14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014
October 30, 1976

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

Enclosed for your information are materials dealing with a serious development in Denver, Colorado. We felt it was important to bring this matter to your attention as one concerned with the fight for social justice.

1. A copy of "An Open Letter from Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party to Rodolfo 'Corky' Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice."

2. A "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement" drawn up on October 2, and a list of the signers of that declaration as of October 26.

3. A copy of a letter by Corky Gonzales in response to the "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement."

4. A copy of a letter from Maria Serna of the Crusade for Justice responding to Fred Halstead's open letter to Corky Gonzales.

5. An open letter to Corky Gonzales from Fred Halstead and Elfego Baca.

If you have further questions on this matter, please feel free to contact us. Write: Fred Halstead, c/o Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014; or, Elfego Baca, c/o Young Socialist Alliance, 1379-81 Kalamath, Denver, Colorado 80204.

Yours in struggle,

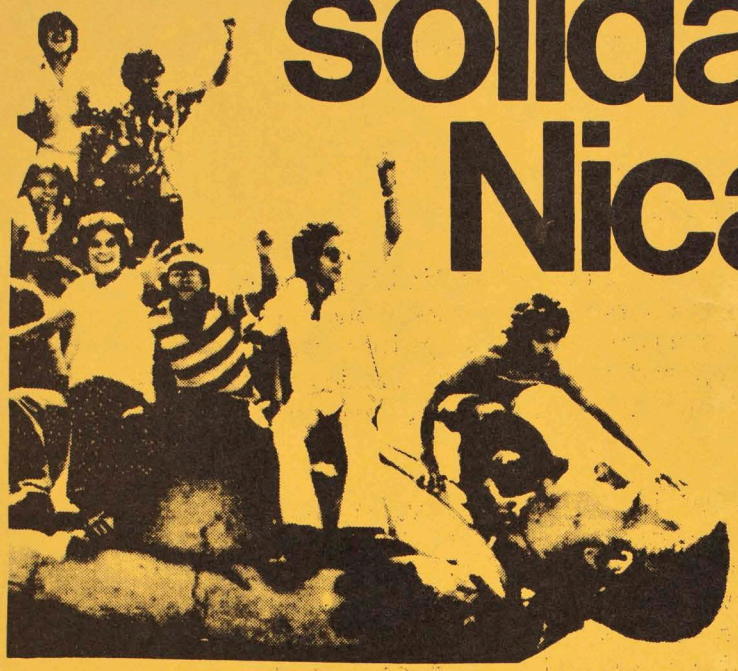
Fred Halstead

Fred Halstead
Socialist Workers Party

Elfego Baca (or)

Elfego Baca
Denver Young Socialist Alliance

Enclosures



solidarity with Nicaragua

Socialist Campaign Rally

HEAR, *Fred Halstead*
who has just toured Managua.
Was also the 1968 S.W.P. candidate for President.

Raul Gonzalez
Socialist Workers candidate for Mayor of S.D.
Member, Machinists Union, local 685.

Buffet & Refreshments Donation: $2:50
SUN. SEPT. 16, 6:00 PM
1053 15th St. SAN DIEGO

San Diego Socialist Workers 1979 Campaign Committee
1053 15th Street San Diego, CA 92101 **(714) 234-4630**
Chairperson: George Chomalou Treasurer: Rich Lesnik
A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

2

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
ATTN: News Editor
September 10, 1979

FOR MORE INFORMATION:
Mark Friedman 234-4630

SOCIALIST MAYORAL CANDIDATE DENOUNCES
NATIONAL CITY ARRESTS

Over this last weekend in National City 170 individuals were arrested on hastily thrown-together charges. The sweep and arrests amounted to a campaign of terror directed against the Chicano community. The racist sweep and arrests last Friday and Saturday nights could have been seen in South Africa, Iran or Nicaragua under Somoza.

Under the pretext of curbing crime in National City, Police Chief Terry Hart, acting under instructions from the National City City Council, ordered a sweep along a twenty-block long area of Highland Avenue, an area well known within the Chicano community for cruising. The result of this sweep and the arrests which were a part of it served to intimidate the entire community, especially the youth. The real goal of the National City City Council is not to curb crime, but to intimidate Chicano youth from cruising. The sweep was an act of racist arrogance, aimed at stopping low-riding, which is a part of the culture of the Chicano community.

Such terror tactics must be condemned. They serve no purpose but to insult and intimidate the entire Chicano population of San Diego county. I will use what influence I have to demand:

1. All the sweeps stop.

2. A public apology from Chief Hart and the National City City Council. to the entire Chicano community of San Diego County.
3. Drop the charges against those arrested.

Myself, campaign supporters and legal observers will be on hand next Saturday night on Highland Avenue to observe the actions of the police.

I invite all community leaders, public officials, and candidates for office to join with me in protesting these arrests and to join with me next Saturday night on Highland Avenue.

--Raul Gonzalez,
Socialist Candidate for
Mayor of San Diego

-30-

International Committee on IMMIGRATION & PUBLIC POLICY
PO BOX 7577
SAN ANTONIO, TX 78207
(512) 227-1220

July 26, 1977

Oakland Affiliate
415-729-7940

Estimado amigo,

It seems that la raza is getting it together all over the nation to make a coordinated statement to the Carter administration about its immigration policy.

On May 22, over 60 Chicanos representing more than 14 organizations met in San Antonio and voted to support the "Call For Action" issued by Zavala County judge José Angel Gutiérrez. (See enclosure).

The coalition, now named the International Committee on Immigration & Public Policy, also proposed the following plan of action:

- State conferences to be held around El Dia de la Raza (Oct. 12).
- National conference October 28-30 in San Antonio. Immigration and related issues will be discussed.
- Days of Action November 18-20 in Washington, DC. A delegation will present the demands formulated at the state and national gatherings to the government. Other cities to have mass rallies on same date as show of strength and unity.

Since this plan of action was formulated, similar coalitions have been formed throughout the country.

A June 14 meeting in Salt Lake City attended by 90 people heard Dr. Armando Gutiérrez of Austin speak on the need for a national Chicano conference to deal with immigration and other issues. This meeting voted to support the "Call For Action" and the San Antonio plan of action.

Similar meetings in Oakland, Albuquerque, Phoenix, and Kansas City have done the same. Over 200 individuals and organizations representing a broad spectrum have now endorsed the "Call For Action."

It is important that we get as many organizations to sponsor this conference as possible. Therefore, as one of our supporters, one of your most important tasks is to get other prominent individuals, community leaders, activists, and organizations in your area to join our list.

We are appealing to all interested organizations to help the Chicano/mejicano community on this ISSUE, regardless of their beliefs on other issues. We feel this is the only way to have a true coalition, something that the Chicano Movement really needs.

By putting together a coalition of groups, including churches of all faiths, groups devoted to immigration, unions and civil liberties organizations, student organizations, political groups of all persuasions, and community organizations, we can build a base from which to continue after this conference has come and gone.

The host group has drawn up the following tentative agenda for the conference:

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1977

6:00P.M.	Registration begins
7:00P.M.	Teatro performance (Teatro de los Barrios de San Antonio).
7:30P.M.	Rally, three speakers, each for 10-15 minutes.
8:15P.M.	Film, "The Unwanted".
9:00P.M.	Social time (beer, antojitos, music).

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1977

9:00A.M.	Registration continues
10:00A.M.	Welcoming address, 10-15 minutes. We would like to ask Bishop Flores de San Antonio or Bishop Arzube de Los Angeles to make a brief welcoming address.
10:15A.M.	Presentation of songs, poems, and prose about the border culture and its history. Dr. Americo Paredes de Austin, Jesus Negrete and Richard Santos have been suggested.
11:00A.M.	Presentation on the history of the issue of the undocumented worker, including the historical role of the INS will be given by Dr. Jorge Bustamante de Mexico.
12:00P.M.	Lunch
2:00P.M.	Workshops, each 1½ hours long, each repeated 3 times.

TOPICS:
- THE CARTER PLAN (to include invitations to Carter and Castillo).
- FARMWORKERS AND IMMIGRATION
- ORGANIZED LABOR AND IMMIGRATION
- THE CHURCH AND IMMIGRATION
- ECONOMICS AND IMMIGRATION
- DEFENSE CASES (for specific areas, e.g. Manzo case).
- INS(its operating proceedings and its function as agent of social control).

ROLE OF THE PRESS
LEGAL AND POLITICAL IMPACT (and potential power of undocumented workers as voters).
FEMALE UNDOCUMENTED WORKER
SOCIAL SERVICES (education, food stamps, health services, welfare, Medicaid, etc.).
MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES AND POLICIES

6:30P.M. Worshops terminate, all conferees reconvene for announcements and new information.

7:00P.M Workshops moderators assemble recommendations from their workshops

9:00P.M. Dance.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1977

10:30A.M. Plenary session for all conferees, plan for November days of action and workshop recommendations to be discussed and voted on.

NOTES:

Workshops will be directed by two people, one to keep the discussion going and the other to be responsible for writing the recommendations of the participants, Actual format of the workshops will be the decisions of the moderators.

If possible, all workshops and general meetings will be taped.

Continued emphasis should be given to developing strategies for immediate implementation in the barrio, i.e., what can the Chicano community do if the policy adopted by Carter and Castillo is not to our liking?

An information packet will be distributed containing a synopsis of each workshop. Workshop moderators will be responsible for sending in their synopses at least two weeks before the conference.

As we stated earlier, this agenda is tentative. What we need now are comments, criticisms and ideas. What other worshop topics should be included? Who of you will volunteer to be a workshop moderator? Who should we try to contact to be a speaker? What about the three day format--too long, too short? This conference should be the product of everyone's contribution, so please feel free to give <u>any</u> suggestions.

Please let us hear from you. We want and need your imput. Any checks that you may send should be made out to "Call For Action". The mailing address is Call For Action, P.O. Box 7577, San Antonio, Texas, 78207.

Sinceramente,

Robert Maggiani

Robert Maggiani

chairperson, Format Committee

Estimado amigo :

The format committee of the International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy is asking for suggestions and volunteers to act as resource persons for the October 28,29, and 30th meeting in San Antonio, Texas. Resource persons will be active at the workshops listed below. Two resouece persons per workshop are required. Four weeks prior to the meeting (Oct.2) are due information sheets on the particular workshop. The information or data sheet should include relevant historical or contemporary information. These sheets will be passed out to all workshop participants and form the basis for concrete discussion of the issue(s). For example:Law and Immigration

(1) 1924 Immigration law passed: description of law
(2) 1942 Bracero Program : P.L. 78, and P.L. 51
(3) 1977 Eilberg Immigration Law

For each point mentioned there should be a description of the item as well as all pertinent information. These info/data sheets will then be edited, expanded and readied for the meeting.

A resource person should have familiarity with the issues (info/data sheets). The second person at the specific workshop will record discussion and resolutions. Please sign below and volunteer for one of the workshops of your choice and familiarity.

WORKSHOP TOPIC	RESOURCE PERSON 1 (prepares info/data sheet)	RESOURCE PERSON 2 (records discussion)
1. Farmworkers and imm.		
2. Organized labor and imm.		
3. Churches and imm.		
4. economic impact		
5. Defense cases		
6. The INS		
7. The role of the press		
8. Political impact		
9. The Woman Undocumented Worker		
10. Social Services		
11. The Carter Plan		
12. Mexican Perspectives		
13._____		
14._____		
15._____		

Sinceramente,

Estevan Flores
Format Committee

National CHICANO / LATINO Conference

ON IMMIGRATION AND PUBLIC POLICY

OCTOBER 28-30

SAN ANTONIO, TEJAS

THE PARTICPATION OF EVERYONE WHO SUPPORTS HUMAN RIGHTS AND EQUALITY FOR ALL PEOPLE IS ENCOURAGED

A CALL FOR ACTION

ISSUED BY JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ, ZAVALA COUNTY JUDGE (TEXAS)

A crisis for all Spanish surnamed persons within the US of A is rapidly approaching. The very same man our Raza supported for the Presidency, now seeks to deport us. The Carter administration is designing a new immigration policy. We are the main targets.

The phobia mongers insist our people, because of our numbers, birth rate, geographic spread and undocumented status threaten the very underpinnings of this society. We are blamed for unemployment, disease, welfare costs, crime, slums and low wages. The truth of the matter is that Latinos are to be made the scapegoat for this administration's ineptness at solving economic problems of inflation, unemployment, wage depression and rising consumer frustration.

At times of war, the Mexican workers have been sought out by American growers and industry.

At times of expansion, Americans have not hesitated to take half of Mexico's land, the national resources and raw materials of South and Central America, and rule the Carribean.

At times of frustration, Americans deport us, reduce immigration quotas, and in general, reject us as legitimate Americans.

I believe this move toward our immigration policy ought to command our serious attention.

I write to invite you to help me sponsor a planning conference on immigration and related issues.

We should have a working conference to draft a Latino agenda on our needs.

We should confront Washington armed with this agenda this coming Fall.

CLIP AND MAIL TO: "CALL FOR ACTION"
P.O. Box 7577, San Antonio, Tx. 78207, (512) 227-1220

.Please add my name to the list of sponsors and put me on your mailing list.
.Enclosed is___$5 ___$10 ___$15 ___$20 ___$ (Amount) to help pay for the costs of building the conference.

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____
Phone No._____ School, Org._____

LABOR

DONATED

5

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JOSEPHINE LOPEZ, American GI Forum, Kansas City, Mo.*
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PHIL WHEATON, Ecumenical Program for Interamerican Commentary & Action, Washington, D.C.*
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JUAN YBARRA, Chicano Law School Assn., Houston*
JORGE ZARAGOZA, Texas Farm Workers Union
MIGUEL ZARATE, National Student Coalition Against Racism
GUILLERMO, ZELAYA, faculty, Merritt College, Oakland

*Organizations listed for identification purposes only

Date 9/21/77

A CALL FOR ACTION

Mesa College

Dear Friend:

As you know, Chicano leaders met this summer and have called for a National Chicano/Latino Conference to discuss immigration and public policy. This Conference has won wide support among Chicano leaders and activists, other Latinos, the Black community and civil rights activists.

Throughout the United States, coalitions have been formed including a wide variety of groups and individuals and have begun discussing mobilizing people in their areas to participate in the October 28-30 National Conference. Virtually every national Chicano leader and activist group is now geared into building this historic Conference. Initial indications are that several thousand people will be attending this Conference and thousands more will be participating in statewide and regional conferences prior to October 28-30 -- to discuss a campaign to defend undocumented workers, to mount a campaign to reverse the Bakke decision and to fight for bilingual/bicultural education, as well as many other issues.

The International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy, based in San Antonio, is coordinating the building of the Conference and is gathering ideas for workshops, panels, etc. They want the input of everybody. The Conference is being built as a massive, democratic and nonexclusionary conference.

In San Diego we are forming a Call to Action Task Force. Many individuals and groups have already started working on building the Conference and we want to pull together everybody to discuss building activities and ideas.

CITYWIDE PLANNING MEETING: Thursday, September 22 at 7:00 p.m.
[redacted] Rm. A2 (east of cafeteria,
[redacted] Chicano Studies)

We strongly urge you and your friends to attend this meeting.

Signed,

Jose Villarino, Chairperson of Mexican American Studies, SDSU
Marco Anguiano, Vice President of Assoc. Students, South Western College
Jerry Whitfield, President of Assoc. Students, South Western College
Centro de Trabajadores Mexicanos Inmigrados
Duane Fernandez, UCSD MEChA; Student Coalition Against Racism
MEChA, S.D. City College
Miguel Menchaca, Chairperson of Chicano Studies, S.D. City College

Initial list of San Diego endorsers of the Conference also include: Joseph Digman, former UFW staff org. & coord. (S.D.); Profesor Alurista, Mexican American Studies, SDSU; Ricardo Romo, History Dept., UCSD; Jesse Flemion, History Dept., SDSU; Nathan Katungi, Chairperson, Black Studies, CC; MEChA, UCSD; Barnet Ammar Saleem, World Community of Islam in the West, and Student Coalition Against Racism; Black Students Council, SDSU; La Raza Law Students Assoc., Western State Univ.; Joseph Gary Brown, former coord. Manzo Defense (S.D.); James N. Kerri, Afro Amer. Studies, SDSU; MEChA, CC; Joseph Sommers, Lit. Dept., UCSD; Javier Bautista, V.P. of MEChA, SDSU; Larry Schwartz, Exec. Brd S.D. ACLU, and prof., CC; Ternot MacRenato, Chicano Studies, CC; Newman Center, SDSU; Philip Flemion, Center for Latin American Studies, SDSU; Socialist Workers Party; Robert Burton, ASO, SWC; Arturo Herrera, Pres. MEChA, SWC, Mike Ornelas, Chicano Studies, Mesa College; Latin American Student Studies Organization, SDSU

(Organizations for identification only)

Note: Jose Angel Gutierrez not mentioned at all!!

Socialist Workers Party
1053 15th Street
San Diego, CA 92101

March 22, 1978

Mr. Herman Bacca
C/O Committee on Chicano Rights, Inc.
1837 Highland Avenue
National City, California 92050

Dear Mr. Bacca:

I am writing to inform you that several members of the Socialist Workers Party were prevented from distributing literature at a public meeting sponsored by your organization and at which you spoke. In addition to being told not to distribute literature, they were physically intimidated and threatened by individuals claiming to be from the CCR.

Since you have taken a principled stand in the past in opposition to violence within the movement I am drawing this to your attention in the hopes of avoiding future encounters of this kind. I think we can both agree that political differences, no matter how severe, should be settled in open debate and decided by the test of experience. Physical intimidation and threatened violence will not resolve these differences and will only open the movements of working people and all oppressed to further violence from the government and right-wing opponents.

Hopefully you can speak to the people involved and reaffirm to them your long-held position that violence within the movement is not acceptable.

Sincerely,

Roberta Scherr
Chairwoman
San Diego SWP

OUR NEXT MEETING
SATURDAY - JULY 30 - 12 NOON
1927 W. Commerce (corner Pinto)

All our supporters are invited. Come hear progress reports on how the conference is building all over the country. Bring a friend.

Join one of our work committees. We need your help in getting new supporters, developing an agenda for the conference, doing publicity, fund raising, etc.

Even if you can't come to this meeting and would like to help, give us a call at the office : 227-1220.

Socialist Workers Party
1053 15th Street
San Diego, Ca. 92101
October 18, 1978

Herman Baca, Chairman
Committee on Chicano Rights

Dear Mr. Baca:

We were pleased to note that members of both our organizations were able to participate in Saturday's important protest against the visit of Ian Smith in San Diego without incident.

This kind of united protest makes possible the strongest response by all opposed to racial and economic exploitation. We hope that there will be many more chances for us to work together for those goals we have in common.

As you know, we have been greatly distressed by an incident last month in which I and other members of the SWP were assaulted by members of the CCR and prevented from distributing literature on a public sidewalk. We understand that a number of individuals have contacted you about the incident. In addition several others have signed a statement against violence that we circulated at the time. I am enclosing a list of those who signed the statement.

It is our sincerest hope that in the future arguments within the movement can be settled through discussion and not violently. No one but our common enemy benefits from attempts to surpress the views of others within the movement.

We hope you will give this matter your most earnest attention. As we see it our rights are not the only ones threatened by this kind of intimidating tactics. All within the movement who wish to express a point of view are threatened.

Yours in the Struggle,

Jay Ressler
SWP Chairperson

DECLARATION AGAINST VIOLENCE

(In light of intimidation, threats and finally of a physical assault on members of the Socialist Workers Party, you are asked to add your name to this declaration.)

Members of the Socialist Workers Party were physically assaulted on September 24 by members of the Committee on Chicano Rights. The SWP members were attempting to peacefully exercise their democratic right to distribute campaign materials on behalf of the party's Gubenatorial candidate, Fred Halstead.

The meeting was a public event called by various Chicano organizations for a show of unity to select a candidate for the San Diego City Council.

The unprovoked attack on SWP members, which took place on a public sidewalk a half block from the meeting hall, was a culmination of a series of threats and intimidation directed against members of the SWP by members of the Committee on Chicano Rights.

By adding my/our name(s) to this statement, I/we make clear our stand in favor of the simple, democratic right to express a point of view without fear of physical reprisals from anyone, including from those with whom one might disagree. Differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by acts of violence. Physical violence and the suppression of the freedom of speech only opens the way for the police and the FBI and all the enemies of minorities to tear us apart. It will do nothing to resolve legitimate differences of opinion.

Signature_____
Name(print)_____
Address_____
City_____ State____ Zip_____
Phone_____

Organization (for identification only)
_____

Signers:
Armando Gutierrez, Chicano Legal Defense Fund
Sylvia Zapata, Denver
Walter Lippmann, Chairperson, Human Rights Committee, Social Serivces Union, Local 535, (SEIU) AFL-CIO
Reuben C. Espinosa, Jr., Steering Committee member, Police Community Partnership, Denver (promoting a Denver Police Commission)
Harry G. Backer, Prof. SDCC
Margaret M. Reinold, Gov. Brown Volunteer Committee
Warren S. Hoskins, Administrative Director, Miami Chapter, American Friends Service Committee

Please return to:
Socialist Workers Party
1053 15th St.
San Diego, CA 92101
(714) 234-4630

all organizations for identification only.

Lutheran Social Services of Southern California

2468 WEST PICO BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90006
(213) 385-2191

SWP

March 23, 1978

Committee on Chicano Rights, Inc.
Mike Castro

Mr. Castro,

It has come to our attention that your organization is involved in the isssue of the undocumented workers. We were at the office of Ruiz Productions, Inc., and noticed several pieces of literature against the Carter Plan. One was a folded leaflet, inside was Castillo's picture as the person for the Carter Plan and the opposite side were prominent leaders of the Chicano cause. Is it possible to receive a few of these flyers and any other materials you may have. We would appreciate it.

Pedro Vasquez

pedro vasquez
immigration advocate

REV. JOHN H. WAGNER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

BAKERSFIELD AREA
1030 FOURTH ST.
BAKERSFIELD, CA 93304
(805) 322-3462

INLAND EMPIRE AREA
4725 BROCKTON AVE.
RIVERSIDE, CA 92506
(714) 781-6700

LONG BEACH AREA
1611 PINE AVE.
LONG BEACH, CA 90813
(213) 591-4385

LOS ANGELES
2468 W. PICO BLVD.
LOS ANGELES, CA 90006
(213) 385-2191

ORANGE COUNTY
12432 NINTH ST.
GARDEN GROVE, CA 92640
(714) 534-6450

RENEWAL OUTREACH PROJECT
2468 W. PICO BLVD.
LOS ANGELES, CA 90006
(213) 385-2191

SAN DIEGO
1420 THIRD AVE.
SAN DIEGO, CA 92101
(714) 232-7388

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY
15520 SHERMAN WAY
VAN NUYS, CA 91406
(213) 785-5997

SAN GABRIEL VALLEY HILL HOUSE
529 N. HILL AVE.
PASADENA, CA 91108
(213) 795-6217

CHICANO LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

Estimado Amigo o Amiga,

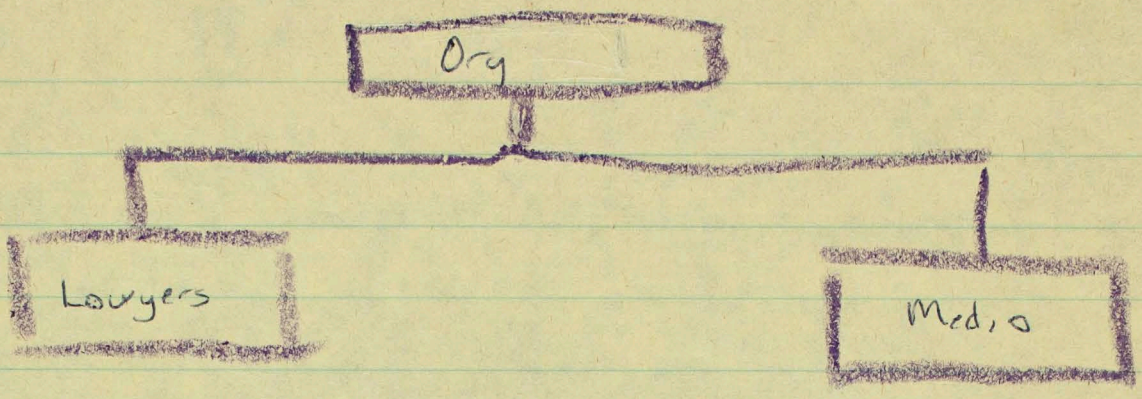
As you probably know already, President Carter's plan to deal with the issue of undocumented workers entails the use of a computerized ID card, initially for all "legal" aliens and later for every worker in the U.S. These computerized ID cards are ideal places to store information about the cardholder, information that would be unreadable to all but government computers. Given the revelations of the Select Senate Committee on Intelligence (Church committee) and the information gained by the lawsuits of the Socialist Workers Party and the Texas Raza Unida Party, it is virtually certain that these ID cards will be used to maintain dossiers on Chicano and other Latino political activists. This must not be tolerated and for this reason the Chicano Legal Defense Fund solicits your help in planning and carrying out an international conference on immigration that will address this issue of ID cards, as well as all other important aspects of the issue of immigration. Please feel free to contribute any ideas, suggestions, and of course, money, that you can. We need your help.

Siempre adelante,

Robert Maggiani

Robert Maggiani
Chicano Legal Defense Fund

P. O. Box 12865 • Austin, Texas 78711



(1) Document everything ALL case

(2) Demand a meeting with Mayor & Chief of Police - Picket out for Inv

(3) Send Letters to Office of Civil Right, Just. Dpt.

(4)

(1) # Know what you are talking about. Document all the cases you have.

(2) Go to the P.O. Bosses - Set up a meeting with the Mayor & the Chief of Police (call Media)

(3) Make Demands - Investigation, fire police officers civilian review board etc.

(4) Also send letters to Office of Civil Rights, Justice Dept. MAILDE to make an investigation.

Left in Form, Right in Essence

A Critique of Contemporary Trotskyism

This widely discussed 32-page pamphlet by Carl Davidson first appeared as a 12-part series in the Guardian in the Spring of 1973. It covers, in broad outline, both the historical and present-day issues raised in the people's struggles by the Trotskyists and presents a rebuttal to their views from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint.

Questions discussed in the pamphlet include: the permanent revolution, socialism in one country, the two-stage theory in the national liberation movement, the united front against fascism, and others.

The author also discusses the Trotskyist view of China, both historically and today, and gives an account of the origins of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S. Of particular interest is the examination of the present theory and practice of the Trotskyists, specifically the Socialist Workers party, and the unity of their reformist views with the modern revisionists. The pamphlet should be particularly useful in study groups.

What is the role of Trotskyism in the people's struggles today? What are its historical origins and what new forms has it taken in recent times? These are the questions addressed in this pamphlet, which first appeared as a 12-part series in the Guardian in the Spring of 1973.

Trotskyism: A new debate over old issues

The U.S. left in the last months of 1972 saw the revival in a sharp form of a debate that has been an undercurrent throughout its history.

The issue was Trotskyism and the focus was its ideological and practical role within the revolutionary movement. The immediate occasion of the debate was the political, military and diplomatic offensive of the Vietnamese people. The struggle culminated in their pressing of the nine-point peace treaty on the Nixon administration, demanding the signing of the agreement, the cessation of bombing and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The Vietnamese liberation fighters issued a call to all progressive forces in the world to bring to the forefront and rally behind the demand that Nixon "Sign the Treaty Now!" After initially indicating agreement, the U.S. balked, stalled for several weeks and then unleashed the terroristic Christmas bombing of North Vietnam.

Nixon's genocidal deeds failed to intimidate the Vietnamese. What is more the worldwide fury provoked by bombings and given direction by the political strategy of the Vietnamese leadership utterly isolated the Nixon administration and its Saigon henchmen before world opinion.

The demand to sign the treaty was the cutting edge of the struggle. On one side stood the Vietnamese people, the Indochinese united front, the national liberation movements, the socialist countries, the revisionist countries, the working class and democratic movements in the capitalist countries, a number of capitalist governments "allied" with the U.S. and even a section of the U.S. bourgeoisie itself.

On the other side stood the Nixon administration and the Saigon puppets.

But Nixon had one additional ally to set against this dramatic example of the international united front against U.S. imperialism--almost the entire Trotskyist movement.

The Trotskyists, too, were opposed to demanding that Nixon sign the treaty, urged that the agreement be scrapped and claimed that it would violate the "right of self-determination" of South Vietnam. They organized opposition to the demand within the U.S. antiwar movement, carried article after article in their press indicating that the treaty was a "sellout" and "betrayal" of Vietnam's national rights and threatened to organize separate protests if the demand was made the principal slogan of the planned mass mobilizations in January.

The Trotskyists believe that their position flows from a "revolutionary" analysis of the world situation and proceed to embellish their conclusions with "left" phraseology. What they actually demonstrate in practice, however, is the validity of the traditional Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the Trotskyist movement: that they are "left" only in form, but are thoroughly rightist in actuality.

Opposing the "sign the treaty" demand and counterposing it to the demand for immediate withdrawal is not simply an aberration on otherwise legitimate Trotskyist views on revolutionary questions. On the contrary, this disruptive line flows inevitably from the fundamental views of Trotskyist theory, their strategic approach to revolution and the characteristic features of their movement.

What has only begun to become clearer to the emerging revolutionary forces in the U.S. is exactly what the views of the Trotskyists are, what their role in history has been, and what role they play in current revolutionary practice.

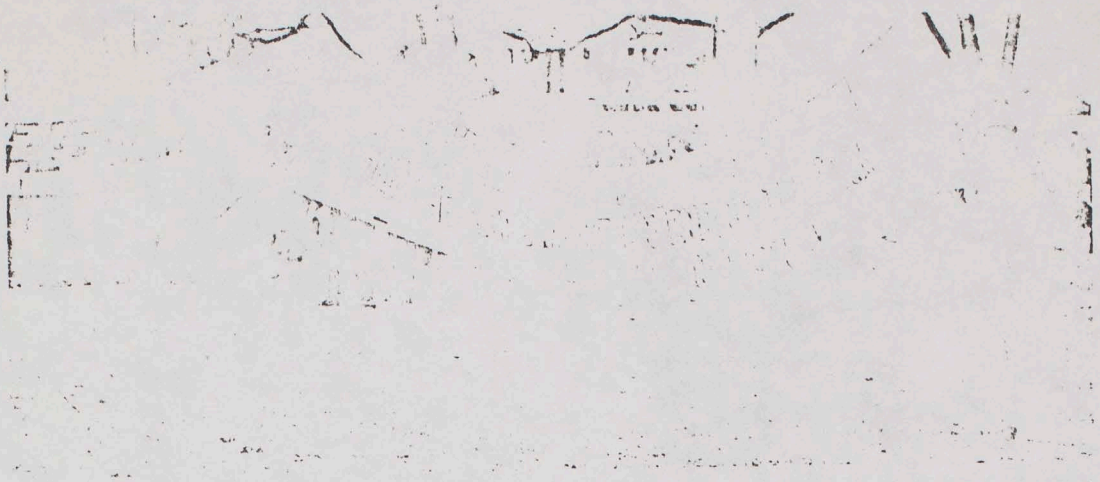
The most recent action taken by the Trotskyists in relation to Vietnam, in this sense, has one positive aspect: it has served to open the eyes of many activists to the dangers of this particular brand of "left" opportunism, and the necessity to struggle against its influence in the mass movement.

TROTSKYISM: THEN AND NOW

The purpose of this pamphlet, then, will be to contribute to that struggle. It will try to assess the historical role of Trotsky and Trotskyism, the main outlines of its theory and its interrelation with practice and the key features of the contemporary Trotskyist movement, including the unity and differences among the various groupings within its ranks.

The history of the Trotskyist movement is bound up with the political career of Leon Trotsky himself. Trotsky's public role as a spokesman for the October Revolution in Russia and his position as the first head of the Red army during the period of the Civil War has been and still is a source of prestige for his followers.

Copyright 1973 by the Guardian, 32 W. 22nd St., New York, N.Y., 10010. Price 65 cents. This pamphlet was originally published as a series of 12 articles in early 1973 in the Guardian newsweekly.



Per-Olof Odman

Most Trotskyists opposed "Sign the Treaty" demand.

What is less well known is the erratic movement of Trotsky and his supporters throughout the course of the Russian revolution, his origins as a Menshevik, his initial hostility to Lenin and the Bolshevik party, and his struggles with Lenin after the seizure of power.

The development of the Trotskyist movement, however, both during Trotsky's lifetime and after his death, has been shaped by events often beyond and in opposition to the subjective intentions of its founders.

Trotskyism originated, for instance, as a tendency within the working-class movement, alternately reflecting in its ranks the outlook of the radical petty bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy. Today, whatever base it once had in the working class has evaporated and it is primarily a movement of the middle class youth in the advanced capitalist countries.

While the general trend of Trotskyism's development has been one of decline, the course has not been even. Periodically, in conjunction with both objective and subjective developments in the class struggle, it experiences a revival, as it has today in many of the advanced capitalist countries.

ASPECTS OF THE REVIVAL

The contemporary revival of the Trotskyist movement has two key aspects. The objective factor is related to the moribund character of imperialism, which sets itself against not only the class interests of the proletariat, but also increasingly drives into the democratic struggles the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and other radicalized middle strata.

This radicalization of the petty bourgeoisie in opposition to the policies of monopoly capital and in response to the struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities was one of the key features of the emergence of the "new left" in the 1960s.

It has had a fundamentally progressive, anti-imperialist character while, at the same time, these forces have demonstrated a vacillation typical of their class base and an inability to go beyond, on their own, the limits of reformism. Agim Popa, writing in the September-October, 1972 issue of Albania Today, drew the connection between Trotskyism's revival and the middle class radicalization:

"Precisely these vacillations, this petty bourgeois instability, inclinations to go from one extreme to another, from anarchism and unbridled adventurism to extreme right opportunism and defeatism, constitute the favorable ground on which Trotskyism flourishes and speculates for its own counter-revolutionary aims."

There is also a subjective factor contributing to Trotskyism's periodic revivals. Because of its self-constructed character as a "permanent opposition" within the revolutionary movement, its fortunes are often tied to the relative strength of right opportunism or even to opportunist errors or polices temporarily pursued by revolutionary forces.

The primary and most recent example of this was the 20th Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Under the smoke-screen of attacking "Stalin's crimes," party chairman Nikita Khrushchev abandoned the Leninist theory of the proletarian dictatorship and projected the "three peacefuls" as the essence of revolutionary strategy: peaceful competition, peaceful coexistence and peaceful transition.

These events of the late 1950s signaled a qualitative change both in the Soviet Union and in the ongoing struggle within the international proletarian movement between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. For the first time in history, revisionists held state power and the fact that "de-Stalinization" had been the mechanism through which it had achieved its aim gave the Trotskyist movement an entirely new lease on life. As Popa put it:

"After the 20th and especially after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, where the renegade launched the savage campaign of anti-Stalinism, Trotskyism, which had been dealt heavy blows

and had lost all influence on the masses, raised its head, resumed its undermining activity on a broad scale, and extended its poisonous roots to many areas and countries of the world. Like mushrooms after a shower, Trotskyist groups and organizations started to crop up in large numbers in Europe, America and in other areas."

These events sharply affected the initial character of the U.S. new left, which saw itself in opposition to the "old left" of the 1930s and, as a result, was isolated from the lessons of the proletarian socialist movement. While it was subjectively opposed to the reformist policies of the revisionists, it also found itself hamstrung in combating the influence of Trotskyism within its ranks.

Despite this temporary revival of Trotskyism, however, Trotskyism's internal contradictions soon began to rise to the fore and are now again leading to a crisis within its own movement. These internal contradictions are part and parcel of Trotskyist theory itself and will inevitably contribute to its defeat in the course of the class struggle.

Two lines on 'permanent revolution'

The cornerstone of the Trotskyist political line is its particular version of the theory of the "permanent revolution."

What are its essential features? What separates it from the ideas of the permanent revolution put forward by Marx and Lenin and, in the final analysis, what turns it into a counter-revolutionary theory and practice?

The origin of the Marxist theory of the permanent revolution stems from the following question: How do proletarian revolutionaries conceive their strategic tasks in the countries where the bourgeois democratic revolution against feudalism has yet to be carried through to the end?

The same question was posed by the anarchists in a different way: Why should the workers become involved in the battles of the bourgeoisie, i.e., against the old, feudal order? In his work, "Two Tactics," Lenin answered as follows: "The working class is, therefore, most certainly interested in the broadest, freest and most rapid development of capitalism. The removal of all remnants of the old order...is of absolute advantage to the working class....

"The more complete, determined and consistent the bourgeois revolution, the more assured will the proletariat's struggle be against the bourgeoisie and for socialism. . . In a certain sense a bourgeois revolution is more advantageous to the proletariat than to the bourgeoisie. . . . It is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie to rely on certain remnants of the past, as against the proletariat, for instance, on the monarchy, the standing army, etc. .

"Social-Democrats (communists) often express this idea somewhat differently by stating that the bourgeoisie betrays its own self, that the bourgeoisie betrays the cause of liberty, that the bourgeoisie is incapable of being consistently democratic."

The problem posed, then, is how does the proletariat carry through the democratic revolution in such a way that it grows over into a socialist revolution.

"While the democratic bourgeoisie wish to terminate the revolution as quickly as possible," said Marx in his "Address to the Communist League," "our interests and our tasks consist in making the revolution permanent until all the more or less property-owning classes have been removed from power, until the proletariat has conquered state power, until the union of proletarians not only in one country, but in all the leading countries of the world, has developed to such an extent that competition between proletarians of those countries has ceased and at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of proletarians. What we are concerned with is not a change in private property, not softening class contradictions, but abolishing classes, not improving existing society, but founding a new society."

Thus the revolution is "permanent" in two ways. First, in looking toward the future, its course is one of uninterrupted class struggle until classes themselves are abolished. Second, looking back historically once classes are abolished, the revolution is permanent in the sense that there is no longer class struggle and the seizure of power and domination of one class by another.

This is a general statement of the theory of the permanent revolution that is upheld by Marxist-Leninists. Where the dividing line between proletarian revolutionaries and Trotskyists emerges, however, is in the particularity of the question, when it is applied in practice in the actual course of revolutionary struggle.

ONE DIVIDES INTO TWO

How did the forces represented by both Lenin and Trotsky see the course of the "uninterrupted" revolution in the concrete conditions in Russia? How were they able to ally temporarily and what respective lessons were drawn that led to "one dividing into two," through the emergence of two lines on the strategy for revolution throughout the world?

Three positions were debated among Russian revolutionaries on how the struggle would develop. All started from the premise that the first task was the bourgeois revolution but then

broke down into Menshevik, Trotskyist and Bolshevik camps.

The Menshevik view was rightist. They believed that since it was a bourgeois revolution, it would be led by the liberal bourgeoisie and supported by the working class. Its aim would be the creation of a democratic republic headed by the capitalists as its first stage, which would last for as long as 200 years before being surpassed by its second stage, or proletarian socialist revolution.

This view was reactionary on two counts. First, it proposed a subordinate alliance with a class bound to betray even its own democratic aims. Second, it favored this alliance with the liberals as opposed to an alliance with the peasantry, which the Mensheviks tended to view as a conservative force and the base of reaction.

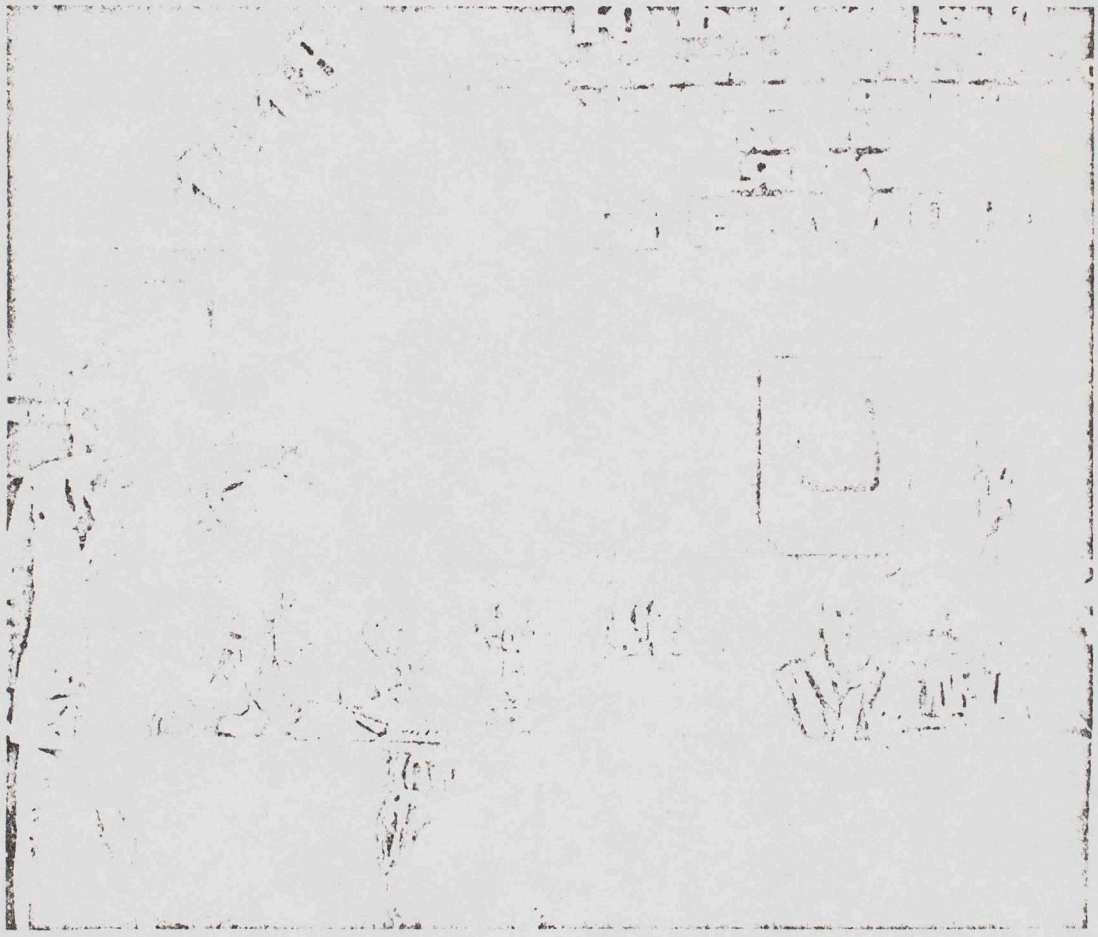
Trotsky's view, which Lenin designated "absurdly left," was summed up by its formulator in his essay, "The Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution," in the following way: "The complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is inconceivable otherwise than in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat basing itself on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which will inescapably place on the order of the day not only democratic but also socialist tasks, will at the same time provide a mighty impulse to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the West will shield Russia from bourgeois restoration and secure for her the possibility of bringing the socialist construction to its conclusion."

Lenin's view was opposed to both of these. Against the Mensheviks he stated the following: "The proletariat must carry through, to the very end, the democratic revolution by attaching to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyze the instability of the bourgeoisie."

In order to thus "paralyze" and keep the bourgeoisie from fully consolidating its power, Lenin said, the revolutionary masses would have to establish a "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry."

"But of course," he added, "this will be, not a socialist but a democratic dictatorship. It will not be able to touch upon the foundations of capitalism (without a whole series of stages of revolutionary development)."

In opposition to Trotsky, then, Lenin insisted that the revolution would develop in stages, of which this was the first. At the same time this was only to be a transitional state of affairs, which would immediately and uninterruptedly grow over to the second stage, the dictatorship of



Trotsky, speaking here in 1923, soon opposed Lenin's views.

Chicano Research 282-5145 A.

the proletariat, wherein:

"The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution by attaching to itself the mass of the semiproletarian elements of the population (the poor peasants) in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyze the instability of the petty bourgeoisie."

The relationship between the two stages, Lenin said, was that "the first grows into the second. The second, in passing, solves the problems of the first. The second consolidates the work of the first. Struggle, and nothing but struggle, decides how far the second succeeds in outgrowing the first." In another work he added, "to attempt to raise an artificial Chinese wall between the first and second revolutions, to separate them by anything else than the degree of preparedness of the proletariat and the degree of unity with the poor peasants, is to seriously distort Marxism, to vulgarize it, to substitute liberalism in its stead."

Trotsky opposed the concept of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" and considered it "unrealizable" in practice. "In this polemic," Trotsky writes in his work "The Permanent Revolution," "I accused Lenin of overestimating the independent role of the peasantry. Lenin accused me of underestimating the revolutionary role of the peasantry."

Trotsky claims to uphold the alliance between the workers and peasants, at least insofar as democratic tasks are being carried out. When socialist tasks are on the agenda, however, his position shifts drastically:

"... Precisely in order to secure its victory, the proletarian vanguard would be forced in the very early stages of its rule to make deep inroads not only into feudal property but into capitalist property as well. In this the proletariat will come into hostile collision, not only with the bourgeois groupings which supported the proletariat in the first stages of revolutionary struggle, but also with the broad masses of peasants who were instrumental in bringing it to power."

Elsewhere, Trotsky is even more blunt: "Left to its own forces, the working class of Russia will inevitably be crushed by the counter-revolution the moment the peasantry will turn away from it."

SPECIAL FORM OF ALLIANCE

Lenin's view is directly opposite: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a special from of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the toilers, and the numerous nonproletarian strata of the toilers (the petty bourgeoisie, the small craftsman, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.) or the majority of these."

Thus Trotsky's talk about the "independent role" of the peasantry is a smokescreen and Lenin was absolutely correct in arguing that Trotsky underestimated its revolutionary role. At the same time, the other side of the coin of this "underestimation" is the denial of the ability of the workers to lead the masses of the peasants in socialist construction, since they are bound to come into "hostile collision" with them.

Trotsky's views on the course of the Russian revolution, like those of the Mensheviks, were refuted by history. The revolution was both uninterrupted and developed in stages. The revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants came into being during the first stage, during the period of the dual power and in the special form of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. These Soviets, of course, as their "degree of preparedness" of the workers and "degree of unity" with the poor peasants increased, grew over into the proletarian dictatorship through the October Revolution. What this meant for Trotsky's "permanent revolution" becomes clear when it is considered with the concept of "socialism in one country."

Socialism in one country

It is an historical fact that Trotsky stood together with Lenin and the Bolshevik party during the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia.

But it is also true that in February 1917 Lenin termed Trotsky a "swine" and "scoundrel" and in March of 1918 declared his views on the most crucial issue to the survival of the revolution--the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty—to be "absolutely wrong."

Why were Trotsky and the Leninists able to find a temporary unity during the October period? Why did that unity succumb to a series of "tactical" differences which eventually developed into two opposing lines on the question of building "socialism in one country?"

The answer lies in the internal contradiction in Trotsky's views and his failure to take into account the changing national and international objective conditions determining the course of the revolutionary struggle.

On one hand, Trotsky stood in opposition to the bourgeoisie and called for the immediate transition to the proletarian dictatorship. In spite of the fact that this was an ultra-leftist position prior to the first stage of the revolution in February, Trotsky's opposition to the Provisional Government and his call for the assumption of all power to the Soviets during the transition to the second stage placed him objectively in the same position as the Bolsheviks.

On the other hand, Trotsky stood in opposition to the Bolsheviks in claiming that the proletariat was bound to come into "hostile collision" with the broad masses of peasants during socialist construction and that "without direct state support from the European proletariat, the working class of Russia cannot maintain itself in

Josef Stalin.

power and transform its temporary rule into a durable socialist dictatorship. This we cannot doubt for an instant."

These differences between Trotsky and the Leninists did not immediately become paramount for two reasons, both related to objective conditions. First, internally, Trotsky's views on the peasantry did not immediately come to the foreground because the Soviet power's first tasks in the countryside were not socialist construction but the completion of the democratic revolution against the big landlords.

With this much Trotsky agreed. But he did not believe it could go much further without socialism in power in Western Europe. After victory in the Civil War and the successful conclusion of the temporary retreat during the period of the New Economic Program (NEP), the objective conditions changed. Trotsky's underlying views on the peasant masses did not change, however, which led him to vacillate on agrarian policy and finally to term the actual rural collectivization an "economic adventure."

Second, on external questions concerning the "direct state support" of the European workers, Trotsky's disagreements were seen as "tactical" because the immediate postwar period was viewed as one of acute crisis for the capitalists and direct revolutionary offensive by the revolutionary proletariat. Despite the emergence of Soviets in Hungary and Germany, however, the offensive failed to bring about another proletarian state power. After its peak in 1921, the offensive slacked off and by 1923 had turned into a proletarian defensive and a new period of temporary stabilization and offensive by capital.

Why were the proletarian forces unable to go further and take power in Europe? "It could have taken place," said Lenin, "but for the fact that the split within the proletariat of Western Europe was deeper, and the treachery of the former socialist leaders greater, than had been imagined." Trotsky, on the other hand, laid the main blame not on the social-democratic opportunists, but on "the weaknesses, unpreparedness and irresolution of the communist parties and the vicious errors of their leadership...."

But what did this turn of events mean for the new Soviet power?

Although Lenin had proclaimed in March 1918 "that without a revolution in Germany, we shall perish," he also made the point even earlier, in 1915, that "uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country taken separately."

"It has turned out," said Lenin later, after the Civil War, "that while our forecasts did not materialize simply, rapidly and directly, they were fulfilled insofar as we achieved the main thing. The possibility has been maintained of the existence of proletarian rule and the Soviet Republic even in the event of the world socialist revolution being delayed."

"But is the existence of a socialist republic in a capitalist environment at all conceivable?" Lenin asked again. "From the political and military aspects it seemed inconceivable. That it is possible, both politically and militarily, has now been proved. It is a fact."

By ignoring the changed objective conditions, Trotsky arrived at the opposite conclusion: "The organic interdependence of the several countries, developing toward an international division of labor, excludes the possibility of building socialism in one country. This means that the Marxist doctrine, which posits that the socialist revolution can begin only on a national basis, while the building of socialism in one country is impossible, has been rendered doubly and trebly true, all the more so now, in the modern epoch...."

FINAL VICTORY IS WORLDWIDE

Marxist-Leninists, of course, have never held that the final victory of socialism--the classless society--is possible in one country. "According to the Leninist viewpoint," states Mao Tsetung, "the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated."

The Trotskyists consider this distinction between the final aims and the present tasks of socialist construction to be so much sand thrown in the face of the masses. "The lowest stage of communism," said Trotsky, referring to Marx's term describing the initial period of socialist construction, "begins at that level to which the

most advanced capitalism has drawn near."

Most socialist construction that has taken place in the world has been in relatively backward countries. But to call it "socialism," in Trotsky's view, would only "hopelessly discredit the idea of socialist society in the eyes of the toiling masses." (If this position were not patently ridiculous, one would be led to the conclusion that the deepest and broadest hatred of socialism in the world today would be permeated among the masses of the Chinese people.)

IDEALISM VERSUS MATERIALISM

How can Trotsky arrive at such a conclusion? By adopting an idealist rather than a materialist world outlook: "The Soviet proletariat has achieved grandiose successes," writes Trotsky in 1928, "if we take into consideration the conditions under which they have been attained and the low cultural level inherited from the past. But these achievements constitute an extremely small magnitude on the scales of the socialist ideal."

What is Trotsky's "socialist ideal?" Writing in 1936, after the successful conclusion of the first five-year plan and the collectivization of agriculture, Trotsky still says "there is not yet, in this fundamental sense, a hint of socialism in the Soviet Union." Why? Because "socialism, if it is worthy of the name, means human relations without greed, friendship without envy and intrigue, love without base calculation."

Proletarian revolutionaries, of course, must never forget the final aims of their movement and always fight to implement them in the fullest way possible in the present day struggle. But Trotsky's use of these standards to measure the advances of socialism under conditions of class domination and class struggle reduces the role of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard to that of a Sunday-school parson prattling moralistic aphorisms.

This utopianism, however, is only the veneer on the Trotskyist attack on socialist construction "in one country." Its essence is what has led many revolutionaries to attack Trotskyists for "supporting socialism everywhere in the world except where it exists," that is, anti-communism.

The Soviet government, writes Trotsky in 1936, "had become 'totalitarian' in character several years before this word arrived from Germany." What are the roots of fascism? "Japanese militarism" and the "triumph of Hitler," says Trotsky, "are alike the fruits of the policy of the Communist International." To make sure the point gets across, he adds, "Stalinism and fascism, in spite of a deep difference in social foundations, are symmetrical phenomena. In many of their features they show a deadly similarity."

That Trotsky's position would lead him into this camp of the social-democratic renegades became clear to the leadership of the Bolshevik party by 1924. At that time Trotsky's initial unity with the Leninists had been transformed into its opposite. There were now two lines—the proletarian and the urban petty bourgeois—on almost every question. The ensuing struggle between them and their practical ramifications manifested itself in a debate conducted within the party over three years and led finally to the expulsion of Trotsky and his "left" opposition in 1927.

What were the strategic questions involved? In a 1925 speech Stalin focused the question again on the role of the peasantry and asked why it assumed exceptional importance in the Soviet Union at that time:

"The...reason why the peasant question has assumed exceptional importance for us at the present moment is that, of the allies of the Soviet power, of all the proletariat's principal allies—of whom there are four, in my opinion—the peasantry is the only ally that can be of direct assistance to our revolution at this very moment."

The four allies were: the proletariat in the developed countries, the oppressed people in the underdeveloped countries, the conflicts and contradictions between the capitalist countries and, lastly, the peasantry.

The proletariat in the West, Stalin believed, was the principal ally. But due to its defensive position in the temporary stabilization it was "unable to render us direct and decisive assistance at the present moment." The oppressed peoples, he said, were "coming directly to our help, but it is evident that they will not arrive quickly." The contradictions among the capitalists had several aspects and could not be relied upon.

"There remains the fourth ally—the peasantry," he said. "It is by our side, we are living together, together we are building the new life. . . . The peasantry is not as reliable an ally as the proletariat in the developed countries. But, for all that, it is an ally, and of all our existing allies it is the only one that can render us, and is rendering us, direct assistance at this very moment, receiving our assistance in exchange."

TWO LINES ON ALLIES

Stalin then pointed to the two lines within the party: "Has this question—the question of the peasantry—any connection with the question of Trotskyism, which you have discussed here? Undoubtedly it has.

"...Can the bond, the alliance between the workers and peasants, be established if the theory which involves disbelief in that alliance, i.e., the theory of Trotskyism, is not smashed? No, it cannot. The conclusion is obvious: whoever wants to emerge from NEP as the victor must bury Trotskyism as an ideological trend."

Thus Trotsky's position on the impossibility of "socialism in one country" led him and his followers into a blind alley. The path there was paved by a dogmatic and subjective world view that denied the law of uneven development in the imperialist epoch. Its fruit had two aspects: an

infantile "leftism" that led to a line of "skipping stages" and the "export" of revolution and a right opportunist "theory of productive forces" similar to those held in the 1960s by Khrushchev and Liu Shao-chi. This became most apparent in the Trotskyist view of the Chinese revolution and the national liberation movements in general.

The Two-stage revolution

Trotsky's last stand in his battle against the Comintern, while he was still within its ranks, was on the question of the Chinese revolution.

Today his contemporary followers stand in opposition to China's path of socialist development and its contribution to the strategy of world revolution.

What is the connection between the two?

The heart of the Trotskyist position on the Chinese revolution lies in its failure to grasp the essence of the revolution's first stage as a bourgeois-democratic revolution combining the agrarian struggle against feudalism with the national liberation struggle against foreign imperialism.

China in the 1920s was a vast semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Its population was overwhelmingly comprised of rural peasants under the yoke of a large feudal landholding class. The nation was disunited, torn apart by warlord rivalries throughout the country, and through competing imperialist powers dominating and looting its various coastal cities.

The Chinese industrial proletariat was small but militant, concentrated in a few urban centers. The bourgeoisie was weak and divided. Its most powerful sector was a class of compradors or "bureaucrat capitalists" integrated with colonial interests and linked to feudal forces. In between there was a more numerous national or "middle" bourgeoisie, itself hemmed in by the feudal warlords and foreign capital, but exploiters of the workers and peasants nonetheless. At the other end was also a large urban petty bourgeoisie, comprised of many diverse strata.

FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

This is a brief summary of a more detailed picture of China drawn by Mao Tsetung in his 1926 essay, "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society." Mao wrote the work in order to answer the question he posed as of "the first importance for the revolution: Who are our enemies? Who are our friends?" He answered in the following way:

"Our enemies are all those in league with imperialism – the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them. The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat (the peasant masses) and petty bourgeoisie. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their right wing may become our enemy and their left wing may become our friend– but we must be constantly on our guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks."

Trotsky completely opposed this position, which was essentially the same as that of the Comintern's call during the 1920s for a revolutionary "bloc of four classes" in China. The "bloc" was seen as a national united front of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. The spearhead of the struggle was to be aimed at foreign imperialism. Its leading force was to be the proletariat and its motive force was to be the agrarian revolution of the peasant masses against the feudal landlords.

Politically, the bloc took the form of an alliance between the Communist party and the Kuomintang (KMT), which was at that time waging a massive armed struggle against feudal and imperialist forces. The CP joined its ranks, following the guidance of the 1923 Third Congress of the Comintern, led by Lenin, to "push the Kuomintang leftward." While members of the KMT and its armies, however, the CP was to maintain its political and organizational independence in order to bring into effect the leading role of the working class within the

Mao Tsetung: Applied Marxism-Leninism to China's conditions.

united front. While the KMT was comprised of all classes, it represented the interests of the national bourgeoisie, initially under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen and later of Chiang Kai-shek.

Trotsky considered the "bloc of four classes" counter-revolutionary and a manifestation of "Menshevism" imposed in China by Stalin. In his view the struggle had to be spearheaded against the bourgeoisie as a whole. At the same time, he played down or dismissed entirely the feudal and imperialist targets of the revolution.

'NO LANDLORDS'

"There is almost no estate of landlords in China," Trotsky wrote in a ludicrous passage in his 1929 work, "The Permanent Revolution." "The landowners are much more intimately bound up with the capitalists than in Tsarist Russia, and the specific weight of the agrarian question is therefore much lighter than in Tsarist Russia."

Stalin, in a reply to Trotsky at a 1927 meeting of the Comintern, noted the vast and elemental upsurge of the peasants against the feudal landlords and asked:

"Where does the agrarian revolution in China, with its demand for the confiscation of the landlords' land, come from? . . . Surely, the agrarian revolution cannot have dropped from the skies?"

Trotsky practically liquidated the agrarian content of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and limited its scope mainly to the interests of the national bourgeoisie. "The Chinese revolution," he states in "The Chinese Revolution and the Theses of Comrade Stalin," "has a national bourgeois character principally because the development of the productive forces of Chinese capitalism collides with its governmental customs dependence upon the countries of imperialism."

"The revolution in China," Stalin answered Trotsky ironically, "is primarily, so to speak, an anti-customs revolution. . . .

"Permit me to observe," he continued, "that this is the viewpoint of a state counselor of 'His Highness' Chang Tso-lin (China's self-proclaimed emperor.)

"If Trotsky's viewpoint is correct, then it must be admitted that Chang Tso-lin and Chiang Kai-shek are right in not desiring either an agrarian or a workers' revolution and in striving only for the abolition of the unequal treaties and the establishment of customs autonomy for China."

RIGHTEST IN ESSENCE

Thus through its "left" form of opposition to the national united front during the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist stage of the revolution, Trotsky's viewpoint is revealed to be rightist in its essence.

How were these questions reflected in the actual practice of the Chinese revolution? The Trotskyists have claimed that Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the united front and massacre of Communists in 1927 conclusively demonstrated the "counter-revolutionary" character of the Comintern line at the time as well as Mao's line as it is still being developed and applied today.

The Chinese Communist party believes that its line was correct during "the early and middle stages" of the 1924-27 period and was summed up by Mao in his "Analysis of Classes. . . ." Toward the end, however, as Chiang Kai-shek shifted increasingly to the right and the national bourgeoisie, in the main, deserted the revolution, the party's line came to be dominated by the right opportunist policies of Chen Tu-hsiu, the CPC's general secretary.

In the face of the KMT's efforts to subordinate the CPC, spurred on by the growing fear of the worker and peasant upsurge within the KMT leadership, Chen Tu-hsiu pursued a policy of "all alliance and no struggle" within the united front, thus liquidating the proletariat's leading role. Chen also feared the peasant risings, believing they had "gone too far" and that they were a "conservative" force "unlikely to join the revolution." In practice this meant capitulation to the betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek.

'LEFT' OPPOSITION TO PEASANTS

At the same time a second deviation arose in the CPC, the "left" opportunist line of Chang Kuo-tao, aimed at "all struggle and no alliance." While Chen Tu-hsiu only curried favor with the KMT and discounted the peasants, Chang Kuo-tao urged reliance "only on the labor movement" and likewise discounted the peasants.

Opposed to what was identical in both the right and "left" opportunist lines was Mao Tsetung, who organized and supported the agrarian revolts, stating that "without the poor peasants there would be no revolution." Mao's policy on the united front throughout the Chinese revolution was one of both "unite with and struggle against," always maintaining the independence of the CPC, its leading role among the masses and its armed power.

Mao's position did not win hegemony at the time. "In 1927 Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationism," Mao wrote later in 1937, "led to the failure of the revolution. No member of our party should ever forget this historical lesson written in blood."

Which tendency was most represented by the general line of the Comintern? "I know that there are Kuomintangists and even Chinese Communists," Stalin stated in 1926, "who do not consider it possible to unleash revolution in the countryside, since they fear that if the peasantry were drawn into the revolution it would disrupt the united anti-imperialist front. That is a profound error, comrades. The more quickly and thoroughly the Chinese peasantry is drawn into the revolution, the stronger and more powerful the anti-imperialist front in China will be."

For as much as a year prior to Chiang Kai-shek's 1927 coup, the Comintern had urged and warned the Chinese CP to work for the "resignation or expulsion of Rights from the Kuomintang." Six weeks prior to the coup, it stated, "It is necessary to adopt the course of arming the workers and peasants and converting the peasant committees in the localities into actual organs of governmental authority

equipped with armed self-defense. . . . The Communist party must not come forward as a brake on the mass movement; the Communist party should not cover up the treacherous and reactionary policy of the Kuomintang Rights, and should mobilize the masses around the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist party on the basis of exposing the Rights."

In the main, the Comintern advocated a policy put into practice independently by Mao and ignored or opposed by both Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao. There were also a number of mistakes, some of which were corrected and others which had more serious consequences. Most significant was the role of Borodin, a key Comintern advisor in China at the time who vacillated on carrying out the Comintern line and took a number of positions close to Chen Tu-hsiu.

If Trotsky's line can be said to have had anything in common with Chinese reality, however, it was closest to the "left" opportunism of Chang Kuo-tao. Trotsky later saw in Chiang Kai-shek's coup the "completion" of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the onset of a new period of "stabilization" in China. What actually transpired was a prolonged period of renewed crisis, civil war and "dual power" in the form of liberated bases in the countryside. Trotsky's line here, which called for a "constituent assembly" and legal struggle for democratic rights, was thoroughly rightist and devoid of any connection with the actual course of class struggle.

The national liberation struggle

"The strength of Marxism," writes Leon Trotsky in "The Third International After Lenin," "lies in its ability to foretell."

Trotsky made the remark in a 1928 commentary on the Chinese revolution. In the same work he also made a number of predictions which, if he is measured by his own standard, place him considerably outside and opposed to the camp of those who deserve to be called Marxists.

Everyone knows, for instance, of the magnificent and heroic role of the Chinese peasant masses as the main force of the revolution, as the backbone of the Red Army and, under the proletarian leadership of the Chinese Communist party, as a vital component part of socialist construction in China today.

What did Trotsky "foretell?"

"Numerically the Chinese peasantry constitutes an even more overwhelming mass than the Russian peasantry," he writes in the same work. "But. . . the Chinese peasantry is even less capable of playing a leading role than the Russian. At present this is no longer a matter of theoretical forecast, but a fact verified completely in all its aspects."

It is also a matter of fact that the Chinese revolution was characterized by a protracted period of dual power for nearly two decades. "Red political power," sustained by the Red Army and organized by the CPC, was established in a number of liberated zones stretching over vast areas and incorporating scores of millions of people. The governments of the base areas rallied the masses and step-by-step carried out the democratic tasks of the revolution, including land reform and the struggle against the Japanese imperialists.

NEW DEMOCRACY

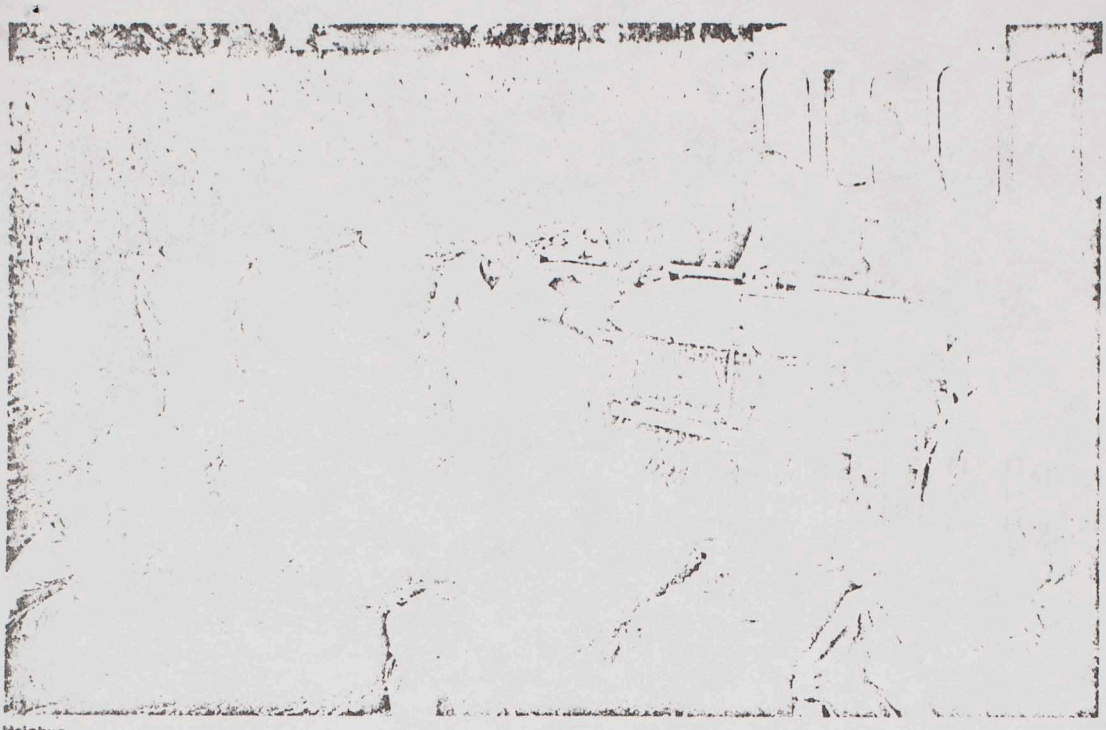
Mao Tsetung termed the character of the state power and economy in these areas as "new democracy," or a proletarian-led "dictatorship of all revolutionary classes over the counter-revolutionaries and traitors." Their existence was seen as the first stage of the Chinese revolution, which would be completed in the main when they were extended over the entire country. At that time the revolution would immediately and uninterruptedly pass over to its second stage of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Such a development was possible, Mao said, because of the moribund character of imperialism and the fact that the October revolution in 1917 had placed the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the colonial countries on the side of the proletarian socialist world revolution. "It is no longer a revolution of the old type," Mao stated in 1940, "led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under bourgeois dictatorship. It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat...." What Mao had done, in effect, was to creatively apply and further develop Lenin's theory of the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" to the concrete conditions in China.

Again, what did Trotsky "foretell?"

"The formula of the democratic dictatorship has hopelessly outlived its usefulness....the third Chinese revolution, despite the great backwardness of China, or more correctly, because of this great backwardness as compared with Russia, will not have a 'democratic' period, not even such a six-month period as the October Revolution had (November 1917 to July 1918) but it will be compelled from the very outset to effect the most decisive shake up and abolition of bourgeois property in city and village."

Lashing out at "some metaphysics mongers plus a few Trotskyites who, brandishing their pens like lances, are tilting in all directions and creating bedlam," Mao said in a 1940 summary: "It is a utopian view rejected by true revolutionaries to say that the democratic



Hsinhua

China's peasants: Stable allies of the working class.

revolution does not have a specific task and period of its own but can be merged and accomplished simultaneously with another task, i.e., the socialist task (which can only be carried out in another period), and this is what they call 'accomplishing both at one stroke.' "

History has proved Mao correct. But rather than face the bankruptcy of their mentor, the present-day Trotskyists are reduced to slandering the Chinese revolution and rewriting history in a manner worthy of the Kuomintang. The U.S. Socialist Workers party's 1955 resolution on the Chinese revolution, for instance, sums up the new democratic period that mobilized the Chinese masses to resist Japan and to future victories against Chiang Kai-shek in the following manner:

"After the defeat of the second Chinese revolution, they withdrew from the cities and established an armed peasant base. For a span of over 20 years, they used this armed power to rule over the backward and scattered peasant masses. In this manner the uncontrolled, cynical, self-willed bureaucracy consolidated. They applied to the revolution the methods of deceit and ultimatism, in order, at every stage, to safeguard their interests, their power, their privileges. Each success rendered them more contemptuous and fearful of the masses, more convinced they could cheat the class struggle with impunity."

Contrary to the SWP, however, this was the most daring and dramatic period in Chinese history. Hundreds of millions of Chinese, inspired by the leadership of Mao Tsetung and the CPC, "stood up" and turned over centuries of feudal domination. Tens of thousands flocked from the Kuomintang areas to the liberated zones, where the CPC had established, for the first time, an uncorrupted and democratic system of rule that, by all accounts, won the hearts and minds of the Chinese people. By all accounts, that is, except three: those of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, the Japanese fascists and the Trotskyists.

Given its evaluation of the CPC, how does the SWP think the proletarian dictatorship ever managed to come to be in China? Apart from being counter-revolutionary, the reasoning is nothing short of bizarre. By their logic, it could only have been done spontaneously by the peasants, without the leading role of the proletariat, in opposition to the CPC every step of the way and, most decisively, because of Soviet prestige and the U.S. invasion of Korea!

SWP HITS 'MAO & CO.'

"Throughout the revolution," states the SWP resolution, "Mao & Co. continued to impose arbitrary restrictions and limits upon its course. The agrarian reform was carried out 'in stages' and was completed only when the assault of American imperialism stimulated the opposition of the landlords during and after Korea. The Chinese Stalinists were able to ride into power because the Chinese working class had been demoralized by the continuous defeats it suffered during and after the second Chinese revolution, and by the deliberate policy of the CPC, which subordinated the cities, above all, the proletariat, to the military struggle in the countryside and thereby blocked the emergence of the workers as an independent political force. The CPC thus appeared in the eyes of the masses as the only organization with political cadres and knowledge, backed, moreover, by military force."

The SWP has another interesting facet. It

characterizes the periods of 1925-27 and 1936-47 as years of "Maoist crimes." What happened between 1928 and 1935? Why does this period get off the hook? One reason could be that this was the time when Mao still did not have hegemony within the CPC, when its central committee was dominated by the "three 'left' lines," most disastrously by the ultra-"leftism" of the Li Li-san line.

LI LI-SAN'S ATTACK

Li Li-san attacked Mao for "right opportunism" because he made distinctions between his enemies, because he didn't oppose the entire bourgeoisie all at once, because he built rural base areas rather than launching frontal attacks on the cities all at once, and because Mao refused to expropriate the millions of "rich" peasants and petit bourgeoisie and "force" them into the revolution. Trotsky would have agreed. "The drive on the rich peasants," he stated in 1928, "will be the first and not the second step of the Chinese October." The SWP would have sympathized with Li Li-san, too. "The armies and regime of Chiang," states their resolution, "could have been knocked down like rotten pieces of wood had the CPC at any time summoned the masses in the cities to rise."

What was the cumulative result of the "three 'left' lines" in China? Disaster. All except one of more than a dozen base areas were lost. The Red Army, which Mao's influence had carefully built up, was reduced to a fragment of its former size and power. The situation was only reversed by Mao's assumption of leadership and his political direction of the unprecedented epic of the Long March.

How could Trotsky be so mistaken that his views led both him and his followers into the camp of counter-revolution? The essence of the matter is found is Trotsky's liquidation of the national question.

"What is the most important, the fundamental idea of our theses?" Lenin asked at the Comintern's Second Congress. "The distinction between oppressed nations and oppressing nations. We emphasize this distinction—in contrast to the Second International and bourgeois democracy.

"The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in the colonies and backward countries," he also noted, "but must not merge with it, and must unfailingly preserve the independence of the proletarian movement...."

TROTSKY'S VIEW

Trotsky made the same distinction, all right, but arrived at the opposite conclusion: "The Russian bourgeoisie was the bourgeoisie of an imperialist oppressor state; the Chinese bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie of an oppressed colonial country. The overthrow of feudal Tsarism was a progressive task in old Russia. The overthrow of the imperialist yoke is a progressive historical task in China. However, the conduct of the Chinese bourgeoisie in relation to imperialism, the proletariat and the peasantry, was not more revolutionary than the attitude of the Russian bourgeoisie towards Tsarism and the revolutionary classes in Russia, but, if anything, viler and more reactionary. That is the only way to pose the question."

Didn't the Chinese national bourgeoisie at times conduct armed struggle against the imperialists? Yes, Trotsky notes, but then countered this by stating that the Russian capitalists, too, fought foreign imperialists. Trotsky forgets one "minor" point. The Russian capitalists fought in an inter-imperialist war to subjugate backward nations; the Chinese fought a war of national liberation.

REJECTS ALLIANCE

Despite the experience of the Chinese revolution, the present-day Trotskyists continue to uphold their reactionary views. "Any perspective of collaborating with the 'national' bourgeoisie or certain of its so-called progressive sectors must be rejected," states the resolutions of the 1968 World Congress of the so-called Fourth International. "Parallel to this, all equivocal conceptions or formulas on the nature of the revolution such as 'national democracy,' 'people's democracy,' 'anti-imperialist revolution,' or 'bloc of four classes,' which have been irretrievably refuted...must be rejected."

This is the real reason why the SWP refused to support the political program of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam and stood with Washington in their refusal to support the demand, "Sign the Treaty Now!"

As succinctly stated in "Forward Along the Path Charted By Karl Marx," written by the Vietnamese revolutionary Truong Chinh, the Vietnamese revolution is precisely a two-stage revolution, passing through a "new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution," comprising at that stage an alliance of "four revolutionary forces," including the "national bourgeoisie." It has conducted the "national democratic" revolution in the liberated zones, conducted a people's war based on the principle of self-reliance and on its completion, will uninterruptedly pass over to the socialist revolution.

HIDING BEHIND 'LEFTISM'

The SWP opposes all this as so much "counter-revolution," but has tried to hide its real views on Vietnam from the masses of anti-imperialist activists behind "left" phrases. For the SWP to come out in the open with its views on the line summed up by Truong Chinh would only lead to a greater self-exposure of the renegade character of the Trotskyist line.

"The Trotskyite theory of 'permanent revolution,'" states the Albanian commentator Agim Popa, "is also the theory of the negation of the national movement in the development of the revolutionary movement, the theory of the overestimation of the external factor and the negation of the internal factor as decisive in the revolution and, in the last analysis, a theory of the "export" of revolution." These concepts also apply to the Trotskyist line on China's view of the united front and the cultural revolution.

Trotskyism and China today

"The 'Russian question' has been the main axis in world politics for nearly four decades," states the Socialist Workers party's 1955 resolution on the Chinese revolution.

"It now has found its extension and deepening," the SWP continues, "in the 'Chinese question.' "

The Trotskyists pose the question fairly enough. Their conclusions, however, just as in the past, lead them to the other side of the barricades.

What made the "Russian question" a touchstone for revolutionaries, demarcating Marxist-Leninists from right and "left" revisionists, was the existence of the proletarian dictatorship and its undertaking of the task of socialist construction "in one country." The Trotskyists opposed the former in practice by denying the latter in theory.

Today China represents the main example in the world of the proletarian dictatorship and is likewise a touchstone for revolutionaries. But the Chinese revolution has also "deepened and extended" the question on two fronts: in the international arena through its call for a united front of all the world's peoples against the "two superpowers" of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and in the domestic arena through its example of continuing the class struggle by the means of the "great proletarian cultural revolution" in socialist society.

LIU AND LIN

In these two arenas the SWP has opposed the gains of the Chinese revolution. In general, it has attacked the policies of the Chinese Communist party under the leadership of Mao Tsetung as "ultraleftist" domestically and "rightest" internationally. In reality, however, it is the Trotskyists who vacillate between right and "left" opportunism and to the extent that their views have been reflected in China, it has been in the lines pursued by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao.

How is this manifested? In China's socialist construction the theoretical link between Trotsky and Liu Shao-chi can be seen in the "theory of productive forces" put forth by both figures.

The Sept. 19, 1969 issue of Peking Review sums up the "theory" as claiming that "the socialist road cannot be taken in any country where capitalism is not highly developed and the productive forces have not reached a high level. . . . After the seizure of power (Liu Shao-chi) raised it to oppose socialist transformation in a futile effort to lead China on the road to capitalism."

Liu Shao-chi's line came into sharp conflict with Mao's over the collectivization of agriculture through the development of the cooperative system. "Some people have expressed the opinion," Liu is quoted as saying in "The Struggle Between the Two Roads in China's Countryside," "that steps should be taken gradually to shake the foundations of private ownership, weaken it until it is nullified and raise the mutual aid organizations for agricultural production to the level of agricultural producers cooperatives as a new factor for 'overcoming the peasants' spontaneous tendency.' This is an erroneous, dangerous and utopian conception of agricultural socialism."

Liu held the view that farming had to develop for some time on an individual basis and that "mechanization" had to occur before "cooperation." His struggle with Mao on the issue, together with severe natural calamities, hindered the development of China's people's communes and was not decisively defeated until the cultural revolution.

What are the Trotskyist views on this struggle? "China's productive forces," states the SWP in 1955, "are far from adequate to give the statized property a socialist character." This is rooted in Trotsky's own position where, in 1936, he summed up the essence of the "productive forces" line.

VULGAR EVOLUTIONISM

"Marxism," writes Trotsky, 'sets out from the development of technique as the fundamental spring of progress.' Marxism, of course, does no such thing. It posits the class struggle as the motive force of historical development, including the development of the productive forces. Trotsky simply replaces revolutionary dialectics with vulgar evolutionism.

The SWP also sympathized with Liu's line on the communes. "Abolition of private property on the land," states Daniel Roberts in the May 1959 SWP Discussion Bulletin, is an "irrational and utopian" objective, "as long as China's technological development and industrial equipment remain low. Communist social relations can evolve only on the basis of a technology that stands higher in its development and universal application than the heights reached under capitalism in the advanced industrial countries."

"Does setting up the communes violate the peasants petty bourgeois aspirations to be individual farmers?" Roberts asks. He believes that it does and that, at most, the peasants might defer this individualism for a brief time. After this period some peasants will have become bureaucrats or workers "and then we can also expect that tens of millions of peasants will wish at last to engage in individual farming plus some

form of voluntary cooperation."

The peasantry, as Lenin put it, has "two souls," one aspiring toward petty capitalism and the other casting its lot with the proletariat. What the Chinese experience has demonstrated is that "technique in command" leads them along the former path while "politics in command" leads to the latter. Given correct leadership the peasant masses, states Mao, "have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism."

"The 'theory of productive forces' hawked by Liu Shao-chi," states Peking Review, "one-sidedly describes the progress of society as the natural outcome of the development of the productive forces, chiefly the instruments of production. It completely denies that, under certain conditions, the superstructure and the relations of production play the principle and decisive role in relation to the economic base and the productive forces; it also denies the proletariat's consciously making revolution under the guidance of revolutionary theory, seizing political power and changing the relations of production that play the decisive role in greatly developing the productive forces and pushing social development ahead."

China's cultural revolution represented the massive class struggle between these two lines in every sphere of life. Its results have represented a tremendous advance for proletarian revolutionary forces, not only in China but throughout the world.

SIDE WITH REVISIONISTS

The Trotskyists, however, have tended to side with the modern Soviet revisionists in their evaluation of its results. They view it as an anti-intellectual, anti-cultural "purge" of one group of bureaucrats by another and if any "progressive tendencies" were involved at all, they would be found in the camp opposed to Mao Tsetung's line.

For instance, SWP activist Les Evans, writing in the January 1973 International Socialist Review, interprets the cultural revolution in China's educational system in the same fashion as the revisionists:

"The new standards," he writes, commenting on university admissions policies, "are supposed to favor the children of workers and peasants, but clearly when the total enrollment is so sharply restricted this can have little application for the Chinese masses.

LOYALTY 'DOWNGRADES'

"The new standards downgrade educational performance and replace it with the criterion of unwavering loyalty to the regime. . . .

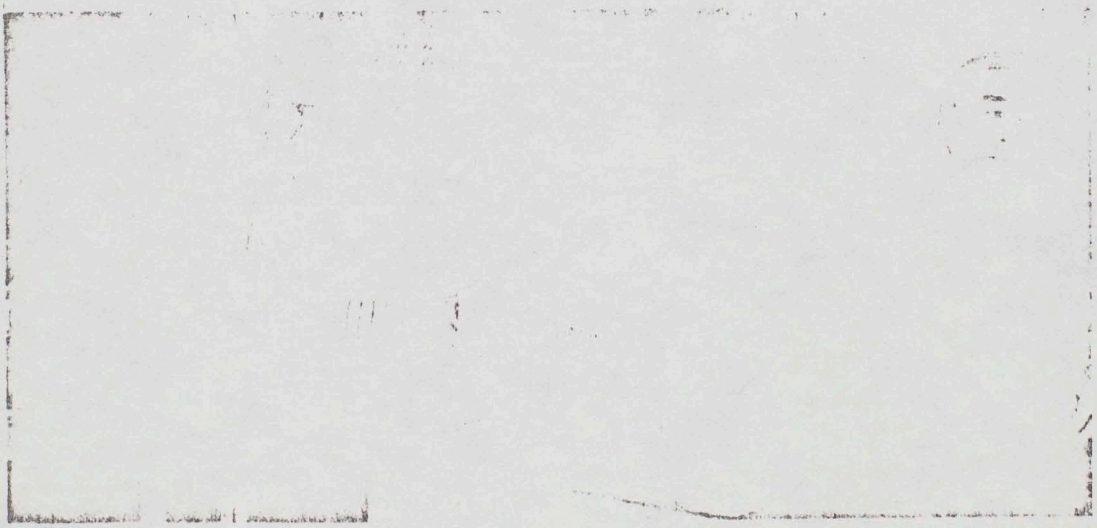
"While the universities have been restricted to party members (a false claim—CD), the regime has stepped up its campaign to deport masses of city youth to remote areas of the countryside."

What the CPC has done, of course, is to apply Mao's line of "serving the people" to its academic standards, rather than relying solely on the grading system in evaluating students. It also requires that students be selected directly from production in factories and communes, rather than entering the universities directly from the lower schools. Its "deportation of youth" consists of the policy of tempering the masses of urban youth in continuing the revolution, going among the masses of rural workers and peasants—the basic social reality of China—to learn from them, assist the revolution in the countryside and remold their class outlook in the process.

Evans also attacks the principle of criticism and self-criticism, the leading role in the revolutionary committees of the CPC and the May 7 cadre schools, where cadres manifesting bureaucratic attitudes toward the masses are re-educated in the spirit of serving the people.

All this, according to the Trotskyists, amounts to so many violations of what they term "worker's democracy" but in reality represents the practice of the CPC slogan, "Fight self, repudiate revisionism."

To the SWP this is unbearable and only con-



Chou En-lai with Nixon signals setback for U.S. imperialism.

firms their 1955 assertion that "the Mao bureaucracy succeeded in the very course of the third Chinese revolution in imposing a totalitarian state power" which the SWP claims must be overthrown "by iron necessity."

In evaluating China's role in international affairs, the Trotskyists switch over and put on their ultra-"leftist" hat. Here the 1955 SWP statement attacks Mao for working to "confine the revolution to China's borders."

What does this mean? One indication is the Trotskyist attack on China for "betraying" the Vietnamese revolution. The "evidence" is that China has not given the Vietnamese "adequate" aid. Since the Vietnamese state that China has given them whatever they needed and the Chinese have given whatever the Vietnamese have asked, what do the Trotskyists consider "adequate?"

In his pamphlet, "China and the U.S.," SWPer Dick Roberts gives a hint. The imperialists were stopped in Korea when China sent in its troops, he points out. "But the Chinese did not send troops to aid the Vietminh," he adds.

Thus "adequate" aid boils down to China's giving the People's Liberation Army their marching orders. This is the theory of the "export" of revolution, which is opposed by both the Chinese and Vietnamese leaderships, as contrary to the basic principle that the revolution in each country must be based mainly on self-reliance, on the masses of people in each country themselves. Only then can international aid have its greatest effect.

"We have always believed," a Chinese official stated in a 1972 interview with the Guardian, "that revolution cannot be exported. . . . Look at the countries of Eastern Europe which depended primarily on the Soviet Union to make revolution. They have very limited independence. Albania achieved victory by relying on its own efforts—and it is staunch and independent today. A revolution cannot succeed if the revolutionary forces do not rely on their own efforts and do not mobilize the great masses of people but place hope on aid from abroad." (From "Unite the Many, Defeat the Few," a Guardian pamphlet on China's foreign policy.)

In addition to their opposition to the principle of self-reliance as "autarchic," Trotskyism also attacks the Chinese call for an international united front of the world's peoples against the "two superpowers" of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism as a class collaborationist betrayal of the national movements in the small and medium-sized countries in the colonial world.

SUPPORT FOR STRUGGLES

"In our objective," the Chinese official told the Guardian, "national struggles must not be subordinated. China has friendly and diplomatic relations with a number of countries. This should not have any effect on the revolutionary forces in those countries. . . . China is not against peoples' struggles in reactionary countries or in countries where a progressive government is in power. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, people want revolution. We support this.

"Regarding countries with which we have diplomatic relations, we support the government insofar as it is engaging in struggle against the two superpowers, not in its suppression of local struggles. We believe that in giving firm backing to governments against the domination of one or two superpowers we are helping the forces of national liberation and revolution."

UNITED FRONT

Just as in their views on the national united front in the colonial countries, the Trotskyist line on the world scale makes no distinctions in the enemy camp, between enemies in general and particular or principal enemies at various times and stages. As a result, the revolutionary forces are left more isolated from both strategic and tactical allies, however temporary and wavering they may be.

Finally, the Trotskyists blur the distinction between the revisionist countries and the socialist countries and on most questions side with the former. For instance, in 1963 the SWP denounced Albania as "one of the most despicable Stalinized regimes in Europe" and added that "the internal regime of communist Yugoslavia is much freer."

United front against fascism

The Trotskyists believe they are the only authentic practitioners of the policy of the united front.

Yet in practice, they have opposed full implementation, either from rightist or "leftist" positions.

The most apparent example of this role was the Trotskyist attitude toward World War 2, in which they took a "defeatist" position towards the capitalist governments fighting the fascists, called for the "revolutionary" overthrow of the Soviet government and opposed the united front with the national bourgeoisie in the colonial countries invaded by the fascists.

The fact that the Trotskyist line led them inevitably to these positions substantiated the charge that they objectively served the interests of the fascists.

Trotsky and his followers tried to justify their line with a "left" cover, stating that they called for a revolution in Germany, the "unconditional defense" of the Soviet Union (but not its

Red Army defends Stalingrad against fascism.

leadership) and the defeat of the capitalists everywhere through socialist revolution. They then tried to back it all up by drawing a doctrinaire analogy with World War 1, where the Leninists called for the proletariat in all capitalist countries to work for the defeat of their own bourgeoisie by "turning the imperialist war into a civil war."

"It is really ridiculous," wrote Georgi Dimitrov in 1936, "when 'left' phrasemongers of various kinds oppose these tactics (of the united front), adopting the pose of irreconcilable revolutionaries. If we are to believe them, all governments are aggressors. They even quote Lenin, who, during the imperialist war of 1914-1918, correctly rejected the argument of the social-chauvinists that 'we were attacked and we are defending.' But the world at that time was divided into two military-imperialist coalitions which were equally striving to establish their world hegemony and which had equally prepared and provoked the imperialist war. At that time there were neither countries where the proletariat was in power nor countries with a fascist dictatorship.

"But now the situation is different. Now we have: (1) a proletarian state which is the greatest bulwark of peace; (2) definite fascist aggressors; (3) a number of countries which are in direct danger of attack by fascist aggressors and in danger of losing their state and national independence; (4) other capitalist governments which are interested at the present moment in the preservation of peace. It is, therefore, completely wrong now to depict all countries as aggressors. Only people who are trying to conceal the real aggressors can distort the facts in such a manner."

A number of main contradictions came to the fore during World War 2: between bourgeois democracy and bourgeois fascism between and within the imperialist powers; between the imperialists and the colonies; among the imperialist powers; between the working class and the bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries; between the first socialist state and all the capitalist countries, and between the first socialist state and the fascist powers.

Of all these, which was the principal contradiction whose development determined or influenced the development of the rest? In the period of World War 2, it was the contradiction between the Soviet Union and the fascist powers. The principal, immediate enemy--as opposed to the enemy in general—of all the world's peoples was the fascist powers of Germany, Italy and Japan and their lackeys.

STRATEGIC MEANING

What did this mean for proletarian strategy? First, that Marxists-Leninists everywhere called for a united front of all working class organizations against fascism, on the basis of which would be built an even broader popular front which was in contradiction to the fascists, including even the temporary and wavering allies to be found in the camp of the bourgeois-democratic capitalist governments.

The Trotskyists opposed this line under the guise of upholding the proletarian united front

while rejecting its broader extension in the popular front. They believed that the capitalist camp could not be split and that efforts to do so on the part of proletarian revolutionaries in each country and the Soviet Union internationally amounted to so much "class collaboration."

It was true that the capitalist countries initially wavered or opposed the Soviet Union's call for a united defense against the fascists. Many elements of the bourgeoisie wanted the fascists to attack the Soviet Union first, while they stood on the sidelines watching the two powers exhaust each other so they could pick up the pieces later.

Trotsky, himself, believed that this was the inevitable course. In 1932 he wrote, "It would be sheer political stupidity to believe that once they came to power, the German National Socialists would begin with a war against France or even against Poland."

HITLER-STALIN PACT

The Soviet leadership completely understood that sooner or later, they would have to fight the German fascists. But precisely this question--sooner or later?--made all the difference in the world. Since the bourgeois democracies continued to stall on the question of the united front and the German fascists were in the process of making up their minds of who to attack first, the Soviet leadership waited until the last possible moment and then decided to force the issue.

The method chosen was the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, more popularly known as the Hitler-Stalin pact. Its signing sent the Trotskyists into a frenzied howl but in actuality it constituted one of the most brilliant diplomatic moves of the period.

It meant that the capitalist governments were attacked first, that the Germans would have to fight eventually on two fronts at once, that the Soviet Union would not have to fight alone and that the international popular front isolating the principal fascist enemies would become a reality. In short, it meant the defeat of fascism.

The Trotskyists, of course, saw it as only one more "betrayal" of the working class. In their view, it was the Communists who were primarily responsible for fascism's coming to power in Germany in the first place.

In this way the Trotskyists cover up for the political force that actually paved the way to power for the fascists--the German Social-Democrats.

REFUSED UNITED FRONT

The German Social-Democrats refused at every point in the struggle to form a united front with the German Communists against the rising power of the fascists. Instead, they shared governmental power with the bourgeoisie, collaborated with them in suppressing the struggles of the working class and pursued the line of the peaceful, constitutional path to "socialism." In both theory and practice, however, they were tools of the capitalists for maintaining the stability of bourgeois rule.

In Austria, for example, even after Hitler had come to power in Germany, the Social-Democrats begged for an agreement with the fascists, even going so far as to volunteer cooperation with a two-year suspension of the constitution and the parliament so long as it was done "constitutionally."

For these reasons, the Communists correctly attacked the leadership of the Social-Democratic parties as "social-fascists," that is, "socialists in words, fascist in deeds." (Lenin had attacked the same parties during World War 1 as "social-imperialists" for defending their own capitalists.) In this way, the Communists sought to expose to the masses the actual implications of following the line of the Social-Democrats.

For Trotsky, this amounted only to so much name-calling. He pointed out the obvious fact that the Social-Democrats stood to be smashed with the victory of fascism and that this constituted an objective basis for a united front.

DECISIVE FACTOR

The problem, however, was that it was not obvious to the Social-Democrats who feared proletarian revolution more than the victory of Hitler. This factor proved decisive.

This is not to say that the German Communist party made no mistakes or that their errors were insignificant. One of their main weaknesses was a social-democratic or right error. This was seen in the building of their party primarily on the basis of electoral districts, rather than on factory cells. They also made a number of ultra-"left" errors, including a one-sided emphasis on the "united front from below," rather than a more persistant effort at unity with the Social-Democratic leaders as well, even if this was turned down. They also at one point perpetrated the illusion that the Hitler government would be short-lived and that the proletarian power would quickly replace it.

The Trotskyists believe that the Communists' errors were the decisive factor in preventing the united front from being embraced by the Social-Democratic leaders. But this is utopian. The Communists would have been able to strengthen their influence among the masses of the Social-Democrats but the leadership had objective ties to the bourgeoisie. To think otherwise is to deny the character of the labor aristocracy as the agent of the capitalists within the workers movement.

This is reflected in this country in the Socialist Workers party's one-sided emphasis on the trade union leadership in the united front against the war. While the Trotskyists went all-out to get endorsements from trade union leaders for antiwar demonstrations, they did no organizational work among the rank-and-file for the struggle against imperialism. Despite their running debate with the revisionists on the "single-issue, multi-issue" question, this is where they share with the Communist party a thoroughly rightist approach to the question of the united front.

The Trotskyist movement in the 1930s went on

to merge with the Social-Democrats and the Trotskyists in this country joined the Socialist party of Norman Thomas. This and other aspects of the Trotskyists' history in the U.S. show what "left" phrases mean in practice.

Origins of U.S. Trotskyism

The Trotskyists have been known—both historically and in the present period—as "wreckers and splitters" of the people's organizations and movements.

While they vociferously deny the charge, an examination of their history demonstrates that they have earned it. The Trotskyists themselves even celebrate their wrecking and splitting tactics as high points in their theoretical development.

This conclusion becomes particularly obvious in view of certain aspects of the history of the Trotskyists in the U.S.: their initial break with the Communist party and their "entry" into the Socialist party.

The Trotskyists were first organized in this country as a secret faction within the CP. They were led by James P. Cannon, active in the party's defense work and a member of its central committee.

What was unique about this faction—and undoubtedly required its secrecy—was that it was formed after Trotskyism has been repudiated by the Communist International as a petty bourgeois trend, a variety of Menshevism.

The question was discussed within the CPUSA as well. Cannon and his followers, however, never presented their views, but worked surreptitiously toward a split in violation of the basic democratic centralist norms of party organization. In his "History of American Trotskyism," written in 1942, Cannon tries to justify this by pleading ignorance at the time.

"Someone may ask," he writes, 'why didn't you make speeches in favor of Trotsky?' I couldn't do that either because I didn't understand the program."

This was in 1928, after he had voted in favor of resolutions against Trotskyism. Yet in the same book, Cannon states that in 1926 he had read Trotskyist documents attacking Soviet relations with British trade unions and agreed with them.

"It has a profound influence on me," he said. "I felt that at least on this question...the Oppositionists had the right line. At any rate, I was convinced that they were not the counter-revolutionists they were pictured to be."

Why didn't Cannon speak out on this point he was sure about? The answer he gives is instructive. It reveals the Trotskyist view of inner-party life, their contempt for criticism and self-criticism as a "self-denigrating" practice borrowed from the Catholic Church. It also shows why there are so many Trotskyist splinter groups today.

"A serious and responsible revolutionist," says Cannon, "cannot disturb a party merely because he becomes dissatisfied with this, that or the other thing. He must wait until he is prepared to propose concretely a different program, or another party.... Of course, if one had no responsibility to the party, if he were a mere commentator or observer, he would merely speak his doubts and have it over with. You can't do that in a serious political party. If you don't know what to say, you don't have to say anything. The best thing is to remain silent."

But Cannon didn't maintain his false naivete for long. As a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, he claims to have come across a basic document of Trotsky's, to which he was instantly converted. Still, he kept his mouth shut.

"We didn't begin the fight in Moscow," writes Cannon, "although we were already thoroughly convinced....We couldn't have best served our political ends by doing so."

James P. Cannon, founder of SWP.

What were those ends? "The task was to recruit a new faction in secret before the inevitable explosion came, with the certain prospect that this faction, no matter how big or small it might be, would suffer expulsion..."

By the time of his return to the U.S., Cannon's activities had raised suspicions within the party. When a resolution against Trotskyism was raised within a party caucus in order to determine where his group stood, Cannon brags about his group's deceitful methods in skirting the issue:

"We objected on the ground...that the question of 'Trotskyism' had been decided long ago, and that there was absolutely no point in raising this issue again. We said we refused to be a party to any of this folderol....

"They nourished the hope—oh how they hoped!—that a smart fellow like Cannon would eventually come to his senses and not just go and start a futile fight for Trotsky at this late day. Without saying so directly, we gave them a little ground to think that this might be so...."

CANNON'S RUSE EXPOSED

Cannon's ruse didn't last long. Within a few weeks he was exposed, brought to trial under the party's rules and expelled.

Thus began American Trotskyism. At first there were only three: Cannon, Martin Abern and Max Shachtman. Within the next months, they only gathered a few dozen people around them. Through political propaganda and organizational measures, the CP had effectively isolated them as renegades.

"A wall of ostracism separated us from the party members," says Cannon, "We were cut off from our old associations without having new ones to go to. There was no organization we might join, where new friends and co-workers might be found....We lived in those first days under a form of pressure which is in many respects the most terrific that can be brought to bear against a human— social ostracism from people of one's own kind."

Cannon's description of his movement's "dog days" are a back-handed tribute to the CP's political work and hegemony within the movement at the time. But his account also reveals the mistakes that were made—primarily the use of violence to disrupt the tiny Trotskyist meetings—and how these turned around to help the Trotskyists build their organization.

"We came back stronger after every fight," Cannon writes, "and this attracted sympathy and support. Many of the radical people in New York, sympathizers of the Communist party, and even some members, would come to our meetings to help protect them in the interest of free speech. They were attracted by our fight, our courage, and revolted by the methods of the Stalinists. They would then start reading our material and studying our program. . . . We built these little groups in various cities, and soon we had the skeleton of a national organization."

Nonetheless the Trotskyists remained a tiny sect. At this point they called themselves the "Communist League of America (Opposition)." In their view, they were not a party and engaged in no mass work, but an unofficial faction of the Communist party. All their propaganda work—which was all they did—was aimed at the CP rank and file and aimed at dividing them from their leadership.

They had little success. The progress of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, in the midst of capitalist crisis and proletarian upsurge throughout the world, attracted millions of people to the parties of the Communist International. The struggle against right opportunism within the movement also took its toll of the "opposition."

"By this maneuver," states Cannon, "they dealt us a devastating blow. Those disgruntled elements in the party, who had been inclined toward us and who opposed the opportunism of the Lovestone group, became reconciled to the party. They used to say to us: 'You see, you were wrong. Stalin is correcting everything. He is taking a radical position all along the line in Russia, America and everywhere else."

Then Cannon adds: "We were utterly isolated, forced in upon ourselves. Our recruitment dropped to almost nothing....Then, as is always the case with new political movements, we began to recruit from forces none too healthy...Freaks always looking for the most extreme expression of radicalism, misfits, windbags, chronic oppositionists who had been thrown out of half a dozen organizations—such people began to come to us in our isolation, shouting, 'Hello Comrades.' I was always against admitting such people,. but the tide was too strong."

RECRUIT FROM THE RIGHT

Rebuked in their efforts to recruit from the left, the Trotskyists had only one place to go—recruit from the right. The victory of fascism in Germany had exposed the treachery of the leadership of the social-democratic parties of the Second International. Splits were developing, discontent was growing among social-democratic workers and many groupings among them were looking more and more to the leadership of the Communists. This was especially true following the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which corrected a number of "left" errors in its call for the united and popular front against fascism.

The main historical responsibility for the victory of fascism in Germany had been placed squarely on the Social-Democrats. The main trend was toward unity with the Communists. What did the Trotskyists do? Exactly the opposite. They declared the Communists responsible for fascism, denounced the Comintern as hopelessly counter-revolutionary and moved to join the parties of the Second International.

In the United States this was accomplished in two steps, through the Trotskyist tactics of "fusion" and "entryism." The first step consisted of joining with a group of reformist trade unionists led by A. J. Muste and forming the "Workers party." After a short time it was

decided that this group was too "sectarian" in its opposition to the Socialist party, which was even further to the right.

Actually the Trotskyists were intent on dissolving the Workers party into the Socialist party and destroying both organizations in the process, hoping they would raid enough recruits to form their own party after the dust had settled.

As in their break with the CP, the Trotskyists were completely dishonest in their approach. "We had to join individually," states Cannon, "because they wanted to humiliate us, to make it appear that we were simply dissolving our party, humbly breaking with our past and starting anew as pupils of the 'Militants,' caucus of the SP. It was rather irritating, but we were not deflected from our course by personal feelings. We had been too long in the Lenin school for that. We were out to serve political ends."

What ends? Cannon mentions two. One was to recruit a liberal, petty-bourgeois base to defend Trotsky in the international arena from a platform of "respectability." The other was to oppose developments toward a united front between the CP and the SP.

"We had stirred up the rank and file of the Socialist party," Cannon says, "against the idea of unity with the Stalinists. This blocked their games and they took it out in increased resentment against us."

But even serving these political ends was not neccessary to justify the Trotskyist tactics. Cannon comments on Trotsky's evaluation of the action "when we were talking with him about the total result of our entry into the Socialist party and the pitiful state of its organization afterward. He said that alone would have justified the entry into the organization even if we hadn't gained a single new member."

The Trotskyists did gain a number of recruits, however, and doubled their size. This still did not break their isolation from the working class. Their attitude toward the trade union struggle and the Afro-American people guaranteed that, despite their ensuing formation of the Socialist Workers party.

National and class struggle

The Trotskyist movement in the U.S. today finds itself organizationally isolated from the rising trend of workers' struggles.

At the same time it is in the position of tailing after—alternately—the trade union bureaucracy and the petty bourgeois nationalist trends in the struggles of the oppressed nationalities.

As a result, the Trotskyists can only respond negatively to what must be the strategy for proletarian revolution in the U.S.—the united front against imperialism, the fundamental alliance of which is between the multi-national working class and the oppressed nationalities.

The ideological reasons for this were present from the beginnings of the American Trotskyist movement and its rejection of Marxism-Leninism, particularly on the national question and the attitude to the trade unions.

The Trotskyists' last major involvement in a labor struggle was also their first: the five-week union recognition struggle of the Minneapolis Teamsters in 1934. A number of members of the Communist League of America (Opposition), the predecessor to the Socialist Workers party, were also members of the Teamsters Local 574. While they did not hold any official positions of leadership in the union, the Trotskyists were heavily represented in the strike's organizing committee and generally played the role of activist trade union militants in the day-to-day leadership of the struggle.

The problem is that they did not go beyond the role of trade unionists and in fact at one point answered red-baiting charges by denying that their militants were communists. James P. Cannon describes the outlook of his organization in Minneapolis in his "History of American Trotskyism" with an almost classic portrayal of tailism and bowing to the spontaneity of the masses:

'ADAPT TO THEIR TREND'

"Following the general trend of the workers," he writes, "we also realized that if we were to make the best of our opportunities, we should not put unnecessary difficulties in our path. We should not waste time and energy trying to sell the workers a new scheme of organization they did not want. It was far better to adapt ourselves to their trend and also to exploit the possibilities of getting assistance from the existing official labor movement."

It would be a mistake, however, to view the trade union work of the Trotskyists as apolitical. One of its main ingredients was anti-communism in the guise, of course, of "anti-Stalinism." In a 1940 discussion with Trotsky on whether or not to "critically support" Communist party candidates in the elections, Cannon claims "such a line would disrupt our work" in the "broad anti-Stalinist movement."

"We built our strength on opposition to Stalinist control of the union....The Stalinists are the main obstacle. A policy of maneuver would be disastrous. What we gained from the Stalinists we would lose otherwise."

This policy was soon to bear its fruit. Tim Wohlforth, head of the Trotskyist Workers League, describes the period of the late 1940s in his own "left" history of the SWP, "The Struggle for Marxism in the United States:"

"This was the period when the 'progressive' caucuses, which had fought the Stalinists during the latter part of the war essentially on sound trade union lines, were now settling down to their

bureaucratic control of the unions and establishing their relations with the capitalist government and its cold war drive. Faced with this situation the SWP trade unionists were in a very difficult situation. They could not support their allies of the previous period, they were wary of seeking any relationship with the Stalinist workers who were being witch-hunted in the unions and they did not have the strength to throw up independent third trade union caucuses...."

Wohlforth points out that the SWP now began losing many of the workers it had managed to recruit, especially black workers. He apologetically describes the SWP's inability to deal with white supremacy:

"This failure is understandable considering the short duration of the party's direct experience in Negro work and considering that the overwhelming majority of the party came from a more privileged layer of the working class who in their daily lives had little contact with Negroes."

That the SWP "had little contact" with Afro-Americans was not surprising, since the U.S. "left opposition" ignored their existence for the first 10 years of its existence. Even Trotsky was moved to remark, in 1939: "It is very disquieting to find that until now the party has done almost nothing in this field. It has not published a book, a pamphlet, leaflets, nor even any articles in the New International." Wohlforth even points out that in 1933 an SWP leader was unable to answer a question of Trotsky's as to whether or not Black people in the South spoke a different language.

This can be contrasted with the work of the Communist party, which, together with the Comintern, had developed a revolutionary analysis of the Afro-American question from the perspective of viewing it as a national question. The Afro-American people in the "Black Belt" region of the South, they said, constituted an oppressed nation. Communists were duty-bound to support its struggle for national liberation, including the right to secede.

Black workers: key role in national and class struggle.

At the same time the CP saw the struggle for full democratic rights for black people throughout the country as part and parcel of the class struggle and a key component of the struggle against opportunism. As a result the CP made great gains in this area of work, as well as many worthy contributions to the struggle against national oppression in the U.S.

The Trotskyists have attacked this line as "imposed by orders from Moscow" and distorted it by claiming that the CP demanded a separate Black state (rather than the right of self-determination) without regard to the aspirations of the Black masses.

The Trotskyists were not helped out of their quandary by Trotsky. He responded to the SWP's white blindspot by interpreting the Afro-American national question on a completely subjective basis. "We do, of course, not obligate the Negroes to become a nation," said Trotsky in 1939, "if they are, then that is a question of their consciousness, that is, what they desire and what they strive for."

This repudiates any scientific approach to the national question which takes into account such factors as common history, territory, economic life and culture. The Trotskyists are thus unable to distinguish an oppressed nation from an oppressed national minority, or between the progressive democratic content of nationalist struggles and the narrow reactionary views of "cultural-national autonomy."

This has led to considerable vacillation among the various Trotskyist groups. The Worker's League, for instance, holds the view that "all nationalism is reactionary," while the SWP falls into the "all nationalism is revolutionary" swamp. What unites the two is tailism. The first tails after the chauvinism of the labor aristocracy while the latter tails after the nationalism of the petty bourgeoisie. Both oppose proletarian internationalism in practice.

The SWP is most explicit on its tailist line on the demand for the right of self-determination. It is not, writes Tony Thomas in the October 1970 International Socialist Review, "up to the revolutionary party to raise that demand, but only to support it once raised by Blacks."

The SWP is aware, of course, that there are moderate, conservative and reactionary trends among Black nationalists. In their view, however, these are not "real" or "consistent" nationalists, since "consistent" nationalism is proletarian internationalism.

'NEUTRAL' CONSCIOUSNESS

This is idealism and it is manifested continuously in the SWP's outlook. On the question of trade unionism, for instance, Ernest Mandel states in the December 1970 ISR that "trade union consciousness is in and by itself socially neutral. It is neither reactionary nor revolutionary." Mandel's "in and by itself" stand takes him outside and "above" classes and class struggle and into the realm of pure thought. In the process he throws out the whole burden of Lenin's "What is to be Done," a work that insisted that trade union consciousness was bourgeois and had to be struggled against, whether it played a progressive or backward role in certain circumstances.

This method extends to the SWP's overall view of Marxism-Leninism. "Marxism," says SWP leader Joseph Hansen, amounts to "empiricism systematically carried out." Here Hansen views dialectical materialism as simply a quantitative and evolutionary development of pragmatism, the world outlook of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

What it actually means, however, is that the Trotskyists have never broken with bourgeois ideology themselves, but jump back and forth between bourgeois rationalism and bourgeois empiricism. Both are forms of idealism and reflect their present-day petty bourgeois class character. One area in which this becomes most apparent is the SWP's approach to the woman question

The woman question

The Trotskyist stand on the woman question, like their approach to politics in general, is "left" in form and right in essence.

The views on the women's struggle of the two major Trotskyist groupings in the U.S.--the Socialist Workers party (SWP) and the Workers League—also express the vacillating character of their movement in tailing after the spontaneity of the masses.

The two organizations appear to be fundamentally opposed on the issue. The SWP, for instance, considers itself to be "revolutionary feminist." "If you love revolution," goes one of their slogans, "then you'll love feminism."

The Workers League heads in another direction. "The feminist movement," says one of their polemics against the SWP, "plays a reactionary role, splitting the working class and sowing the illusion that the problems of working class women could be solved apart from the fight for socialism. The movement is directed against the working class and the revolutionary party."

In essence the two positions are the same. Both abandon the struggle for proletarian leadership of the mass democratic struggle for the emancipation of women.

The SWP bows to the spontaneity of the just struggle waged by the women of the middle classes. The Workers League, for its part, liquidates even the pretense of a Marxist-Leninist approach to the woman question and tails after the spontaneous economic struggles of the workers at the point of production.

Both are similar in another respect. Both

identify the entire women's movement with the feminist trend. The Workers League does this in the guise of dismissing the movement as "middle class reformism." The SWP view takes this form:

"Feminism," writes Linda Jenness in the April 27, 1973 Militant, "is where women are out fighting for things that are in their interest. Feminism is wherever women are challenging the traditional roles assigned to them."

The Workers League, of course, has no influence in the women's movement, except as a negative example that strengthens conservative and anti-communist trends.

The SWP, however, plays a more pernicious role. It considers itself an uncompromising champion of women's rights and by adapting itself to feminism, has gained a following for its ideas among a section of the middle class youth.

MAIN BLOW ON THE FAMILY

The SWP gives a "left" cover to its views by concentrating its attack on the family as the principal institution perpetuating the oppression of women. "The feminist movement today," states the SWP's 1971 convention resolution entitled "Towards a Mass Feminist Movement," "started out by questioning the basic structure and institutions of this society, especially the family." Caroline Lund, writing in the October 1970 International Socialist Review adds, "The oppression of women by other institutions has been directly related to their role in the family."

In this, she follows the lead of Trotsky. While he gave the appearance of championing the cause of Soviet women and criticised some mistaken positions of the CPSU—e.g. banning abortions at one time—he too panicked over the tasks of socialist construction, and launched a utopian attack on the family.

Lund goes on to attack the idea of struggling for equality within the family: "Women have had enough of being so-called partners! We want to be whole individuals, with our own lives and aspirations. There shold be no 'head of the family,' neither a man nor a woman, no domination of human beings over other human beings—including children." As for the youth, they too should abandon the struggle in that arena. "Young people," she says, "cannot as a rule work out their own lives satisfactorily until they break from their families."

The Marxist Leninist movement should have no illusions about the character of the family nor romanticize its traditional role, which Engels described as one of the pillars of class society. It is not the role of the proletarian movement, however, to center its attack on the family nor to call for its abolition. The imperialists themselves are causing its erosion, as the fact that one out of three marriages now ends in divorce shows at a glance.

The point is that there is no mass alternative to the nuclear family in capitalist society or even in the first stages of socialist construction. Without the family unit, working women with children would have to abandon even the minimal protections that it affords.

This is why the workers' movement, in the course of the struggle for socialism, aims to win jobs for women, emphasizes the daycare struggle and raises the fight for equality within the family, for husbands to share equally in the responsibilities of the home.

As to what form the family will take under fully developed communism, Engels said there could only be speculation and that it was a task for future generations to decide. In the first stages of socialism, however, he said that the working-class family would probably take a purely monogamous form for the first time, since in capitalist society monogamy was, in practice, primarily for the woman.

Perhaps an analogy can be drawn with the state. In his polemics with the anarchists, Lenin agreed that the classless society would have no state. History and class struggle, however, have determined the need for a transitional proletarian state that would only wither away with the dying out of classes and class struggle. Thus it would be incorrect to call for the abolition of any type of state or the abolition of the workers' state just after the seizure of power.

But to the Trotskyists the fact that the monogamous nuclear family continues to exist in socialist countries like China and to develop along lines of greater equality for women is not seen as a progressive step forward. Instead it is slandered as "a reformist policy continuing the subjugation of women and reinforcing a bureaucratic caste."

The Trotskyists also capitulate to the feminist trend by raising the idea of "sisterhood" and placing it above the class struggle in practice.

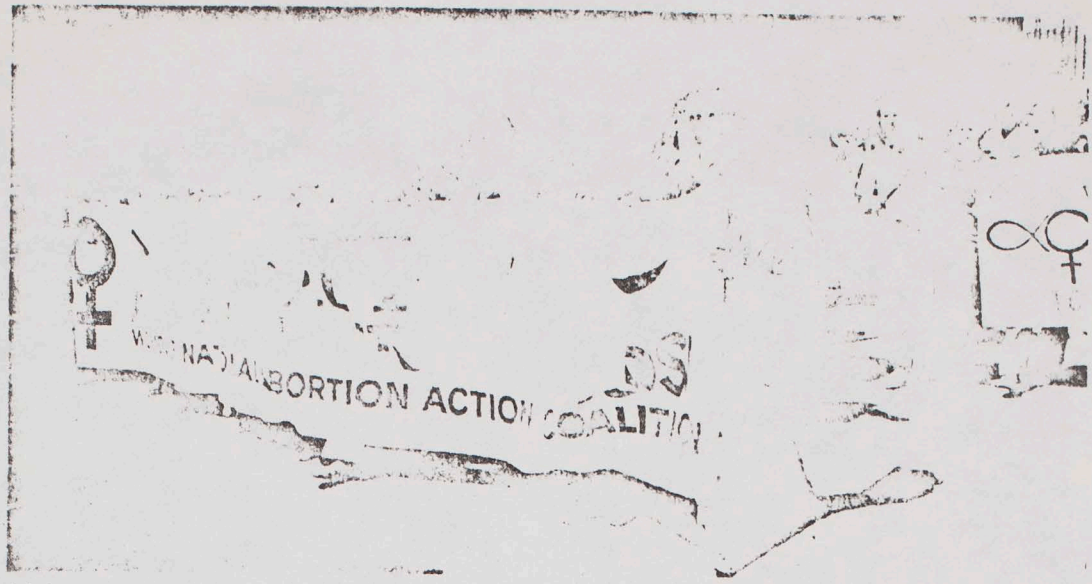
The truth is," states the SWP's 1971 document, "that women are at the same time united by sexual oppression and divided by class society."

It is true that there are two aspects to the oppression of women by male supremacy. The principal aspect is a class question the antagonistic contradiction between the masses of women and the imperialists. The secondary aspect is a non-antagonistic contradiction among the people, the contradiction between men and women.

BROAD UNITY POSSIBLE

Thus even the women of the exploiting classes—to a certain extent and in a limited way—share in the general oppression of women and as a consequence can make a contribution to the united front. But this potential unity among primarily working-class and middle-class women can develop in a progressive way only through the struggle for leadership by the proletarian women and their class outlook within the united front against imperialism, one of the spearheads of which is the mass democratic women's movement. If left to spontaneity, the class contradiction between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie becomes primary and the movement remains fragmented.

This is exactly what the SWP does. In place of the leading role of the proletariat, it substitutes the idealist notion of "inherent logic." In answering the question of which will become



Arbolito

Abortion demonstration: SWP played divisive role.

primary, the unity or division in the women's movement, the SWP states: "Sisterhood is powerful because of this universal female oppression, and this is the basis for the existence of an independent, nonexclusive, mass feminist movement with an anti-capitalist logic."

Thus "sisterhood" prevails over class struggle and the role of the working women is reduced to the obvious comment that they have "the most to gain" from democratic reforms.

The SWP likes to claim that it is building the women's movement among the masses. In addition to the fact that it is raising a petty bourgeois line, this claim is not even true by their own admission. At a time when the rising trend in the women's movement is developing among the working women, particularly in the daycare battles being led by third world working women, the SWP focuses its attention on the women students. "Building campus women's liberation groups," says the SWP, "is a key task, since the campus groups are the largest and fastest growing sector of the movement."

REFLECTS SWP'S BASE

The particular concerns of this section of women, while part of the woman question in general, are reflected in the emphasis the SWP puts forward in its line and tactics. Most women students do not have children, family responsibilies or jobs. Many are still under the thumb of parental authority or in the process of rebelling against it, and this is manifested in the SWP's concentrated fire on the family.

But the main reflection is in the Trotskyist's approach to the struggle to repeal anti-abortion laws. Here the SWP has focused on the abortion question as the most important issue of the women's movement, raised it in isolation and refused to raise other demands such as childcare and job equality together with it in united front coalitions. The result has been obvious. Now that the reform has been won, the "single-issue" coalitions have disintegrated and the Trotskyists are floundering in a quandary over what to do next.

But the SWP has had some success. Its single-issue approach made its contribution to increasing the divisions in the women's movement. The refusal to unite the abortion struggle with the movement for daycare, for instance, has the consequence of failing to combat the prejudice among some sections of the masses that the women's struggle is against children and aimed at destroying the family.

REICH'S IDEALISM

At the same time that the SWP conducts a semi-anarchist attack on the family, emphasizing the neo-Freudian idealism of Wilhelm Reich, they draw back one step from the logical conclusion of demanding its abolition. Instead, in classic form, they switch over to reformism.

"The heart of the struggle for liberation," states the SWP's 1971 statement, "is not toward counter-institutionism, but fighting to wrest the vast resources...away from the ruling classes."

The difference between "wresting away resources" and expropriating the expropriators through the proletarian dictatorship is the difference between reform and revolution, between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism.

"The inseparable connection between the social and human position of the woman, and private property in the means of production must be strongly brought out," Lenin told Clara Zetkin in 1920. "That will draw a clear and ineradicable line of distinction between our policy and feminism. And it will also supply the basis for regarding the woman question as a part of the social question, of the workers' problem, and so bind it firmly to the proletarian class struggle and the revolution."

The SWP's failure in this regard is followed by its general extention into the modern revisionist theory of "structural reform."

Reform or revolution?

The Trotskyists in this country are relatively well known for their ultra-"left" opposition to the strategy of revolution by stages in the colonial countries.

To the anti-imperialist united front, aimed at forming a transitional new democratic state and led by the proletariat, they counterpose the line of immediate transition to the proletarian dictatorship.

What is less apparent, however, is that the Socialist Workers party, the largest Trotskyist group in the U.S. and representing the main trend in Trotskyism internationally, puts forward just the opposite strategy for revolution in the advanced capitalist countries.

In fact, despite their fulminations against the revisionist Communist party, they go a long way toward advocating a two-stage "anti-monopoly coalition" strategy, flirt with the idea of "peaceful transition" and scrap the theory of the proletarian dictatorship.

But there is actually a unity between the SWP's "two lines." In both cases they set the democratic movement and the class struggle against each other by denying the leading role of the proletariat in the united front against imperialism.

The Trotskyist position raises the question: What is the fundamental contradiction in the U.S.? "The irrepressible antagonism," writes SWP theoretician George Novack in his book, "Democracy and Revolution," "between the dominant monopolists and the strivings for equality, social justice and even for life itself among the masses of the American population holds out two opposing lines of long-range development for American politics."

Thus it is not the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie but the contradiction between the "masses" and the "dominant monopolists" that is the determining factor in the development of the proletarian revolution.

There is no doubt among Marxist-Leninists that the development of the democratic struggles of the masses can serve to advance the class struggle and even in certain periods play a leading role in raising mass anti-imperialist consciousness. This is the meaning, for instance, of Mao Tsetung's statement that the Afro-American people's struggle has served as a "clarion call" to all the oppressed and exploited to rise up against the imperialists.

But when all is said and done, it is also the "ABC" of Marxism-Leninism that it is the development and resolution of the class struggle that determines the development and resolution of the democratic struggles, including the struggle against national oppression. This is the meaning of Mao's statement that, in the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle and the reason why Marxist-Leninists place in the forefront the struggle for leadership by the proletariat in the national liberation movements and all other democratic anti-imperialist struggles.

The position of the SWP is completely opposed to this view. Their approach is to tail opportunistically each spontaneous development in the mass democratic movements. Each constituency, in succession, is then dubbed the "vanguard" leading the proletariat to socialism, with the added provision that the "vanguard of the vanguard" in each sector is presently made up of the student youth.

Another SWP theoretician, George Breitman, makes this subordination of class struggle to democratic struggle clear in his pamphlet, "How a Minority Can Change Society." "The Negro people," he writes, "although a minority, can, with consistent leadership, lead the American working class in the revolution that will abolish capitalism."

Breitman then sums up the Marxist position that oppressed nationalities cannot win full democratic rights under capitalism, thus making their struggle a revolutionary question. Then he adds: "But that is not what I am discussing here. What I am talking about now is something else—the capacity of the Negro people to lead the working-class revolution to replace capitalism."

BREITMAN'S SHELL GAME

This is backed up with a sleight of hand maneuver. Breitman first says Black people are a "racial minority" that is "overwhelmingly proletarian" in composition. Next he states, "Negroes are an important section of the working class as well as a racial minority." Then he concludes that "unless we are blind" we can see that Black people are "the most radicalized section of the working class."

But Breitman is the one who is blind. He has distorted the elementary truth that Black workers stand at the center and play a leading role in both the national and class struggles into the false claim that all Blacks are workers, thus liquidating the national question, the class divisions among the Black people and then demagogically topping it all off with an absurd analogy with the Russian revolution, where he casts the Black people in the role of the proletariat and the masses of the white workers as the peasantry.

That the SWP does not see this line as any special attribute of the national question is evident in their course since Breitman's statement was first put forward in January 1964. Since then they have applied the same line of reasoning to the youth movement, the women's

movement, the Chicano movement and finally to the gay liberation movement.

How does the SWP propose to lead each of these "independent forces" to power? Again, the initial line is stated by Breitman in his attitude toward forming an all-Black political party with a "transitional" reformist program. "Without Negro votes, the present two-party system will pass from the scene and be replaced by something different, out of which Negroes may be able to acquire new and more reliable allies than up to now. And all of this can be accomplished by the simple device of forming a Negro party and running independent Negro candidates."

'SOMETHING DIFFERENT'?

What is the "something different" that will so miraculously replace the two-party system? The next step would be the formation of a reformist parliamentary labor party, which the SWP would try to join as dual members. The labor party and the Black party would then form an alliance with a Chicano party and possibly, although this has only been raised in SWP internal bulletins, a women's party.

All these together, of course, would make a bid for a parliamentary majority. The SWP's role would be to make them "consistent" in their fight for reforms by pursuing the path of "anti-capitalist structural reform" put forward by the revisionist Italian Communist party. "The fundamental goal of these reforms," writes Ernest Mandel in his "Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory," "would be to take away the levels of command in the economy from the financial groups, trusts and monopolies and place them in the hands of the nation, to create a public sector of decisive weight in credit, industry and transportation and to base all of this on workers' control."

Mandel calls this "stage" where the "nation" has "taken command" of the monopolies through its governmental "public sector" a period preceding the development of "dual power" which "could" precede socialist construction.

Even his slogan of "workers control"—to which the SWP would add their version of "community control"- is a reformist fraud, paralleling on the factory floor his approach on the floor of parliament.

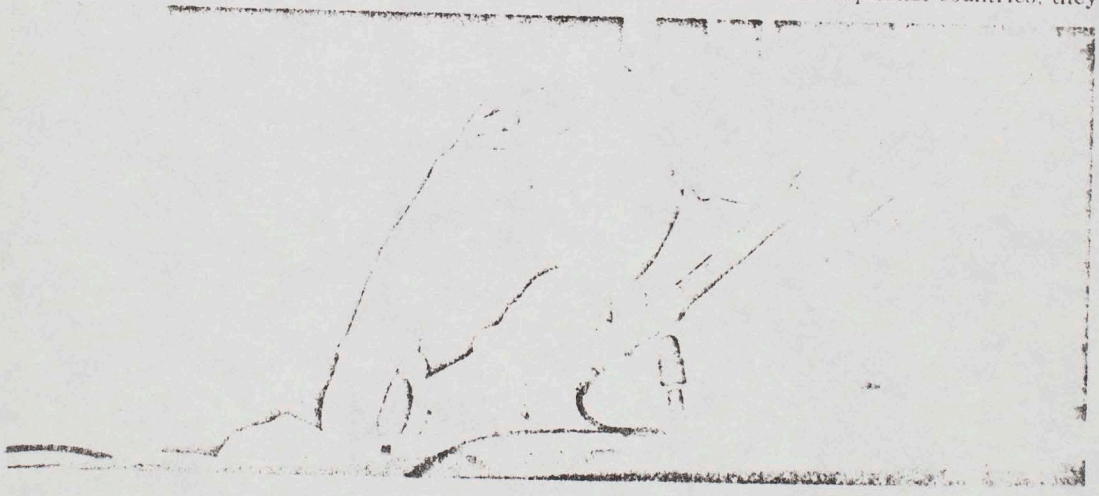
Workers' control, says Mandel, "is a refusal to enter discussions with the management or the government as a whole on the division of national income, so long as the workers have not acquired the ability to reveal the way the capitalists cook the books when they talk of prices and profits. In other words, it is the opening of the books and the calculation of the real production costs and the real profit margins by the workers."

Why the importance of the calculations? So the workers can accurately determine their productivity and thus achieve a "socially just distribution" in wages.

Despite the obvious clash with Marx's famous statement, "Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' let us emblazon our banners with the revolutionary watchword, 'abolition of the wage system,'" Mandel goes all the way and suggests to the capitalists that his proposals would help them run their system more rationally. ". . . From the standpoint of anti-cyclical policy, it is more intelligent to reduce profits and increase wages. This would permit the demand from wage workers and consumers to come to the relief of investment in the interest of maintaining the conjuncture at the high level."

Marxist-Leninists have long maintained that the dividing line between revolutionaries and reformists in the proletarian movement is on the question of the proletarian dictatorship, on the necessity to smash the bourgeois state apparatus and to create a new proletarian state in its place; a state that would insure democracy for the workers and their allies and dictatorship against the exploiters for the entire period of transition between capitalism and the classless society of communism.

Not only do Mandel and his SWP co-thinkers put forward in essence a reformist anti-monopoly coalition line for the first "stage" of their revolution in the capitalist countries, they



also join with the modern revisionists in liquidating the proletarian dictatorship in the second stage.

George Novack managed to write an entire book on the subject of democracy and the various forms of state in slave, feudal, bourgeois and socialist society without even once using the term or explaining its essence in other words. Novack, in fact, claims the "dividing line" between reformists and revolutionaries is on the question of democracy, "the one viewing democracy as a means of disposing of capitalism, the other as an excuse for maintaining it indefinitely."

Novack also joins the CP in putting forward the necessity of armed struggle as a hypothetical statement. "In order to protect all such democratic institutions, Marxists are ready to fight, arms in hand if need be, against ultra-reactionary movements."

Finally, Novack admits that during the Civil War following the October revolution, "dictatorial enactments were directed exclusively against the class enemies of the revolution" and that these were necessary at the time. But then he adds, "It was not to be considered the permanent and normal state of affairs throughout the period of the transition to a classless society, as Stalinism and Maoism later preached."

Here Novack joins hands with the Khrushchev revisionists in asserting that while the proletarian dictatorship might have been necessary earlier, what is now required is a "state of the whole people."

What Novack is combating, of course, is not only Stalin and Mao, but also Lenin, thus joining the revisionists and social democrats in a common counter-revolutionary swamp. It is followed through in the Trotskyist view of the party.

The vanguard party

Trotsky began his career as a disrupter of the revolutionary movement during a struggle with Lenin over the character of the proletarian vanguard party.

Today his followers have—in one form or another—continued this role of attacking Leninist parties wherever they actually exist by attempting to substitute petty bourgeois ideas on organization in their place.

In his struggle with the Mensheviks, Lenin put forward the position that the proletarian revolutionary party, in addition to being guided by the most advanced scientific theory, had to be an organization of professional revolutionaries, full-time and trained activists comprised of the best elements of the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals.

This "party of a new type" is seen as the proletariat's "general staff" in the class struggle with the bourgeoisie. It is not a debating society but an instrument to prepare the masses for smashing the existing state power, establishing and leading the proletarian dictatorship and continuing to wage the class struggle throughout the entire transition period of socialist construction to the classless society of communism.

As a weapon of class struggle, the party requires an iron discipline, subordinating the individual to the collective, and the combination of secret and open work. Decisions and policies are developed and changed through democratic discussion, debate and the process of criticism and self-criticism. Once a majority in the party has agreed, however, any minority must set aside its opinions and act in carrying out the views of the entire party with a monolithic unity in the face of the class enemy.

The party represents the vanguard of the proletariat but not by self-proclamation. It must be thoroughly integrated with the masses, learn from them and win the role of leader, not only of the workers, but of the broad masses of various classes through its revolutionary practice in the actual course of struggle.

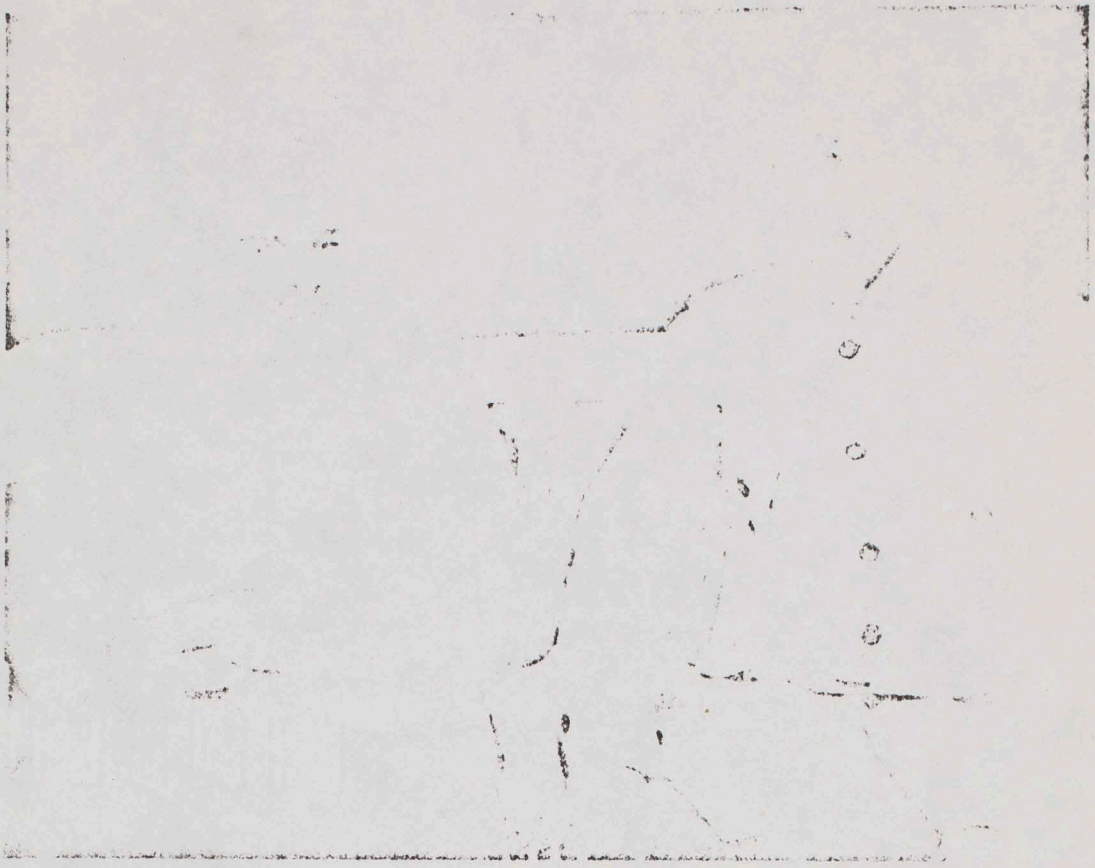
TROTSKY'S OPPOSITION

Trotsky stood in open and hostile opposition to this view of the party almost to the eve of the October revolution in 1917. He took a centrist position, demanding that the Bolsheviks unite in the same party with the Mensheviks. The only way this could happen, of course, would be for Lenin to dissolve the type of organization he had constructed. Hence the term "liquidationist," which Lenin applied to Trotsky with a vengeance, defining it as opportunism gone to the extreme of dissolving the proletariat's key weapon—its organization.

Trotsky agreed with the Menshevik position on organization. He wanted a party without a strict discipline, with contending groups and factions that could be "broad" enough to contain those who proclaimed themselves members by simply stating agreement with general principles. He attacked Lenin viciously:

"Not an accident but a deep 'omen,' " Trotsky wrote in 1904, "is the fact that the leader of the reactionary wing of our party, Comrade Lenin, who is defending the tactical methods of caricature Jacobinism, was psychologically forced to give such a definition of Social-Democracy which represents nothing but a theoretical attempt at destroying the class character of our party."

This is Trotsky's classic anti-communist summary of Lenin's policy: "The barracks regime cannot be the regime of our party, just as the factory cannot be its example. These methods bring about a situation that the party



Lenin and Stalin.

organization will replace the party, the central committee will replace the party organization, and finally the 'dictator' will replace the central committee. . . . The committees will do all the 'directing' while 'the people remain silent.' "

Despite the fact that Trotsky joined the Bolsheviks just before October, he never gave up the essence of these views. Although he formally stated he was wrong on the party, his view that it was his particular strategic line of "permanent revolution" that won out over Lenin's has the clear implication that the issue was not all that important. As Michael Miller points out in the recently published pamphlet, From Trotskyism to Social-Imperialism:

"From Trotsky's point of view a miracle happened at this propitious moment in history. The revolution joined Trotsky. Trotsky didn't really join the Bolsheviks. They joined him! 40,000 Bolshevik workers joined Trotsky since he had foreseen everything!. . . The problem with Trotsky's theory is that it requires no party at all. . . . Trotsky's theory of October is that the Bolsheviks, having finally come around to the 'correct idea,' were able to lead the revolution despite having an incorrect line for 14 years prior to the event."

After Lenin's death Trotsky reasserted his old ideas on the party in a new form. He now paid lip service to democratic centralism, but demanded "freedom of criticism" within the party in the form of the freedom to organize factional groupings, each with its own leadership structures, platforms, programs and press. As the history of Trotsky's "left opposition" also demonstrated, in practice he wanted factions with their own internal discipline that could be exercised against the party's, even to the extent of carrying out actions among the masses expressly forbidden by the party and in opposition to its line.

In 1904 Trotsky had attacked Lenin for "destroying the class character of our party." In a sense, this was true, although it was not what Trotsky had in mind. Lenin clearly aimed at defeating the petty bourgeois character of the party and it is precisely the petty bourgeois view of both the party and state as an ideal form of radical democratic parliament that Trotsky was never able to abandon.

Trotsky's perspective comes out most clearly in his 1935 articles, "If America Should Go Communist." Despite the fact that the U.S. bourgeoisie is far more sophisticated in the practice of counter-revolution than their Russian counterparts, Trotsky thinks the revolution will be much easier here. Since the monopoly capitalists are in a minority and "everybody below this group is already economically prepared for communism," Trotsky claims "there is no reason why these (non-monopoly) groups should oppose determined resistance." As for the monopolists, "they will cease struggling as soon as they fail to find people to fight for them."

The non-monopoly capitalists and petty

bourgeoisie, inspired by the productivity of a planned economy after "a good long time to think things over," could be "kept solvent until they were gradually and without compulsion sucked into the socialized business system. Without compulsion! The American soviets would not need to resort to the drastic measures which circumstances have often imposed on the Russians."

Which drastic measures? While Trotsky admits the monopolists would find no place in U.S. soviets, he adds that "with us the soviets have been bureaucratized as a result of the political monopoly of a single party, which itself has become a bureaucracy." In contrast, "The American soviets will be full-blooded and vigorous, without need or opportunity for such measures. . . . A wide struggle between interests, groups and ideas is not only conceivable—it is inevitable. . . . All of these will arouse controversy, vigorous electoral struggle, and passionate debate in the newspapers and at public meetings."

In addition to asserting the need for a multi-party electoral system, another "drastic measure" to be thrown out is the proletarian control of the press. Instead, "it might be done on the basis of proportional representation for the votes in each soviet election. Thus the right of each group of citizens to use the power of the press will depend on their numerical strength."

It is a basic principle of Marxism that different parties represent the interests of different classes and sections of classes. Commenting on this same article by Trotsky, M.J. Olgin wrote in his 1935 book, "Trotskyism: Counter-Revolution in Disguise:"

'SOVIET' PARLIAMENTS

"If the Communist party represents the workers, then obviously the other parties must represent the rich farmers, the poor farmers, the middle bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, perhaps the intellectuals. How will these parties function? Naturally by struggle. . . . A soviet very much resembling a bourgeois parliament. Several parties represented in it with equal rights. Each party fighting the others. Several parties making a coalition to defeat the dangerous common rival. Why not a coalition of all the other parties against the party of the workers? This latter party, in Trotsky's conception, should be split into a number of legalized groups and factions with their own separate platforms. The population will have its choice of parties, groups, programs. No special discipline is needed for any party; no monolithic unity for the communist party."

Olgin sums up: "How unity can be achieved under these conditions remains a secret of Trotsky's. But then he does not worry much about unity because his slogan is, "Without compulsion!"

In stark contrast stands Lenin's view. "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most stubborn, the most acute, the most merciless struggle of the new class against the more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance has grown tenfold after it has been overthrown. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative, against the powers and traditions of the old society."

The Trotskyist parties today continue to repudiate this line and follow the bankrupt views of their mentor. One consequence, of course, is that they themselves are riddled with factions and comprise a galaxy of competing organizations, all claiming the label, "Trotskyist."

The direction of some, like the Socialist Workers party, has been in the direction of the modern revisionists, liquidating the leading role of the party into a "revolutionary nucleus" that aims to become a "mass" party playing simply a "catalytic" role in forming an anti-monopoly coalition.

RATIONALIST DEVIATION

Others, like the Workers League, emphasize Trotsky's idealist rationalism and remain ensconsed firmly in "left" sectarianism. As their leader, Tim Wohlforth, put it, "At heart what the party is is its program. It is nothing else. The apparatus, the forces, the people, the equipment, the paper, are all expressions of what? A program. . . and a program is an idea. So at its heart you could say that the party is an idea."

In essence, however, they can all justly claim to be Trotskyists. They are united in their opposition to Marxism-Leninism.

Trotsky's opposition, his sabotage of the proletarian movement and his wrecking activities in the period of the united front against fascism, eventually cost him his life.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the danger of Trotskyism could be eliminated in such a manner. Trotskyism is an ideological trend within the petty bourgeoisie and as such a social basis for it exists and will continue to exist as long as there are middle classes.

The struggle against Trotskyism is also bound up with the struggle against modern revisionism, the existence and development of which has added new fuel and created new conditions for a revival of Trotskyism.

The decisive condition for a successful struggle against Trotskyism—and all forms of opportunism—is to be found in the growth of the Marxist-Leninist movement itself, in the development of the proletarian vanguard party and its winning of the masses in their millions to the banner of revolution.

What it actually means however is that the Trotskyists have never broken with bourgeois ideology themselves, but jump back and forth between bourgeois rationalism and bourgeois empiricism. Both are forms of idealism and reflect their present-day petty-bourgeois class character. One area in which this becomes most apparent is in their approach to the [illegible]

La Prensa San Diego

for our dignity & honor we raise our voice — por nuestra dignidad y honor alzamos nuestra voz

Vol. 1 No. 32 | San Diego, Ca | Gratis | September 29, 1977

CHICANOS EXPEL SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY!

SAN DIEGO...In a hall filled with every major Chicano organization, and community leader of the San Diego region, a major political declaration asserting the Chicanos' right to self-determination was overwhelmingly approved.

The call for the county-wide meeting was issued by Herman Baca, chairman of the Committee on Chicano Rights. It was called, because, wide concern had been expressed over the apparent destructive role of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), in the internal affairs of the Chicano movement of San Diego County.

tive, and democratic manner, arrive at a national platform incorporating the major issues of concern to the Latino population. It was also agreed that the national meeting would select, by democratic means, representatives, that would then present the national concerns to President Carter; and crucially, it was agreed that this would be a Chicano conference, led by Chicanos. The leadership would come from La Raza groups," stated Mr. Baca.

By June 7, the agreements reached collectively at Ontario had been violated. On June 25th, a letter was sent to Angel Gutiérrez detailing the

these organizations have risen because we demand the right to have a voice in our affairs," stated Mr. Baca.

"We informed the SWP not to come into San Diego and attempt to organize unless they were invited by Chicanos....They knew what they were doing. The SWP issued flyers to organized Chicano groups carrying the names of individuals and organizations which were falsified. They attempted to divide our community by turning one group against another. They tried to asusume the leadership of the Chicano movement in San Diego. By various acts and

DR. CORNEJO TO REPLACE MONZON

Dr. Ricardo Cornejo, a UCLA educator and researcher, has been appointed director of San Diego State University's Institute For Cultural Pluralism by Acting President Trevor Colbourn.

Cornejo, who served as director of bilingual research systems at UCLA's Center for the Study of Evaluation for five years, has a national reputation in the field of bilingual-bicultural education.

the need for bilingual training for San Diego school children. The test developed here will be used throughout the state to implement AB 1329, the Bilingual Act, under which every California student from kindergarten through 12th grade will be surveyed to determine his or her language dominance.

Cornejo has been asked by the California Department of Education to coordinate the

Party (SWP), and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), in the internal affairs of the Chicano movement of San Diego County.

Over 50 organizations and individuals signed the San Diego Declaration which is, essentially, a major indictment against the SWP and the YSA. The chairman of the meeting, Herman Baca, laid out in detail the deceitful, irresponsible, divisive acts of the SWP and the YSA against the Chicano Community in San Diego.

The emotionally charged meeting dealt with two principal issues: The proposed national "Call For Action" conference and the actions of the SWP locally in its manipulation of the "Call For Action."

Mr. Baca stated, "Since May 7, we were involved with 15 other Chicano leaders from all over the nation in formulating the concept of a National Chicano Conference. At the May 7th meeting in Ontario, Ca., we agreed with Angel Gutierrez, that a national "Call For Action" should be sent to all Chicano organizations in the U.S. On May 20th, the call was sent.,

"At the Ontario meeting it had been agreed that each state would; 1) organize their own statewide group to deal with the "Call For Action", 2) hold their own statewide conference, in order to be able to determine what their major issues of concern were, 3) form a delegation what would go to San Antonio, and in a collec-

By June 7, the agreements reached collectively at Ontario had been violated. On June 25th, a letter was sent to Angel Gutierrez detailing the violations and requested clarification. No response was ever received from San Antonio. The California National Mobilizing Committee specifically requested clarification of the Socialist Workers Party's role in the national "Call For Action". They questioned the national agenda being set without input from the various states, the leadership role being assumed by SWP/YSA, and the repeated violations being perpetrated in California by the SWP. "Receiving no responses to our letters, calls, and inquiries, the San Diego contigent voted to withdraw from the national "Call For Action". However, we also voted not to interfere, or otherwise play a spoiler role in the activities of the national "Call For Action"," stated Mr. Baca.

"The main reason we are here tonight," continued Mr. Baca, "is because, we want to make it loud and clear that Chicanos are going to lead their communities and not outsiders. What did all past Chicanos fight for,'" asked Mr. Baca, "if not to have the right of self-determination?"

"We didn't want to say anything against the national "Call For Action", because, a lot of sincere Chicanos were involved. We have to decide what's right for ourselves. All turning one group against another. They tried to asusume the leadership of the Chicano movement in San Diego. By various acts and means they tried to totally co-opt the Chicano community to their own use and ends ," stated Mr. Baca.

The meeting was electrified when leader after leader of the various community groups stood up to denounce the SWP for their use of their names and organization titles in an apparent attempt to take over the Chicano leadership. Leaders, from as far away as Los Angeles, came to relate the destructive role that SWP/YSA had played in East Los Angeles. Mr. Abe Tapia, past president of the statewide board of MAPA, related how they, also, had "kicked out the SWP." Juan Gutierrez, from CASA, Los Angeles stated how they would not work with SWP. CASA will go to San Antonio, to work as a counter force in order to take the movement out of the SWP control and give it back to the Chicanos. The Chicano Federation, executive director, Jessie Ramirez, stated that the Federation will not allow anyone imposing any ideology upon it. The Federation condemned the SWP for its divisive tactics, and stated that the organization (the Federation) believes that the SWP doesn't have the Chicano peoples' intersest as its principal concern.

Con't Pg. 4

systems at UCLA's Center for the Study of Evaluation for five years, has a national reputation in the field of bilingual-bicultural education.

The Institute for Cultural Pluralism is a research and resource center for the university's School of Education in the areas of multicultural and bilingual education. It recently was awarded a U.S. Office of Education contract, renewable for more than $3 million, to provide consultant services to school districts on bilingual education and desegregation.

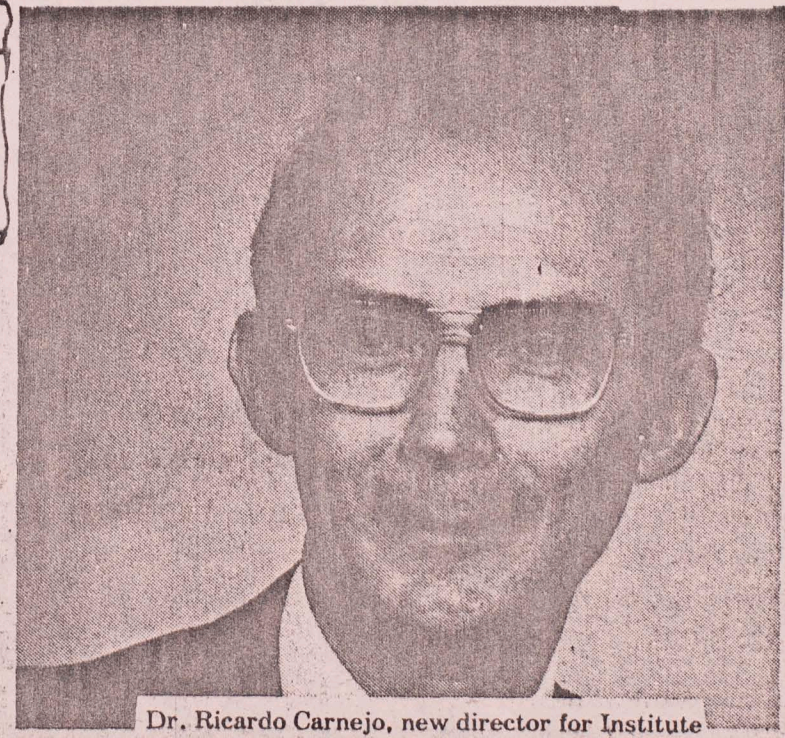
While at UCLA, Cornejo worked closely with the programs division of the San Diego Unified School District in preparing a language dominance test to determine

determine his or her language dominance.

Cornejo has been asked by the California Department of Education to coordinate the efforts of preparing teachers for the language census, scheduled to take place in October. He also serves the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare as a consultant to the National Institute for Education, a funding agency for educational research. The author of several books and publications, Cornejo is currently preparing his latest book for publication, Bilingual Reading: Methods, Technique and Research.

He holds a doctor of philosophy degree from the University of Texas at Austin, and a master's degree from

Con't Pg. 6



Dr. Ricardo Carnejo, new director for Institute

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Con't Pg. 5

poor young Chicano, Lupe Serpiente, who becomes the vehicle for a contract for the

Con't Fm. Pg. 1

CHICANOS EXPEL

The Black community represented by NIA and the new Afro-American Movement related how they had dealt with similar problems with the Black Civil Rights Movement. How they forcibly had to assume their own leadership. Every single MECHA organization and Chicano studies department, also spoke out against the SWP/YSA involvement in their affairs.

The evening ended with the Publishment of the Declaration of San Diego. The chairman (Mr. Baca) requested that all organization leaders or individuals who supported the ouster of the SWP/YSA from involvement in Chicamo affairs to sign the statement. The statement will be sent to all Chicano organizations nationwide, to the media, and to the SWP/YSA. Over 50 organizations signed the Declaration. The message is clear. Chicanos will not allow outsiders to co-opt their organizations, their issues or their leaders. They demand the right to have a major voice in determining their future.

(The full text of the Declaration is included for your infrormation.)

HORA DE CUENTOS para ninos 3 a 6 anos. Todo los viernes a las 10:30 en la

DECLARATION OF CHICANO SELF-DETERMINATION SAN DIEGO COUNTY, CA

When it becomes self-evident over a long period of time that certain specific individuals, groups, or organizations become detrimental to the progress and principles of our people and to our movement, then it becomes not only our responsibility but our duty to publicly confront and denounce the perpetrators who have committed these acts against the best interest and welfare of our community.

We the undersigned of this declaration which comprise the major Chicano organizations of San Diego County hereby declare to our communities and our people that: (1) We accuse the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) of violating the Chicano Community's sacred principle of "self determination" by: (a) Disrespecting the political positions of Chicano Community Organizations. (b) Calling Chicano individuals and organizations to a community meeting under false pretense. (c) Using Chicano individuals and organizational names under false pretense and without their permission. (2) We accuse the SWP of attempting to undermine the confidence of the Chicano Community to further their own aims at the expense of our people by the above acts. (3) We accuse the SWP of using devisive actions designed to attempt to discredit and subvert the local Chicano leadership of San Diego County by labeling them violent, reactionary, and revisionist. (4) We accuse the SWP of continually ignoring the request of the Chicano Community through the organizations to cease in their attempts at manipulation and co-optation of issues which effect our communities. (5) We accuse the SWP of acting in a patronizing, opportunistic manner, and with a colonialist mentality which presumes that the Chicano Community is incompetent and incapable of determining its' own destiny.

Therefore, let it be known here and now and by all, that we the undersigned condemn the Socialist Workers Party and their affiliate the Young Socialist Alliance, not for their philosophy or ideology, which they have a right to, but for the unprincipled political acts which have been carried out against the San Diego County Chicano Community. We hereby, also declare that because of these acts we will not work with, support or will we allow the SWP or the YSA to participate officially with our organizations or with any of our activities here in San Diego County.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN

FRED HALSTEAD for Governor ◎ VALERIE L'BOY for Lt. Governor

For further information contact:
Jay Ressler 234-4630

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: 4:00 P.M.; September 24, 1978.

news release

SOCIALISTS ASSAULTED AT CHICANO CONVENTION

DEMAND END TO VIOLENT ATTACKS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

While attempting to peacefully distribute literature from the Fred Halstead for Governor campaign, two leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were physically assaulted by members of the Committee on Chicano Rights at the Chicano Community convention held at Carpenters' Union Hall today.

The two socialists are Jay Ressler, Chairperson of the San Diego Socialist Workers Party, and Mark Friedman, a leader of the San Diego SWP.

Ressler and Friedman were surrounded a half block from the convention site by a group of 15 convention monitors, identified by red armbands, as they and two supporters walked toward the meeting hall. The two were shoved and kicked. Friedman was pushed to the ground and kicked again.

Also the attackers forcibly seized and destroyed over $10 worth of literature, including copies of the party's newspapers The Militant and Perspectiva Mundial and 300 copies of a statement from the Halstead for Governor Campaign Committee. The statement said, in part, that the party believes that the Chicano community needs

Offices: 1053 15th St., San Diego, CA 92101 Phone: (714) 234-4630
1250 Wilshire Blvd., Rm. 404, Los Angeles, CA 90017 Phone: (21[illegible]

San Diego Campaign Chairperson: Mike McGraw Treasurer: Adrienne Benjamin

A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

"a candidate who will pledge full and complete independence from the Democrats and Republicans, and who will be responsible to an independent, community-based movement which elects them." The statement pledged the party's support to such a candidate.

Among the attackers were Howard Hollman, of the Committee on Chicano Rights, Carlos Vasquez, Bobo Savage, Mike Castro, Jose Gomez and David Avalos.

Moments after the assault Hollman told a Chicano supporter of the socialist campaign,"Next time I'll bust your heads off."

Among those who witnessed the unprovoked assault was Dan Carson, of the San Diego Union, who was there to write a story on the convention.

In commenting on the attack, Ressler said: "This attack is a clear violation of our civil liberties. We were attacked in the process of exercising our constitutional rights to distribute our ideas on a public sidewalk. We intend to go on a public campaign to win support from hundreds of individuals and organizations in the labor movement, Black and Chicano communities in support of the right of anyone to express their views without fear of intimidation or physical violence."

Ressler noted that: "It is ironical that we were attacked by members of a conference which was billed in the Union as open 'to any interested party.' We hope the conference organizers will repudiate this attack by members of their conference staff."

(more)

Ressler also pledged: "Supporters of the Halstead for Governor Campaign will not be intimidated by this assault and we will continue to distribute election campaign materials at all meetings of the labor, Black, Chicano and women's movements as well as on the campuses and in the communities. We urge all who believe in civil liberties and freedom of speech to go on record in support of our rights."

###

DECLARATION AGAINST VIOLENCE

(In light of intimidation, threats and finally of a physical assault on members of the Socialist Workers Party, you are asked to add your name to this declaration.)

Members of the Socialist Workers Party were physically assaulted on September 24 by members of the Committee on Chicano Rights. The SWP members were attempting to peacefully exercise their democratic right to distribute campaign materials on behalf of the party's Gubenatorial candidate, Fred Halstead.

The meeting was a public event called by various Chicano organizations for a show of unity to select a candidate for the San Diego City Council.

The unprovoked attack on SWP members, which took place on a public sidewalk a half block from the meeting hall, was a culmination of a series of threats and intimidation directed against members of the SWP by members of the Committee on Chicano Rights.

By adding my/our name(s) to this statement, I/we make clear our stand in favor of the simple, democratic right to express a point of view without fear of physical reprisals from anyone, including from those with whom one might disagree. Differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by acts of violence. Physical violence and the suppression of the freedom of speech only opens the way for the police and the FBI and all the enemies of minorities to tear us apart. It will do nothing to resolve legitimate differences of opinion.

Signature_____

Name(print)_____

Address_____

City_____ State____ Zip_____

Phone_____

Organization (for identification only)

_____

FACT SHEET ON HARASSMENT OF SOCIALISTS

On September 24, 1978 several members of the Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee where physically attacked while distributing campaign material at the Chicano Convention. They were attacked by members of Herman Baca's Committee on Chicano Rights while they were distributing Halstead of Governor campaign literature in front of the Carpenters Union Hall where the Chicano Convention was being held.

The two socialists attacked were Jay Ressler, chairperson of the San Diego Socialist Workers Party, and Mark Friedman a leader of the SWP.

Ressler and Friedman were surrounded a half block from the convention site by a group of 15 convention monitors, identified by red armbands, as they and two supporters walked toward the meeting hall. The two were shoved and kicked. Friedman was pushed to the ground and kicked again. The attackers also seized and destroyed over $10 worth of literature, including copies of the party's newspapers the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial, and 300 copies of a statement from the Halstead for Govbrnor Campaign.

Among the attackers were Howard Hollman of the Committee on Chicano Rights; Carlos Vásquez, a leader of the Committee on Chicano Rights; and BoBo Savage, Mike Castro, José Gomez, and David Avalos. Moments after the assault Hollman told a chicano supporter of the socialist campaign: "Next time I'll bust your heads off."

A witness of the assault was Dan Carson a reporter for the San Deigo Union, who was there to write a story on the convention.

9/24/78- Two members of the Socialist Workers Party attacked by members of the CCR at Chicano Convention.

5/20/78- Halstead Campaign supporters physically threatened by CCR members at Malcolm X Jobs March. Campaign material and The Militant newspaper ripped out of peoples hands by CCR member Howard Hollman.

3/19/78- At a CCR community meeting featuring Herman Baca and Bert Corona, two SWP campaign supporters Jay Fisher and George Chomalou were physically threatened. The Halstead for Governor supporters were forced to leave the area to escape bodily injury.

3/22/78- A letter from the SWP was sent to H. Baca protesting the physical threats at the 3/19 meeting. The letter asked him to take a stand in opposition to violence in the movement. Baca never responded.

9/22/77- CCR launches massive red-baiting campaign against National Chicano Conference which was supported by the S SWP. CCR members harass members of MECHA st SDSU, UCSD, MESA, and SDCC who support conference. SDCC Chicano Studies Director Menchaca and poet Alurista receive threatening phone calls for their support to conference.

5/20/77- SWP campaign supporters threatened by CCR member Carlos Vasquez at Malcolm X Jobs March. Attempted to prevent distribution of campaign material and The Militant newspaper. Mmmbers of the Student Coalition Against Racism were also threatened by by Vasquez and other CCR members for distributing materials in support of the freedom struggle in South Africa.

Chicano leaders rebuff red-baiting drive

By Pedro Camejo

ALBUQUERQUE—Organizers of the national Chicano/Latino conference have overwhelmingly rebuffed an attempt to divide their movement.

Twenty-five representatives of local and state committees meeting here October 2 signed an open leter responding to red-baiting articles published by the weekly *La Prensa San Diego* (see below).

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ: 'We have to be firm in standing up against red-baiting.'

Zavala County, Texas, Judge José Angel Gutiérrez presented the letter to the meeting, which was chaired by New Mexico Raza Unida leader Juan José Peña.

The sentiment for nonexclusion wasn't unanimous, however. Two representatives of Los Angeles CASA supported the idea of excluding members of the Socialist Workers Party from the conference.

"It is not red baiting," insisted CASA's Antonio Rodríguez. Why? Because "some of those compañeros in San Diego believe in communism themselves. . . . Herman Baca may be an anticommunist, if you want to call him that. . . ." Baca, a prominent figure in San Diego's Chicano movement, has led the red-baiting of the conference.

Esteban Flores of the Texas Format Committee in Austin was the only one to voice agreement with CASA. "The best goal would be to exclude the SWP," he said.

Almost all those taking the floor spoke in support of Gutiérrez's statement that "we have to be firm in standing up against red-baiting."

Gutiérrez explained, "Can you imagine if the *Washington Post*, or the *New York Times*, or the Denver or Albuquerque papers, or any newspaper controlled by the system uses the same language, quoting a Chicano organization, or fifty others from San Diego, saying this immigration movement is nothing but a communist front?

"What is your battle going to be like, and what is our struggle going to be like, if we suffer with that kind of label?"

Lucía Robledo of San Diego City College MEChA was shocked by the suggestion to exclude the socialists. "The socialists in San Diego have done more than anyone to build the conference. . . . We should welcome everyone who is willing to help support the conference."

Manuel Archuleta of the New Mexico Raza Unida Party also spoke in support of the Gutiérrez statement. "I think we should open this movement up to anyone who wants to build the movement," he said.

Urging all participants to sign the open letter, Gutiérrez said that "in this particular activity" the socialists "have done a tremendous job in promoting this conference.

"And I have yet to feel uncomfortable, or insecure, or threatened by the presence of the SWP . . . or of LULAC [League of United Latin-American Citizens], MALDEF [Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund], or the clergy . . . or the Communist Party, or the fact that you have Blacks coming to this conference, or that Eugene McCarthy wants to join in."

Gutiérrez concluded, "What we are trying to do is protect our community, and that transcends any obligations we have, or any other loyalty we may think important."

Ernesto Peña of the New Mexico GI Forum summarized the sentiment of most of those present when he urged everyone to "concentrate on the undocumented worker."

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

MANUEL ARCHULETA: 'We should open this movement up to anyone who wants to build this movement.'

He ended by saying, "It's about time we wake up. There are some organizations that later, you will see them jumping on the bandwagon because they see what we are doing is really helping our people."