work with them and

take some advances, that they provide "openings."

They aren't different. On the fundamental question of peaceful coexistence with imperialism, not one of them differs. Not one of them has lifted a finger to stop Kremlin collaboration with imperialism in suppressing the working class, in the West or the East. Indeed, they've participated in it.

While the pseudo-revolutionaries may make formal reference to the extreme crisis of imperialism and Stalinism, and the indispensable role of Stalinism in maintaining imperialism, in practice they obscure it and deny it.

They have to because they align themselves with the Stalinist apparatus and its policies and seek to reform it.

In a recent article in the pseudo-Trotskyist MILITANT, "Carter's War Threats and Detente," they refer to Stalinist collaboration with imperialism, but advance the liberal bourgeois pacifist objectives of "peace" and "disarmament," as the Stalinists do, and simply call for "irreconcilable struggle" to achieve this rather than "summit meetings." The conclusions of the article read like advice to Brezhnev, as if it were possible to change the Stalinist criminals:

"The struggle of the South African Blacks and the people of Zimbabwe and South Africa against US and South African imperialism

contributes more to the struggle for peace and disarmament than all the summit meetings ever held... Irreconcilable and independent struggle against the nuclear armed madmen in the White House and the Pentagon can end the plague of war."

The Trotskyist Organization says real peace can only come about by building a Workers Party, arming the masses and disarming imperialism and Stalinism. It's fighting to make all workers aware of this and to achieve this.

THE MILITANT has joined the Stalinists in supporting the liberal bourgeois pacifist attempt to diffuse the hatred of the youth for imperialism, to channel it into an impotent reformist movement for "human needs, against 'nukes' and the arms race."

The working class can and must build a party to smash the imperialist states and the Stalinist apparatus which supports them. Anything else will only give Carter and Brezhnev more time. This is not a task for the distant future but an immediate one.

This is what the Trotskyist Organization and the Revolutionary Young Workers are fighting for in North and South America. This is what the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Youth International are fighting for around the world.
October 10, 1978



Carter speaks to NATO heads in Washington, D.C.