



Down with Somoza, the Shah, Begin...

DOWN WITH US IMPERIALISM AND ITS HANGMEN!

On Friday, September 8th, over a million people poured into the streets of Tehran in Iran shouting: "DEATH TO THE SHAH!". Over 200 people were massacred by the Shah's army which opened fire on the demonstration.

And from his "retreat" at Camp David, where he is discussing how to crush the Palestinian revolution at the same time that he is looking for a "success" to placate the US bourgeoisie which is planning to get rid of him, Jimmy Carter called the Shah to offer his "support" and his "hope that the political liberalization will continue."

"Political liberalization" of a butcher whose secret police (SAVAK) burned 600 people to death in a movie theater in August. "Human rights" in action!

And "human rights" in Nicaragua where the butcher Somoza, armed to the teeth by US imperialism, remains in power only thanks to a bloody civil war he has launched against the workers and youth who have taken up arms and now hold several cities in

Nicaragua.

The old world is in flames, everywhere the workers and youth are in rebellion against US imperialism and its hangmen.

In the midst of all this, Jimmy Carter sits holed up at Camp David with Begin, the butcher of Dar Yassin, and Sadat, having done nothing but "discuss" in secret for over a week how to crush the Middle East revolution--with no results.

Every worker and youth must know that no "peace" will come out of Camp David. That it is nothing but another desperate attempt of US imperialism to assert itself as the policeman of a world falling apart around it. Trying desperately to plug up the holes against a working class that cannot be stopped.

With its fraud of "human rights" being exposed for what it really is-- naked support to the bloody dictatorships and collaboration with the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Kremlin against the workers and youth.

Nicaragua, Iran, South Africa. American workers--these struggles are not distant, not

just something happening in far-away places. These struggles are here! Because they are struggles against US imperialism which enslaves you as well.

"Human rights" and its "democracy" is as much a fraud in the United States as anywhere else. Ask any black youth, ask any worker.

From Tehran and Managua to New York and Detroit the enemy is the same-- this IMPERIALIST STATE, this terrorist state led by Jimmy Carter and the Democratic Party.

But the most heroic and valiant struggles of the workers and youth -- whether in Africa, the Middle East, in Latin America, Europe or in the United States -- will not spontaneously succeed in destroying imperialism and its allies. All the struggles of today and the past prove this.

Prove that the present situation in the world today demands one thing above all for the workers and youth-- A REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL. A leadership for these struggles. A world party of total opposition to imperialism and Stalinism in

order to unite the struggles of the workers and youth around the world.

The situation in the world today demands the one party committed to fighting imperialism and Stalinism against all other parties and leaderships who supported or participated in Jimmy Carter's fraud of "human rights" which is now in shambles. And these parties and old leaderships are also in shambles.

Workers-- the situation demands the Fourth International. And demands the fight of the Trotskyist Organization/USA to rebuild its US Section against imperialism.

A combat that all fighting youth in the United States can take up today by joining with the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Revolutionary Youth International in the US in building a large and open YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION-- against this imperialist, racist and anti-working class state.

To finish with US imperialism and its hangmen once and for all.

September 14, 1978

A VICTORY FOR FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

A victory has been won for the Fourth International in Spain. In an official communication dated August 16, 1978 the Capitan General of the Justice Department of the 4th Military Region of Spain withdrew the first of a series of charges against MIGUEL SALAS, the editor of LA AURORA, the newspaper of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, the Spanish Section of the Fourth International.

As readers of TRUTH should know the Francoist military in Spain had arrested our comrade, Miguel Salas and threatened a Military Tribunal against him with the charge of "insulting the military."

The "insult" concerned a statement which appeared in the

December 30-January 5th issue of LA AURORA which referred to the Francoist military as "a band of assassins."

For this "insult" which was in fact the TRUTH, Miguel Salas faced five years in prison.

We consider the dropping of these charges not only a victory for our party in Spain, but a victory for the entire Fourth International, which along with the Revolutionary Youth International engaged a mobilization throughout the world against this Military Tribunal.

A victory as well for the hundreds of workers and youth in the United States, along with sincere democrats and honest militants of other organizations whose messages to the Military in Spain were certainly heard.



MIGUEL
SALAS

The Fourth International analyzed this attack as not simply an attack on an individual comrade or even still less a dispute with the Francoist military over "insults." Instead we said that this attack was an attack on the revolutionary vanguard of the Spanish working class and its most conscious expression-- the press of the Fourth International in Spain.

The Francoist military wants to silence our press in Spain as they want to silence the most revolutionary section of the Spanish working class.

They have not succeeded! Neither the Spanish workers nor the international working class will allow this to happen, the

CONTINUED ON BACK

DEFEND THE PUBLIC WORKERS AGAINST THIS ANTI-WORKER STATE!

In the last months a strike wave of public employees has swept across the country. Teachers, sanitation workers, hospital workers, postal workers, firemen, and even police, suffering under the illusion that they are workers, have led strikes in every major city in the country.

These strikes are a major confrontation between the American working class and the bourgeoisie, which through its government is leading a fundamental attack on the rights and standard of living of the working class in the name of a fight against "inflation."

Public workers, as the most visible sector of the working class, with the least rights to begin with as organized workers, are being singled out as an example to the rest of the working class of the determination of the bourgeoisie to deny its most basic rights and demands. This attack is also a prelude to an offensive against the strongest sections of the working class -- the UAW and Teamsters whose national contracts come up in 1979.

This attack must be stopped.

The public workers must be defended!

Everywhere the bourgeoisie is attacking public workers in order to reinforce the power of their state apparatus against the working class. Thus, striking postal workers have been jailed and threatened with felony charges. A federal judge has prevented postal workers in New York from even VOTING on whether to strike or not. And federal BINDING ARBITRATION has been forced on the postal workers with the collaboration of the trade union leadership.

"Operation Graphic Hand" is a government plan to break any postal strike with the Army and National Guard -- but it is more than that. Through such plans and operations the US bourgeoisie is preparing for civil war against the American working class.

This is the significance of these struggles for both the public employees and the entire working class. That these struggles demonstrate that this bourgeois STATE is an enemy of the working class, that it is an ANTI-WORKER STATE and that

in any fundamental struggle for its rights the American workers must be prepared to confront this state.

And that this attack of the government cannot be fought or turned back with the present leadership of the trade unions in this country. Not only have they continually capitulated in the face of this attack -- agreeing to injunctions, binding arbitration, even agreeing to negotiate from jail (!).

But more fundamentally because these trade union leaders, tied to the Democratic Party are committed to and accept the illusion that this state, this government can BE REFORMED -- an illusion which blocks the workers from taking their struggles forward to victory.

And it is in this framework that we INSIST -- there is nothing "left" about the various "criticisms" these traitors -- Doug Fraser, George Meany, etc. -- are now raising towards the Carter regime and towards "big business."

The US working class is a thousand times to the left of these bureaucrats and in the

framework of its growing offensive these "left" phrases appear in their true light-- reactionary rhetoric designed to block the workers from going forward.

And the working class is a thousand times to the left of those who don't believe that the most urgent task in the unions today, the CONDITION for going forward, is the overthrow of these leaders and the construction of a revolutionary leadership for the unions.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA affirms that as with the miners strike earlier this year, the strike wave of public employees confirms more and more that it is our perspective that the American working class is seeking -- the perspective of a new leadership for the unions, a revolutionary break with the Democratic Party through the construction of the Workers Party Party USA, section of the Fourth International and a Workers Government to replace this anti-worker state.

This is the perspective for the defense of the public workers and the road forward for the entire working class. J.C. September 12, 1978

THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE WORKERS OF NORTH & SOUTH AMERICA

AN IMMEDIATE TASK

A new revolutionary offensive of the working and oppressed masses in Latin America is developing throughout the continent in the face of the fierce repression of the bloody dictatorships supported by US imperialism.

Civil war has broken out in Nicaragua, as the working class and peasants, and above all the youth have taken up arms and control of the streets in an attempt to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship.

The streets of Lima, Peru have become a battleground as a general strike of 48,000 miners has turned into an armed confrontation between the Peruvian working class and the military dictatorship.

A state of seige has again been declared in the copper mines in Chile as the miners have organized strikes against the Pinochet dictatorship. Reportedly, thousands of people demonstrated in the streets of Santiago last week on the anniversary of the coup.

In Brazil and in Mexico mass demonstrations have recently taken place for the liberation of the political prisoners in

these countries.

And it must be understood that while the working class and the youth are fighting heroically in all these countries the arrests, the deaths, number in the thousands -- victims of these military dictatorships in their death agony but armed to their teeth by the US government.

Now more than ever the task of the US working class is to fight to unite its struggles with its brothers and sisters in Latin America.

It is not just a question of "solidarity." But ONE struggle with ONE enemy -- US imperialism.

Now is the time for this unity. The policy of US imperialism in Latin America is in shambles. Neither with a "democratic" face nor with a "repressive" face have these military dictatorships been able to control the mobilization of the working class and peasants.

Also in shambles are the Stalinists and centrists who participated in Carter's "human rights" maneuver in Latin America to institutionalize the military dictatorships in Latin America with a democratic cover.

The youth with guns in Nicaragua and the miners in Peru have shattered the "democratic" fiction of the centrists who are sitting in Jimmy Carter's "Constituent Assembly" while the streets of Lima are aflame. The fighting youth understand there is only one road to democracy in Latin America -- THE REVOLUTION.

Thus, it is the hour of the Fourth International in Latin America. The party of the revolution which is being prepared. But on the condition that the vanguard of the workers and youth in Latin America are politically armed for this revolution. That their break from Stalinism and centrism is organized into the construction of a Leninist party, the Fourth International, to lead this offensive to victory.

This is the meaning of unity for workers in the United States. To join and build the Fourth International in the US as the party against US imperialism and the party of revolutionary unity

with the Latin American working class.

The revolutionary youth in the US must lead this fight. That is why we propose to the young workers in and around the RW to build their YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION as a fight THROUGHOUT THE AMERICAS. A fight to organize the defense of the revolution in Latin America in a common fight against US imperialism.

An immediate mobilization of the young workers and working class organizations in the US must be launched to demand:

US IMPERIALISM OUT OF LATIN AMERICA!
DOWN WITH THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS--LIFT THE STATE OF SEIGES!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
FOR THE UNITED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE TWO AMERICAS!

We are ready to join with all workers and their organizations in this fight.

September 12, 1978 **TRUTH**

"We are not a party like all other parties"

REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG WORKERS/USA CELEBRATE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

On September 3rd the Revolutionary Young Workers/USA, (RYW) supporting section of the Revolutionary Youth International, held a public meeting in Detroit to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution.

The meeting in Detroit was held at the same time as an international rally was held by the Fourth International in Barcelona, Spain, in which greetings from the United States were sent. The meeting in Detroit was attended by members of the RYW, members of the Trotskyist Organization/USA, the US Sympathizing Section of the Fourth International and young workers from the Detroit area.

Jerome Tolbert, of the RYW chaired the meeting and opened it by explaining why the Revolutionary Young Workers are celebrating the anniversary of the Fourth International and why the RYW/USA fights alongside of the Fourth International in the United States.

He said that all the experiences of the youth in the last ten years, in the United States and around the world, have demonstrated the need for an organized expression for their fight, a PARTY, that will be able to lead their struggles. And that the Fourth International along represents this party.

Many youth today, even the most rebellious and revolutionary youth don't want to have anything to do with "politics," Tolbert pointed out. They either think that they aren't "educated" enough, that "politics" is just another form of the corruption of this society, or that they can solve their problems with various individual solutions.

Tolbert said that his experiences with the Revolutionary Youth International have proven to him and will prove to other young workers that this isn't what real "politics" is about. That the "politics" of the Revolutionary Youth International -- "politics" of revolutionary unity with the workers and oppressed

throughout the world, "politics" of opposition to this bourgeois and Stalinist order and everything that it represents -- can offer the youth a future and educate them in the methods of revolutionary Marxism.

It is by presenting this kind of "politics" to the young workers in the United States -- politics of hope and a future -- that the Revolutionary Young Workers in the US can win the working class youth to the idea of RETURN TO LENIN, to the meaning of the fight for a world party, to the Fourth International and its US supporters -- the Trotskyist Organization/USA.

Rich Tetrault of the RYW also spoke, describing to the other young workers present his own experiences in joining the fight of the RYI and Fourth International in the United States and why, on its 40th anniversary he had confidence that only the Fourth International represents a future for the youth in the United States.

Tetrault also explained this in terms of some of his experiences with the pseudo-Trotskyists in the United States, especially the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which falsely claims to represent the Fourth International. He explained that his experiences were not unique, that they represented the experiences of thousands of working class youth in the United States who were seeking a Leninist party and only found the miserable centrism of the SWP.

He showed how the SWP and its leadership, despite all of its rhetoric about "industrialization" and "Worker-Bolsheviks" was contemptuous and hostile towards young workers, that they play a daily role in confusing the American working class, and have nothing to do with the Fourth International because "they don't do the things the Fourth International is supposed to do" -- organize the youth for the revolution in a Leninist party.

Jon Cohen then spoke for the leadership of the Trotskyist Organization/USA in greeting this meeting and agreeing with the other

speakers that the question of the commemoration of the Fourth International's 40th anniversary and the significance of its foundation was not a "historic" question. That the real meaning of the foundation of the Fourth International lies in the fight of our party to continue the struggle of Lenin and Trotsky for the world revolution against Stalinism and its centrist supporters.

That we are the real Fourth International today not because of our "ideals" or "good ideas" but because today we lead the REAL fight of Bolshevism-Leninism today. Thus, when the Francoist monarchy in Spain wants to attack the Fourth International as the vanguard of the Spanish working class it is our comrades and paper which is attacked, not that of the pseudo-Trotskyists who are "legal" in Spain. Or when the Kremlin wishes to continue its 50 year campaign of slander against Trotskyism it is Michel Varga, a leader of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and a leader of our party today who they attack, not the centrists who are today busy sipping cocktails and playing soccer with the Stalinists (Spain).

Cohen also elaborated how this fight must be developed in the United States -- by eliminating the obstacles in the workers movement which prevent the working class from going forward -- the trade union bureaucrats and their Stalinist and centrist allies. He explained that this meant an offensive of the Fourth International in the United States to RETURN TO LENIN as a POLITICAL offensive to explain politics to the youth, to define the problems of the American revolution and to clear away the confusion in the workers movement by isolating and turning the youth against centrism, above all the SWP which has stolen our banner in the US.

The discussion that followed developed these questions in terms of the experiences of the young workers present, especially

in terms of the conditions in the factories today in Detroit and the balance sheet of the struggle of the black movement, above all since the 1967 ghetto rebellion in Detroit. All the young workers posed the question -- how to continue this struggle, from talk to action?

Responding for both the TO/USA and the RYW, David Heffelfinger answered that the RYW/USA offers to all fighting youth in the United States an immediate struggle against this police state by building a YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST WAR AND REPRESSION to fight against the terrorism of the state, its racism, its imperialist plots, and its slave conditions in the factories. This struggle is open to all youth and organizations and through this common fight young workers will be able to see the real, practical meaning of our fight to RETURN TO LENIN, to build the Fourth International.

And that the political weapon of this fight for the RYI was INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, the newspaper of the RYI, open to all young workers. He urged all those at the meeting to participate in the fight to make INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD, the newspaper of the RYI, open to all young workers. He urged all those at the meeting to participate in the fight to make INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD the voice of the revolutionary youth in the United States.

We believe that the RYW's meeting represented a fitting commemoration for the 40th anniversary of the Fourth International in the United States. The participation in the meeting, the presentations and the discussion all demonstrated that it is the Fourth INTERNATIONAL International which represents the party of the future for the working class youth, that the Fourth International exists and fights today in the US, among the youth who are the future of this society, and that it is the Trotskyist Organization/USA which is building and leading this fight.

And as Trotsky said 40 years ago: "We are not a party like all other parties."
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!
September 12, 1978 TRUTH

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

I. Joseph Hansen uses the name of our party to apologize for Stalinism

By JON COHEN

The offensive of the workers and oppressed throughout the Two Americas -- North and South -- has not only shaken US imperialism and the military dictatorships. But the mobilization of the youth in Nicaragua, the miners in Peru and Bolivia, along with the miners in the United States, has also caused a deep crisis in the revolutionary movement of the working class, among all those who claim to stand for the workers revolution against capitalism.

What is the road forward for the revolution in the Two Americas? How can this new offensive of the workers and youth in Latin America succeed now, and prevent the bloody defeats that have been suffered at the hands of imperialism and the dictatorships in the last five years? Who can LEAD these struggles? Who can the youth and workers turn to with trust?

All of these questions and many more are being asked by the revolutionary-minded workers and youth in both continents. And more and more in asking these questions and trying to answer them, the most combative workers, especially the youth are rejecting the old solutions and with them the bankrupt traditional leaderships of the working class.

They are turning away from the Stalinist Communist Parties in South America whose "gift" to the working class was Pinochet and Videla. In the United States they are turning from the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy which "gave" them the Vietnam War and mass unemployment.

These traditional leaderships, which once were able to keep their grip on the masses of workers, especially the Stalinists, are now in full crisis, unable to control or contain the mobilization of the youth.

But the workers and youth are not spontaneously coming to the Fourth International, the only revolutionary alternative to these leaderships, the only organization which has positive answers to the questions the revolutionary-minded workers are asking. An obstacle stands in the way of this.

This obstacle is CENTRISM -- a policy of claiming to stand for the revolution, but in practice covering up for and supporting Stalinism and the traditional leaderships of the working class who are in crisis. In particu-

lar, the obstacle in front of the workers and youth in the Two Americas today are the pseudo-revolutionary centrists who masquerade in the name of the Fourth International. Who were once a pro-Stalinist faction inside our party, who were driven from our ranks but who continue their existence today as a roadblock to the youth breaking from Stalinism and seeking the revolution.

These centrists today are mainly organized in two international organizations -- the Organizing Committee led by the French OCI and the United Secretariat, in which the US Socialist Workers Party plays a leading role although it is not an official member of this organization.

Their job in the US and Latin America is to apologize for the crimes of Stalinism and the trade union bureaucracy, try to give them legitimacy in front of the youth and to block the youth from finding the real Fourth International which alone can insure their victory.

All of this is thoroughly revealed in a book just published by the SWP called: DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION--THE TROTSKYIST VIEW by Joseph Hansen. Hansen is a central leader of the SWP and United Secretariat along with Ernest Mandel, a "theoretician"-- of revisionism. The book contains a recent introduction by Hansen along with their central documents on the "Cuban question" from 1960-1968 which trace the theoretical, political and organizational path of the SWP's abandonment of the Fourth International.

It is correct that the "Cuban question" has such importance, that it was around this question that the SWP abandoned the Fourth International, that its defense of Castroism remains the centerpiece of its centrist policy in Latin America today.

Cuba is the first country in the Two Americas, the only country, in which capitalism has been overthrown and US imperialism driven out. As the first workers state in the Two Americas, the Cuban revolution stands as a fundamental conquest not only for the Cuban working class, but for the workers throughout the Americas.

But the working and oppressed masses do not rule in Cuba. Their revolution was strangled and usurped by a Stalinist bur-

eaucracy, supported by the Kremlin, led by Fidel Castro, which is a COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY clique which must be overthrown by a POLITICAL REVOLUTION of the Cuban workers which will replace this bureaucracy with the independent, democratic

faction in the SWP (called Pabloism) and his ascendancy to the leadership of the SWP by 1963, the acceptance of his revisionist "theories", express the degeneration of this party which once represented the Fourth International in the US.

This article is the first in a series of articles we will write on this book because it has an importance for all advanced workers in the US in exposing this revisionism, showing how THE DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION has nothing to do with Trotskyism and the Fourth International, and in this way answering some of the fundamental questions of the revolution and the construction of the party in the Two Americas.

For idealists, "in the Beginning was the Word." For Joseph Hansen "in the Beginning is the Lie." Our introduction to this examination of DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION will conclude by first pointing out, that like all centrists, Hansen starts his book with a lie.

The first sentence in his Introduction says: "Because of its rising prominence in African political affairs, Cuba is again very much in the news."

A conscious piece of confusion. A fitting introduction to the several thousand words of confusion to follow.

As every militant of the SWP and the United Secretariat know and as every US worker should now know, this book is not being written because Cuba is "in the news" or because of "African political affairs."

It is being written because of what we pointed out at the very beginning of our article-- the crisis of the workers movement in the Two Americas, above all the crisis of Stalinism AND Castroism.

Everywhere-- in the organized workers movement in Latin America, among the thousands of Latin American political leaders in Europe, in the ranks of the United Secretariat itself, there is a re-examination of the questions of the Latin American revolution taking place.

And EVERYWHERE, in a massive fashion, young militants are beginning to REJECT CASTROISM-- as a dead-end, as a betrayal of the revolution, AS STALINISM.

This is what is "in the news" This is why Hansen wrote his

dynamics of the cuban revolution

the trotskyist view by joseph hansen

A CENTRIST APOLOGY FOR STALINISM

rule of the workers organized in their councils. The same task that is in front of the working class in the USSR, Eastern Europe and China.

The centrism of Joseph Hansen lies in the way in which he identifies the Cuban revolution with the Castro bureaucracy, apologizing for Stalinism and thus confusing and demoralizing workers and youth in Latin America and the US who wanted to continue what was done in Cuba in their countries.

The Fourth International also wants to continue what was done in Cuba-- to continue it by eliminating the Castro bureaucracy and eliminating Stalinism throughout the Two Americas. By building the world party to lead the workers to power.

And here lies all the difference in the world with Joseph Hansen and his allies. And why we have to wage a fight against anyone who claims that defense of the Castro bureaucracy and Castroism is "The Trotskyist View."

For Joseph Hansen hasn't had a "Trotskyist view" on anything in the world since 1953 when he very reluctantly joined the fight of the then-revolutionary SWP against the pro-Stalinist

Why is General Baker running on the Democratic Party ticket?



Elect **GENERAL BAKER**

DEMOCRAT

State Representative

- Resident of the District for more than ten years.
- Active member UAW Local 600.
- Employed at Ford Rouge Complex.
- Endorsed by Councilman Clyde Cleveland, block clubs, labor and civic organizations.
- Co-founder Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM).

Proven Fighter for Jobs, Peace, Equality and a Better Life for All Workers.

By **DAVID HEFFELFINGER**

After running on the Communist Labor Party (CLP) ticket in previous elections, General Baker, a well known activist in the Detroit workers movement, ran in the August 8th Michigan primary as a Democrat. In so doing Baker has gone further along the road of opportunism, abandoning the struggle undertaken by black workers in Detroit to build a political party based on the Bolshevik party of Lenin. Baker, along with other black leaders of the 60's, was a co-founder of DRUM, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Move-

ment, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

Significantly, Baker has always previously managed to win the support of the pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party even though the CLP is a Stalinist party. In the MILITANT (August 4, 1978) newspaper of the SWP, we are told that Baker will not be supported by the SWP this year because he is building illusions in the Democratic party among young blacks.

So far so good. Baker's running as a Democrat, the Democratic party is capitalist, so don't vote for Baker, the SWP says.

Only one problem. In this article in the MILITANT there is not one fundamental criticism of Baker's party, a STALINIST party which stands on the betrayal of the world working class by Stalin's counter-revolutionary apparatus. Not one mention of why this so-called "communist" can change his party affiliation like a new set of clothes which of course is precisely what Baker is doing.

It is a telling political error that the SWP portrays Baker's abandonment of black workers as beginning with the new "Democratic" clothes of the CLP. A political error consistent with the SWP's abandonment of the Fourth International and its American section to Stalinism in the early 60's.

Baker's sinking into opportunism is important because of an entire generation of black revolutionaries based in Detroit who fought to understand and build the party of Lenin among the American working class. Largely due to the betrayals of the SWP, which by the time of DRUM was a CENTRIST party, this generation never reached the Leninist party.

The danger in leaving the score sheet of the DRUM movement

unclarified is that a new generation of young workers, black and white, will draw only demoralization from the defeat and capitulation of the leaders of DRUM.

The battles of DRUM and the League and the names of leaders like Baker, Ken Cockerel, John Watson, and others are already familiar to the Detroit working class -- especially among black workers. A book recently published, DETROIT I DO MIND DYING, by Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkin fairly well documents the struggles of black workers and the DRUM movement in the 60's. It does not, however, clear up the reasons for its failure.

The words of John Watson, a co-founder of DRUM along with General Baker, speak for themselves as to the aspirations of hundreds of black and white workers in working class cities like Detroit:

"We are no more for integrated capitalism than for segregated capitalism. Neither are we in favor of a separate state, based on the same class lines as in this society. We are against a separate state in which a

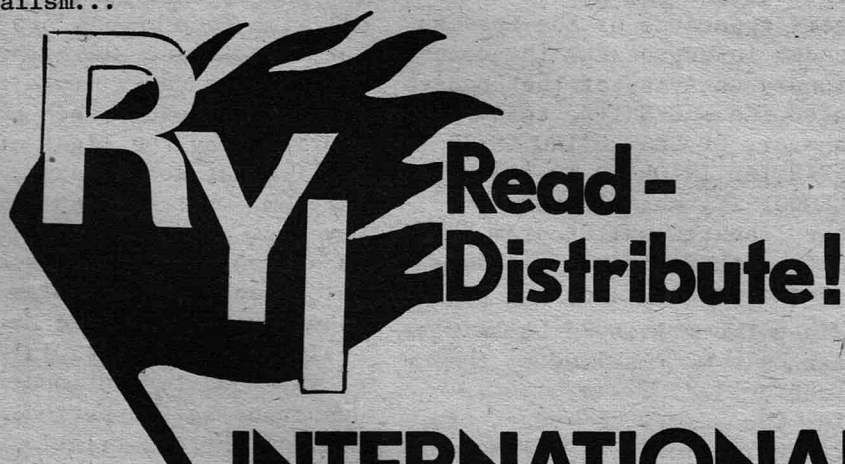
Not that Watson and Baker have no responsibility for what happened to the DRUM movement, black capitalist class exploits a black proletariat. We are opposed also to all sorts of haphazard talk which doesn't tell us what to do with the United States, capitalism, and imperialism..."

but contrast the perspective put forward above with that of the SWP which tailed and today adapts to every black "movement" that exists. While the DRUM leaders were building a specifically black organization, their goal was to build a Leninist party in which black and revolutionary-minded whites could work together.

The SWP, falsely speaking in the name of the Fourth International, the only party capable of leading the struggle for black liberation, still tails far behind even the failures of the past by calling for several parties -- a "black" one, a "Chicano" one, a "white" one we suppose, and one for "labor" too -- none of them Leninist, none of them founded to destroy imperialism which is the only road forward for blacks and the oppressed minorities in the United States.

Baker himself began to take up the theories of Stalinism even before the split of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. But the real defeat for black workers in the United States was the failure of the SWP in the name of the Fourth International to combat Stalinism on American soil, leaving an entire generation of black revolutionary workers in the grip of imperialism and Stalinism. General Baker's capitulation really begins here.

September 13, 1978



INTERNATIONAL YOUNG GUARD

Organ of the Revolutionary Youth International - RYI -

English Edition by the Revolutionary Young Workers

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introduction and reprinted previous documents. To try to consciously hide this crisis from US workers. To block US workers from being part of this examination taking place. And to come to the aid of Castro and Stalinism in crisis, to provide a "left", "theoretical" cover for Castroism in the name of the only banner which has never betrayed the youth or working class-- the Fourth International.

The Conference of the Two Americas-- being convoked by the 6th World Congress of the Fourth International for Spring 1979, whose political preparation begins today will represent a positive answer to this crisis and a search of militants for Trotskyism, precisely by arming the US workers and workers in Latin America against the centrist fraud of the Joseph Hansens and the Stalinism he tries to apologize for.

And fighting to regain the continuity of the real Trotskyist view on the "Cuban question" is an important step in this direction.

September 13, 1978

ON THE 38TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ASSASSINATION OF TROTSKY

Stop the Stalinist "rehabilitations"!

RETURN TO LENIN!

By **SERGIO PIERO** (TRANSLATED FROM #180 OF LA AURORA, PAPER OF THE SPANISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)

What is the origin of this article? Carrillo, present day leader of the Spanish CP, 38 years ago a leader over Ramon Mercader, a militant of the Spanish CP who assassinated Trotsky, today writes that it is not necessary to "deny the right of men or groups falsely accused of being 'agents of fascism' to win a rehabilitation, although it may be late." At the IX Congress of his party, the centrist LCR came and asked for this "rehabilitation" and before this, Vanessa Redgrave, in her Hollywood promotion of the Spanish LOC, asked for an interview with Carrillo to ask for "political rehabilitation." And these people call themselves "Trotskyists"....

Without a doubt it is opportune and necessary that Trotskyists denounce this new canonization in order to bring into the light the meaning of the assassination of Trotsky, the historical meaning of the choice: **BOLSHEVISM OR STALINISM** which has caused the defeats of the international workers revolution.

THE ASSASSINATION OF TROTSKY AGAINST THE CONTINUITY OF BOLSHEVISM

It is necessary to underline the fact that it was Mercader, **MILITANT OF THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY** who assassinated Trotsky. He acted as an agent of Stalin, through his political police, the GPU, and with the collaboration of the Communist Party of Mexico, where Trotsky was exiled.

This choice was not a chance. The petty bourgeois apparatus of the Spanish CP had succeeded in organizing the counter-revolutionary activity of the Spanish CP demonstrated the **NECESSITY**, today sharper than ever, **OF DESTROYING THESE TREACHEROUS PARTIES IN ORDER TO TRIUMPH OVER THE BOURGEOISIE**, what Trotsky formulated in the Transitional Program by affirming that: "the crisis of leadership of the proletariat, which has been transformed into the crisis of human civilization, can only be resolved by the Fourth International."

The Spanish CP, under the orders of Stalin, continued the work of the Moscow Trials against Bolshevism and any opposition current. Thus they assassinated Erwin Wolf, leader of the Bolshevik-Leninists of the Fourth International, Andreu Nin, leader of the POUM and former leader of the Comintern, the anarchist Camilo Berneri and many others. This is where the assassination of Trotsky was born. Ramon Mercader, decorated with an "Order of Lenin" now lives in Czechoslovakia, where, 10 years after Prague Spring, the Minister of the Interior rages against "the dangers of Trotskyism."

The Stalinist bureaucracy, in order to maintain its power, took up a campaign of slanders and falsifications unprecedented in history, persecuting and assassinating the old Bolshevik guard, the

companions of Lenin and murdering an entire generation of proletarian communists on the international scale. (Spain!)

The assassination of Trotsky was the culminating point of the Stalinist effort to destroy the continuity of Bolshevism.

BUT WHAT IS BOLSHEVISM?

No one said it better than Trotsky: "Bolshevism is the only form of Marxism for our time. The Bolshevik Party showed, in reality, a combination of supreme revolutionary audacity and political realism. For the first time it established between the vanguard and the class the only relationship capable of assuring victory. It demonstrated that the union of the proletariat with the oppressed masses of the city and countryside is only possible through the political destruction of the traditional parties of the petty bourgeoisies. The Bolshevik Party showed the entire world how to realize the armed insurrection and the seizure of power. Those who oppose an abstraction of soviets to the dictatorship of the party must understand that it was only thanks to the Bolsheviks that the soviets were raised from the swamp of reformism to the role of the state power of the proletariat. The Bolshevik Party achieved the correct combination of the military art with Marxist policy in the civil war. Even if the Stalinist bureaucracy succeeds in ruining the economic basis of the new society, the experience of planned economy under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, will be entered in history for all time as a higher stage for humanity... But this is not all. The Bolshevik Party was able to carry out a grand "practical" task only because each of its steps was clarified by the light of theory. Bolshevism was not created, it came out of Marxism. But Marxism is the theory of movement and not of rest. Only actions on a grand historical scale can enrich this theory. Bolshevism brought a precious contribution to Marxism through its analysis of the imperialist epoch as that of wars and revolutions, of bourgeois democracy in the period of rotting capitalism, of the relationship between the general strike and the insurrection, the role of the party, soviets, and unions in the epoch of the proletarian revolution, of fascism and Bonapartism, and finally through its analysis of the conditions of the degeneration of the same Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state."

In the historic inability of the bourgeoisie to govern society we see how the Spanish CP and the false Trotskyists (LCR, OCI, LOC) who demagogically use the Bolshevik-Leninist heritage, seek shelter in its political semi-cadaver through a policy of Sacred Union with the Francoists. And to attack the consciousness of the working class they need an anti-Leninist campaign combined with the police persecution of the new young generation under a

supposed "anti-terrorist" crusade. Above all they want to prevent the youth **DISILLUSIONED BY THEIR TREASON** from arming themselves with Bolshevism for the revolutionary destruction of Stalinism and its political satellites. From this comes the hatred of Carrillo against "tiny and dubious groups who dirty the streets by calling for soviets and the dissolution of the bourgeois state" and who exclaimed: "those who call themselves Leninists are the assassins of Barcelona."

As anyone can understand, Bolshevism is not a "Russian phenomenon" nor "past history." These statements are a fraud to separate the working class from Bolshevism, from the political current which will consciously prepare the triumph of the international proletarian revolution. But for advanced workers, who are not satisfied with these "arguments", the Stalinists and above all their centrist agents spit out all their venom to prove "in the end result Stalinism is the logical consequence of Leninism" by supporting "Euro-Communism" with its explicit renunciation of the revolution and its "surpassing of Lenin." This is where those who assassinated Trotsky **ARE FOUND TODAY** along with those who have renounced his struggle.

STALINISM GREW UP AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

Sensational revelations are a part of Stalinism, as with all weapons of the blackest reaction. They have in common their intent to maintain confusion and passivity when consciousness and action is needed. The loud denunciations of the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP of "Stalinist horrors" and the clear insinuation of Carrillo: "But one has to ask whether or not the practical actions of Stalin were not more in consonance with the reality of the type of state that was founded, with the objective realities that surrounded it with enemies"-- only serve to justify the Kremlin bureaucracy and its international apparatus.

But the Stalinists need and use the false Trotskyists to attack class consciousness, worry the advanced workers and above all prevent the youth from finding the Fourth International and renewing the workers movement from top to bottom, riding itself of the opportunist cancer which corrupts it. But in order to complete their function as agents of Stalinism they need "Euro-Communism" as an alternative to Stalinism with "progressive aspects" (according to Mandel of the United Secretariat) or else remain "orthodox" by saying that Stalinism is counter-revolutionary, deny its crisis, scornfully justifying their turn towards Social Democracy and campaign against Lenin (as with the OCI and the "International Committee", in order to justify their existence independent from the U. Sec).

These "Trotskyists" of the official

bourgeois world come together by concluding that Stalin came into being as a historic fatality, a result of the "sectarian voluntarism" of the Bolsheviks in seizing power and founding the Third Communist International. This is what they bring to the anti-Leninist crusade of the "Euro-Communists." Along with their policy of "CP-SP Government" they reinforce the illusion that the dictatorship of the proletariat will be built with the anti-working class apparatuses of the official "workers movement" and thus attack the youth who break with such "leaders." And in face of the Bolshevik-Leninist Fourth International and its struggle against Stalinism there are no other "arguments" than provocations, slanders and agressions, launched by the OCI with the complicity of the USec, the IC and some "Trotskyist currents" like the "spartacists"-- in the form of: "Michel Varga and his followers, agents of the CIA and KGB."

It is essential to respond to the "great revelation" which astounds all the traditional organizations of the proletariat, whether Social Democrats, Stalinists, anarchists or "Trotskyists": "Stalinism came out of Bolshevism!"

In fact, the idealists can make hay over this question because "logical succession" was that Stalinism indeed came after Bolshevism. But first of all, it was the Bolsheviks who analyzed the degeneration of their own party and responded to the question WITHOUT BREAKING WITH BOLSHEVISM. To make the Bolsheviks responsible for the Stalinist degeneration is part of the same error as identifying Bolshevism, the October Revolution, with today's Soviet Union.

Thus, Trotsky responded: "the historical process, which consists in the struggle of hostile forces, is replaced by the evolution of Bolshevism in a vacuum. To identify the process of degeneration of the soviet state with the evolution of Bolshevism is to ignore social reality in the name of one of its elements isolated in a purely "logical" manner. Those who are looking in the rot of the Stalinist bureaucracy for a definitive argument against Bolshevism are looking on the wrong road."

Today it is neither the assassins of Trotsky, nor its renegades, but Trotsky himself who said: "In fact, Stalinism did come out of Bolshevism, but not in a logical form, but a dialectical form; not as its revolutionary affirmation but as its Thermidorian negation. To develop Stalinism out of Bolshevism or Marxism is the same thing as developing the counter-revolution out of the revolution. Those who identify Stalinism with Bolshevism render the best service to the Stalinist bureaucracy."

"REHABILITATION" OF TROTSKY?... RETURN TO LENIN!

To all those who try to present the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky as a struggle for personal power, the Spanish revolution unmasks them, because the struggle between Bolshevism (Trotskyism) and Stalinism was a real class struggle in which the Spanish CP defended the bourgeois order against the socialist revolution.

In 1923 the Left Opposition was formed signalling that the "leaders of the party deform Lenin...in order to hide the errors they are committing. Since the

death of Lenin a whole series of new theories have been invented which are reduced to a theoretical justification for the break of the Stalinist group with the path of the international proletarian revolution." Bolshevism "under the form of the Opposition, breaks with Stalinism."

The Moscow Trials, the assassination of Trotsky, the degeneration of the USSR, demonstrates, with the blood of the "purges," the incompatibility, not only politically, but physically, between Bolshevism and Stalinism.

In this framework the shame and scandal of the capitulation of the "Trotskyists" demanding the "rehabilitation of Trotsky and the recognition of Trotskyism as a current in the workers movement" (A. Krivine, in ROUGE) from none other than the assassins of Trotsky, the Stalinist counter-revolution, is even worse.

No doubt the centrists will complain about our "furious polemic" trying to "exaggerate differences," but the facts testify for themselves and the logic of their positions take them much further than any individual wish: to capitulation to Stalinism against the Fourth International.

It is only necessary to look at this question of "rehabilitation." The term itself belongs to Stalinism, its methods of "purges and rehabilitations." Naturally, Carrillo leads the singing. In his book, EUROCOMMUNISM AND THE STATE he poses it for the first time, followed by the leaders of the Italian CP and later by the French CP which just published in its paper, HUMANITE, various chapters from a book by Campa of the Mexican CP, calling the assassination "inopportune."(!)

What is the meaning of this policy on the part of the "Euro-Communists?" Carrillo, without a doubt for the benefit of the "Trotskyists" around him (LCR, OCI, LOC) posed the "rehabilitation" and later "the real fact that Trotsky represented a political tendency inside the revolutionary movement and the Russian party and should not be treated as a vulgar Hitlerite agent." What motivated this change of attitude from the participation of the Spanish CP in the assassination of Trotsky to his "recognition" and "rehabilitation?"

The reason is the crisis of Stalinism which is unable to impose on the working class the methods of the 1930's and needs the support of the false Trotskyists to legitimize and develop its pro-bourgeois policies. But no one should be fooled, in no way have they renounced their old methods, they simply leave them on the shelf for the lack of force they have today while they infect the workers with their attacks on the socialist revolution, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the International, on Lenin. It is necessary to look at how Carrillo is forced to explain that "the point of view of Trotsky on the Spanish revolution of 1936-39 could not be more unclear" and to even further clarify his present attitude justifying the assassination of Andreu Nin by affirming: "the death of Nin was an abominable and unjustifiable act, BUT in the framework of a putsch, he committed a crime of high treason unjustifiable during a revolutionary anti-fascist war." And thus, the false Trotskyists continue to follow the leadership of Carrillo.

They also are the ones who relegate the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in its bastion, the USSR and Eastern Europe, to the distant future, while they propagate the illusion of the "reform of the bureaucracy," supporting the "left" bureaucrats and calling "adventurists" youth who want to build the Fourth International, when they don't abandon them to Stalinist repression as in the case of the OCI in its campaign of slanders against the Fourth International. These are not "errors" on their part, but a policy trying to liquidate the Fourth International in favor of "good will" with the Stalinist apparatus.

To demand of his assassins that they "rehabilitate" Trotsky is to legitimize them in front of the workers, to support the attempt to cover Stalinism with its new "Euro-Communist" clothes. They are politically subordinated to Stalinism, no one expects from them the slightest positive initiative for the working class, but the moment the workers reject Stalinism they use all the means at their service to demoralize them and reinforce the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Thus the LCR attended the IX Congress of the Spanish CP in order to ask for the "rehabilitation" of Trotsky without denouncing the responsibility of the Stalinist leaders in his assassination, and without saying a word while they formally rejected Leninism in order to reinforce the Sacred Union with the Francoists, to sterilize the workers movement from any "revolutionary change."

The Leninist heritage is that of Bolshevism, the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution. Against the efforts of the Spanish CP and its political satellites to poison the working class with its anti-communist venom, the Fourth International continues the traditions of Bolshevism, fights to RETURN TO LENIN as the force to unite the energy of the youth and bring them to the program of Bolshevism, the conscious and positive formulation of the secular experience of the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation.

Lenin, builder of the Bolshevik party which led the revolution which "consists in the proletariat DESTROYING the administrative apparatus and the ENTIRE state apparatus, substituting for it a new state of the armed workers," who was the first to understand that the bureaucratization of the soviet regime was a possible beginning of a degeneration of the workers state. Lenin alerted the Bolshevik party to the dangers of Stalin, "in 1922, during a momentary improvement in his health, Lenin was frightened with the growing threat of the bureaucracy and prepared an offensive against the faction of Stalin, which had become the pivot of the party apparatus before basing itself on the state. The second attack on his health and then his death, did not permit him to rally his forces against the reaction."

Thus, Krupskaya, his wife, would say in 1926: "If Lenin was alive, he would surely be in jail."

The Bolshevik-Leninist Fourth International continues the fight that the assassination of Trotsky tried to destroy. WITH THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, AGAINST STALINISM!

August 9, 1978

DEFEND HARPER-GRACE STRIKERS!



Trials for the Harper-Grace strikers are coming up in late September and early October. Ruby Gartner, James Hatchet and David Heffelfinger, who were arrested in one incident, and Victor Jacobs and Ida Jefferson all currently have separate court dates.

All five were arrested in the course of the strike for picketing peacefully at Grace Northwest Hospital. Heffelfinger is a member of the Trotskyist Organization/USA and has been an activist among hospital workers for several years. He is also a leader of the Revolutionary Young Workers, the US (sympathizing) Section of the Revolutionary Youth International.

Hatchet is a business agent for Local #79 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). Jacobs and Jefferson are workers at Grace who took an active role in the strike which lasted more than a month. Gartner does not work at Grace but like many people in the community around the Hospital she supported the strike and was arrested on the picket lines after a police provocation.

Workers might ask, "What are the real issues with these arrests?" Officially, all were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct, however, none of the five committed any crime. The issues in the arrests can best be summed up by the statement

of one woman striker on the picket lines: "When you go on strike it seems like you don't have any rights."

Hospital workers, who come from the lowest paid and most exploited section of the American working class-- the majority of whom are black inner city workers and women-- have no rights under this system. More than 600 Harper-Grace workers and supporters of the strike signed petitions demanding an end to police harassment during the strike and protesting the arrests, showing that the arrests were the result of widespread police intimidation of the strike. Mayor Coleman Young who claims to represent blacks in Detroit must take direct responsibility for these arrests! Once again his party, the Democratic Party, has shown just how "democratic" it really is.

Both the Trotskyist Organization/USA and the Revolutionary Youth International took a leading role in fighting for a winning strategy in the Harper-Grace strike. We pointed out from the beginning that the growth of the repressive powers of the government-- the capitalist state-- were aimed even against the strike of hospital workers. This was shown to be

true.

Furthermore, we fought the treacherous leaders of the SEIU who isolated and held back our strike. As every worker knows, it is they who are responsible above all for the contract we have now.

The leadership of the SEIU formally opposes the arrests and is providing legal aid for those arrested. Nevertheless, legal aid cannot substitute for the active collaboration of the Local #79 leadership with the enemies of the Harper-Grace strike. In a strike, which is nothing less than a battle in the war between the classes, ineptness, bureaucratic machinery and timidity of a leadership which claims to represent workers all constitute TREACHERY.

The Trotskyist Organization/USA demands that all charges be dropped against the Harper-Grace strikers. We call on all workers, youth and workers organizations to support the defense of the Harper-Grace strikers by sending telegrams to Mayor Young's office demanding all charges be dropped!

Telegrams may be sent to:
 Mayor Coleman Young
 City-County Building
 Detroit, Michigan 48226
 Copies of messages should be sent to the Harper-Grace Defense Committee, PO Box 07066, Detroit, Mi. 48207

CONTINUED FROM FRONT

defense of the Spanish revolution is an international fight.

But this fight is not finished. Although the Military has retreated, they must be forced to retreat all the way.

Other charges are still pending against Miguel Salas as the editor of LA AURORA. He remains charged with "illegal propaganda"-- for an issue of LA AURORA which was suppressed by the police before it was printed and for being the person in Spain responsible for the Spanish edition of LA CUARTA INTERNACIONAL (THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)--the journal of our International Executive Committee.

These charges must be dropped also! Our victory must be carried to the end--to the legalization of the PORE and all anti-Francoist organizations.

We thank all our supporters for their efforts and urge you to continue the fight with us. September 14, 1978

Send Messages to:

Exc. Senor Capitan General, 4th Region Militar, Paseo Colon, Barcelona, Spain.

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PUBLISHED BI-WEEKLY IN
 DETROIT, MI BY TRUTH,
 INC.

EDITORIAL BOARD:

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